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## Patterns in the Sacred Music Culture of the American South and West (1700-1820)

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PATTERNS IN THE SACRED MUSIC CULTURE OF THE AMERICAN SOUTH  
AND WEST (1700-1820)

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DISSERTATION

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy in the College of Fine Arts at the University of Kentucky

By  
Nikos Alexander Pappas  
Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Ron Pen, Professor of Musicology  
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2013

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## ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

### Patterns in the Sacred Musical Culture of the American South and West (1700-1820)

This narrative chronicles the dissemination of sacred music from the eastern seaboard to the West and South spanning a time frame from the colonial era to the latter part of the Early Nationalist Period (1700-1820). Musical culture in its migration away from the eastern seaboard also parallels the greater western and southern expansion of the United States from its initial configuration of localized regional subgroups to the beginnings of a larger national identity. From this conceptual base, sacred music becomes a vehicle for understanding not only religious and musical changes over time, but also the broader maturity of a nation. Focusing on this period allows for inquiries both into the development of hymnody in the Middle Atlantic, and the subsequent developments of the West and South. These chronological delimitations allow for a discussion of musical practice beginning with formative sacred music developments and continuing to the incorporation of techniques shaped by reform-minded musicians from the eastern seaboard.

The following topics guided the construction of this thesis: explicating how the Middle Atlantic region shaped compositional trends, aesthetic, and performance practice of the American West and South; identifying the various southern cultures as understood by eighteenth and nineteenth-century southerners and their application to sacred music practice; understanding how nineteenth-century Americans distinguished between the West and the South; understanding how southern and western music relates to individual denominations and cultures within these areas; and understanding performance practice common to the evangelical and non-evangelical branches of individual sects.

Identifying patterns of development in American sacred music of the South and West involves documentation of performance practice, denominational aesthetics, and tunebook bibliography. The study of eighteenth-and-nineteenth-century material by twentieth-and-twenty-first-century writers has falsely defined cultural borders of this region according to a post-bellum conceptualization of the boundaries of the North and South. Prior to 1850, writers defined their borders according to a different set of geographic boundaries than today. Consequently, this thesis differs in terms of geographic and cultural definitions of the North and South from current scholarship because of this writer's



application of colonial and Early Nationalist understandings of American culture.

KEYWORDS: Sacred Music, Trans-Atlantic Cultural Geography, Music Bibliography, American South and West, Performance Practice

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PATTERNS IN THE SACRED MUSIC CULTURE OF THE AMERICAN SOUTH  
AND WEST (1700-1820)

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## Chapter 1. Introduction

Of all aspects of American musical history, sacred music alone has consistently been the subject of scholarly attention since the 1840s. This time-honored fascination with sacred music reflects the greater general interest of religion in American society. Citizens of the United States take pride in their longstanding tradition of religious freedom. Not surprisingly, many canons of American religious mythology focus on the depiction of intrepid souls who sought a better life in the New World because of persecution in Europe. For them, the New World offered the chance for betterment despite the high risks involved in the Trans-Atlantic crossing. Many core ideals of these myths extend also to the constructed history of American sacred music.

For instance, the prevailing view of psalmody in New England characterizes it as an embodiment of the democratic and self-reliant ideals of the founding fathers. In one sense psalmodists were tunesmiths, carving out their music for their community in the same way that a blacksmith forged ironware for everyday use. As statements of artistry, it made no difference that these individuals had little to no formal training in music theory and composition; their music conveyed a raw, powerful emotion far removed from the cultivated traditions of Europe. Similarly, the sound of Southern traditional sacred music making in collections printed in shape note notation such as *The Sacred Harp* is often described as democracy in action with a loud, sometimes piercing nasal quality to the voices that self-consciously makes no attempt at choral blending. This ensemble is a group of like-minded individuals, not that of a collective, integrated church choir.

Canons such as these, while accurate in describing some of the emotive qualities that imbue popular understandings of American church music, are often born from older notions

of American history shaped by late nineteenth-century constructions. As is the case with much of the studies of New England psalmody, a New England regional bias often figures as a strong motivating factor for these later musical developments. This notion parallels the older concept of the New England intellectual tradition disseminating to the rest of the country and voiced in works by New England scholars such as *Builders of the Bay Colony: A Gallery of Our Intellectual Ancestors* (Boston, 1930) by Samuel Eliot Morrison. Drawing upon current concepts of history, cultural geography, religious studies, material folk culture, as well as music, the present study looks beyond musical scholarship to explore the labyrinthine array of source material scattered over a vast amount of geographic space. It delves not only into printed tunes and tunebooks, but draws from many different types of manuscript or scribal sources, including copybooks, diaries, letters, accounts, vestry records and other related material. It examines not only the work of untrained psalmodists, but also that of illustrious but mysterious figures such as Martha Wayles Jefferson, the wife of Thomas Jefferson. William Billings, the famous self-taught tanner of Boston, is given equal attention as the relatively obscure Benjamin Yarnold, the English-born organist active in Charles Town, South Carolina.

### **1.1 Thesis Delimitation**

This dissertation will chronicle the dissemination of sacred music from the eastern seaboard to the interior of the country, both to the West and South spanning a time frame from c. 1700 to the latter part of the Early Nationalist Period, around the year 1820. However, in order to understand the importance of trends from the 1810s and 20s and their influence on those of the Antebellum Period (1830-60) and beyond, documentation must extend to 1870. Focusing on this 170-year period allows for detailed inquiries both into the

development of Middle Atlantic sacred music culture in the East during the eighteenth century, and the subsequent separate musical developments of the West and South during the Early Nationalist Period (c. 1775-1825).<sup>1</sup> This chronological delimitation allows for a discussion of musical practice beginning with formative sacred music developments and continuing to the incorporation of techniques shaped by reform-minded musicians from the eastern seaboard.

Within this area of study, the following topics serve as structural parameters for the construction of this dissertation. Most important, the Middle Atlantic region shaped the compositional trends, aesthetic, and performance practice of the music of the American West and South. Rather than presenting a unified South as defined by Southern nationalism, this study explores the motley of English-language Southern cultures understood by eighteenth-century Southerners and its application to sacred music practice.<sup>2</sup> Untangling this knot of colonial and Early Nationalist identity in the South also involves identifying the musical and cultural parameters of the West in contrast to the South as understood by

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<sup>1</sup> The Middle Atlantic region of the Eastern United States encompasses the present states of southern New York (south of Albany), New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania east of the Alleghenies (during the Colonial and Federalist periods). The urban centers of this large region include Philadelphia and New York City. See: Patricia U. Bonomi, "The Middle Colonies: Embryo of the New Political Order," in Alden T. Vaughan and George A. Billias, eds., *Perspectives on Early American History: Essays in Honor of Richard B. Morris* (1973): 63-92; David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968); and Douglas Greenberg, "The Middle Colonies in Recent American Historiography," *William and Mary Quarterly* 36 (1979): 396-427.

<sup>2</sup> Traditionally, many scholars including George Pullen Jackson, in his *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands* (Chapel Hill, 1933), characterized these Souths as the Upland and Lowland South. However, eighteenth and nineteenth-century Americans used the terms cohee and tuckahoe to distinguish between the tidewater and backcountry areas as they relate to class (landed gentry vs. subsistence farmers) and culture (English vs. an assortment of English, Scottish, German, and other cultural groups). This study uses the terms Southern coastal areas and Southern backcountry to distinguish between these regions of the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century South.

nineteenth-century Americans. This understanding of Southern and Western identity and its relationship to sacred music extends to the performance practices unique to individual denominations within these areas. Finally these performance practices also concern a number of features common to evangelical and non-evangelical branches of individual sects.

Identifying these patterns of development in American sacred music of the South and West involve documentation of performance practice, denominational aesthetics, and tunebook bibliography, besides the identification of the composers, compilers, and authors of sacred works within these chronological parameters. The study of eighteenth and nineteenth-century material by twentieth and twenty-first-century writers has defined cultural borders of this region according to the Civil War-era conceptualization of the boundaries of the North and South. Eighteenth and nineteenth-century writers defined their borders according to a vastly different set of geographic boundaries. Thus, this dissertation will apply those cultural and geographic boundaries as understood by the practitioners of this sacred music. Consequently, it differs considerably in terms of geographic and cultural definitions of the North and South from current scholarship because of this writer's application of colonial and Early Nationalist understandings of American geography to colonial and Early Nationalist culture.

Previous studies that examined older American English-language church music assumed that musical primacy in the United States rested with New England, centering in the performative and compositional initiatives emanating from Boston of the 1720s and 1770s. From this perspective, the rest of the country was the intellectual and cultural inheritor of this New England tradition. Contending this cornerstone of American music history, this study designates the Middle Atlantic as the catalyst for much of the subsequent developments that occurred in sacred music of the Colonial and Early Nationalist Periods.

As such, Philadelphia exerted the largest influence on Western and Southern sacred music developments, not Boston. The Middle Atlantic, beginning in the seventeenth century, enjoyed a cultural and denominational pluralism that distinguished it from most of British North America including New England. Although founded by Quakers, its largest colony, Pennsylvania, proved an equal home for Calvinists, Anglicans, and Catholics, besides the myriad of German groups who settled in the rural southeastern portion of the colony. The colonies of New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware enjoyed similar disparate religious climates. Initiatives in the Middle Atlantic would set future trends in sacred music for the entire country, in both the cultivated and vernacular styles, drawing from popular and traditional approaches to musical composition.

For instance, tenor-led choral music, termed ancient-style music by many British musicians beginning in the eighteenth century,<sup>3</sup> first flourished among English Presbyterians. New Jersey-born English Presbyterian minister James Lyon published *Urania*, the first tunebook printed in the colonies in Philadelphia in 1761. Earlier publications, mostly from Boston, were either small instructional works for the singing school or tune supplements to psalters or hymnals. James Lyon's *Urania* was equally useful for church congregants, social groups, individuals for informal and domestic devotion, as well as singing schools. Its compiler understood these divisions and apportioned the book according to the repertory's performative function. This concept of tunebook compilation would influence many

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<sup>3</sup> This term was found in many early eighteenth-century works such as John Ernest Galliard's English translation of *Observations on the Florid Song; or, Sentiments on the Ancient and Modern Singers* (London, 1743) by Pier Francisco Tosi (c. 1653-1732). According to British usage, the term ancient referred to anything over fifty years old as in the Academy of Ancient Music founded in Britain in 1726. Although not referring to ancient-style psalmody, this modifier applied to any older musical style. Thus, the term ancient in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries applied to the earlier style of music that predated functional, tonal harmony.



nineteenth-century evangelical compilers. Lyon's *Urania* also demonstrated the viability of the tunebook for a host of later musicians.

The Middle Atlantic also served as the impetus for the formation of cultivated traditions of Anglican music. The first charity children's choirs in the country were formed in New York City and Philadelphia. Oratorio and public choral concerts flourished first in this region. Regional Anglicans also were the first to embrace the affective style of church music composed by musicians associated with the theater and pleasure garden such as those of Vauxhall and Ranelagh in London. Philadelphia's Anglican musicians consisted of both European immigrants such as Giovanni Palma (fl. 1755-60) and James Bremner (?-1780), as well as native devoted amateurs such as Francis Hopkinson (1737-1791). From Middle Atlantic initiatives, similar institutions and performance venues were created in the Southern coastal areas of the Chesapeake Bay and Carolina Low Country, and eventually north in Boston.

Outside of urban centers, the greater Middle Atlantic and northern Chesapeake Bay areas also served a seminal role in the development of music in the Southern backcountry and the Trans-Appalachian West. Rather than the West and South constituting a New England diaspora, these regions were influenced more by Middle Atlantic trends and initiatives. Middle Atlantic tunebooks and tune compilations were brought into the interior of the country along the various rivers and roads that connected much of these regions. Because of the scarcity of printing houses for musical publications in the backcountry, scribal sources remain the principal source material for this region before the second decade of the nineteenth century. However, most of the manuscripts reveal a direct connection to earlier Middle Atlantic publications and northern Chesapeake Bay copybooks. Although New England pieces do appear in some of these sources, most were copied from Middle

Atlantic editions. The role of the Middle Atlantic in shaping musical practice extended to many different forms and social levels of music making, and exerted an influence over a wide swath of the early United States. The trends that flourished throughout the South and Trans-Appalachian West in the Early Nationalist and Antebellum Periods were framed ultimately within those of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Middle Atlantic.

## **1.2 Review of the Literature**

A brief review of the literature encompassing American sacred music history illustrates the prevailing views of American sacred music. Instead of a general listing of authors and sources, discussion is organized by trends in scholarship that relate to the main points of this thesis.

### ***1.2.1 New England Music as an American National Canon***

The study of sacred music from a historical context in the United States represents the oldest form of American musical historiography, beginning with two core texts: George Hood's *A History of Music in New England with Biographical Sketches of Reformers and Psalmists* (New York, 1846) and Nathaniel Duren Gould's *Church Music in America, comprising its history and its peculiarities at different periods, with cursory remarks on its legitimate use and its abuse, with notices of the schools, composers, teachers, and societies* (Boston, 1853). These writers emphasized almost exclusively the role New England played in cultivating the intellectual and artistic achievements in Colonial and Federalist America.<sup>4</sup> Twentieth and twenty-first-century writers of American musical history perpetuated this idea of New England's intellectual

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<sup>4</sup> For instance, Gould's only mention of a musician outside of the New England orbit consists of two citations, one for James Lyon of Philadelphia (38) and the other for a tunebook compiled by Massachusetts-born Amos Pilsbury, then in Charleston, South Carolina (52).

domination through the creation of a canon of sacred musical texts based upon the concept of a New England cultural diaspora spreading throughout the United States, initially to Pennsylvania and secondly to the South and West.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to a number of scholarly sources chronicling the history of English-language American sacred music, a number of editions of psalmody have appeared over the past few decades. The New England as an American canon ideology is reflected most keenly in *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1984) by Richard Crawford, which contains the 101 most often printed pieces of American sacred music before 1800. Other sources for ancient-style sacred music are found in the *Music of the New American Nation: Sacred Music From 1780 To 1820* fifteen volume series edited by Karl Kroeger (New York & London, 1995). Besides the Crawford volume, other collected works and anthologies of various composers are found in the *Music of the United States of America (MUSA)* and *Recent Researches in American Music* series published by A-R Editions. These volumes consist of collected works by ancient-style New England composers, selected individual sacred works within anthologies of emigrant composers during the Early Nationalist period, and a small number of collections of Civil War era publications by New England composers who advocated a general rejection of earlier New England music.

### ***1.2.2 Southern Culture as the Inheritor of New England Initiatives***

Almost ninety years after Hood's *History of Music in New England* (Boston, 1846) appeared before the public, a number of books detailing the Southern history of sacred

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<sup>5</sup> See: Richard Crawford, *Andrew Law: American Psalmist* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1968); Marion J. Hatchett, *A Companion to The New Harp of Columbia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003); Dorothy D. Horn, *Sing to Me of Heaven: A Study of Folk and Early American Materials in Three Old Harp Books* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1970); Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1964); Hamilton C. MacDougall, *Early New England Psalmody: An Historical Appreciation 1620 -1820* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1940, 1969).

music started to become available beginning with *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands* (Chapel Hill, 1933) by George Pullen Jackson, a German professor and amateur musicologist at Vanderbilt University. These scholars viewed Southern psalmody as “developing” from New England psalmody as Southern music because Southern tunebooks were not published until the nineteenth century and they have an unbroken performance tradition. Rather than viewing compilers as authors or composers, scholarly attention was devoted mostly to tunebooks such as *The Southern Harmony, and Musical Companion* (1835) and *The Christian Harmony* (1866) by William Walker of Spartanburg, South Carolina, *The Sacred Harp* (1844) by Benjamin Franklin White and E. J. King of Hamilton, Georgia, *The New Harp of Columbia* (1867) by Marcus Lafayette Swan in Bellefonte, Alabama, and the *Harmonia Sacra* (1851) by Mennonite Joseph Funk of Dayton, Virginia. The early attraction of its vague familiarity to Western music juxtaposed with the obstreperous alien nature of its expression fascinated many scholars including Alan Lomax, Annabel Morris Buchanan, and Jackson, who characterized this music as a style representative of a single large region known as the Upland South.<sup>6</sup> These earlier studies from the first half of the twentieth-century have been supplemented with later scholarship by Harry Eskew, Rachel Augusta Brett Harley, John Bealle, Kay Norton, and Warren Steel.<sup>7</sup> Most of the Southern ancient-style repertory is

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<sup>6</sup> Annabel Morris Buchanan, *Folk-Hymns of America* (New York: J. Fischer and Brother, 1938); George Pullen Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals, Their Life Span and Kinship* (New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1943); Alan Lomax, liner notes to his recordings of the Alabama Sacred Harp Convention (1959) in Fyffe, Alabama in: “Harp of a Thousand Strings: All Day Singing from *The Sacred Harp*” and “And Glory Shone Above” (Cambridge: Rounder Records, 1998).

<sup>7</sup> John Bealle, *Public Worship, Private Faith: Sacred Harp and American Folksong*. (Athens, Ga: The University of Georgia Press, 1997); Harry Eskew, “Shape-Note Hymnody in the Shenandoah Valley, 1816-1860” (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1966); Rachel Augusta Brett Harley, “Ananias Davisson: Southern Tune-book Compiler (1750-1857)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1972); Kay Norton, *Baptist Offspring, Southern Midwife—Jesse Mercer’s ‘Clus of Spiritual Songs’ (1810): A Study in American Hymnody* (Warren, Michigan: Harmonic

found in facsimile reprints of nineteenth-century tunebooks. However, exceptions do exist such as *A Selection of Shape-Note Folk Hymns from Southern United States Tune Books, 1816-61* (Middleton, Wisconsin, c. 2005) by David W. Music.

These scholars' primary research interests focused on sacred music published in a notational innovation patented by William Little and William Smith in Philadelphia circa 1798, where each syllable of the solfege was matched with a different shaped notehead (called shape-note notation). Scholars recognized a difference between the older New England compositions found in these collections and those newly composed by the compilers as well as other contributors to the various tunebooks, and came to term these pieces, "folk hymns" or "white spirituals." These folk hymns consisted of adaptations of folk and popular secular melodies to sacred words and appeared in settings with a "folksy" style of harmonization. Finally, those changes that distinguished Northern and Southern source material became manifest because of differences in the cultural climate of the North and the South. To this was added the presence of Nonconformist denominations, particularly the Separate Baptists and, to some degree, the Methodists in the South and rural Northeast.

### ***1.2.3 Stylistic Differences in the Repertory***

Between 1671 and 1677, a seemingly unremarkable, remarkable event happened when Henry Playford published two psalters.<sup>8</sup> While the publication of a psalter in and of

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Park Press, 2002); David Warren Steel and Richard H. Hulan, *The Makers of the Sacred Harp* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> A psalter, in this context, is a metrical version of the Psalms of David, often printed with the tunes associated with the particular poetic meters of the various psalms. Descending from the French publications of the metrical psalms authorized by John Calvin c. 1540, both for French Huguenots and expatriated English in Geneva during the reign of Mary Tudor (1553-58), psalters became accepted by both the official Church of England and non-conformist Independent and Puritan churches. See: Waldo Selden Pratt, *The Music of the*

itself does not represent anything groundbreaking, the *settings* of the tunes in these psalters did, through the creation of two distinct methods of harmonization: an older four-part SATB texture wherein the melody or cantus appears in the tenor voice, and a newer three-part STB/SAB texture with the cantus set in the topmost voice.<sup>9</sup> Though the four-part tenor melody method extends back to the earliest harmonized settings of psalm tunes in the latter sixteenth century,<sup>10</sup> Playford's 1671 publication remains the last example of this older harmonic procedure used for a psalter until the eighteenth century. Conversely, his three-part 1677 psalter constituted the first example of this new harmonic procedure for metrical psalm and hymn tune settings. According to scholar Nicholas Temperley, the appearance of two harmonization methods of the psalm tunes created a general split in performance practice.<sup>11</sup> The former became associated with country parish churches, and the latter with urban parish churches. Not surprisingly, the four-part method was seen as old-fashioned and rustic, the second more progressive both for Anglican use and subsequent adoption by evangelical and Nonconformist congregations.

Outside this country and urban-designated orbit for the cultivation of tenor-led and treble-led psalmody, other independent developments in performance practice and

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*French Psalter of 1562: A Historical Survey And Analysis With The Music In Modern Notation* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1939, 1966); Maurice Frost, *English & Scottish Psalm & Hymn Tunes c. 1543-1677* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953).

<sup>9</sup> See: John Playford, *Psalms & Hymns in Solemn Music of Foure Parts: on the common tunes to the Psalms in metre: used in parish-churches. Also six hymns for one voice to the organ. For God is King of all the Earth, Sing ye Praises with Understanding, Psal. 47. 7* (London: printed by W. Godbid for J. Playford, 1671); John Playford, *The Whole Book of Psalms: with the usual hymns and spiritual songs; together with all the ancient and proper tunes sung in churches, with some of later use. Compos'd in three parts, cantus, medius, & bassus: in a more plain and useful method than hath been formerly published* (London: by the Company of Stationers, and sold by John Playford, 1677).

<sup>10</sup> *Bassus of the whole Psalmes in foure partes, whiche may be song to al musical instruments, set forth for the increase of vertue: and aboleshyng of other vayne and trifling ballades* (London: John Day, 1563).

<sup>11</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), chap. 5-6.

composition occurred throughout the eighteenth century. Caught somewhere between these differing approaches to sacred music, evangelical and Methodist congregations in the mid-eighteenth century broke from the older, established urban traditions through the introduction of sacred contrafacta of secular popular songs of the Restoration and early Hanoverian eras. Other progressive musicians sought to convey a more mystical, devotional quality to sacred music during the divine service through an affected performance of older psalm tunes originating in the sixteenth century, but harmonized according to eighteenth-century rules of functional harmony. Through the performance of the earliest sacred music associated with the English Protestant Reformation, their proponents viewed their performance as bringing the congregants into the original Protestant ethos that led to the creation of this repertory. Reforming the ancient style, these musicians were known as “Old Hundred Seceders” or “Old School” singers as described by scholar Richard Crawford.<sup>12</sup>

#### *1.2.4 Studies of Western Sacred Music*

Unlike the myriad of studies conducted of Southern tunebooks, scholarly enquiries devoted to Western musical source material remain fairly scant, with only a handful of secondary sources.<sup>13</sup> With the exception of John Bealle’s *Public Worship, Private Faith* (Athens,

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<sup>12</sup> Richard Crawford, “‘Ancient Music’ and the Europeanizing of American Psalmody, 1800 to 1810,” *A Celebration of American Music*, Richard Crawford, R. Allen Lott, and Carol J. Oja, eds. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990).

<sup>13</sup> The West encompasses western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kentucky, and Tennessee, besides the Trans-Mississippi West. See: Edward Gladstone Baynham, “The Early Development of Music in Pittsburgh” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1944); John Bealle, *Public Worship, Private Faith*; William Harold Fletcher, “Amos Sutton Hayden: Symbol of a Movement” (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1988); Calvin W. Gower, “Dance and Music in Early Kansas, 1855-1865,” *Music in the West*, Paul Shull, ed. (Manhattan, Kansas: Sunflower University Press, 1983); F. Karl Grossman, *A History of Music in Cleveland* (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University, 1972); Charles Hamm, “The Chapins and Sacred Music in the South and West,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* (Fall, 1960): 91-98; Hamm, Charles. “Patent Notes in Cincinnati,” *Bulletin, Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* 16 (October 1958): 292-310; Miller, Terry

Georgia, 1987), scholarly studies devoted to reform music from this area did not build upon the research of earlier works of Western psalmody. Thus, this area constitutes the least documented and understood aspect of nineteenth-century musical culture within George Pullen Jackson's conception of the South and West.

### ***1.2.5 Bibliographic and Lexicographic Documentation of the Repertory***

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to understanding the repertory of Appalachian and trans-Appalachian sacred music, in terms of the relationship between Southern and Midwestern sources, lies in the absence of bibliographic and lexicographic documentation of music from these areas spanning the years 1820 to circa 1870. Currently, only five major indices have been completed of earlier protestant material relating to English-language sacred music imprints in the United States: *English & Scottish Psalm & Hymn Tunes c. 1543-1677* by Maurice Frost (London, 1953),<sup>14</sup> Allen P. Britton, Irving Lowens, and Richard Crawford's *American Sacred Music Imprints, 1698-1810: A Bibliography* (Worcester, Ma, 1990), *The Hymn Tune Index* (Oxford, 1998) by Nicholas Temperley with detailed indices of every known source, text, and tune published throughout the English-speaking world before 1820, Ralph T. Daniel's *The Anthem in New England before 1800* (Evanston, 1966), and *A Checklist of Four-Shape Shape-Note Tunebooks*. (Brooklyn, NY, 1978) by Richard J. Stanislaw. Also,

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Ellis. "Alexander Auld And American Shape-Note Music" (M.M. thesis, Indiana University, 1971); Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); James William Scholten, "The Chapins: A Study of Men and Sacred Music West of the Alleghenies, 1795-1842" (Ed.D. diss. University of Michigan, 1972); David Warren Steel, "Stephen Jenks (1772-1856): American Composer and Tunebook Compiler" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1982); Harry R. Stevens, "The Haydn Society of Cincinnati 1819-1824," *The Ohio State Archaeological And Historical Quarterly*. LII, No. 2 (April-June – 1943): 95-119; Richard Wetzel, "Oh! Sing Me No More That Gentle Song": *The Musical Life and Times of William Cumming Peters (1805-66)* (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 2000).

<sup>14</sup> Many of the tunes published in the original sixteenth and seventeenth-century English and Scottish psalters appeared in later American publications. Also, the original settlers to the English New World brought some of these books with them in their emigration Westward across the ocean, thus establishing the relevancy of this index to American source material.



Leonard Ellinwood, through the Hymn Society of America, prepared an index of hymns found in American source material, though this source does not document musical compositions.

These studies can be divided into two general approaches to bibliographic and lexicographic documentation of the material: bibliography of tunebooks, tune supplements, and other miscellaneous forms of sacred music publication (Britton-Lowens-Crawford, Stanislaw), and metrical tune or anthem indices combined with tunebook bibliography (Frost, Daniel, Temperley). Earlier studies such as *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music* (New York, 1925) by Frank J. Metcalf focused on composers and compilers as opposed to tunebooks and tunes. None of these composition or tune indices cover those tunes found in publications emanating from Jackson's Upland South and West beyond the first seven years (1813-20). Finally, none of the indices include documentation of manuscript source material, despite the number of existing sources.

### **1.3 Method**

Demonstrating patterns of interconnectivity among geographic regions throughout the Eastern Seaboard, the Appalachian areas, and the Trans-Appalachian West involved two general inquiries. The initial phase entailed the creation of an index that parallels some aspects of the work of earlier scholars, but also builds upon their efforts to encompass a broader range of source material and compositional types found throughout the South and West from the Late Colonial through the Antebellum Periods. Besides the documentation of repertory and composition throughout these regions, a study of specific English-language groups in these areas reveals their cultural and denominational dissemination. The index

demonstrated connections between published and manuscript source material. However, a tune index does have some limitations given that it does not link denominational and cultural settlement trends other than those patterns explicitly labelled within the musical scores. As result, both inquiries remain central to understanding the musical culture of the South and West.

A third method of gauging regional dissemination found in the tunebooks includes book distribution found in advertisements listing regional distribution of the item. A particularly well-documented example appears in the *Columbian Harmony, or, Pilgrim's Musical Companion* (Cincinnati, 1829) compiled by Benjamin Shaw and Charles H. Spilman when they were students at Centre College in Danville, Kentucky. The advertisement listed within the text for the work's proprietors provided an extensive list of regional distributors: "M. G. Youce, Danville, Ky.; A. T. Skilman, Lexington; Jno. P. Morton, Louisville; Wm. Hord, Harrodsburgh; J. R. McFarland, Versailles; A. H. Wright, Paris; Wm. Posten, Winchester; Edward Cox, Maysville; More & Russel, Frankfort; Smith & Thompson, Georgetown; E. Davidson, Springfield; N. Ray, Lebanon; Gelon Hann, Lancaster; Camden & Co. Standford; Rev. J. H. Browne, Richmond; and Major Price, Nicholasville" besides the listing of Cincinnati distributors, "Morgan & Sanxay, Cincinnati Book Store, 133, Main Street; Williamson & Strong, Book and Music Store, 115, Main Street; N. & G. Guilford, Franklin Book Store, Lower Market St., Cincinnati, Ohio."

Beyond the local market and intended audience of the compilers and the publisher, the listing of distribution tended to be more vague. The publisher of the *Columbian Harmony* also proclaimed, somewhat optimistically, that the book would be found in "many other book stores in Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois." Though occurring in a haphazard manner, this type of documentation does provide further information as to the regional and

national dissemination of a tunebook within and without its area of origin. However, this information appears much more sporadically than the documentation of tunebook contents, and cultural and denominational settlement patterns, thus functioning more as a buttress to the following methods rather than the project's keystone.

### *1.3.1 Index of Relevant Source Material*

Of the bibliographic works available, none include all tune types of sacred music composition, nor do they present descriptive information other than title, composer, lyric author, tune incipit, text incipit, time signature, and key. As a result, other important aspects of these tunes within their texts are needed for the documentation of musical practice of the various areas. These factors include the use of instrumental accompaniment, compositional structure, use of refrains or choruses, tune and chorus types, and inclusion of repeated sections as well as other material. Oftentimes, these features reveal paleographic connections from one source to another.

As a result, an index of relevant source material included in this dissertation expands greatly upon the existing scholarly efforts. Using FileMaker Pro software, it consists of 55,000 sample entries documenting over 500 sources. This database details not only the printed bibliographic history of a particular strophic metrical psalm and hymn tune, but also a specific variant's region of origin and its geographic circulation within all types of American musical source material. The index allows for more complete and nuanced insight into regional most often-cited tune and text repertoires, tune dissemination, performance practice, and other patterns of interconnectivity between regions from these areas. Further, it is inclusive of the many forms of alternate notation found in American sacred source material including shape-note, round-note, letteral, and numerical notational systems, some of which are only found in manuscript sources. Because it is not limited only to English-

language sources, collections compiled by members of other churches, denominations, and groups are represented for the first time in this index, including Catholic and Jewish compilations, as well as mainstream German publications (excluding communal associations such as the Harmonists under George Rapp, or the Society of Separatists under Joseph Bäumlner). The index not only features metrical psalm and hymn tunes but also anthems and extended choral works, liturgical music, and miscellaneous pieces of Anglican and Gregorian chant. It also documents for the first time printed and scribal source material. Although somewhat based upon the model created by Nicholas Temperley, this index contains numerous features not found within this work, and excludes others that lose relevancy in the post-1820 period.

#### *1.3.1.1 Tune Types*

One item not discussed thus far, and excluded from *The Hymn Tune Index* by Temperley includes the listing of tune types within the index. In metrical psalm and hymn tunes from this period, composers wrote in the following compositional forms: the plain tune, fugal tune, antiphonal tune, set piece, and anthem.

- **Plain tune.** The plain tune represents the simplest form of composition within this genre: a homophonic setting of a stanza of verse without any textual changes, such as voices dropping out. Usually the words are not repeated throughout the tune. If it does occur, the repetition of the words is considered extended (a term adapted from Crawford) and is labeled such in the list of potential special characteristics for each tune.
- **Fugal tune.** Fugal tunes are distinguished from other tune types because of the presence of textual overlap in one or more sections of a metrical psalm and hymn

tune, whether through imitative or free counterpoint. Typically, they begin like a plain tune for the first half of the composition with a basic note-against-note style of text setting. However, after an initial cadence, a series of entries occur with textual overlap, building until all voices have entered. This imitative or quasi-imitative section is labeled a fusing passage. A homophonic section will then conclude the piece with either a repetition of the text in the fusing passage or with the final line of the stanza. Other times, the fusing passage operates as an appended chorus to a plain tune with a reiteration of the final two lines of a stanza serving as the text for the chorus. Fusing tunes provoked much debate as to its propriety in church because the words become subservient to the music through the presence of textual overlap. Those congregants that remained silent in worship would not be able to understand the text, thus creating a matter of theological concern in the presentation of the words.<sup>15</sup>

- **Antiphonal tune.** Though plain and fusing tunes have become accepted standard terminology for psalmody composition, the antiphonal tune deserves fuller explanation. This form of tune, as suggested by Karl Kroeger in the preface to the first volume of the complete works of William Billings, was constructed similarly to the fusing tune.<sup>16</sup> A homophonic first section would lead, not into an imitative

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<sup>15</sup> While earlier American scholarship attempted to claim the fusing tune as an American innovation, Nicholas Temperley in the *Music of the English Parish Church* (179), illustrated the English provenance and development of this tune type during the first half of the eighteenth century. See also: Irving Lowens, "The Origins of the American Fusing Tune" in *JAMS*, vi (1953): 43–52; Nicholas Temperley, "The Origins of the Fusing Tune." in *RMARC*, no.17 (1981): 1-32; Nicholas Temperley and C. G. Manns, *Fusing Tunes in the Eighteenth Century* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1983).

<sup>16</sup> Karl Kroeger, "Introduction," *The Complete Works of William Billings*, vol. 1, Karl Kroeger, ed., Richard Crawford, ed. consultant (s.l.: The American Musicological Society & The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Boston, 1981), xxv. Kroeger notes that these tunes

section like the fusing tune, but to another homophonic section featuring a passage given to one or more parts, but not all. In tunes with more than one antiphonal passage, the points of antiphonal exchange might alternate between voices of the ensemble. After this, all parts would then re-enter before concluding with a final homophonic tutti cadence. The antiphonal tune replaced the older fusing tune in worship services because the textual presentation did not become obscured through overlapping imitative entries. Instead, this type of composition stressed a direct and easily comprehensible presentation, but still explored the sonic delight of variety of texture and tessitura.

- **Set Piece.** The set piece consisted of an extended multi-stanza composition, resembling an anthem. However, its text always remained metrical. This composition featured contrasting sections that could include all the compositional techniques outlined above. Though not of a set length, the set piece is named because it always included a set text with each composition, as opposed to the other metrical strophic tunes, which appeared often with interchangeable variant texts.
- **Anthem and Liturgical Music.** The anthem resembled the set piece in terms of compositional structure, but differed through one basic characteristic. The text for the anthem was always prose and taken from Biblical scripture. While identical in outward expression, the composition of an anthem posed the biggest challenge because of its lack of an already pre-conceived rhythm based upon the poetic foot of

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should be considered antiphonal tunes though Richard Crawford labels them as tunes with extension based upon the repetition of text. However, this form of tune uses an entirely different compositional procedure than a plain tune with repetition of text, and the fusing tune, which, more often than not, uses repetition of text. In this dissertation, the terms plain tune with extension, fusing tune, and antiphonal tune are used to differentiate among these three disparate compositional methods.

the text. Also, liturgical pieces used in Anglican, Catholic, Jewish, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Moravian, and Methodist congregations appeared mainly in prose settings. As a result the listing of the tune incipit varies from the previous tunes in that the music to the first ten words on a single line completes its citation within the index.

### *1.3.1.2 Structure of the Index and Variations from The Hymn Tune Index*

The index constructed for this dissertation, though based upon *The Hymn Tune Index*, contains several important deviations from that work. As a result, a number of compositional and stylistic features within the pieces are absent in Temperley's work. Conversely, some of the features in *The Hymn Tune Index* are excluded because they do not pertain as much to nineteenth-century sources. Those elements found in Temperley's index but not incorporated into this index include the following:

- **Documentation of the moods of time.** Nine different time signatures known as moods of time carried great importance in the earlier material because the time signature indicated the tempo of the entire piece or at least a particular section within the composition. While some musicians continued to associate tempo with time signature into the second half of the nineteenth century, many disregarded this older indicator, and as such disregarded some of the moods of common time, particularly with the first and second, or the modern equivalent of 4/4 and  $\text{C}$ . These compilers instead provided a generic  $\text{C}$  or 2/2 indicator for both.
- **Temperley's system of indicating a melodic shift away from the tune carrying voice to another part.** For his melody incipit, Temperley inserted a set of zeros to denote that the melody shifted to another voice, but did not show the tune incipit in that other voice. The index accompanying this dissertation include all primary

melodic material, whether or not it appears in the tune carrying voice, with an indicator after the incipit specifying which voice contained the shifted melody. As a result of more tunes featuring antiphonal passages for solo voices, too many possible instances of 00000000 necessitated the inclusion of melodic material into the tune incipit from the other voice parts when these parts constitute the tune carrying voice.

- **The indication of poetic meters.** Temperley only included numbers of syllables for each line of poetry, disregarding the compilers use of metric shorthand denoted as L.M. for long (8.8.8.8.) or C.M. for common (8.6.8.6.) iambic meters. However, this method of documentation does not take into account the differences in poetic foot, as it pertains to the use of shorts and longs, namely between iambs and trochees. Thus, at least two different 8.8.8.8. meters existed within the source material, though Temperley's index makes no such important distinction. The index in this dissertation includes the older notational shortcuts for the meters, and presents number sequences for the particular meters that lie outside those meters with notational shorthand.

Although some features from Temperley's *Hymn Tune Index* have been excluded in the creation of this index, many others have been added. These additions reveal regional aesthetic, compositional practices, and performance practices not found in earlier secondary source material or in the existing documentation of primary source material. These features include:

- **The addition of set pieces, anthems, and liturgical pieces to the corpus of psalm and hymn tunes.**
- **The addition of a description of added or optional voices within the voice listing as it pertains to sections with instrumental accompaniment, a separate**



**instrumental voice, or optional voice passages within antiphonal sections.**

Certain denominations and denominations within regions included instrumental passages, thus allowing for the recognition of denominational or regional patterns of performance practice. Also, in some instances, tunebooks compiled for specific denominations included instrumental accompaniment to some pieces despite the fact that the intended denomination of the compilation did not use instruments in the church.

- **Separate metric documentation of refrains and choruses from the verse.**

Often, the tunes used in camp or social meetings would employ standard hymns, but add refrains and choruses to these older texts. This index documents these additions to standard texts and the dissemination of certain refrains with older verses, denoting further regional patterns of transmission.

- **Documenting the instances of points of imitation and points of antiphonal response, and the presence of repeated sections indicated in the tunes.**

Certain areas favored more complex fusing and antiphonal procedures than others. Also, some publications included repeated sections of individual tunes while others did not. Documenting repeated sections and compositional procedure shows the relationships from one source to another and provides indication of regional practice.

- **The inclusion of German imprints of relevant source material.** While earlier compilers have generally shied away from including tunebooks intended for the United Brethren, Lutherans, Mennonites, German Reformed, Moravian, and other German-language congregations, these books often contain a mixture of chorale tunes and works originating from the English hymn and psalm tune tradition. The

inclusion of this repertory reveals the dissemination of regional tune repertoires among these denominations, providing further documentation for the dissemination of pieces composed originally for English-language audiences. As a result, the index will also expand upon *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder, aus den Quellen geschöpft und mitgeteilt von Johannes Zahn* (1889–93), edited by the *Gesellschaft zur Wissenschaftlichen Edition des Deutschen Kirchenlieds* (repr. Hildesheim, New York, 1998).

- **The inclusion of structural analyses of compositions.** Many psalm and hymn tunes employed clearly recognized structural patterns (abac, aa'ba, etc.). Earlier scholars of American ballads have documented this type of compositional procedure,<sup>17</sup> and George Pullen Jackson noted its appearance in some hymn tunes. However, few have investigated this compositional procedure within sacred music. Documentation of this means of melodic organization remains important to understanding regional aesthetic and dissemination, and connections between popular and traditional melodies and compositional procedure. Some denominations employed specific forms of melodic repetition that distinguish them from their peers. As a result, this documentation is critical to understanding denominational and cultural treatment of tune structure.

### *1.3.1.3 Index Structure and Documentation of Ancient and Scientific Compositions*

Using FileMaker Pro software, the index documents not only tune titles and composers and lyricists, but also provides information to assess regional sub-styles within a larger national framework. For this reason, each entry includes the title of the book in which it appears, this source's date of publication or compilation, city or county if known, state,

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<sup>17</sup> *The Music of the Folk Songs*, vol. 5, Jan Philip Schinhan, ed. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1962).

style of compilation, and style of notation. Following this, the printer information is documented in a similar fashion to demonstrate the connection of a compiler or author to their publisher. The musical style of a compilation and its notation become one of the easiest ways to identify the nature of the compilation because of its author's intended audience for consumption or reception of the source volume.

Style functions as an indicator of social position and its intended denominational audience. For instance, after 1810 standard notation occurs in compilations intended most often for liturgy-based congregations (Catholics, Jews, Moravians, Episcopalians, Lutherans) and conservative protestant sects (General Baptists, Congregationalists, and conservative Presbyterians and Methodists). Shape-note notation, after its initial appearance, became the notation of choice for evangelical sects (New Light Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Evangelical Lutherans, Mennonites, United Brethren, Universalists, and other sects created during the Restoration movement ca.1800-1835) in various parts of the country at different chronological periods. Likewise, shape-note music underwent its own reform and split between an older four-shape system based upon the English solfege system, and a progressive seven-shape system paralleling the Italian system. Knowing this basic information tells exactly the social and theological disposition not only of the compiler, but also provides valuable information on the audience as consumers of the book within the larger state or region.

Following this, each tune is listed with its title, page number, composer or arranger if listed in the source, and author of text if listed. This information also serves as a means of demonstrating paleographic connections from one tunebook to another. For instance, one eastern source might have misspelled composer Daniel Read's name as "Reed" or "Mead" in

its attribution. Later Western and Southern compilers would then print this misspelled attribution unchanged from their source text to their compilation. As a result, it becomes a simple matter of tracing identical misspellings to document regional and national dissemination of a source to other regions of the country.

The index then includes a melodic incipit of the first two lines of text if in poetry (for a metrical hymn or psalm), or the first ten syllables if in prose (for an anthem or piece of liturgical music). A text incipit is provided for the first six words of the text, with space allotted to tunes printed with more than one text. Finally, each tune is listed with its poetic meter for the verse, meter of the chorus, coda or refrain if the piece includes one, and alternate meters prescribed or presented in the source.

Providing the author of the text (when listed) and its textual incipit illustrates the evangelical or conservative nature of the compiler, revealing social position and cultural background. Since the beginning of the Reformation, one of the largest theological debates has concerned the nature of vocal praise within the church service. Divided between Martin Luther and Jean Calvin's positions as to man-made songs versus those that only occurred through God's revelation in the bible, Presbyterian and Congregational churches suffered major schisms as a result of this theological disagreement. Documentation of lyrics to the compositions within the tunebooks reveals the theological stance of its compiler, and hence knowledge of this person's cultural surroundings. Besides functioning as a theological indicator (metrical versions of the psalms as opposed to hymns), the content of the lyrics reveals denominational intent and the cultural background of the book's compiler through inclusion of hymns pertaining to various theological subjects (antinomianism vs. predestination, punishment in the afterlife vs. universal salvation, millennialism).

Following the listing of key signature and the number of parts, a separate category of special features pertaining to the number of parts lists the various occurrences of instrumental accompaniment, figured bass, and other optional voice parts found within the source. While the use of instrumental accompaniment occurs in both conservative and evangelical sects, the type of accompaniment describes social position and denominational intent. For instance, the presence of keyboard accompaniment indicates either an organ for use in church, or piano in a domestic setting. At this time, few churches in the United States had organs – those that did mostly comprised the churches intended for the social elite (i.e. Episcopalians, Catholics, Swedenborgians, etc.). Likewise, families that owned keyboard instruments represented the upper and upper-middle classes wealthy enough to own such instruments.

Conversely, the presence of multi-instrumental accompaniment usually indicates the non-presence of keyboard instruments available to the compiler, suggesting either that a bass instrument was used to keep singers on pitch, or the presence of a small ensemble accompanied the singers in an ecclesiastical or social setting. Besides social or economic differences contained within this information (social elite vs. lower to middle class performance), it also reveals information of social intent (i.e. communal vs. status-based performance). In most instances the presence of multi-instrumental accompaniment also connotes two additional characteristics: 1) evangelical more than conservative use within denominations, and 2) extra-ecclesiastical performance within specific denominations (i.e. Baptist, Disciples of Christ, Latter Day Saints, Jewish) that did not allow instruments in worship service. Thus, the appearance of instrumental accompaniment in compilations by members of these denominations, demonstrate its intended function outside of the church.

Below this section, a series of fields identify tune type and compositional procedures associated with some of these tune types. Documenting tune types and compositional procedures become vital to understanding the nature of the collection, especially within its chronological appearance and geographic location. Also, some collections, particularly those from the West before 1840, were printed in shape-note notation, thus implying evangelical use. However, the musical contents reveal some of these to be in a more progressive style associated with the culture that embraced standard notation. Documentation of tune types therefore becomes critical both to understanding the repertory, and illustrating regional patterns within music publishing in the West and South.

Documentation of the folk hymn encompasses what is arguably the most studied, but in some ways the least understood aspect of Southern and Western hymnody. First described by George Pullen Jackson in his *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands* (Chapel Hill, 1933), the folk hymn is most identified with folk expression of the Southern United States. However, most folk hymns first appear in three distinct regions of the East and West (i.e. the Middle Atlantic and its southern extension into the Virginia backcountry; the Burnt-Over district of northwestern New York and extending northeast into northern New England; and the Ohio River Valley) before their appearance in states considered “the South” according to antebellum conceptualizations, including South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. At present, a folk hymn comprises either an anonymous hymn tune with folksong-like melodic characteristics, or a sacred type of *contrafacta* employing a folk-like harmonization.

Documentation of folk hymns in the index constitutes two basic forms: sacred contrafacta, and families of tunes that do not appear in earlier sources but seem to have

originally circulated through oral transmission. This latter type exists in variant versions in the various source compilations. Though the folk hymn is most often associated with Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist congregations, the folk hymn in fact appears in every denomination of every religion from every culture in the United States during this one-hundred-year period. In fact, the use of sacred contrafacta became such a stereotype of musically progressive social circles that contemporary writers commented on the poor taste of many of these adaptations. However, the second type of folk hymn almost always only appeared in collections associated with evangelical sects. Tracing the dissemination of folk hymns demonstrates interconnectedness of printed, popular, and oral tune repertoires between various religions, particularly the evangelical denominations. The phenomenon of the tune family reveals both theological and cultural connections between areas of the West and South, revealing a false separation of these regions by earlier scholars.

Finally, documentation of form, structural features, compositional devices between verse and chorus, repetition of melodic material, and other special features document compositional mannerisms of the repertory. Taken together, these illustrate cultural and denominational boundaries mirroring those cultural groups that migrated west and south. These characteristics function much in the same way as the dissemination of a type of notch used in log house construction, a floor plan to a type of dwelling, *Fraktur*, or a type of farm implement used by identifiable cultural and ethnic groups. Conversely, some musical styles, particularly those espoused by the liturgical-based standard-notation-endorsing musicians, lie within a popular as opposed to a folk-based style. However, evangelical congregations either adapted this popular style initially to folk aesthetic or rejected its use in favor of its own folk traditions. This phenomenon parallels popular artistic trends that are disseminated to all regions of the country, undergoing regional or

folkloric adaptation, including Greek Revival architecture, the Hancock chair, or the folk use of stencils to imitate popular French wallpaper. As a result, documentation of these characteristics reveals popular use as well as regional adaptation and folkloric or ethnic identity associated with the distinct cultures found throughout the different geographic regions of the United States.

A sample index entry is provided for two tunes, one in the tenor-led ancient style, the other in the treble-led scientific approach. The following template serves as the organization for an individual entry (**Example 1.1**). While all of these items could potentially appear in the index, only those components found in the original source are included in an individual entry. This information allows for the illustration of tunebook dissemination from its area of origin into the Middle Atlantic, South, and West. Example one shows the potential components in an index citation.



### Example 1.1 Sample Index Citation Template

**Compiler information:** source code; source date; compiler's city, state, and country; musical style of the collection; notation style

**Printer information:** printer's city, state, and country

**Tune name** and page #

**Music source/composer**

**Arranger**

**Melody incipit:** if strophic, then first and second lines of text are included; if an anthem, piece of liturgical music, or other extended composition, then the first ten syllables are included

**Text incipit:** text incipit of the first six words

**Textual source/author:** text source or author

**Meter:** meter of verse; meter of chorus or refrain

**Key**

**Number of parts**

**Number of parts notes:** indicates optional voices and instrumental accompaniment

**Tune type**

**Antiphonal and fusing procedures:** numbers of instances of antiphonal exchange and/or textual overlap

**Chorus or refrain type**

**Form**

**Folk hymn:** documentation of popular and traditional connections to the repertory

**Structural features:** melodic repetition indicated within the score, including repeated sections, da capos, and del segnos

**Devices between verse and chorus:** time signature and textural changes

**Repetition of melodic material:** repeated melodic and cadential passages within a tune

**Special features:** occurrences of antiphonal and fusing passages within a composition, soli and tutti specifications in the tune, optional sections, repetition of text, and other performative features

**Secular song:** if the tune is a secular song, then the index provides a thematic listing of a tunes' subject

Applying this template to a tune, a sample ancient-style plain tune illustrates the typical characteristics of compositions found within this style (**Example 1.2**). HARMONY GROVE<sup>18</sup> is an example of what George Pullen Jackson termed a white spiritual, spiritual folk song, or folk hymn. Although titled differently, the melody is a variant version of the tune popularly known as "Amazing Grace." The piece is written in the modern form of the

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<sup>18</sup> All pieces of sacred music are titled in capital letters throughout this dissertation, following the format found in American sacred music studies.

ancient-style, a form of nonfunctional tonality based upon pre-tonal practice and appears in four-shape shape-note notation. Temperley's system of tune incipit constitutes the principle of the movable do solfege system. The numbers represent the scale degrees using 1 for scale degree one, etc. Whenever the melody moves into another octave, either up or down, this shift is indicated through the insertion of u for up and d for down. However, unlike Temperley, the u and d are only printed as capital letters when the melody shifts into the second octave above or below. Numbers that appear in parenthesis represent a melisma of a single syllable. Thus, the numbers within the parenthesis are the melismatic notes connected to the number preceding the numbers in parenthesis. Regarding the poetic meter, this tune uses the common meter syllabification of 8.6.8.6. for each stanza.

**Example 1.2** HARMONY GROVE from Amos Sutton Hayden, *Introduction to Sacred Music* (Pittsburgh, 1835)

**Compiler info:** HaydA ISM 1835 Austintown OH US ModAn 4S

**Printer info:** Pittsburgh PA US

**Tune name:** HARMONY GROVE, 39

**Melody Incipit:** 5u13(1)32(1)1d65 5(6)u13(1)32(3)5

**Text incipit:** The longing youth impatient wait, To

**Meter:** C.M.

**Key:** A major

**Number of Voice Parts:** 4

**Tune Type:** Secular part song

**Form:** AA'A'A''

**Folk Hymn:** folk adaptation. type 2: GALLAHER, ST. MARYS, HARMONY GROVE, SOLON, NEW BRITAIN, CANAAN, FRUGALITY, SYMPHONY, MIDDLETON tune family

**Secular Song:** age, children

Under the special features of example one, HARMONY GROVE is labeled a folk adaptation because the tune is found in a number of variant melodic settings throughout

other source material in the repertory. However, because Hayden included secular practice verses for use in the singing school, this piece is a secular adaptation of a folk hymn, labeled a folk adaptation. Also, because this tune appeared with a set structure, this form is provided with appropriate labels for prime and double prime variants, etc. Documentation of structure does not pertain only to internal variants within the melody, but extends to the harmony parts as well. Because these tunes most often appeared in harmonized settings, the harmonization of a melody remains as important as the melody proper.

While HARMONY GROVE remains relatively simple in its indexing, other tunes become quite complicated, especially for scientific treble-led tunes with instrumental accompaniment. The next example, ALL THINGS FAIR AND BRIGHT ARE THINE, shows how involved the documentation of an index entry can become, illustrated with a sacred parlor song printed in four-shape shape-note notation by “An Amateur” in Cincinnati. Though the piece was written before 1820, its popularity continued into the Antebellum Period in the West as seen with its inclusion in a four-shape shape-note publication from 1836 (**Example 1.3**).

All spelling and listing of the individual components appear as printed in the original text, regarding title and composer. Whereas HARMONY GROVE fit within the stylistic and compositional mannerism of ancient-style composition, this piece constitutes a type of tune popular among scientific-style composers. Unlike the previous work, this piece was written with several added features including a metrical chorus, an independent accompaniment part for keyboard, antiphonal passages in both verse and chorus (labeled with number of instances and for how many voices), time signature change between verse and chorus, and imitation between antiphonal section and full ensemble, besides all of the other standard features presented in the first example.

**Example 1.3** ALL THINGS FAIR AND BRIGHT ARE THINE by Oliver Shaw from the  
*Supplement to the Missouri Harmony* (Cincinnati, 1836)

**Compiler info:** Amat MHS 1836 Cincinnati OH US Sci 4S  
**Printer info:** Cincinnati OH US  
**Tune name:** ALL THINGS FAIR AND BRIGHT ARE THINE, 31  
**Music source or composer:** A Duett, By O. Shaw  
**Arranger:** Arranged For the Organ Or Piano Forte.  
**Melody incipit:** 1(3)5(3)4(2)3(2)3(4)5(65)4(3)3(2) 5u1(d7)u1(d6)5(35)u1(3)2(1)d6(5)5  
**Text incipit:** Thou art, O God, the life  
**Meter:** L.M. 8.8. chorus  
**Key:** E-flat major  
**Number of voice parts:** 3  
**Number of parts notes:** separate accompanimental keyboard part  
**Tune type:** antiphonal tune  
**Antiphonal and fusing procedures:** quadruple solo  
**Chorus or refrain type:** extended antiphonal chorus - single solo  
**Form:** ABCDEFGG'  
**Devices between verse and chorus:** time signature change between verse and chorus  
**Special features:** melodic imitation in chorus; melodic imitation between voices in antiphonal exchange

Taken together, the documentation of all types of source material, and a more detailed method of cataloging allow for a more nuanced and complete understanding of many aspects of sacred music culture. A composition as simple as a hymn tune can reveal a breadth of information about its compiler and audience's region, culture, identity, and social position, besides surface features of denominational and theological identity. Without the documentation of all known source material, understanding how American sacred music shifts and adapts throughout the period leading up to the American Civil War remains a matter of conjecture. A thorough index clarifies much that is undocumented and misunderstood within the larger conceptual sphere of sacred music in the United States.

### 1.3.2 Cultural History of the West and South

Besides creating an index, inquiries into cultural, geographic, and denominational patterns of dissemination demonstrate that these extra-musical patterns parallel those trends encountered in musical source material. Thus far, narratives of American sacred music histories have presented two basic perspectives or ideologies: 1) a New England diaspora or representation of New England as a national musical practice, and 2) a geographic delineation of the postbellum South to represent the antebellum South. These interpretations remain problematic because of three basic problems in conceptual framework. They do not take into account differing musical aesthetic between the Middle Atlantic and New England. They do not delineate and distinguish the West from the South. They also do not identify which of the many Souths was involved with the dissemination of this sacred music style and why this particular South became identified with this musical culture. Identifying these patterns of regionality and understanding the unique aesthetic qualities of each region serves as a base from which to construct an alternative history of American sacred music development.

In its most basic geographical definition, New England musical culture during the Early Nationalist period encompassed an area including the states of Massachusetts (and the District of Maine), New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Northern New York. The Middle Atlantic included New York City, New Jersey, Delaware, eastern and central Pennsylvania, and the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Defining the parameters of the South becomes more problematic because of the presence of at least two regionally recognizable English-language Southern cultures already in place during the latter part of the Colonial period and distinguished by those living in these Souths contemporary to this source material. The documentation and study of these cultures has followed many

changing viewpoints as to the aptness of these distinctions. Over the course of two hundred years, some have used the terms condescendingly while others embraced them as a mark of distinction. As a result, the reception of these terms has varied widely, ranging from statements of cultural pride to that of scorn and derision.

### ***1.3.2.1 Cultural, Denominational, and Regional Considerations of the South and West***

Settlement patterns in the South followed two main patterns. The oldest of these areas lies within the piedmont and tidewater areas of Virginia and the tidewater of North and South Carolina known as the Carolina Lowcountry.<sup>19</sup> The second area emanated from Pennsylvania and New Jersey to the interior of the southern colonies following the Great Wagon Road through the southern piedmont to Georgia, and West into Kentucky and Tennessee.<sup>20</sup> In eighteenth-century cultural terminology, the residents of these two areas were called tuckahoes and cohees.<sup>21</sup> Tuckahoes comprised those settlers that lived east of the Blue Ridge Mountains; cohees were those who lived west of the Blue Ridge Mountains who had emigrated South and West from the Middle Atlantic. This swath of the South was also known as the Southern backcountry.

In 1786, Kentucky resident Robert Johnson, in writing to Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia spoke of the “two sorts of people in this country, one called tuckyhoes, being

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<sup>19</sup> The history of Georgia remains more complicated because of Oglethorpe’s plan in using the colony as a barrier for Spanish invasion from Florida. As a result, the culture of the initial colonists changed dramatically during the 1760s to reflect more of the tidewater culture of the other Southern colonies, seen not only through material culture, but musical culture as well. See: Ron Byrnside, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Georgia* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1997).

<sup>20</sup> Rouse Parke, Jr., *The Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia To the South*, repr. (Richmond, Virginia: Dietz Press, 2004).

<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth A. Perkins, *Border Life: Experience and Memory in the Revolutionary Ohio Valley* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 84-6.

Generall of the lowland old Virginians. The other class is Called cohees, Generally made up of Backwoods Virginians and Northward men, Scotch, Irish, & c., which seems In some measure, to make Distinctions and Particions amongst us.”<sup>22</sup> Another writer explained: “Irish mostly from Pennsylvania country and South Carolina were called Cohees. Mostly Presbyterians. Virginians were called Tuckahoes. You could tell where a man was from, on first seeing him.”<sup>23</sup> This cultural identity persisted at least through the first half of the nineteenth-century.

The distinction between cohees and tuckahoes as representative of two Southern cultures also parallels general denominational patterns within Southern Colonial history. During this period, Virginia law only recognized the Anglican Church as the official church within the colony. Similar measures were taken or attempted in North and South Carolina and Georgia. However, enforcement of this law only functioned on a practical level within the geographic domains of the tuckahoe culture. In contrast, as stated in the aforementioned historical accounts, cohees were mostly evangelical New Light Presbyterians, and Separate and Regular Baptist (Arminian and Calvinist) denominations, each of which were considered nonconformist in their relationship to Anglicanism.<sup>24</sup>

Cohee culture radiated out from Philadelphia, not the coastal South. As a result, cohee Maryland, Virginia, and North and South Carolina, during the Colonial and

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<sup>22</sup> Robert Johnson to Gov. Henry, 5 December 1786, in Palmer, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, 4:191.

<sup>23</sup> John D. Shane Papers, Shane interview with John Hedge, c. 1840s, DM 11 CC 19.

<sup>24</sup> One of the central theological differences between these two branches of Baptists involves the nature of grace. Arminianism holds to the concept of free grace, in that atonement, made possible through Jesus’s death, was intended for everyone, not a select group of individuals. This notion stands in contrast to Calvinism that believes that God selects and elects only certain individuals for Divine grace. The created cannot influence the Creator; their election is predestined. For these denominations’ presence in the colonial south, see chapter four of *The Roots of Appalachian Christianity: The Life and Legacy of Elder Shubal Stearns* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001) by Elder John Sparks.

Nationalist periods were not “Southern” as defined in a postbellum United States, but were culturally and denominationally connected to the Middle Atlantic States. These areas constituted a Southern extension of the Middle Atlantic, sharing similar cultural characteristics to other slaveholding states within this larger area along the Northern Chesapeake Bay such as Maryland and Delaware. While cohees were the original settlers of the American West, cohee culture in the West by 1800 had become only one of many cultural groups settling within the Trans-Appalachian region. As in the division of cohee and tuckahoe, a further division occurred during the nineteenth-century between what was the cohee south, known the older Southern backcountry of the Southern Appalachians and the piedmont areas of Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, as well as the Trans-Appalachian West.

### *1.3.2.2 Defining the West in Contrast to the South*

Another aspect in defining the regional character of sacred music developments during the nineteenth century involves understanding the geographic borders of the West as opposed to the Southern Appalachians and piedmont areas. Western migration took four general routes before the construction of both the National Road,<sup>25</sup> and the railroad linking Baltimore with Cincinnati: 1) along the Wilderness Road from North Carolina into Kentucky and Tennessee,<sup>26</sup> 2) over the Allegheny Mountains of Pennsylvania and Maryland to the

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<sup>25</sup> This road was originally constructed in the first three decades of the nineteenth-century. Paralleling modern-day US Route 40, it extended from Philadelphia to Baltimore, across Maryland, into Pennsylvania, into Wheeling, (West) Virginia, and into Ohio and Indiana. Originally intended as a national highway connecting the East with the West, its completion coincided with the development of the canals, and the building of the first railroad connecting Baltimore with Cincinnati, c. 1830.

<sup>26</sup> This road, originally blazed by a group of settlers led by Daniel Boone in 1768, branched off of the Great Wagon Road in what is now Wytheville, Virginia, crossing the mountains through the Cumberland Gap. From this point on, it branched into a Northern and



Monongahela River to Pittsburgh and down the Ohio River, 3) across Northern New York and Pennsylvania into the Connecticut Western Reserve and Firelands areas of Northern Ohio, and, at a slightly later period, 4) across Northern New York to Lake Ontario, through Lake Erie, and into Michigan and other areas around the Great Lakes.

In the earliest stages of Western settlement in Kentucky and Tennessee (1775-1800), those settlers emigrating West originated from the Southern backcountry, home of the cohee culture found on the eastern side of the Appalachian Mountains.<sup>27</sup> However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, significant populations of tuckahoes had also started to emigrate West. Within Kentucky, two predominant areas of settlement originally were distinguished by tuckahoe and cohee-based cultural patterns: the Bluegrass and the Green River or Cumberland areas respectively (centered around Lexington and Bowling Green). Those cohees that did not integrate with tuckahoes in this original West migrated North of the Ohio River into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, creating a common cultural lineage on both sides of the river.

Settlers following the Pennsylvania route also settled into these areas North and South of the Ohio River. Rather than identifying them as northern or southern, many people, such as Caleb Atwater, commissioner to the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations under Andrew Jackson, considered the people of Ohio and Indiana as constituting a like culture, and shaped largely by that of the Middle Atlantic. His travel journal of 1829 decreed that “the soil and climate are about the same in both states – the people nearly the same, and their interests, feelings and views, precisely the same. These states may be considered as

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Southern fork – the Southern route crossed into Tennessee, the Northern continued to the Bluegrass Region of Kentucky.

<sup>27</sup> Stephen Aron, *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

Pennsylvania and Maryland, extended from the Atlantic ocean to the Wabash river. They are one and the same people, and so may they ever act and feel towards each other, in Congress – at home and abroad.”<sup>28</sup> Atwater did not consider the people of Ohio and Indiana as Southern, but rather identified these groups as a Middle Atlantic group that extended to the West.

As a result, the culture of the West became a distinct entity from the South because of these patterns of settlement and mingling of cultural groups that occurred uniquely in the West.<sup>29</sup> By 1810, the West came to include the then present and future states of Tennessee, Northern Alabama around Huntsville, Kentucky, Western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. On the eastern side of the mountains, two general regions of the South prevailed. The older coastal South, identified with tuckahoes and the Tidewater and Lowcountry extended around the Gulf of Mexico to New Orleans. The southern extension of the Middle Atlantic, identified with cohees and the Southern backcountry consisted of piedmont and Appalachian Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. Later, scholars such as George Pullen Jackson would consider the southern extension of the Middle Atlantic into the Appalachian and piedmont South and the Trans-Appalachian West as one like area, labelling it the Upland South.

The creation of a tune index revealed compositional practice, stylistic mannerisms, and regional aesthetic. Inquiries into the cultural, denominational, and geographic patterns illustrated not only the presence of cultural groups within these regions, but also how these

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<sup>28</sup> Caleb Atwater, *Remarks made on a tour to Prairie du Chien, 1829* in *Indiana As Seen By Early Travelers*, Harlow Lindley, ed. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1916), 531.

<sup>29</sup> However, some divided the West into two halves: the Northwest, following the geographical boundaries of the Northwest Territory, and the Southwest, which included Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. Despite these subdivisions, all considered these areas as various parts of the West in distinction to the South.

cultural groups shaped performance practice. The repertory database only becomes meaningful when placed alongside its representative culture. For instance, knowing that almost every composer in the Middle Atlantic States, the old Southern backcountry, and Trans-Appalachian West composed music following set structural patterns of repeated musical phrases in contrast to a significant number of New England composers who did not does not explain the reasons why these differences occur. Conversely, understanding why these structural patterns are found in common usage throughout the Middle Atlantic, original Southern backcountry, and the Trans-Appalachian West only becomes possible through understanding those cultural and denominational differences between the various regions of the eastern seaboard, besides regional differences in popular trends. They complement each other, providing two simultaneous methods towards understanding this complex subject.

#### **1.4 Results**

With two methods working symbiotically, an investigation of repertory and its cultural and denominational dissemination reveals different patterns of influence and expression among English-language congregations of New England, Middle Atlantic, South, and West (1760-1820). They also demonstrate the differences between the music and culture of the West and older Southern backcountry, accounting for the separate compositional and stylistic chronological developments occurring independently of each other. Too often, scholars have looked at musical style as *the* defining characteristic, explaining the difference in chronological development as representative of trends in urbanization becoming manifest in the West in comparison to that of the South. Instead, musical repertory, though initially similar in content and identical in expression, developed

into two completely different repertoires by 1820, documented in the tunebooks included in the index, and explained by the cultural history of the South and the West.

The results of the inquiry led to five general conclusions about sacred music practice in the South and the West, which have guided the construction of the dissertation narrative. First and foremost, Middle Atlantic source material, rather than that of New England, in large part determined subsequent trends in sacred music activity and in tunebook compilation method. The social-secular environment for the cultivation of psalmody by New Englanders during the Late Colonial and Early Nationalist Periods was, in various guises, implemented into the social-secular environment of the urban Middle Atlantic and South. However, its overall influence was not nearly as extensive, in comparison to similar initiatives by Middle Atlantic singing masters.

Instead of a general division of North and South to understand American geography and culture based upon those of formal Southern nationalism and beyond (1850-present), this study defines musical practice by the conceptions of geography contemporary to the period under investigation (1720-1870). The method demonstrated that the patterns for the dissemination of this music parallel cultural and denominational migration patterns to the interior of the country, particularly regarding the South in contrast to the West. Central to this notion of geography and culture is the concept of identity. Music in the piedmont and Appalachian mountain region is a southern extension of Middle Atlantic practice and is therefore not “Southern” in a sense of Southern nationalism. The idea of a South in psalmody does not occur until 1835 with William Walker’s *Southern Harmony* and this area was a small part of the Confederate South, being mostly the piedmont and Appalachian areas of the Carolinas, Georgia, and southeast Tennessee, and pockets of Alabama and Mississippi. The idea of a South in these compilers’ works is not that of formal Southern

nationalism. In contrast, Western identity first appeared with the first Trans-Appalachian Western musical publication, *Patterson's Church Music*, in 1813. This concept of identity remained a part of the Western musical landscape until the 1850s.

Connected to this notion of identity and geography, denominational patterns in many ways transcend region. Cultures in the West were not the same as those in the primary regions of the South, including the coastal South, the Appalachian and piedmont areas, as well as the older eighteenth-century Southern backcountry. However, these regions were united by an identical use and understanding of the ancient tenor-led style. The repertoires varied among each other, sometimes greatly, but the expression and style is the same. This phenomenon is a reflection of denominational and theological similarities, not those of culture. As a result, it reveals traditional practice and denominational specificity.

Because the theology and denominational climate was similar between the South and the West, one way of demonstrating this interconnectivity is through an investigation into folk hymns. Folk hymns existed in two basic forms: sacred contrafacta, and sacred psalm and hymn tunes existing in tune families with no known secular origin. The concept of the sacred contrafactum was shaped primarily by Nonconformist or proto-Methodist reactions to the First Great Awakening of the 1730s and 40s, a widespread evangelical religious movement that affected Britain and the colonies. Though associated with Nonconformists, contrafacta represent the influence of popular culture in the repertory. Though the nature of the source tune for its sacred appropriation might differ, the process remained the same. Contrafacta are also not denominationally, culturally, or geographically specific. Examples of contrafacta are found in the repertoires of every denomination in all parts of the country.

The second type of folk hymn does not have a secular origin, but evidently was transmitted through oral circulation. Called tune families, these folk hymns appear in variant

melodic forms and represent local versions of an unknown psalm or hymn tune melody circulating over varying geographic areas. This type of folk hymn reveals the influence of traditional culture within the repertory. Unlike the contrafactum, this tune type is generally only found in the repertories of evangelical and often enthusiastic denominations and churches. Together the dissemination of both folk hymn repertories reveals the spread of popular and traditional trends in music making that parallel settlement patterns among various cultures, denominations, and class groups.

Finally, the method revealed that ancient-style music was not just one unified expression, but instead consisted of an assortment of styles and influences. It represented both popular and traditional forms of expression that evolved independent of each other between 1700 and 1820. However, these strains could operate independently of or in conjunction with each other, or both in any given instance. These interactions varied by region, allow for an understanding of specific regional patterns for the cultivation of the different forms of the ancient style.

#### *1.4.1 Middle Atlantic Source Material Shaping Western and Southern Practice*

Previous scholarship has considered Middle Atlantic sacred musical activity as a prelude for the first important group of American sacred music composers in New England. With New England's domination in compositional production, writers viewed compositional activity as the gauge for understanding national practice. In this respect, compositional initiatives from New England did dominate this aspect of musical activity. However, of the thousands of pieces composed in New England between 1770 and 1820, less than 150 were disseminated to other parts of the country.<sup>30</sup> Middle Atlantic, Southern backcountry, and

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<sup>30</sup> George Pullen Jackson, *White Spirituals*, 128-29, 133-50.

Western audiences were initially exposed to these tunes mostly through Middle Atlantic publishing houses, and later Shenandoah Valley, Southern Coastal, and Western firms.

Documentation of the history of American sacred music during the colonial and Federalist periods reveals that the Middle Atlantic introduced and standardized most aspects of sacred music culture in the West and South, and to some degree the North. These facets included the publication of tunebooks (as opposed to a tune supplement to a psalter), the format and structure of published tunebooks, especially those compiled by evangelical ancient-style musicians in the nineteenth century, the range of musical styles for inclusion within a work, standardizing tune repertoires that disseminated South and West, the introduction of evangelical Calvinist and Nonconformist texts in tunebooks, and creating and popularizing shape-note notational innovations, besides a unique variant of a letteral notation that appeared first in New England where the letter F was placed on the staff to represent the syllable *fa* in the solfege. In fact, New England's only contribution to sacred music development during the Colonial and Early Nationalist periods consists of its wealth of compositional activity, not its influence on the other areas of the United States. Arguably then, those musical practices that developed in the Middle Atlantic, with its urban centers in Philadelphia and New York, fulfilled *the* seminal role in shaping nineteenth-century Southern and Western practice because of its influence on later Western and Southern source material.

Sacred music practice in New England before Presbyterian minister James Lyon published *Urania* in Philadelphia (1761) descended from the urban-style English psalmody presented in Playford's 1677 psalter. Lyon's publication not only introduced ancient-style psalmody to many parts of the American colonies including New England, it also was the first to include antiphonal tunes, fusing tunes, anthems, and set pieces. With only one exception, New England publications had only included plain tunes before Bostonian Josiah

Flagg published a collection of psalm tunes and anthems in 1764. Further, the Middle Atlantic region was the first to feature the galante-inspired Nonconformist or proto-Methodist hymn tune repertory in American tunebooks. Lyon's *Urania*, along with other tunebooks from Philadelphia, including *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* by William Dawson (Philadelphia, 1754), *Tunes in Three Parts, for the several metres in Dr. Watts's version of the psalms* (Philadelphia, 1763), and *A Collection of Psalm Tunes... for the use of the united churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia* by Francis Hopkinson (Philadelphia, 1763), presented the earliest American printings of Nonconformist-influenced hymn tunes associated with evangelical reformers of the First Great Awakening that occurred in England and in the colonies beginning in the 1740s. Similar evangelical reform urban-style pieces did not appear in New England until the 1790s.

Besides the tunebook contents, Lyon's format for *Urania* also set the standard for ancient-style tunebook compiling in later Middle Atlantic publications, as well as those from the Shenandoah Valley, South Carolina, Georgia, and the West. It included a section of tunes devoted for congregational performance during the divine service, more difficult and extended choral works for social use, and a collection of Nonconformist hymns for social and domestic devotion, besides informal worship. This concept of a single work capable of serving the need for any occasion remained traditional to English Presbyterians, the largest English-language denomination in the British colonies and centered in the Middle Atlantic.

Tunebook compilation in Philadelphia constituted an American extension of British practice. As a compilation of a wide variety of material, the typical tunebook included older and more recent psalm and hymn tunes, evangelical tunes borrowed from compositions by European (and rarely, American) art composers, and fusing and antiphonal tunes, along with a general collection of set pieces and anthems. Generally, the compilers supplied new tunes



composed by themselves or other local musicians, though the introduction of new tunes to the repertory was not the primary focus of a compilation. Instead, it supplied popular favorites together with fresh pieces for variety and distinction, in an anthology format.

The anthology-style compilation did not present anything new to the English speaking world, but followed an already existent practice, as seen with earlier British collections including John and James Green's *A Book of Psalm-Tunes* (Ed. 2, London, 1713), John Arnold's *The Compleat Psalmist* (London, 1740), Thomas Butts' *Harmonia-Sacra* (London, 1754), and Abraham Adam's *The Psalmist's New Companion* (Ed. 4, London, 1755), among others. After the publication of Lyon's *Urania*, a number of New England publishers followed Lyon's example and printed compilations of British and American psalm and hymn tunes, including Josiah Flagg's *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* (Boston, 1764) and *Sixteen Anthems, Collected from Tans'ur, Williams, Knapp, Ashworth and Stephenson* (Boston, 1766), the sixth edition of *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* by Thomas Walter (Boston, 1764), Daniel Bayley's *The New Universal Harmony, or Compendium of Church Music* (Newburyport, Ma, 1773), and John Stickney's *The Gentleman and Lady's Musical Companion* (Newbury, Ma, 1774). However, none of the New England works adopted Lyon's traditionally English Presbyterian method of tunebook organization by performance venue and function. They instead consisted of a random assortment of the various popular tunes of the day.

The idea of a tunebook as an anthology was only one of two basic compilation methods; the other consisted of a compilation of tunes and anthems composed solely by its compiler. As with the anthology compilation comprising older and newer tunes, original and selected, the single author compilation first appears in earlier works from Great Britain including: *The Psalm-Singer's Pocket Companion* by Uriah Davenport (London, 1755), three volumes of *A Set of Services, Anthems & Psalm Tunes for country choirs all intirely new* by John

Smith (London, 1746-55), and Joseph Stephenson's *Church Harmony Sacred to Devotion* (London, 1757), besides the works of William Tans'ur, an Anglican psalmodist whose works became popular in New England.

While selections from the above-mentioned books were published in New England, publisher Daniel Bayley initiated an unprecedented American violation of artistic property. He issued unauthorized reprints of two British tunebooks that followed the single author format for compilation: 1) *The Royal Melody Complete, or the New Harmony of Zion* by William Tans'ur (London, 1752) and 2) Aaron Williams' *The Universal Psalmodist* (London, 1763). Binding these together, Bayley published both books in one volume collectively entitled *The American Harmony* (Ed. 3, Newburyport, Ma, 1767).

Bayley's reprint of these single-author compilations set an ensuing identical trend in compilation process for New England composers including William Billings, Daniel Read, Supply Belcher, Amos Bull, Samuel Holyoke, Stephen Jenks, Jacob French, Hans Gram, Timothy Swan, and Daniel Belknap, to name a few.<sup>31</sup> However, no single-author published sacred music compilations emanated from anywhere in the United States other than New

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<sup>31</sup> William Billings, *The New-England Psalm Singer*, (Boston: Edes and Gill, 1770); William Billings, *The Singing Master's Assistant* (Boston: Draper and Folsom, 1778); William Billings, *The Psalm Singer's Amusement* (Boston: The author, 1781); Daniel Read, *The American Singing Book* (New Haven: for the author, 1785); Jacob French, *The New American Melody* (Boston: John Norman, and Jacob French, in Medway, Massachusetts, 1789); Samuel Holyoke, *Harmonia Americana* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1791); Hans Gram, *Sacred Lines, for Thanksgiving Day, November 7, 1793* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1793); Daniel Read, *The Columbian Harmonist, No. 1* (New Haven: for the editor, [1793]); Supply Belcher, *The Harmony of Maine* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1794); William Billings, *The Continental Harmony* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1794); Amos Bull, *The Responsary* (Worcester: Isaiah Thomas; and sold by the editor, 1795) [Though Bull did not compose every piece in this volume, he re-harmonized each tune for his arrangement of parts (SSTB)]; Daniel Belknap, *The Harmonist's Companion* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1797); Stephen Jenks, *The New-England Harmonist* (Danbury, Ct: Douglas & Nichols, for the author, 1799); Timothy Swan, *New England Harmony* (Northampton: Andrew Wright, 1801).

England. Further, those tunes composed in New England that were disseminated to the Middle Atlantic, and later to the West and South, circulated through later anthology-style compilations published in New England, such as Oliver Brownson's *Select Harmony* (Hartford, 1783), *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* (Worcester and Boston, 1786-1803) published by Isaiah Thomas, the *Federal Harmony* by Asahel Benham (1790-2), *The Village Harmony, or Youth's Assistant to Sacred Music* (Exeter, New Hampshire 1795-1820) by Henry Ranlet, and the various guises of the *Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music* (Boston, 1802-1820) by Bartholomew Brown, among others.

New England compilers, such as Andrew Law and Daniel Peck, operated both within New England and the Middle Atlantic, attempting to capitalize on a broader market than their region of origin. Similarly, Middle Atlantic publishers used tunes printed in the anthology-style compilations from New England and the Middle Atlantic, thus preserving the earliest method of tunebook compilation in British America.<sup>32</sup> They also allowed for the inclusion of new compositions that became popular throughout the country. Many of the pieces included in Middle Atlantic publications did originate from New England, though the aesthetic of the Middle Atlantic not only set American precedents for anthology-style compilations, but also tune repertoires and harmonic style through its larger dissemination South and West than those publications from New England, with few exceptions.<sup>33</sup> In effect, New England compositions served as a pool from which to draw pieces that served

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<sup>32</sup> Those collections published before *Urania* were considered tune supplements to psalters. Thus, the tunebook proper begins with *Urania* and not the 1698 tune supplement to the "Bay Psalm Book" or the introductions to music by Tufts and Walter.

<sup>33</sup> Two exceptions include: Timothy Flint, *The Columbian Harmonist* (Cincinnati: Coleman and Phillips: Looker, Palmer and Reynolds, printers, 1816); James Sullivan Warren, Jr., *Warren's Minstrel*, ed. 2 (Columbus, Ohio: J. H. Riley & Company, for the Author, 1857).

the aesthetic of Middle Atlantic musicians, not an impressment of New England compositional methodology and stylistic techniques upon the Middle Atlantic states.

#### *1.4.2 Establishing Geographic Boundaries of the Music of the South and West*

Applying the cultural definitions outlined in the method to musical practice, sacred music of the Southern Appalachians and piedmont areas represents an extension of the Middle Atlantic, not the coastal South. As a result, those musical publications appearing in the Shenandoah Valley during the earliest part of the nineteenth century are not Southern as generally thought. Instead, these sources constitute a southern extension of the Middle Atlantic body of repertory, identical in content, repertory, expression, and language (German and English) to other tunebooks published throughout Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and Maryland. While the designation of a musical practice based upon a Western aesthetic first appears in the sub-title of *Patterson's Church Music* (1813), a tunebook self-designated as "Southern" does not appear until William Walker's *Southern Harmony* (1835). Coincidentally, Walker's tunebook also comprises the first printed tunebook appearing south of Virginia.

Though earlier musical manuscripts from the piedmont south of Virginia predate printed source material by sixty years,<sup>34</sup> only the latest, compiled presumably by a singing

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<sup>34</sup> These sources include: Elizabeth Adams, "Miss Elizabeth Adams' Music Book, 1832." "Miss Elizabeth R. Adams Music Booke. June the 29<sup>th</sup> 1833." Four manuscript compilations bound in one volume (South Carolina, 1832-3), Furman University, James B. Duke Library, Special Collections and Archives, Greenville, South Carolina; William Black, manuscript copybook of sacred music (Millidgeville, Georgia and Meury (Maury) County, Tennessee, 1818-1819), SC-128, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois; Mr. Little, manuscript copybook of sacred music prepared for Robert Wilson (Indiantown, Williamsburg District, South Carolina, 1775), Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville; Ebenezer Pettigrew, "Ebenezer Pettigrew his Book August 1. 1792," (North Carolina (?), 1792) 592 Pettigrew Family Series 4.2 EP: Music book, 579 – folder, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Southern Historical Collection, Manuscripts Department, Wilson Library. Chapel Hill, North Carolina; John W. Herron, "Samuel W. Reid present by his Grandmother Rebecca McDowell. Her Vocal Music Book By John W. Herron Oct. 1813," (North Carolina, 1813), 3396 – Z, Miscellaneous Music Books vol. 2, University of

school student of William Walker, could be said to show any connection with an established “Southern” identity as found in Walker’s tunebook. In contrast, tunes found within the eighteenth-century source material illustrate a strong connection to parallel Philadelphia publications, particularly regarding those tunes found in the Archible Woodside manuscript (1782) from Mecklinburg County, North Carolina, compared to Lyon’s *Urania*, the Ebenezer Pettigrew manuscript (1792) to *The Philadelphia Harmony* by Andrew Adgate, and the Samuel Reid manuscript compiled by John Herron (1813) with other contemporaneous Middle Atlantic and Western imprints.<sup>35</sup> Though none of these manuscript sources exactly duplicate their printed counterparts, all share a major portion of their contents with those of each of the published tunebooks.

After 1835, tunebook compilers delineated the parameters of the South and West, paralleling the boundaries established by cultural emigration South and West into the interior of the United States. Evidence to support this phenomenon can be seen with tunebook

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North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Southern Historical Collection, Manuscripts Department, Wilson Library; Archible Woodside, “Archible Woodside his Musick Book made in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy tow” (Mecklinburg, North Carolina, 1772-1790), 3396 – Z. Miscellaneous Music Books, vol. 1, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Southern Historical Collection, Manuscripts Department, Wilson Library. A few Southern Lowcountry manuscripts survive from the eighteenth century and two published tunebooks were compiled in Charleston, South Carolina during the Early Nationalist Period. None of these volumes reflect specific Southern sentiments either.

<sup>35</sup> Significantly, this manuscript, though copied in standard notation shares more similarities with contemporaneous four-shape shape-note publications. Parallel Middle Atlantic, Shenandoah Valley, and Western published sources include: Ananias Davisson, *The Kentucky Harmony; or, A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems, in Three Parts* (Harrisonburg, Virginia: Printed and sold by the author, 1816); Azariah Fobes, *The Delaware Harmony* (Philadelphia: W. M’Culloch, 1809); John Wyeth, *Wyeth’s Repository Of Sacred Music* (Harrisburgh, Pennsylvania: John Wyeth, 1810). Parallel Western sources include: John Armstrong, *The Pittsburgh Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear and Eichbaum, 1816); Allen D. Carden, *The Missouri Harmony, or A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems* (St. Louis: Published by the compiler; Cincinnati: Morgan and Lodge and Company, printers, 1820); Freeman Lewis, *The Beauties of Harmony* (Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear and Eichbaum, and F. Lewis, 1813); Robert Patterson, *Patterson’s Church Music* (1813).

naming practices. Writers, in the titles of tunebooks from the first half of the nineteenth century, specified exactly these cultural geographic borders as seen with William Walker's *Southern Harmony, and Musical Companion* (New Haven, 1835) from South Carolina, and Lazarus J. Jones' *The Southern Minstrel* (Philadelphia, 1849) from Mississippi. In comparison Western titles include the Rev. Samuel Wakefield's *The Western Harp* (Mount Pleasant, Pa, 1843), William B. Snyder and W. L. Chappell's *The Western Lyre* (Cincinnati, 1831), Robert Patterson's *Patterson's Church Music: containing the plain tunes used in divine worship by the churches of the Western country* (Cincinnati, 1813), James W. Palmer's *The Western Harmonic Companion* (Louisville, 1831), Allen D. Carden, Samuel J. Rogers, F. Moore, and J. Green's *The Western Harmony* (Nashville, 1824), Alexander Auld's *The Key of the West* (Columbus, 1856), and Andrew W. Johnson's *The Western Psalmist* (Nashville, 1853). Together, the areas of origin of the above-mentioned tunebooks correspond exactly with the geographic boundaries of the South identified with the older cohee culture, and the West.

Unlike their Southern and Western neighbors, none of the Shenandoah Valley Virginia tunebooks included either Western or Southern indicators, instead referring to state names when incorporating geographic place names within the titles of the compilations. However, previous scholarship has grouped all tunebooks from Virginia as "Southern" even though this designation did not exist in the antebellum source material. Modern writers have made no such distinctions between the Middle Atlantic and its extension into the Shenandoah Valley and the piedmont areas of the Carolinas and Georgia, and the Trans-Appalachian West even though the compilers did. Clearly, this area of sacred music scholarship demands new investigation and definition before studying the contents of the musical scores and compilations.

### *1.4.3 Denominational Patterns within Sacred Music in the South and West*

Thus far, cultural connections have been distinguished between regions in the South and the West. However, the identification and delineation of these cultural patterns do not account for the fact that the same style of music found initially appeared in the Middle Atlantic, the older Southern backcountry of the Shenandoah Valley, and the West. Cultural dissemination reveals distinct differences between the Southern backcountry and the West, yet many tunebooks share a basic common repertory. A natural question arises, how does the same music, stylistically and compositionally, appear in two different cultural areas? Further, how does the music published in the South in the first half of the nineteenth century, though postdating the Western published source material by twenty-three years, employ identical stylistic and compositional mannerisms found in earlier Middle Atlantic and Western publications? By the time published tunebooks start to appear south of Virginia, many Western books had begun to initiate a different ancient-style compositional practice not found in Middle Atlantic and Southern ancient-style source material.

The answers to most of the questions involve understanding not just the cultural dissemination to the South and West, but those denominations present in the eastern Middle Atlantic seaboard. The practice of religion differed considerably between New England, the Middle Atlantic, piedmont and Appalachian South, and coastal South. Within the areas of the eastern seaboard, those denominations present in New England include the Congregational, Presbyterian, Anglican, and General Baptist churches; those in the Middle Atlantic region New and Old Light Presbyterian, Methodist, Separate and Regular Baptist, Anglican, Catholic, Reformed Dutch, Mennonite, Moravian, United Brethren, German Reformed, and Lutheran congregations, among others; and Anglican, along with a few

Presbyterian, Quaker, and Lutheran congregations within the coastal Southern areas, among others.

The settlement patterns of the West and the Southern backcountry reveal one common cultural trait linking the two areas together: the denominations that followed those settlers west and south, principally Presbyterians, Baptists, and later Methodists.<sup>36</sup> While these denominations employed unique performance practices specific to individual denominations, other aspects reveal linking patterns among the denominations. This pattern of interconnectivity includes the presence of non-evangelical and evangelical branches of denominations, with further divisions between temperate and zealous evangelicalism. Most denominations split over evangelical and non-evangelical practice. Occasionally, like branches of the different denominations put aside theological differences, and would work together, illustrated with the camp meeting, beginning with the Great Revival at Cane Ridge, outside of Paris, Kentucky.<sup>37</sup> This camp meeting is generally credited with initiating the

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<sup>36</sup> However, in the Northwest, protestant Congregationalists, and Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jewish congregations also migrated to the Ohio River Valley and the Western Reserve, but not to other areas of the West and the Southern backcountry, at least in great numbers. Similarly, Catholic settlers came to the Bluegrass region of Kentucky, eventually disseminating north to Somerset and Cincinnati, Ohio, Vincennes, Indiana, and St. Louis, Missouri, all areas centered around the Ohio River Valley. Similarly, denominations that developed in the West brought the traditions of the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches together, producing a hybrid practice based upon traditions from the various parent churches. These include the Primitive churches involved in the Restoration Movement associated with Christian and Disciples of Christ churches under Barton Stone and Alexander Campbell, the Mormons under Joseph Smith, and the Halcyons under Abel Sarjeant.

<sup>37</sup> William T. Utter, *The Frontier State 1803-1825*, vol. II of *The History of The State of Ohio*, Carl Wittke, ed. (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1942), 371-2. See also: Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974); James Cecil Downey, "The Music of American Revivalism" (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1968); Richard Huffman Hulan, "Camp-Meeting Spiritual Folksongs; Legacy of the 'Great Revival in the West'" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1978); Charles A. Johnson, "The Frontier Camp Meeting: Contemporary and Historical Appraisals, 1805-1840" in *The Mississippi Valley*



Second Great Awakening. While previous scholars have contributed works devoted to individual denominations, none have looked at the pattern within these denominations to explain the identical nature of musical genres, style, and expression and their subsequent relationships between denominations.<sup>38</sup>

Almost every denomination in the United States appears in at least two basic forms, separated by differences in interpretation of theological matters. This phenomenon has existed since the beginnings of Protestantism, as witnessed by the split between the Church of England and the Independent or Congregationalist Calvinist churches. During the eighteenth-century, Congregationalists split into two factions during the time of the First Great Awakening, with the more progressive members placing an emphasis on evangelicalism. Other denominations followed similar trends: Old Light, New Light, and Cumberland Presbyterian; General, Regular (Calvinist), and Separate (Arminian) Baptist; Methodist Episcopal and Calvinist Methodist; and Christian and Disciples of Christ to name a few.

These splits were caused by the nature of the presbytery and ordination, adult and infant baptism, or by a debate between predestination and free will, among other factors. Consequently, categorizing musical practice strictly by a generic denominational specificity does not take into account the performance practice unique to that particular denomination.

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*Historical Review: A Journal of American History* 37, no. 1 (June, 1950); Charles A. Johnson, *The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religion's Harvest Time* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1955); Ellen Jane Lorenz, *Glory, Hallelujah! The Story of the Campmeeting Spiritual* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1978); John Norman Sims, "The Hymnody of the Camp Meeting Tradition" (D.S.M. diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1960).

<sup>38</sup> See: Harry Eskew, David Music, and Paul Richardson, *Singing Baptists: Studies in Baptist Hymnody in America* (Nashville: Church Street Press, 1994); Raymond Jones Martin, "The Transition From Psalmody To Hymnody In Southern Presbyterianism, 1753-1901" (S.M.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York, 1963); Norton, *Baptist Offspring, Southern Midwife*.

It also extends to the musical practices distinct to the evangelical or non-evangelical branches of a particular denomination, illustrated with the denominational intent of Middle Atlantic and Shenandoah Valley tunebooks of the late Early Nationalist Period (c. 1810-20). In particular, four books, *Wyeth's Repository of Music. Part the First* (1810) and *Part the Second* (1813) by John Wyeth, and *The Kentucky Harmony* (1816) and *The Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony* (1820) by Ananias Davisson, became a subject of fierce debate between Irving Lowens<sup>39</sup> and Rachel Harley<sup>40</sup> over the differences in intent between tunebooks and their supplements, and the intended audience of each of the two volumes.

Lowens and Harley found Methodist and camp-meeting compositions in *Wyeth's Repository. Part the Second* and *The Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony*, but not in the first volumes. As a result, they attributed the second volumes to evangelical denominations, but not the first. Indeed, the oft quoted "Preface" to the *Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony* includes the following statement: "The author's principle design in offering his Supplement is, that his methodist friends may be furnished with a suitable and proper arrangement of such tunes as may seem to him best calculated to animate and enliven them..." Thus, the obvious conclusion led these writers to assume that the supplement was intended for this denomination.

While this is to some degree true, it is not completely accurate. The statement continues: "and all other zealous christians, in their acts of devotion; and while they sing with the spirit, let them learn to sing with the understanding also." The key phrase here rests with the words "zealous christians" for it implies a more enthusiastic form of evangelicalism further illustrated with the borrowed admonition from Paul the Apostle in 1 Corinthians

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* "John Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music Part Second* (1813)"

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* "Ananias Davisson"

14:15. Davisson's preface speaks directly to the intended audience of his supplement: zealous evangelicals to distinguish from the intended temperate evangelical audience of the first volume, the New Light Presbyterians (within the Southern piedmont and Western conceptions of temperate evangelicalism, though Western New Light Presbyterianism was considered radical in comparison with New England temperate evangelicalism).

Further evidence to support this theory can be found in the choice of texts used in each of the two volumes. The texts accompanying the music of the first volume consisted mostly of the verses of Isaac Watts, the poet of choice for Congregationalists and New Light Presbyterians. The second included Nonconformist texts by John Newton, William Cowper, and others, besides some anonymous texts of probable American origin associated with Baptists and Methodists. Taken together, the two books addressed the needs of the four predominant denominations in the West and South, but organized by type of denomination, and their temperate and zealous evangelical factions. Besides this type of organization, other compilers intended their tunebooks for use with specific denominations and indicated this within the title, or with the intended hymnal designed to accompany the musical text reflected in its title and choice of content.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> See: Jacob Eckhard, *Choral Book, containing psalms, hymns, anthems and chants, used in the Episcopal Church of Charleston, South Carolina; and a collection of tunes, adapted to the metres in the Hymn-Book, published by order of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the State of New York* (Boston: James Loring, for the Author [1816]); Emanuel Kent, *David's Harp, A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes adapted to the metres of the Methodist Hymn Book*, ed. 2 (Baltimore: Armstrong & Polaskitt, [1817-21]); T. Mason, and G. Lane, *The Harmonist* (New York: T. Mason and G. Lane, 1840); Martin D. Wenger, *The Philharmonia, a collection of tunes, adapted to public and private worship. Containing tunes for all the hymns in the English Mennonite Hymn Book, the Gemeinschaftliche Unparteiische and Allgemeine Liedersammlungen, the Unparteiische Gesangbuch, and the Mennonitische Gesangbuch, with instructions and explanations in English and German* (Elkhart, In: Mennonite Publishing Co., Successor to J. F. Funk & Bro., 1875); James Tomlins of Virginia, *Sacred Musick; selected principally from Rippon's Collections* (Boston: For the compiler by J. T. Buckingham, 1810).

Finally, the issue of publishing two books became somewhat of an obstacle or problem for the compilers. Beginning in the 1820s, compilers began to change the intent of their publications through the wording in the titles of tunebooks. Intending their use for all denominations, compilers such as William Walker in the *Southern Harmony, and Music Companion* proclaimed their collections as “well adapted to Christian churches of every denomination.” Walker further specified which Christian churches were included within all denominations through a listing of textual source material. Including “Watts’s Hymns and Psalms, Mercer’s Cluster, Dossey’s Choice, Dover Selection, Methodist Hymn Book, and Baptist Harmony” as text sources, Walker combined what originally was separated by earlier compilers. An analysis of the contents of these earlier books reveals the way in which tunes, texts, and compositional forms functioned to the specific type of denomination within its temperate or zealous framework, as opposed to a general separation between denominations.

The similarities between tunebooks from the West and the South do not exist because of a like culture between the two areas, but rather from like denominational trends that spread south and west following the migration patterns of the early settlers. As a result of the difference between cultures in the South and West, Western tunebooks began to change stylistically during the 1830s to follow those cultural and aesthetic changes happening in the West, concurrent with the first publications appearing from the South. Although scholar John Bealle saw a lack of success in Cincinnati shape-note imprints, the changes he saw evident may be viewed instead from the differences between the West and South as opposed to the viability of the medium in one area to the next.

In fact those changes taking place in the West during the 1830s and 40s mirror those changes in the South during the 1850s and 60s, or those in the Middle Atlantic during the 1840s and 50s with the introduction of Southern and Middle Atlantic reform-style

tunebooks. The four-shape shape-note period of original publications from the West spanned a time period of c. 1813-1850, as opposed to the South, which spanned the period 1835-1860, or the Middle Atlantic from c. 1798-1860. The regions of the South and West share more similarities than differences regarding denominational dissemination patterns.

#### *1.4.4 Interconnectivity Displayed through Folk-Hymn Dissemination*

George Pullen Jackson, though the first scholar to identify the folk hymn or spiritual folk song, considered no distinction between three vastly different approaches to sacred music composition, 1) original compositions that employ primitive harmonizations that paralleled other naïve or folksy American art forms such as painting, 2) tunes that first appear in secular sources, but were used as a sacred form of contrafactum, and 3) tunes that appear with variant melodies in various tunebooks that also use the same primitive method of harmonization. Instead he viewed these as all manifestations of a like culture. However, this view demands revision because the first approach implies a literate aesthetic intent on the part of the tune's composer, the second a matter of adaptation from a pre-existent source, and the third indicative of a folk melody circulating in oral dissemination with varying melodic contours, created as a result of a non-literate lineage of origin. To this list could be added pieces that parody other well-known psalm and hymn tunes.

Because of these disparate aesthetic and compositional approaches to musical composition, this author has rejected the first type as a folk hymn because it appears as a compositional style of direct intent on the part of the composer. In other words, it implies a composed origin as opposed to a tune transcribed from oral circulation. According to material culture scholar Henry Glassie, "folk material exhibits major variation over space and minor variation through time, while the products of popular or academic culture exhibit minor variation over space and major variation through time. The natural divisions of folk

material are, then, spatial, where the natural divisions of popular material are temporal; that is, a search for patterns in folk material yields regions, where a search for patterns in popular material yields periods.”<sup>42</sup>

The compositions ascribed to the Chapins illustrate this phenomenon. Almost all of the tunes set by Lucius Chapin and his brother Amzi are not compositions, but rather arrangements of contrafacta or variants of hymn tunes in oral circulation throughout the colonies and states. Even though a number of versions of these tunes appear in a few tunebooks, the Chapin settings became the most popular. All publications of Chapin variants of these tunes by ancient-style Middle Atlantic, Western, and Southern compilers appeared in a mostly identical format, being descended from the settings appearing in Chapin holograph manuscripts and *Patterson's Church Music* (1813). Settings and original tunes by the Chapin brothers were considered more or less fixed compositions and did not become subject to much alteration by subsequent ancient-style compilers.

In contrast, reform musicians adapted the melodies and harmonizations of these tunes to suit their aesthetic, changed these pieces to conform to common practice tonality, and had the part writing conform to scientific principles. In other words, the compositions only changed when the popular character of their representation in scientific collections necessitated an alteration of the original composition. This process accounts for the temporal as opposed to spatial variety. While it could be argued that the harmonization methods of ancient-style tunes represent the folk process through variation over space, but little over time, the fixed nature of these compositions implies a popular, not a folk

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<sup>42</sup> Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 33.

framework. At the same time, contrafacta and the tunes in variant melodic forms as a result of oral circulation begin to reveal their denominational character and lineage.

#### *1.4.4.1 Contrafacta and Denominational Specificity*

Though secular contrafacta texts, sometimes called pastiche verses, first appear in New England around the year 1651 in a manuscript compiled by the Reverend Seaborn Cotton during his undergraduate study at Harvard College,<sup>43</sup> sacred parallels do not appear in America until the period between the Seven Years War and the American Revolution (c. 1760-1775). This form of adaptation appears in two basic forms, one used first by Nonconformists, and the second by Baptist congregations and their variant sects.

The Nonconformist approach to contrafacta was to take secular melodies, primarily vocal, and adapt them to sacred texts. Most often the tunes that provided the basis for adaptation consisted of accepted popular or theatrical melodies, frequently from operas or popular song collections of the day, modeled upon the precedent established by Martin Luther. Found in the first Methodist hymn collection to contain music, the 1742 Foundery *Collection*<sup>44</sup> featured a small selection of musical adaptations from stage works by Thomas Augustine Arne, George Frederick Handel, and the presumed compiler John Lampe.<sup>45</sup> What Wesley considered appropriated music from the Devil, consisted not so much of devilish music, but music associated with social institutions that decent, church-going public should not associate with, such as the theater or public pleasure garden.

Examples of this type of contrafacta appear in Nonconformist, evangelical Presbyterian, and Methodist collections throughout the United States and in the early Trans-

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<sup>43</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Reverend Seaborn Cotton's Commonplace Book," in *Publications XXXII* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1933): 320-52.

<sup>44</sup> John Wesley, *A Collection of Tunes, Set to Music, as They Are Commonly Sung at the Foundery* (London: Pearson, 1742).

<sup>45</sup> Norton, *Baptist Offspring, Southern Midwife*, 99.

Appalachian West including *Sacred Music* by Seth Ely (Cincinnati, 1822), and the *Columbian Harmonist* by Timothy Flint (Cincinnati, 1816). Contrafacta in particular retained their popularity in later Western tunebooks for all social classes. Some of these later contrafacta are found in scientific collections. These examples however tend to border more on the lines of kitsch culture with examples such as “Hail to the Chief” recast as “Loudly The Angels Proclaim The Glad Tidings,” a song hailing the resurrected Christ, the ultimate chief, in a Cincinnati Catholic tunebook by William Cumming Peters.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, T. H. Tanner adapted the overture to the opera *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart as an anthem “Hosanna To The King of Kings” in a tunebook compiled by William Augustine Ogden of Columbus, Ohio.<sup>47</sup> However, kitsch does not necessarily equate with folk.

Baptists and Presbyterians, in contrast, adapted tunes not only of secular origin, but also of questionable propriety. One of the first published collections to include contrafacta for use by Baptists and other enthusiastic sects such as the Christians (pronounced *Christians*) was *The Christian Harmony* by Jeremiah Ingalls (1805) of New Hampshire, within the Connecticut River Valley.<sup>48</sup> This tunebook featured pastiche settings of hymn tunes such as: LOVE DIVINE adapted from a country dance tune originally known as “Piss on the Grass,”<sup>49</sup> HONOR TO THE HILLS, based upon a broadside tune about the pirate Captain

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<sup>46</sup> William Cumming Peters, *Peters' Catholic Harp: A Collection of Sacred Music, Designed For the Use of Choirs, Schools and Musical Association* (Cincinnati: A.C. Peters, 1863, printed Boston: Oliver Ditson), 121.

<sup>47</sup> William Augustine Ogden, *The Anthem Choir: Consisting of Anthems, Choruses, Opening and Closing Pieces, Adapted to Dedication, Ordination, Installation, Christmas, Funeral, Missionary, and Other Occasions* (Toledo, Ohio: W. W. Whitney, 1872), 170-76.

<sup>48</sup> Jeremiah Ingalls, *The Christian Harmony; or, Songster's Companion* (Exeter, New Hampshire: Henry Ranlet, 1805).

<sup>49</sup> Joy Van Cleef, and Kate Van Winkle Keller, “Selected American Country Dances and Their English Sources,” in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts 1630-1820*, vol. 1 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980): 53.



Kidd, and NIGHT 'THOUGHT' based upon a Child ballad, "Robin and Little John,"<sup>50</sup> to name a few. These three tune adaptations appear also in many Middle Atlantic, Western, and Southern tunebooks. Clearly, the cultural climate of the sacred contrafactum addressed two different social and cultural mores for its reception, defined by the nature of the adaptation and the cultural context of the source material within its denominational intention. Because of the range of possible sources from which to create contrafacta, this tune type transcended any one particular social class or denominational type.

#### ***1.4.4.2 The Folk Hymn without Secular Origin***

While the contrafactum was common to progressive and conservative Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist denominations during the nineteenth century, the type of folk hymn composition existing in a number of melodic variants called tune families almost always appears in collections associated almost exclusively with the more evangelical Protestant sects, particularly in the Late Colonial and Early Nationalist Periods. For instance, one of the earlier American examples, FAIRTON, dates from 1799 in a Presbyterian tunebook compiled by Amos Pilsbury (Boston, 1799) in the Southern coastal urban center of Charleston, South Carolina. A later variant setting titled KEDRON by Wilmington, Delaware musician Elkanah Kelsay Dare, appeared in *Wyeth's Repository. Part the Second* (1813). What differentiates this type of folk hymn from the sacred contrafactum is the lack of an earlier secular origin for the melody.

Without documentary source material to suggest or indicate an earlier source for sacred adaptation, this type of folk hymn might have originated possibly as a sacred melody that circulated in oral transmission, thus accounting for the differences in melodic contour

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<sup>50</sup> David Klocko, "Introduction" to Jeremiah Ingalls, *The Christian Harmony; or Songster's Companion*, vol. 22 of *Earlier American Music*, repr. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 1981).

between various instances of folk hymn settings. Examples of this type of folk hymn appear in scribal and printed source material from all geographic regions of the East including New England, Middle Atlantic, and South, as well as the later Trans-Appalachian West.<sup>51</sup> These tunes, rather than distinguished by geographic parameters, were instead manifestations of denomination, social class, and religious temperament. To illustrate the nature of these variant settings, one tune family, known most often as either THE WHITE PILGRIM or THE LONE PILGRIM, reveals both the differences in melodic contour between variant settings, and the problematic ascription of a regional aesthetic for its creation. The titles of the tunes or their source attributions appear to be linked through region, though the melody demonstrates no such connection.

THE WHITE PILGRIM/THE LONE PILGRIM tune family (**Ex. 4**) exhibits many of the characteristics inherent in folk hymns without an earlier printed secular version of the tune. These include both the absence of an *arr*-version of the tune that later compilers used for individual settings and a known composer of these folk hymns (as seen, all settings of this tune either remain anonymous, or attribute the authorship of the composition to the compiler of the source tunebook), as well as the presence of the tune within source material from all areas of the country, and the tune's appearance in collections intended for zealous Christians. Together, these facets demonstrate the problem of scholars having devoted their attention primarily to ancient-style four-shape shape-note tunebooks, to the exclusion of other musical styles and forms of alternate notation.

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<sup>51</sup> See: Pilsbury, *United States Sacred Harmony* (1799); Ingalls, *Christian Harmony* (1803); Jacob Eckhard, *Jacob Eckhard's Choirmaster's Book of 1809: a facsimile with introduction and notes*, George W. Williams, ed. (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1971); Wyeth, *Wyeth's Repository. Part the Second* (1813); Marsena Vinton Miller, "Marsena Miller's Book," manuscript copybook of sacred music, (Lyme, Connecticut, 1817), Ohio Historical Society, Columbus; Davisson, *A Supplement To The Kentucky Harmony* (1820).

**Example 1.4** Settings of the WHITE/LONE PILGRIM in American source material

**Variant 1:** 1(3)553556(7)u1(d6)532(1)                      1(3)555u3212

1.

**Compiler info:** WalkW SHA nrev    1854    Spartanburg    SC    ModAn  
4S

**Printer info:** Philadelphia    PA

**Tune Name:** THE LONE PILGRIM

**Music source/composer:** Wm. Walker

**Text incipit:** I came to the place where

**Text source/author:** The sixth verse was composed by J. J. Hicks, of North  
Carolina

**Meter:** 11.8.11.8.

**Key:** E-flat major

**Number of parts:** 4

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Form:** ABA'C

2.

**Compiler info:** WalkW CH 2 1873    Spartanburg    SC    ModAn            7S

**Printer info:** Philadelphia    PA

**Tune name:** THE LONE PILGRIM

**Music source/composer:** Wm. Walker

**Text incipit:** I came to the place where

**Text source/author:** The sixth verse was composed by J. J. Hicks, of North  
Carolina

**Meter:** 11.8.11.8.

**Key:** E-flat major

**Number of parts:** 4

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Form:** ABA'C

**Variant 2:** 1(3)553567u1d532(1)                      1(3)555u3212

1.

**Compiler info:** JoneL SM                      1849    Jasper County    MS    ModAn  
4S

**Printer info:** Philadelphia    PA

**Tune name:** THE WHITE PILGRIM

**Music source/composer:** L. J. Jones

**Text incipit:** I came to the spot where

**Meter:** 11.8.11.8.

**Key:** C major

**Number of parts:** 3

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Form:** ABA'C

**Variant 3:** 1(3)555535u1d532(1) 1(3)555u3112

1.

**Compiler info:** MyerL MSM 1853 Higginsville WV ModAn 7S

**Printer info:** Mountain Valley VA

**Tune name:** WHITE PILGRIM

**Text incipit:** I came to the place where

**Meter:** 11.8.11.8.

**Key:** E major

**Number of parts:** 3

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Repetition of melodic material:** repeated melodic material

**Variant 4:** 1(3)555535u1d532(1) 1(3)555u3212

1.

**Compiler info:** AuldA OH 2 1852 Deersville OH RefAn 7S

**Printer info:** Cincinnati, Columbus OH

**Tune name:** THE WHITE PILGRIM

**Music source/composer:** A. Auld

**Text incipit:** I came to the spot where

**Meter:** 11.8.11.8.

**Key:** D major

**Number of parts:** 3

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Repetition of melodic material:** repeated cadential material; repeated melodic material

**Variant 5:** 1(3)55555(6)7u1d532(1) 1(3)555u3212

1.

**Compiler info:** HaydA SM 1848 Euclid OH ModAn 7S

**Printer info:** Pittsburgh PA

**Tune name:** THE PILGRIM'S REPOSE

**Text incipit:** I came to the spot where

**Text source/author:** Written on the Death of Elder Joseph Thomas

**Meter:** 11.8.11.8.

**Key:** C major

**Number of parts:** 3

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Form:** ABA'C

**Variant 6:** 1(3)555567u1d532(1)                      1(3)555u3212

1.

**Compiler info:** SwanWSwanM HC    1849    Knoxville    TN    ModAn  
7S

**Printer info:** Philadelphia    PA

**Tune name:** LONE PILGRIM

**Music source/composer:** M. L. Swan

**Text incipit:** In songs of sublime adoration and

**Meter:** 11.8.11.8.

**Key:** F major

**Number of parts:** 4

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Repetition of melodic material:** repeated melodic material

2.

**Compiler info:** SwanM NHC                      1867    Bellefonte    AL    ModAn  
7S

**Printer info:** Nashville            TN

**Tune name:** LONE PILGRIM

**Music source/composer:** M. L. Swan

**Text incipit:** In songs of sublime adoration and

**Meter:** 11.8.11.8.

**Key:** F major

**Number of parts:** 4

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Repetition of melodic material:** repeated melodic material

**Variant 7:** 1(3)55556u11d532(1)                      1(3)555u3212

1.

**Compiler info:** WhitBeta1 SHA1    1850    Hamilton    GA    ModAn  
4S

**Printer info:** Philadelphia    PA

**Tune name:** THE LONE PILGRIM

**Music source/composer:** B. F. White

**Text incipit:** I came to the place where

**Meter:** 11.8.11.8.

**Key:** E-flat major

**Number of parts:** 3

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Form:** ABA'C

2.

**Compiler info:** Mccuj SH 1855 Bio GA ModAn 4S

**Printer info:** Philadelphia PA

**Tune name:** THE LONE PILGRIM

**Music source/composer:** B. F. White

**Text incipit:** I came to the place where

**Meter:** 11.8.11.8.

**Key:** E-flat major

**Number of parts:** 3

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Form:** ABA'C

3.

**Compiler info:** P FunkJ SMVSF 1859-1861 Mountain Valley VA  
RefAn 7S

**Printer info:** Mountain Valley VA

**Tune name:** THE LONE PILGRIM. SELECTED FOR THE ADVOCATE BY  
CH. BEAZLEY, ESQ.

**Text incipit:** I came to the place where the

**Meter:** 11.8.11.8.

**Key:** E-flat major

**Number of parts:** 3

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Form:** ABA'C

**Variant 8:** 1(3)556535u1d532

13555u3212

1.

**Compiler info:** JohnAn WP 1853 Cornersville, Giles County TN  
ModAn 7S

**Printer info:** Nashville TN

**Tune name:** TRUE HAPPINESS

**Music source/composer:** T. W. Brents

**Text incipit:** How happy are they who their

**Meter:** 11.9.11.9.

**Key:** F major

**Number of parts:** 3

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Repetition of melodic material:** repeated melodic material

**Variant 9:** 1(3)56(5)3567u1d532(1)

u1(2)32121d65

1.

**Compiler info:** CommT IM 1845 Brothertown WI Sci R, 4S

**Printer info:** New York City NY

**Tune name:** MISSIONARY, OR WHITE PILGRIM. A tradition of the New-York  
Indians

**Music source/composer:** Thomas Commuck

**Arranger:** harmonized by Thomas Hastings

**Text incipit:** I came to the spot where

**Meter:** 11.8.11.8.

**Key:** D major

**Number of Parts:** 4

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Form:** ABA'C

2.

**Compiler info:** JH 1866 Boston MA RefAn R

**Printer info:** Boston MA

**Tune name:** COMMUCK

**Arranger:** Arranged for this work

**Text incipit:** If I in thy likeness, O

**Meter:** 11.8.11.8. with variants

**Key:** C major

**Number of parts:** 4

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Form:** ABA'C

3.

**Compiler info:** McinR TRCSM 1866 Richmond VA Sci R

**Printer info:** New York City NY

**Tune name:** MISSIONARY

**Music source/composer:** "From Indian Melodies." Ths. Commuck

**Text incipit:** O how happy are they, Who

**Meter:** 11.9.11.9.

**Key:** D major

**Number of parts:** 4

**Tune type:** plain tune

**Form:** ABA'C





- HaydA SM:** Hayden, Amos Sutton. *The Sacred Melodeon, containing a great variety of the most approved church music, selected chiefly from the old standard authors, with many original compositions. On a new system of notation. Designed for the use of churches, singing societies, and academies.* Pittsburgh: Wm. Overend & Co., 1848.
- JH:** *The Jubilee Harp, a choice selection of psalmody, ancient and modern, designed for use in public and social worship.* Boston: Advent Christian Publication Society, 1866.
- JohnAn WP:** Johnson, Andrew W. *The Western Psalmodist: a new system of notation; a collection of church music, consisting of a great variety of psalms and hymns, tunes, anthems and sacred songs, original and selected, including many new and beautiful tunes never before published. Well adapted to Christian churches, singing schools, private societies. Also, an easy introduction to the grounds of music.* Nashville: Nashville Union Office for A. W. Johnson, 1853.
- JoneL SM:** Jones, L[azurus]. J. *Southern Minstrel: a collection of psalm and hymn tunes, odes, and anthems: in three parts, selected from eminent authors, together with a number of new tunes, never before published, suited to nearly every metre, and well adapted to churches of every denomination, singing schools, and private societies, with plain rules for learners.* Philadelphia: Grigg, Elliot and Co., 1849.
- LeonSFilmA CP 7:** Leonard, Silas W[hite] and A[ugustus] D[amon] Fillmore, *The Christian Psalmist, a collection of tunes and hymns, original and selected, for the use of worshiping assemblies, singing and Sunday schools. Compiled from many authors.* Ed. 7. New Albany, IN: S. W. Leonard; Louisville: stereotyped and printed by Morton & Griswold, 1848.
- LeonSFilmA CP 10:** Leonard, Silas W[hite] and A[ugustus] D[amon] Fillmore, *The Christian Psalmist, a collection of tunes and hymns, original and selected, for the use of worshiping assemblies, singing and Sunday schools. Compiled from many authors.* Ed. 10. New Albany, IN: S. W. Leonard; Louisville: stereotyped and printed by Morton & Griswold, 1850.
- LeonSFilmA CP revent:** Leonard, Silas W[hite] and A[ugustus] D[amon] Fillmore, *The Christian Psalmist, a collection of tunes and hymns, original and selected, for the use of worshiping assemblies, singing and Sunday schools. Compiled from many authors.* Rev. and enl. by S. W. Leonard. New Albany, IN: S. W. Leonard; Louisville: stereotyped and printed by Morton & Griswold, 1850.
- MccuJ SH:** McCurry, John G. *The Social Harp, a collection of tunes, odes, anthems, and set pieces, selected from various authors: together with much new music never before published; suited to all metres, and well adapted to all denominations, singing-schools, and private societies. With a full exposition of the rudiments of music. And the art of musical composition so simplified that the most unlearned person can comprehend it with the utmost facility.* Philadelphia: T.K. Collins, Jr., 1855.
- McinR TRCSM:** McIntosh, R. M. *Tabor: or, The Richmond Collection of Sacred Music, designed for the various religious societies of the southern and south-western states.* New York: F. J. Huntington and Co., 1867.
- MyerL MSM:** Myers, Levi C. *Manual of Sacred Music, or A Choice Collection of Tunes, Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, arranged fro three voices, adapted to Christian churches, singing schools, and private societies. Selected from the most approved authors. Together with an easy introduction to the ground work of music.* Mountain Valley, VA: Joseph Funk & Sons, 1853.
- P FunkJ SMVSF:** Funk, Joseph and Sons. *The Southern Musical Advocate and Singer's Friend. Devoted to the cultivation of sacred music.* Published monthly. Mountain Valley, VA: Joseph Funk and Songs, 1859-61.

- SwanM NHC:** Swan, Marcus Lafayette. *The New Harp of Columbia: a system of musical notation, with a note for each sound, and a shape for each note containing a variety of most excellent psalm and hymn tunes, odes and anthems, happily adapted to church service, singing-schools and societies. Original and selected.* Nashville: W. T. Barry, 1867.
- SwanWSwanM HC:** Swan, M[arcus] L[afayette] and W. H. Swan. *The Harp Of Columbia: a new system of sacred music; with notes for every sound, and shapes for every note. The science made easy, rules abbreviated and old characters abandoned for new principles. The seven letters variously representing nine lines and spaces, and the four flats and four sharps transposing the notes to different letters, lines, and spaces, are all dispensed with, for the easy name and shape of two notes, etc. Containing anthems, odes, and church music, Original and selected.* Philadelphia and Knoxville: for the author, by L. Johnson and Co., 1849.
- WalkW CH 2:** Walker, William. *The Christian Harmony: in the seven-syllable character note system of music; being the most successful, natural, and easy method of acquiring a knowledge of this art; saving to the learner an immense amount of time and labor, thus placing the science of music within the reach of every person; containing the choicest collection of hymn and psalm tunes, odes and anthems, selected from the best authors in Europe and America; together with a large number of new tunes, from eminent composers, never before published, Embracing a Great Variety of Metres suited to the various hymn and psalm book used by the different denominations of Christians; adapted to the use of singing schools, choirs, social and private singing societies: also a copious elucidation of the science of vocal music, and plain rules for beginners.* Ed. 2. Philadelphia: Miller's Bible and Publishing House, 1873.
- WalkW SHA nrev:** Walker, William. *The Southern Harmony, And Musical Companion: containing a choice collection of tunes, hymns, psalms, odes, and anthems: selected from the most eminent authors in the United States: together with nearly one hundred new tunes, which have never before been published; suited to most of the metres contained in Watts's Hymns And Psalms, Mercer's Cluster, Dossey's Choice, Dover Selection, Methodist Hymn Book, and Baptist Harmony; and well adapted to Christian churches of every denomination, singing schools, and private societies: also, an easy introduction to the grounds of music, the rudiments of music, and plain rules for beginners.* New ed., rev. and imp. Philadelphia: E.W. Miller, 1854.
- WhitBeta1 SHA1:** White, B.F. and E.J. King. *The Sacred Harp, a collection of psalm and hymn tunes, odes, and anthems, selected from the most eminent authors: together with nearly one hundred pieces never before published; suited to most metres, and well adapted to churches of every denomination, singing schools, and private societies. With plain rules for learners.* By B. F. White & E. J. King. To which is added Appendix I., Containing a variety of standard and favorite tunes not comprised in the body of the work, compiled by a committee appointed by "The Southern Musical Convention." Ed. 2. Philadelphia: S.C. Collins, Jr., 1850.

Variants of THE WHITE PILGRIM/THE LONE PILGRIM tune family are found in ten different variants in eighteen sources. It appears to have originated in Western source material, illustrated with its earliest published setting in *Indian Melodies* (1845) a Wisconsin tunebook compiled by Thomas Commuck, a Narragansett Native American, and harmonized by the scientific-style New York musician, Thomas Hastings, composer of the

hymn tune ROCK OF AGES. Significantly, Commuck described the tune as originating in New York. Despite this setting constituting the earliest known version of the tune family, it only directly influenced postbellum scientific collections intended for congregational and social use, north and south. Significantly, the adapted setting in *The Jubilee Harp* (1866), a Seventh Day Adventist tunebook, appears in a different key with a different text, twenty-one years after its initial publication. The other two earliest variants, THE WHITE PILGRIM from *The Christian Psalmist* (1848) and THE PILGRIM'S REPOSE in *The Sacred Melodeon* (1848), remain closer to the other versions of the tune, even though they share no exactly identical melodic content with the other settings.

One defining characteristic of this tune family is the wide number of melodic variants with no more than three reprintings of any one version among the nineteen sources. Further, each variant remained tied to its region of origin, suggesting a circulation based more on the local as opposed to national level. Conversely, two identical versions of the text appear in two greater regions of origin: within the Great Lakes and Ohio and Mississippi River watersheds, and an area encompassing southeast Tennessee, the Shenandoah Valley, and the piedmont area of South Carolina and Georgia. Along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, the tune was known as the WHITE PILGRIM (with the exception of the Hayden setting, THE PILGRIM'S REPOSE), with the first line: "I came to the spot where the white pilgrim lay." For compilers of the southern Appalachians and piedmont areas east of the mountains, the first line read: "I came to the place where the lone pilgrim lay." While the obvious conclusion would ascribe these two versions to Western and Southern regional dissemination patterns, the earliest instance of the LONE PILGRIM text appears in Marcus Lafayette Swan's *The Harp of Columbia* (1849). As a result, the subsequent Southern Appalachian and piedmont settings of this version could stem from either the version

printed in Swan's collection, or from singers who learned the melody from this tunebook, because Walker, Myers, and White's settings all post-date Swan's book.

Comparing the versions together, all clearly demonstrate that some common tune circulated throughout a large portion of the Southern Appalachians and the piedmont area east of the Mountains, as well as the Trans-Appalachian West and South. However, viewing the versions together does not specifically reveal the connections each have to the other. Instead, they testify to a unified aesthetic of expression that embodies this type of folk hymn. While the text variants indicate some form of regional dissemination, this is not the only form present to account for the two texts. A similar division based upon denominational specificity is also present. Half of the Ohio and Mississippi River Valley versions using THE WHITE PILGRIM nomenclature are books associated with the Christian or Disciples of Christ church of the Restoration Movement (Leonard-Fillmore, Hayden, Auld).<sup>52</sup> Conversely, tunebooks using THE LONE PILGRIM text were compiled mostly by Baptist musicians (Swan, Walker, White). Thus, concluding that these sources represent regional trends remains tenuous because the denominational patterns can just as readily account for textual variance.

Finally, the published settings also demonstrate the problems with approaching the tunes from George Pullen Jackson's method. These settings appear both in scientific tunebooks (Commuck-Hastings, Seventh Day Adventist, McIntosh) and ancient-style compilations (Leonard-Fillmore, Hayden, Jones, Swan, Johnson, Auld, Myers, Walker, White). Within the ancient versions of the tune, all employ an identical process of

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<sup>52</sup> Though Auld was not a member of this church, the four-shape shape-note section in the first edition of *The Ohio Harmonist* borrowed most of its contents from Hayden's first book *The Introduction to Sacred Music, comprising the necessary rudiments, with a choice collection of tunes, original and selected* (Pittsburgh: Cramer and Spear, 1835), thus indicating some connection to the Disciples of Christ restoration movement.

harmonization, though these versions appear in three different notational forms: four-shape shape-note (Jones, Walker, White), seven-shape shape-note (Hayden, Swan, Auld, Johnson, Myers), and numeral notation (Leonard-Fillmore). By only studying the four-shape versions of the tune, a limited documentation of instances of tune settings prevents an understanding of all versions and settings of this tune. Further, without the inclusion of all instances of this tune, the pattern of denominational dissemination does not become manifest to account for the presence of these textual variants. Clearly, understanding the nature of this repertory involves a study of all source material, not selective portions to fit a scholarly ideology.

#### *1.4.5 Ancient-style music as a varied range of styles, influences, and expression*

Just as William Walker recognized the existence of “Middle, Southern, and Western States” as separate venues for sacred music performance,<sup>53</sup> so too did he distinguish between an older ancient-style repertory of the eighteenth century and the newer pieces composed by musicians in the Middle Atlantic, Southern Appalachian and piedmont areas of the nineteenth century in the preface to *The Southern Harmony* (1835). In describing the musical contents of this tunebook, he stated: “While those that are fond of fugged tunes have not been neglected, I have endeavoured to make this book a complete Musical Companion for the aged as well as the youth. Those that are partial to ancient music, will here find some good old acquaintances which will cause them to remember with pleasure the scenes of life that are past and gone; while my youthful companions, who are more fond of modern music, I hope will find a sufficient number of new tunes to satisfy them, as I have spared no pains in trying to select such tunes as would meet the wishes of the public.”

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<sup>53</sup> William Walker, “Preface” to *The Christian Harmony*, ed. 2 (Philadelphia: Miller’s Bible and Publishing House, 1873).

This oft-quoted statement offers great insight into the regional and stylistic self-identifications of sacred music compilers of the nineteenth century. As stated earlier, Walker's choice of wording in the title of the collection reflected a specificity of Southern identification. Thus, the use of the word "modern" presents several curious traits: 1) an identification of a musical genre comprising two stylistic periods, labeled ancient and modern, 2) the terms "ancient" and "modern" pertain to compositional aesthetic of the aged and the young, and 3) a difference between modern music and scientific music.

While Walker's book exhibits one primary characteristic that distinguishes it from his ancient-style peers: a three-part scoring procedure for the modern pieces, in contrast to the four-part ancient pieces. Although a three-part style characterized the scientific Nonconformist and progressive Catholic and Anglican musical style, these works fall squarely within the ancient-style idiom. Thus, Walker considered the modern pieces not as scientific works, but as modern ancient-style pieces. Curiously, the few four-part pieces or arrangements by Walker and other Southern composers almost always comprise fusing tunes, which were considered an ancient genre of social ancient-style sacred music composition.

However, modern ancient music does not only appear in Southern source material. Instead, the various tune types considered by Walker as "modern" date back to the latter half of the eighteenth century, both in form and harmonization method, representing a traditional approach to the ancient or tenor-led style of psalmody. These modern ancient pieces appeared first in English Presbyterian source material. By 1835, the modern ancient style began to change in the West and Middle Atlantic, and became influenced by reform efforts in both geographic areas. Generally speaking, reform musicians preserved the four-part harmonization method, but the harmony was changed to adopt common practice

principles and the melody was switched from the tenor to the treble voice. Thus, modern ancient pieces, though originally found in the Middle Atlantic, Western, and Southern Appalachian and piedmont regions, became associated principally with the South because of this area's continuation of the modern ancient style after other areas had started to adopt a modified form of ancient-style expression. Walker could claim his book's uniqueness, and therefore Southern-ness, only when its compositional content became something commonly found only in the Southern Appalachian and piedmont section of the country.

Following Walker's initiative, subsequent Southern four-shape compilers included both the older four-part ancient-style pieces, as well as the modern ancient-style three and later four-part pieces in their tunebooks, particularly with the four-shape shape-note collections by Hauser (*The Hesperian Harp*), White and King (*The Sacred Harp*), McCurry (*The Social Harp*), and Jones (*The Southern Minstrel*). Structurally, modern ancient-style compositions fit within the type of plain tunes and folk hymns that became associated with both conservative and enthusiastic evangelical protestant Christian sects. Though structurally different than most seventeenth and eighteenth-century English ancient-style psalmody, the harmonization method follows the same basic approach, albeit with more instances of parallelisms and unprepared dissonances combined with greater melodic independence between the parts. The compositional characteristics of the ancient style ultimately descend from British stylistic mannerisms explicated in two theoretical writings by English composer William Tans'ur: *A New Musical Grammar: or, the Harmonical Spectator* (London, 1746) and *The Elements of Musick Display'd: or, Its Grammar, or Ground-Work Made Easy* (London, 1772).

Allen Britton's landmark dissertation, "Theoretical Introductions in American Tunebooks to 1800" (University of Michigan, 1949), provided an extensive documentation

of ancient-style music practice, based upon eighteenth and nineteenth-century theoretical primary source material. Britton found in these works descriptions of keys, time signatures, clefs, dynamics, intervals, and general directions for keeping time, conducting singing schools, and performance directives. However, none of these books described a tonal understanding of the function of the music. While many of the melodies in the tunebooks lay within a tonal framework, the harmony did not. Instead, these employed a note-for-note harmonization based upon a consonant and dissonant relationship of the harmonized part to the cantus. Further, the various parts were composed individually and not conceived as one basic compositional unit. Earlier composers of ancient-style psalmody did make sure that each successive part agreed with the other harmonized parts in terms of its basis upon the cantus. However, modern ancient composers looked more to the individual relationship of each part to the cantus, and not so much to the other parts. As a result, more dissonances and parallelisms appear in modern ancient pieces as opposed to older ancient pieces.<sup>54</sup>

As Southern ancient-style composers switched to seven-shape shape-note notation, four-part scoring became standard practice. This shift in notation also included the addition of an alto part to older, modern ancient three-part pieces found in the earlier four-shape shape-note books.<sup>55</sup> These four-part settings in the seven-shape books exhibited an identical

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<sup>54</sup> However, some composers such as Elisha West in Vermont, c. 1795-1810, employed an identical harmonic process of each part related to the cantus, but not to each other, similar to modern ancient-style composition in the Antebellum Period. This style appears to be unique to northern and western New England.

<sup>55</sup> This ancient modern repertory dates to the beginning of the nineteenth-century when the Middle Atlantic, Western, and Shenandoah Valley and Carolina piedmont repertories exhibited identical harmonic and compositional procedures. The split only occurred with the change in compositional process in the West. As a result, what once was an identical style became associated with the South through Southern psalmodist's perpetuation of this older style after it began to disappear in the West and in the Middle Atlantic states.



surface presentation of the reformed scientific-style collections.<sup>56</sup> Besides scoring procedure, the bass lines became more static and the harmony imitated that of functional tonality, though with varying degrees of success. Southern compilers strove to appear scientific, current, and modern both in the notational systems and in scoring procedure, while at the same time preserving a distinctly ancient-style compositional aesthetic.<sup>57</sup> However, these composers' compositions and arrangements always lay outside a tonal framework. Thus, their use of traditional English Presbyterian ancient style became fused with the popular tradition of the reformed ancient style. Both popular and traditional strains of the ancient style could operate independently or simultaneously, or both.

### 1.5 Scope

The narrative portion of the dissertation will begin with an investigation into current scholarly conceptions of English-language sacred music. Following this chapter will be a series of units devoted to three main periods, the beginning of the eighteenth century to 1760, the Late Colonial Period (1760-1775), and the Early Nationalist Period (1776-1830). The first unit will focus on the musical-denominational hearths of the British colonies before 1760. Focus will be given to performance traditions and their relationship to church history and governance, performance practice, repertory, and original composition. It explores the practice of Anglicans in the Virginia Tidewater and the Carolina Low Country, New England

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<sup>56</sup> Even *The Sacred Harp* by B. F. White and E. J. King, which never endorsed a seven-shape shape-note system, incorporated added alto parts into its format during the early part of the twentieth century.

<sup>57</sup> White and King's *Sacred Harp* presents an anomaly within this trait through the continuation of four-shape notation after all other compilers had switched to seven-shape notation. The addition of alto parts gave it the appearance of a reform collection through scoring procedure, though the notation system conformed to the modern ancient aesthetic described by Walker in 1835.

Congregationalists and their influence outside of the region, English Presbyterians along the Long Island Sound and the Middle Atlantic, and finally Scottish Presbyterians in the Middle Atlantic. Of these groups, English Presbyterians have received little to no scholarly attention largely because of the general conflation of Presbyterianism with Scotland. In contrast, English Presbyterian trends exerted the most profound and lasting influence on sacred music activity not only among Calvinists, but also evangelical musicians. This group was the first to create folk hymns and contrafacta, and to employ tenor-based ancient-style expression in the British colonies. Contrafacta were based on popular and traditional secular antecedents, but circulated largely as popular songs heard in the theater, pleasure garden, and the tavern. Folk hymns, sometimes termed spiritual folk songs have no known secular origin, but exist in variant melodic forms termed tune families that are found in sacred sources throughout the United States. Their dissemination was based more upon oral transmission than through printed and scribal sources, representing a more traditional form of expression among the various denominations.

The second unit expands upon this denominational-regional base and explores the now divergent trends in musical expression of the Late Colonial Period. Musical style has expanded to feature widespread use of tenor-based music, termed ancient-style expression, and a treble or soprano-based style that will become known as scientific music in the Early Nationalist Period. In the Middle Atlantic and Southern backcountry, ancient-style psalmody was identified most closely with Calvinists and other enthusiastic or radical denominations, the treble-based style with progressive Anglicans in the Middle Atlantic and coastal South. Philadelphia served as the first colonial center for the publication and widespread cultivation of the four-part ancient style. Psalmist James Lyon drew from a nexus of regional musicians for the creation of his tunebook *Urania*. Not only presenting a

wide selection of various trends in European ancient-style psalmody, this tunebook featured a large proportion of colonial-composed pieces encompassing congregational psalm tunes to extended compositions such as set pieces. Ancient-style musicians engaged in music publishing, disseminating their material north to New England, west across Pennsylvania, and south into the Southern backcountry.

Anglicans started to shift away from the older metrical psalm tune repertory found in seventeenth-century psalters including the old and new versions by Sternhold and Hopkins (1562) and Tate and Brady (1696). They began to adopt decorated psalm and hymn tunes, as well as anthems and set pieces that incorporated the theatrical affective common-practice galante style. Combining the theater with the church as suitable forums for the performance of religious music, these musicians attempted to replicate performance practice of London's fashionable parish churches. They engaged trained choirs and professional organists, and sponsored concert performances of extended compositions and oratorio selections. Many Anglican musicians attempted to elevate themselves to the genteel, polite society for whom they served. Unlike ancient-style practitioners they regularly employed keyboard instruments for use in the church and the home, as well as other fashionable instruments associated with high society.

Most of their music remained in manuscript as a result of its more elaborate and specialized requirements for performance. Simple psalm tunes printed in two and three parts were much easier to print and would appeal to a wider audience than music with keyboard and orchestral accompaniment, figured bass, and extended solos as well as choral sections. Besides being more expensive to engrave, the audience for such a publication would be too small to recoup the expenses involved in issuing such a publication. As a

result, fewer pieces survive and many of these works have slipped from the canon of American music historiography.

Alongside these divisions between Calvinists and Anglicans, and the ancient and treble-led styles, Nonconformist practice associated both with John and Charles Wesley, the founders of Methodism, and Calvinist Anglicans such as George Whitefield, influenced Calvinist and Anglican practice in British North America. In the Late Colonial Period, its greatest impact was felt outside of New England and influenced compositional trends and tunebook contents among many members of these churches. Though not a formal denomination, Nonconformists helped shape the repertory, performance practice, and compositional style among Anglicans and English Presbyterians. They made popular the contrafactum, they introduced hymns with poetic imagery that spoke personally to a congregant, and the poetic meters of their hymnody mimicked that of popular music, bringing a more popular, galante-inspired, modern musical style to colonial Anglican expression.

Meanwhile, in northern New England, Calvinist Congregationalist practice was abruptly discontinued largely because of the efforts of regional ancient-style Anglican musicians and music publishers. Traditionally, Congregationalists had espoused a three-part treble led style of music. In England, some Anglicans besides a goodly number of Calvinists had also adopted the ancient style. Although rejected by many Anglicans in the Middle Atlantic and coastal South, this style of music quickly won favor among members of this denomination in the north. As a result, the Congregationalist adoption of the ancient style represents an Anglicanization of musical practice, constituting a popular initiative that spread throughout much of the region. Rather than being part of a larger traditional flourishing of sacred music, late colonial psalmodists such as William Billings were responsible for

abandoning their denomination's tradition in favor of the newer popular ancient style (by northern New England standards).

The final unit examines popular and traditional approaches to sacred music both within its regional context and its relationship to denominational and ecclesiastical performance. Many of the same trends that characterized Anglican practice of the Late Colonial Middle Atlantic and coastal South continue unchanged into the nineteenth century. Though the complexity of the music might expand as well as the range of compositional genres and the venues for their performance, its core identity would persist into the mid-nineteenth century. This music still favored the genteel classes and social elite. The forces and instruments needed for its performance were still highly specialized and required a great deal of training. The composers originated largely from Europe and were employed in many of the same types of venues as encountered in the Late Colonial Period. The music still embraced the conventions of the pleasure garden and theater.

The center for popular ancient-style psalmody in New England shifted away from Boston, and migrated to southern and western New England, centered in Connecticut and the Connecticut River Valley. Although this compositional movement was in large part initiated by Boston psalmist William Billings, it found its most widespread practitioners in the western part of the region with a large network of composers, singing masters, and singers extended throughout much of this area. These musicians were the most prolific compilers of tunebooks. Their tunes formed the bulk of the core popular ancient-style repertory, and they were the most instrumental in disseminating the popular ancient style to the West, Middle Atlantic, Southern backcountry, and Chesapeake Bay. Also, as inheritors of the English Presbyterian traditional repertory too, some continued to perform and

arrange folk hymns and spiritual songs that led to a brief flowering of these compositional genres in the early nineteenth century.

Alongside this largely popular movement for ancient-style composition, the final chapter untangles the complicated use of the ancient style in the Middle Atlantic, South, and West. Unlike much of New England, two **separate** and widespread ancient-style practices existed in this region by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first was descended from the traditional English Presbyterian method that flourished in the Late Colonial Middle Atlantic. The second was a popular form introduced to the area by itinerant New England singing masters that promoted the northern style of psalmody cultivated by William Billings. The traditional method became identified most closely with congregational practice, the popular with social-secular venues for performance. Musicians from the Middle Atlantic, South, and West recognized the differences in method and compositional approach and placed them in separate sections of tunebooks. A few musicians successfully wrote examples of both styles of ancient-style psalmody. Existing in manuscript copybooks, printed tunebooks, and other types of source material, the history of ancient-style expression and composition in this area would prove the most influential on subsequent trends in shape-note hymnody, evangelical and revival practice, and other enthusiastic uses of sacred music that would establish performance and compositional trends into the time of the American Civil War. Only through an examination of all the different trends of ancient-style music in the Colonial and Early Nationalist Periods do these traditional and popular approaches reveal their influence on ecclesiastical and social-secular singing culture in these regions. It also demonstrates the centrality of traditional English Presbyterian practice in shaping much of American sacred music practice outside the Episcopalian and Catholic orbit.

In addition to the narrative prose, the dissertation includes a musical anthology of pieces discussed throughout the dissertation. The anthology is divided into two general portions, first by tunes that represent specific denominational features and traditions, and second by popular pieces that transcend a denominationally specific practice and repertory. All pieces are organized chronologically by compositional genre and are provided with information giving the composer of the music and the author of the text and the original source from which the example was taken. All pieces are presented how they appear in the original source concerning notes, text, figured bass, and time signatures. The original clefs, if they differ from modern usage are placed at the beginning of each tune for a particular part, but the pitches are thereafter presented according to modern clef usage. The right hand of the keyboard part is left blank in pieces with keyboard accompaniment that include interludes and bass accompaniment. None of the figured bass examples have been realized. Scoring order follows SATB practice unless otherwise stated.

## Chapter 2: Reconsidering Cherished Notions of American Psalmody

Until now, the model for understanding the history of American sacred music involves two basic concepts, an initial flowering of sacred music performance practice in New England, and its dissemination to the American West and South following the Second Great Awakening (1800-1810). This dissemination constitutes a New England cultural and compositional diaspora of tune repertory and harmonic style. Although the ancient-style sacred music outside of New England was not strictly identical to the earlier repertory, this stylistic difference happened as a result of modifications by Southern musicians to compositional precedents established by earlier New England composers. Composers and compilers from the Middle Atlantic and coastal South also contributed to eighteenth-century sacred music developments. However, their efforts are seen as ancillary to the activities of Anglo-American protestant singing masters within New England. In effect the creation of a New England hegemony developed in three general stages: a northern migration to western New York (encompassing the counties between Albany and Buffalo) and the Great Lakes, a middle route through central and western Pennsylvania (including the areas between Harrisburg and Pittsburgh), and a more southern path from Virginia and North Carolina, to Kentucky and Tennessee.

While this model explains the general chronological appearance of some ancient-style American sacred music *compositions* from 1770 to 1820, these notions do not encompass a thorough examination of primary source material. Further, this model does not constitute the full measure of the evidence offered by the documents. American sacred music historiography remains the oldest, most documented, and in many ways, the most established part of our national musical history. Despite an extended pedigree of scholarly



inquiry, the architects of this New England hegemony model originated from New England (Hood, Gould, Jackson). Not surprisingly, the emphasis placed on New England's progressiveness and its claim to numerous initiatives has positioned New England in the forefront of everything historical and musical. This factor, more than any other, has caused undue emphasis on the contributions by New Englanders to the framing of a national identity.

What seems most incongruent is the fact that while general American history has questioned the concepts of New England intellectual and cultural domination, and Southern inheritance of Northern intellectual initiatives, a similar intellectual re-investigation has not appeared within American musicology to either confirm the accuracy of these notions or reveal an apparent disagreement with evidence in primary source material. As a result, this chapter re-examines the basic principles central to the present model for understanding the development of American sacred music (i.e. New England musical diaspora and Southern musical culture as its successor). Finally, in a more specific application to musical scholarship, this chapter will re-examine concepts of ancient and scientific-style music (independent harmonization from a cantus vs. common practice harmonization), and the nature of reform activities in the trans-Appalachian West.

## **2.1 The New England Musical Diaspora and the creation of a National Style**

Earlier scholars created the New England musical diaspora by setting two standards of representation: compositional output and instances of publication during the Early Nationalist Period (1770-1820), and identifying those geographic areas that accepted or rejected this body of New England material. Indeed, New England publishers flooded the American market with the majority of sacred music publications, providing evidence to

support the assertions of earlier scholars. Some musicians, including New England-based composers and compilers Andrew Law, Oliver Holden, Samuel Holyoke, and later, Lowell Mason, began to reject indigenous ancient-style psalmody, asserting their efforts as a “reform” of the earlier repertory. This rejection also explains how New England ancient-style sacred music was disseminated to other areas of the country. Areas outside of New England were not perceived to be as progressive as those within, thus accounting for the delayed adoption of a New England style throughout the Middle Atlantic, Southern, and Western states after its initial flourishing in the north.

Before discussing the body of secondary source material that emerged from the hegemony theory, it seems appropriate to discuss the relationship between ancient-style and scientific-style psalmody and its aesthetic considerations as described by eighteenth and early nineteenth-century writers. Generally, those writers that espoused a reform of the older repertory approached sacred music from a neo-platonic aesthetic. According to reform musicians such as Andrew Law, the ancient style did not present the appropriate solemnity fit for the worship of God. This solemnity comprised two facets: a decency associated with the praise of God expressed in an appropriate *Affekt*, and the knowledge of theoretical principles to appropriately address the divine Creator.

In a “Dedication *To the Ministers of the Gospel, and the Singing-Masters, Clerks and Choristers throughout the United States.*” (1800), Law admonished:

“very much of the music in vogue is miserable indeed. Hence the man of piety and principle, of taste and discernment in music, and hence, indeed, all, who entertain a sense of decency and decorum in devotion, are oftentimes offended with that lifeless and insipid, or that frivolous and frolicsome succession and combination of sounds, so frequently introduced into churches, where all should be serious, animated and

devout: and hence too, the dignity and the ever-varying vigor of Handel, of Madan, and of others, alike meritorious, are, in a great measure, supplanted by the pitiful productions of numerous composuists, whom it would be doing too much honor to name.”<sup>1</sup>

For Law, the *Affekt* of music in the worship service must have “decency” and “decorum” found in scientific-style music, instead of the “lifeless,” “insipid,” “frolicksome,” and “frivolous” ancient-style expression. Proper music for addressing the deity can be found in the theoretically proper pieces of Handel and Martin Madan, instead of the unnamed “pitiful” ancient-style “composuists.”

Although Law attributed the then present “pitiful” state of American psalmody to two basic root causes, faulty American compositions and composers, and the inappropriateness of their music for use in a religious service, scholars have only focused on the first comment to the exclusion of the second. As recent as 2003, Nicholas Temperley attributed this phenomenon first to the passing of an initial nationalist movement in the United States, and secondly to an increased exposure to English oratorio, specifically referring to the works of George Frederick Handel.<sup>2</sup> While this statement is correct, it only presents half of the problem. To Law, this “evil is obvious. Much of the predominating Psalmody of the Country is more like song-singing, than like solemn praise. It rests with you, Gentlemen, to apply the remedy. The work of reformation is arduous, but not

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Law, “Dedication. *To the Ministers of the Gospel, and the Singing-Masters, Clerks and Choristers throughout the United States*” in *The Art of Singing; in three parts: viz. I. The MUSICAL PRIMER, II. The CHRISTIAN HARMONY, III. The MUSICAL MAGAZINE* (Cheshire, CT: n.p., 1800).

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *Bound For America: Three British Composers* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 2.

impracticable, and the more difficult the task, the more praise-worthy the accomplishment.”<sup>3</sup>

While Americans were deficient in skill compared with Europeans, this deficiency also extended into the ability to convey appropriate solemnity in religious observance.

Further, this religious inappropriateness did not become manifest only to the reformers of ancient-style psalmody – it also posed a vital concern to composers of ancient-style psalmody. In 1806, psalmist Stephen Jenks from Connecticut recognized New England’s primacy in the realm of publications, but eschewed many compositions found within these imprints. He found that

“[t]he great torrent of music which is continually pouring upon the public from almost every quarter, especially in the New-England States, has had, the Author believes, a happy tendency to rouse the attention of many of our citizens, of able abilities, to this very sublime and pleasing art: While, at the same time, he laments, that a greater proportion of this music is not better calculated, to ripen the taste, as well as to excite the attention, to a stile of music, which is not too high to be performed, nor too grovling and mean to be attempted. There is certainly a peculiar stile of music, which, if strictly pursued, cannot fail to have that most happy effect on the human understanding and affections...”<sup>4</sup>

Jenks was *not* one of the musicians intent on reforming the ancient-style New England repertory established by the generation of psalmists that included William Billings, Lewis Edson, and Daniel Read. As a result, his belief in the impropriety of many of these pieces does not reflect an attitude of absolute deference towards the more current British common practice-style repertory influenced by Nonconformists, but rather the inability of the tunes to

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<sup>3</sup> Law, “Dedication.”

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Jenks, “Preface” to *The Delights of Harmony, or Union Compiler* (Dedham: H. Mann, 1806). Boldface added by the author.

instill a sense of real sacred devotion. Because the ancient-style New England psalmody was perceived by its practitioners and reformers as serving the desires of man and the world more than God (at least from a Christian musician's points of view), the idea of a New England musical diaspora demands reconsideration, both in its application to the religious sentiment of denominations outside of New England, as well as the social purposes that sacred music served within its spiritual communities.

Scholarship concerning the history of American psalmody in the nineteenth century has generally centered on the evangelical branches of various denominations including those within the Restoration movement.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, scholarship investigating eighteenth-century English-language American Protestantism has generally focused more on progressive Congregationalists who became Unitarians, and, to some degree the Nonconformist Anglican, New Light Presbyterian, and early Methodist churches. However, with the exception of the progressive Congregationalists and to some degree the primitive Christians of northern New England and Separate Baptists of the Carolinas, the Middle Atlantic colonies and later states served as the hearth for the above-named denominations in their dissemination to other areas of the country, principally the South and West.

With an apparent disagreement between religious sentiment and compositional style expressed in primary documents and contemporary American historical scholarship, two important concepts become evident for understanding the transition of sacred musical culture between the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. First, scholarship into evangelical protestant music has placed undue emphasis on the contributions of

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<sup>5</sup> The Restoration movement developed from the theological initiatives of the Second Great Awakening. In order to bring congregations closer to Christ, various ministers wanted to restore the practices of the early Christian church as described in the Book of Acts. Also described as primitive Christianity, this practice applied most notably to the Disciples of Christ in the trans-Appalachian West.

Congregationalist musicians, to the general exclusion of other denominations, despite the fact that this sect did not function as *the* spiritual leader in a domestic missionary movement.<sup>6</sup> Further, if the ideology of Congregationalist musicians does not, in fact, represent the religious attitude of other denominations, then New England compositions should not be charged with the ability to represent a national style governed by a unified Protestant ethos.

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<sup>6</sup>Congregationalism in the West became most prevalent in three areas of the Great Lakes region: 1) western New York in the Burned-over District (the area between Albany and Buffalo), 2) eastern Michigan in the areas surrounding Detroit, and 3) the Connecticut Western Reserve area of northern Ohio. Individual congregations also appeared in the areas of settlement in southeastern Ohio by the Massachusetts-based Ohio Company. However, most Congregational churches west of New York were founded before 1801, and not during the latter part of the Early Nationalist period (pre-1830) when a domestic missionary movement first arose with a joint partnership by Congregationalists and Presbyterians, known as the Plan of Union. While some ministers in western Presbyterian churches originated from New England, as in the Rev. Lyman Beecher of the Second Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati, these ministers based their theological concepts most often on the writings of Jonathan Edwards, and became known as Edwardean Congregationalists.

Whitney R. Cross discussed this phenomenon at length, demonstrating that the missionary efforts of Congregationalism only became a major factor in the Great Lakes region, principally western New York, and to some degree, in northern Ohio. Source: *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), 19-20.

This lack of a theological diaspora continued into the Civil War era, as seen with the number of Congregationalist churches disseminated throughout the world. In the year 1860, author Joseph Belcher stated that of the 1,674 Congregationalist churches active in the country, 1,378 were in New England, with the other 296 mainly in western New York, northern Ohio, and eastern Michigan, with others scattered in Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, Tennessee, Missouri, England, Canada, and Constantinople. With the exception of the states of Tennessee and Missouri, all others were part of the original Northwest Territory established by New Englanders with the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Congregationalist hegemony only appears in areas of New England settlement. In contrast, Presbyterianism, in both its English and Scottish branches, spread over a much larger area of the West and the South because of the larger Scots-Irish cultural diaspora to the interior parts of the trans-Appalachian and trans-Mississippi West, and the southern backcountry. Source: Joseph Belcher, *The Religious Denominations in the United States* (Philadelphia: John E. Potter, 1860) 419, 424.

<sup>7</sup> See, Amy Aaron, "William Tuckey, A Choirmaster in Colonial New York," *The Musical Quarterly* 64, 1, (1978) 79-97; Angela Rene Hand, "Francis Hopkinson: American Poet and Composer" (DMA diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2000); Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson, the first American Poet-Composer, 1737 and James Lyon, Patriot, Preacher, Psalmist, 1735-1794*, (1905; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1905, 1967).

The problems faced in theological representations of New England musical ideology and composition in its representation of a national style also extend into the scholarly considerations of contemporary writers of American sacred music. Simply put, twentieth-century scholarship has based the existence of a native, American sacred musical style upon the musical initiatives and creations of New Englanders (i.e. the “First New England School”), to the exclusion of other regions, cultures, and ethnicities, particularly those in the Middle Atlantic.

Discussions of the contributions of protestant Middle Atlantic tunebook compilers and psalmodists have focused only on the activities of the earliest generation of Middle Atlantic musicians active during the late colonial period: James Lyon, William Tuckey, and Francis Hopkinson.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, scholarly discussions of Middle Atlantic tunebooks by these musicians have recognized these books’ importance but have dismissed these as ancillary to later New England compilations. For instance, Allen Britton, in “Theoretical Introductions In American Tune-Books To 1800” (University of Michigan, 1949), propagated the nineteenth-century ideology created by George Hood in *A History of Music in New England* (Boston, 1846) and Nathaniel Duren Gould in the *Church Music in America* (Boston, 1853) by considering all American tunebooks as representative of a single national phenomenon descended from New England practice. However, he did offer a casual recognition of the contributions of Middle Atlantic and Southern sources to the larger body of material.<sup>8</sup> According to Britton, musical publications from these areas lay outside the real nexus of

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<sup>7</sup> See, Amy Aaron, “William Tuckey, A Choirmaster in Colonial New York,” *The Musical Quarterly* 64, 1, (1978) 79-97; Angela Rene Hand, “Francis Hopkinson: American Poet and Composer” (DMA diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2000); Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson, the first American Poet-Composer, 1737 and James Lyon, Patriot, Preacher, Psalmodist, 1735-1794*, (1905; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1905, 1967).

<sup>8</sup> Britton, “Theoretical Introductions,” 131.

musical activity—Boston—and as such, tunebooks from New England originated from the center of American musical activity, particularly those by William Billings.<sup>9</sup>

Similarly, Richard Crawford in the preface to the facsimile edition of *Urania* by James Lyon (New York, 1974),<sup>10</sup> regarded this work as central to understanding the development of American sacred music, but later perpetuated the nineteenth-century perspective of New England music as representative of all American sacred music in *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody* (1984).<sup>11</sup> In creating a list of the one-hundred-and-one most often-printed psalm and hymn tunes before 1800, he, like Britton, viewed the repertory of colonial and Federalist America as one large region, thus accounting for the national character artificially impressed upon the selection. Unfortunately, the uninformed reader is misled into viewing American sacred music as a national style from the period 1698 to 1811 based upon no other classification system other than the “statistical frequency” method presented by Crawford.<sup>12</sup>

The reason why this publication presents a problem with understanding the core repertory lies with the numerical instances of tunebook publication in America during the eighteenth century. Approximately 344 English-language American tunebooks, supplements, and other miscellaneous publications of sacred music were published in the eastern seaboard between 1698 and 1820. Of these, 53 appeared in Connecticut, 1 in Delaware, 9 in Maine, 23 in Maryland, 123 in Massachusetts, 16 in New Hampshire, 4 in New Jersey, 53 in New York, 42 in Pennsylvania, 4 in Rhode Island, 3 in South Carolina, 9

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 135-6.

<sup>10</sup> Crawford, “Introduction,” xvii.

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

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. ix.



in Vermont, and 3 in coastal Virginia.<sup>13</sup> Thus, 245 books emanated from New England and Northern New York (72 %), 93 from the Middle Atlantic (27 %), and 6 from the coastal South (1 %).<sup>14</sup> While Crawford explicitly wanted to avoid making statements about regionalisms within the repertory,<sup>15</sup> compiling an index from this viewpoint creates a strong New England bias based upon publication instances, not only in compositional aesthetic, but also in the theological content found in the text choices for the various hymns and psalms. Quite simply, the *Core Repertory* remains the core repertory and ideology of New England, not the United States.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *The Hymn Tune Index*, Nicholas Temperley, Charles G. Manns, and Joseph Herl, eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 463-4.

<sup>14</sup> It should be remembered that these publications only include English-language sacred music imprints. Therefore, all German-language imprints and manuscript material by Lutheran, Reformed Dutch, Society of Separatists at Ephrata, Society of the Women in the Wilderness, Unitas Fratrum, and others do not enter into these statistics. Not coincidentally, these imprints originate from Middle Atlantic publishing houses. The Middle Atlantic area differed from all other areas of Colonial and early nationalist America in that this area was initially settled by Swedish and Dutch colonists, later by Quakers (who did not engage in music during the worship service), and then by various German groups (e.g. Schwenkfelder, Mennonite, Amish, Lutheran, Moravian, etc.) before the arrival of the Scots-Irish Presbyterians. Further, many of these groups did not publish tune supplements, but only: 1) hymnals that provided the text and possibly the tune name intended for its performance in the published source, and 2) manuscript source material for personal use either within the home or within the church. Thus, these percentages represent a skewed perspective of an exclusionary series of music publication data when taken alongside *all* sacred music imprints from 1698 to 1820. If the Middle Atlantic colonies and states did not provide as much English-language composition or publication as New England, this phenomenon only occurred because English denominations were only one of many other denominations in this area. Unlike other colonies and regions, the Middle Atlantic was the least homogenous in the American seaboard in comparison with New England, the coastal South, and the backcountry areas of the South and West. When taking all musical documents from the Middle Atlantic into consideration, New England's primacy in sacred music composition and publication begins to lose its dominant position.

<sup>15</sup> Crawford, *Core Repertory*, ix.

<sup>16</sup> Crawford also did not take into account manuscript source material into his findings. While the number of manuscript sources does not constitute as large body of English language primary source material as imprints, scribal sources serve as the only documentation of musical practice in the backcountry areas of the United States within his chronological parameters, particularly in the South and West. Thus, inclusion of both

A more recent perpetuation of this New England bias/artificial national character viewpoint appears in the *Music of the New American Nation: Sacred Music From 1780 To 1820* edited by Karl Kroeger (New York & London, 1995). Comprising fifteen volumes of sacred music anthologies, this series includes fourteen volumes of New England composers, and one volume of three New York composers all of whom were active and born in Massachusetts before relocating to upstate New York. Admittedly, Kroeger stresses: “the volumes in this series by no means exhaust the repertory” (vii). However, in his list of other composers whose works could have been included in the series but “could not be represented,” Kroeger only listed two composers who lived south of Albany, New York: Nehemiah Shumway and Amos Pilsbury, both born in New England.<sup>17</sup>

Finally the *Music of the United States of America (MUSA)* and *Recent Researches in American Music* series published by A-R Editions have also followed this hegemony idea through its publication contents. A-R Editions has published volumes devoted to three main subject areas: collected works of ancient-style New England composers Stephen Jenks,<sup>18</sup> Timothy Swan,<sup>19</sup> and Daniel Read,<sup>20</sup> sacred works found within anthologies of emigrant composers active in the United States the Early Nationalist period;<sup>21</sup> and finally a

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printed and manuscript material remains central to understanding the core repertories of the later Colonial and Federalist periods.

<sup>17</sup> Kroeger, “Introduction.” to *Music of the New American Nation*, vii.

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

<sup>19</sup> Timothy Swan, *Psalmody and Secular Songs: Timothy Swan*, ed. Nym Cooke, vol. 6, *Recent Researches in American Music*, 26. *Music of the United States of America* (Madison: Published for the American Musicological Society by A-R Editions, ca. 1997).

<sup>20</sup> See, Daniel Read, *Collected Works: Daniel Read*, ed. Karl Kroeger, vol. 4, *Recent Researches in American Music*, 24, *Music of the United States of America* (Madison: A-R Editions, ca. 1995); *Musica Ecclesiae, or, Devotional Harmony*, comp. Daniel Read, ed. Karl and Marie Kroeger, vol. 48-50, *Recent Researches in American Music* (Middleton, Wi: A-R Editions, ca. 2004).

<sup>21</sup> See, Benjamin Carr, *Selected Secular and Sacred songs: Benjamin Carr*, ed. Eve R. Meyer, vol. 15, *Recent Researches in American Music* (Madison: A-R Editions, ca. 1986); *Early American Anthems*,

smattering of Civil War-era publications by New England composers who advocated a general rejection of earlier New England music.<sup>22</sup> Significantly, only one publication of psalm and hymn tunes outside of the New England orbit has appeared. All the scholars and publishers of the above studies, volumes, and series have viewed the numeric preponderance of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century compositional output and publications as the means by which to gauge the representation of national character and ideology, thus accounting for New England's primacy in the realm of sacred music.

As seen with tunebook production, New England did dominate this aspect of musical activity. However, comparatively few New England compositions within this vast repertory circulated outside of New England. Those tunes that did, appeared initially in publications from Middle Atlantic publishing houses, and later through firms located in the southern extension of the Middle Atlantic and West, and later in the Southern backcountry. Establishing New England hegemony becomes further complicated because composers in New England did not create new tune types, but wrote pieces within compositional forms established by British composers during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Despite the fact that he propagated the diaspora theory, even George Pullen Jackson demonstrated the non-existence of a New England hegemony within the American South in his *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands* (Chapel Hill, 1933), with a listing of the eighty most popular tunes found within his collection of tunebooks. Of these tunes, only two ancient-style pieces originated in New England: CHINA by Timothy Swan, and PILGRIM'S

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ed. Karl Kroeger, vol. 36-7, *Recent Researches in American Music* (Madison: A-R Editions, ca. 2000); James Hewitt, *Selected Compositions: James Hewitt*, ed. John W. Wagner, vol. 7, *Recent Researches in American Music* (Madison: A-R Editions, ca. 1980).

<sup>22</sup> See, William B. Bradbury, *Esther, The Beautiful Queen*, ed. Juanita Karpf, vol. 38, *Recent Researches in American Music* (Madison: A-R Editions, ca. 2000); George Frederick Bristow, *The Oratorio of Daniel: opus 42*, ed. David Griggs-Janower, vol. 34, *Recent Researches in American Music* (Madison: A-R Editions, ca. 1999).

FAREWELL from Jacob French, although the version that circulated was based on that in *Wyeth's Repository. Part second* from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.<sup>23</sup> There were also two by reform musicians, including Lowell Mason's MISSIONARY HYMN (though Mason composed this in Savannah, Georgia), and FAIRFIELD printed by Andrew Law. As many tunes originated from European sources, including PLEYEL'S HYMN 2D, MEAR, GREENVILLE, and DUBLIN.

This phenomenon provides a strong contrast with 27 tunes originating from publishing houses located in the Middle Atlantic and its southern extension into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. These include: CONSOLATION, NEW BRITAIN (although an earlier variant appeared in Kentucky), DETROIT, SOLEMNITY, SALEM, IDUMEA, FIDUCIA, TENDER THOUGHT, SOLEMN THOUGHT, DEVOTION, REFLECTION, KINGWOOD, WASHINGTON, OLNEY, GOLDEN HILL, ALBION, RESIGNATION, ROYAL PROCLAMATION, GLASGOW, COMMUNION, CLAMANDA, SALVATION, IMANDRA, SOLITUDE IN THE GROVE, KEDRON, TENNESSEE, and HOME. Finally, 17 tunes appeared first in trans-Appalachian Western publications, including LIBERTY HALL, DISMISSION, TWENTY-FOURTH/PRIMROSE, DEEP SPRING, STAR IN THE EAST, HOLY MANNA, NINETY-THIRD, PISGAH, ROCKINGHAM, CONCORD, ROCKBRIDGE, NEWPORT, VERNON, DUNLAP'S CREEK, PILGRIM, GREENFIELDS, and MORALITY. The remaining 28 originated in Southern piedmont sources from North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

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<sup>23</sup> Jackson, *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands*, 128-9, 133-50.

From a compositional standpoint, New England's wealth of activity constitutes a landmark achievement for developing native-born composers in the fledgling United States. Despite its amount of compositional output and publication domination, New England contributed little to other aspects of tunebook production, including notational developments that made a lasting impact on mainstream musical culture.<sup>24</sup> In effect, compilers outside of New England chose only what suited their aesthetic for inclusion into tunebook contents, not blankly accepting New England compositional practice wholesale. Thus, the repertory that disseminated to the South and West was chosen because of its appeal to the religious and musical aesthetic of Middle Atlantic and Virginia psalmodists, functioning as a type of compositional filter.

## **2.2 "Southern-ness" and the Notion of Inheritance of New England Traditions And Shape Note Notational Pedigree**

Beginning with George Pullen Jackson and *White Spirituals*, scholars have come to term the music "developing" from New England psalmody as "Southern music" for a variety of reasons. First and foremost, earlier compositions from Great Britain and New England, and (then) newer compositions from the South appeared in five tunebooks that have an unbroken tradition of continuous performance in isolated areas of the rural American South from the nineteenth-century onwards. These include *The Southern Harmony*,

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<sup>24</sup> Andrew Law, though from Connecticut, did not intend his collections for use solely within New England. Instead, his reform efforts were aimed at converting the entire country to his aesthetic. Significantly, his shape-note notation was published both in Philadelphia and in New England. Also, Law published an individual tune supplement specifically for John Logan, a singing master in Virginia. While Law's notational efforts disseminated to all parts of the country throughout his career, his notation made no lasting effect within New England, as well as the rest of the United States. See also, Benjamin Dearborn, *A Scheme, for Reducing the Science of Music to a More Simple State* (Portsmouth, N.H.: 1785).

*and Musical Companion* (1835) and *The Christian Harmony* (1866) by William Walker of Spartanburg, South Carolina, *The Sacred Harp* (1844) by Benjamin Franklin White and E. J. King of Hamilton, Georgia, the *Harmonia Sacra* (1851) by Mennonite Joseph Funk of Dayton, Virginia, and *The New Harp of Columbia* (1867) by Marcus Lafayette Swan in Bellefonte, Alabama.

Secondly, the contemporary practice of music from these books—termed archaic by the nature of its harmonies and method of execution—represented a sacred parallel to the “contemporary ancestor,”<sup>25</sup> or the Northern academic conception of rural Southern people during the period of initial scholarly inquiry into shape-note music and its performance practice (1920-1940). Jackson himself expressed this sentiment in one of his earliest writings detailing a Southern shape-note singing convention: “A strange, uncanny feeling comes over one when one stumbles upon survivals of the supposedly dead past. Rip Van Winkle must have felt this way when he met the little old man toting the keg. I had the same feeling when I first came in touch last summer with a sort of lost tonal tribe which was plying its musical art in pure pre-revolutionary form.”<sup>26</sup> Parallel to folkloric studies of Southern lowland and southern Appalachian culture contemporary to Jackson’s writings, academics were interested in finding communities seemingly untouched by the corruption of modern society.

Regarding the dissemination of shape-note notation, folk hymns, and eighteenth-century New England sacred music, Jackson found in the nineteenth-century New England literature, a rejection of older musical developments by a younger generation of psalmodists. Jackson attributed this phenomenon in part to the increasing spread of urban culture to many parts of nineteenth-century New England. Those who maintained an old-fashioned

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<sup>25</sup> William Goodell Frost, "Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains," in *Atlantic Monthly* 83 (1899): 311.

<sup>26</sup> George Pullen Jackson, "The Fa-Sol-Fa Folk," in *Musical Courier* 93, 11 (1926), 6.

aesthetic for the ancient-style psalmody settled in other areas of the country where their tastes were better appreciated and understood.<sup>27</sup> When unique developments appear to originate from the Middle Atlantic and the South, scholars have inevitably looked to the influence of New England upon these areas, ascribing a basic New England base for compositional methodology but adapted to include broader melodic contour and stronger independence between voices. This phenomenon came to represent *the* aspect of “Southern-ness” within this style.<sup>28</sup>

Though Jackson was primarily concerned with Southern source material that shaped those Southern books then in continuous contemporary use, his conception of the South and West encompassed a large homogenous single region defined by those states listed as Southern and Northern by the Civil War. However, cultural definitions in the American South of Jackson’s 1930s differed considerably from those in the 1830s. Thus, for Jackson, the South consisted of all slave-holding states sans Delaware, in contrast to the North, which included the free states along with Delaware. As a result, he imposed a geographic, political, and cultural boundary on a region that did not exist according to antebellum definitions. From this conceptual division of North and South arose later scholarship that continued to perpetuate a false North/South dichotomy of musical culture, within its (then) contemporary cultural parameters.

The research of George Pullen Jackson, as well as other later scholars, placed a special emphasis on tunebooks that employed a four-syllable English solfege system

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<sup>27</sup> Jackson, *White Spirituals In The Southern Uplands*, 138.

<sup>28</sup> While initiated by Jackson in *White Spirituals*, Richard Crawford perpetuated this belief in *America’s Musical Life: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), 160-1.

descending from that described by Thomas Morley,<sup>29</sup> as opposed to one using the Italian seven-syllable system. Part of this bias towards one shape-note system versus the other lay with the chronological appearance and contents of most four-shape books compared with their seven-shape counterparts. The first seven-shape book,<sup>30</sup> though appearing only approximately seven years later than the first four-shape book,<sup>31</sup> did not gain widespread popularity.

Until the appearance of Jesse P. Aiken's patented seven-shape notation in Philadelphia in the 1840s,<sup>32</sup> four-shape notation was the notation of choice for earlier shape-note compilers. Because of this late date of publication, many Southern compilers who used seven-shape notation began to discard some of the older New England repertory in favor of newer pieces written by the reform musicians who advocated a rejection of this older repertory. Jackson viewed these books as tainted because of the infiltration of the "better music boys" within the older, purer "pre-revolutionary" repertory present in the four-shape books.

Because many four-shape shape-note books emanated from the Southern states (defined according to post-Civil War boundaries), the entire repertory became Southern for later scholars. Even within the realm of the folk hymn, scholars such as Irving Lowens and Karl Kroeger viewed this genre as a manifestation of a Southern aesthetic based upon

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<sup>29</sup> Thomas Morley, *A Plain And Easy Introduction To Practical Music*, ed. R. Alec Harman (1597; reprint, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1952), 14-16.

<sup>30</sup> Nathan Chapin and Joseph L. Dickerson, *Musical Instructor* (Philadelphia: W. McCulloch, 1808).

<sup>31</sup> William Little and William Smith, *The Easy Instructor, or A New Method of Teaching Sacred Harmony* (Philadelphia: s.n., August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1798, [1801]).

<sup>32</sup> Jesse P. Aiken, *The Christian Minstrel. A new system of musical notation, with a collection of psalm tunes, anthems, and chants, selected from the most popular works in Europe and America designed for the use of churches, singing schools, and societies* (Philadelphia: T.K. Collins, Jr., 1846).



Northern antecedents.<sup>33</sup> Thus, all books and repertory are often considered Southern provided that these publications emanated from areas that provided soldiers for the Confederate States of America.<sup>34</sup>

As recently as 2005, A-R Editions published an anthology of shape-note folk hymns from Southern tunebooks edited by David W. Music.<sup>35</sup> While he claims to have “examined the significant majority of tune books issued in the South before the Civil War” (“Introduction,” xi), Music’s definition of Southern tunebooks falls into two basic categories: tunes only found in four-shape notation, as opposed to seven-shape, numeral, or standard notation; and those tunebooks printed in states later associated with the Confederate States of America.<sup>36</sup> As a result, Music has perpetuated an inapplicable post-bellum definition of Southern geographical and cultural parameters, as well as the artificially imposed conception of musical notation representing purity of expression, expressed by earlier scholars of the folk hymn repertory.

Although Music provided excellent documentation for the “Southern” tunes included in his anthology, an analysis of the contents of the volume, combined with the

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<sup>33</sup> See, Irving Lowens, “John Wyeth’s *Repository of Sacred Music Part Second* (1813): A Northern Precursor of Southern Folk-Hymnody,” in *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1964); Karl Kroeger, “A Yankee Tunebook from the Old South: Amos Pilsbury’s *The United States’ Sacred Harmony*,” *Hymn* 32 no. 3 (July 1981).

<sup>34</sup> See, Ann Shirley Bean, “The Missouri Harmony, 1820-1858: The Refinement of a Southern Tunebook” (DMA diss., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 1973); Harry Eskew, “Shape-Note Hymnody in the Shenandoah Valley, 1816-1860” (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1966); Charles Hamm, “The Chapins and Sacred Music in the South and West,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* (Fall 1960); Rachel Augusta Brett Harley, “Ananias Davisson: Southern Tune-book Compiler (1750-1857)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1972); Kay Norton, *Baptist Offspring, Southern Midwife – Jesse Mercer’s ‘Cluster of Spiritual Songs’ (1810): A Study in American Hymnody* (Warren, Mi: Harmonie Park Press, 2002).

<sup>35</sup> *A Selection of Shape-Note Folk Hymns from Southern United States Tune Books, 1816-61*, ed. David W. Music, vol. 52, *Recent Researches in American Music* (Middleton, Wi: A-R Editions, ca. 2005).

<sup>36</sup> Music, “Introduction,” xi, xiii - f.n.

documentation of source material reveals that many of these pieces in fact do not originate from the South. Further, not all appear to have descended from English-language source material, though Music’s definition of the cultural origin of folk hymns necessitated its origin from English practice.<sup>37</sup> Instead, Music’s anthology presented mostly Southern printings of tunes that first appeared in Northern sources, thus calling into question his exclusion of tunebooks containing folk hymns outside of the South. Rather than discuss all eighty pieces found in the volume, the first quarter of the collection serves to illustrate this problematic conceptualization of what constitutes a “Southern” piece of music, beyond the naming of pieces after Southern geographic localities (**Table 2.1**).<sup>38</sup>

**Table 2.1 Select Folk Hymns with Source Attributions in *A Selection of Shape-Note Folk Hymns from Southern United States Tune Books, 1816-61*.**

TUNE TITLE	SOURCE FOR THE EDITION	EARLIER PRINTINGS OR VERSIONS LISTED BY MUSIC <sup>39</sup>
ALABAMA	William Walker. <i>Southern Harmony</i> (1835)	Credits original form of tune as: 1) THE PRODIGAL SON in Alexander Johnson’s <i>Johnson's Tennessee Harmony</i> (1818) 2) THE PRODIGAL in Ananias Davisson’s <i>Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony</i> (1820)
ALBION	Ananias Davisson. <i>Kentucky Harmony</i> (1816)	—

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., ix.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., ix.

<sup>39</sup> All sources listed in this table appear with full bibliographic citation in the bibliography.

TUNE TITLE	SOURCE FOR THE EDITION	EARLIER PRINTINGS OR VERSIONS LISTED BY MUSIC <sup>39</sup>
ANTICIPATION	William Hauser. <i>Hesperian Harp</i> (1848).	1) DOVER in: a) Amos Pilsbury's <i>The United States' Sacred Harmony</i> (1799) and b) Johnson's <i>Johnson's Tennessee Harmony</i> (1818) 2) PILGRIM in David L. Clayton and James P. Carrell's <i>The Virginia Harmony</i> (1831 and 1836) 3) SHARON in William Caldwell's <i>Union Harmony</i> (1837) 4) SOLEMNITY in: a) John B. Jackson's <i>The Knoxville Harmony</i> (1838), b) Walker's <i>Southern Harmony</i> (1846), c) Andrew W. Johnson's <i>The Eclectic Harmony</i> (1847) 5) THE CHILD OF GRACE in B.F. White and E.J. King's <i>The Sacred Harp</i> (1844).
BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY by Dare.	Davisson. <i>KH</i> (1816)	John Wyeth's <i>Wyeth's Repository of Music, Part the Second</i> (1813)
BETHEL	Davisson. <i>KH</i> (1816)	1) Logan supplement printed by Andrew Law (c. 1810) 2) Robert Patterson's <i>Patterson's Church Music</i> (1813) 1) 3) John Armstrong's <i>The Pittsburgh Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes</i> (1816).
BRUCE'S ADDRESS	Walker. <i>SH</i> (1835)	Joshua Leavitt's <i>Christian Lyre</i> (1831)
CAPTAIN KID	Davisson. <i>Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony</i> (1820)	Johnson's <i>Johnson's Tennessee Harmony</i> (1818)
CHARLESTOWN.	Carden, Allen D., S[amuel] J. Rogers, F. Moore, and J. Green. <i>The Western Harmony</i> (1824)	1) Pilsbury's <i>United States Sacred Harmony</i> (1799) 2) <i>SEELN WEIDE MEINE FREUDE</i> in Joseph Funk's <i>Die allgemein nützliche Choral-Music</i> (1816) 3) INVITATION in two round-note collections: a) <i>The American Compiler of Sacred Harmony</i> (1803) by Stephen Jenks and Elijah Griswold and attributed to Jenks, b) <i>The Philadelphia Third Presbyterian Church Collection of Sacred Music</i> (1815).
CLAMANDA	Davisson. <i>SKH</i> (1826a)	SHOUTING HYMN Ingalls' <i>Christian Harmony</i> (1805).
COLUMBUS	Walker. <i>SH</i> (1835)	HOPEWELL in Benjamin Shaw and Charles H. Spilman's <i>Columbian Harmony</i> (1829)
CONDESCENSION	Davisson <i>KH</i> (1816)	Wyeth's <i>Wyeth's Repository of Music, Part the Second</i> (1813)

TUNE TITLE	SOURCE FOR THE EDITION	EARLIER PRINTINGS OR VERSIONS LISTED BY MUSIC <sup>39</sup>
CONSOLATION	Davisson. <i>KH</i> (1816)	1) Logan supplement (1810) 1) Wyeth's <i>Wyeth's Repository of Music Part the Second</i> (1813)
CONSOLATION NEW	Davisson. <i>SKH</i> (1820)	1) Wyeth's <i>Wyeth's Repository of Music Part the Second</i> (1813) 2) Johnson's <i>Johnson's Tennessee Harmony</i> (1818)
CRUCIFIXION	Davisson. <i>SKH</i> (1820).	REDEMPTION in Johnson's <i>Johnson's Tennessee Harmony</i> (1818)
DETROIT, by Bradshaw	Davisson <i>SKH</i> (1820)	—
DEVOTION	Alexander Johnson. <i>Johnson's Tennessee Harmony</i> (1818)	—
DUNLAP'S CREEK	Benjamin Shaw and Charles H. Spilman. <i>Columbian Harmony</i> (1829).	1) Freeman Lewis' <i>The Beauties of Harmony</i> (1814) 2) Armstrong's <i>Pittsburgh Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes</i> (1816) 3) Davisson's <i>Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony</i> (1820)
EXULTATION	William Moore. <i>Columbian Harmony</i> (1825)	Davisson's <i>Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony</i> (1820)
FAIRFIELD	Hauser. <i>HH</i> (1848).	1) Andrew Law's <i>Rudiments of Music</i> (1791) 2) Lewis's <i>Beauties of Harmony</i> (1814) 3) Davisson's <i>Kentucky Harmony</i> (1816)
FEW HAPPY MATCHES	Davisson. <i>SKH</i> (1820).	1) Simeon Jocelin's <i>Chorister's Companion</i> 2d, ed. Southern sources predating Davisson include: 2) James M. Boyd's <i>The Virginia Sacred Music Repository</i> (1818) 3) Johnson's <i>Johnson's Tennessee Harmony</i> (1818) 4) Samuel Metcalf's <i>The Kentucky Harmonist</i> (1818)
FIDUCIA	Davisson. <i>KH</i> (1816).	1) Wyeth's <i>Wyeth's Repository of Music Part the Second</i> (1813) 2) Patterson's <i>Patterson's Church Music</i> (1813)
GLASGOW, by Dare.	Boyd, James M. <i>The Virginia Sacred Musical Repository</i> (1818)	Wyeth's <i>Wyeth's Repository of Music Part the Second</i> (1813)
GREENFIELDS	Moore. <i>CH</i> (1825).	1) JOSEPH'S LIED on a sheet pasted into some copies of Funk 1816 2) Metcalf's <i>Kentucky Harmonist</i> (1818)

## States of Origin for the Above-Named Sources

### Connecticut

- *Chorister's Companion*
- *The Norfolk Compiler of Sacred Harmony*
- *Rudiments of Music*

### Georgia

- *The Sacred Harp*

### Kentucky

- *The Columbian Harmony*
- *The Kentucky Harmonist*

### Massachusetts

- *The Young Convert's Pocket Companion*

### New Hampshire

- *The Christian Harmony*

### New York

- *The Christian Lyre*

### Pennsylvania

- *The Beauties of Harmony*
- *Patterson's Church Music*

- *The Philadelphia Third Presbyterian Church Collection of Sacred Music*
- *The Pittsburgh Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes*
- *Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music, Part the Second*

### South Carolina

- *United States' Sacred Harmony*

### Tennessee

- *The Eclectic Harmony*
- *Johnson's Tennessee Harmony*
- *The Knoxville Harmony*
- *Union Harmony*

### Virginia

- *Die allgemein nützliche Choral-Music*
- Logan Supplement
- *Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony*
- *The Virginia Harmony*
- *The Virginia Sacred Music Repository*

According to the listing of the histories of various compositions included in this volume, Music's conception of "Southern" music has now expanded to include works first appearing in New Hampshire,<sup>40</sup> Massachusetts,<sup>41</sup> Connecticut,<sup>42</sup> Delaware,<sup>43</sup> and Pennsylvania.<sup>44</sup> This selection also features works from the trans-Appalachian Western states of Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, as well as southeastern states Virginia, and

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<sup>40</sup> e.g. variant of CAPTAIN KID, variant of CLAMANDA

<sup>41</sup> e.g. variant of CAPTAIN KID, BRUCE'S ADDRESS, GREENFIELDS

<sup>42</sup> e.g. FAIRFIELD, FEW HAPPY MATCHES, variant of CHARLESTON

<sup>43</sup> e.g. through the Wilmington-based composer Elkanah Kelsey Dare whose work was published in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY, GLASGOW)

<sup>44</sup> This appears in material originating from Pittsburgh (e.g. Freeman Lewis. *The Beauties of Harmony*), Philadelphia, and Harrisburg (BETHEL, variant of CHARLESTOWN, CONDESCENSION, CONSOLATION, CONSOLATION NEW, DUNLAP'S CREEK, FIDUCIA).

South Carolina, and Georgia. Similarly, some pieces were issued in a tunebook compiled by Dr. Charles Harvey Spilman who was born in Illinois, raised in Vincennes, Indiana, and attended college in Kentucky.<sup>45</sup> Surely the definition of the “Southern United States” has expanded somewhat for the inclusion of material originating from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Indiana, Illinois, Delaware, and Pennsylvania as “Southern.” If anything, Music’s publication demonstrates the breadth of the geographic area from which the folk hymn originates and the problematic presentation of its implied designation as a “Southern” style of music. Creating a body of repertory based upon publication instances within a Southern geographic region presents an artificial construct for understanding the nature and origin of this phenomenon.

Related to the idea of “southern-ness” is Music’s definition of the folk hymn, which encompasses three general subcategories of composition (though he does not state or explain this in the “Introduction”): 1) tunes with known composer attributions, 2) sacred contrafacta, and 3) tunes that appear in variant versions without an earlier secular source, which he labels tune families. However, his definitions of the folk hymn only include contrafacta technique, and the process of centonization.<sup>46</sup> Because of the vagaries of definition, these statements lead the reader into wondering what exactly is the definition of “Southern” music and what exactly is a folk hymn.

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<sup>45</sup> e.g. variant of COLUMBUS, DUNLAP’S CREEK. See also, Steve Turner, *Amazing Grace: John Newton, slavery and the world’s most enduring song* (New York: Harper-Collins Publishers Inc, 2003), 151-3.

<sup>46</sup> Music, "Introduction," x-xi.

### 2.3 The Nature of Reform – Urban and Country vs. Ancient and Scientific

As previously discussed, Nicholas Temperley in *The Music of the English Parish Church* demonstrated two basic compositional styles based upon harmonization techniques and conceptions of tonality, which he identified as urban (a more recent three-part common practice setting with the melody in the treble) and country (the older four-part cantus-based setting with the melody in the tenor). In American music imprints during the colonial period however, these two styles do not appear according to the expected order associated with the progress and reform-minded conceptualizations of the eighteenth century. Rather, the *earliest* publications of sacred music in New England (1698-1764)<sup>47</sup> employed the more progressive two and three-part treble-dominated urban style of psalm-tune harmonization, often lifted directly from Playford's publications. In contrast, James Lyon in urban Philadelphia introduced the four-part tenor-dominated country style to American audiences through his tunebook *Urania* (Philadelphia, 1761).<sup>48</sup> As a result of the popularity of this tunebook, publishers in New England began printing almost exclusively English four-part country-style music beginning with Josiah Flagg's *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* (Boston, 1764). This event initiated a period when urban-style three-part music in New England became virtually non-existent for the next thirty years.

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<sup>47</sup> These publications include the introductions to psalm singing compiled by John Tufts, *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes* (Boston: Printed for Samuel Gerrish, 1726), and Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained* (Boston: s.n., 1721), as well as other imprints. All of the above were commonly bound as tune supplements to the New England psalter known as "The Bay Psalm Book."

<sup>48</sup> However, its contents do not exclusively employ country-style pieces. Unlike most other eighteenth-century American publications, Lyon's compilation includes both country and urban pieces, ranging from the psalm and hymn tunes of the older sixteenth and seventeenth-century repertory, to the evangelical Nonconformist hymn repertory associated with noted ministers such as George Whitefield.

The American compositions emanating out of New England beginning with William Billings' *New England Psalm Singer* (Boston, 1770) did not represent a progressive reform of earlier New England psalmody, but rather a retrogressive step within the context of seventeenth and eighteenth-century British sacred music performance practice. Reform efforts initiated in the 1790s by New England musicians Samuel Holyoke of Exeter, Massachusetts, Oliver Holden of Charles Town (Charleston), Massachusetts, and (in a slightly later period) Oliver Shaw of Newport, Rhode Island urged for a return to the more progressive urban style of the original New England singing school movement (1710-1760). These musicians called for the re-introduction of the English urban style to replace the more conservative country style of musicians such as Billings and Daniel Read.<sup>49</sup>

Nicholas Temperley, in distinguishing between country and urban-style psalmody, also discovered other subsequent English reform movements within evangelical and Methodist congregations in the mid-eighteenth century that broke away from the older, established urban traditions. A similar stylistic division did not occur in New England until the appearance of reform motivated, urban-style psalmody in the last decade of the eighteenth century. When this phenomenon took place, reformed urban-style psalmody first (re)appeared as the English evangelical nonconformist psalmody of the mid-eighteenth

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<sup>49</sup> The Connecticut composer Daniel Read, who began his career writing psalmody after the style of William Billings, later joined the reform movement initiated by Holden and Holyoke during the last years of his life, c. 1820-32. However, he did not consider these changes to be improvements, as illustrated with the following statement written in his old age: "Since studying the writings of such men as D'Alembert [and others], since carefully examining the system of harmony practically exhibited in Handel's *Messiah*, Haydn's *Creation*, and other similar works...my ideas on the subject of music have been considerably altered; I will not say improved." Quoted in: Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1964), 175.



century. American musicians drew from popular English collections by Martin Madan,<sup>50</sup> William Riley,<sup>51</sup> and John Wall Calcott,<sup>52</sup> among others. Consequently, by 1800, the American public became split over the English urban and country styles because some looked towards Europe for artistic inspiration while others remained content with a continuation of established domestic trends.

Alongside this re-introduction of urban-style psalmody, some musicians called for a reform of the ancient psalter repertory, or rather, a return to the simple psalm tunes dating back to the melodies found in the older psalters,<sup>53</sup> but harmonized according to current and

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<sup>50</sup> *The Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes Sung at the Chapel of the Lock Hospital* (n.l.: West & Blake and Manning & Loring, 1809).

<sup>51</sup> William Riley, *Psalms and Hymns, for the use of the Chapel of the Asylum, or House of Refuge for Female Orphans* ([London]: At the Asylum, and by the editor, [1767]).

<sup>52</sup> Dr. J[ohn] W[all] Callcott, *The Anthems, Hymns, Psalms, and Sentences; sung at the Asylum Chapel* (London: Preston, [1800]).

<sup>53</sup> These include: *Bassus of the whole Psalmes in foure partes, whiche may be song to al Musical instruments, set forth for the encrease of vertue: and aboleshyng of other vayne and triflying ballades* (London: John Day, 1563). William Daman, *The Psalmes of David in English meter, with Notes of foure partes set vnto them, by Guiliemo Daman, for Iohn Bull, to the vse of the Godly Christians for recreating themselues, in steded of fond and vnseemely Ballades* (London: John Daye, 1579). *The Whole Booke Of Psalmes: With Their Wonted Tunes, as they are song in the Churches, composed into foure parts: All which are so placed that foure may sing ech one a seueral part in this booke. Wherein the Church tunes are carefully corrected, and thereunto added other short tune vsually song in London, and other places of this Realme. With a Table in the end of the booke of such tunes as are newly added, with the number of ech Psalmes placed to the said Tune. Compiled by Sondry Authors who haue so laboured herein, that the vnskillfull with small practice may attaine to sing that part, which is fittest for their voice* (London: Thomas Est, 1592). Richard Allison, *The Psalmes Of David in Meter, The plaine Song being the common tunne to be sung and plaide vpon the Lute, Orpharyon, Citterne or Base Violl, seuerally or altogether, the singing part to be either Tenor or Treble to the Instrument, according to the nature of the voices: With tenne short Tunnes in the end, to which for the most part all the Psalmes may be vsually sung, for the vse of such as are of mean skill, and whose leisure least serueth to practize* (London: William Barley, 1599). *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: With The Hymnes Evangelicall, And Songs Spiritvall. Composed into 4. Parts by sundry Authors, with such seuerall Tunes as haue beene, and are vsually sung in England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Italy, France, and the Nether-lands: Neuer as yet before in one volume published. ALSO: A briefe Abstract of the prayse, Efficacie, and Vertue of the Psalmes, corrected and enlarged by Tho. Rauenscroft* (London: Company of Stationers, 1621). *The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter. With their whole Tunes in foure or mo parts, and some Psalmes in Reports. Whereunto is added many godly Prayers, and an exact kalendar for XXV. yeeres to come* (Edinburgh: Heires of Andrew Hart, 1635). John Playford, *Psalms & Hymns In Solemn Musick*

modern common-practice principles. Regarding this music as the only music suitable for worship services, these reformers became known as “Old Hundred Seceders” or “Old School” singers as first described by Nathaniel Duren Gould,<sup>54</sup> and later explored by Richard Crawford.<sup>55</sup> Debates became heated over the nature of reform. Baltimore composer and compiler, John Cole described the music of country-style composers as:

bandied about from Maine to Georgia for the last twenty years, to the great annoyance of persons of taste and the regret of all serious worshipers – this trash has had its day, and it is time for us to retrace our steps until we arrive at the true sublime of Psalmody, which is only to be found in the admirable compositions of the great masters of the 14<sup>th</sup> & 15<sup>th</sup> centuries – “*Strains that would create a soul under the ribs of Death.*”<sup>56</sup>

Unlike the earlier urban-style psalmody, this music appeared in four parts, but employed a treble-dominated melodic texture.

Although Temperley aptly used the terms “urban” and “country” to distinguish these two basic forms of psalmody in Great Britain, this classification system does not apply well

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*Of Fovre Parts On the Common Tunes to the Psalms in Metre: Used in Parish-Chvrches. Also Six Hymns for One Voyce to the Organ. For God is King of all the Earth, Sing ye Praises with Understanding, Psal. 47. 7* (London: W. Godbid for J. Playford, 1671). John Playford, *The Whole Book Of Psalms: With The usual Hymns and Spiritual Songs; together with all the ancient and proper Tunes sung in Churches, with some of later Use. Compos'd in Three Parts, Cantus, Medius, & Bassus: in a more Plain and Useful Method than hath been formerly published* (London: Company of Stationers, 1677).

<sup>54</sup> Gould, *Church Music in America* (119-20).

<sup>55</sup> Richard Crawford, “‘Ancient Music’ and the Europeanizing of American Psalmody, 1800 to 1810,” in *A Celebration of American Music, Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock*, Richard Crawford, R. Allen Lott, and Carol J. Oja, eds. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990).

<sup>56</sup> John Cole, “Prefatory Remarks,” to *Episcopalian Harmony; containing the hymns set forth by the general conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with appropriate music to each hymn: together with a few additional tunes, embracing all the peculiar metres in The Book Of Psalms. To which are added; Chants, Doxologies, Responses, &c. for Morning and Evening Prayer and the Communion Office* (Baltimore: for the Author, by Murphy and Milless, [1817-18]).

to American musical culture. As already shown, country-style psalmody first appeared in urban Philadelphia. Conversely, the New England-based urban reform style of the 1790s appeared in rural Exeter, Massachusetts. Because of the problematic ascription of British geographic and social boundaries to carry an identical meaning within an American context, scholars have struggled with these terms to describe American reforms. Both Crawford and Temperley have occasionally adopted a different set of terms based upon those found within American source material of this time period,<sup>57</sup> substituting “ancient” for country, and “scientific” for urban.<sup>58</sup> While “urban” and “rural” describe societal context, “ancient” and “scientific” pertain to the methods of composition as well as stylistic traits common to both countries. In this sense, the continuation of ancient-style techniques into the present day in the American South reveals the aesthetic and compositional ideals of individual musicians, not their population center of origin.

Using this understanding of the repertory, the history of nineteenth-century tunebooks from the South chronicles a struggle between maintaining and preserving the ancient style versus adopting the scientific style advocated by the reformers of American

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<sup>57</sup> See: Crawford, “Ancient Music”; Nicholas Temperley, *Bound For America: Three British Composers* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 199-201.

<sup>58</sup> Crawford’s application of the term “ancient” applied to the music of the “Old Hundred Seceders.” However, in the nineteenth-century imprint, *The Revivalist: A Collection Of Choice Revival Hymns and Tunes, Original And Selected* by Joseph Hillman (Troy, N.Y.: Joseph Hillman, 1869), Hillman applied a different meaning to this term. The fusing tunes found in this book include the term “ancient” to distinguish between the original harmonizations of Federalist and reform psalmists, which follows the English use of the term to denote something at least fifty years old, illustrated with the “Academy of Ancient Music” and its specifications during the eighteenth century. For the sake of clarity, “ancient” will be used in this thesis in place of the term “country” because of its meaning as understood by those who sang and published this music in the nineteenth century. In contrast, “scientific” was the term adopted by the “Old Hundred Seceders” after dropping the term “ancient.” At the time of this group’s first appearance (ca. 1800), “ancient” applied to the urban-style music preceding James Lyon’s *Urania* (1761) and Josiah Flagg’s *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* (1764). Thus, the “Old Hundred Seceders” “ancient” repertory comprised the music in circulation fifty years previous to 1800.

sacred music. This phenomenon also explains why Jackson was more interested in the four-shape books. Generally, these sources included only ancient-style music, as opposed to the seven-shape books, which incorporated more of a mixture of ancient and scientific compositions. His stylistic and conceptual delimitations focused almost exclusively on the one to the exclusion of the other because of his search for a pure, “pre-revolutionary” form of music making.

#### **2.4 Regional/Cultural Understandings of Place and The Origins and Motivations of Reform Psalmody in the Northwest**

In the trans-Appalachian West c. 1800-30, Cincinnati and Pittsburgh comprised the two largest urban centers during the formative developments of this region. Significantly, these cities were located in the Ohio River Valley, which functioned as the major mercantile highway of the West before the invention of the railroad or canals. Northern cities along the Great Lakes, including Cleveland and Detroit, though outside the orbit of Ohio River Valley culture, shared certain cultural characteristics with the valley through the emigration of New Englanders throughout the entire Northwest Territory (permanently settled by English-speaking Americans beginning in 1788).<sup>59</sup>

However, scholarship concerning Midwestern reform music has either not understood the extent of the New England cultural hegemony in the early nineteenth-century Midwest. Instead, it has simply presented the Midwest from a more regional character. Consequently, this body of scholarship has generally centered around two main

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<sup>59</sup> The Northwest Territory, organized by a series of ordinances allowing settlement North of the Ohio River, encompassed the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota.

areas: the Western Reserve of Ohio,<sup>60</sup> and urban centers in the Ohio River Valley. In many respects, these areas share identical, musical historical developments in terms of urban development, compositional activity, and publication history, though separated by a few years. In particular, Cincinnati has come to represent a beacon of reform through its emphasis on concert life, professional music festivals, music publishing, and a general dissemination of New England reform culture introduced by the Rev. Lyman Beecher and Timothy Battelle Mason (brother of Lowell) of Boston at the Second Presbyterian Church. However, these two areas, though displaying similar trends in the act of reforming ancient music and practice, remained in many ways dissimilar through differences in the enactment of evangelical and non-evangelical worship and educational methodology. In other words, the effect was the same, though the motivation and expression differed greatly.

Beginning with Cincinnati, scholar John Bealle<sup>61</sup> focused his attention solely on the reform initiatives of Timothy Mason and the “Eclectic Music Society.”<sup>62</sup> According to

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<sup>60</sup> The Western Reserve constituted two main areas: 1) those lands along Lake Erie given to veterans of the Revolutionary War from Connecticut, and 2) those lands given to citizens of Connecticut whose homes burned during the Revolutionary War, known as the Firelands District.

<sup>61</sup> John Bealle, *Public Worship, Private Faith: Sacred Harp And American Folksong* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997); Harry R. Stevens, “The Haydn Society of Cincinnati 1819-1824,” *The Ohio State Archaeological And Historical Quarterly*, LII, No. 2 (April-June, 1943); Harry R. Stevens, “Folk Music on the Midwestern Frontier, 1788-1825,” *Ohio State Archeological and Historical Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (1948).

<sup>62</sup> However, Bealle’s listing of singing schools was limited to accounts published in early newspapers. These accounts by no means comprise all of the known singing schools in the Cincinnati area, evidenced through Stevens’ documentation of the singing schools led by Solomon Smith, a noted early theatrical comedian and Swedenborgian, who lived for a few years in Cincinnati. See, Stevens “The Haydn Society,” 109-10. Smith also recounted his own singing-school activities across the Ohio River in Newport, Kentucky while living in Cincinnati. See: Solomon Smith, *Theatrical Management in the West and South for Thirty Years* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1868), 24-5. However, Bealle only mentioned notices of public singing instruction over denominational singing schools, thus appearing somewhat contradictory to his chapter involving the reform efforts of Presbyterianism in Cincinnati as catalyst for change.

Bealle, Mason's musical and Beecher's theological reform initiatives brought about a reform of the older ancient-style repertory in the West through the introduction of Pestalozzian education,<sup>63</sup> which, in its application to psalmody, drove ancient-style music out of Cincinnati by 1840. Accepting and citing Nathaniel Gould's assessment of music in the West,<sup>64</sup> Bealle traced the literary discussions of shape-note music versus the scientific "round-note" music (music printed in conventional notation) over the course of one-and-a-half years in the *Cincinnati Journal and Western Luminary*, 1835-6. Though this journal printed tune supplements in shape-note notation, its clear advocacy of reform psalmody demonstrated the changing musical climate of Cincinnati. Eventually, the journal discarded shape-note notation in favor of round-note tune supplements.

Bealle described a theological climate poised on the edge of reform within Cincinnati Presbyterianism.<sup>65</sup> He correctly attributed the Rev. Lyman Beecher's and Timothy Mason's activities at the Second Presbyterian Church as a championing of New School evangelical Presbyterian ideology, in contrast to the Old School, New Light and the conservative official

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<sup>63</sup> Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), noted theologian and champion of public education, was a Swiss educational reformer. Unlike his contemporaries, Pestalozzi did not believe in rote memorization based upon classes dependent on age. Instead, he grouped students by their mental progress, thus focusing more on the development of the individual mind. He also instituted empirical science into youth education through physical contact with objects of the natural sciences, and included time for drawing and other arts. Finally, he viewed education as a moral responsibility for children and incorporated these into his educational experiments in Switzerland and France. See: J.A. Green, *The Life and Work of Pestalozzi*. (1912); J.A. Green, *The Educational Ideas of Pestalozzi*. (1914; repr. 1969); M. R. Heafford, *Pestalozzi: His Thought and Its Relevance Today* (1967); W. S. Monroe, *History of the Pestalozzian Movement in the United States* (1907; repr., 1969); and K. Silber, *Pestalozzi: The Man and His Work*, ed. 2 (1974).

<sup>64</sup> Gould stated: "Everybody [was] singing and enjoying the Billings and Company 'fuguing songs' and all the rest of the old-time, native New England singing-school stock-in-trade, and using books printed in the popular shape-notes" (Gould 1853, chap. 10). Quoted in Bealle (46).

<sup>65</sup> Bealle (57-68)

Church of Scotland doctrines of that denomination's ministers in the city.<sup>66</sup> While he considered Beecher's activities as the catalyst for this theological shift, this split long predated Beecher's arrival to Cincinnati. Understanding this phenomenon involves a brief explication of the Old Light and New Light factions of the Queen City.

Evidence of New Light theology appeared in eighteenth-century source material published in the trans-Appalachian West, manifest in the early publication of a parody of a poem by Isaac Watts in the Ohio River Valley in 1793 (Watts' poetry was associated with New Light Presbyterian and New Side Congregationalist churches).<sup>67</sup> Further, Watts's *Hymns, Psalms, and Spiritual Songs* served as the primary textual source material used in the earliest tunebook published in the valley, compiled by Presbyterian Robert Patterson.<sup>68</sup> Conservative Presbyterians only accepted the metrical psalters translated by Francis Rouse,

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<sup>66</sup> Bealle only used the terms "Old School" and "New School." However, not all Presbyterian denominations in Cincinnati followed strictly "New Light" principles, to which these terms become attached. In his explication, Bealle limits his discussion to the two main branches of "New Light" theology active in the United States in Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches in the nineteenth century. "Old School" refers to the more enthusiastic Scots Irish approach to worship based upon the "Westminster Confession of Faith," as compared with the affective, neo-platonic "New School" approach associated with New England. Cincinnati's Second Presbyterian Church, drawing its clergy and musicians from Boston represented the "New School" "New Light" approach to Calvinist theology following the "New School"/"Old School" split created during the General Assembly of 1838. While these discussions echoed sentiments voiced by pre-existing conditions in the combined Presbyterian and Congregational churches immediately preceding the assembly of 1838, these terms did not exist during the time period of Bealle's discussion. "The Old School and New School Presbyterian Churches – How they divided" in *The New York Times* (March 3, 1867): 4.

<sup>67</sup> "In imitation of Watt's INDIAN PHILOSOPHER." in *The Centinel of the North-Western Territory*, 1 November 1793. This poem is a parody of Watts' "The Indian Philosopher" which first appeared in his *Horae Lyricae* (London, 1706).

<sup>68</sup> Robert Patterson, *Patterson's Church Music: containing the plain tunes used in divine worship by the churches of the Western country* (Cincinnati: Browne and Looker, for R. and J. Patterson, Pittsburgh, 1813).

and authorized by the Church of Scotland, many of which were published in Pittsburgh from 1815 onwards to circa 1850.<sup>69</sup>

Theological differences between evangelical and non-evangelical Presbyterianism did not account for the adoption of Mason's scientific music. Rather, the temperate, Edwardean, New School evangelicalism of Beecher supplanted the radical Old School evangelicalism of earlier New Light Presbyterianism in the West (established in the West before the 1801 Plan of Union).<sup>70</sup> Evidence to support this claim appears in Bealle's description of the theological debate between Joshua L. Wilson of the First Presbyterian Church (Old School, Old Light) and Lyman Beecher of the Second (New School, New Light).<sup>71</sup> Beecher used the writings of Jonathan Edwards to support his claims. Edwards, one of the original ministers of New England's First Great Awakening, remained a New Side Congregationalist and refused to leave the Puritan church for the radical New Light Presbyterianism found throughout areas primarily in the Connecticut River Valley, Middle Atlantic, and Southern backcountry. Thus, Beecher's New Light Presbyterian theology remained similar to Jonathan Edwards' temperate, evangelical, Independent Congregationalism. These writings reflect the more restrained nature of Beecher's New Light evangelicalism in contrast to the radical New Light Presbyterianism associated with the Second Great Awakening, disseminating to the North from the Cumberland region of Kentucky.

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<sup>69</sup>See: *The Psalms of David (Kirk of Scotland)* (Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum, 1815); *The Psalms of David, in Metre: according to the version approved by the Church of Scotland, and appointed to be used in worship* (Pittsburgh: McDonald & Beeson, 1847).

<sup>70</sup> Coinciding with the tempering of Presbyterian congregations in the Ohio River Valley, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Nashville, Tennessee started to expand.

<sup>71</sup> Bealle, 59.



Scholarship on the development of sacred music within the Great Lakes areas has focused on ancient-style composition in the Western Reserve, specifically regarding the musical activities of Stephen Jenks in Thompson, Ohio,<sup>72</sup> and examinations of other musicians including Amos Sutton Hayden of Youngstown,<sup>73</sup> and Amzi Chapin of Vernon, Pennsylvania and Northfield, Ohio.<sup>74</sup> Compiler and composer Alexander Auld, though living in the eastern, Appalachian area of Ohio, conducted singing schools in “Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and other states as well” including Iowa, with compositions named after geographic place-names within this large region.<sup>75</sup> In fact, tradition states that Auld wrote his most famous attributed composition, “The Hills of Ohio,” “while in a Michigan hospital recovering from an illness contracted during a singing-school circuit.”<sup>76</sup>

Significantly, seven-shape shape-note notation constituted the dominant form of shape-note notation in the Great Lakes area after 1846. As a result, only two publications employed four-shape notation within this region: A. S. Hayden’s *Introduction to Sacred Music* (Pittsburgh, 1835), and the first edition of Alexander Auld’s *Ohio Harmonist*. Thus, the Great Lakes area cannot fit easily into Jackson’s South and West because of the almost complete absence of “pure” “pre-revolutionary”-style four-shape tunebooks. Without a four-shape pedigree, seven-shape tunebooks simply lie outside of the conceptual limitations of Jackson’s upland musical culture.

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<sup>72</sup> Warren Steel, “Stephen Jenks (1772-1856): American Composer and Tunebook Compiler” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1982).

<sup>73</sup> William Harold Fletcher, “Amos Sutton Hayden: Symbol of a Movement” (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1988).

<sup>74</sup> James William Scholten, “The Chapins: A Study of Men and Sacred Music West of the Alleghenies, 1795-1842” (Ed.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1972). Amzi Chapin also traveled throughout Virginia and Kentucky. His brother Lucius lived in Kentucky for a number of years.

<sup>75</sup> Terry Ellis Miller, “Alexander Auld And American Shape-Note Music” (M.M. thesis, Indiana University, 1971), 38.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* 60.

One theme pervades all sources: compositional and stylistic changes emerged during those reform initiatives of the Antebellum Period. While all of the above-named musicians first published tunebooks employing predominantly ancient-style compositions, all adopted varying degrees of scientific, compositional and stylistic procedures in their later years, beginning with Jenks and concluding with Hayden.<sup>77</sup> While some attained greater success in adopting the principles of scientific composition than others, all attempted to change their repertory and style. However, none of these musicians were influenced by Pestalozzian educational reforms, thus creating a lingering question. What was the prime motivator for this stylistic shift?

Contrary to the statements of Bealle, the activities of Beecher and Mason in the 1830s were not the first to introduce Pestalozzian educational methodology to Cincinnati. Instead, it was presented in Cincinnati initially by members of the Swedenborgian church associated with Robert Owen's communal experiment at New Harmony, Indiana, as well as through lectures that Owen himself presented in Cincinnati touting his communal system.<sup>78</sup> Owen, the father of British socialism began a series of manufacturing and educational experiments in New Lanark, Scotland. Because of its great success, he attempted to further those principles established in Scotland through the purchase of a town in Southwestern Indiana built by an earlier religious communal organization under George Rapp.

Bringing scientists, artists, and educators, along with laborers to Indiana, Owen set into place a system of communal living whereby the thinkers thought, and the workers

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<sup>77</sup> Chapin, though outside of these efforts because of his death, in 1837, taught the reform-minded scientific psalmody of Connecticut composer and compiler Andrew Law during the early part of the nineteenth century. See, Scholten, "The Chapins."

<sup>78</sup> Owen entered into a series of debates during the 1820s with Alexander Campbell, the founder of the Disciples of Christ. Source: J. F. C. Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World: Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), 195.

worked. Inevitably, two factors caused the demise of the experiment: the workers soon tired of doing all of the physical labor for the intellectuals, and the intellectuals were mainly atheists and deists as compared to the workers who were evangelical millennial Christians. As a result, the system collapsed by 1828. What brought the two groups initially together was the bond forged by a belief in a common good and the supplying of wants for everyone. These beliefs found resonance with rationalists and Christians.<sup>79</sup> While it failed in practical application, the New Harmony Pestalozzian educational experiments<sup>80</sup> instituted an intellectual and educational reform in the West that spread to Cincinnati, the urban center of the Ohio River Valley.

Some members of the Cincinnati Haydn Society, an early choral organization, lived for a time in New Harmony. These included Josiah Warren and Daniel Roe,<sup>81</sup> both members of Cincinnati's Swedenborgian church. From New Harmony, Pestalozzian education spread to many areas of the West, with other communities instituting like experiments. At each of these communities, it formed the basis for the educational system. Thus, when Beecher and Mason arrived in Cincinnati, their Pestalozzian methods did not introduce this system to the West. Rather, Beecher and Mason supplied a niche market already set in place ten years before their arrival.

Bealle also laid claim to Mason publishing the first round-note scientific tunebook in the West, citing the information presented by Nathaniel Duren Gould in his *Church Music in America*. However, Mason's Cincinnati round-note edition of the *Sacred Harp* (1840) was preceded by a few publications: an 1831 collection of congregational hymn tunes for the

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<sup>79</sup> Harrison, *Quest*, 106-7.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. 144-5.

<sup>81</sup> Harrison, *Quest*, 73, 107, 166; Stevens, "The Haydn Society," 101-3.

Presbyterian congregation of Natchez, Mississippi,<sup>82</sup> an edition of Gould's *National Church Harmony* published in Cincinnati in 1832,<sup>83</sup> and a compilation of service music and congregational hymns by Episcopalian William Nash in Cincinnati in 1836.<sup>84</sup> Gould's modesty prevented him from claiming his personal distinction, though he did allude to his publication with the following statement. "There were no books in common use in the city, and probably nowhere West of the mountains, but those printed with buckwheat notes" (140) – the key word in this instance comprising the term "common." As with Pestalozzian education, round-note music, while known and published in the West, did not become *common* until the 1840s. Thus, later writers have vitiated the achievements of earlier reform efforts because of the Mason brother's inflated self-importance in initiating scientific reform psalmody. As in New England, Mason's activities began after the reform had already occurred.<sup>85</sup>

Despite some initial scholarly research into the ancient and scientific styles of music throughout the Midwest frontier, prior scholarship has viewed these developments as separate from those of the South because of the post-bellum definitions of region and culture. As a result, two aspects of Midwestern psalmody, specifically pertaining to the Great Lakes area of the West, prevented the inclusion of these pieces into the conceptual

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<sup>82</sup> *Sacred Music: for the Presbyterian Congregation of Natchez* (Natchez: F. Beaumont, 1831).

<sup>83</sup> N. D. Gould, *National Church Harmony, designed for public and private devotion, in two parts. Music arranged for the organ and piano forte, by introducing small notes* (Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, and Crocker & Brewster: Cincinnati: Hubbard and Edmands, 1832).

<sup>84</sup> Nash, W., *Sacred Harmony, or Elegant Extracts of Sacred Music; being a collection of the most approved chants, arranged in regular order, for the full Episcopal church service, and which can be used in any church. Also, a selection of the most beautiful psalm and hymn tunes which have ever been published, and suited to every different metre: together with some original tunes never before published. And suited to public or private worship. By W. Nash, Director of Music at St. Paul's, Cincinnati, and formerly of Charleston, S. C. The whole arranged for the organ or piano forte* (Cincinnati: by the author, stereotyped by J. A. James & Co., 1836).

<sup>85</sup> Britton. "Theoretical Introduction," 119.

framework of the Southern shape-note repertory: this area remained outside of Jackson's definition of the West, and the relative scarcity of four-shape shape-note publications (outside of the Ohio River Valley) lay outside of Jackson's delimitations of source material for folk hymns.

This phenomenon also explains how David Music incorporated pieces from the Middle Atlantic (Delaware and Harrisburg, Pa.) and Midwest (Pittsburgh and St. Louis) into a collection of Southern shape-note folk hymns. These works appeared with a four-shape pedigree. Seven-shape Midwestern source material simply does not fit into the ideology created by Jackson and perpetuated by later scholars even though Midwest repertoires initially preserved the same ancient-style compositional procedures as Southern sources. The result is a skewed view of development in the region.

## **2.5 Why These Notions Have Persisted into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

With an initial scholarly establishment of New England as engendering and disseminating a vernacular national style during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the continuation of this idea into a Southern "inheritance" of Northern cultural initiatives seemed somewhat inevitable from a 1930s modernist, progressive understanding of this repertory. George Pullen Jackson increased the scope of earlier American sacred music repertory through his studies of composition and performance practice in the area currently defined as the American South. However, he was simply elaborating on those ideas put forth by an earlier generation of scholars, accepting the New England hegemony model and applying it to his subjective considerations of the repertory. However much it broadened the scope of ideology, this elaboration limited the possibilities for future scholarly investigation. Most musicologists specializing in American sacred music have accepted

unquestioningly the validity of the hegemony model and created a body of modern scholarship based upon its demarcations. Interconnected to this body of work, scholarship has also produced a body of reference material that summarized these past intellectual achievements and hindered somewhat alternative interpretations of the repertory because of the source material not considered by these individuals.

Although a sizeable body of bibliographic and lexicographic work has been completed of printed tunebooks that contain English-language metrical strophic hymn and psalm tunes, much American sacred music remains undocumented concerning source and tune type, and language of the text. These indices follow the two basic ideologies based upon the New England diaspora model, and four-shape shape-note tunebooks as representative of the “purity” of American folk expression. The one study of extended choral pieces, *The Anthem in New England before 1800* (Evanston, Illinois, 1966) by Ralph T. Daniel, does not even cover all anthems printed in American source material during the eighteenth-century, just those from New England.<sup>86</sup> Besides the limited scope of tune types represented in scholarly source material and their regional representation, none of the current sources have indexed scribal sources. Quite simply, two factors have been responsible for the perpetuation of this canon of scholarly material in that no source contains thorough documentation of all source material (within the entire chronological time period), nor do these include the full range of tune types from earlier periods.

With the absence of complete documentation, scholars have presented two basic methods for understanding and documenting this large repertory. They consider individual

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<sup>86</sup> However, David T. Music also prepared an incomplete, tentative index of anthem publication in Southern four-shape shape-note tunebooks in “The Anthem in Southern Four-Shape Shape-Note Tunebooks,” in *American Musical Life in Context And Practice To 1865*, ed. James R. Heintze, vol. 1 of *Essays in American Music*, James R. Heintze and Michael Saffle, eds. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1994): 159-69.

and regional sources or compilers as representative of the entire phenomenon, and their documentation is based upon source material available to the individual researcher. However, these methodologies remain problematic because the first assumes that a tunebook created a certain amount of public resonance for its source's representation of the genre, and the other is limited to personal access. As a result, any conclusions about the nature of individual sources within the genre remain authoritative best guesses, until necessary bibliographic and lexicographical work have been completed for the period 1820 to circa 1870. Thus, the ideas brought forth in the following chapters reflect a new investigation of all forms of source material from all pertinent regions of the country influential in shaping the religious character of the Southern and Western United States into the Antebellum Period.

## Part 2. Introduction

In 1721, twenty-six-year-old Congregationalist Roxbury minister Thomas Walter (1696-1725) issued one of the earliest instructional tunebooks in what is now the United States, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* (Boston, 1721). Arguing against the prevailing tradition of heterophonic performance led by a precentor standing before the congregation (known vernacularly as the "Old Way"), Walter admonished "[t]hat by the just and equal *timing* of the Notes, our Singing will be reduc'd to an exact Length, so as not to fatigue the Singer with a tedious Protraction of the notes beyond the Compass of a Man's Breath, and the Power of his Spirit: A Fault very frequent in the Country, where I my self have twice in one Note paused to take Breath."<sup>1</sup> The reigning method of performance proceeded at a pace so slow that it distorted the delivery of its text, the most important feature of congregational performance of scriptural songs. Walter's method introduced regularity to music performance that observed standardized rhythmic markings to denote tempo and speed and promoted three-part a capella harmony.

Seventy years later, the summer of 1792 proved an auspicious time for Oliver Holden (1765-1844). Nearing his twenty-seventh birthday, he had just finished composing his first collection of sacred music, the *American Harmony*. Having settled in Charlestown, Massachusetts and been employed as a carpenter, Holden devoted his time to his real passion: musical composition and teaching. He gathered subscriptions to fund the publication of his first musical compilation through advertisements placed in the Boston

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Walter, "Some brief and very plain instructions for singing by note" in *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained: or, An Introduction to the Art of Singing by Note. Fitted to the meanest capacities* (Boston: printed by J. Franklin for S. Gerrish, 1721), 5.



*Independent Chronicle*.<sup>2</sup> Not only enterprising in his endeavor, Holden displayed a strong independent spirit that spurned the status quo, wishing to change the existing system of sacred music.

Successful, he engaged Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer Andrews to print the *American Harmony* in typographical form, Massachusetts' most current, fashionable mode of printing sacred music.<sup>3</sup> In its preface, Holden, after stating with appropriate humility that his compositions comprised mere trifles of musical creation, not worthy of public criticism, issued a bold statement decrying the common mode of performance: "[w]ith respect to the manner of performing the Music, the Author wished that the time in general might be slow, and the strains soft. Doubtless singing Choirs, in general, are too inattentive to these important parts of Music. By hurrying a piece of Music, performers are more likely to sing harsh in consequence of which, good pronunciation is lost."<sup>4</sup> Alongside other reform-minded musicians of New England, Holden found that church musicians in general sang too loud and too fast. In so doing, this performance style obscured its true importance: service as a vehicle for the delivery of a poetic text honoring God and His creation. Thus, within three generations, congregations of Congregationalists in Massachusetts had shifted from a performance practice of not singing in harmony at an exhaustingly slow pace that would have obviated comprehension, to having mastered the art of musical notation and harmony at a speed that also prevented understanding the text. Both performance mannerisms committed the same offense, though through opposing means of expression.

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<sup>2</sup> *Independent Chronicle*, August 30, 1792.

<sup>3</sup> Although earlier compilers of sacred music had hired engravers to prepare their works on copperplate, Thomas and Andrews standardized using musical type for their publications.

<sup>4</sup> Holden, Oliver, "Preface" to *American Harmony: containing, a variety of airs, suitable for divine worship, on thanksgivings, ordinations, Christmas, fasts, funerals, and other occasions. Together with a number of psalm tunes, in three and four parts. The whole intirely new* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas, and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1792).

At some point, Massachusetts' musicians initiated a change in musical aesthetic. Congregationalists in the colony were by no means unique in regards to a shift in musical expression. Most regions in the British North American continent between 1720 and 1790 underwent similar changes, though through much less dramatic shifts in taste and style. Some areas through the same period fostered a religious atmosphere that preserved the older traditions and maintained a standard performance practice. Other denominations simply incorporated a new repertory into a prevailing system of performance practice. Still others only came into being towards the beginning of the Early Nationalist Period. To understand how this change occurred and its decisive role in setting trends for the future United States, this unit will explore English-language, Colonial, British North American traditions as set by 1760.

The chapters in this unit examine musical practice among the major English-language denominations in the British North American colonies during the first half of the eighteenth century, including that of Anglicans, Congregationalists, and English Presbyterians. Throughout the history of the colonial period, Anglicans and Congregationalists were identified with specific regions, either through settlement patterns or colonial governance. As a result, these denominations function as statements of regionalism because of their ties to the coastal areas of the southern colonies and northern New England respectively. In contrast, congregations of English Presbyterians almost always appeared in colonies that allowed religious tolerance, mostly in the Middle Atlantic region (Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland). Musical practice among English Presbyterians functions also as a statement of regionalism as a result of this denomination's place within the cultural and religious pluralism of the Middle Atlantic colonies.

The study of Anglicans begins with a discussion of performance practice in the church, specifically concerning musical leadership by the clerk and the organist. Though the clerk's position was more widespread, both served as necessary appurtenances to replicate established performance modes found in British parish churches. An examination of repertory from surviving source material will reveal not only what tunes were sung in Anglican churches throughout the Virginia Tidewater and Carolina Low Country, but also the modes of their performance and how these works fit into regional performance practice. Finally, a discussion of the few surviving American-composed psalm tunes by Anglican musicians will illustrate the conventions adopted by some Anglican colonial musicians, and place these works within their greater region.

Discussion of Congregationalist practice begins with a description of performance conventions and congregational repertory as related to its position within church governance. Because each church carried its own autonomy, no two churches' repertories replicated each other. However, church performance practice followed established modes of expression, whether it was the traditional "Old Way," or the adoption of a (perceived) newer method of singing by note, consequent to the establishment of singing schools in Massachusetts. Despite a lack of uniformity, all churches drew from the same limited number of sources for the creation of their individual congregational repertories. These compilations consisted almost exclusively of Congregationalist tune supplements to metrical psalters or tune collections compiled by Congregationalist ministers. An examination of American-composed Congregationalist psalm tunes reveals an expression unique to this denomination when compared with others in British North America. It concludes with a study of the pan-denominational influence Congregationalist performance practice and repertory exerted on some congregations and individuals outside of its region of origin. This

dissemination resulted from the denomination's role as publisher and printer of tune collections, unlike other denominations before the 1750s.

The discussion of English Presbyterian music focuses first on its origins in Great Britain. As a denomination distinct from its Scottish cousin, English Presbyterianism found acceptance by Anglican ministers and the state in the years preceding the English Revolution. Under Cromwell, this denomination became the established state church because it was the most predominant Calvinist denomination in England. As a consequence of this status, English Presbyterians suffered persecution under the re-instituted monarchy, and were denied official sanction until the Act of Toleration of 1689. However, throughout the remainder of the seventeenth and into the early eighteenth century, this denomination created a hymn movement that eventually influenced later verse activity associated with Isaac Watts and other Calvinist dissenters. The musical origins of colonial practice begin in Little Eastcheap in London following a set of English Presbyterian lectures that set repertory and aesthetic for sacred music in the eighteenth-century church. Finally, a discussion of the tunebooks that represented the outgrowth of these lectures reveal a breadth of repertory, expression, tune type, and compilation format that would influence subsequent English Presbyterian compilations emanating from the British North American colonies.

From its European origins, the study of English Presbyterian practice extends to the New World by delineating the regions where colonial English Presbyterian manuscript compilations appear, first along the Long Island Sound, and secondly around the coastal areas of the Middle Atlantic. Several manuscripts reveal a uniform repertory of distinctly English Presbyterian tunes, consisting of those pieces found in earlier London tunebooks, as well as unique variants of English Presbyterian spiritual songs. Discussion focuses on the sources' contents and repertory, the compositional genres of the tunes found in the

collections, and their importance as the earliest documented American examples of folk hymns and spiritual songs. Attention will be given to American-composed works, comparing these pieces with the repertory of other denominations in the colonies.

Finally, English Presbyterian practice in the Middle Atlantic differed among the English and Scottish branches of this denomination. Of note, English Presbyterian musician William Dawson published the most influential American tunebook for the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Southern backcountry, and the burgeoning West. Dawson, though a Presbyterian, intended his compilation for every English-language denomination in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania. Though its reception was only popular among Presbyterians, Dawson's *The Youth's Entertaining Amusement* was compiled by drawing upon the repertory of every major denomination in the colonies, with pieces taken from both Scottish and English branches of Presbyterianism, Congregationalists, and Anglicans. As a result, Presbyterian musicians and churches adopted a repertory that reflected the religious and cultural pluralism of the greater British colonies. Investigations into both regions of English Presbyterianism in the colonies reveal this denomination's seminal role in setting compositional genres, harmonization method, expression, and cultural and denominational pluralistic trends that would influence future evangelical practice into the nineteenth century.

### **Identifying Musical Performance Practice that Transcends or Reflects Regional-Cultural-Denominational Modes of Expression: Musical Pedagogy**

The practice of sacred music differed among denominations within the various regions of British North America. However, many aspects of sacred music transcend regional definition, most notably the pedagogy of sacred music in the colonies. Residents of British North America, from Massachusetts to South Carolina, learned the mysteries of

notation and the art of musical expression via three basic means of sacred music instruction: the singing school conducted by a singing master, precentor, or clerk, either with or without a keyboard instrument; day schools that would incorporate sacred music into their general curriculum; and private instruction.

Of these educational opportunities, the singing school remains the best known. Most often of seasonal or quarterly length, a musician, either itinerant or a resident of a particular community,<sup>5</sup> would conduct a series of classes instructing the basics of notation and part-singing. These singing schools, though religious in their subject matter's content, were held also in a variety of secular spaces including rooms rented for the occasion, university halls,<sup>6</sup> and schoolhouses,<sup>7</sup> besides the occasional church.<sup>8</sup> Some schools imposed age limits, most notably instruction for children,<sup>9</sup> while others offered instruction to anyone.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes, the instructors would restrict enrollment by gender.<sup>11</sup> Though the earliest documented singing school appeared in Virginia,<sup>12</sup> these courses of instruction spread throughout British North America, advertised through the main channels of communication: oral transmission and newspapers.

Commonly, the singing master would conduct a singing school without the aid of instrumental accompaniment. However, in some instances, instructors would employ a keyboard instrument in the classroom as a teaching aid or as a demonstration of status and

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<sup>5</sup> *Rhode Island Gazette*, December 7, 1732. *New York Weekly Journal*, January 7, and January 14, 1740. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia ed., April 28, May 12, June 2, 1757; *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 12, June 2, June 9, June 16, June 23, and July 7, 1757.

<sup>6</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, Williamsburg ed., November 3, and November 10, 1752.

<sup>7</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, May 14-21, May 21-28, and May 28-June 4, 1750.

<sup>8</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, Norfolk ed., January 12-19, 1775.

<sup>9</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, ed. Timothy October 4, 1773.

<sup>10</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, ed. Timothy May 21, May 28, and June 11, 1772.

<sup>11</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, ed. Timothy March 1-6 and March 6-13, 1749.

<sup>12</sup> William Byrd II, *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover 1709-1712*, Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds. (Richmond, Va: Dietz Press, 1941), 272.

legitimacy for the particular instructor. These singing masters advertised their use of a keyboard instrument either to showcase the particular instructor's credentials, or the actual instrument itself. Frequent references within the advertisements appear regarding the intended audience of potential scholars—notably gentlemen and ladies. Also reflecting the status of the event, the choice of location fulfilled a role in displaying the fashionable nature of the particular school, such as Robert Carson and Thomas White's Philadelphia school held above a concert hall conducted with an organ procured especially for "the said purpose."<sup>13</sup> These schools also functioned as a means of advertising for further private instruction by the teacher, and thus served as a demonstration of talent and fashion.<sup>14</sup> Though not confined to a specific region, most schools that employed keyboard instruments appear connected to musicians associated with the Anglican Church.

A few instructors incorporated secular as well as sacred repertoires into their curriculum, particularly in private tutelage. For instance, Eliza Lucas Pinckney, mother of Revolutionary War patriots Charles Coatesworth Pinckney and Thomas Pinckney, studied with Charles Theodore Pachelbel (1690-1750), son of Johann Pachelbel, during the early 1740s. In one of her letterbooks, Eliza transcribed a piece of correspondence written to her father requesting that he purchase a few printed scores that Pachelbel had asked her to obtain, including the secular *Six English Cantatas* (London, 1710) by Johann Pepusch (1667-1752), and the sacred *Divine Harmony; six select anthems for a voice a lone with a thorow bass for the organ, harpsichord or arch-lute* (London, 1716) by John Weldon (1676-1736).<sup>15</sup> Often, the teacher would instruct their pupils on the principles of thoroughbass accompaniment and

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<sup>13</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia ed., March 14, 1765.

<sup>14</sup> *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis ed., July 25, August 1, and August 8, 1765.

<sup>15</sup> Eliza Lucas Pinckney, *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney 1739-1762*. Elise Pinckney and Marvin R. Zahniser, eds., repr. (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1972, 1997), 25.

solo keyboard repertory, as well as vocal instruction, all necessary skills for entertaining, and for accompanying other musicians within a domestic setting.<sup>16</sup> Pachelbel's student, Peter Pelham (1721-1805) offered similar instruction: private tutorship in the art of keyboard playing, and public instruction in psalmody and more extended works of sacred music.<sup>17</sup> Finally, a few singing masters taught both sacred and secular choral genres within the singing school, especially in the latter part of the Colonial period.<sup>18</sup>

Although the singing school and private instruction existed as the most well known means of acquiring a music education, these activities were not the only ones available to a prospective pupil. Perhaps as much as the singing school, the day, boarding, or finishing school that provided musical instruction either within its curriculum or as an extra curricular activity remained popular among the middling and upper classes of British North America. If available to pupils of both sexes, the school would usually offer instruction in mathematics, writing, and musical instruction in singing psalm tunes.<sup>19</sup> Often, if instruction restricted its enrollment to girls, then the school would usually offer other courses dedicated to domestic work, such as sewing, embroidery, and painting and japanning, the art of forging Chinese antiquities through lacquered paint.<sup>20</sup> As with the singing school, musical instruction within a school's curriculum existed in institutions from Massachusetts to South Carolina.

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<sup>16</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, November 8, November 13, and November 18, 1751.

<sup>17</sup> *Boston Evening Post*, May 30, June 6, June 13, June 20, and June 27, 1743.

<sup>18</sup> *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, April 21-8, April 28-May 5, May 5-12, and May 12-19, 1775.

<sup>19</sup> *Boston Evening Post*, June 25 and July 2, 1744. *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy*, October 23, 1752. *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia ed., December 20 and December 27, 1753, January 1, January 8, 1754; *The Pennsylvania Journal*, December 20, 1753, January 3, January 10, and January 17, 1754.

<sup>20</sup> *Boston News Letter*, April 12-19, 1714.



With the exception of the use of keyboard instruments, pedagogy does not vary by region or denomination. As a result, the study of early singing schools does not reveal the distinctive characteristics of regions and denomination. Though these denominations' repertoires shared many of the same tunes, each maintained a distinct mode of performance practice through a combination of features including the tune-carrying voice, expression, and the use of instruments within a particular denomination, as well as repertory and its relationship to New Testament theology. Further, how music was used in the worship service, combined with its aesthetic considerations and idiosyncrasies, reveals distinctly regional and denominational specificities. A discussion of the four musical-cultural English-language hearths becomes necessary for understanding how trends will unfold over the next hundred years. These phenomena concern denominational expression in its interaction between various cultural and denominational groups, as well as sacred music's dissemination to the interior of the country following settlement patterns of its residents from the Eastern Seaboard.

### **Regional Patterns Reflective of Repertory, Theology, and Denomination: Cultural Hearths of Sacred Music Performance Practice**

Each of the four principal regions for English-language sacred music performance practice maintained a distinct identity related to colonial notions of denominational specificity. From this perspective, four predominant groups emerged during the first half of the eighteenth century, characterized by geographic areas of predominance and influence: Anglicans in the Virginia Tidewater and Carolina Low Country, Congregationalists in Massachusetts and northern New England, English Presbyterians in southern New England, and English Presbyterians in the Middle Atlantic and northern Chesapeake Bay. Collectively,

these groups had become dispersed throughout the entire British North American seaboard, ranging from Maine to Georgia. Mirroring settlement patterns, the musical practice of these English-language groups remained tied to the coast. Two-thirds of the congregants belonged to the prevailing denomination found in a particular colony or region, not including Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware with their widespread cultural pluralism.

The southern coastal area was identified most strongly with the Church of England. Anglicanism served as the state church in many colonies, as a result of it functioning as the official religious organ of the United Kingdom. In particular, this conjoining of state and church found its most rigorous implementation in the Virginia Tidewater and the Carolina Low Country where, in many instances, the only denomination present in various parishes was the Anglican Church. Further, as a vehicle of the state, it attempted to maintain the trappings of the church in England, with which it could support itself through tax and tithe. This denomination observed a strict liturgy. A clerk led congregational performance during the divine service by choosing a particular psalm or hymn to be sung, based upon the liturgical calendar or the minister's sermon. The clerk acted independently of the church and its minister in his choices, with the minister frequently treating the office of the clerk with indifference. Alone among the English-language denominations in the colonies, Anglican churches allowed the use of the organ because of its emblematic status of power, prestige, and politeness. Many of its church members constituted the area's most powerful politicians and wealthy landowners, who built into the Anglican ritual notions of power and deference that mirrored the secular world outside of the church. Its repertory existed within a pan-colonial conceptual framework, owing to the nature of the church serving as the religious organ of much of the southern colonies.

The colonies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire in northern New England were identified with the church of the Puritan founders, a group of Calvinist dissenters known as Independents, and later in the colonies, Congregationalists. During the seventeenth century, it enjoyed status as the official church within some of the New England colonies, but lost it in their governments' shift from a charter colony to a royal colony around the turn of the eighteenth century. Despite a change in political organization, Congregationalists maintained their status as the predominant church in the region. Congregationalists believed in the autonomy of each individual congregation over a collective identity or organization of the entire denomination. As a result, performance practice could maintain uniform standards of expression, despite differences in repertory, which came under the purview of the church council. Unique to the colonies, Congregationalists established a tradition of music publication beginning in the 1690s that continued through the period under discussion in this section. This trend allowed not only for a gradual standardization of Congregationalist style, but also its dissemination to other colonies where these items could circulate and become objects of commodification outside the denomination. In particular, individuals from New England who moved to other colonies introduced Congregationalist performance practice to the surrounding areas and influenced repertory, style, and expression outside their original intended audience.

The Long Island Sound and the Middle Atlantic were characterized musically with a strong English Presbyterian presence. In a similar vein, although many English-language denominations existed in the Middle Atlantic, Presbyterianism remained the predominant denomination, being split between its English and Scottish branches. The English Presbyterians, a distinct denomination from their Scottish cousins, existed primarily along the Long Island Sound and throughout the Middle Atlantic. Though based on English

Dissenter practice, this denomination found acceptance in areas of cultural pluralism where it constituted one of only many denominations in a particular region or colony, with Connecticut being the exception. Alone among other colonial denominations, this group blended sacred and secular repertoires within its compilations, and instilled an aesthetic of beauty and devotion descended from initiatives at London's Eastcheap Meetinghouse at the turn of the eighteenth century. The breadth of repertory and compositional genres exceeded every other contemporary English-language denomination in the colonies. English Presbyterians were also the first English-speaking Calvinists to introduce the types of folk hymns found in later evangelical American source material. They created contrafacta, and folk hymn, or tunes without a known earlier source, but appearing in variant melodic settings. The second form appears to have originated through oral dissemination among the various congregants and churches of this denomination. English Presbyterians would prove the most influential on musical trends in the future United States.

### Chapter 3. Anglicans in the Virginia Tidewater and the Carolina Low Country

In the southern coastal areas, notably South Carolina<sup>1</sup> and Virginia,<sup>2</sup> the Anglican Church served as the established religion of the state. Despite the presence of Dissenters (Calvinists), most eighteenth-century governments in the southern colonies before the 1740s only granted official license to church buildings and congregations recognizing the Church of England.<sup>3</sup> Although a few Dissenter churches became part of the religious landscape, these congregations remained outside the periphery of power of the state church, and, hence, the government.<sup>4</sup> Dissenters within South Carolina's parliamentary system lost power in the early eighteenth century, which enabled the Anglican majority to institute an established State church. As a result of the existence of these actions, performance practice within colonial chapels and churches remained closely connected, reflective of traditions found in Anglican parishes throughout Great Britain, both urban and rural.

Although many colonial churches attempted to maintain the trappings of the Church of England, the resources that existed during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries did not allow for a replication of all of the church's appurtenances. Reflecting its status as a center of missionary activity under the direction of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, colonial Anglicans until 1750 commonly replicated only the most

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 92-3.

<sup>2</sup> James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1994), 383-88.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Town and the surrounding islands remained somewhat a Southern anomaly, allowing Presbyterian, Baptist, Huguenot, Congregationalist, and Jewish worship services conducted within the city and its environs. However, these churches and synagogue pre-date the implementation of a state church in the colony.

<sup>4</sup> Horn, *Adapting*, 382.

basic musical component necessary for the divine service: congregational metrical psalmody led by a clerk appointed by the vestry council. Some churches, beginning in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, began to adopt more elaborate musical practices reflective of musical conventions in London's parish churches, including the introduction of organs and professional organists, and finally vested children's charity choirs.

At first however, southern congregations and musicians were limited in introducing Anglican practice to colonial communities and churches. They focused on congregational performance practice and introduced organs into a few notable communities. Their surviving manuscript sources document vocal and instrumental repertoires. These trends provide a foundation for understanding subsequent Late Colonial developments that established Anglican practice as distinct from Dissenter congregations. In particular, some of the ways in which southern Anglicans performed during the divine service and conceived of harmony, as well as their use of the organ distinguished this sect from other English-speaking denominations throughout British North America.

### **3.1 Anglican Clerks and Congregational Performance Practice**

As in the more rural churches of England, the musical repertory of the divine service consisted almost entirely of participatory congregational song, mostly metrical settings of the psalms. A clerk, standing at his appointed desk in front of the congregation, would either lead the singing by the method of lining out (singing each line of text individually with the congregation repeating back what he had just sung, i.e. the old way), or, more rarely, with the congregation singing along with him. Appointed by the vestry, the clerk's position was controlled by the council of the church, and not under the direct control of the minister. Because of this appointment, the clerk frequently chose the psalm to be sung, based upon

the scripture that provided the message of the sermon text, the minister having little interest in the musical part of the service.<sup>5</sup> John Playford (1623-86/7), clerk at London's Temple Church, decried the common indifference met by the ministry towards the clerks. He sought for greater participation between the various factions of an individual congregation, stating: "[i]t would be much to the advancement of this divine service of singing psalms, if the clergy would generally more addict themselves to the study of music, and give themselves some little trouble in assisting their several congregations with their skill."<sup>6</sup>

From the time of the Reformation to the beginning of the seventeenth century, clerks had been trained musicians with a few appointed as the leaders of choirs in the larger parish churches and cathedrals.<sup>7</sup> However, the situation in the colonies did not allow for an exact replication of these conventions. Given the precarious nature of funding for individual churches and chapels, as well as the problems in hiring employees to fulfill the necessary positions within these parishes, the vestry often had to select the same person for more than one appointment because of budgetary concerns. As a result, filling positions in the parishes in the interest of attempting to maintain the trappings of a state church as found in Great Britain often outweighed musical standards. In a few instances, gentlemen of the parish, or those in high social standing, fulfilled this role, at least informally, as with Edmund Berkeley of Gloucester and Middlesex Counties,<sup>8</sup> or Thomas Thompson of Westmoreland, Augusta

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<sup>5</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 89.

<sup>6</sup> John Playford, *The Whole Book of Psalms: with the usual hymns and spiritual songs. Together with all the ancient and proper tunes sung in churches, with some of later use. Composed in three parts, cantus, medius, & bassus: in a more plain and useful method than hath been formerly published* (London: J. Heptinstall, for the Company of Stationers, 1677), fol. A2v.

<sup>7</sup> Temperley, *English Parish Church*, 88.

<sup>8</sup> In an inventory of his library compiled at the time of his death in 1718, Berkeley had a copy of John Playford's, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, often used by clerks. "Virginia Council Journals" in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, pt. 2, 35, 1 (January, 1927): 37.

County.<sup>9</sup> More often, the position of clerk constituted often a sort of charity position for an impoverished member of the parish.

The election of Hugh Macktyer as clerk of Petsworth (Petsoe) Parish in Gloucester County, Virginia on February 5, 1699/1700 provides a glimpse into clerk appointments in the Tidewater area of the Chesapeake Bay. At this time, Samuell Hope had been serving as clerk on account of his poverty. Although the vestry wanted to keep Hope in this position as an act of charity, he refused, thus leaving the vestry committee in need of another clerk. They chose two other persons to audition before the committee, Mr. Underwood and Daniell Poole. Neither of these two potential candidates seemed able to perform these duties. As a result, Hugh Macktyer, already on the payroll in some other function within the parish church, became the clerk. In so doing, the vestry committee did not raise his salary, but maintained him at his usual pay.<sup>10</sup> The church, when unable to find a candidate to fulfill the position based on charity, resorted to hiring a paid employee of the church at no additional cost. Petsworth Parish thus accomplished two goals in one action: saving expenditures while preserving the necessary appointments to maintain the worship service according to perceived standards found in England.

Towards the end of the colonial period, churches attempted to raise the moral standards of their clerks and began to seek individuals from outside the parish. Some churches, dissatisfied with the usual sorts of indigents, alcoholics, and even the mentally ill,<sup>11</sup> placed advertisements seeking clerks who had good moral character, were literate, and most

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<sup>9</sup> His library inventory, taken in 1716 lists, among other items, a "Clerk's Guide." "Waddell's History of Augusta County, Va. An Additional Chapter" in *VMHB*, 10, 4 (April, 1903): 398-9.

<sup>10</sup> *The Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish Gloucester County, Virginia, 1677-1793 (VBPP)*, transcribed, annotated, and indexed by C. G. Chamberlayne (Richmond: Division of purchase and printing, for the Library Board, 1933), 56.

<sup>11</sup> *Virginia Gazette-Williamsburg*, February 11, 1768.



importantly, would attend to their duties in a sober state of mind.<sup>12</sup> Despite these best of intentions, some churches unknowingly hired criminals, as in the case of James Diggins, a horse thief posing as a singing master in Virginia and Maryland.

Diggins first appears in Baltimore in 1775, having advertised his intentions of forming a singing school.<sup>13</sup> Described as about twenty-six years of age, five feet nine inches tall, of a dark complexion with yellow skin and penetrating eyes, having affectations to high fashion though on a more homespun budget, and claiming to have arrived from Boston, his advertisement stated the usual niceties of contemporary singing schools. Open to young gentlemen and ladies, and held at a meetinghouse, the proposed term would have lasted an entire year. Within three months however, Diggins was arrested for horse theft, having hired a horse from William Spencer in Baltimore, which then was bartered for another in Annapolis.<sup>14</sup> Apparently he posted bail, and promptly fled the colony with a reward on his head.

Within a week, he arrived in Virginia, presumably in answer to Samuel Du Val's advertisement for a position as clerk in Richmond the previous year.<sup>15</sup> Gaining the trust of Du Val and the Anglican Church in Richmond, Diggins was sent to Williamsburg on October eighteenth to pick up some books of psalmody for the church. Du Val loaned Diggins his horse for the journey. Needless to say, Diggins failed to return, either with the books or the animal.<sup>16</sup> Despite attempts to replicate those standards and appointments found in English

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<sup>12</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, Norfolk ed., August 11, August 18, 1774. *Virginia Gazette*, Williamsburg ed., June 23, 1774.

<sup>13</sup> *Maryland Journal*, May 31, 1775.

<sup>14</sup> *Maryland Journal*, October 4, October 11, October 18, 1775.

<sup>15</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, Williamsburg ed., June 23, 1774.

<sup>16</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, Williamsburg ed., January 10, 1776.

parish churches, Anglican clerks in the southern colonies remained a motley assortment of individuals ranging from respectable gentlemen to the lowest dregs of society.

### **3.2 Organs: Emblems of State Power and Social Prestige**

Although the position of clerk endured as the more prevalent musical post to lead congregational singing during the worship service throughout Anglican parishes in the southern colonies, it was not the only one available to the state churches. Beginning in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, a few prosperous parishes introduced organs into their churches. In so doing, the clerk's position became secondary to the organist, in that the clerk no longer set the pitch for the congregation, and in many instances, no longer determined tempo and rhythm. Instead, the clerk's voice and leadership role succumbed to the overwhelming volume and power of the organ.

As seen with its use in singing schools, the organ assumed a role of esteem and eminence, particularly in regards to its cost as a material object, its distinctiveness in terms of tonal range and sonic capabilities, and its emblematic prestige as an ornament to the worship service. Clerks, though necessary component towards replicating British modes of worship, did not constitute often the highest echelon of polite society. Organs, in contrast, bore no such odium of the lower classes. Parish churches that owned organs and employed organists demonstrated their politeness and fashionableness to the larger community just by the instrument's presence inside the church building.

In Virginia, the introduction of organs into the parish churches began with an instrument procured by the Poplar Spring Church of Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County in 1737. However, this purchase was preceded by an attempt to acquire an organ in Williamsburg. A decade earlier, Royal Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, Sir William Gooch,

subordinate to the absentee royal governors George Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney and Willem Anne van Keppel, 2nd Earl of Albemarle, wrote to the Bishop of London requesting that his lordship bequeath an organ for Williamsburg's Bruton Parish church in 1728.<sup>17</sup> Although Gooch requested only a small chamber organ, the church and crown denied his plea. Nonetheless, this particular episode demonstrates the status conferred upon an organ in contrast to that of a parish clerk. An acting governor personally interceded to the state church and home government of Great Britain for an organ: no parallel exists for the employment of a clerk.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, organs, though not exactly commonplace, began to appear throughout every southern colony. Although the Poplar Spring instrument remains the earliest-known example from Virginia, an earlier organ at St. Philip's Church in Charles Town, South Carolina is found in the vestry records beginning in 1728.<sup>18</sup> Within thirty years, many Anglican churches in the major cities of the southern colonies began importing instruments, including Savannah, Georgia (1765),<sup>19</sup> Annapolis, Maryland (1760, ca.),<sup>20</sup> Charles Town, South Carolina, and Williamsburg, Virginia (1755),<sup>21</sup> with other organs beginning to appear in more rural areas by the final years of the colonial period, such as those at St. Andrew's Church in South Carolina,<sup>22</sup> Port-Tobacco Parish in Charles County,

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<sup>17</sup> Fulham MSS. Virginia 1st Box No. 146, as transcribed in "The Virginia Clergy. Governor Gooch's Letters to the Bishop of London 1727-1749 From the Fulham Manuscripts," Rev. G. McLaren Brydon, ed., *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 32, 3 (1924): 228.

<sup>18</sup> George W. Williams, "Charleston Church Music 1562-1833," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 7, 1 (1954): 35.

<sup>19</sup> *Georgia Gazette*, Johnston ed., November 21, 1765.

<sup>20</sup> *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis ed., September 6, 1759.

<sup>21</sup> H. Joseph Butler, "Introduction" to *The Peter Pelham Manuscript of 1744: An Early American Keyboard Tutor*, ed. H. Joseph Butler (Colfax, North Carolina: Wayne Leupold Editions, Inc., 2005), 9.

<sup>22</sup> Williams, "Charleston Church Music," 36.

Maryland,<sup>23</sup> or St. Mary's Parish, Carolina County, Virginia.<sup>24</sup> Besides these larger instruments, including the one built by Richard Bridge at Bruton Parish in Williamsburg,<sup>25</sup> merchants also imported chamber organs designed either for domestic use,<sup>26</sup> or small chapels in rural locations.<sup>27</sup>

Paralleling the trend of churches hiring sober and decent members of society for their clerks, the establishment of the pipe organ within the Anglican church of the southern colonies legitimized the parish in its attempts to replicate performance standards in parishes throughout Great Britain. A church that could support the maintenance of such an instrument, combined with a stable enough budget to hire a professional organist, demonstrated the wealth, and hence the status of the individual church. Recognizing the status of the church within the community also revealed its fashionableness and awareness of current trends in Great Britain. No better symbol of this progressiveness existed besides the ownership and maintenance of a genteel pipe organ.

### ***3.2.1 Petsworth Parish and the Edward Ripping Tarpley Copybook***

One of the best-documented examples of an organ procured by an Anglican parish in one of the southern British colonies in North America is the instrument used in the Popular Spring Church of Petsworth Parish. Its vestry committee, led by the Reverend Emmanuell Jones, met June 13, 1735 to discuss the acquisition of a pipe organ. The committee consisted of eight of the most powerful and eminent gentlemen and landowners in the county and surrounding areas. Jones had been rector of the parish since at least

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<sup>23</sup> *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 30, June 6, and July 4, 1771.

<sup>24</sup> *Virginia Gazette* Williamsburg ed., March 11, March 18, and March 25, 1773.

<sup>25</sup> "Benjamin Crowninshield at William and Mary College," *William and Mary Quarterly* 11, 3 (1931): 265.

<sup>26</sup> *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis ed., November 21, 1754. *South Carolina Gazette*, June 27-July 4, and July 4-11, 1754.

<sup>27</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, ed. Timothy, March 3-10, and March 10-17, 1759.

1705,<sup>28</sup> and involved in land speculation for several years past, with extensive property holdings.<sup>29</sup> The others on the vestry committee included Augustine Smith, John Royston, Francis Thornton, Thomas Green, Seth Thornton, Samuel Buckner and Thomas Booth. Besides his esteem as one of the county's largest landowners,<sup>30</sup> Augustine Smith had served as Justice of the Peace for Gloucester County in 1714. William Thornton, owning considerable rural property holdings, had invested in a house plot for the development of Gloucester Town in 1707, strategically located across from the courthouse.<sup>31</sup> Samuel Buckner, of Mathews County served as the Justice of the Peace in 1740 and was elected to the House of Burgesses in 1744.<sup>32</sup> Thomas Booth served as Justice of the Peace in Gloucester County from 1726 until 1782.<sup>33</sup>

Appointing Augustine Smith as business agent for the organ, the committee placed the money set aside for its acquisition into his hands.<sup>34</sup> Understanding the unpredictability of ocean travel, the vestry committee also stressed that he should obtain insurance for the organ against shipwreck and other natural disasters. Smith converted the money into British pounds sterling, and ordered the instrument from an unnamed firm in Great Britain.

Seven months later, the vestry committee, while waiting for the organ to arrive, decided to spare no expense in the visual presentation of their musical ambition. All members agreed to hire William Ran, a local carpenter, to "Build A Good & Substantial

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<sup>28</sup> *Records of Colonial Gloucester County Virginia: a collection of abstracts from original documents concerning the lands and people of Colonial Gloucester County (RCGCV)*, Polly Cary Mason, comp. (Baltimore, MD: Clearfield Company by Genealogical Publishing Company, 1992), 102.

<sup>29</sup> *RCGCV*, 105.

<sup>30</sup> Gloucester Rent Roll of 1704/5 as well as property deed grants for Gloucester County list some of his property holdings. *RCGCV*, 86, 102, 104.

<sup>31</sup> *RCGCV*, 54.

<sup>32</sup> *RCGCV*, 47, 120-1, 131.

<sup>33</sup> *RCGCV*, 121.

<sup>34</sup> *VBPP*, 238.

Gallery at the west End of the Church at Poplar Spring for the Use of placing an Organ."<sup>35</sup>

The cabinet, also to be constructed by Ran, was to have painted wainscoted paneling and of substantial size and substance. Projecting the organ's arrival in March of 1738, this opportunity would give the builder time to complete all of the construction work necessary for the gallery and cabinet.

Clearly, members of the Poplar Spring Church placed immense social and political importance on this instrument. Beyond its role as merely an ornament designed to aid worship, the organ instead was to be placed in a prominent position in the church, again replicating British practice through its position in a raised West gallery. In essence, the organ would represent a kind of musical tabernacle, with it enclosed in a decorated cabinet and elevated for the viewing of all congregants. Because of its appeal as visual display and the elevation of the church's esteem by its presence, church members, in an unprecedented act of securing subscriptions, raised more money than the actual cost of the instrument and its shipping fees. Churchwarden Augustine Smith held the "Overplush" for appropriation to the maintenance and support of the instrument.<sup>36</sup>

The organ arrived several months early, around October of 1737. The church paid Captain Samuel Buckner and Thomas Booth five hundred pounds of tobacco for hauling it from the wharf to the church, and possibly into its new gallery.<sup>37</sup> Before its arrival, the vestry committee had secured Anthony Collins in June to assume the post as organist of Poplar Spring Church.<sup>38</sup> Often, the newly appointed organist was responsible for setting up the instrument and keeping it in tune. Collins most likely installed the Petsworth organ in its

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<sup>35</sup> *VBPP*, 242.

<sup>36</sup> *VBPP*, 243.

<sup>37</sup> *VBPP*, 245.

<sup>38</sup> *VBPP*, 244.

handsome new gallery and cabinet. Under a six-month contract, Smith paid Collins from the surplus money raised in the subscription, at a rate of ten pounds. Although his contract does not survive, the committee did stress that he should "Teach Som Other fit person in the Mistory of the Said Musick with all Convenient Speed he Can."

Rather than staying for only six months, Anthony Collins' tenure at Poplar Springs Church lasted four years. After two initial six-month contracts, the vestry committee retained him at twenty pounds per annum beginning on October 18, 1738.<sup>39</sup> However, they seemed unsure as to the legality of the measure. Previously, they had decided that the money remaining with Smith be used for the maintenance of the instrument, and not for the organist. A month later, the church decided by an Act of Assembly to raise a poll tax to cover the organist's expenses.<sup>40</sup> In subsequent years, they dropped this tax and resolved to pay Collins from Smith's retained funds.<sup>41</sup> In 1740, he received an additional eight shillings for servicing and repairing the instrument.<sup>42</sup> By 1741 Anthony Collins' name disappears from the parish and colonial Virginia records. Either he had died, found another position in Great Britain, or the funds from Smith's account had finally been exhausted.

Several items remain unanswered from this brief episode in Virginia's musical history, including the organ builder's name and its stop specifications, Collins' repertory, and whether he in fact had trained "Som Other fit person in the Mistory" of the organ. Given the time and capital invested into the instrument, and the overwhelming public support within the church for its acquisition and maintenance, it seems strange that no other record of an organist appears in the parish's vestry minutes. Although evidence is lacking in the

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<sup>39</sup> *VBPP*, 248.

<sup>40</sup> *VBPP*, 250.

<sup>41</sup> *VBPP*, 255.

<sup>42</sup> *VBPP*, 260-61.

surviving records of Poplar Spring Church, contemporary source material from nearby Williamsburg provides circumstantial information as to the music and repertory of Collins during his tenure at Petsworth Parish.

A Virginia musical copybook dated 1738 survives in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society.<sup>43</sup> Ascribed to James Cocke, this collection was actually begun by Edward Ripping Tarpley (1727-63). The son of John Tarpley (1695-1736/7) and his second wife, Elizabeth Ripping (?-1772), Edward was born in Richmond County, Virginia before the family's relocation to Williamsburg sometime in the early 1730s.<sup>44</sup> Edward and Mary Ripping, his grandparents by his mother's side, owned considerable property in Williamsburg and surrounding counties, which protected the family from indigence following the father's untimely death. Evidently, Edward received musical training on keyboard instruments and viola da gamba, on the basis of the contents of the surviving copybook in his handwriting. After reaching maturity, he inherited his grandparent's plantation in New Kent County, Virginia along with cattle and household furniture in 1744.<sup>45</sup> Edward remained a bachelor, and died at the age of thirty-six in neighboring York County. He named his younger brother James (1728-1764), a merchant in Williamsburg, executor of his estate, who in turn inherited his brother's possessions, with the exception of a yearly pension given to his mother until the time of her death.<sup>46</sup> James himself died one year later, leaving his estate to his mother. Through subsequent legal issues, the Tarpley store, operated in partnership with John Thompson, was offered for sale following the death of Edward and James' mother in 1770.

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<sup>43</sup> James Cocke, "Musick song book, 1738," Virginia Historical Society, Mss 5:5 C6454:1.

<sup>44</sup> *The Kamp Papers*, Vol. 2, Gayle O. Kamp, comp. (Indianapolis: for the author by Staked Plains Publishers, 1986), 6.

<sup>45</sup> Mary Ripping, "Mary Ripping," Will, in York County Wills and Administrations (1633-1811), Book 19 (York County, VA, 1762), 333-334.

<sup>46</sup> Edward Ripping Tarpley, "Edward Ripping Tarpley," Will, in York County Wills and Administrations (1633-1811), Book 21 (York County, VA, 1762), 147-8.



James Cocke, sometime mayor of Williamsburg (1767-8 and 1772-3), along with James Blair were named executors of her estate.<sup>47</sup> From this business transaction, Cocke apparently acquired the Tarpley copybook, thus explaining the mistaken attribution of its earliest contents to Cocke.

Compiled in various stages by several hands from 1738 to at least 1821, the manuscript had several owners who transcribed a variety of compositions. The earliest sections include pieces entered into the front and back of the manuscript - viola da gamba works at the opening, a textless vocal piece in the middle, and the organ fugues at the rear. Unique to Virginia as well as colonial British America, this manuscript contains two suites and various dance works for six-string viola da gamba as well as a series of organ fugues (**Anth**).<sup>48</sup> At the time of the volume's compilation, no known organ existed in Williamsburg. The only public instrument in the colony was located in nearby Petsworth Parish, about five miles from the capital across the James River. Though direct evidence remains lacking, Anthony Collins appears as the most likely candidate for having taught Edward Ripping Tarpley, considering the style of music found within the manuscript, the date of its compilation, the repertory of its earliest contents, as well as the proximity of Tarpley to Poplar Spring Church.

The Tarpley manuscript organ fugues follow the earlier, seventeenth-century form of the voluntary: short unpretentious works played before or after the various Lessons within the Anglican liturgy. Further, these pieces do not employ the slow-fast structural form of

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<sup>47</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, August 13, 1772.

<sup>48</sup> The gamba works feature a combination of ornamentation similar to seventeenth-century French instrumental music, as well as English violin ornamentation of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These pieces, if not original to the manuscript, would most likely have originated in England because of a short series of instrumental tunes known enigmatically as a "cabelle," with one ascribed to Purcell, either Henry or his brother Daniel. See: "French Cabelle," 7v and "Purcell's Cabelle," 8v.

many later eighteenth-century voluntaries, such as those by John Stanley (1712-1786) or William Boyce (1711-1779), nor do they specify registration. Despite their small scale, these fugues are well crafted, revealing a competent composer familiar with contemporary contrapuntal and tonal mannerisms, though somewhat anachronistic in style. If not by Collins, these works most likely are identical in style to the voluntaries performed by him at Poplar Spring Church.

### **3.3 Anglican Tune Repertory: Performative and Stylistic Conventions**

Having examined the unique performance characteristics of the Anglican Church, its metrical psalm tunes provide a base from which to construct an Anglican repertory. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Anglican clerks drew from a body of psalm tunes that had come into being over the course of the past two centuries. Although interrupted by the interregnum under Oliver Cromwell, Anglicans assumed their former eminence with the restoration of the monarchy. As a result, it brought about a universal re-institution of the observance of the Anglican liturgy. This action spurred a flurry of activity for European Anglican musicians, allowing an enterprising few to make available suitable music to those citizens with a modicum of disposable income.

With a new market created for published scores, musicians such as Londoner John Playford answered this demand through three forms of publication: pedagogical texts for the instruction of music literacy; collections of psalm tunes set in four parts with the melody set in the tenor, following the practice of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century musicians such as Thomas Ravenscroft;<sup>49</sup> and a new trend begun by Playford and others of setting the

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<sup>49</sup> Thomas Ravenscroft, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: with The hymnes evangelicall, and songs spiritvall. Composed into 4. parts by sundry authors, with such severall tunes as haue beene, and are vsually sung in*

cantus in the treble voice in a two or three-part texture, following contemporary trends in secular vocal music of the late seventeenth century. The contrast of the two styles appears significantly in two psalter collections issued by Playford, one following the more ancient four-part method,<sup>50</sup> and the other in modern three-part treble-led settings.<sup>51</sup> Finally, Playford, in his pedagogical texts, provided tune settings in two parts: cantus and bass, these being identical to the three-part settings without the additional medius voice.<sup>52</sup>

Anglican churches in the British colonies adopted the more current and fashionable musical texture, but confined these tunes mostly to the two-part settings found in Playford's works such as his popular *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* listed in the library of Edmund Berkeley. Further evidence to support the proliferation of Playford's publications throughout Anglican America exists in a listing of psalm tunes by New York publisher William Bradford following his 1710 printing of the *Book of Common Prayer* and its accompanying metrical psalter by Nahum Tate (1652-1715) and Nicholas Brady (1659-1726), the first publication of this volume in the British colonies.<sup>53</sup> Appended to the index of the psalter, Bradford listed a series of fifteen tunes that would answer for every poetic meter

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*England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Italy, France, and the Nether-lands: Neuer as yet before in one volume published. Also: a briefe abstract of the prayse, efficacie, and vertue of the psalmes. Newly corrected and enlarged by Tho: Rauenscroft Bachelor of Musicke. Gloria in excelsis Deo* (London: for the Company of Stationers, 1621).

<sup>50</sup> John Playford, *Psalms & Hymns in Solemn Musick of Fovre Parts on the Common Tunes to the Psalms in Metre: used in parish-chvrches. Also six hymns for one voyce to the organ. For God is king of all the earth, sing ye praises with understanding, Psal. 47. 7* (London: W. Godbid for J. Playford, 1671).

<sup>51</sup> John Playford, *The Whole Book of Psalms* (London: W. Godbid for the Company of Stationers, 1677).

<sup>52</sup> John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, ed. 10 (London: A. G[odbid] and J. P[layford, jun.] for J. Playford, 1683).

<sup>53</sup> *The Book of Common-Prayer, And Administration of the Sacraments. And other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England. Together with the Psalter, or Psalm of David, Pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches* (New-York: William Bradford, 1710).

found in the Tate and Brady versifications. With a plausible identification of every tune, almost all appear in various Playford publications (**Table 3.1**).

With the exception of OLD 104, all tunes are found in three and two-part source material. In fact, CANTERBURY and OLD 125 seem to originate from the 1677 psalter because of Bradford's tune identification; CANTERBURY was more popularly referred to as LOW DUTCH, and OLD 125 as TEN COMMANDMENTS. Further, Playford, after his 1677 publication changed the variants of his hymn tune melodies, adopting those suggested in the Bradford source, particularly regarding the tunes SOUTHWELL and ST. DAVIDS. Based upon surviving southern inventories of libraries and the Bradford tune list, Playford's publications and their modern settings proved the most influential in setting the trends for musical repertory and performance standards in the early eighteenth-century Middle Atlantic, Virginia Tidewater, and Carolina Low Country.<sup>54</sup> By the middle of the century, the repertory changed somewhat, with the incorporation of newer tunes in a more contemporary musical style into the existing canon.

### *3.3.1 Joseph Holladay and his Musical Copybook*

Besides household inventories of libraries, documented tune lists, and descriptions of southern singing schools, manuscript copybooks of tune repertories provide more concrete information as to the repertory of southern Anglican churches. Fortunately, an Anglican copybook survives from Spotsylvania County, Virginia compiled by Joseph Holladay, dated circa 1755.<sup>55</sup> Though the local parish records do not indicate his status as a clerk of the

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<sup>54</sup> While it cannot be said that these four sources shaped directly the Bradford tune list, these volumes reveal the commonality of Anglican repertory found throughout England, with the Barber source emanating from Wakefield in Yorkshire.

<sup>55</sup> Joseph Holladay, Manuscript copybook of sacred vocal music (Spotsylvania County, VA, 1769), Mss 1 H7185a .325, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, and hereafter referred to as Holljms in subsequent tables. Holladay spelled his name consistently as "Holladay"

church, the repertory of this volume mirrors at least that of his local parish. However, as demonstrated with the employment of clerks and the presence of organs, the similarities shared between Anglican churches in all southern colonies would suggest a pan-colonial repertory between churches as well. Evidence to support this theory is found in those hymn tunes unique to the Holladay manuscript. The only other sources to contain these pieces originate from manuscript source material found in the Low Country of South Carolina, the Chesapeake Bay, and one source from extreme, southern New Jersey. For this reason, a mid-eighteenth-century manuscript from the Tidewater provides invaluable evidence not only of denominational repertory, but also geographic specificity, indicating a regional body of material.

Joseph Holladay grew up in Spotsylvania County, Virginia on the Bellefonte plantation owned by his parents John and Elizabeth. Marrying Elizabeth Lewis, he relocated to his plantation, Elmwood outside of Fredericksburg.<sup>56</sup> Joseph served as the official inspector of tobacco in Fredericksburg beginning in 1761 until his death on July 24, 1795. Beginning in 1742, he also became involved in land speculation after inheriting three hundred acres from his father in St. George's Parish, King William County.<sup>57</sup> Joseph and Elizabeth eventually had a number of children who reached maturity, eight sons and two

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throughout the copybook. Various archives spell the names as "Holloday." For the sake of consistency, "Holladay" will appear throughout this text in accordance with the Holladay copybook.

<sup>56</sup> *Holloday Family File*, Library of Virginia (Richmond).

<sup>57</sup> John Holloday, Will, quoted in: *Spotsylvania County Records 1721-1800 being transcriptions, from the original files at the County Court House, of Wills, Deeds, Administrators' and Guardians' Bonds, Marriage Licenses, and Lists of Revolutionary Pensioners (SCR)*, ed. William Armstrong (Crozier. Baltimore: Southern Book Co., 1955), 346. He later sold part of this parcel in 1746 and bought eighty acres in 1749. Spotsylvania County Deed Book, quoted in *SCR*, 173, 179.

daughters. Towards the end of his life, he began to secure a legacy for his family, purchasing multiple tracts of land in the county between the years 1770 and 1785, and slaves in 1789.<sup>58</sup>

Sometime before Joseph and his wife had children, he compiled his manuscript copybook of psalm tunes, circa 1755.<sup>59</sup> Following a brief two-page rudiments section devoted to notation and rhythm, Holladay copied sixteen pieces with one tune WINDSOR copied twice, first in its usual form, and later as an embellished variant. Although consisting mostly of popular psalm tunes, the manuscript displays several noteworthy characteristics. On the basis of its poetic metrical contents, this book would not have served the needs of a clerk. The scope of metrical variation does not provide a suitable tune to all of the various poetic meters of any metrical version of the psalms. Further, the manuscript remains devoid of standard tunes found in almost every collection of congregational psalmody, such as PSALM 113 (8.8.8. 8.8.8.) or PSALM 148 (H.M.), besides popular tunes found in the more common poetic meters, as seen in the Bradford tune list (e.g. LITCHFIELD and YORK). As a result of these features, this small volume most likely represents the product of a visiting singing master, or a compilation of Holladay's favorite tunes, perhaps popular throughout his parish, county, or region of the colony (**Table 3.2**).

At first glance, the manuscript suggests its provenance as a Presbyterian or at least a dissenting Calvinist compilation, based upon two popular tunes usually found only in

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<sup>58</sup> The Spotsylvania County Deed Book, transcribed in *SCR*, includes the purchasing of an unnamed tract for £100 currency on June 20, 1771 (284), 84 acres for £60 currency on December 21, 1771 (291), 100 acres for £100 currency on November 1, 1785 (391); and selling 100 acres for £200 currency on November 19, 1778 (339) and 146 acres for £100 currency on November 1, 1785 (391) to his brother; acquiring slaves from his nephew on November 1, 1789 (429), and purchasing two slaves from his sister or niece for £40 currency on November 2, 1790 (434).

<sup>59</sup> Holladay's children used the front and rear covers as space to practice writing their names during the 1760s. As a result, the manuscript is incorrectly dated to 1769, a date written by his son Lewis following his name on the rear cover of the compilation.

English Presbyterian sources (DORCHESTER and ST. PETER'S). However, Holladay's setting of DORCHESTER does not correspond with tune collections associated with this denomination for two basic reasons: the title has been altered, paralleling no known printed source, and it has been made to conform to contemporary Anglican usage of strict association with metrical psalms. Although English Presbyterians allowed the free introduction of hymnody into the psalm tune repertory beginning in the first decade of the eighteenth century, most Anglicans and Congregationalists were more hesitant to allow the widespread adoption of hymns, besides those accepted hymns and canticles introduced during the beginning of the Reformation.

In many instances, Holladay altered the titles of other common psalm tunes, either leaving them untitled, or indicating these tunes by the psalm intended for their performance, a practice more characteristic of seventeenth-century compilations than eighteenth-century volumes. He apparently lifted directly ST. PETER'S or PSALM 135 from a collection intended for dissenting congregations, a tune supplement by Simon Brown to *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* by Isaac Watts (1674-1748). The only time this tune appears in print under this title was in the Brown supplement. Similarly, though the version of PSALM 143 as printed by Holladay remains unique to this source, he most likely based this setting on that found in Richard Drayton's *A Book of Psalmody* (Northampton, 1727), on the basis of the tune only appearing under this title in this source.<sup>60</sup> As with the Bradford tune list, the other sources listed in the table constitute common source material from which he might have drawn his tunes. As such, these compilations reveal a commonality of sources that shaped the repertory, both Calvinist and Anglican. Despite the presence of a few Nonconformist

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<sup>60</sup> This tune was known more popularly as WALSAL, appearing hundreds of times under this name, and occasionally as READING.

tunes, Holladay's presentation of the material remains decidedly Anglican in flavor, though a bit anachronistic in expression.

Besides variant settings of pre-existing tunes unique to the manuscript, Joseph copied two pieces, which remain the earliest source to contain these tunes. Both works only appear in American manuscript source material, and with one exception, emanate from compilations encompassing the coastal areas of the southern colonies. PSALM 132 (**Anth**), a plain tune, seems intended for congregational use.<sup>61</sup> Stylistically, this tune employs a more modern melodic contour than its counterparts, making frequent use of melismatic sigh motives characteristic of contemporary British psalmodists William Knapp<sup>62</sup> and James Green.<sup>63</sup> The melodic contour also contains an implied common practice harmonic sequence, again suggesting a more recent date of composition.

PSALM 106 appears in a two-part setting, the only harmonized composition in the entire Holladay manuscript (**Anth**). Displaying simplicity and sophistication simultaneously, the tune seems almost at odds with itself. From one perspective, it presents crude parallel octave movement between parts. Further, the tune provides little variation in contour, with every phrase concluding with a return to the tonic note in the melody. From another perspective, it includes antiphonal exchange between the cantus and bass parts, occurring in the second and third phrases. Also, the formal construction reveals more sophistication in

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<sup>61</sup> Evidently, Holladay may have been less familiar with this style of tune, because of all compositions in the book, only this one and PSALM 104, the other unique tune, remain imperfect both as to melody and rhythm. For these reasons, the two examples provided here are taken from a later southern colonial manuscript source, "The Cashaway Psalmody" compiled by Durham Hills, an Anglican clerk at St. David's Parish in Cheraw, South Carolina in 1770.

Source: Hills, Durham. "The Cashaway Psalmody," The Cashaway, S.C., Evan Pugh Papers (Durham Hills, the Cashaway, 1770), South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston.

<sup>62</sup> William Knapp, *A Sett of New Psalm-Tunes and Anthems*, (London: W. Hutchinson, for the author, 1738).

<sup>63</sup> James Green, *A Book of Psalmody*, ed. 10 (London: Robert Brown, for C. Hitch, 1744).



conception following an ABB'A' format structured around the antiphonal exchanges, all framed within a recurring cadential phrase in the first and final sections. Finally, the rhythmic aspects of the piece reveal a shift from a simple triple beat division to compound duple in the second and third phrases, again occurring at the two points of antiphonal exchange. This alternation of beat division, though relatively uncommon in eighteenth-century source material, appears with some regularity in nineteenth-century American sources, particularly in shape-note compilations. Its presence in this manuscript constitutes the earliest known instance of occurrence in American source material.

Although appearing for the first time in the Holladay manuscript, neither of the tunes exists only in this single source. As a result, some idea as to tune dissemination and its representation as regional manifestation becomes possible through an examination of other sources that contain these tunes. PSALM 132 survives only in one other source, a 1770 collection compiled by Durham Hills, an Anglican musician living in Cheraw, South Carolina employed by a group of Particular (Calvinist) Baptists along the Pee Dee River. PSALM 106 is found in at least four other sources: a manuscript from Cecil County, Maryland possibly compiled by Nathaniel Rumsey,<sup>64</sup> a Burlington, New Jersey manuscript compiled possibly by

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<sup>64</sup> Rumsey (1741-1817), employed as a lawyer, became a Revolutionary War patriot as Captain of the First Maryland Battalion under Colonel William Smallwood. This outfit gained notoriety for singhandedly covering George Washington's retreat following the Battle of Long Island on the evening of August 29, 1776. He retired from active service following the Battle of Monmouth, later serving as a member of the Congress of the Confederation. After the adoption of the Constitution, President Washington appointed him the first U.S. Marshal for the District of Maryland in 1789.

The manuscript copybook of psalm tunes, though lacking an inscription by its compiler, had the following note attached to the rear endcover: "Philadelphia Mar. 12yj 1868. Found among the papers of my great uncle William Rumsey in Philadelphia. Supposed to have been the work of his uncle Nathan Rumsey. ["Nat" is on the cover.] S. C. Brinckle. M.D."

Source: Nathan Rumsey, Manuscript copybook of sacred music (Cecil County, Md., ca. 1770), Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington.

a Robert Johnson in 1783, the John Beatty manuscript of Mifflin County, Pennsylvania,<sup>65</sup> and the Durham Hills manuscript from South Carolina.<sup>66</sup>

Unlike PSALM 132, PSALM 106 exists in two variant forms: the first appearing in the Holladay and Hills sources, and the other in the Rumsey, Beatty, and Johnson manuscripts (**Anth**). Curiously, the source material reveals that Presbyterians compiled the latter three sources, with the former two by Anglicans. Thus, in one sense, PSALM 106 exhibits a regional dissemination to the rural coastal area of South Carolina, Chesapeake Bay, and extreme southern New Jersey, indicating a pattern of circulation for tunes along the middle and southern British Atlantic Seaboard. From another perspective, this tune also demonstrates denominational specificity with variants neatly aligned according to theological disposition (Calvinist vs. Anglican). As such, PSALM 106 survives as an early example of how musical trends will unfold throughout the next one hundred years: musical compositions evincing simultaneously cultural, regional, and denominational patterns of dissemination.

Anglicans in British North America appeared throughout every colony. However, it was in the southern coastal areas of Virginia and the Carolinas that the Anglican Church functioned as the official, established church of the State. For this reason, Anglican performance practice, to a large degree, defined religious musical expression of the greater region. Congregational performance followed a patriarchal form of expression, with a male clerk hired to lead the singing of metrical psalms and a few established hymns. The tune

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<sup>65</sup> David W. Music, "The John Beatty Manuscript: An Eighteenth-Century American Tunebook" in *The Hymn* 63, 2 (Spring 2012): 27-38.

<sup>66</sup> Robert Johnson (?), Manuscript copybook of sacred music (Burlington, N.J., 1763), Salem County Historical Society, Salem, N.J.

repertory descended from sixteenth-century Calvinist metrical psalters that were in turn officially embraced by the Church of England during the Elizabethan period. Though never an established part of the Anglican liturgy, metrical psalmody occupied a central position for congregational performance within the divine service. Almost invariably, a limited number of tunes were set to a larger body of poetry.

Some of the wealthier Anglican churches of the colonies acquired pipe organs to either lead the congregation or assist the clerk in his duties as song leader. Although the clerk's position was more widespread, the organ became increasingly common throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, appearing in both urban and rural parishes of the Tidewater and Low Country. Colonial congregations established these performance modes as an attempt to replicate musical standards of Great Britain. Frequently, churches hired clerks as an act of charity for an indigent congregant in the parish. As the century progressed, many churches desired more competent song leaders. However, they often hired persons of low character and social esteem despite their best intentions. The presence of an organ, in contrast, revealed a higher status accorded its congregants. As with Petsworth Parish, the church council not only acquired a suitable instrument to publicly display this esteem, but this body also ordered that the architecture of the church building be modified to showcase the instrument, and new cabinetry constructed to demonstrate the parish's pre-eminence within the colony.

Finally, throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, church members increased their congregational tune repertory from a handful of established favorites, to a more up-to-date body of material that included a few examples of newly composed, Anglican psalm tunes. Surviving tune lists and manuscript copybooks document a shifting repertory and an expanded performance style that allowed for both a heterophonic

performance of metrical psalmody, as well as a choral repertory that could feature alternatim antiphonal response. In particular, the American-composed pieces documented regional parameters for tune dissemination, revealing distinct differences between denominations within a given region. This phenomenon allowed for some observations into the denomination as a marker of geographical and religious identity. How these performance modes and repertory function as statements of their denomination and geography reveals subsequent trends of the Late Colonial Period.

Table 3.1 British source material paralleling the William Bradford tune list (1710)

Key: HTI# = Temperley, Hymn Tune Index Number

Tune Name	HTI#	Parallel Source Material				
		PlayJ ISM7 1674	PlayJ WBP 1677	PSNC 1699	PlayJ ISM12 1694	BarbA PT4 1700
CANTERBURY	250h	X - LOW DUTCH	X	X - LOW DUTCH	X	X - LOW DUTCH
LITCHFIELD	381b	X	X	X	X	—
MARTYRS	330a	X	X	X	X	X
OLD 25 PSALM	114	—	—	X	—	X
OLD 51	93a	X	X	X		X
OLD 100	143a	X	X	X	X	X
OLD 104	144a	—	—	—	—	X
OLD 113	146a	X	X	X	X	X
OLD 125	111a	X - TEN COMMANDMENTS	X	X - TEN COMMANDMENTS		X - TEN COMMANDMENTS
OLD 148	126a	X	X	X	X	X
SOUTHWELL	269h	—	X	—	X	—
ST. DAVIDS	379c	—	X	X - ISLE OF PROVIDENCE	X	X - ISLE OF PROVIDENCE
ST. MARY'S/HACKNEY	542a	X	X	X	X	X
WINDSOR	271a	X	X	X	—	X
YORK	331a	X	X	X	X	X

### Source Abbreviations

**BarbA PT4:** Barber, A[braham], of Wakefield. *The Psalme Tunes in Four Parts*. Ed. 4. York: John White, for Abraham Barber in Wakefield, 1700.

**PlayJ ISM7:** Playford, John. *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. Ed. 7. London: W. Godbid, for J. Playford, 1674.

**PlayJ ISM12:** Playford, John. *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. Ed. 12. Savoy: E. Jones for Henry Playford, 1694.

**PlayJ WBP:** Playford, John. *The Whole Book of Psalms... Compos'd in three parts*. London: W. Godbid for the Company of Stationers, 1677.

**PSNC:** *The Psalm-Singer's Necessary Companion*. London: J. Heptinstall, for Henry Rhodes, 1700.

Key: Boldface type = American-composed, arranged, or adapted  
 ( ) = alternate titles  
 [ ] = most common title of a particular psalm tune, or a referential title in the absence of one in the source

Table 3.2 British and American source material paralleling tunes found in the Joseph Holladay manuscript

		Parallel Source Material					
		English European			Colonial		
		Dissenter	Anglican		Anglican		
Tune Name	HTI#	SP	BrowS		DrayR BP 1727	WoodC CPT 1735	Bradford Tune List 1710
		ST3P 1720	LaurW CT2 1722				
CANTERBURY	250h	—	x		—	x	x
DORCHESTER (Ps. 86) [BRUNSWICK]	891a	—	x		—	—	—
ST. PETER'S (Ps. 135) [ISLE OF WIGHT]	733a	x	—		—	—	—
MARTYRS (Ps. 11)	330a	—	x		—	x	x
<b>Ps. 23</b>	794 - var. not in Temp.	—	—		x - a	—	—
<b>Ps. 25</b>	269 - set in major mode	—	—		x - minor	x - minor	x - minor
Ps. 47 [BUCKLAND]	758	—	x		—	x	—
(UNTITLED) [Ps. 100]	143a	—	x		x	—	x
<b>Ps. 106</b>	—	—	—		—	—	—
<b>Ps. 132</b>	—	—	—		—	—	—
<b>Ps. 143</b>	1065 - var. not in Temp.	—	—		x - a	—	—
ST. DAVIDS (Ps. 117)	379c	—	x		x	x	x

		Parallel Source Material				
		English European				Colonial
		Dissenter		Anglican		Anglican
Tune Name	HTI#	SP		DrayR	WoodC	Bradford
		BrowS ST3P 1720	LaurW CT2 1722	BP 1727	CPT 1735	Tune List 1710
ST. MARY'S (Ps. 8)	542a	—	x	—	x	x
(UNTITLED)	586	—	—	—	x	—
(UNTITLED)	1062a	—	—	x	—	—
WINDSOR (Ps. 13)	271a	—	x	x	x	x
<b>WINDSOR (OLD Ps. 102)</b>	271 - var. not in Temp.	—	x - a	x - a	x -a	x - a

### Source Abbreviations

**SP BrowS ST3P:** *A Set of Tunes in 3 Parts (mostly new) fitted to the following hymns.* London: Em. Mathews, 1720.

**DrayR BP:** Drayton, R. *A Book of Psalmody: or, A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, in two parts.* Northampton: William Dicey, 1727.

**LaurW CT2:** L[aurence], W[illiam]. *A Collection of Tunes, suited to the various metres in Mr Watts's Imitation of the Psalms of David, or Dr. Patrick's Version; fit to be bound up with either.* Ed. 2. London: W. Pearson, for J. Clark and R. Ford and R. Ford, 1722.

**WoodCCPT:** Woodmason, Charles. *A Collection of Psalm Tunes.* London: J. Simpson, [1734-1737].



## Chapter 4. New England Congregationalists and Pan-Regional Dissemination

Throughout much of the seventeenth century, the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay remained charter colonies. In contrast to settlers in the royal colonies in the south, those in northern New England obtained settlement property either directly through land grants, as with various plantations in New Hampshire before 1691, or royal charter, such as the Cambridge Agreement granted by Charles I to a group of businessmen in England in 1629 to found the Massachusetts Bay Colony. As a private enterprise, charter colonies could impose their own laws regarding legal, religious, and moral conduct. Thus, charter colonies tended to display more uniform religious expression, government organization, and settlement patterns.

However, this type of organization set into place certain consequences. Over the course of their existence, colonial governments in northern New England established a virtual theocracy based upon the religious and political leanings of its founders: Calvinist Congregationalists. Even with a revocation of its charter in 1684 and an eventual shift to becoming a royal colony, Massachusetts maintained an unofficial state Calvinist church based upon the autonomy of each individual congregation. Despite the presence of other denominations in the colony following the 1689 Act of Toleration, Anglicans and other Calvinists (e.g. Presbyterians, Baptists) remained in the minority compared with Congregationalists. Known in Europe as Independents and in the colonies as Congregationalists, their appellation reflects their views on self-governance and individualism regarding ecclesiastical matters.

Unlike Anglican musicians throughout British North America, Congregationalist Calvinist Dissenters in Massachusetts produced a published repertory of psalmody extending

back to the final decade of the seventeenth century, beginning with a musical supplement to the ninth edition of *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, of the Old & New-Testament: faithfully translated into English metre* (Boston, 1698), popularly known as the "Bay" Psalm Book.<sup>1</sup> Because of the Massachusetts Bay Colony's proclivity for literary documentation and publishing, most of the academic study of colonial sacred music has focused on this denomination. As a result, the following description of sacred musical performance will be restricted to tune repertoires and performance practice, as opposed to a recounting of the war of tracts that existed between those ministers and churches that followed the performance practice of the old way, and those that adopted conventional notation and a homophonic performance of psalm tunes in three-part harmony, known as "regular" singing.<sup>2</sup>

#### **4.1 Congregationalist Performance Practice: The Precentor and Performance Practice Mandated by Church Governance**

In outward appearance, performance practice in early eighteenth-century Congregationalist meetinghouses resembled that of Anglican churches. Instead of a clerk hired to lead the singing, Congregationalists appointed a precentor to perform the same task, often a deacon of the church. Similarly, churches placed this person most often in front of the congregation either at a desk or at a stand beneath the pulpit, as in Anglican practice. Further, the precentor followed an identical performance style by singing or intoning a line

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<sup>1</sup> The original title given to this metrical translation of the Book of Psalms was *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, which appeared only for its first three editions.

<sup>2</sup> This literary battle has been documented and discussed from Hood (*A History of Music in New England*, 1846) up to the present. For a recent exegesis of these events, see Peter S. Leavenworth, "Accounting for Taste: The Early American Music Business and Secularization in Music Aesthetics, 1720-1825," Ph.D. diss. (University of New Hampshire, 2007), chapter 1.

of poetry from a metrical psalm, which then was repeated by the congregation. This style of performance was termed the old way by early eighteenth-century New Englanders. Despite a common mode of performance, major differences between the two church bodies existed, which resulted in varying tune repertoires, as well as a difference in purpose and function of the precentor versus the clerk.

Most of these variations existed as a result of the differing structures of church governance between Anglicans and Dissenters. Besides the broad theological disputes between Anglicans and Calvinists, the means whereby churches exercised power display most vividly these points of contention. The Church of England, organized according to a hierarchical series of priests, bishops, and archbishops, governed via a centralized authority, with its decisions and laws enacted in successively outward arcing tiers based upon parish and geographic location. Seen alongside the government of the colonies, the Anglican Church in British America became subject to England through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, not having direct representation in the state church. Instead, the colonies were treated as a field for foreign missionary work, with various rectors appointed to parishes throughout the colonies and supported by tax and tithe. Anglican performance practice and repertory followed a similar structural organization, sharing a pan-colonial base, as controlled or set by this central authority.

In Massachusetts no such governing system existed within the Congregationalist churches. Instead, each individual congregation assumed its own role of leadership not only in appointing ministers and deciding theological disposition, but extending also to the appointment of a precentor, or the choice of tune repertory and performance style. The Anglican clerk acted individually in choosing the psalms to be read or sung, provided that his choices fit within the accepted parameters of the state church, as provided in its official

literature. In contrast, the Congregationalist precentor became subject to his congregation and its council for performance style, and psalm and hymn tune choices at any given meeting. This lack of a centralized polity concerning church government also explains the wide variations that existed among Congregationalist congregations in New England.<sup>3</sup> Originating with the 1648 *Platform of Church Discipline* in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the appointed synod decided that each church remain "distinct, & therefore may not be confounded one with another: & equall, & therefore have not dominion over one another."<sup>4</sup>

As a result, churches, through their councils, passed individual resolves whether to follow the old way of singing, or the newer, regular method of performance. This phenomenon explains also the polemical literature that circulated arguing the merits of either one or the other performance modes. Each minister remained subject to the council of a church, which assumed responsibility for almost every ecclesiastical act, including the ordination of each minister per appointment. They could not exercise any direct control, but instead used the pulpit and the published page as a forum for convincing their church and others as to the merits of their opinions. Thus, ministers assumed power through eminence, as opposed to dictatorial means. In musical matters, they could only argue for the adoption of the new style or the continuation of the old; the church and its council had the final say in the decision.

Throughout eastern Massachusetts, surviving records document not only the inculcation of accepted modes of musical performance by individual churches, but also the

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<sup>3</sup> David Harlan, *The Clergy and the Great Awakening in New England* (Ann Arbor, Mi: UMI Research Press, 1980), 18.

<sup>4</sup> *A Platform of Church Discipline gathered out of the word of God: and agreed upon by the elders: and messengers of the churches assembled in the Synod at Cambridge in New England to be presented to the churches and generall court for their consideration and acceptance, in the Lord* (Cambridge, Ma: S. G., 1649), 23.

body of tunes used in their worship services. For example, the church at Weston called a council on October 22, 1723 to decide whether or not to adopt regular singing or to continue with the old way: "The Qn. was put, Whether you do approve of Regulr. Singing, or Singing ye Psal-Tunes by Rule? They all Answerd Affirmatively, but one opposing."<sup>5</sup> The council then proceeded to another discussion requiring immediate resolve: "Whether you think it best that the Singing of Psalms publickly according to Rule, shd. now be procedd. to, the next Lords Day? They Ansr. Affirmly. But 2 otherwise, and 2 or 3 with Some caveat or Conditn." As a result of this decision, Sergeant Joseph Allen was appointed by the council to "Set the Psalms publickly according to ye best of his skill & understanding."

Besides the adoption of regular singing, churches also decided the repertory sung during the divine service. In November of 1724, Weston church voted to limit the number of pieces to fourteen tunes with the following proviso: "And that the Choristr. do not Set any other publickly unless he has furthr. order fro ye Church."<sup>6</sup> Often, this repertory remained quite small and confining to able musicians. Similar measures to restrict and fix tune choice found expression among other churches and clergymen too. The Reverend Thomas Walter, a progressive musician arguing for the adoption of regular singing, declared: "[f]or at present we are confined to *eight or ten Tunes* and in some Congregations to little more than half that Number, which being so often sung over, are too apt, if not to create a Distaste, yet at least mightily to lessen the Relish of them."<sup>7</sup> Occasionally, congregations would even usurp the precentor's tune choice, and instead impress their preferred tune over the one the precentor had started. Samuel Sewall encountered this problem during his

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<sup>5</sup> "Weston Church Book, I" (Weston, Ma), 22. Quoted in: *Town of Weston. Births, Deaths and Marriages 1707-1850. Gravestones 1703-1900. Church Records 1709-1825* (Boston: McIndoe Bros., Printers, 1901), 528.

<sup>6</sup> *Town of Weston*, 529. Weston later adopted ISLE OF WIGHT in 1738 (533).

<sup>7</sup> Walter, *Grounds and Rules*, 4.

tenure as precentor of his church: "I set York Tune, and the Congregation went out of it into St. David's in the very 2d going over. They did the same 3 weeks before."<sup>8</sup>

In performing the old way of singing, the lack of a uniform repertory among churches created some obstructions to shared congregational performance. Churchgoers could not sing together when members of more than one congregation were in attendance. None could agree on the tonal rhetoric of the individual tunes. Displaying its adherence to the Cambridge Platform, each church appears to have had its own peculiarly ornamented version of the psalm tunes, originating from within its own congregation. Often these versions would appear so dissimilar to each other that some witnesses could not distinguish between the tunes. Again, Thomas Walter addressed this phenomenon in describing performance practice in meetinghouses throughout Massachusetts Bay:

Our Tunes are, for Want of a Standard to appeal to in all our Singing, left to the Mercy of every unskilful Throat to chop and alter, twist and change, according to their infinitely divers and no less odd Humours and Fancies. That this is most true, I appeal to the Experience of those who have happened to be present in many of our Congregations, who will grant me, that there are no two Churches that sing alike. Yea, I have my self heard (for Instance) *Oxford* Tune sung in *three* Churches (which I purposely forbear to mention) with as much Difference as there can possibly be between *York* and *Oxford*, or any two other different Tunes. Therefore any Man that pleads with me for that they call the *Old Way*, I can confute him only by making this Demand, *What is the Old Way?* Which I am sure they cannot tell. For, one Town says, their's is the true *Old Way*, another Town thinks the same of their's, and so does

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<sup>8</sup> Samuel Sewall, *Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729*, February 23, 1718, vol. 2, ed. M. Halsey Thomas (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), 881, 885-6. It should be noted that this failure could have resulted in Sewall's lack of musical leadership described here.

a Third of their Way of tuning it. But let such Men know from the Writer of the Pamphlet (who can sing all the various Twistings of the old Way, and that too according to the *Genius* of most of the Congregations, as well as they can any one Way; which must therefore make him a better Judge than they are or can be;) affirms, that the Notes sung according to the *Scale and Rules of Musick*, are the true *old Way*.<sup>9</sup>

Although churches could not agree on the rhetoric of a tune, leaders did draw from a uniform body of sources for the tunes performed during the worship service.

#### **4.2 Congregationalist Tune Repertory: Denominational Identity through Musical Style and its Performative Conventions (1720-1760)**

Analysis of various Congregationalist tune repertoires reveals wide variations in tune selection between churches. Although the amount of pieces remained relatively small, no churches or individuals seem to have adopted exactly identical official tune repertoires listed in church records (**Table 4.1**). Comparison of printed source material from Massachusetts with surviving tune lists from contemporary churches, indicates that church precentors and their respective churches drew consistently from the same published tune supplements and pedagogical texts. Though displaying differences in repertory between churches, all culled the same general sources.

The tune lists suggest also a swift shift to regular singing, following the 1721 publication of two pedagogical texts devoted to this newly fashionable method of expression: Thomas Walter's *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, and John Tufts' *Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes*. While some tunes that remained current in the churches such as LITCHFIELD did not appear in either of these two texts, almost all did.

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<sup>9</sup> Walter, *Grounds and Rules*, 3-4.

In fact, the more popular trend included the adoption of tunes that are first found in these sources, and not the earlier supplements, as encountered with the tunes BELLA, BRUNSWICK, CANTERBURY, LONDON, PSALM 100 NEW, ST. JAMES'S, SOUTHWEL, and STANDISH.

Obviously, not every church adopted the new style as quickly as these few examples indicate.<sup>10</sup> However, many did, and within ten years, regular singing was becoming a common form of expression in a Massachusetts Congregationalist church service. One consequence to this shift included the diminishing role played by the precentor in leading the singing. Once church members adopted regular singing, the duties of the precentor included only setting the pitch and determining tempo. By the 1760s, even this role became undermined with the introduction of choirs into the meetinghouses.

Following the acceptance of regular singing as the performative norm in many areas of the colony, the repertory began to increase in size, occurring in two basic stages, roughly paralleling those events preceding the First Great Awakening, and those subsequent to George Whitefield's second tour of New England.<sup>11</sup> Further, publications predating the 1750s remain staunchly Congregationalist compilations; those from this decade suggest the beginnings of a taste shared by Congregationalists and Anglicans, demonstrating further the relationship between culture and region in sacred music performance practice in colonial British North America (**Table 4.2**).

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<sup>10</sup> One transition occurred as late as August 5, 1779 in Worcester, Massachusetts when the town voted to adopt regular singing over the old way. See: William Lincoln, *The History of Worcester Massachusetts* (Worcester, Ma: 1836), 152-4.

<sup>11</sup> These tours occurred in 1740 and 1744-5. For a description of these activities, see: David Harlan, *The Clergy and the Great Awakening*, 62-66; Elder John Sparks, *The Roots of Appalachian Christianity: The Life & Legacy of Elder Shubal Stearns* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 24-9.



Collections produced in the first period consist of the same types of publications found in the earlier part of the century: a supplement to the Bay Psalm Book, and various editions of Tufts and Walter.<sup>12</sup> The second consisted only of tune supplements to psalters and hymnals. However, the most marked difference between these two periods entailed the beginnings of an emphasis given to hymn tunes throughout the period, resulting most likely from the effects of the First Great Awakening that rippled throughout the Connecticut River Valley and, to some extent, Massachusetts Bay.<sup>13</sup>

The earliest compilation from the second period, the 1752 tune supplement to Marblehead minister John Barnard's revision of the Bay Psalm Book, is noteworthy in several respects.<sup>14</sup> Drawing upon colonial publishing activities of the past half-century, this collection presents a summary of tune repertory, having included almost every piece that had appeared in previous Massachusetts' collections. At the same time, it added a significant number of pieces new to the repertory of the region. Although differences in tune choice

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<sup>12</sup> In particular, the 1746 edition of Walters remains identical in content to the first edition listed in the previous table.

<sup>13</sup> Of the nine tunes printed in the first period that did not appear in the earlier imprints (HEREFORD, HYMN ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC, ISLE OF WIGHT, NORTHAMPTON, PORTSMOUTH, PSALM 68, PSALM 149, VENI CREATOR, and WORCESTER), only two are hymn tunes: the rest being the expected tunes intended for metrical settings of the psalms. The ratio of psalm to hymn tunes remains roughly identical (3:34 versus 5:47), with hymn tunes averaging about ten percent of the sum total. Of the hymn texts intended for their accompanying tunes, all appeared in Anglican psalters of the seventeenth century. With the publication of the tune supplement to John Barnard's psalter, he augmented single-handedly more tunes to the repertory than any previous compiler in the past two decades combined. Of these thirteen new pieces (BRISTOL, COMMUNION HYMN, CONSECRATION HYMN, HUMPHREY'S, MARBLEHEAD, PORTSMOUTH or NAMUR, PS. 51, PS. 108 or HUMPHREY'S, PS. 122, QUERCY, ST. EDMUND'S, TE DEUM, and WARWICK), Barnard included three new hymn tunes, demonstrating more emphasis on the hymn and reflecting the influence of the First Great Awakening.

<sup>14</sup> It is not known as to who was responsible for the contents of the supplement. Although executed by John Turner, a silversmith and engraver in Boston, the contents seem to reflect a Marblehead compiler, possibly Barnard, as evidenced by the original tunes to this collection.

distinguished the earlier compilations, Barnard's supplement attempted to fix the repertory by drawing upon all previous publications. Perhaps most significantly, the new tunes to this supplement included three new additions to the American-composed repertory, bearing a higher ratio of original tunes than any previous British colonial publication.

A second collection published in Boston during this decade built upon the Barnard model by expanding further the repertory associated with Congregationalist churches in New England. Engraved, printed, and sold by Thomas Johnston (1708-1767), his tune collection like its predecessor contained a brief rudiments page followed by a collection of textless psalm and hymn tunes. Excising a few pieces that appeared first in the Barnard supplement, Johnston added seven others including one new original composition and two new variant settings of pre-existing compositions.

At the date of the work's publication, Johnston had been employed as a craftsman, working as a house and furniture decorator, and an engraver.<sup>15</sup> Besides these daily occupations, he found employment in both the Congregationalist and Anglican churches around Boston, serving as precentor of the Brattle Street Church in 1739, and clerk at King's Chapel in 1754 and 1756.<sup>16</sup> Johnston also repaired and built organs during the 1750s. He serviced instruments in Boston, and built a few instruments for Anglican churches throughout an area that extended northward from Boston to Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Because of his Janus-faced musical identity, Thomas Johnston and his tune supplement likely reflected his professional experience and aesthetic. Bound together with the major metrical psalters and hymn collections printed in Boston including Tate and Brady, *The Bay Psalm Book*, and others, the supplement was used both by Anglicans and

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<sup>15</sup> Britton, Lowens, and Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 374.

<sup>16</sup> Barbara Owen, *The Organs and Music of King's Chapel, Boston 1713-1991*, ed. 2 (Boston: Society of King's Chapel, 1993), 10.

Congregationalists in Massachusetts, with enough metrical variation to account for the poetry in all of these psalm and hymn books. This phenomenon suggests three possibilities for the supplement's prevalence throughout the colony: the performance practice of its intended audience reflected regional conventions, and thus was not necessarily tied to denominational specificity; Congregationalist practice dominated Massachusetts and northern New England, thereby affecting sacred music performance in regional churches outside of this one denomination; or, conversely, Anglican practice exerted the most profound influence upon the region, serving as a catalyst for the adoption of regular singing in the Congregationalist churches in the 1720s, as suggested by scholar Peter Leavenworth.<sup>17</sup> An explanation for this occurrence appears through an examination of the source material that shaped Congregationalist performance practice and its conventions.

In the creation of a Congregationalist body of psalm and hymn tunes, Massachusetts' musicians drew from a variety of source material that is united by denominational specificity, and its intended function and audience.<sup>18</sup> Because Congregationalists published no tune supplements or collections in seventeenth-century England, musicians in Massachusetts had no published Independent tradition to draw from in assembling a denominational collection of tunes.<sup>19</sup> As a result, the creation of their eighteenth-century tune repertory occurred as a negotiation of both Anglican and Calvinist Dissenter source material. Further,

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<sup>17</sup> Leavenworth, "Accounting for Taste," 37-9.

<sup>18</sup> As with the discussion of earlier tune repertories, the exact sources that shaped these compilations remain unknown. However, the sources described here follow three basic reasons for inclusion: a suggested source based upon the uniqueness of a tune's appearance in a Congregationalist compilation, a common source found in multiple editions, or a representative source common to a particular denomination.

<sup>19</sup> For instance, the first edition of the Bay Psalm Book specified singing the tunes found in Thomas Ravenscroft's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1621): "[t]he verses of these psalmes may be reduced to six kindes, the first wherof may be sung in very neere fourty common tunes; as they are collected, out of our chief musicians, by *Tho. Ravenscroft*." "Admonition to the Reader" in *The Whole Booke of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into English Metre* (1640).

Congregationalist musicians gleaned tunes not only from denomination-specific texts, but also imprints by both Anglican and Dissenter musicians intended for instructional and recreational use outside of the church (**Table 4.3**).

As with surviving Anglican repertoires from the British colonies, Anglican collections provided the bulk of the core repertory. These sources were designed to accompany metrical psalters from the latter part of the seventeenth and the first decade of the eighteenth-centuries. In particular, the publications of John Playford, specifically his 1677 metrical psalter and its subsequent editions, influenced not only Congregationalist compilations, but also later Anglican supplements too. For instance, the 1704 supplement to the Tate and Brady psalter closely replicates much of the repertory found in the Playford text. Adopted first by the Anglicans, this publication presents a distinctly Anglican repertory, with parallels in the Bradford 1710 tune list specifically designed to accompany this psalter (**Table 3.1**).

In an identical process of assimilation, many of the Playford psalter repertory tunes that appeared in the two early eighteenth-century English Presbyterian compilations, became subsumed into the standard repertory. However, Massachusetts Congregationalists maintained a distinct repertory from their Presbyterian cousins, though paralleling each other in terms of developing roughly contemporaneous core repertoires. Presumably, Congregationalists likewise drew from these Dissenter publications for a select grouping of pieces associated particularly with Calvinist congregations.

Thus, sixteen compositions betray an identity specific to Anglican versus Dissenting churches, gradually becoming part of the standard Congregationalist tune repertory

beginning with the earliest Massachusetts publication of 1698.<sup>20</sup> Three-fourths of these tunes originated from Anglican sources, the rest Calvinist Dissenters. Curiously, half of these Dissenter tunes also appeared in the Holladay manuscript from Tidewater Virginia, indicating their adoption into at least some Anglican repertoires by the 1750s. From this perspective then, Congregationalists maintained an Anglican-rich repertory, drawn predominantly from seventeenth-century publications.

Although Anglican sources overwhelmingly influenced and shaped their Congregationalist counterparts, Congregationalists did draw from a wider array of source types than just tune collections designed to accompany metrical psalters. In fact, they assimilated compositions from all types of source material available at the time period: metrical psalters and tune supplements, pedagogical texts used both for self study and the singing school, and tune collections intended for ecclesiastical and social performance.<sup>21</sup> Paralleling European and colonial Calvinist publications, Playford's 1677 psalter provided the core repertory for these other collections too. In a similar process of repertory creation among Anglicans of the Tidewater and Low Country, the denominational tunes embraced by Massachusetts' Congregationalists drew from a relatively small body of sources.

The one salient characteristic of tune presentation, encompassing settings of pre-existing tunes as well as original pieces emanating from these collections and supplements, is the overwhelming uniformity of style and its performative conventions once regular singing

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<sup>20</sup> Divided into the four general periods discussed above, these tunes appeared in the following order: **Period 1 (1698-1720)** OXFORD, **Period 2 (1721-5)** BRUNSWICK, NORWICH, PETERBOROUGH, SOUTHWEL, **Period 3 (1737-46)** HEREFORD, (HYMN) ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC, ISLE OF WIGHT, MEAR, PORTSMOUTH, SABBATH HYMN, **Period 4 (1752-5)** COULCHESTER, EVENING HYMN, PS. 108, ST. EDMUND'S, ST. PETER'S.

<sup>21</sup> Besides the psalter, three tunes originated solely from various pedagogical texts and tune collections: EVENING HYMN, MEAR, and PS. 108.

became the established mode of performance. Beginning in the 1720s, tune repertoires found in the supplements and various editions of Tufts and Walter might differ from source to source, and meetinghouse to meetinghouse, but a like performance style characterized all surviving source material during this period. Alone among other groups in the British North American colonies, Congregationalist collections almost invariably espoused homophonic three-part settings of mostly non-melismatic psalm tunes sung at a slow pace. Further, the texture of these settings followed that found in the Playford 1677 psalter of cantus, medius, and bassus, with the cantus part intended for the treble or soprano voice.<sup>22</sup> Earlier Congregationalist material alternated between monophonic and two-part settings,<sup>23</sup> culminating in the three-part versions of psalm and hymn tunes found in Tufts and Walter. From at least 1737 until the Late Colonial Period, northern New Englanders established a set musical performance practice that remained unique to the rest of British North America.

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<sup>22</sup> In England, John Playford intimated that these parts were as suitable for men as women: [t]he *Medius* Part is composed (as is proper) not to rise above the Church Tune, to cloud or obscure the Ayre thereof, except in such places as it could not be well avoided. The *Bass* is composed in such a compass of Notes, as will suit an indifferent Voice both below and above. All Three Parts may as properly be sung by Men, as by Boys or Women: And to that end, the two Upper Parts are constant in the *G sol re ut* Cliff, and the Bass in the *F fa ut* (its proper) Cliff; all Three Parts moving together in Solemn way of Counterpoint, and also every *Tune* put in such *Keys* as is most suitable to the Ayre thereof. Source: Playford, *Whole Book of Psalmes*, ed. 7 (London: J. Heptinstall for the Company of Stationers, 1701), 4r.

However, in Massachusetts, the cantus part was evidently sung by women and boys, with men singing the medius and bassus voices. Thomas Walter explicitly showed the range of voice parts in their relationship to the gamut with the Treble or Cantus part occupying the highest pitches, and the Medius and Bass being below it. See: Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, ed. 3 (Boston, 1740), 10-11.

<sup>23</sup> Although the earliest "Bay" Psalm Book musical supplement of 1698 presented its tunes in two-part harmonizations following Playford's two-part settings in *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*. Subsequent editions before 1737 included monophonic settings of the psalm tunes. See: Richard G. Appel, *The Music of the Bay Psalm Book, 9th Edition (1698)*, I.S.A.M. Monographs, 5 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: I.S.A.M., 1975).

### 4.3 Congregationalist Musical Composition

One means for measuring uniformity of style involves an examination of the original contributions of Congregationalist musicians. Beginning with Tufts and Walter, tunes original to Massachusetts imprints maintained a like harmonization style and presented a set of identical performance features. SOUTHWEL NEW TUNE and its companion 100 PSALM TUNE NEW, printed in the early 1720s, exhibit all of the characteristics common to Congregationalist tune settings (**Anth**). Modeled after Playford, the pieces are harmonized for three parts with the tune-carrying voice assigned to the top stave of the system. The only difference between Playford's settings and these two Congregationalist tunes, involves the presence of more voice crossings between cantus and medius voices, suggesting that Congregationalists assigned one to men, and the other to women or boys, presumably medius and cantus respectively, based upon voice assignation and its location within the system. Walter's text in particular is quite explicit in the description of part settings and vocal range.

While accomplishing much in regards to reshaping or fixing repertory, John Barnard's 1752 tune supplement did not engender a change in performance practice or an innovation in compositional type. Paralleling his efforts in setting tune repertory, these pieces codified further the concept of seventeenth-century performance practice as performative norm in mid-eighteenth-century New England. Bearing little to no deviation in style from the earlier tunes in Tufts and Walter, the NEW TUNE TO PS. LI employs identical compositional traits typical of Congregationalist practice in Massachusetts (**Anth**).

Besides including a few parallelisms between parts, this tune preserves the same indications of part specificity, seen most clearly in the resulting voice crossings in the cantus and medius voices if performed in the same pitch range. As expected, predominating

features include voice distribution and part indication; a non-melismatic approach to melody and harmony; and the use of seventeenth-century rhetoric for part setting, harmonic modal implication, and note values and time signature to indicate a slow tempo in performance. Also identical in expression and conception, the tune NEW YORK in the Johnston supplement maintains these same characteristics (**Anth**). Finally, all pieces suggest an intended use for congregational choral performance during the divine service, in sum reflecting an unbroken tradition of performance practice.

Unlike the unique tunes in the Anglican copybook by Joseph Holladay, these pieces contain neither antiphonal exchange, nor florid melismas. Instead, harmonization style consists of a straightforward homophonic setting of a basically non-melismatic approach to melody and harmony parts. Thus, eighteenth-century Congregationalists in Massachusetts maintained a seventeenth-century expression, imitative of London's fashionable Anglican practice of the last quarter of the seventeenth century. In contrast, although Holladay presented his material along seventeenth-century conventions of tune naming, his tune choices remained more current to the eighteenth-century repertory. Congregationalists' adherence to the older practice pertained not to surface features, but instead its fundamental expression and conception.

Despite an overall uniformity in presentation and conception, two other tunes display some eighteenth-century influences. These works show that compositional practice, while overwhelmingly uniform in its general execution, did not remain impervious to changing trends. HUMPHREY'S (**Anth**), first appearing in Barnard's supplement, employs an early eighteenth-century rhetoric of melodic expression, but couched within seventeenth-century conventions representative of Congregationalist practice. At first glance, the melismatic conception of the melodic line deviates markedly from other Congregationalist



compositions. Demonstrating neither the agility nor the elegance of mid-eighteenth-century Anglican tunes such as PSALM 132, HUMPHREY'S seems caught between the two styles. On the one hand, it preserves the stockiness of the older seventeenth-century repertory, occurring in thickset blocks of notes. On the other, the independence displayed between the outer voices betrays a freedom of expression and conception not found in earlier Congregationalist psalm tunes. While not exactly deft in its execution, the melismatic approach to melody appears more as a written-out ornamentation to an original tune, resembling the elaborated settings of older psalm tunes found in the works of Israel Holdroyd of West Yorkshire.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, this particular version appears only in Congregationalist collections—English Presbyterians printed and copied their own version of this tune.

Musically speaking, the 1755 Johnston supplement retained all of the features associated with previous supplements and collections, providing a summary to performance traditions among Congregationalists in New England. Notwithstanding, this supplement contains the first antiphonal tune printed in Massachusetts, a new variant setting of PSALM 136 that appeared first in Anglican John Arnold's *The Compleat Psalmodist* (London, 1741). Resembling the alternatim style of antiphonal exchange characteristic of PSALM 106 in the Holladay manuscript, Johnston's setting constitutes one of only two, two-part settings in the entire supplement (**Anth**). Again, the inclusion of an antiphonal tune, in combination with Johnston's employment history, suggests its intended use by Anglicans, especially considering that the original version appeared in an Anglican tunebook. Comparison of this

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<sup>24</sup> Israel Holdroyd, *The Spiritual Man's Companion* [London: William Pearson, for William Dyson, (ca. 1722)]. An example of a setting of PSALM 84 appears in Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, v. 2, 106-7.

tune with the other original pieces in Congregationalist source material shows how much PSALM 136 deviated from standard Congregationalist practice.

#### **4.4 Dissemination of Congregationalist Practice, Notational Conventions and Repertory outside of Massachusetts**

With an emphasis towards music publishing as a means of fixing and disseminating Congregationalist tune repertory and its performance practice, Massachusetts tunebooks and tune supplements were in turn distributed outside of New England to other colonial centers, as well as Scotland.<sup>25</sup> Although the tune supplements to the Bay Psalm Book remained highly sectarian in nature and did not enjoy a wide circulation outside their region of origin, pedagogical texts by Tufts and Walter found resonance in other colonies with few Congregationalist churches. A new edition of Tufts' *Introduction* appeared for sale in 1745 in New York City,<sup>26</sup> and a late reprint of this work was bound with a Philadelphia imprint of *The Psalms of David, Imitated in the Language of the New Testament* by Isaac Watts, dated 1760.<sup>27</sup>

Further, a modified form of Tufts' alphabet notation arose roughly contemporaneous to this publication in a series of manuscript copybooks, commencing with the earliest surviving example compiled by Captain Richard Ellis of Charleston, Cecil County, Maryland, and begun circa 1755. Even though their compilers employed the same

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<sup>25</sup> An edition of the Bay Psalm Book with an accompanying tune supplement appeared in Glasgow and published by James Duncan, ca. 1720. Source: *Psalms Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, ed. 17 (Glasgow: James Duncan, 1720).

<sup>26</sup> *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy*, July 8, 1745.

<sup>27</sup> Isaac Watts, *The Psalms of David, Imitated in the Language of the New-Testament, and applied to the Christian State and Worship* (Philadelphia: printed by W. Dunlap, for G. Noel, Book-Seller, in New-York, 1760). This imprint bears several orthographic differences between it and the various Massachusetts editions of this work, suggesting that it constitutes the lost New York edition referred to above. This edition also remains undocumented in Britton, Lowens, and Crawford, *American Sacred Imprints*.

letteral system to represent the notes' position within the solfege (e.g. F= fa, S=sol, L=la, and M=mi), manuscripts from the Middle Atlantic and northern Chesapeake Bay do not provide the rhythmic durational marks found in Tufts. Instead, rhythmic indicators remain absent from almost all subsequent letteral manuscript sources from this geographic area, including those compilations originating from the trans-Appalachian West throughout the late eighteenth century. Also, the presentation of these tunes does not follow that of Congregationalist collections, neither employing identical voice assignments for parts, repertory, nor the standardized three-part harmonization of Congregationalist practice. Despite variations in presentation, these manuscript copybooks reveal a wider dissemination of Tufts' tunebook outside its colony of origin.

#### ***4.4.1 Jonathan Badger and the Peyre Commonplace Book in the Carolina Low Country***

In a more direct though less tangible form of influence, Walter's tunebook seems to have helped shape the earliest printed tune collection issued in the southern colonies, Jonathan Badger's lost *Collection of the best Psalm and Hymn Tunes*. Though no surviving copies exist of this publication, some measure of its contents can be deduced, based upon a surviving manuscript commonplace book compiled by Samuel Peyre, a resident of South Carolina along the Santee River. Badger (c. 1720-74) hailed originally from New England before relocating to Charles Town, South Carolina sometime around the year 1745. Employed primarily as a joiner, he also taught singing schools,<sup>28</sup> sold musical instruments, and possibly repaired organs,<sup>29</sup> besides delving into music publishing. A Calvinist, he joined

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<sup>28</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, November 16, and 26, 1753. *South Carolina Gazette*, ed. Timothy, November 6-13, 13-20, and 20-7, 1755.

<sup>29</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, January 1-8, 1754.

a Particular Baptist church following his return to New England in Providence, Rhode Island in the late 1760s.<sup>30</sup>

Within ten years of his arrival in South Carolina, Badger issued "(neatly engraved on a fine copper plate) a Collection of the best Psalm and Hymn Tunes" in the late fall of 1752. This collection embraced a current and fashionable repertory of both psalm and hymn tunes designed to accompany the Tate and Brady psalter as well as Watts' *Psalms of David, Imitated in the Language of the New Testament*.<sup>31</sup> Paralleling the intended audience of the tune supplement prepared by Johnston, Badger's compilation would have found equal reception by Calvinist Dissenters and Anglicans of South Carolina because of its presumed metrical versatility and adaptability to the psalters and hymnals of the various congregations throughout the colony. Sensing the historicity of his achievement, Badger advertised the work as the "first collection of the kind made in this Province" and displayed its fashionable and polite status through a description of its printing process.

From the newspaper's description, much can be inferred as to its contents. Since Badger grew up in New England and embraced Calvinism, his musical upbringing would have mirrored that found in Congregationalist publications issued from Boston printing shops. Paralleling the bibliographic history of New England, Badger's 1752 publication was apparently influenced by the First Great Awakening, evidenced with the special emphasis given towards hymns. Indeed, Badger's designating the collection's repertory specifically to psalm and hymn tunes, reveals itself to be more progressive than contemporary Congregationalist publications. At most, Congregationalist publications devoted a fifth of the repertory to hymn tunes; Badger's title suggests a more equal emphasis. Possibly, he

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<sup>30</sup> Britton, Lowens, and Crawford, *American Sacred Imprints*, 105.

<sup>31</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, November 6, 13, and 20, 1752.

would also have employed Congregationalist performance practice by providing three-part settings of tunes that followed the Playford 1677 model. Badger's tune choice would also have incorporated at least some of the standard Congregationalist repertory, given his regional area of origin. Unfortunately, none of the advertisements list specific tunes, seemingly rendering its contents a tantalizing mixture of speculation.<sup>32</sup>

Enter Samuel Peyre and the Huguenot settlers along the Cooper and Santee Rivers. The Santee area, approximately thirty-six miles north of Charles Town, became a refuge for one-hundred-and-seventy families fleeing the anti-Protestant political climate of France following the revocation of the Edict of Nantz in 1685. In England assistance came directly from French sympathizer James II, who made overtures to assist outcast families. This policy continued under King William, who offered by an act of Parliament, a substantial sum of money for Huguenot "persons of quality" to settle either in Great Britain or in the North American colonies because of their service in the Nine Years' War.<sup>33</sup> Arriving in 1695, French and Swiss Huguenot settlers relocated to the Santee area and began the process of rebuilding their lives.

John Lawson, an early traveler to South Carolina in the first decade of the eighteenth century was impressed both with the wildness of the environment in which these settlers lived and the extent of their improvements to the urban landscape of Charles Town,<sup>34</sup> as well

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<sup>32</sup> One possible exception includes the mention of Psalm 148 in the previously cited November 1755 advertisements in the *South Carolina Gazette*.

<sup>33</sup> *City Gazette* of Charleston, May 12, 1826. Quoted in: *Liste des François et Suisses" from an Old Manuscript List of French and Swiss Protestants Settled in Charleston, On the Santee and at the Orange Quarter in Carolina Who desired Naturalization Prepared Probably About 1695-5*, repr. [Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, (1868) 1968], 25.

<sup>34</sup> John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina; Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of that Country: Together with the Present State thereof. And A Journal Of a Thousand Miles, Trav'l'd thro' several Nations of INDLANS. Giving a particular Account of their Customs, Manners, &c.* (London: s.n., 1709), 2.

as the outlying frontier.<sup>35</sup> Though a road existed between Charles Town and the Santee, the common means of travel consisted of navigating the river and outlying coast in a type of pirogue, or boat made of:

vast Ciprus-Trees, of which the *French* make Canoes, that will carry fifty or sixty Barrels. After the Tree is moulded and dug, they saw them in two Pieces, and so put a Plank between, and a small Keel, to preserve them from the Oyster-Banks, which are innumerable in the Creeks and Bays betwixt the *French* Settlement and *Charles-Town*. They carry two Masts, and Bermudas Sails, which makes them very handy and fit for their Purpose...<sup>36</sup>

The terrain of the area consisted of vast swamps and marshland flooded by saltwater from the ocean's tide, and fresh water from the river's current. Lawson described it as "the most difficult Way I ever saw, occasion'd by Reason of the multitude of Creeks lying along the Main, keeping their Course thro' the Marshes, turning and winding like a Labyrinth, having the Tide of Ebb and Flood twenty Times in less then three Leagues going" (14).

Against such a seemingly inhospitable environment, the Huguenot settlers flourished, engaging in trade with local Native American populations, and cultivating rice and other crops. Accordingly, residents designated a plot of land on the south side of the river for a village, to be named "Jamestown."<sup>37</sup> Most residents of the colony referred to the area as the French Santee. The population grew so quickly that by 1706, the Santee settlers petitioned for the establishment of a formal church parish.

At this time, the settlers in Charles Town and along the Santee aligned themselves according to the tenets of the Calvinist Huguenot church, enjoying the privileges granted by

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<sup>35</sup> Lawson, *New Voyage*, 12.

<sup>36</sup> Lawson, *New Voyage*, 9.

<sup>37</sup> *Liste des François et Suisses*, 26.

the 1689 Act of Toleration by the British Parliament.<sup>38</sup> However, the 1706 Church Act of South Carolina declared the Anglican Church as the state church of the colony.<sup>39</sup> Although pre-existing congregations of various Dissenters would be allowed to continue under their original denominational identities, residents of the Santee enjoyed no such privilege, because their presence in this area was scarcely ten years old and they were without a formal church body. Further, with the passing of this law, only the Bishop of London could appoint ministers to the parishes. The residents were unable to ordain their own clergy for the position. As a result, the Huguenots were forced to accept the Church of England as their official church, and subsequently adopted the French translation of the Book of Common Prayer used in the Channel Islands. Soon thereafter, the Bishop of London appointed a French minister, the Rev. Mr. Philip De Richbourg, rector of the new St. James Parish.

Half a century later, the population of French Santee had grown so large that residents of the upper portion of the area separated from the lower Santee to form their own parish. By an Act of Assembly on May 11, 1754, the colony created St. Stephen's Parish from this upper portion of St. James, named after a satellite chapel dedicated to St. Stephen located in the area.<sup>40</sup> St. Stephen's became known as the "English Santee" as a result of the English settlers who moved to the area between 1706 and 1750.<sup>41</sup> St. Stephen's population

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<sup>38</sup> In Charles Town, the French settlers built a Huguenot meetinghouse, of which a congregation still exists today. See: Lawson *New Voyage*, 2-3, 13.

<sup>39</sup> George Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, vol. 1 (Columbia, S.C.: Duffie & Chapman, 1870), 168.

<sup>40</sup> "Minutes of the Vestry of St. Stephen's Parish, South Carolina, 1754-1873," in *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Anne Allston Porcher, ed., 45, 2 (Apr., 1944): 65.

<sup>41</sup> Even within the "English" Santee, members of St. Stephen's Church in 1754 comprised a mixture of French settlers and people from various parts of Great Britain, including: "James Bagby, Chas Cantey, Patrick Brenan, Peter Gourdin, Peter Sinkler, Saml Cordes, Thos Valley, Phil Williams, Isaac Coutrier, Saml Cooper, Lewis Caw, David Boisseau, Thos Cooper, John Pamor, Peter Porcher, James Davis, Bassell Nowell, Isaac Porcher, James Boisseau, Saml Bernois, V the mark of rene Lenew, Saml Peyre, Thomas Gourdin, John

incorporated both the newly resident English and the children of the Huguenots whose families had outgrown older land holdings settled by their forbears. The resulting mix of free people constituted English Anglicans and French Calvinists who had been forced to adopt the Anglican Church. Thus was created the perfect environment for the adoption of the musical-political conventions of musicians such as Jonathan Badger and his *Collection of the best Psalm and Hymn Tunes*.

Samuel Peyre's family, though not among the original Huguenot settlers in 1695, arrived in South Carolina sometime during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The son of French emigré David Peyre who established Three Fountains Plantation, Samuel (1715-1758) settled on the Santee on January 25, 1742. Inheriting his father's plantation, he engaged in agriculture. Samuel married Sarah Cantey in 1747, and the couple had five children before his death eleven years later.<sup>42</sup> A religious man, he remained actively involved in his church, proving instrumental in establishing St. Stephen's Parish. Evidently, he either acquired skill as a builder and carpenter, or owned a sawmill. The parish paid him for work towards the older run-down chapel in 1754.<sup>43</sup> The following year, the council of the church appointed him vestrymen for the next two successive years. In an act of charity, Samuel Peyre provided a home for a refugee Arcadian family following their arrival in South Carolina in 1756.<sup>44</sup> He seems to have been a man devoted to his family and his church.

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Williams, Lewis Gourdin, David Palmer, Peter Lequeux, Thos Greenland, Matthew Whitfield, Jhos Palmer, Jos Porcher, Gidn Couturier, George Bagby, Geo King, Philip Porcher, Abram Chinner." Source: "Minutes of the Vestry of St. Stephen's Parish," 68.

<sup>42</sup> Samuel Peyre, Samuel Peyre commonplace book (1740-1818), 17r, (1082.03.01) South Carolina Historical Society.

<sup>43</sup> "Minutes of the Vestry of St. Stephen's Parish," 69.

<sup>44</sup> "Minutes of the Vestry of St. Stephen's Parish, South Carolina, 1754-1873," in *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Anne Allston Porcher, ed., 45, 3 (July, 1944): 158.



While it remains unknown exactly how Peyre acquired a musical education, the tunes copied in his commonplace manuscript reveal a competent hand familiar with the conventions of the older diamond-head notation. Copied sometime between 1752 and his death in 1758, the manuscript contains twenty-three tunes, mostly monophonic settings with only three two-part pieces. Although compiled by a potentially Calvinist Anglican, the repertory consists of tunes associated with traditional Anglican and Dissenter congregations.

From the Anglican viewpoint, Peyre's copied settings include only the tune-carrying voice without an accompanying bass line, with only one exception, resembling contemporary Anglican tune collections for parish churches. Similarly, following Anglican conventions, Peyre provided in the titles of his settings the particular psalm associated with the tune, identical to that in the Holladay copybook.<sup>45</sup> A few pieces remain part of a distinctly Anglican repertory, based upon English printed source material and British Colonial sources such as the Bradford tune list (**Table 4.4**).<sup>46</sup> Finally, all of the texts accompanying the psalm tunes in the commonplace manuscript are from the Tate and Brady psalter. No hymns appear anywhere in the manuscript. Thus within fifty years, the French inhabitants of the Santee had shifted from the older Calvinist *Pseaumes de David* by Clément Marot, to the Tate and Brady psalter, indicative of the intermixing of free cultural groups throughout the southern portion of the colony.<sup>47</sup>

From the Dissenting perspective, the contents of the manuscript parallel Congregationalist tune setting conventions, as well as a shared Congregationalist and English

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<sup>45</sup> Unique among English-language British North American source material, Peyre provided a specific text with almost every tune.

<sup>46</sup> These tunes include ELY, PSALM 1, PSALM 51, PSALM 86, ST. LUKE'S, ST. MARTIN'S (not the Tans'ur tune commonly associated with this title), and WINCHESTER.

<sup>47</sup> A copy of the 1679 edition existed in the library of Gabriel Manigault, one of the original colonists from 1695. See: George W. Williams, "Charleston Church Music 1562-1833" in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 7, 1 (Spring, 1954): 35.

Presbyterian tune repertory. Though not directly shaped by the Presbyterian source copied by Richard Ellis of Charleston, Cecil County, Maryland, the Peyre manuscript shares ninety percent of its contents with this copybook, including some of the more unusual psalter tunes as well as newer Anglican pieces.<sup>48</sup> PSALM 148, as presented in this source, remains a uniquely Presbyterian variant setting, existing only in other compilations by members of this denomination.<sup>49</sup> Despite sharing the bulk of the repertory with English Presbyterian sources, Congregationalist performing and publishing conventions bore a more direct influence on Peyre's manuscript. As a result, Badger's tunebook seems the most likely intermediary source given Samuel's area of residence and access to Congregationalist tune collections.

Comparing this tune repertory with contemporary Congregationalist publications illustrates how much overlap exists between these sources and the Peyre manuscript. Approximately sixty percent of the tunes in the Peyre manuscript are found in the two editions of Walter's *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* (1740, 1746), including a setting of 100 PSALM TUNE NEW, which originated from New England Congregationalist source material. An even higher ratio of shared repertory occurs between the 1752 Barnard supplement and the Peyre manuscript,<sup>50</sup> including shared variant settings of ISLE OF

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<sup>48</sup> These tunes include PS. 86, ST. LUKES, and ST. MARTINS. However, as seen in Table 6, one source could not have influenced the other because of the differences in tune titles found between the two sources, besides the difference in notation styles (Ellis: letteral notation, Peyre: standard notation).

<sup>49</sup> See: Ellis copybook; W. Dawson, *The Youth's Entertaining Amusement, or A Plain Guide to Psalmody. Being a collection of the most usual, and necessary tunes sung in the English Protestant congregations in Philadelphia, &c. In two parts, viz. treble and bass, with all proper and necessary rules, adapted to the meanest capacities* (Philadelphia: German printing-office, sold by the author, 1754).

<sup>50</sup> In particular, the Barnard supplement provided the same title to 100 PSALM TUNE NEW as found in the Peyre manuscript.

WIGHT, which first appeared in Tufts' *Introduction*.<sup>51</sup> Finally, a few tunes that formed a part of a distinctly Dissenter repertory suggest a Calvinist hand in the shaping of its contents.<sup>52</sup> Cumulatively, these factors reveal the direct influence of New England Congregationalist sources on this manuscript. However, besides inclusion of an overall Calvinist repertory, one other trait reveals further the extent of the Congregationalists' impact: voice assignation.

Repertory lists, although documenting the denominational origins of certain specific tunes, do not indicate necessarily denominational performance conventions. In this instance, the Peyre manuscript includes a number of tunes appearing in Anglican sources, such as those by the English composer William Tans'ur and others from the St. Michan's collection. The 1752 St. Michan tunebook, intended specifically for an Anglo-Irish parish, presents most of the same psalm indications with accompanying text, as well as the diamond-head notational style found in the Peyre manuscript, suggesting that Peyre had personal access to this Anglo-Irish publication. In contrast however, Peyre's presentation of the tune ELY, though taken from a tunebook by William Tans'ur, does not present it in the same manner. Instead, the two parts copied into the manuscript are labeled "Cantus" and "Medius" following Congregationalist or at the least, seventeenth-century Anglican practice.<sup>53</sup> Tans'ur printed this tune in four parts, with the tenor as tune-carrying voice based

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<sup>51</sup> Tufts' *Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes* has not been included in the chart because of the lack of evidence in support of a direct relationship between these two sources. Tufts' letteral notation does not exist in any source south of Virginia - printed or manuscript - thus rendering connections between Tufts, Peyre, and Badger circumstantial at best. As a result, the presence of 100 PSALM TUNE NEW in the Peyre manuscript did not originate from Tuft's publication, but rather Walter's tunebook or the Barnard supplement.

<sup>52</sup> This tune list constitutes BRUNSWICK, ISLE OF WIGHT, and 100 PSALM TUNE NEW.

<sup>53</sup> These assignations appear to pertain to the source that Peyre copied from, and not necessarily his personal or even local-preferred practice. Evidence to support this claim appears in the title heading for PSALM 100 in the commonplace book: "100 Ps. Tune Treble & Bass Ps. C" (24v).

on earlier collections such as the Ravenscroft psalter. Instead, Peyre's source followed the Congregationalist method of voice assignation, with an implied reduced texture of four parts to three. Similarly, Peyre adopted this same method with his entry of BRUNSWICK in the manuscript, presenting it in an identical manner as contemporary, Congregationalist New England sources.<sup>54</sup>

What is to account for the strongly Dissenter character manifest in Peyre's manuscript? The most plausible explanation lies in the lost Badger tunebook. All tunes in this manuscript originate from source material that dates no later than 1752, the year of Badger's publication. Further, Badger could have drawn from these collections as his own did not become available until November of this year. Although it is possible that Peyre acquired a copy of Barnard's musical supplement and copied his tunes from this source, this factor remains doubtful given his location and probable lack of access to contemporary publications from Boston. In contrast, Badger seems the perfect candidate given his regional background and religious affiliation. Also, ELY does not appear in any published American source material before 1764, and this late-colonial printing followed Tans'ur's original part designations. Its modification to pre-1760 Congregationalist practice in the Peyre manuscript suggests the work of Badger and not an Anglican.

Taken together, Peyre's manuscript likely consists of at least a part of Badger's lost tunebook, which might explain further the connections between it and the Ellis copybook from Maryland.<sup>55</sup> Badger either created a regionalized Calvinist-based repertory of tunes for various denominations throughout the southern colonies, or his collection mirrored the repertory of Calvinist Dissenter denominations, with a similar repertory found between this

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<sup>54</sup> These two tunes constitute also the only textless settings in the musical portion of the Peyre commonplace book, also paralleling Independent practice.

<sup>55</sup> Badger's tunebook included hymn tunes; Peyre's manuscript does not.

Huguenot-Anglican commonplace book, and the English Presbyterian copybook from the Chesapeake Bay. In any event, a New England Congregationalist presence in a South Carolina manuscript remains highly unusual if Badger's tunebook is removed from the list of possible sources that shaped this compilation.<sup>56</sup>

Perhaps most significant in this episode in South Carolina's history, the Peyre manuscript reveals the geographic dissemination of Congregationalist repertory and performance practice to other colonies in British North America. In this instance, Calvinist Baptist New Englander Jonathan Badger brought this repertory and practice to the southern colonies. The prevailing Anglican repertory and performance mannerisms in the Tidewater and Low Country assumed a pan-colonial practice dictated by the structure of the Church of England. Conversely, Congregationalist practice, like the Congregationalist church itself, remained subject to a specific church's preference, and was not beholden to a unified, central church polity. However, some individual Anglican churches, particularly in historically Calvinist parishes such as the Santee, adopted local conventions and repertory, provided that the church, its vestrymen, and other official members such as the clerk sanctioned such actions.<sup>57</sup> Thus, the Peyre manuscript illustrates such a trend, revealing the musical influence of New England Congregationalists independent of Congregationalist theology and church governance.

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<sup>56</sup> Durham Hills' "Cashaway Psalmody" includes a number of tunes in the Peyre manuscript, all of which had appeared in earlier Independent source material. In addition, Hills included a variant setting of HUMPHREY'S that followed more closely the variant embraced by Congregationalists, as opposed to English Presbyterians, suggesting further the influence of Badger on Hills' tune selections as well as providing evidence as to Badger's collection's repertory.

<sup>57</sup> Although Peyre most likely copied intact his sources' part specification, it remains unknown if he applied these directives in ecclesiastical performance.

Paralleling church structure, Congregationalist performance practice of northern New England remained particular to the individual church. Each congregation decided which practice to adopt and which tunes to sing. In lining out, each congregation maintained its autonomy through its unique ornamentation of a given tune. In both performance styles, all churches maintained tune selections distinct from other congregations. Each congregation felt free to employ those tunes preferred by its members, though each drew from the same limited number of sources.

Besides the autonomy given to each church in regards to repertory and performance style, an unspoken uniformity in expression pervades performance practice within the Congregationalist worship service. Once regular singing became widespread throughout northern New England, choral performance consisted of three-part singing with the melody given to the treble voice. Musicians maintained a seventeenth-century expression taken from the fashionable three-part trend set by Anglican John Playford through his 1677 psalter. This uniformity distinguished Congregationalists from other Calvinist dissenters and Anglicans throughout the colonies. It even extended to original pieces by New England Congregationalists created between 1720 and 1760, all of which featured an almost unvarying modally inflected, non-melismatic method of harmonization and composition. Although fashionable and trendy during the seventeenth century, this three-part harmonization method revealed the increasing insularity of New England Congregationalists from other denominations both in the colonies and in England. This compositional uniformity, combined with an extensive publication history (at least from a British colonial perspective), set Congregationalists apart from other colonial denominations.

Through their publications, Congregationalists could exert an influence outside of New England. Notational conventions invented by Tufts and tunebook scoring

conventions and repertory by Walter appear throughout the Middle Atlantic and southern colonies beginning in the 1750s with the activities of Dissenter musicians such as New England-born Jonathan Badger, living in Charles Town, South Carolina. Moreover, this influence also extended to congregations outside the Congregationalist orbit. At least one Anglican congregation in rural South Carolina adopted some aspects of Congregationalist performance practice, most likely through Badger's lost tunebook. The congregation of St. Stephen in the English Santee most likely incorporated Congregationalist performance conventions into their Anglican style, as seen with the tune contents of the Samuel Peyre commonplace manuscript. Though it is not known the exact extent of the geographic dissemination of this phenomenon, the presence of uniquely Congregationalist colonial conventions reveals the influence of Congregationalist publications within a pan-colonial sphere.

Key: Boldface type = American-composed, arranged, or adapted

( ) = alternate titles

[ ] = most common title of a particular psalm tune, or a referential title in the absence of one in the source

Table 4.1 Congregationalist tune repertory of Massachusetts (1698-1730)

Tune Name	HTI#	Published Sources					Tune Lists		
		SP PHSS ONT9 1698	SP PHSS ONT12 1705	SP PHSS ONT13 1706	WaltT GRME 1721	TuftJ ISPT3 1723	SewaS Diary 1691- 1724	Weston Tune List 1724	Needham Tune List 1729
BELLA OR PS. 24	577	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	—
BRUNSWICK	891a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x
CAMBRIDGE	249a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
CAMBRIDGE SHORT	269f	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—
CANTERBURY	250h	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	x
EXETER	397b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
GLOCESTER	368a	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—
HACKNEY OR ST. MARY'S	542a	x	—	—	x	x	—	—	—
HIGH DUTCH (Ps. 112)	130a	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
LI(T)CHFIELD	536a	x	x	x	—	—	x	—	x
LONDON	536a	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	x
LONDON NEW	497b	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—
LOW DUTCH	250h	x	x	x	—	—	x	—	—
MANCHESTER	374a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
MARTYRS	330a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—
NORWICH	327b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
OXFORD	201e	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	—
PENITENTIAL HYMN	184a	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—
PETERBOROUGH	539b	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—
PS.ALM18	159a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
PSALM 81	175a	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—
PSALM 85 [SEE - HIGH DUTCH]	130c	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—
PSALM 100	143a	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	x



Tune Name	HTI#	Published Sources					Tune Lists		
		SP PHSS ONT9 1698	SP PHSS ONT12 1705	SP PHSS ONT13 1706	WaltT GRME 1721	TuftJ ISPT3 1723	SewaS Diary 1691- 1724	Weston Tune List 1724	Needham Tune List 1729
<b>PSALM 100, NEW</b>	1054	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—
PSALM 115	146a	x	—	—	x	x	x	—	—
PSALM 119	120a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—
PSALM 137	109a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
PSALM 148	126a	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—
SABBATH HYMN	276f	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
ST. DAVIDS	379a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
ST. JAMES'S	582a	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	—
SOUTHWEL(L) [SEE - CAMBRIDGE SHORT]	269h	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	x
<b>SOUTHWEL NEW</b>	956	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—
STANDISH	586	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—
TEN COMMANDMENTS (COMMANDMENT)	111a	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—
WESTMINSTER	387d	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—
WINDSOR	271a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—
YORK	331a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Table 4.1 (continued)

## Source Abbreviations

### Printed Sources

- SP PHSSONT 9:** Tune supplement to *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament* ["Bay" Psalm Book]. Ed. 9. Boston: B. Green, and J. Allen, for Michael Perry, 1698.
- SP PHSSONT 12:** Tune supplement to *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament* ["Bay" Psalm Book]. Ed. 12. Boston: B. Green, for Benjamin Eliot, and Nicholas Boone, 1705.
- SP PHSSONT 13:** Tune supplement to *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament* ["Bay" Psalm Book]. Ed. 13. Boston: B. Green, for Nicholas Buttolph, 1706.
- TuftJ ISPT 3:** Tufts, Rev. John. *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes*. Ed. 3. Boston: For Samuel Gerrish, 1723.
- WaltT GRME:** Walter, Thomas. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*. Boston: J. Franklin, for S. Gerrish, 1721.

### Tune List Sources

- SewaS Diary:** Sewall, Samuel, *Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729*, 2 vol., ed. by M. Halsey Thomas. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973.
- Weston Tune List:** Weston Church Book, I (Weston, Ma), 22-29 in *Town of Weston*, p. 528.
- Needham Tune List:** Clarke, George Kuhn. *History of Needham Massachusetts 1711-1911*. Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1912, p. 30.

Table 4.2 New England published tune repertory (1737-1760)

Title	HTI#	Period I				Period II	
		SP				SP	SP
		HSSONT 24 1737	TuftJ ISPT10 1738	WaltT GRME3 1740	WaltT GRME4 1746	BostB 1752	BostTB 1755
BELLA OR XXIV PSALM TUNE	577	x	x	x	x	x	—
BRISTOL	547a	—	—	—	—	x	x
BRUNSWICK (DUNHEAD)	891a	x	—	x	—	x	—
BUCKLAND	758	—	—	—	—	—	x
CAMBRIDGE	249a	x	x	x	—	—	x
CANTERBURY	250h	x	x	x	x	x	x
COMMANDMENT (TEN)	111c	x	x	x	x	x	x
<b>COMMUNION HYMN</b>	546b	—	—	—	—	x	x
CONSECRATION HYMN	288b	—	—	—	—	x	x
COULCHESTER	1287	—	—	—	—	—	x
EVENING HYMN	598a	—	—	—	—	—	x
EXETER	397b	x	x	x	—	x	x
GLOCESTER	368a	x	x	x	x	x	x
HEREFORD	276g	x	—	—	—	—	—
<b>HUMPHREY'S (ST.)</b>	2035a	—	—	—	—	x	x
(HYMN) ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC	548	—	—	x	—	x	x
ISLE OF WIGHT (WHITE)	733a	x	x	—	—	x	x
LITCHFIELD	381b	—	—	—	—	x	x
LONDON	536a	x	x	x	x	x	x
LONDON, NEW	497b	x	x	x	x	x	x
MANCHESTER	374a	x	x	x	—	x	x
<b>MARBLEHEAD</b>	2036					x	
MARTYRS	330a	x	x	x	x	x	x
MEAR	909b	x	—	—	—	x	x
<b>NEW YORK</b>	2312	—	—	—	—	—	x
NORTHAMPTON	712a	x	x	—	—	—	—

Table 4.2 (continued)

Title	HTI#	Period I				Period II	
		SP HSSONT 24 1737	TuftJ ISPT10 1738	WaltT GRME3 1740	WaltT GRME4 1746	SP BostB 1752	SP BostTB 1755
NORWICH	327b	x	x	x	—	x	—
OXFORD	201e	—	x	x	x	x	x
<b>PALLATINE HYMN</b>	1123b	—	—	—	—	—	x
PENITENTIAL HYMN	184a	x	x	x	x	—	—
PETERBOROUGH	539b	x	x	x	x	—	—
PORTSMOUTH (NAMUR)	750a	x	x	—	—	x	x
PSALM 18	159a	x	x	x	—	x	x
<b>PSALM 51</b>	2037	—	—	—	—	x	x
PSALM 68	117a	x	—	x	—		
PSALM 81	175a	x	x	x	x	x	x
PSALM 85	130a	x	x	x	x	x	x
PS.ALM100	143a	x	x	x	x	x	x
<b>PSALM 100, NEW</b>	1054	x	x	x	—	x	x
PSALM 108/ HUMPHREY'S	759a	—	—	—	—	x	x
PSALM 113 (Ps. 115)	146a	x	x	x	x	x	x
PSALM 119	120c	x	x	x	x	x	x
PS.ALM122	147a	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>PSALM 136</b>	1613b	—	—	—	—	—	x
PS.ALM 137	109a	—	—	x	—	x	x
PS.ALM148	126a	x	x	x	x	—	x
<b>PSALM 148</b>	126 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	x	—
PSALM 149	657a	x	x	—	—	x	x
<b>QUERCY</b>	1434b	—	—	—	—	x	x
SABBATH HYMN	276f	x	x	x	—	x	x
ST. DAVID'S	379d	x	x	x	x	x	x
ST. EDMUND'S	899a	—	—	—	—	x	x
ST. JAMES'S	582a	x	x	x	x	x	x

Title	HTI#	Period I				Period II	
		SP HSSONT 24 1737	TuftJ ISPT10 1738	WaltT GRME3 1740	WaltT GRME4 1746	SP BostB 1752	SP BostTB 1755
ST. MARY'S (HACKNEY)	542a	x	x	x	x	x	x
ST. PETER'S	276h	—	—	—	—	—	x
SOUTHWEL(L)	269	x	x	x	x	x	x
<b>SOUTHWELL, NEW</b>	956	—	—	x	x	x	x
STANDISH	586	x	x	x	—	x	x
TE DEUM	166a	—	—	—	—	x	—
VENI CREATOR	168a	—	x	x	—	x	—
WARWICK	911	—	—	—	—	—	x
WESTMINSTER	387d	x	x	x	x	x	—
WINDSOR	271a	x	x	x	x	x	x
WORCESTER	382a	x	x	x	—	—	x
YORK	331a	x	x	x	x	x	x

### Source Abbreviations

**SP BostB 1752:** [Collection of Psalm-Tunes, with an introduction ‘To learn to sing.’] Boston: James A. Turner, 1752.

**SP BostTB 1755:** Tune supplement to N. Tate and N. Brady, *A New Version of the Psalms of David*. Boston: Thomas Johnston, 1755.

**SP HSSONT 24:** Tune Supplement to *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament* ["Bay" Psalm Book]. Ed. 24. Boston: S. Kneeland & T. Greene, 1737.

**TuftJISPT 10:** Tufts, Rev. John. *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes*. Ed. 10. Boston: T. Fleet, or Samuel Gerrish, 1738.

**WaltTGRME 3:** Walter, Thomas. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*. Ed. 3. Boston: J. Draper for S. Gerrish, 1740.

**WaltTGRME 4:** Walter, Thomas. *The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained*. Ed. 4. Boston: Samuel Gerrish, 1746.

Note: this chart only includes those tunes that appear in earlier published sources. As a result, unique variants and original tunes presented in Congregationalist publications have been excised from this table.

Table 4.3 British source material paralleling tunes found in the New England tune repertory

Title	HTI #	Anglican								Dissenter: Presbyterian	
		Metrical Psalm Collections/ Supplements			Instructional/ Singing School Texts			Tune Collections		Tune Collections	
		PlayJ WB1 1677	BartW BPM 1682	SP TatB4 1704	GaunJ PSG 1701	IrelE PSG3 1719	WarnD SMG 1719	BrooM MBCa 1725	WoodC CPTa c. 1735	LaurW CT 1719	GawtN HP 1730
		BELLA OR XXIV	577	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
BRISTOL	547a	x	—	x	x	x	x	—	x	—	x
BRUNSWICK (DUNHEAD)	891a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
BUCKLAND	758	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x
CAMBRIDGE	249a	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
CANTERBURY	250h	x	—	x	—	x	x	—	x	x	x
COMMANDMENT (TEN)	111c	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
CONSECRATION HYMN	288b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	—
COULCHESTER	1287	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
EVENING HYMN	598a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—
EXETER	397b	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
GLOCESTER	368a	x	—	x	—	x	x	x	—	x	x
HEREFORD	276g	x	—	x	—	—	x	—	x	—	—
(HYMN) ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC	548	x	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	—	—
ISLE OF WIGHT (WHITE)	733a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
LITCHFIELD	381b	x	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	—	—

Title	HTI #	Anglican								Dissenter: Presbyterian	
		Metrical Psalm Collections/ Supplements			Instructional/ Singing School Texts			Tune Collections		Tune Collections	
		PlayJ	BartW	SP	GaunJ	IrelE	WarnD	BrooM	WoodC	LaurW	GawtN
		WB1 1677	BPM 1682	TatB4 1704	PSG 1701	PSG3 1719	SMG 1719	MBCa 1725	CPTa c. 1735	CT 1719	HP 1730
LONDON	536a	x	—	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x
LONDON, NEW	497b	x	x: Seventh	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x
MANCHESTER	374a	x	x: Tenth	x	—	x	x	—	x	x	x
MARTYRS	330a	x	x: Sixth	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x
MEAR	909b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
NORTHAMPTON	712a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	x
NORWICH	327b	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
OXFORD	201e	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PENITENTIAL HYMN	184a	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
PETERBOROUGH	539b	x	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—
PORTSMOUTH (NAMUR)	750a	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—
PSALM 18	159a	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
PSALM 68	117a	x	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	x
PSALM 81	175a	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x
PSALM 85	130a	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—	x	x
PSALM 100	143a	x	x: No. 2	x	x	x	x	—	—	x	x
PSALM 108/ HUMPHREY'S	759a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
PSALM 113 (PSALM 115)	146a	x	x: No. 6	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x

Table 4.3 (continued)

Title	HTI #	Anglican								Dissenter: Presbyterian	
		Metrical Psalm Collections/ Supplements			Instructional/ Singing School Texts			Tune Collections		Tune Collections	
		PlayJ	BartW	SP	GaunJ	IreE	WarnD	BrooM	WoodC	LaurW	GawtN
		WB1 1677	BPM 1682	TatB4 1704	PSG 1701	PSG3 1719	SMG 1719	MBCa 1725	CPTa c. 1735	CT 1719	HP 1730
PSALM 119	120c	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	x	—	x
PSALM 122	147a	x	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	x
PSALM 137	109a	x	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	x	x
PSALM 148	126a	x	x: No. 7	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x
PSALM 149	657a	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	x	—	x
SABBATH HYMN	276f	x	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
ST. DAVID'S	379d	—	x: Third	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. EDMUND'S	899a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
ST. JAMES'S	582a	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	x	—	x
ST. MARY'S (HACKNEY)	542a	x	—	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x
ST. PETER'S	276h	x	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—
SOUTHWEL(L)	269h	x	—	—	x	—	x	x	x	—	—
STANDISH	586	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x
TE DEUM	166a	x	x: No. 5	x	x	x	x	—	—	x	x
VENI CREATOR	168a	x	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	x
WARWICK	911	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x
WESTMINSTER	387d	x	—	x	—	x	x	—	x	—	—
WINDSOR	271a	x	x: Fourth	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x
WORCESTER	382a	x	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	x
YORK	331a	x	x: Fifth	x	—	x	x	—	x	x	x

Table 4.3 (continued)



## Source Abbreviations

- BartW BPM:** Barton, William. *The Book of Psalms in Metre*. London: For the Company of Stationers, 1682.
- Broom MBCCM:** Broom, Michael and John Broom. *Michael Broom's Collection of Church Musick* [2nd title page:] *The Divine Muisck Scholars Guide*. s.l.: s.n., (c. 1725).
- GaunJ PSG:** Gaunt, John. *The Psalm-Singer's Guide: or, The Tutor to Singing*. London: For the author, and sold by John Young, [1701].
- GawtN HP:** Gawthorn, Nathaniel. *Harmonia Perfecta*. London: William Pearson, 1730.
- IreLE PSG3:** Ireland, Edm[und]. *The Psalm Singer's Guide*. Ed. 3. York: For the author, 1719.
- LaurW CT:** L[aurence], W[illiam]. *A Collection of Tunes*. London: W. Pearson, for John Clark, R. Ford, and R. Crittenden, 1719.
- PlayJ WB1:** Playford, John. *The Whole Book of Psalms*. London: W. Godbid for the Company of Stationers, 1677.
- SP TatB4:** *A Supplement to the New Version of Psalms by Dr. Brady and Mr. Tate*. Ed. 4. London: W. P. for D. Brown, 1704.
- WarnD SMG:** Warner, Daniel, of Ewelme. *The Singing-Master's Guide to his Scholars*. London: William Pearson, for the Company of Stationers, 1719.
- WoodC CPT:** (Woodmason, Charles). *A Collection of Psalm Tunes*. London: J. Simpson, [c. 1735].

Table 4.4 British and American source material paralleling the Samuel Peyre  
commonplace manuscript

Tune Name	HTI#	English Anglican Sources			British Colonial Dissenter Sources			
		SmitB	TansW RPC	SPNSM	New England Published Tune Collections			Chesapeake Bay Manuscript
		PrelP HC 1732			WaltT GRME3 1740	WaltT GRME4 1746	SP BostB 1752	ElliR Ms c. 1755-60
BELLA TUNE Ps. XVII	577	X	—	—	X	X	X	X: BELLA OR 25TH PSALM TUNE
BRUNSWICK TUNE	891	—	—	—	X	—	X	X: BRUNSWIC
CAMBRIDGE TUNE Ps. 2. II	249b	—	—	—	X	—	—	X: CAMBRIDGE
ELY TUNE	1461a	—	X	—	—	—	—	—
ISLE OF WHITE TUNE	733	—	—	—	—	—	X	X: ISLE OF WIGHT
Ps XXXIV								
Ps. V MARTYRS TUNE	330a	X	—	—	X	X	X	X: MARTIRES
Ps. IV OXFORD TUNE	201e	—	—	X: PSALM 4	X	X	X	X: OXFORD TUNE
<b>Ps. I PROPER TUNE</b>	158 - var. not in Temp	X - b	—	X - b	—	—	—	—
OLD 51 Ps TUNE TO THE 88 OR 100 Ps Ps. 88 Ps. LXXXVIII	93b	—	—	X	—	—	—	X: THE OLD 51ST PSALM TUNE

Tune Name	HTI#	English Anglican Sources			British Colonial Dissenter Sources			
		SmitB	TansW	SPNSM	New England Published Tune Collections			Chesapeake Bay Manuscript
		PreIP HC 1732	RPC 1744		WaltT GRME3 1740	WaltT GRME4 1746	SP BostB 1752	ElliR Ms c. 1755-60
Ps. LXXXI PROPER TUNE	175a	X	—	—	X	X	X	X: GLASGOW TUNE
OLD 122 PS TUNE	130a	X: PSALM 112	—	—	X: PSALM 85	X: PSALM 85	X: PSALM 85	X: CHICHESTER TUNE BEING AN ATHOM PROPPER TO ANY TUNE OF SIX MEASURES
Ps. 63D Ps. LXIII								
PROPER TUNE Ps. LXXXVI	113b	—	—	X	—	—	—	X: KING FREDERICK'S TUNE
100 PS TUNE TREBLE & BASS Ps. C	143a	X	X: SAVOY	X	X	X	X	X :NORTHAMTON TUNE
<b>[PSALM 100, NEW]</b> <b>ANTHEM</b>	1054	—	—	—	X	—	X: ANTHEM TO 100	X
PS 63D OR 113 PROPER TUNE	146a	X	—	X	X	X	X	X: JOPPA
Ps. CXIII Ps. CXVI	538	—	—	X	—	—	—	

Table 4.4 (continued)

Table 4.4 (continued)

Tune Name	HTI#	English Anglican Sources			British Colonial Dissenter Sources			
					New England Published Tune Collections			Chesapeake Bay Manuscript
		SmitB PreIP HC 1732	TansW RPC 1744	SPNSM 1752	WaltT GRME3 1740	WaltT GRME4 1746	SP BostB 1752	ElliR Ms c. 1755-60
<b>Ps CXLVIII</b>	126 - var. not in Temp	X - a	—	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X: NEWBERRY TUNE } 148TH PSALM TUNE
Ps. CXLVIII Ps. CXLIX	657a	X: PSALM 104	X: ST. MICHAEL'S	—	—	—	X: 149 PSALM TUNE	X: 149TH PSALM TUNE, THE
Ps. XIX ST. JAMES TUNE	582a	X	X	X: ST. JOHN'S	X	X	X	X: ST. JAMES'S TUNE
ST LUKES TUNE TO THE 25 PS OR 100 PS. XCV	667a	X	—	X	—	—	—	X: ST. LUKES TUNE
ST MARTIN TUNE TO 96 OR 100 Ps. XCVI	668	—	—	X	—	—	—	X: SAINT MARTIN'S
PS CXV WEST- MINSTER TUNE	387d	X	X	—	X	X	X	X: WESTMINSTER TUNE
Ps. LXXXIV WINCHES- TER TUNE	276a	X	—	X	—	—	—	X: WINCHESTER

## Source Abbreviations

**Ellis Ms:** Ellis, Richard, Capt. For Richard Hodgson. Manuscript copybook of sacred vocal music. MD, ca. 1755-60. Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington.

**SmitBPreIP HC:** Smith, Benjamin and Peter Prelluer. *The Harmonious Companion; or, The Psalm-Singer's Magazine*. London: W. Pearson, 1732.

**SP BostB 1752:** Tune supplement to John Barnard, *A New Version of the Psalms of David*. Boston: James A. Turner, 1752.

**SPNSM:** *Select Psalms, for the use of the Parish-Church of New St. Michan's, in Dublin*. Dublin: S. Powell, 1752.

**TansW RPC:** Tans'ur, William. *The Royal Psalmist Compleat*. s.l.: The author, ca. 1744.

**WaltT GRME3:** Walter, Thomas. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*. Ed. 3. Boston: J. Draper for S. Gerrish, 1740.

**WaltT GRME4:** Walter, Thomas. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*. Ed. 4. Boston: Samuel Gerrish, 1746.

## Chapter 5. English Presbyterians and their British Origins

Discussions of denominational performance practice and repertory are often intertwined with the inner workings of church governance. A church's stance on performance and tune repertory often reflects a church's organizational structure. In this matter, English Presbyterians are no exception. Despite their theologically similar origins, English Presbyterians remained distinct from other Calvinist denominations such as Independents and Particular Baptists. Not surprisingly, church governance and its appurtenance, music, functioned quite differently from its Calvinist cousins.

Larger than the individual congregation, and smaller than the state government, the presbytery united communities and regions together through a representative administrative body designed to regulate moral conduct. Anglicans believed in a church that served as the vehicle of the state, with a strong central polity that set standards of worship, its enactment of the liturgy, and musical performance practice and its repertory. Independents, through the 1648 Cambridge Platform, favored the autonomy of the individual church whereby everything became subject to the purview of the congregation represented through its elders or brethren, including rites of ordination, communicant status, performance practice, musical leadership, and tune repertory. From the Presbyterian perspective, the Anglican hierarchy remained too large, and the Independent's individual autonomy too localized. However, the size of the presbytery was just right, in that it consisted of a confederation of churches with an elected ecclesiastical judicatory that addressed the needs of the church community, and assumed the responsibilities of ordination and installation of ministers, and communicant status. Further, every decision enacted by the church court required sanction by the majority of ministers within the presbytery.

In contrast to Anglicanism and Congregationalism, the distinctly English branch of Presbyterianism has received little scholarly attention in regards to its influence on other denominations and churches within colonial British North America. The reasons for this omission are twofold. First and foremost, the English Presbyterian Church chiefly disappeared from England by 1800, with most of its church members having joined either the Unitarian Church or the Scottish branch of Presbyterianism.<sup>1</sup> Congregationalists in Massachusetts underwent a similar transformation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Other English Presbyterians joined Independent or Particular Baptist Churches because of these churches' acceptance of a Trinitarian creed, which had not been part of church policy since the late seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup>

In the United States, scholarship on Presbyterians has focused generally on the Scottish branch of Presbyterianism, aligned closely with the cultural identity of Scottish and Scots-Irish settlers in the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Both Scottish and English branches of Presbyterianism sprung from a like Calvinist origin, introduced to England by Thomas Cartwright (c. 1535-1603), and to Scotland by John Knox (c. 1510-1572). Although both forms of Presbyterianism existed in various regions of the British colonies, English Presbyterianism assumed a much more innovative stance on music than its Scottish cousin,

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<sup>1</sup> See: Horton Davies, *Worship And Theology in England: from Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 8-13; *The English Presbyterians: from Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism*, C. Bolam, J. Goring, H. Short, and R. Thomas, eds. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968); Russell E. Richey, "From Puritanism to Unitarianism in England: A Study in Candour" in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 41, 3 (1973), 371-85.

<sup>2</sup> Doreen Rosman, *The Evolution of the English Churches 1500-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 129.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example: "Presbyterianism had, indeed, been founded on the continent in 1683 in the neighboring Eastern Shore of Maryland by a Scotch-Irishman, Francis Makemie." James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 189. In fact, English Presbyterianism had existed since at least 1640, with the organization of a congregation in Southampton, Long Island.

bearing a closer resemblance to the Continental Reformed churches. Resulting from its progressiveness, English Presbyterian contributions to sacred music in British North America exerted the most profound influence on future trends in evangelical American sacred music performance practice.

Untangling the complex relationship between performance practice, tune repertory, and aesthetic considerations of colonial English Presbyterian musicians involves an examination of the British origins of English Presbyterianism and its music. Easily the most influential of the denominations for their influence exerted on evangelical music in the United States, English Presbyterianism initiated the English hymn movement of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Not confined to poetic developments, this denomination also gave voice to the aesthetics of sacred music repertory and performance practice beginning with a series of lectures in London's Little Eastcheap Meetinghouse. Surviving sermons reveal not only the nature of sacred compositional genres, but also performance considerations in English Presbyterian churches. Soon afterwards, members of this group published tunebooks associated with this important meetinghouse.

### **5.1 The British Origins of the English Presbyterian Hymn Movement**

During the first half of the seventeenth century, English Presbyterians had enjoyed representation within the Church of England. Unlike other Dissenters, the Church of England recognized Presbyterian ministers as established clergymen. After the interregnum, this group, who had enjoyed official status under Cromwell, came under suspicion with the restoration of the monarchy. Subsequently, Charles II and the Anglican Bishops called for a meeting by clergymen to review and update the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1661, which became known as the Savoy Conference. Entering into a debate with Anglican ministers about



church liturgy and metrical psalmody,<sup>4</sup> Presbyterian clergymen contended the nature of the liturgy, and in more direct musical terms, the view that metrical psalmody occupied a central place in the official liturgy of the church.<sup>5</sup> Following this much-publicized disputation, the Presbyterians lost official sanction in the Ejectment Act of 1662.<sup>6</sup> As a result, English Presbyterians were forced to practice their worship in clandestine locations until their status was restored following the 1689 Act of Toleration.

Richard Baxter (1615-91), one of the leaders of the English Presbyterian movement involved in the Savoy debate, served not only as a vociferous voice arguing for Calvinist theology and its implementation into the Church of England, but he also championed the use of hymns alongside metrical versions of psalms and canticles. Published posthumously, Baxter's *Paraphrase on the Psalms of David in Metre* (1692), in typical Dissenter fashion, addressed the needs of modern Christians while simultaneously inveighing against the ruling Church of England and its political connections to the state:<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Richard Baxter, *The Grand Debate between the most Reverend the Bishops, and the Presbyterian Divines, appointed by His Sacred Majesty, as commissioners for the review and alteration of the Book of Common Prayer, &c. being an exact account of their whole proceedings* (London: s.n., 1661).

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Edward Cardwell, *A History of Conferences and Other Proceedings Connected with The Revision of The Book of Common Prayer; from the year 1558 to the year 1690* (Oxford: the University Press, 1841), 342.

<sup>6</sup> Louis F. Benson, "The Liturgical Use of English Hymns" in *The Princeton Theological Review*, X, 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, April, 1912): 191-2.

<sup>7</sup> An earlier seventeenth-century publication by Anglican George Wither addressed the parameters of hymns and spiritual songs. An independent precursor to Baxter and his hymnal, Wither specified that hymns pertained specifically to metrical paraphrases of scriptural song outside the Book of Psalms (e.g. biblical songs and canticles), and spiritual songs to poetic paraphrases of scriptural teachings or truths evident in scriptural passage. Likewise, spiritual songs could follow the liturgical calendar depending on the metrical paraphrase of a particular biblical text. See: George Wither, *The Hymnes and Songs of the Chvrch. Diuinded into two Parts. The first part comprehends the canonickall hymnes, and such parcels of Holy Scripture, as may properly be sung: with some other ancient songs and creeds. The second part consists of spirituall songs, appropriated to the seuerall times and occasions, obseruable in the Church of England. Translated, and composed by G. W.* (London: George Wither, 1623).

*I have added the Apocryphal Hymns, I. For their Excellency and Usefulness. 2. To confute them that think that no forms of Worship but those found in Scripture may be used, or imposed. 3. To confute the Casuists, that tell the World that we are against all such Liturgick Forms.*

*Those that published the Old Church Psalms, added many useful Hymns, that are still printed with the Psalms in Metre. And doubtless Paul meaneth not only David's Psalms, when he bids men sing with grace in their hearts, Psalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs: Yea, it is past doubt, that Hymns more suitable to Gospel-times, may and ought to be now used: And if used, they must be premeditated; how else shall Congregations sing them? And if premeditated, they must be some way imposed; How else shall the Congregations all joyn in the same? I plead not for Imposing by cruel Penalties, nor laying the Churches Love and Communion on a Tune or Metre.<sup>8</sup>*

Baxter's Presbyterian progressiveness stands in contrast with other Calvinist Dissenters and many Anglicans, both of which recognized commonly only the older metrical version of psalms and canticles introduced into the sixteenth-century psalters.<sup>9</sup> Baxter instead made distinctions between psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs and espoused their use in the home for domestic worship, and publicly in an official or social context. Other Presbyterian divines embraced Baxter's model in his publication, including the Reverend Matthew Henry,<sup>10</sup> and the Reverend Samuel Bury.<sup>11</sup> Significantly, Independent Isaac Watts

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<sup>8</sup> Richard Baxter, "Preface" to *Mr. Richard Baxter's Paraphrase on the Psalms of David in Metre, with other Hymns* (London: Printed for Thomas Parkhurst... And Jonathan Robinson, 1692), 10r.

<sup>9</sup> During the Savoy Conference, Baxter, in drafting a "Reformed Liturgy" provided an alternative rubric after the celebration of communion, admonishing for the singing of a hymn in place of the usual psalm. See: Benson, "Liturgical Use," 192.

<sup>10</sup> [Matthew Henry], *Family-Hymns. Gather'd (mostly) out of the best Translations of David's Psalms* (London: printed for Tho. Parkhurst, 1695).

<sup>11</sup> Samuel Bury, *A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, fitted for morning and evening worship in a private family* (London: Printed for T. Parkhurst, 1701).

(1674-1748) did not publish hymn texts or freer metrical translations of the Book of Psalms until fifteen years following Baxter's death. Thus, the English Presbyterian hymn movement preceded and remained an independent precursor to the later hymn movement of the eighteenth century, associated with Independent Isaac Watts.

## 5.2 English Presbyterian Aesthetic of Devotion: London's Eastcheap Lectures

One year after Watts began publishing his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1707-9), Independents struggled to embrace his hymnody. However, many English Presbyterians immediately included his versifications within their own hymnody movement begun twenty years previously. Resulting from a rise in dissent amongst Calvinist Dissenters, Presbyterians in London decided to hold a series of lectures held on Fridays at the Presbyterian meetinghouse above the King's Weigh House in Little Eastcheap, within the City of London, in 1708. Designed as a forum for discussing the performance of sacred music in public worship, the lectures were delivered by six ministers, five Presbyterians and one Independent. The six essays subsequently appeared in a single published volume, designed both as a documentation of the forum, and as a proscriptive guide to the aesthetics of music performance.<sup>12</sup> From this series, three Presbyterians addressed the aesthetic considerations of musical devotion and its aesthetic of performance.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> *Practical Discourses of Singing in the Worship of GOD; Preach'd at the Friday Lecture in Eastcheap. By Several Ministers* (London: Printed by J. Darby for N. Cliff...; and J. Philips..., 1708).

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Bradbury, the one Independent invited to speak, denounced Watts and his scheme for improving psalmody, and refused any of his psalms or hymns to be spoken or sung in his presence. See: Benson, "Liturgical Use," 194. Mr. Harris, one of the other two Presbyterian ministers lectured on the nature of excellence in congregational singing, treating it both as an absolute or universal truth in the praise of God, and of the more practical matters of quality of singing in a worship service. Mr. Gravener, the final Presbyterian minister lectured on reviving emotion and religiosity into the congregational performance of psalmody. See: *Practical Discourses of Singing*, 55-57, 185-188.

Jabez Earle delivered the first lecture, which served as an introduction to the series. He devoted his speech more to the general aspects of sacred music, emphasizing three main facets of expression: musicality, repertory, and the nature of devotion. Assuming a common sense position on the first item, Earle declared that

our Singing should be as *musical* as may be: For tho where God has deny'd a Voice or an Ear, he will not require what he has not given, yet surely we should serve him with the best we have, and improve every Talent to the best advantage, seeing we must account for it: and we may imagine what the Consequences of our Neglect will be, if we consider that awful Test, *Cursed be the Deceiver which hath in his Flock a Mule, and voweth and sacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing.* [Mal. I. 14.] Indeed our best shall be accepted, be it ever so mean; but nothing less shall be regarded, be it ever so good (10).

Emphasizing that ability does not necessarily match piety, he admonished that all should praise with as much ardor and ability as possible. Anything less would be considered an abomination and a sin.

Progressing to the type of repertory, Earle agreed with the writings of the Apostle Paul, but remained opposed not only to Catholic expression, but progressive Presbyterian notions as well:

[i]f the Object of Singing is Scriptural Songs, then undoubtedly we must not mingle our own *Inventions*, Fancys, and private Opinions, with the great and obvious Truths of the Gospel, in those Composures which we sing in the Worship of God. And I think this sufficiently intimated in the Text; *Let the Word of Christ dwell in you richly, teaching and admonishing one another in Psalms, Hymns, and spiritual Songs.* If men don't in every Ordinance keep to this Rule, *to the Law and to the Testimony*, their Sacrifices

cannot be acceptable, but must fall under that Censure, *In vain do they worship me* [Mat. XV. 9]. And this is one Abomination in the Church of *Rome*, that they sing not only what is unscriptural, but antiscritural too, yea infinitely absurd and ridiculous; as I might shew by Instances enough to enlarge this Discourse into a Volume (12-13).

According to Earle, although Paul admonishes us to sing "Psalms, Hymns and spiritual Songs," Christians are relegated to only sing those that appear in the Bible, which would include only the psalms and canticles found throughout this text, and assumedly in metrical verse from the popular psalters of the day. Earle clearly did not subscribe to Baxter's understanding of the hymn.

Finally, he stressed that when singing, the Christian is to express only true piety, and not with "unhallow'd Lips" (14), the consequences of which would be drastic. He admonished:

[L]et us think with our selves, that while we are conscientiously singing the Praise of god in his Church below, we are training up for that better World, where *everlasting Joy shall be upon our Heads*, and our Mouths eternally fill'd with the high Praises of our God; and not forget to consider what a dreadful thing it will be, to have our Crys and Wailings in Hell receive a higher Accent from our Hypocritical Songs of Praise on Earth (14-15).

In general, Jabez Earle assumed a moderate position. On the one hand, he adhered to a strict interpretation of repertory and in a literal interpretation of New Testament theology. However, he also stressed that although the praise of God must remain true in heart and spirit, yet man could beautify this praise beyond a mere expression of piety. Addressing that

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· Tu per Thomæ Sanguinem, &c.

aesthetic beauty occupies a place in the worship of God reveals most strongly his break from a strict Calvinist interpretation of music.

The lecture delivered by Thomas Reynolds dealt with issues of repertory, gender, performance style, and musical literacy. Arguing the merits "concerning the Matter to be sung in publick Worship" (117), Reynolds stressed three points:

1. Tho we approve and shall presently vindicate the Practice of our Churches in singing *David's* Psalms, yet we are not against other Composures. However,
2. What of *this kind* may be allow'd to be sung, we should advise the *Matter* of them to be collected from the Holy *Scriptures*; in turning of which into *Metre*, a diligent regard ought to be had to the *Text*, and the *Sense* at least to be carefully retain'd: and it may not be amiss that we here caution against too great a liberty to the flights of a *Poetical Fancy*, lest by being too *profuse*, it detract from the *Sense* and *Beauty* of the *Scriptures*, which always appear *best* in their own naked *Simplicity*.
3. We do not this out of any mean, irreverent and unbecoming Thoughts of *David's* Psalms, or that we would discard these from having their part in the Worship of God; but that adding others to them, we may still have a *fuller Set* of Psalms, and a more *abundant variety* of spiritual Songs to promote and further the celebrating of God's Praises in the Christian Church; and these being for the *Matter* of them collected from the *Scriptures*, there is no *Addition* made to the Word of God hereby, as many will be ready otherwise to object (117-18).

Siding with the position of Richard Baxter, Reynolds believed that scriptural psalms and canticles were not the only texts that could espouse the truth of Christian doctrine.

Hymns of modern "composure," in contrast to biblical songs, could meet the needs of modern Christians, thereby allowing for a fuller adoration of God through a wider variety

of texts. Although biblical psalms and canticles must form the base for expression, modern hymns would only add to this great foundation, provided both that these new texts remain true to the sense of scripture, and that their authors do not allow themselves to become tempted too much by a worldly "Poetical Fancy." In fact, Reynolds could see no objection to anyone writing a hymn that followed the gospel teachings of the New Testament, unless that person would object to the truths of the New Testament itself. Despite his contention with Jabez Earle in terms of repertory, both agreed that man could enhance the worship experience by imposing a sense of aesthetic beauty to the church service beyond music's role solely as a vehicle for devotion.

Reynold's progressiveness in terms of aesthetic and repertory extended also to the role of women within the church service. Although women did sing in some churches, some ministers objected to women singing, again citing the words of St. Paul from "I *Cor.* XIV. 34. and I *Tim.* II. 11. where he enjoineth *Silence to Women*, and that they be not *permitted to speak* or teach *in the Churches*" (129). However, singing was not speaking. Turning the argument on its head, Reynolds continued:

[b]ut to any who consult those Passages, and the Scope of the Apostle, it will appear his words are to be confin'd only to the Womens usurping an *Authority to prophesy*, and become *publick Instructors* in the Church. This upon many Accounts would be very indecent; and therefore in such a capacity, and in this way, he would not *suffer a Woman to speak, but to be in Silence*. Nay, if it were only to ask a Question, in order to be resolv'd, he would not have them propound it publickly, but to ask their Husbands at home: *For it is a shame* (says he) *for Women to speak in the Church*; i.e. to propound any thing publickly before the Assembly, either out of pretence to inform others, or tho it were only to be inform'd themselves. It will be evident to any who

consult these Places, that the Apostle confines himself to this: And therefore there is nothing that should debar Women from bearing a part in Psalmody, and joining with the Church in *Praising God* by singing, it being *no Act* of Authority, and the Reason of it *common*. Besides, it being, as I mention'd before, a part of natural Religion, Women are to reckon themselves oblig'd to the performance of it, who have as many Considerations to induce and ingage them as the Men. And next to praying in secret, and instructing their Children and young Ones at home, I know not in what they can so well imploy this noble and glorious Instrument the Tongue, than in singing the Praises of God in his Church. And whether this may not be one, if not a *principal* Reason, why God, in his adorable Wisdom, has distinguish'd by its pleasant Softness the Voice of the Woman from that of the Man, to temper the Sound, and render it more sweet and melodious when they are join'd together in singing his Praises, is what I have thought not altogether unworthy of our Consideration (129-30).

Just as Paul adjured everyone to praise God with psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, women should suffer no discrimination in singing because he enjoined all Christians to praise God.

However, Reynolds went one step further. Again employing an aesthetic of beauty, he attributed stereotypically feminine attributes to their performance, allowing that the natural "softness" of a women's voice would engender a "sweet and melodious" expression when employed in the worship service. Citing their role as caregivers, Reynolds believed that it would extend to the church through an inculcation of moral goodness. Drawing support from beyond the Bible, he invoked Classical writings from ancient Greece and Rome: "[a]s to this I do not find they have any thing to support it [objections to women singing in church] from *antient Practice*: For if we consult Antiquity, we shall find Women



were permitted to sing in the Church as well as Men. Of Women singing in the Primitive Church, we find *Tertullian*, *Socrates*, *Theodoret*; and others make mention" (128).

Reynolds' position on musical style and literacy found like sentiments from John Newman, the third speaker to address the aesthetic of devotion. These men spoke against the old way of singing and promoted regular singing because of its ability to better convey the meaning of the text. For Newman, this proscription meant that

*Persons, engag'd in this Ordinance of Singing, should have Psalm-Books, that so the Duty might be perform'd without the usual Interruption of reading Line by Line. By this means the Sense of what is sung will at once lie open to their View, and be better understood by them; and there will be a more intire and continu'd Harmony, and the Affections will not be in so much danger of cooling and flatting by the frequent Pauses that are made by reading* (165).

Reynold's reason against the old way lay in its promotion of ignorance, descended from the pre-Reformation era.

This Practice was at first owing to the Ignorance of People, who living under the Darkness of Popery, vast multitudes of them could not read. For this reason our first *Reformers* thought it much better to practise this way of singing Psalms, by the Clerk's reading Line after Line, than that such great numbers (as then were) should be depriv'd of the Benefit of this Ordinance. But blessed be God, it is now a long time since we came out of Popery: And there are but few among us but can read, or who (if they would be at the pains) might soon attain it. And there fore I think 'tis high time to reform from a Custom, which the People's Ignorance did at first

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\* Quantam autem castigationem merebuntur illæ, quæ inter Psalmos, vel in quacunque Dei mentione, relectæ perseverant? *L. de Virgin*, vel. 16.

necessitate them to, and which all who will use their Understanding must acknowledg does labour with many Inconveniences and Defects (137-8).

If illiteracy and ignorance were an abomination unto God, then " why should others suffer for their Sin" (142)?

Similarly, the two men agreed that the performance of music within the church demanded true piety combined with an aesthetic of beauty, which, in a neo-platonic understanding of music would serve to elevate the minds and hearts of the congregants.

According to Newman:

*[c]are must be taken that the Tunes sung, and the Manner of Singing be only such as have a Tendency to excite divine and spiritual Affections. Psalm-Tunes ought to be solemn, and grave, not vain, and light, and airy, as if they were only adapted to please and gratify a wanton and sensual Mind: This would be to turn one of the most noble and spiritual Dutys of Religion into a mere Entertainment for the Senses and Fancys of carnal Men; this would be to turn God's House into a Theatre, and would in a manner desecrate God's sacred Worship, and make it distastful to pious Minds. The Power of Vocal as well as Instrumental Musick is very great, and may be abus'd to bad Purposes as well as improv'd to holy ones; and therefore only such Tunes must be us'd in God's House, as becomes his Majesty and Holiness, and the Gravity and Spirituality of the Worship we are engag'd in (163).*

Recognizing the slippery slope of man's falling into the sin of pride, Newman understood that care must be taken to allow music to enhance the religious experience, instead of allowing the performance to be mistaken for piety. Again, man could elevate the service through beauty, but in no sense should beauty be confounded with praise or worship itself.

To ensure against this descent into sin, Newman admonished the presbytery, or the chapels' precentors, to closely monitor the expression of sacred music in its relationship with the text:

*[i]n the choice of the Tune, some regard should be had to the Matter sung; that it may have an Aptitude to excite in us those Divine Graces, which the Matter of the Psalm requires and calls for. Nothing is more certain than that different Tunes have a different Influence and Efficacy upon the Minds of Men: Those that have a Tendency to raise our Joy and Thankfulness, are Enemys to Sorrow and Sadness of Spirit; and those that befriend this Temper, are prejudicial to the other. It would be very preposterous, and a great Incongruity, if the *Tendency* of the Tune should promote Sorrow and Grief, when the *Design* of the Psalm is to raise in us a joyful thankful Admiration of God's Grace and Goodness (164).*

Taken together, these essays reveal a modern and progressive perspective of music. With the implementation of an aesthetic of beauty as a vital component to worship, these ministers set a path for musical performance to echo this doctrine, illustrated with the tunebooks issued by English Presbyterian musicians in the ensuing decades following these lectures.

### **5.3 Tunebook Compilers, Conventions, and Repertory at London's Little Eastcheap Meetinghouse**

Following its lecture series, the congregation at Little Eastcheap began to offer instructions in psalmody, conducted by William Laurence. Having heard from a variety of perspectives regarding sacred music performance from Dissenters throughout London, Presbyterians adopted the more progressive stance and established regular singing as the *modus operandi* for the local presbytery. Drawing upon both the 1694 metrical psalter of

Dr. John Patrick (1632-95),<sup>14</sup> and Isaac Watts' *Psalms of David, Imitated*, Laurence published a tune collection in 1719 designed to suit all the meters found in both books, the first tunebook to embrace Watts' poetry.<sup>15</sup> Evidently, Laurence did not intend originally for the volume to stand independent of the metrical psalm and hymn collections, nor accompany Watts' text: "[i]ndeed, when I first began to copy them out, I intended them only for my own Private Use, in the Desk, to bind up with Dr. Patrick's Version: But when I had almost finished what I intended for the Purpose, Application was made to me to collect a Number of Tunes, that might Suit with the various Metres of Mr. Watts's Imitation of the Psalms of David..." (3r). However, given the progressive nature of the presbytery, Laurence quickly adapted his collection to meet the needs of the body politic.

Though the tunes appeared exclusively in two-part settings, the tunebook took a different approach to voice assignation. Instead of following a three-part cantus-dominated approach to harmonization, Laurence employed a more patriarchal approach to performance. Recalling the older, four-part, tenor-led harmonization method found in early psalters such as that by Ravenscroft, Laurence set the tenor as the melodic line, thereby breaking from the newer tradition established by Playford. His efforts in the reform of English Presbyterian church music led to a standardization of performance practice that continued over the next few decades.

Following William Laurence's death, Nathaniel Gawthorn, his pupil at Little Eastcheap, assumed the mantle of leadership in the performance and teaching of sacred

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<sup>14</sup> John Patrick, *The Psalms of David in Meter: fitted to the tunes used in Parish-Churches* (London: Printed for R. and J. Churchill... and L. Meredith, 1694).

<sup>15</sup> Patrick's psalter, although prepared by an Anglican clergyman, was used more extensively by English Presbyterians and other dissenters because of its following the tenets outlined by Thomas Reynolds in his published lecture, taking some liberties towards an aesthetic poetical rendering of the psalms, instead of a literal metrical translation. Source: Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 121.

music, subsequently publishing *Harmonia Perfecta*, his own collection in 1730. Building upon the model established by Laurence and his unfinished work, Gawthorn assembled his tunebook by drawing upon "*the whole of Mr. Ravenscroft; (three or four Tunes excepted) the Substance of Mr. Laurence's last Edition; Playford has been carefully consulted, and other Authors of the first Name; to these I have made Additions entirely New, gather'd elsewhere*" (iv). As such, Gawthorn outlined clearly the recent developments in Presbyterian sacred music, citing the influence of Thomas Ravenscroft's psalter, at one time popular among all Dissenters; Laurence's distinctly Presbyterian compilation; and tunes found in the publications of Anglican John Playford, most likely drawn from his pedagogical works.

Alongside his incorporation of tunes from a wider array of source material, Gawthorn increased part settings from two voices to four for the psalm tunes, and provided settings for hymns, spiritual songs, and a few anthems, with the tenor invariably set as the tune-carrying voice. Besides establishing the tenor as melodic lead within the three and four-part harmonizations, these two books instituted the full range of repertory available to English Presbyterians, which in turn influenced Presbyterian manuscript source material in British North America.

The two books followed an identical format. Divided into two main sections of musical material, the first comprised textless tunes designed to accompany the texts found in various metrical psalters and hymnbooks. The second section consisted of settings of various hymns and spiritual songs with the texts printed beneath the music. Gawthorn took Laurence's model one step further by including a few verse and full anthems that were sprinkled amongst the other works in this section. In particular, the hymns and spiritual songs illustrate most clearly not only the range of repertory, but also the source material that shaped it. In one sense, the first section, intended for general congregational use, displayed

its progressiveness solely through the source material, with which it was designed to accompany. The second section demonstrated a similar aesthetic, through a series of pieces with set texts that provided specific examples of the types of material listed in the writings of St. Paul. These works in particular state unequivocally that English Presbyterians adopted the notions presented by Thomas Reynolds. Poetry of modern "composure" would find ready acceptance within the denomination, whether it encompassed an aesthetically conceived paraphrase of a psalm text, or a hymn or spiritual song based upon sound biblical theology.

In particular, these pieces became part of the standard, English Presbyterian repertory, appearing in both English and American source material. Betraying the influence of Baxter and Reynold's aesthetic leanings, these psalms and spiritual songs share several noteworthy characteristics. Although the text to THE MEDITATION ON DEATH remains anonymous (**Anth**), the other works descend from early seventeenth-century sources. Predating the late seventeenth-century Presbyterian hymn movement, all originated from poets associated with the Stuart courts of James I and Charles I. Thomas Campion (1567-1620), the author and composer of THE LONGING SOUL (**Anth**), and Thomas Carew (1595-1640), the author of THE GLIDING STREAMS (**Anth**), maintained their presence in the court through the composition of masques.<sup>16</sup> Neither church musicians, nor men associated with Dissenters, they entwined themselves instead with leading secular writers such as Ben Jonson, and the occasional Anglican minister, such as John Donne (1572-1631). However, both men produced sacred and secular poetry, averring their position as gentlemen humanists in early modern England.

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<sup>16</sup> Campion composed *Lord Hay's Masque* in 1607 and *Somerset Masque* and *The Lord's Masque* in 1613. Carew wrote the masque *Coelum Britannicum* in 1633.

Though the identifiable texts originated from seventeenth-century sources, the music often suggests a more contemporary date of composition. As a result, most of the older seventeenth-century settings do not appear in the English Presbyterian tunebooks. For instance, Carew's text is associated more with an elaborate five-voice setting composed by Henry Lawes (1596-1662), composed circa 1635 with string accompaniment.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, another poem, AN HYMN ON DIVINE MUSICK written by Dissenter Nathaniel Ingelo (ca. 1621-83) is associated mostly with a setting by Henry Purcell (1659-95). Even Laurence's printing of Campion's THE LONGING SOUL, constitutes a three-part reduced setting of an original four-voice composition published in the first volume of his *Two Bookes of Ayres* (London, 1613). Overall, these musical settings remain straightforward in style and vocal conception without textual overlap, emphasizing a direct and easily comprehensible textual delivery. Composed with a sense of artistic refinement, the music, like the text, displayed the clarity of its expression, paralleling in music the adherence to biblical sanctity voiced by the Little Eastcheap lecturers.

These three tunes reveal the range of textual material found within the English Presbyterian repertory, encompassing a biblical paraphrase of Psalm 137 by a noted secular poet, a metaphoric construction of a pilgrim's wandering through life to represent the soul's attempt to become closer to God, and a warning to unrepentant sinners about their impending doom. Often associated with the hymnody movement of the First Great Awakening, these seventeenth-century texts contain identical sentiments, thus calling into question the extent of the influence of the First Great Awakening on Calvinist poetic expression. In particular, the repeated phrase "O come quickly" in THE LONGING SOUL functions almost identically to a type of extended chorus associated with eighteenth-century

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<sup>17</sup> Ian Spink, *Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 126.

outdoor revivals, usually attributed to the need for repetition necessitated by the illiterate congregants who would assemble at such a gathering. Among the dissenters, Independents struggled to adopt this type of expression in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. In contrast, English Presbyterians represented the vanguard of change, having fully incorporated these types of texts into their basic repertory.

Finally, THE GLIDING STREAMS and A MEDITATION ON DEATH remained part of a uniquely English Presbyterian repertory. Independents and Anglicans did not include any of these particular spiritual songs in later printed source material. As a result, their circulation was restricted to English Presbyterian churches centered in London,<sup>18</sup> and extending north to Northampton,<sup>19</sup> and northwest to Manchester in Lancashire.<sup>20</sup> In particular, A MEDITATION ON DEATH appears to have circulated orally among English Presbyterians with a variant setting appearing in a Northampton source.<sup>21</sup> Further reflecting its process of oral transmission, still other variant settings of both of these tunes appear in colonial manuscripts from British North America. As a result, English Presbyterian musicians produced the earliest-known instances of folk hymns that appear in variant settings between sources, which do not constitute contrafacta of earlier secular compositions, or intentional revisions of, or elaborations on pre-existing compositions.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Later London tunebooks to contain these tunes include the two editions of Abraham Milner's *The Psalm Singers Companion* (1751, 1761).

<sup>19</sup> A variant setting of MEDITATION ON DEATH titled GLOUCESTER CHIMES set by Stephen Jefferies appeared in the Rev. Arthur Bedford's quarterly, *Divine Recreations*, issued from 1736-7.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Moore, *The Psalm Singer's Compleat Tutor and Divine Companion*, v. 1, ed. 2 (London: for the author, 1750).

<sup>21</sup> *The Hymn Tune Index* by Nicholas Temperley does not distinguish between these variants, instead listing these settings as separate tunes, numbers 1290 and 1496 respectively.

<sup>22</sup> Temperley's index does include numerous variants of psalm tunes beginning in the earliest sources. However, these variants appeared either because of metrical differences between continental sources and English paraphrases (PS. 50, #116), or popular psalm tunes that



Because of their progressiveness, English Presbyterians, through their repertory and compositional process, provided the formative base for instituting later trends in American evangelical sacred music.

Taken together, the English Presbyterians exerted the most profound influence on future trends in American evangelical sacred music. Compared to other English-language Calvinists, this denomination was the first to adopt and produce several collections of hymnody, recognize the viability of newly-composed hymns and spiritual songs to the modern world, apply an aesthetic of beauty to functional congregational music, produce folk hymns and spiritual songs, and to formally institute a specifically patriarchal mode of performance practice. Compared to other Calvinists, it was the only denomination to embrace Anglican-style anthems for presumably social performance, produce hymnody during the seventeenth century, preserve the original harmonized settings of sixteenth and seventeenth century metrical psalm tunes, and create a repertory drawing from both a Calvinist and Anglican aesthetic while preserving its own unique identity.

A portion of this connection to both Anglican and Calvinist performance practice and repertory lies in English Presbyterianism's seventeenth-century history. Recognized by the Anglicans as official clergy before the interregnum, and serving as the official church for

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musicians adapted to different metrical texts in English-language source material (e.g. ANGELS SONG vs. WESTMINSTER, #387). Other variants occurred as a result of typographical errors in copying from one source to another. Still others appeared as intentional revisions to earlier tunes, such as the setting of Psalm 67 (#246) that appeared first in Matthew Parker's *The Whole Psalter Translated into English Metre, which containeth an hundred and fifty psalmes* (London, ca. 1567). It underwent successive adaptations in Ravenscroft's 1621 psalter, John Wesley's *A Collection of Tunes, set to music, as they are commonly sung at the Foundery* (London, 1742), Thomas Moore's *The Psalm Singer's Compleat Tutor and Divine Companion*, v. 1, ed. 2 (London, 1750), George Whitfield's *The Divine Musical Miscellany* (London, 1754), etc. before becoming the version now known as TALLIS' EVENING HYMN.

England under Cromwell, English Presbyterians established close connections to both denominations extending back to their formative existence. Though they suffered persecution, losing this formal recognition between the Ejectment of 1662 and the 1689 Act of Toleration, the denomination continued this trend into the eighteenth century.

Musically speaking, English Presbyterians adopted a different aesthetic of performance than other English-language Calvinists. English Presbyterians preserved the performative and compositional style of the Renaissance period while simultaneously adopting modern trends. In contrast, most Independents in England and Congregationalists in the colonies discarded the older sixteenth-century patriarchal style and appropriated the late seventeenth-century Anglican style set by John Playford. Perhaps, because of these dualities and the church's ability to draw from a broader range of source material than either Anglicans or Independents/Congregationalists, English Presbyterians were posited to exert an influence much greater than their actual number of congregants or printed tune collections.

## Chapter 6. English Presbyterians in the British Colonies: The Long Island Sound

After its rise in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, English Presbyterianism spread throughout much of colonial British North America. By 1750, the English Presbyterian diaspora of British North America comprised two main areas: a northern region along the Long Island Sound encompassing the colonies of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and northern New Jersey; as well as a more southerly region radiating from Philadelphia, extending south to the Chesapeake Bay, and encompassing parts of southern New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. Individual churches were also scattered in other colonies, including South Carolina.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of their geographic location, these areas of Presbyterian activity reflect the cultural and religious climate of their greater regions. New England Congregationalist publications influenced tune repertory and notational adaptations in both areas, the Anglican repertory of Chesapeake Bay and the Low Country only in the Middle Atlantic. Mirroring the cultural and denominational pluralism of the northern Chesapeake Bay colonies, English Presbyterians incorporated pieces from other English-language denominations. In this sense, a denomination's geographic location within the colonies could exert more of an influence on performance trends and repertory than those of Great Britain, based upon the unique blend of the various denominations within any given region.

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<sup>1</sup> Churches without official Presbyteries appeared throughout other colonies, such as the Presbyterian Dissenter meetinghouse in Charles Town, South Carolina, dating back to the 1680s. For instance, the first dissenting minister ordained in Charles Town, South Carolina had to be ordained by "Presbyterian ministers of London, six in number, who performed the service in private, and gave him the following certificate: 'We, whose names are subscribed, are well assured, that Mr. Matthew Henry is an ordained minister of the gospel. *Sic Testor.* To which were attached their signatures, and the date, 'May 9th, 1687.'" Source: Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, 125.

## 6.1 Region and Performance Practice

In one of the many ironies of American sacred music, the northern region constituted a less uniform theology, but maintained a greater degree of regularity in musical repertory. Although religious tolerance existed in most of these colonies, Connecticut alone maintained a form of Presbyterian worship established by the state. Expressed most clearly in the Saybrook Platform in 1708, Connecticut church leaders agreed, among many other things, to the instituting of a Presbyterian form of church governance. Even though they frequently labeled themselves Congregationalists, they defined themselves as a consociation of churches for the "mutual affording to each other such Assistance, as may be requisite, upon all occasions Ecclesiastical. And that the particular *Pastors & Churches*, within the respective Counties in this Government shall be one Consociation or more (if they shall judge meet) for the end aforesaid."<sup>2</sup> Whether it was a consociation of churches or an official presbytery, English Presbyterian-influenced churches assumed a predominant role in most communities along the Long Island Sound and in the area surrounding New York City. What united these two areas beyond church organization was an adherence to an aesthetic of sacred music that grew from the Little Eastcheap Meetinghouse lectures in London during the first decade of the eighteenth century.

English Presbyterian music from British North America replicated a variety of features from their European contemporaries, including voice assignation and a repertory consisting of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs unique to the denomination. Alongside this

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<sup>2</sup> *The Heads of Agreement, Assented to by the United Ministers, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational. And also Articles for the Administration of Church Discipline unanimously agreed upon and consented to by the elders and messengers of the churches in the Colony of Connecticut in New-England assembled by delegation at Say-Brook September 9th, 1708* (New London: Thomas Short, 1710), 110. Second title page within: *A Confession of Faith owned and consented to by the elders and messengers of the churches in the Colony of Connecticut in New-England, assembled by delegation at Say Brook September 9th, 1708* (New London: Thomas Short, 1710), 95-97.

denominational heritage, colonial churches brought hymns and anthems from early eighteenth-century parochial and social Anglican collections into their repertory. In fact, performance practice by Presbyterians in the Middle Atlantic and along the Long Island Sound shared some aspects of performance with their Anglican neighbors. Previously, this phenomenon was demonstrated not only with a common repertory shared by Southern coastal and Middle Atlantic manuscripts, but also regionally specific tune settings shared between Anglican and Presbyterian sources from the Chesapeake Bay and Middle Atlantic.

Contemporary musicians not only recognized this shared practice, but also featured it in advertisements for their professional activities, such as Nicholas Barrington, a teacher and singing master active in New York. In 1752 Barrington advertised a day school that would feature psalmody instruction in New York City near the Anglican chapel of St. George, which served the economically disadvantaged of the city.<sup>3</sup> Within eight years, he had moved to Albany, New York, continuing in this same line of employment. After twenty-two years of teaching there, Barrington placed the following advertisement in the Albany edition of the *New York Gazetteer* on February 24, 1783:

To the public, your old servant, who has taught school in this city near 22 years (since anno 1760) desired to return his most sincere and hearty thanks to all those gentlemen & ladies who have favoured him with their custom;--and as he has followed his business with unabating diligence and care, and he trusts not without success, as many in the city can testify by their own experience; will (God willing) open his school, on Monday the 31st of March next, at the house of Mr. John 5th Lansing, near the Low-Dutch Church, where he intends to teach spelling according to orthography, and how to read grammar --writing in the useful hands--arithmetic in

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<sup>3</sup> *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy*, October 23, 1752.

full, both vulgar and decimal--Meid's book-keeping, by way of double entry--and navigation, so far as by dead reckoning, to conduct a ship or vessel into any sea-port in the world, and to know their distances and courses. And with regard to morals, he will teach his pupils, as was usual with him, to honour God, his sabbaths, and ordinances, by teaching them their morning and evening prayers, and the several catechisms now in use in this place, viz. Heidelberg, Presbyter and Church of England.

I am the public's most obedient, very humble servant,

Nic's. Barrington....

N.B. Said Barrington proposes to all lovers of psalmody, in the English way, as it practiced in the Presbyterian and Church of England congregations, to teach tenor and bass notes, on Wednesdays and Saturdays in the afternoon, from the hours of 1 to 3 o'clock, and that for the very small sum of four shillings per quarter, for his own scholars, and eight shillings for strangers, &c.

He intends to teach 6 poor scholars, gratis.

Emphasizing a pan-denominational approach to pedagogy, Barrington appealed to all major church bodies that existed in Albany, including the Calvinist Dutch Reformed, Presbyterian, and Anglican congregations, based upon the catechisms employed in his schools.<sup>4</sup> He also described explicitly the style of sacred music used in his classroom. Noting an identical performance practice between the English Presbyterian and Anglican Churches, Barrington taught psalmody in two voice parts (tenor and bass), descended from Anglican and Presbyterian initiatives at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

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<sup>4</sup> *The Heidelberg Catechism, or Method of Instruction, in the Christian Religion, as the same is taught in the Reformed Churches and Schools in Holland. Translated for the use of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, of the City of New-York*, ed. 2 (New York: John Holt, 1767).

These same sentiments appeared in Middle Atlantic newspapers. For example, the publishers of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* offered for sale to the citizens of Philadelphia, copies of *The Singing-Master's Guide to his Scholars* (1719) by Daniel Warner of Ewelme, Oxfordshire in 1730.<sup>5</sup> Again emphasizing a pan-denominational audience for the reception of this text, the publishers advertised the work as designed to accompany the metrical psalters popular among Anglicans and Dissenters, including those by Sternhold and Hopkins, Patrick, and Tate and Brady. Further, though compiled by an Anglican, this tunebook appeared in two-part settings, again descending from Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, a book popular among eighteenth-century Anglicans of the middle and southern colonies, as well as English Presbyterians. Echoing the sentiments of the period that predated the British Ejectment Act of 1662, Presbyterian and Anglican performance practice shared a commonality of expression, if not an identical compositional repertory.<sup>6</sup>

Although advertisements and descriptions of Presbyterian practice document a close relationship between Anglicans and Presbyterians, surviving source material explicates most clearly the nature of compositional genres within the repertory, as well as the range of publications that influenced Presbyterian practice. Extant English Presbyterian musical source material in British North America originates from three of the four original synods, or the official judicatory body governing various presbyteries, established in 1717: Long Island, Philadelphia, and New Castle, Delaware.<sup>7</sup> Although individual presbyteries existed

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<sup>5</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia ed., July 9-16, July 16-23, 1730.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Calvinist Anglican preacher, George Whitfield, during his 1740 visit to Philadelphia, instilled a general revival of the state of religion within the English Presbyterian Synod of Pennsylvania, including a devotion to those sacred music genres designed to meet the needs of modern Christians: hymns and spiritual songs. Source: *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia ed., June 12, 1740.

<sup>7</sup> Only Snow Hill Synod in Pennsylvania remains lacking in surviving source material. See: Joseph Belcher, D.D., *The Religious Denominations in the United States: Their History, Doctrine,*

eighty years before the first official synod, the founding of these organizational bodies allowed for greater uniformity among presbyteries within the synod, which accounted also for the differences encountered among the musical sources of the three synods.

## 6.2 Manuscript Source Material along the Long Island Sound

The most extensive documentation for English Presbyterian practice before 1760 survives in a series of manuscript compilations from the two synods along the Long Island Sound.<sup>8</sup> A sampling of three sources—two copybooks of congregational and extended choral sacred music settings with a sprinkling of secular songs, and one manuscript supplement to an edition of Thomas Walter's *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*—documents a breadth of material unique to the various English-language denominations in the British colonies (**Table 6.1**).<sup>9</sup> Although the contents of the manuscripts reveal a great deal of uniformity in repertory among them, the manuscripts display little congruity in compilation method. Almost all of the surviving sources are from Connecticut, with

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*Government And Statistics*, ed. 2 (Philadelphia: John E. Potter, 1860), 670; Walter L. Lingle and John W. Kuykendall, *Presbyterians, Their History and Beliefs*, ed. 4, rev. (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1978), 67.

<sup>8</sup> In 1738, the Long Island Synod became divided into two parts with the area around New York City and northern New Jersey forming the New York Synod, splitting from the original Long Island, Connecticut, and Rhode Island parcel. Source: Belcher, 671.

<sup>9</sup> Six other manuscripts contain a similar repertory, but were not examined by the author. See: Enodias Bidwell, commonplace book (East Hartford, Ct., 1772): Manuscript Collection, The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford; Susannah Miles, "Sussana Miles, Her Singing Book, Anno Domini 1759" (Ct., 1759): Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven; Jesse Rogers, manuscript copybook (Ct., c. 1710-1795): Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford; Deacon Story, "Rules for tuning ye voice" (Durham, Ct., c. 1760): Newberry Library, VAULT Case MS minus VM 2116 .S88r 1740; [Benjamin Trumbull], "Rules for Singing," musical copybook (North Haven, Ct., c. 1760): The Huntington Library, San Marino, Ca., HM 13717; Samuel Whitman, "Samuel Whitman, His Book, 1768" (West Hartford, Ct., 1768): The Connecticut Historical Society, Whitman Papers, Box 2.



surviving manuscripts from North Haven, East and West Hartford, and Durham, with one each from Rhode Island and Long Island.

The three manuscripts surveyed in this study represent a sampling of the three main types of copybooks emanating from the region. The copybook compiled by John Sandey, is the only one with both a location and an exact date, it being from Portsmouth, most likely in Rhode Island, north of Newport on Rhode (Aquidneck) Island in Narragansett Bay, inscribed with the year 1756. The second source, a manuscript by George Newberry of an unknown location was compiled in three phases, based upon calligraphic style and tune contents.<sup>10</sup> Of these three stages, only the first appears to predate the 1760s, forming a uniform signature of tunes in the first part of the copybook, with an anthem at the end. The third manuscript remains the most problematic for specific identification for several reasons. Unlike the other copybooks, it is a manuscript supplement to an unknown edition of Walter's *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, most likely the 1746 or 1754 edition.<sup>11</sup> Because of its position as an addendum to a published compilation, this source only includes

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<sup>10</sup> The first section features two-part settings in both diamond and round-note notation, with the tenor set primarily in the tenor and alto clefs. The second section stands in distinction to the first, because of a difference in calligraphic style for the diamond notation and a more simple calligraphic style in the tune titles. Also, the musical contents reflect the influence of the popular ancient-style tunebooks circulating throughout the region, including those by William Tans'ur, Aaron Williams, and James Lyon. The third period of compilation consists of counter and treble settings of four-part tunes filled in on blank sides of the leaves sewn into the copybook binding and are taken mostly from the unauthorized editions of Tans'ur and Williams by Newburyport, Massachusetts Anglican compiler, Daniel Bayley.

<sup>11</sup> Located in the Library of Congress, the leaves of the manuscript are copied in an oblong orientation. Of the surviving editions of Walter's *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, only the 1740 edition is in standard octavo format. Thus, it would have supplemented most likely the two most concurrent editions to the date of the Sandey manuscript, a format most likely used in the lost edition of 1754, advertised in two Boston periodicals: *Boston Gazette*, August 6, August 13, 1754 and the *Boston Evening Post*, August 12, 1754.

the more extended choral pieces intended for social-secular performance.<sup>12</sup> Further complicating its identification, it survives only in photostat. Thus, it remains unknown if this collection is complete, or consists only of selected portions of an otherwise more extensive but now lost compilation.<sup>13</sup> However, given its position of being bound with a copy of Walter, the manuscript most likely emanated from southern New England or New York (Long Island or New York City).<sup>14</sup>

Despite their lack of similarity in compilation method, all contain several unifying elements, including tune repertory, sacred music compositional genres, voice assignment, and denominationally specific tunes. Within the manuscripts' contents, all three contain several distinct, identical settings of sacred compositions, including hymns, spiritual songs, and anthems, precisely those genres characteristic of early eighteenth-century Presbyterian tunebooks. Further, two manuscripts contain the same secular song relating to John Churchill, the First Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722) and his conquest of the Spanish Netherlands during Queen Anne's War in 1706.<sup>15</sup> Most important, all contain the same variant settings of tunes either unique to the London Eastcheap Presbyterian sources, or not found in surviving printed compilations.

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<sup>12</sup> As a result, the contents of Walter's 1746 edition have been included in Table 7 and listed as a Presbyterian source because of its association with the Library of Congress supplement.

<sup>13</sup> Frustratingly, the pagination in the manuscript appears to waver between numbered pages and numbered leaves. Pre-1746 editions use leaves, post-1746 editions page numbers.

<sup>14</sup> Walter's book does not appear in any advertisements found in any colonial newspapers or periodicals outside of Boston. Paralleling the influence of Walter in the Peyre manuscript as a result of Badger's tunebook, it stands to reason that the owner's direct access to Walter was on account of his geographic proximity or close connection to New England.

<sup>15</sup> This tune does not appear in *Early American Secular Music and Its European Sources, 1589-1839*, <https://colonialdancing.org/Easmes/Index.htm> (object names ISO-8859-1; accessed March 5, 2010).

### *6.2.1 Issues of Repertory and Perceptions of Denominational Performance Practice*

The extant repertory encompasses all forms of sacred music composition with two exceptions: no examples of Anglican plainchant appear in any of the sources, nor any form of liturgical music. Unlike other surviving English-language colonial sources contemporary to these manuscripts, the Presbyterian repertory contains the richest and most varied selection of material found among all English-language denominations in the colonies. Besides the standard collection of congregational psalm or hymn tunes, these sources include extended choral pieces such as anthems and set pieces, as well as spiritual songs.

A documentary list does not indicate precisely the wide parameters of expression and influence revealed in the sources. Other features serve as a means for understanding the breadth of English Presbyterian expression, including the compositional genres of sacred music composition, as well as the variety of source material that shaped colonial sources. No other English-language denomination included as many compositional genres as the English Presbyterians. Further, Presbyterian source material from the Long Island Sound indicates a distinctive relationship with other denominations throughout the area, both Anglican and Dissenter.

The repertory of the sources comprises two basic parts: sacred, strophic, metrical psalm and hymn tunes intended for congregational performance; and extended choral pieces, spiritual songs, and a few secular pieces designed for social or domestic use. Within the strophic repertory, two major divisions are found: works with unfixed texts designed to accompany the various metrical psalters and/or hymnals, and tunes with fixed texts that fall within the genres popular among English Presbyterians in London (**Table 6.2**). Tunes with unfixed texts are generally those tunes intended for congregational use and designed to suit any of the prevailing psalters and hymnals for ecclesiastical, social, or domestic performance.

Tunes with fixed texts were intended more for a specialized performance arena, most often outside the church, such as the singing school, gentlemen's social club, or some similar type of venue. A number of the manuscripts are from persons connected to Yale College, illustrating social amusement among its students. The presence of secular songs within these manuscripts demonstrates further their accepted use within a social-secular environment.

Anglican and Congregationalist tune repertoires functioned as a negotiation of denominationally and non-denominationally specific pieces. In both instances, these denominations' repertoires consisted almost entirely of tunes with unfixed texts, being copied or printed without accompanying verses, though occasionally titled with a suggested psalm or hymn suited to their meter. Among English Presbyterians, this same type of tune makes up two thirds of the entire colonial repertory. Tune naming conventions followed the general trends of the time period. Many pieces were designed originally to accompany specific psalms, but over the course of their performance history, lost this specificity in favor of accompanying other texts with identical poetic meters. Another portion of these tunes are without a specific psalm or hymn setting, but are given titles associated with their place of origin or composer's fancy, such as YORK, LONDON, ISLE OF WIGHT.

In contrast, tunes with fixed texts appear more often as items of scriptural topical interest, or pertain to seasonal events or celebrations, such as Christmas or Easter. Similarly, those psalm tunes that appear in this category are almost exclusively works of a more recent date of composition, and similar in intent as the older psalm tunes in the unfixed text category.<sup>16</sup> English Presbyterian musicians of the Long Island Sound, in particular, devoted

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<sup>16</sup> A common means of demarcating text-specific psalm and hymn tunes includes appending the term "Anthem" to the specific tune, as happens in the ANTHEM ON KING DAVID within Long Island Sound Presbyterian sources, but also specifically to PSALM 100, NEW. Its designation as an "Anthem" for this specific text appears in various Massachusetts'

much of their creative energy to producing original compositions from this category, creating one third of the total repertory. This emphasis on the composition of tunes matched to specific topical texts reveals most clearly the difference between Presbyterians and other Dissenters. In particular, Massachusetts Congregationalists only contributed one original tune and a few melodic variants within this category.<sup>17</sup>

The negotiation of influence in shaping the repertory was also more intricate. From a denominational perspective, a portion of these tunes had denominationally specific roots, descending from Presbyterian, Congregationalist, or Anglican practice. On another level, a significant portion of their material constituted a negotiation of popular and pan-denominational sources and taste. As a result, surviving manuscript source material corroborates further the close relationship between Anglican and English Presbyterian expression in British North America. This connection also extends to the source material that shaped Presbyterian tune repertory. Further, English Presbyterians incorporated Congregationalist pieces from Massachusetts' imprints into their repertory, specifically Thomas Walter's *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*.<sup>18</sup> Alongside this collaborative process

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Congregationalist publications such as the Barnard supplement of 1752, as well as the Peyre manuscript (ANTHEM), and under slight modification in the Johnston supplement of 1755, one of the 1760 Walter editions, a 1762 Boston tune supplement to Tate and Brady's psalter, and various publications by Daniel Bayley of Newburyport, Massachusetts (ANTHEM TO 100). Other contemporary colonial English Presbyterians used this terminology to denote a specified text attached to a tune, such as Captain Richard Ellis in his manuscript from Maryland c. 1755-60 (EAST CHESTER AN ANTHEM, KINGSTON TUNE AN ANTHEM 1760).

<sup>17</sup> The setting of PSALM 51 in Barnard's supplement could only appear with this text in this one edition as a result of the poetic meter used for his version of Psalm 51. Subsequent publications retained the original title, but dropped its association with this specific psalm on account of Psalm 51 being usually cast in C.M. instead of Barnard's choice of L.M.

<sup>18</sup> Two-thirds of Walter's tunebook contents appeared between the Newberry and Sandey Long Island Sound manuscripts.

of negotiation, Presbyterians maintained a distinctive body of tunes, including a number of original compositions not found amongst other denominations' repertoires (**Table 6.3**).

Even though the Presbyterian and Congregationalist repertoires were constructed specifically as a negotiation of source material from Anglicans and Dissenters, they were created through a different process. Like the Anglicans in the southern colonies during the early eighteenth century, Presbyterians adapted their performance practice from the two-part harmonizations found in Playford's *Introduction*. This influence extended also to later English Anglican publications imported to the colonies, such as Daniel Warner's tunebook advertised for sale in Philadelphia in 1730. Unlike the Anglicans however, Presbyterians did not adopt the cantus and bassus voice assignation in these texts. Instead, they preserved the older sixteenth and early seventeenth-century voice assignations of tenor and bass.

Initially drawing from Playford's *Introduction*, Congregationalists, by the second decade of the eighteenth century, began to adopt the then-fashionable style presented in Playford's 1677 psalter. It consisted of a three-part harmonization with the tune-carrying part placed in the cantus or the highest-pitched voice. Though the Congregationalists incorporated some Presbyterian material into their repertory, and Presbyterians took some of their material from Congregationalists, neither adopted the other's performance modes during this period. In contrast, each adapted the other's performance practice to their denominational preference, with three-part cantus-based harmonizations being recast as two-part tenor and bass settings, and the tenor-based settings being re-arranged for three voices with the melody placed in the upper voice. Of note, Presbyterians also did this form of adaptation with cantus-based Anglican publications too. In actuality, the biggest difference between the denominations consisted solely of the date of their influences' source material. Presbyterians maintained an early eighteenth-century form of expression, which in

itself was a re-interpretation of sixteenth-and-early-seventeenth-century practice. Congregationalists maintained a late seventeenth-century performance practice into the middle of the eighteenth century.

This phenomenon also explains how eighteenth-century observers perceived English Presbyterian performance practice as identical to Anglican. Anglican churches employed a male clerk to lead the singing in the church. In two-part performance practice, the tenor would have sung the cantus part. Differing traditions of two-part harmonization became the standard for performance in and out of a church or chapel. As a result, Presbyterian and Anglican practice would have sounded identical. A three-part harmonization with the melody placed in the highest voice would have sounded completely different, even though it too was descended from European Anglicans.

### *6.2.2 Denominational Influences in the Long Island Sound Presbyterian Repertory*

The Presbyterian repertory of the Long Island Sound region drew from a wide variety of sources. As expected, one third of the entire corpus consisted of a set of tunes common to all mainstream English-language denominations, excluding Scottish Presbyterians.<sup>19</sup> Not surprisingly, all of these tunes fall under the congregational, tune with unfixed text category listed in **Table 6.2**. In particular, several compositions' limited circulation in print provides some ideas as to specific source material and its denominational intent when comparing this manuscript repertory to other contemporary publications.

Beginning with Congregationalists, the influence of Walter's compilation has already been established in its connection to the Library of Congress manuscript. In addition, other

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<sup>19</sup> These include: BELLA, CAMBRIDGE, CANTERBURY, GLOCESTER, LONDON, LONDON NEW, MANCHESTER, MARTYRS, PORTSMOUTH, PS. 81, PS. 85, PS. 100, PS. 113, PS. 119, PS. 148, PS. 149, ST. JAMES'S, ST. MARY'S, STANDISH, WINDSOR, and YORK.

evidence exists to support a direct relationship between Presbyterian and Congregationalist practice. Given the approximate date of both the Newberry and Sandey manuscripts, these sources parallel more closely the contents of the Barnard and Johnston supplements from the 1750s, with approximately half of the Long Island Sound region's repertory appearing in these two sources. Furthermore, besides the twenty-one tunes common to all three denominations, seven additional compositions descend specifically from Congregationalist publications, including unique variants of pre-existing tunes such as PSALM 136 and QUERCY, as well as original pieces like PSALM 100 NEW and SOUTHWELL NEW.<sup>20</sup> As with the works common to the other English-language denominations, most of these tunes also fit within the unfixed-text category. Finally, three additional pieces, common to all Dissenters, appear in this repertory: BRUNSWICK, ISLE OF WIGHT, and WARWICK. Although it is unknown whether colonial Presbyterian musicians obtained these pieces from English Presbyterian or Congregationalist source material, their commonality to both denominations establishes further the interconnectivity among Calvinist repertories in this region.

Similar spheres of influence emerge when comparing compositions associated with the Anglican repertory. Almost all directly influential Anglican sources in the Presbyterian repertory emanated from southern England with London serving as a nexus for publishing

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<sup>20</sup> These pieces include: COMMANDMENT (TEN), MEAR, PSALM 100 NEW, PSALM 136 (Temp. 1613b), QUERCY, ST. DAVID'S, and SOUTHWELL NEW. Of these seven, two descend originally from Anglican source material, encompassing both an older sixteenth-century hymn tune found in many of the early psalters, as well as the variant setting of PSALM 136 unique to the Johnston supplement, adapted from a 1741 English, Anglican publication. Though appearing first in Anglican sources, these two tunes entered the repertory via Congregationalist publications, in comparison to the repertories of the other British-colonial, English-language, denominations and their surviving source material.



activity.<sup>21</sup> Specifically, four eighteenth-century sources contributed the lion's share of Anglican composition to the Presbyterian repertory. Of the ten hymn tunes descended from Anglican practice, BANGOR and PLYMOUTH by William Tans'ur of Ewell, County Surrey entered the repertory directly from one of his tunebooks, or from a copy taken directly from one of these collections.<sup>22</sup> Another tune, PSALM 136 (Temp. 743), appeared only once in print, in an anonymous London publication, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes in Four Parts* (1711). Though the melodic line and harmony differ slightly between the colonial Presbyterian source and its London precursor, both variants contain the same method of voice assignation, and hence, share a similarity in expression. Also, one of the anthems, KING GEORGE'S ANTHEM, was published in Francis Timbrell's popular collection, *The Divine Musick Scholars Guide* (c. 1735), though the exact edition from which it was taken remains unknown.

However, one publication influenced the Long Island Sound region more than any the other previously-mentioned Anglican works: Henry Playford's *The Divine Companion: or, David's Harp New Tun'd. Being a choice collection of new & easie psalms, hymns and anthems*, ed. 2 (London, 1707). Henry Playford, the son of John, assumed the mantle of leadership in London's Anglican psalter publication market following his father's death. In addition to this activity, Playford expanded upon his father's work through the publication of this collection, which was not designed for congregational use, but instead for social, informal devotional, or ecclesiastical choral performance.

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<sup>21</sup> The tunes that originated from Anglican sources include: BANGOR, FUNERAL HYMN, HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS DAY, HYMN ON THE VANITY OF THE WORLD, HYMN TO THE HOLY GHOST, MORNING HYMN, PETERBOROUGH, PLYMOUTH, PS. 136 (#743), and WINCHESTER.

<sup>22</sup> PLYMOUTH, with one exception, only appeared in publications by Tans'ur prior to the date of the initial portion of George Newberry's manuscript.

Further, Playford intended his collection as an accompaniment to his father's 1677 psalter, having "*Printed 'em in the same Volume to be bound up with PLAYFORDS's PSALMS, as the next Step towards the Practice of Divine MUSIC.*"<sup>23</sup> Like his father's work, this collection was intended for use by parish churches instead of the major cathedrals and chapels. In fact, the scarcity of extended choral works written for performance by amateur musicians accounted for his major desire in producing this compilation:

*But our Parochial Churches, which are equally dedicated to God's Glory, and innumerable, in respect of those before mention'd, have been altogether destitute of such necessary Assistances to praise their Maker by; and when they have the same Claim as Christians to the Hallelujahs above after this life, have not been made Partakers of the Hosannahs below in it. This has made me be importunate with my Friends to compile such a set of short and easy Anthems as may be proper for the Places they are design'd for, and from such little beginnings in the practice of Music, endeavour to persuade them into the Knowledge of things of a Higher Nature, as Harmonia Sacra, &c. and make 'em Masters of a Perfection, which none but Persons who are well grounded in the rudiments of so Noble a Science can arrive at.*<sup>24</sup>

Four hymn tunes, two anthems, and one set piece are found in these sources, all of which fall under the category of tunes with fixed texts.<sup>25</sup> This published collection offered more tunes within this category than any other compilation, these pieces being exceeded only by those original to the Long Island Sound repertory. As with other adaptations, pieces

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<sup>23</sup> Henry Playford, "Preface" to *The Divine Companion*.

<sup>24</sup> H. Playford, "Preface."

<sup>25</sup> These pieces include: three by Jeremiah Clarke (c. 1674-1707) (HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS DAY, HYMN ON THE VANITY OF THE WORLD, and MORNING HYMN), one by Michael Wise (c. 1647-87) (AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF YE 5TH CHAPTR OF SOLOMONS SONG), and one by John Weldon (1676-1736) (AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF YE 150TH PSALM), with two others remaining anonymous (HYMN TO THE HOLY GHOST and AN HYMN ON A QUIETT CONSCIENCE).

copied by the compilers featured settings modified to conform to denominational and sometimes local practice. The compilers mostly limited their changes to re-setting them for tenor and bass, as well as adapting either the basso continuo accompaniment for voice, or simply excising the instrumental accompaniment. Finally, this collection reveals how the colonial repertory became influenced by seventeenth-century Anglican church music. For instance, London musicians Jeremiah Clarke and John Weldon found employment in the church *and* theater.<sup>26</sup> Taken together, these Presbyterian compilations display a mixture of anachronistic and more contemporary traits, reflecting the musical conservatism of the church, as well as the modish conventions of modern popular secular songs.

Analysis of Congregationalist and Anglican tune repertories reveals the variety of sources from which Long Island Sound English Presbyterians drew for the creation of their distinctive denominational repertory. Much overlap between denominations occurred as each incorporated portions of the others material (**Chart 6.1**). However, it is this overlap of repertory that displays how each differ from the other. Some tunes remained specific to individual denominations. Others constituted a shared repertory among Congregationalists and English Presbyterians, Anglicans and Congregationalists,<sup>27</sup> and Anglicans and English Presbyterians.<sup>28</sup>

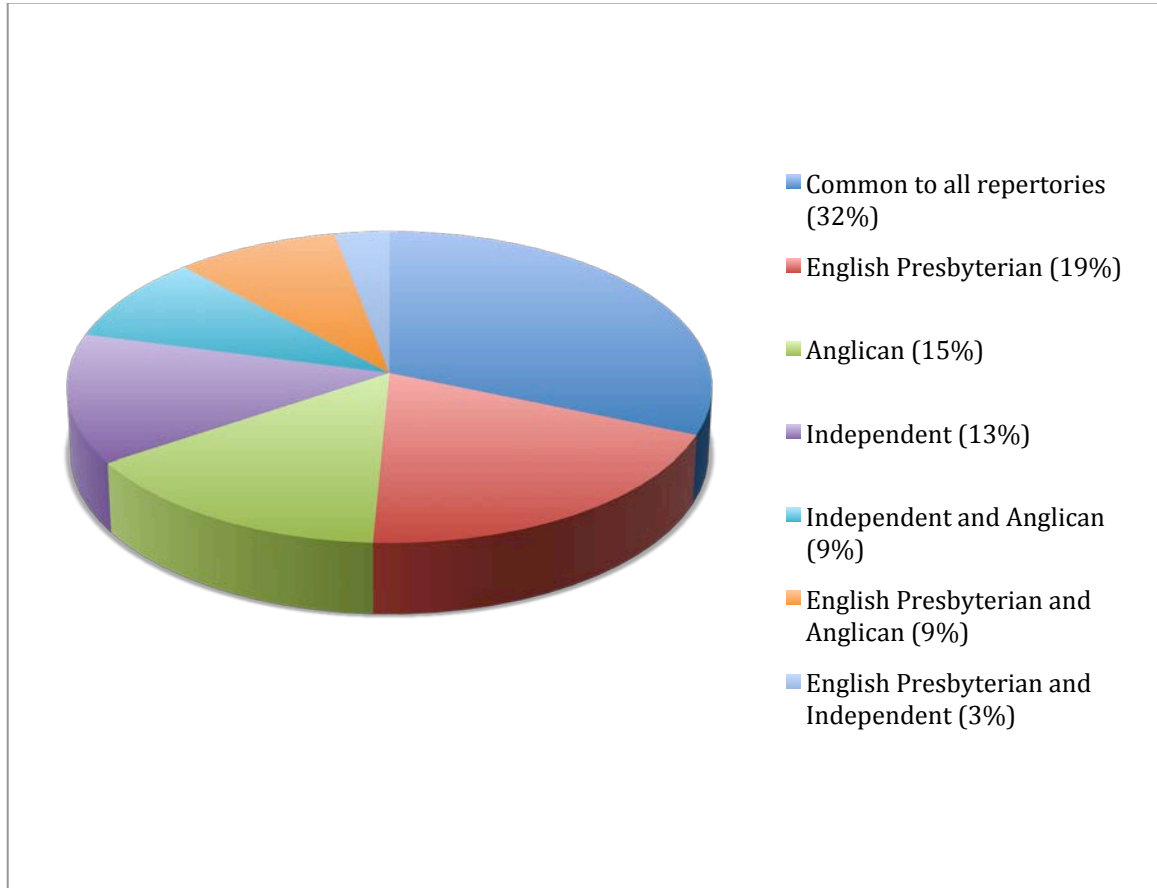
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<sup>26</sup> Weldon also enjoyed popularity among some musicians in the southern colonies, as seen with Weldon's anthem collection used by students of Charles Theodore Pachelbel, such as Eliza Pinckney.

<sup>27</sup> These tunes include: EVENING HYMN, HYMN ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC (548), LITCHFIELD, OXFORD, and SOUTHWELL.

<sup>28</sup> These tunes include: ANGELS SONG, BABYLON STREAMS, NORTHAMPTON, PENITENTIAL HYMN, PS. 50, SPIRITUAL SONG, and WESTMINSTER.

**Chart 6.1. Denominational Influence and the Repertory of British North American Presbyterians along the Long Island Sound**



### **6.3 The Repertory of the Long Island Sound English Presbyterians: Psalm, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs**

Besides the range of repertory, Long Island Sound Presbyterians demonstrate further their uniqueness through those tunes original to the denomination. Several pieces constitute a distinctively English Presbyterian repertory descended from the tunebooks associated with the Little Eastcheap Meetinghouse, such as *THE GLIDING STREAMS*, *AN HYMN ON DIVINE MUSICK*, and *A MEDITATION ON DEATH*. Particularly noteworthy, most of

these tunes do not replicate the settings found in printed texts. Instead, English Presbyterians in the colonies fashioned their own variant settings of these tunes. They also created a body of material unlike that of other surviving English-language denominations in British North America. Examining the original compositions of Long Island Sound musicians clarifies this distinction, with surviving examples from every genre discussed thus far: psalm and hymn tunes with fixed and unfixed texts, spiritual songs, and extended choral works.

As with other denominations in British America, the core repertory of Presbyterian psalm and hymn tunes consisted of plain tunes with unfixed texts. Demonstrated previously, these works were common to all three denominations. Paralleling virtually all of the original contributions by Congregationalists, English Presbyterians also produced a few text-generic plain tunes. Following the conventions of the period, Presbyterian musicians named them after geographic localities, such as PORTSMOUTH NEW (**Anth**) and NEW SARUM (**Anth**). They also titled some works after specific texts, such as PSALM 24 (**Anth**). Despite their following typical notational and stylistic conventions of the period, their presentation varies considerably from other English-language colonial denominations.

The greatest difference between these tunes and their colonial Congregationalist and Anglican counterparts lies in the specification of clef. While Congregationalists and Anglicans employed the treble clef to denote performance by both men and women, Presbyterians utilized the tenor and alto C-clefs for the tenor part. Instead of printing a specific clef to indicate a non-fixed pitch, Presbyterians inserted a set clef to denote both pitch range and, most likely, the gender of the intended performer.

Similarly, Presbyterian-composed tunes stand apart from their Congregationalist cousins through a more frequent use of melismas. With the exception of PSALM 100

NEW, Congregationalist works stressed a non-melismatic approach to composition. Even PSALM 100 NEW contains only two brief instances of melismas, both times at cadential points in the first and final phrases, which themselves are simply variants of each other through the use of a repeated cadential figure. As with the setting of HUMPHREY'S found in the Barnard supplement printed by James Turner, PORTSMOUTH NEW employs this same type of melismatic figure, resembling more a written-out ornamentation of a simpler psalm tune. However, this tune appears to have been deliberately composed in this fashion, given its title as well as the copybook's geographic place of origin. The other tunes use conventional passing tones and stressed, non-harmonic tones in their melismatic construction.

These works also feature more parallel movement between voices than other colonial Congregationalist and Anglican repertoires. In particular, Presbyterian pieces stress parallel movement in sequences of two or three successive occurrences of the same interval. For instance, the first phrase of PSALM 24 presents a chain of three successive parallel octaves (m. 1), PORTSMOUTH NEW three successive parallel fifths in its first phrase (if the ornamented melisma is removed). Both tunes only employ the same interval in all instances of parallels, suggesting some form of intent or stylistic feature reflective of its composer or arranger.<sup>29</sup> Again, the use of parallel intervals seems more akin to those parallelisms found in the Congregationalist setting of HUMPHREY'S, which remains dissimilar to any other Congregationalist composition.

Indeed, HUMPHREY'S does not appear to originate solely from Congregationalist practice, but instead seems to be a tune common to the repertory of Presbyterians and

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<sup>29</sup> An exception does occur between the last note of the third phrase and the beginning of the fourth. However, these types of parallelisms remain typical of psalm-and-hymn-tune harmonization methods contemporary to the manuscript sources.

Congregationalists, analogous to the arrangement of PSALM 136 found in the Johnston supplement. Although the presence of HUMPHREY'S in sources from Massachusetts seems somewhat alien in comparison to the rest of the repertory, this tune follows the melodic conventions of the colonial Presbyterian repertory. Not unexpectedly, Presbyterians printed their own variant version of this tune titled PSALM 108 (**Anth**), differing both in melody and harmony. As with its Congregationalist cousin, PSALM 108 contains numerous instances of parallel movement between voices. It presents also more unprepared dissonances between the two parts, most of which assume a non-functional relationship between melody and harmony. Sometimes cited as a mistake on the part of compilers in the printing of this variant tune,<sup>30</sup> all sources, both printed and manuscript, preserve these same "mistakes," thus suggesting again a deliberate intent on the part of the composer or arranger.

Instead of viewing HUMPHREY'S as a Congregationalist tune that later was modified into its more popular form through some form of musical negative tropism, this tune aligns itself more closely with a type of folk hymn that appears in variant settings between sources but are not based on an earlier secular tune. Like the English Presbyterian spiritual song THE MEDITATION ON DEATH, HUMPHREY'S and PSALM 108 appeared as two settings of a tune that circulated through oral dissemination without a proto-source to fix any one particular version of it. Congregationalist congregations performed one version generally, and Presbyterians another. Further evidence to corroborate this tune's place as colonial America's earliest-surviving, native folk hymn, is found in a Congregationalist copybook from the 1760s.

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<sup>30</sup> Nicholas Temperley, "First Forty: The Earliest American Compositions" in *American Music*, 15, 1 (Spring 1997): 7.

The copybook by James Foster and Chamberlain possibly of South Natick, Massachusetts, was compiled in several stages between 1760 and 1780. Like the English Presbyterian manuscript in the Library of Congress, it is a supplement to the 1746 edition of Thomas Walter's *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*.<sup>31</sup> Among its contents, this supplement includes a variant setting of HUMPHREY'S or PSALM 108 (**Anth**) that resembles more a compromise between the two more popular versions. In this instance, the arranger has attempted to reconcile some of the nonfunctional dissonances between the outer voices through the use of additional, melismatic passing tones, seen prominently in the first phrase. Even though it is in four parts, this tune presents the following Congregationalist conventions: the melody is in the top voice, the title of the piece retains its Congregationalist identification, and the upper three voices all employ the treble clef. In contrast however, the numerous voice crossings and independence between voices exceeds both Congregationalist and Presbyterian settings, sometimes displaying little control of dissonance among the upper three voices. This harmonic independence between parts extends to all voices, and not just the cantus and bassus parts found in the Congregationalist setting, HUMPHREY'S.

Regarding the unique variants of pre-existing Presbyterian tunes, all Long Island Sound Presbyterian material appears to be descended from the Little Eastcheap tunebooks by Laurence and Gawthorn.<sup>32</sup> However, colonial English Presbyterians modified these tunes by adopting the C-clefs indicative of the actual sounding pitch range, instead of the

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<sup>31</sup> James Foster and Chamberlain, manuscript supplement to Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* (Boston: Samuel Gerrish, 1746) [South Natick (?), MA, c. 1760-80], American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

<sup>32</sup> Tunes unique to the English Presbyterian source material include: THE CHIMES [A MEDITATION ON DEATH]; THE GLIDEING STREAMS, or, THE CAPTIVE SONG; and AN HYMN ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSICK.



generic treble clef found in the earlier publications from London. Further, as seen with folk hymn dissemination in England and in the British colonies, musicians in the Long Island Sound region produced their own melodic variants, appearing in identical settings in the manuscript sources.

Retitled THE CHIMES, the British colonial version of A MEDITATION ON DEATH (**Anth**) is found in a reduced two-part setting with a simplified melodic line, adapted from the more ornamented version in Gawthorn's *Harmonia Perfecta*. In spite of the changes to the melody, the bass line remains identical between the London and the Long Island settings, demonstrating a link between the European and American sources. Unlike the London publications, the Sandey manuscript includes all verses of this spiritual song, which concerns the fate of unrepentant sinners in an explicitly lugubrious and descriptive tone. Though it would be easy to attribute this setting to the effects of the First Great Awakening, both tune and text predate this event by twenty-five years, at least.

Similarly, the colonial version of THE GLIDING STREAMS, appearing as either THE GLIDEING STREAMS or, THE CAPTIVE SONG (**Anth**), presents the same form of modifications to melodic line and clef specification. In addition, the bass part has been altered slightly in the third and fourth measures with the scalar ascent leading into the second cadence. Although the Sandey copybook consists only of a two-part tenor and bass setting, the Library of Congress supplement includes a two-part treble and tenor setting, providing a third voice in the transcription. Again, in accordance with Presbyterian practice, the melody remains in the tenor voice. Thus, when additional voices were added to two-part

settings, these conformed to the English Presbyterian denominational tradition.<sup>33</sup> The treble part was lifted from Gawthorn's arrangement, itself an expansion on Laurence's original two-part setting.

In the spiritual songs unique to the Long Island Sound repertory, many of the same characteristics appear in these tunes, including the use of clef to denote specific pitch range, instances of parallels, and voice assignation. Also noteworthy, all tunes appear with fixed texts. Three pieces from the Long Island Sound repertory illustrate these general trends. The first illustrates a folk process for tune dissemination, the second, harmonic procedures associated with the English Presbyterian style, the third the relationship of secular pieces brought into the sacred repertory. Most importantly, these two tunes are the earliest American pieces to be set to poetry by Isaac Watts. THE CRADLE HYMN (**Anth.**) survives in two sources, the first a treble and tenor setting found in the Library of Congress supplement to Walter's *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, the second a complete treble, tenor, and bass setting in a later manuscript copybook by Cornelius Wells, compiled along the Connecticut River in Montague, Massachusetts.<sup>34</sup> As with THE GLIDEING STREAMS, THE CRADLE HYMN resembles hymn and spiritual song settings found in Gawthorn's *Harmonia Perfecta*.

This particular tune survives as the earliest documented version of a folk hymn found in later nineteenth-century evangelical compilations, predating the other settings by

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<sup>33</sup> This type of adaptation parallels the inferred tune adaptation and presentation of Jonathan Badger in his lost *Collection of the Best Psalm and Hymn Tunes*, as preserved in the Samuel Peyre commonplace manuscript.

<sup>34</sup> Cornelius Wells, Manuscript copybook of sacred music (Montague, MA, 1782): Library of Congress, M 1495 .T89 1782 Case.

approximately sixty years.<sup>35</sup> Rather than being viewed as the proto-source from which the other settings emanated, this tune, like THE GLIDEING STREAMS or THE CHIMES, is a folk hymn that circulated via oral dissemination, and not apparently as a contrafactum of a secular work. However, THE CRADLE HYMN does employ a structure resembling eighteenth-century popular song form, being cast in an AA'AA'BB'A"A'" (AABA') or modified rounded binary form. Further, the varied statement of the opening melody at the end of the tune conveys a sophisticated approach to composition, particularly with the ornamented treble line floating above the other two voices. Alongside these decorative touches, the composer inserted harmonic quirks within these passages, such as the series of descending parallel sevenths between the treble and bass in the final section of the tune.

In contrast, AN HYMN ON YE BIRTH OF CHRIST (**Anth**) presents for the first time in American source material, a distinct harmonic practice found in later evangelical compilations, particularly, shape-note tunebooks. The string of parallel fifths in the initial phrase combined with the unprepared and nonfunctional dissonance on the word "your" stands in stark contrast to more orthodox Anglican and Congregationalist procedures seen in contemporary sources. Finally, this act of emphasizing the interval of the perfect fourth, an

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<sup>35</sup> At least seven other versions of this folk hymn originated in shape-note publications, including: CONCERT from John Wyeth's *Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music. Part second* (Harrisburgh, Pa., 1813) and later arranged by Ananias Davisson, c. 1820; COMFORT from George Miller's *The Methodist Camp-Meeting Hymn Book* [Cincinnati, (1833) 1841] from Dayton, Ohio and later set by Marcus Lafayette Swan and titled SION'S SECURITY, c. 1849; PRINCETON by J. W. Steffey in his *Appendix to the Valley Harmonist* (Winchester, Va., c. 1840) from Newmarket, Virginia; FARABEE, arranged by William Houser in his *Hesperian Harp* (Philadelphia, 1848) from Wadley, Georgia; "COME THOU FOUNT" from Levi Myer's *Manual of Sacred Music* (Mountain Valley, Va., 1853) in Higginsville, (West) Virginia; HAIL YE SONS set by John G. McCurry in 1854 in his *Social Harp* (Philadelphia, 1855) from Bio, Georgia; PALMS OF VICTORY as set by Henry F. Chandler in 1853, also found in McCurry's *Social Harp*. Two other versions appeared in round note collections: CONCERT from *The Musical Concert*, ed. 2 by Elisha West (Northampton, 1807) in Woodstock, Vermont, and BLESSED BIBLE in a Seventh Day Adventist tunebook, *The Jubilee Harp* (Boston, 1866).

implied second inversion chord, on the strong beat of the opening measure will appear in numerous settings among evangelical musicians in the nineteenth century.

AN ANTHEM ON KING DAVID (**Anth**) displays several traits that foreshadow later trends in tenor-led ancient-style evangelical music. Besides presenting a set of parallel fifths in the first antiphonal response (m. 3), it includes several unprepared dissonances, such as the unprepared perfect fourth in the final phrase. Further, the arranger introduced modal mixture in the third phrase with the interchangeable third scale degree between the bass and tenor voices. Finally, the opening and closing phrases employ a pentatonic melodic figure that resembles later pieces within the shape-note repertory.

However, the origin of this tune reveals it to be another type of folk hymn found in American source material: the spiritual appropriation of a sacred tune as a form of parody technique, resembling a contrafactum. In this instance, the arranger of the piece modified an opera solo and chorus from John Weldon's setting of *The Judgment of Paris: A Masque* by William Congreve (1670-1729).<sup>36</sup> The libretto was written for a compositional contest among four rival composers, John Eccles (ca. 1668-1735), John Weldon, Daniel Purcell (1664-1717), and Gottfried Finger (ca. 1660-1730). With each composing his own music to this text, Weldon's setting won the first prize, followed by Eccles, Purcell, and lastly Finger. Curiously, AN ANTHEM ON KING DAVID employs the same text as found in the opera. However, the context of this text has changed to become suitable for religious appropriation.

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<sup>36</sup> John Weldon, *Judgment of Paris*, ed. David W. Music, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 94 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, ca. 1999).

Originally, Juno sang this mad song after she, Venus, and Pallas disrobed before Paris so he could judge who was the most beautiful.<sup>37</sup> Equating the shepherd Paris with the shepherd David, Juno's song of tempting Paris with political conquest found equal representation for both figures. It should be noted that only the first two verses appear in the Presbyterian source, as the last two concern Juno's temptation. Appearing as an antiphonal tune, resembling both the Anglican-influenced PSALM 136, as well as the Anglican PSALM 106 from the Holladay manuscript, the form consists of an adaptation from the piece's chorus, which answers Juno's strophic aria and repeats the same music as the solo verse. The arranger changed the opening melodic line somewhat from a stepwise ascent of a fifth to its present tetratonic form. Weldon's song became quite popular, appearing in songsters, and ballad opera adaptations, as well as instrumental arrangements throughout the century.<sup>38</sup> Based upon its popularity, the intended sacred audience of this contrafactum would have recognized the subject of this tune, allowing for the mixing of secular and sacred contexts.

Finally, a few of the anthems incorporate the same melodic and harmonic techniques as the psalm and hymn tunes, and spiritual songs. Although most of these extended works can be traced to earlier printed source material, a few cannot, such as THE CHORUS (**Anth**). Of these unidentified works, all suggest an intended extra-ecclesiastical

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<sup>37</sup> William Congreve, *The Judgment of Paris: A Masque. Written by Mr. Congreve. Set severally to musick, by Mr. John Eccles, Mr. Finger, Mr. Purcel, and Mr. Weldon* (London: printed for Jacob Tonson, 1701), 7-8.

<sup>38</sup> See: Robert Bremner, *The Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany: a facsimile reproduction of the original edition of about 1765 from a copy belonging to Colonial Williamsburg* [Williamsburg, Va: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, (ca. 1765) ca. 1972]; Scriblerus Secundus (Henry Fielding), *The Grub-Street Opera. As it is acted at the theatre in the Hay-Market* (London: printed, and sold by J. Roberts, 1731); *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy; being a collection of the best merry ballads and songs, old and new. Fitted to all humours, having each their proper tune for either voice, or instrument: most of the songs being new set*, vol. 5 (London: Printed by W. Pearson, for J. Tonson, 1719).

performance, with occasional antiphonal passages between voices in repeated textual phrases. In no instances do these compositions include the form of textual overlap associated with fusing procedures by Anglican musicians from the first half of the eighteenth-century. Instead, the repetition of certain passages serves as a means to enforce the importance of the text. For instance, the text spoken by the resurrected Jesus in THE CHORUS, "I am alive" is stated four times, first individually by the bass and tenor, then sung together in a sequential passage by both voices. As set, the piece codifies the importance of Jesus' resurrection for the redemption of man. Further, the use of an ascending tetrachord for the melodic line in the solo passages adds a touch of musical pictorialism, revealing an aesthetic of man beautifying the scriptural message of the text, something not seen in other contemporary colonial pieces. Thus, despite the sets of parallel fifths in measures seven and eight, the composer has attempted to convey a sense of refinement to an otherwise simple extended composition.

English Presbyterian expression along the Long Island Sound bespeaks to a flourishing sacred-social repertory that embodied the ideals of the creators of this denomination's hymn and hymn-tune movement in London. Adhering to the sense of aesthetic present in seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century European English Presbyterian tunebooks and polemics dealing with sacred music performance, musicians along the Long Island Sound fashioned a repertory unlike any other surviving English-language denomination in British North America. These sources reveal that English Presbyterians were the first to adopt Isaac Watts' poetry. They were also the first to embrace and create folk hymns, including both contrafacta and tunes taken from oral dissemination without a proto-source. In addition, the presence of identical unique melodic variants in extant

manuscripts displays a measure of uniformity in dissemination and transmission. Although other denominations copied identical settings of tunes that did not appear in print, many of these variants were the result of errors in transcription. In contrast, English Presbyterians remained the only ones to codify their own unique variants. Following the principles of earlier congregations in England, the Long Island Sound regional repertory demonstrates perhaps the greatest flowering of English Presbyterian expression in either the colonies or Europe before 1760.

Table 6.1a English Presbyterian hymn and psalm tune repertory of the Long Island Sound region (c. 1750-60)

Note: only the earliest portion of the Newberry manuscript copybook is included in the index.

Key: Boldface type = American-composed, arranged, or adapted

( ) = alternate titles

[ ] = most common title of a particular psalm tune, or a referential title in the absence of one in the source

Tune Title	HTI#	Long Island Sound Repertory			
		Print	Manuscript		
		WaltT GRME4 1746	NewbG GNB Ms c. 1755	LOC SGRME Ms c. 1755-60	SandJ Ms 1756
ANGELS SONG	387a	—	—	—	x
<b>AN ANTHEM ON KING DAVID</b>	—	—	—	—	x
BABYLON STREAMS, OR, THE STREAMS OF BABYLON	304a	—	—	—	x
BANGOR	1390a	—	x	—	—
BELLA OR XXIV PSALM TUNE	577	x	—	—	—
BRUNSWICK	891	—	x	—	x
CAMBRIDGE	249a	—	—	—	x
CANTERBURY	250h	x	x	—	—
<b>THE CHIMES</b> [A MEDITATION ON DEATH]	1290 - var. not in Temp.	—	x	x	x
COMMANDMENT (TEN)	111c	x	—	—	x
<b>CRADLE HYMN, THE (IMPERFECT)</b>	—	—	—	x	—
AN EVENING HYMN	598	—	x	—	x
A FUNERAL HYMN	702	—	—	—	x
<b>THE GLIDEING STREAMS, OR, THE CAPTIVE SONG</b>	893 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	x	x
GLOCESTER	368a	x	—	—	x
AN HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS DAY	625a	—	—	—	x



Tune Title	HTI#	Long Island Sound Repertory			
		Print	Manuscript		
		WaltT GRME4 1746	NewbG GNB Ms c. 1755	LOC SGRME Ms c. 1755-60	SandJ Ms 1756
<b>[HYMN ON YE] BIRTH OF CHRIST [IMPERFECT]</b>	—	—	—	—	x
<b>AN HYMN ON YE BIRTH OF CHRIST</b>	—	—	—	—	x
A (HYMN) (PSALM) ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC	548	—	—	x	—
AN HYMN ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSICK	895	—	—	x	x
AN HYMN ON YE VANITY OF THE WORLD	603	—	x	x	x
AN HYMN TO YE HOLY GHOST	630a	—	—	—	x
THE ISLE OF WIGHT	733a	—	x	—	x
LITCHFIELD	381b	—	x	—	x
LONDON	536a	x	—	—	x
LONDON, NEW	497b	x	—	—	—
MANCHESTER	374a	—	—	—	x
MARTYRS	330a	x	—	—	x
MEAR (MEER)	909b	—	x	—	—
A MORNING HYMN	608	—	x	—	x
<b>NEW SARUM</b>	—	—	—	—	x
NORTHAMPTON	712a	—	—	—	x
<b>AN OAD ON THE DAY OF JUDGMENT</b>	—	—	—	x	—
OXFORD	201e	x	—	—	x
PENITENTIAL HYMN	184a	x	—	—	—
PETERBOROUGH	539b	x	—	—	—
PLYMOUTH	1431	—	x	—	—
PORTSMOUTH	750b	—	x	—	x
<b>PORTSMOUTH NEW</b>	—	—	—	—	x
<b>PSALM 24</b>	—	—	x	—	—
PSALM 50	116a	—	—	—	x
PSALM 81 (Ps. 8)	175a	x	—	—	x
PSALM 85	130a	x	—	—	—
PSALM 100	143a	x	x	—	x

Table 6.1a (continued)

Table 6.1a (continued)

Tune Title	HTI#	Long Island Sound Repertory			
		Print	Manuscript		
		WaltT GRME4 1746	NewbG GNB Ms c. 1755	LOC SGRME Ms c. 1755-60	SandJ Ms 1756
<b>PSALM 100, NEW</b>	1054	—	x	—	x
<b>PSALM 108</b>	2035b	—	x	—	x
PSALM 113	146a	x	—	—	—
PSALM 119	120c	x	—	—	—
<b>PSALM 136</b>	743 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	x
<b>PSALM 136</b>	1613b	—	x	—	x
PSALM 148	126a	x	—	—	x
PSALM 149	657a	—	—	—	x
<b>QUERCY</b>	1434b	—	x	—	—
ST. DAVID'S	379d	x	—	—	x
ST. JAMES'S	582a	x	—	—	x
ST. MARY'S	542a	x	—	—	—
SOUTHWELL	269	x	—	—	x
<b>SOUTHWELL, NEW</b>	956	x	—	—	—
<b>A SPIRITUAL SONG [THE LONGING SOUL]</b>	301a	—	—	—	x
STANDISH	586	—	x	—	x
WARWICK	911	—	x	—	x
WESTMINSTER	387d	x	—	—	x
WINCHESTER	276a	—	—	—	x
WINDSOR	271a	x	x	—	—
YORK	331a	x	—	—	x

Table 6.1b English Presbyterian Anthem, Set Piece, Chorus, and Secular Song  
 Repertory of the Long Island Sound Region (c. 1750-60)

Composition Title	Long Island Sound Manuscript Repertory		
	NewbG GNB Ms c. 1755	LOC SGRME Ms c. 1755-60	SandJ Ms 1756
AN ANTHEM FOR EASTER DAY	—	—	x
AN ANTHEM ON KING SOLOMON	—	—	x
AN ANTHEM TAKEN [IMPERFECT]	—	—	x
AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF YE 1ST CHAPTR OF YE REVELATIONS	—	—	x
AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF YE 5TH CHAPTR OF SOLOMONS SONG	—	—	x
AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF YE 13TH PSALM	—	—	x
AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF THE 39TH PSALM	x	x	x
AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF YE 150TH PSALM	—	—	x
AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF YE LAMENTATIONS	—	—	x
THE CHORUS	—	—	x
THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH'S TAKING OF A TOWN IN FLANDERS/ THE TAKING OF A TOWN	—	x	x
GATHER YOUR ROSE-BUDS	—	—	x
AN HYMN ON A QUIETT CONSCIENCE	—	—	x
AN ITALIAN SONG	—	—	x
KING GEORGE'S ANTHEM	—	x	x
A LOVE SONG	—	—	x
MADE ON YE DEATH OF QUEEN MARY	—	—	x
POMPEY'S GHOST	—	—	x
A SONG MADE ON YE MUSICK FESTIVAL	—	—	x
THE TIPPLING PHILOSIPERS	—	—	x

## Source Abbreviations

- LOC SGRME Ms:** Manuscript supplement to Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, 1746 ed. (?).  
Library of Congress photocopy of loose sheets, M2116 .w26 case.
- NewbG GNB Ms:** Newberry, George. "George Newberry Book." AAS, Lowens Collection, Octavo Series, vol. 25.
- SandJ Ms:** Sandey, John. Manuscript copybook. AAS, Mss. Dept., Mss. boxes "M", Octavo vol. 1.
- WaltT GRME4:** Walter, Thomas. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*. Ed. 4. Boston: Samuel Gerrish, 1746.

Table 6.2 English Presbyterian metrical tune settings with fixed and unfixed texts

Tunes With Unfixed Texts	Tunes With Fixed Texts		
Psalm or Hymn	Psalm	Hymns (a) - Canticle	Hymns (b) and Spiritual Songs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• BANGOR</li> <li>• BELLA OR XXIV PSALM TUNE</li> <li>• BRUNSWICK</li> <li>• CAMBRIDGE</li> <li>• CANTERBURY</li> <li>• GLOCESTER</li> <li>• HUMPHREY'S OR PSALM 108</li> <li>• ISLE OF WIGHT</li> <li>• LITCHFIELD</li> <li>• LONDON</li> <li>• LONDON, NEW</li> <li>• MANCHESTER</li> <li>• MARTYRS</li> <li>• MEAR (MEER)</li> <li>• NEW SARUM</li> <li>• NORTHAMPTON</li> <li>• OXFORD</li> <li>• PETERBOROUGH</li> <li>• PLYMOUTH</li> <li>• PORTSMOUTH</li> <li>• PORTSMOUTH NEW</li> <li>• PSALM 24</li> <li>• PSALM 50</li> <li>• PSALM 81 (PSALM 8)</li> <li>• PSALM 85</li> <li>• PSALM 100</li> <li>• PSALM 113</li> <li>• PSALM 119</li> <li>• PSALM 136 (743)</li> <li>• PSALM 148</li> <li>• PSALM 149</li> <li>• QUERCY</li> <li>• ST. DAVID'S</li> <li>• ST. JAMES'S</li> <li>• ST. MARY'S</li> <li>• SOUTHWELL</li> <li>• SOUTHWELL, NEW</li> <li>• STANDISH</li> <li>• WARWICK</li> <li>• WESTMINSTER</li> <li>• WINCHESTER</li> <li>• WINDSOR</li> <li>• YORK</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• BABYLON STREAMS, OR, THE STREAMS OF BABYLON</li> <li>• GLIDEING STREAMS, OR, THE CAPTIVE SONG</li> <li>• PSALM 100, NEW</li> <li>• PSALM 136 (1613B)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ANGELS SONG</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ANTHEM ON KING DAVID</li> <li>• CHIMES, THE [A MEDITATION ON DEATH]</li> <li>• COMMANDMENT (TEN)</li> <li>• CRADLE HYMN, THE</li> <li>• EVENING HYMN</li> <li>• FUNERAL HYMN</li> <li>• HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS DAY</li> <li>• [HYMN ON YE] BIRTH OF CHRIST [IMPERFECT]</li> <li>• HYMN ON YE BIRTH OF CHRIST</li> <li>• (HYMN) (PSALM) ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC</li> <li>• HYMN ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC</li> <li>• HYMN ON YE VANITY OF THE WORLD</li> <li>• HYMN TO YE HOLY GHOST</li> <li>• MORNING HYMN</li> <li>• OAD ON THE DAY OF JUDGMENT</li> <li>• PENITENTIAL HYMN</li> <li>• SPIRITUAL SONG [THE LONGING SOUL]</li> </ul>

Table 6.3 Source material paralleling the English Presbyterian hymn and psalm tune repertory of the Long Island Sound region

Note: this chart only includes those tunes that appear in earlier published sources. As a result, original tunes presented in Presbyterian source material have been excised from this table.

Tune Title	HTI#	England										New England	
		Presbyterian Tune Collections		Anglican Congregational Tune Collections				Anglican Non-Congregational Tune Collections				Congregationalist Tune Supplements	
		LaurW	GawtN	MarsJ	WarnD	SmitBPrelP	TimbF	PlayH	BrooM	TansW	SP	SP	
		CT2 1722	HP 1730	PSI 1719	SMGS 1719	HC 1732	DMSG 1735	DC2 1707	CPT4 1711	MBCCM 1725	RPC 1744	BostB 1752	BostTB 1755
ANGELS SONG	387b	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
BABYLON	304a	x	x	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
STREAMS, OR, THE STREAMS OF BABYLON													
BANGOR	1390a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
BELLA OR XXIV	577	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
PSALM TUNE													
BRUNSWICK	891	x	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—
CAMBRIDGE	249a	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	x	x	—	x
CANTERBURY	250h	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	x	x	x
<b>THE CHIMES [A MEDITATION ON DEATH]</b>	1290 - var. not in Temp.	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
COMMANDMENT (TEN)	111c	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
EVENING HYMN	598	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x
A FUNERAL HYMN	702a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>THE GLIDEING STREAMS, OR, THE CAPTIVE SONG</b>	893 - var. not in Temp.	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
GLOCESTER	368a	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	x	—	x	x

Table 6.3 (continued)

Tune Title	HTI#	England										New England	
		Presbyterian Tune Collections		Anglican Congregational Tune Collections				Anglican Non-Congregational Tune Collections				Congregationalist Tune Supplements	
		LaurW	GawtN	MarsJ	WarnD	SmitBPreIP	TimbF	PlayH	BrooM	TansW	SP	SP	
		CT2 1722	HP 1730	PSI 1719	SMGS 1719	HC 1732	DMSG 1735	DC2 1707	CPT4 1711	MBCCM 1725	RPC 1744	BostB 1752	BostTB 1755
HUMPHREY'S OR Ps. 108	2035b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x - a	x - a
AN HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS DAY	625a	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
A (HYMN) (PSALM) ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC	548	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
AN HYMN ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSICK	895	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
AN HYMN ON YE VANITY OF THE WORLD	603	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
AN HYMN TO YE HOLY GHOST	630a	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
ISLE OF WIGHT	733a	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
LITCHFIELD	381b	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
LONDON	536a	x	x	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	x	x
LONDON, NEW	497b	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	x	x
MANCHESTER	374a	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
MARTYRS	330a	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	x	x
MEAR (MEER)	909b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
A MORNING HYMN	608	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—
NORTHAMPTON	712a	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	—
OXFORD	201e	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	X

Table 6.3 (continued)

Tune Title	HTI#	England										New England	
		Presbyterian Tune Collections		Anglican Congregational Tune Collections				Anglican Non-Congregational Tune Collections				Congregationalist Tune Supplements	
		LaurW	GawtN	MarsJ	WarnD	SmitBPrelP	TimbF	PlayH	BrooM	TansW	SP	SP	
		CT2	HP	PSI	SMGS	HC	DMSG	DC2	CPT4	MBCCM	RPC	BostB	BostTB
		1722	1730	1719	1719	1732	1735	1707	1711	1725	1744	1752	1755
PENITENTIAL HYMN	184a	X	X	X	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—
PETERBOROUGH	539b	—	—	X	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—
PLYMOUTH	1431	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
PORTSMOUTH	750b	X	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	X
PSALM 50	116a	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	X: LANDAFF	—	—
PSALM 81 (PSALM 8)	175a	X	—	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	X
PSALM 85	130a	X	X	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	X
PSALM 100	143a	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	X: SAVOY	X	X
<b>PSALM 100, NEW</b>	1054	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X
PSALM 113	146a	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	X
PSALM 119	120c	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X
<b>PSALM 136</b>	743 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—
PSALM 136	1613b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X
PSALM 148	126a	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	X
PSALM 149	657a	X	X	X	—	X	—	—	—	X	X: ST. MICHAEL'S	X	X
<b>QUERCY</b>	1434b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X
ST. DAVID'S	379d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X
ST. JAMES'S	582a	X	X	—	—	X	X	—	—	X	X	X	X
ST. MARY'S	542a	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	X
SOUTHWELL	269h	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	X	X	X	X
<b>SOUTHWELL, NEW</b>	956	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X
A SPIRITUAL SONG [THE LONGING SOUL]	301a	X	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	—



Tune Title	HTI#	England										New England	
		Presbyterian Tune Collections		Anglican Congregational Tune Collections				Anglican Non-Congregational Tune Collections				Congregationalist Tune Supplements	
		LaurW CT2 1722	GawtN HP 1730	MarsJ PSI 1719	WarnD SMGS 1719	SmitBPreIP HC 1732	TimbF DMSG 1735	PlayH DC2 1707	CPT4 1711	BrooM MBCCM 1725	TansW RPC 1744	SP BostB 1752	SP BostTB 1755
STANDISH	586	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X: WENDOVER	X	X
WARWICK	911	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X
WESTMINSTER	387d	—	—	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	X	X	—
WINCHESTER	276a	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—
WINDSOR	271a	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	X	X
YORK	331a	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	X	X	X

### Source Abbreviations

**BrooM MBCCM:** Broom, Michael and John Broom. *Michael Broom's Collection of Church Musick*. s.l.: s.n., [1725].

**CPT4:** *A Collection of Psalm Tunes in four parts*. London: s.n., 1711.

**GawtN HP:** Gawthorn, Nathaniel. *Harmonia Perfecta*. London: William Pearson, 1730.

**LaurW CT2:** L[aurence], W[illiam]. *A Collection of Tunes, suited to the various metres in Mr Watts's Imitation of the Psalms of David, or Dr. Patrick's Version; fit to be bound up with either*. Ed. 2. London: W. Pearson, for J. Clark and R. Ford... And R. Ford, 1722.

**MarsJ PSI:** Marsden, Joshua. *The Psalm-Singer's Instructor*. Liverpool: Samuel Terry, for James Stuart in Ormskirk, 1719.

**PlayH DC2:** Playford, Henry. *The Divine Companion: or, David's Harp New Tun'd. Being a choice collection of new & easie psalms, hymns and anthems*. Ed. 2. London: William Pearson, for Henry Playford, 1707.

**SmitBPreIP HC:** Smith, B[enjamin], and P[eter] Prelluer. *The Harmonious Companion; or the Psalm-Singer's Magazine*. London: W. Pearson, 1732.

**SP BostB 1752:** Tune supplement to John Barnard, *A New Version of the Psalms of David*. Boston: James A. Turner, 1752.

**SP BostTB 1755:** Tune supplement to N. Brady and N. Tate, *A New Version of the Psalms of David*. Boston: Thomas Johnston, 1755.

**TansW RPC:** [Tans'ur, William]. [*The Royal Psalmist Compleat*]. [n.p.]: [The author], [c.1744].

**TimbF DMSG:** Timbrell, Francis. *The Divine Musick Scholars Guide*. s.l.: s.n., c. 1735. (Temp. ed. n)

**WarnD SMGS:** Warner, Daniel. *The Singing-Master's Guide to his Scholars*. London: William Pearson, 1719.

## Chapter 7. Cross-Cultural Presbyterian Activity in the Middle Atlantic

Unlike other English-language Calvinist denominations in the colonies, Presbyterians not only remain distinctive as the most geographically dispersed, but also the most prolific and varied in their tune repertoires, compositional activity, and progressiveness in terms of expression and aesthetic. They anticipated subsequent American evangelical musical trends by several decades through their folk hymns and spiritual songs, and adoption of gospel psalmody and hymnody by noted evangelical poets. Presbyterians become emblematic of what will become typical for nineteenth-century musical practice among evangelical Calvinists. However, Presbyterian musical expression was not one unified, unvarying block of like expression. Instead, this denomination's activity remained tied to regional variance and cultural fabric. Two basic regions of activity emerge during the 1750s, one that traversed both sides of the Long Island Sound, and another centered in Philadelphia that extended outward to include portions of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and the emerging southern backcountry.

The repertory of the Long Island Sound region represented those cultural groups that settled throughout southern New England. Predominantly English in character, this area did not incorporate the cultural pluralism peculiar to the Middle Atlantic colonies. Rather, English Presbyterians along the Long Island Sound demonstrated a narrowly defined arena for the influence of sacred music traditions within its repertory. Counterbalancing its limited cultural representation, colonial English Presbyterians in this region remained more varied than any other English-language denomination in the British colonies regarding compositional genres and types. Further south, the situation could not have been more

different. In fact, the opposite remained true for much of the material emanating from the 1750s and earlier.

In Philadelphia and the Chesapeake Bay, surviving Presbyterian source material remains confined almost exclusively to psalm and hymn tunes with fixed and unfixed texts. Although the occasional tune specifies a set text, the compilers often presented the tunes without accompanying poetry, indicating their use for any verse with the same poetic meter. However, the range of source material from which compilers drew, reflects not only the status of Philadelphia as the commercial nexus of the British colonies, but also its significance as a center for the greater cultural pluralism of the region. Unique to the Middle Atlantic, the Presbyterian repertory of this area incorporates both the English and Scottish branches of Presbyterianism, besides the expected influence of Anglicans and Congregationalists. While Presbyterians in the Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake Bay regions did incorporate some psalm tunes directly from the Long Island Sound Presbyterian repertory, no surviving Middle Atlantic source material included those spiritual songs and folk hymns, and extended sacred choral works found in manuscript sources in the northern colonial English Presbyterian region.

Despite the lack of compositional variety, the tunes that became part of a set Philadelphia repertory became an established tradition of Presbyterian manuscript compilation method that continued into the nineteenth century. This repertory also influenced early western and southern backcountry manuscript and printed source material, besides later compilations from the Philadelphia and Delaware synods. In particular, William Dawson's *The Youths Entertaining Amusement, or A Plain Guide to Psalmody* (Philadelphia, 1754) codified in many ways the Middle Atlantic, congregational Presbyterian repertory.

## 7.1 Scottish Presbyterian Repertory in the Middle Atlantic

Paralleling the history of English Calvinist dissenters, Scottish Presbyterians developed a large body of psalm tunes sprung from the Calvinist activities at Geneva, Switzerland during the sixteenth century. This period of Scottish Presbyterian psalter compilation extended from the earliest monophonic collections to its culmination in the harmonized psalter of 1635.<sup>1</sup> Like their English counterparts, Scottish metrical psalters presented tunes in monophonic settings, as well as more elaborate four-part harmonizations with the tune-carrying voice placed in the tenor, much like the tunes printed in the Ravenscroft psalter discussed previously. However, in the ensuing time from 1660 until the second decade of the eighteenth century, this repertory shrunk to only twelve tunes before it once again expanded to approximately thirty compositions. Throughout the entire latter period (ca. 1660-ca. 1750), published sources retained their ancient, tenor-led arrangements, which appeared usually in three and four-part settings (**Table 7.1**).

Resembling the bibliographic history of Congregationalist tune supplements in Massachusetts, those publications in the first period demonstrate a great deal of uniformity, duplicating most of each other's contents. Beginning in the 1720s however, the repertory began to increase somewhat through inclusion of older Scottish psalm tunes, as well as the gradual infiltration of English pieces into the Scottish repertoire such as ST. ANN'S by William Croft and ST. MARY'S. Although most of these publications constituted tune supplements to metrical psalters, a few Scottish musicians began to introduce pedagogical works designed to teach the rudiments of psalmody, such as that by James Dallas. Thus, Scottish practice underwent an almost identical process of expansion as that of their

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<sup>1</sup> *The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter. With their whole tunes in foure or mo parts, and some psalmes in reports. Whereunto is added many godly prayers, and an exact kalendar for XXV. yeers to come* (Edinburgh: by the Heires of Andrew Hart, 1635).

Congregationalist cousins, with instructional works that influenced congregational tune selection.

Of this representative tune body, eleven tunes constituted the core Scottish repertory: ABBAY, DUKES, DUMFERMLING, DUNDEE (WINDSOR), ELGINE, ENGLISH, FRENCH (NORWICH), KINGS, LONDON, MARTYRS, and YORK. Several tunes from this group remained unique to Scottish Presbyterian collections. In particular, LONDON and ELGIN did not enter other English-language repertoires. Further, Scottish psalmists had their own distinct titles for some of the more common tunes. For instance, Scottish Presbyterians called the tune WINDSOR, DUNDEE, presumably from the political ties to both places by the English and Scots respectively. Using these parameters of identification and dissemination, the presence of Scottish tunes in British American source material reveals directly the influence of Scottish Presbyterianism into the colonial repertory.<sup>2</sup>

### *7.1.1 The Matthew Harper Manuscript*

Besides the various publications emanating from Lowland Scotland, manuscript copybooks of the Scottish repertory were brought to the colonies by Scottish and Scottish Presbyterian migrants. One such volume survives, copied initially by Matthew Harper in

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<sup>2</sup> Evidence to support the influence and use of both Scottish and English forms of Presbyterianism can be found in the schism that occurred in New York City in the 1750s and 1760s between Presbyterian church members that supported the Scottish psalter prepared by Francis Rous (1579-1659), and those congregants that supported the use of Isaac Watts, Tate and Brady, and even the revised form of the Bay Psalm Book prepared by John Barnard in 1752. It should be noted that Rous himself was first an English Presbyterian before joining the Independents. The Church of Scotland adopted his psalter, famous for its literalness to the original Hebrew. See: Joyce, Goodfriend, "Scots and Schism: The New York City Presbyterian Church in the 1750s," in *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800*, ed. Ned C. Landsman (Lewisburg, Pa: Bucknell University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 2001), 221-44.

1720.<sup>3</sup> The earliest section contains the standard twelve tunes of the Scottish repertory, along with a couple of English pieces, including A CHRISTMAS CARROLL (Remember, O thou man) by Thomas Ravenscroft from his *Melismata. Muscical Phansies. Fitting the Court, Citie, and Countrey Hymnours* (London, 1611). In the earliest section, the Harper manuscript contains a rudiments section that also suggests an English origin, having almost identical descriptions of time signatures to northern English compilations such as *A Booke of Psalme Tunes in Four Parts* (York, 1687) by Abraham Barber, a parish clerk in Wakefield.<sup>4</sup> By circa 1760, Harper's copybook had arrived in the colonies, evidenced with a new set of single and two-voice settings of psalm tunes appearing in the Middle Atlantic modified version of Tufts' notation.

DUKES TUNE and KINGS TUNE (**Anth.**) from the earliest section of the Harper manuscript typify psalm settings among Scottish Presbyterians of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Both follow the same voicing conventions as tunes from the Ravenscroft and Scottish psalters, in that the melody appears in the tenor voice, intended specifically for a male singer through the use of tenor clef for the tenor part. Further, most settings are written for four voices. However, in contrast to many psalm tune settings in Ravenscroft and the 1635 Scottish psalter printed by Andrew Hart, the tunes in the Harper manuscript follow the same note-against-note, syllabic style favored by Congregationalists though couched in the ancient style. Finally, these tunes include several instances of parallelisms, particularly in KINGS TUNE, which features a string of parallel octaves between the treble and counter parts in the first phrase, and the cadence at the end of the

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<sup>3</sup> Matthew Harper, Manuscript copybook of sacred music and song texts (Scotland or northern England, 1720), with additional entries by an unknown hand (British North America, ca. 1760), Niles Collection, University of Kentucky.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, the Harper manuscript and the Barber source both used the terms "Imperfect of the More," and "Imperfect of the Less" to describe triple and duple time, respectively. See: Barber, 7.

second that includes both a parallel octave between the treble and bass, and a parallel fifth between the tenor and bass. Avoiding artifice, these settings operate more as utilitarian musical tools that provide a base for the delivery of text.

## **7.2 English Presbyterian Music in the Middle Atlantic: William Dawson**

Unlike the Scottish Presbyterians, the English brethren of the Middle Atlantic emphasized a pan-denominational approach for the creation of their psalm tune repertory. Philadelphia Presbyterians assembled a body of tunes that drew from all of the current English-language denominations active throughout the Middle Atlantic. In this sense, Presbyterian expression reflects the greater cultural and religious pluralism that distinguished the Middle Atlantic from other British colonial regions. However, alongside this extensive borrowing, Presbyterians preserved their traditional ancient form of expression, maintaining their distinct identity alongside the host of denominations thriving throughout the region. The activities of William Dawson, a schoolteacher and psalmist, document the culmination of this trend in regional print culture at the advent of the Late Colonial Period.

William Dawson's professional activities in colonial, British North America centered in Philadelphia between 1753 and 1756. The first notice of Dawson in public record is in an advertisement in Philadelphia in June of 1753.<sup>5</sup> Not exclusively a singing master, he opened instead a quarterly-term school that taught the usual assortment of subjects common to the period, including writing in various calligraphic styles, mathematics, accounting, and psalmody. "Psalmody, by a proper and regular method," would be offered in the evening with enrollment open "for the amusement of such young ladies as are pleased to employ summer evenings in those useful and necessary exercises." Possibly involved at some point

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<sup>5</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia ed., June 14, 1753, June 28, 1753.

with the navy or the nautical trade, Dawson taught navigation as part of his curriculum in subsequent years.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, he extended his classes later to boys as well as girls.

Each year that he advertised his school, he listed his residence on Third Street "near the New Presbyterian Church," which became known as the Second Presbyterian Church on the corner of Third and Arch Streets. Members of Second Presbyterian had aligned themselves with the New Side, pro-First Great Awakening churches and church members within the Synod of Philadelphia. At first using a rented space for their meetings beginning in 1743, the congregation, over the course of seven years, grew so rapidly that a permanent house of worship was built in 1750. Theologically, the congregants had embraced the same tenets as their New Light and New Side brethren along the Long Island Sound, with both having supported the Calvinist Anglican, Reverend George Whitefield in his tours throughout the British colonies and in Great Britain.

Dawson first taught from a school known as the Hand and Pen, on account of its trade sign hung above the entrance. He apparently took over a school operated by Stephen Vidall.<sup>7</sup> Later, he was in partnership with John Gladstone.<sup>8</sup> In his first two years of tutelage, Dawson had used handwritten notebooks for psalmody instruction: one as a textbook during the tenure of the class, and one given to, or copied by the pupil upon completion of the term. Because of his position as a writing master, these manuscript notebooks took the place of a published textbook to guide the student through the fundamentals of music notation and calligraphic ornamentation, similar to other schools that offered this range of instructional classes. Later eighteenth-century manuscript notebooks by other students

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<sup>6</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia ed., March 26, 1754, April 11, 1754; *Pennsylvania Journal*, April 11, 1754, April 18, 1754, April 25, 1754, May 2, 1754, May 16, 1754, May 23, 1754, May 30, 1754.

<sup>7</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia ed., March 25, 1755, April 3, 1755, April 10, 1755.

<sup>8</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia ed., April 1, 1756, April 15, 1756.



under the tutelage of Presbyterian schoolmasters include the same general contents within their pages. After only one year, Dawson's use of manuscript texts for his classes presumably came to an end by July of 1754, as he had just completed publishing his own musical textbook and collection of psalm tunes.<sup>9</sup>

Printed by Dawson's neighbor, Anthony Ambrüster at the German Printing Office on Third Street, *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* was advertised for sale in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on July 11.<sup>10</sup> Though intended for young scholars, the tune contents addressed all "English Protestant Congregations in Philadelphia," specifically those that performed psalm tunes in two parts, which by description would extend mostly to Presbyterians and Anglicans. Though the title does not state its purpose as designed for Presbyterian use, the denominational influences present in Dawson's tune choice indicate a strongly Presbyterian character.

An analysis of the contents of the compilation reveals both the pan-denominational character manifest in its repertory, as well as the pan-cultural influences that shaped this publication. In turn, these facets reflect also its geographic distinctness as a Middle Atlantic compilation, encompassing the cultural pluralism characteristic of Pennsylvania and its environs. While it could be argued that the collection was not intended for any one specific denomination, its reception remained almost exclusively within the purview of Middle Atlantic Presbyterians.

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<sup>9</sup> William Dawson, *The Youths Entertaining Amusement, or A Plain Guide to Psalmody. Being a collection of the most usual, and necessary tunes sung in the English Protestant Congregations in Philadelphia, &c. In two parts, viz. treble and bass, with all proper and necessary rules, adapted to the meanest capacities* (Philadelphia: Printed at the German Printing Office in Third-street, and sold by the Author, 1754).

<sup>10</sup>*Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia ed., July 11, 1754.

### *7.2.1 Reading The Youths Entertaining Amusement as a Document of Its Author's Intended Pan-Denominational Audience*

Unique to British Colonial imprints before 1760, Dawson's volume reveals its potential use among all mainstream English-language denominations. In it, he presented a repertory that was not specific to any one particular denomination, but rather a body of material that could be selectively used by all English-language congregations, thus explaining his statement of intent in its title page. Further, Dawson also extended his tune selection to appeal not just to English congregations transplanted to the colonies, but also the Church of Scotland. Thus, the volume encompasses not only a pan-denominational and pan-colonial repertory, but also a cross-cultural one too. In this respect, Dawson's book reflects his region's English-language cultural diversity, revealing a compilation method unique to both the colonies and the British Isles.

An analysis of the contents of *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* reveals Dawson's efforts towards producing a compilation equally at home among the various English-language denominations in the Middle Atlantic colonies. Incorporating portions of all of the major denominational, congregational tune repertories, he chose not only those tunes common to many church bodies, but also a few unique to each denomination: Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Anglican. Further, within the Presbyterian Church, he incorporated tunes from the three major branches of Presbyterianism, as it existed in the British Empire of the 1750s: English, British Colonial, and Scottish. Although its reception did not find equal welcome among all of these denominations, his intent reveals an attempt at a pan-denominational negotiation of sources. Instead, its use primarily among Presbyterians demonstrates further the cosmopolitan and progressive attitude by Presbyterians in their

attempts to incorporate a broader range of source material than only those compositions that remain traditional to their denomination (**Table 7.2**).

Approximately one-half of his compilation consists of tunes common to the various English-language denominations, but divided sometimes according to cultural or geographic place of origin (**Fig. 7.1**). Apportioned into three main categories, Dawson's compilation drew from English, British Colonial, and Scottish denominational repertoires. As English-language denominations, all three groups shared one-fifth of the tune selections found in *The Youths Entertaining Amusement*.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, another fifth was common to the various repertoires of English and British Colonial denominations.<sup>12</sup> Finally, another tenth was taken from various repertoires shared between two or more of the individual denominations in a cross-cultural fashion such as that among Anglicans, and Scottish and English Presbyterians; or Anglicans, Congregationalists, and Scottish Presbyterian.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> These tunes include: LONDON NEW, MARTYR'S, PS. 100, PS. 113, PS. 149, ST. MARY'S, SOUTHWELL, WINDSOR, and YORK.

<sup>12</sup> These tunes include: CAMBRIDGE, EXETER, GLOCESTER, LONDON OLD, MANCHESTER, OXFORD, PS. 119, ST. JAMES'S, STANDISH, WESTMINSTER, and WORCESTER.

<sup>13</sup> ST. DAVID'S appeared in Anglican/Scottish Presbyterian/English Presbyterian collections. NORWICH, OR FRENCH appeared in Anglican/Congregationalist/Scottish Presbyterian collections. PS. 112 OLD appeared in Anglican/Scottish Presbyterian collections. NAMURE, PS. 50 OLD appeared in Anglican/English Presbyterian collections. ABBY appeared in Scottish Presbyterian/English Presbyterian collections.

**Figure 7.1. Repertory in William Dawson's *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* and Its Addressed English-Language Denominational Reception**

<b>Scottish Presbyterian</b>	<b>English Presbyterian</b>	<b>Congregationalist</b>	<b>Anglican</b>
• Abby	• Abby	• Bella	• Cambridge
• Elgin	• Bella	• Brunswick	• Canterbury New
• London	• Brunswick	• Cambridge	• Coleshill
• London New	• Canterbury	• Canterbury	• Canterbury
• Martyr's	• Cambridge	• Exeter	• Deal
• Norwich, or French	• Exeter	• Gloucester	• Deptford
• Ps. 100	• Gloucester	• Isle of Wight	• Exeter
• Ps. 112, Old	• Isle of Wight	• London New	• French 100
• Ps. 113	• London New	• London Old	• Gloucester
• Ps. 149	• London Old	• Manchester	• Greenwich
• Southwell	• Manchester	• Martyr's	• London New
• St. David's	• Martyr's	• Norwich, or French	• London Old
• St. Mary's	• Namure	• Oxford	• Manchester
• Windsor	• Oxford	• Ps. 100	• Martyr's
• York	• Ps. 50, Old	• Ps. 100, New	• Namure
	• Ps. 100	• Ps. 113	• Norwich, or French
	• Ps. 100, New	• Ps. 119	• Oxford
	• Ps. 108	• Ps. 149	• Ps. 50, Old
	• Ps. 113	• Southwell	• Ps. 100
	• Ps. 119	• Southwell New	• Ps. 112, Old
	• Ps. 149	• St. James's	• Ps. 113
	• Southwell	• St. Mary's	• Ps. 119
	• Southwell New	• Standish	• Ps. 149
	• St. David's	• Ten	• Southwell
	• St. James's	• Ten Commandments	• St. David's
	• St. Mary's	• Westminster	• St. George's, or Ps. 52
	• Standish	• Windsor	• St. James's
	• Ten Commandments	• Worcester	• St. Mary's
	• Westminster	• York	• St. Thomas's
	• Windsor		• Standish
	• Worcester		• Westminster
	• York		• Windsor
			• Worcester
			• York

Within cultural groups, similar divisions occurred in the shared repertory among theologically related denominations, such as Calvinist Dissenters.<sup>14</sup> These factors, combined with the inclusion of a number of tunes specific to one denomination, fulfilled Dawson's attempt to court every mainstream English-language Protestant denomination in Philadelphia.<sup>15</sup> He offered a collection that transcended any one manifestation of cultural or denominational influence. Instead, he envisioned simultaneous, equal practical use among every church group. In sum, Dawson's collection offered a substantial portion of its contents to meet the needs of all, being "a collection of the most usual, and necessary tunes sung in the English Protestant congregations in Philadelphia." As such, it represents a savvy approach to compilation methodology, with a sensitive ear towards current, musical, congregational trends of the region, and perhaps the greater British North American colonial sphere. No other compilation from this period exhibits all of these characteristics.

Regarding tunes and settings new to *The Youths Entertaining Amusement*, Dawson printed two variant melodic-line settings of popular psalm and hymn tunes in the British repertory: PSALM 148 and NEW MEER. Of these tunes, only the variant setting of PSALM 148 enjoyed some circulation throughout the Chesapeake Bay and South Carolina (**Table 4.4**). Although it is difficult to determine which source was compiled first, this variant setting disseminated within a somewhat localized geographic area of circulation. Besides its inclusion in Dawson's textbook, the same version of PSALM 148 appears also in the Peyre commonplace book from the English Santee of South Carolina, as well as the

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<sup>14</sup> Dawson chose the following tunes common to Congregationalist and English Presbyterian denominations: BELLA, BRUNSWICK, ISLE OF WIGHT, PS. 100 NEW, SOUTHWELL, TEN COMMANDMENTS.

<sup>15</sup> CANTERBURY NEW, COLESHILL, DEAL, DEPTFORD, FRENCH 100, GREENWICH, ST. GEORGES'S OR PS. 52, and ST. THOMAS'S appeared in Anglican collections. PS. 108 was taken from the British Colonial, English Presbyterian, Long Island Sound repertory. ELGIN and LONDON originated from Scottish Presbyterian collections.

Richard Ellis manuscript from Charleston, Cecil County, Maryland. No printings of this variant are found in sources from New England. Perhaps Dawson lifted it from Jonathan Badger's 1752, Charles Town collection, revealing further the possible extent of a base for pan-colonial expression.

Two tunes appear to be original to Dawson's publication, the psalm tune NORWICH NEW with an unspecified text, and A HYMN TUNE ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC (**Anth.**) with a text deriving ultimately from John Playford's *The Whole Book of Psalms* (London, 1677). Of particular significance, this piece is the earliest surviving, English-language, American-composed hymn tune published in the British colonies. Despite its Anglican text, A HYMN TUNE ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC displays compositional characteristics typical of Anglican and English Presbyterian repertoires, most notably the frequent use of melismas and a generally florid melody. Despite limiting the tune to a narrow range of a major sixth, the composer attempted to instill as much variety as possible through its melodic contour. Unfortunately, the overall effect conveys more a sense of randomness, seen through its melody meandering up and down the scale without a sense of either an implied tonal outline or functional conception of harmony. Although ignored by all subsequent compilers, it does reveal the progressive nature of Dawson's compilation, given his desire to draw a pan-denominational audience as consumers of his tunebook.

Given the limited number of printed sources for Presbyterian activity in the Middle Atlantic at this time, what does survive demonstrates a similar progressive nature, typical of all English Presbyterian musicians throughout the British colonies. Although Dawson's textbook does not include as wide a variety of compositional genres as the sources emanating from the Long Island Sound, *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* served a different purpose, to furnish congregations and students with a body of congregational song. He

dispensed with extra-ecclesiastical compositional genres such as the anthem or set piece. These genres would only have found use by Anglicans within the church service. Similarly, Dawson did not include any secular songs within his collection, as found in Presbyterian manuscript material along the Long Island Sound. Though used in an extra-ecclesiastical setting, the schoolroom, Dawson's volume instead promoted the type of church music embraced by all mainstream congregations at this time in the colonies, metrical psalm tunes, with an additional hymn tune whose text had appeared in accepted, popular English-language metrical psalters since the seventeenth century. As such, Dawson stands out for his progressiveness in as bold a manner of execution as his northern contemporaries, but entirely different in expression from the Long Island Sound compilers.

This progressiveness characterizes all surviving musical documents by all English Presbyterians during the colonial period. Not surprisingly, many of these initiatives appeared first in London through a series of lectures held at the Little Eastcheap Meetinghouse. As European, English Presbyterians came to define their specific repertory and its proper performance medium and venue, most other English Presbyterian churches in Europe adopted these trends, evidenced by tune repertories in European tunebooks. Likewise, although surviving documentation does not appear before circa 1750, English Presbyterian churches in the colonies were not immune to changing attitudes in denominational expression. Rather, English Presbyterians initiated many of the aesthetic and compositional features associated with evangelical expression in the nineteenth century.

Perhaps most remarkable is the fact that the contributions of English Presbyterians appear to have been largely forgotten in the creation of a narrative of the religious history of the United States, given their seminal position in shaping American evangelical expression. Beginning in the seventeenth century, English Presbyterians championed the place of

hymnody, independently prefiguring the early eighteenth-century lyrical poetry of Isaac Watts. From this time on, English Presbyterians have consistently proved innovative compared to their contemporaries. Although sharing a similar theology as their Calvinist brethren, English Presbyterians maintained their distinct identity and engendered an influence much greater than their number of congregants. This phenomenon remained as true for England as it did for the British colonies.



Key: Boldface type = American-composed, arranged, or adapted

( ) = alternate titles

[ ] = most common title of a particular psalm tune, or a referential title in the absence of one in the source

Table 7.1 Scottish Presbyterian psalm tune repertory (1666-1753)

Title	HTI#	Period 1				Period 2	
		SP	SP	SP	BrucT	DallJ	TaitA
		CS	CS4	CS	CT	SUP	NCSCT3
		1666	1714	1723	1726	1742	1753
ABBAY (ABBEY)	325	x	x	x	x	x	x
ANTHEM:P.17	1666	—	—	—	—	x	—
BENEDICITE	650a	—	—	—	—	x	—
BENEDICTUS	128b	—	—	—	—	x	—
BON-ACCORD	399	x	x	—	—	—	—
BRISTOL	547a	—	—	—	—	—	x
BRUCES	1153	—	—	—	x	—	—
CULROS	485	—	—	—	x	—	—
DUKES	276b	x	x	x	x	—	x
DUMFERLING (DUNFERMLING)	326a	x	x	x	x	x	x
DUNDEE (WINDSOR)	271a	x	x	x	x	x	x
DURHAM	365b	—	—	—	x	—	—
EDINBURGH	1154	—	—	—	x	—	—
ELGINE (ELGIN)	400	x	x	x	x	x	x
ENGLISH	250b	x	x	x	x	—	x
FRENCH (NORWICH)	327a	x	x	x	x	—	x
GALLOWAY	489	—	—	—	x	—	—
GLASGOW	328	—	—	—	x	—	—
GLORIA PATRI	1667	—	—	—	—	x	—
HADDINGTON	1153	—	—	—	x	—	—
INVERNESS	492	—	—	—	x	—	—

Title	HTI#	Period 1				Period 2	
		SP	SP	SP	BrucT	DallJ	TaitA
		CS 1666	CS4 1714	CS 1723	CT 1726	SUP 1742	NCSCT3 1753
JEDBURGH	494a	—	—	—	x	—	—
KINGS (A)	329	x	x	x	—	—	x
KINGS (B)	1556	—	—	—	x	—	—
LITCHFIELD	381b	—	—	—	—	—	x
LONDON	249d	x	x	x	x	x	x
MAGNIFICAT	653	—	—	—	—	x	—
MARTYRS	330a	x	x	x	x	x	x
MAXTOUN	495	—	—	—	x	—	—
MELROS	496a	—	—	—	x	—	—
MONROS	1157	—	—	—	x	—	—
NEW-TOWN (LONDON NEW) (NEWTON)	497a	—	—	x	x	x	x
NEWTON (LONDON NEW)	497b	—	—	—	—	—	x
NUNC DIMITTIS	77b	—	—	—	—	x	—
OLD COMMON	201a	x	x	x	—	—	—
PRINCE OF WALES	1158	—	—	—	x	—	—
PRINCESS OF WALES	1159	—	—	—	x	—	—
PSALM 25	114	x	—	x	—	—	—
PSALM 100	143a	—	—	—	—	x	x
PSALM 112, OLD	130c	—	—	—	—	x	—
PSALM 113	146a	—	—	—	—	x	—
PSALM 119	120d	—	—	—	—	—	x
PSALM 132 (PSALM 119)	120a	—	—	x	x	x	—
PSALM 136 (PSALM 148)	126a	—	—	x	—	x	—

Table 7.1 (continued)

Title	HTI#	Period 1				Period 2	
		SP CS 1666	SP CS4 1714	SP CS 1723	BrucT CT 1726	DallJ SUP 1742	TaitA NCSC3 1753
PSALM 148	126h	—	—	—	—	—	x
PSALM 149	657a	—	—	—	—	x	—
ST. ANDREWS	1160	—	—	—	x	—	—
ST. ANN'S	664a	—	—	—	—	—	x
ST. DAVID'S	379c	—	—	—	—	—	x
ST. JOHNSTONE	1161	—	—	—	x	—	—
ST. MARY'S (HACKNEY)	542a	—	—	—	—	x	x
ST. PAUL'S	2043a	—	—	—	—	—	x
SOUTHWELL	269t	—	—	—	—	—	x
STILT (YORK)	331a	x	x	x	x	x	x
TE DEUM	166a	—	—	—	—	x	—
VENI CREATOR	168a	—	—	—	—	x	—
WIGTON	500	—	—	—	x	—	—

### Source Abbreviations

**BrucT CT:** Bruce, Thomas. *The Common Tunes: or, Scotland's Church Musick Made Plaine*. Edinburgh: For the author, 1726.

**DallJ SUP:** Dallas, James, of Edinburgh. *A Short and Useful Psalmody*. Edinburgh: For the publisher [James Dallas], 1742.

**SP CS 1666:** [*The Twelve Tunes for the Church of Scotland, Composed in Four Parts*]. [Aberdeen: John Forbes], 1666.

**SP CS4 1714:** [Coupar, Alexander]. *The Twelve Tunes, for the Church of Scotland, Composed in Four Parts*. Ed. 4. Aberdeen: James Nicoll, printer to the City & University, 1714.

**SP CS 1723:** [Duncan, John?]. *A Collection of Psalm Tunes for the Use of the Church of Scotland*. Dumfries: John Duncan, 1723.

**TaitA NCSC3:** Tait, Andrew. *A New and Correct Set of Church Tunes*. Ed. 3. Aberdeen: James Chalmers, 1753.

Table 7.2 Tunes and sources paralleling William Dawson's The Youths Entertaining  
A muserment (Philadelphia, 1754)

Title	HTI#	Presbyterian					Congregationalist	Anglican					
		Scottish	English			Long Island	New England	Europe					
			See Table 7.1	Europe				See Table 6.1	SP TatB6 1708	WarnD SMG 1719	RichW PR 1729	WoodC CPT c. 1735	ArnoJ CP 1741
				LaurW CT 2 1722	GawtN HP 1730								
TEN COMMANDMENTS	111c	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	
ABBY	325	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
BABYLON STREAMS	304a	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
BELLA	577	—	x	x	x - DERBY	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	
BRUNSWICK	891a	—	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	
CAMBRIDGE	249a	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—	x	x	
CANTERBURY NEW, OR CXVII PSALM	1210	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
COLSHILL, OR DUBLIN	271c	—	—	—	x - COLESHILL	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	
DEAL	1584	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
DEPTFORD	1211	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	
ELGIN	400	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
EXETER	397b	—	x	x	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	
GLOCESTER	368a	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	
GREENWICH	1212	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
<b>HYMN TUNE ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC</b>	2271	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
ISLE OF WIGHT	733a	—	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	x	
LONDON	249d	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
LONDON NEW	497b	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—	
LONDON OLD	536a	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—	
MANCHESTER	374a	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—	

Table 7.2 (continued)

Title	HTI#	Presbyterian					Congregationalist	Anglican						
		Scottish	English			Long Island	New England	Europe						
			See Table 7.1	Europe				See Table 6.1	See Table 4.2	SP TatB6 1708	WarnD SMG 1719	RichW PR 1729	WoodC CPT c. 1735	ArnoJ CP 1741
				LaurW CT 2 1722	GawtN HP 1730									
MARTYR'S	330a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—		
NAMURE	750b	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—		
<b>NEW MEER</b> <b>[MEAR]</b>	909c	—	—	—	—	x - b	x - b	—	—	—	x - b	—		
NORWICH, OR FRENCH	327b	x	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	x		
<b>NORWICH NEW</b>	2270	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
OXFORD	201e	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	—		
OLD 50TH PSALM	116a	—	—	x	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	—		
C PSALM	143a	x	x	x	x - SAVOY	x	x	x	x	—	—	—		
FRENCH, C. PSALM	288c	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—		
GREENS 100TH	824	—	—	—	x - GREEN'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	x		
<b>NEW C. PSALM</b>	1054	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—		
<b>CVIII PSALM [ST. HUMPHREY'S]</b>	2035b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—		
OLD CXII PSALM	130c	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—		
CXIII PSALM	146a	x	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	—	x	x		
CXIX PSALM	120c	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	x	x		
<b>CXLVIII PSALM</b>	126 - var. not in Temp.	x - a	x - a	x - a	x - a	x - a	x - a	x - a	x - a	—	x - a	x - a		

Table 7.2 (continued)

Title	HTI#	Presbyterian					Congregationalist	Anglican							
		Scottish	English				New England	Europe							
			See Table 7.1	Europe				Long Island	See Table 6.1	See Table 4.2	SP TatB6 1708	WarnD SMG 1719	RichW PR 1729	WoodC CPT c. 1735	ArnoJ CP 1741
				LaurW CT 2 1722	GawtN HP 1730	MoorT PSCTDC1 2 1750									
CXLIX	657a	x	x	x	x - PSALM 104	x	x	x	—	—	x	x			
ST. ANN'S	664a	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	x	—			
ST. DAVID'S	379c	x	x	—	x	—	—	x	x	—	x	x			
ST. GEORGE'S OR XLII PSALM	751a	—	—	—	x - ST. NEOT'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	x			
ST. JAMES'S	582a	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	x	x			
ST. MARY'S	542a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—			
ST. THOMAS'S	671	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—			
SOUTHWELL	269h	x	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—			
<b>SOUTHWELL NEW</b>	956	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—			
STANDISH	586	—	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	—	x	—			
WESTMINSTER	387d	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	x			
WINDSOR [DUNDEE]	271a	x	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	—	x	x			
WORCESTER	382a	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	x			
YORK	331a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—			

## Source Abbreviations

**ArnoJ CP:** Arnold, John. *The Compleat Psalmist*. London: A. Pearson, for the author, 1741.

**GawtN HP:** Gawthorn, Nathaniel. *Harmonia Perfecta*. London: William Pearson, 1730.

**LaurW CT 2:** L[aurence], W[illiam]. *A Collection of Tunes*. Ed. 2. London: W. Pearson, for J. Clark and R. Ford, 1722.

**MoorT PSCTDC1 2:** Moore, Thomas. *The Psalm Singer's Compleat Tutor and Divine Companion*. Vol. 1, ed. 2. London: for the author, 1750.

**RichW PR:** Richardson, William. *The Pious Recreation*. London: William Pearson [for] the author, 1729.

**SP TatB6:** *A Supplement to the New Version of Psalms by Dr. Brady and Mr. Tate*. Ed. 6. [London]: John Nutt; and sold by James Holland, 1708.

**WarnD SMG:** Warner, Daniel. *The Singing-Master's Guide to his Scholars*. London: William Pearson, for the Company of Stationers, 1719.

**WoodC CPT:** Woodmason, Charles. *A Collection of Psalm Tunes*. London: J. Simpson, [c. 1735].

## Part 2: Conclusion

Sacred music practice in the British North American colonies by the 1750s remained at once non-sectarian in its pedagogical methodology, pan-denominational in terms of its repertory, and strictly denominational in compositional tune type and, to some extent, expression in its performance practice. As such, the complex negotiation of culture, region, and denomination reveals a fluid and dynamic implementation that contrasts with many scholarly perceptions of colonial sacred music culture during this early period. However, several of its primary features reveal how early some quintessential characteristics became fixed. For instance, folk hymns of both types appear not so much as colonial copies of earlier British examples, but rather as original compositions and adaptations of uniquely American origin. This phenomenon extends also to the denominational tune repertories unique to the various English-language church bodies throughout British North America. None replicated exactly European repertories, but each instead created a body of congregational song unique unto themselves.

Understanding how these processes involved a study of performance practice; the formulation of repertory, genre, and expression; as well as geographic dissemination and the concept of pan-denominational but regional instances of shared expression and repertory. Although predating much of what came to be characterized as distinctly American, many features were already in place before the Seven Years War. Sacred music practitioners set parameters of repertory, with like works found in many surviving sources from four main geographic centers: Massachusetts and northern New England; the Long Island Sound, southern New York and northern New Jersey; Philadelphia and the northern Chesapeake Bay; and Tidewater Virginia and the southern Low Country. Occasionally, this creation of



region occurred as a result of colonies sharing the presence of a state-imposed church, or sometimes as an expression of class. Other times, tune bodies became manifestations of like-minded theology shared among denominations. Still others came about as a result either of the presence or absence of cultural pluralism of a region. Others too were created through the influence of a specific individual such as Jonathan Badger, a transplanted Calvinist New Englander working in Charles Town, South Carolina.

Despite the extreme differences that could appear among denominations, all underwent the same process of creation: negotiating each other's repertoires to select established favorites, or modifying specific denominations' tunes to follow their own preferred and established, denominational forms of expression. In particular, the unique blend of pieces that arose within each negotiation, demonstrated most clearly the distinctiveness of the three main English-language denominations present in the British colonies. Original tunes did appear in individual denominations. However, these works did not serve as indicators of specificity such as PSALM 100, NEW being a strictly Independent tune, as much as the manner in which they were presented, encompassing voice assignment, number of parts, clef preference, and harmonization methodology. Contemporary notices and descriptions confirm that individuals during this period recognized specifically these differences, allowing them to define their station, location, and denomination by the way they sang praises to God.

Because of this self-awareness, those trends fixed by the 1750s remain crucial to understanding the patterns of expression over the next hundred-year period. Regional definitions will remain identical throughout this epoch, with the 1750s serving as a cradle for the implementation of trends in future settlements and regions of the United States following the American Revolution. Similarly, denominational patterns of dissemination in

their move towards the interior of the continent will carry like associations between and among the various church bodies in their negotiation of space, community, and region.

### Part 3. Introduction

William Riley, a staunch conformist to the traditional Church of England, eked out his living as a choirmaster and teacher of psalmody in many of England's parish churches in London and Westminster. Employed in teaching impoverished and orphaned children the rudiments of music and congregational psalm and choral hymn tune repertoires, Riley was one of the foremost London proponents of an urban style of English performance descended ultimately from John Playford's 1677 psalter. In an effort to promote his conformist views of church music's intent and expression, Riley published *Parochial Music Corrected* (London, 1762) as an extended commentary on, and a prescriptive guide to London's sacred music performance practice. The book also contained a collection of psalm and hymn tunes. Though published in England, its descriptions of performance practice mirrored that of Philadelphia, one of the largest cities in the British Empire.

Portions of his narrative focused on established modes of performance, including the practice of lining out by clerks, hired from among the impoverished members of a particular parish (21). He found this practice "extremely absurd" (22) on account of it depriving the church of a decent musician to competently lead congregational performance during the worship service. Though these practices

alleviate the Distresses of a Parishioner, yet by the same Means, this divine and heavenly Exercise is made subject to the highest Degree of Ridicule and Contempt, to the Dishonour of Almighty God, and the Scandal of religion; and that if they would do a meritorious Action, by regulating their Workhouses, and making a separate Provision between Housekeepers, who have largely contributed to the Maintenance of the Poor, and those who claim a Right to the Parish only by Servitude, &c. then

such decayed Inhabitants would have no Occasion to press their Fellow-Parishioners, to bestow on them a Place for which they are by no Means qualified (22).

Unlike earlier writers, Riley did not object to the practice of lining out itself so much as the poor execution of its performance as a result of the church's practice of hiring incompetent song leaders. This same performance style was encountered in Anglican parishes in Virginia's Chesapeake Tidewater too, demonstrating that the method of lining out was common to many Anglican parishes throughout Great Britain and the colonies.

In contrast, Riley found the same practice by a precentor at a Dissenter meetinghouse much more in the spirit of the early Christian church. Dissenting churches chose persons not only "capable of performing their Duty with Decency and Propriety, but of teaching others to join with them; for which Purpose it is a Custom with many of them to give great Encouragement to their Clerk, by causing the younger Part of the Congregation to meet him weekly in their Vestry-Room, where they are taught to *sing Praises with Understanding*" (23). Indeed, in following the prescriptions of the Apostle Paul in 1 Corinthians 14:15, 19, he found the Dissenters' practice "truly laudable, and worthy our Imitation, for as it tends to promote the Honour of God, so it likewise promotes the Edification of his Church, and is also a great Inducement to young People to be more constant in attending Divine Service" (23).

Echoing the sentiments of musicians in the Middle Colonies, he noted a similar performance practice shared between the Anglican and Dissenter churches, in this instance, London's Presbyterian, Independent and General Baptist congregations. Despite a similarity in expression and a perceived commonality of tradition, the Calvinist congregant seemed more genuine in his devotion than his average Anglican counterpart. Whatever the merits or perceptions of piety and devotion, lining out, the most traditional practice of congregational

performance in London's churches, found welcome reception in both rural and urban centers of England.

However, developments in parochial sacred music performance during the first part of the eighteenth century reveal distinct differences between those modern composers who adhered to the ancient four-part tenor-led style,<sup>1</sup> and those who adopted the newer treble-led three-part style. For William Riley, the urbane Londoner, these differences in style bore terms that connoted his values of modernity and English society, regardless of their factuality. He termed the ancient practice "country" style (1), citing Anglican Bishop Gibson's estimation that the compositions in this style are as "ridiculous as they are new." Further, because of these musicians' lack of awareness of newer trends in performance practice, Riley denigrated them as not "acquainted with the first Principles of Harmony, nor even with that Species of Music which is proper for Parochial Singing; as their Tunes mostly consist of what they call Fuges, or (more properly) Imitations, and are, indeed, fit to be sung by those only who made them" (1). From this perspective, he instituted his belief in the superiority of the modern urban sophisticate, exemplified by a treble-led, mostly three-part, SSB or SAB manner of sacred music performance. Country-style music was for the ignorant and unsophisticated; urban parish music brought a sense of decorum and learnedness to the worship service. While the practice of lining out remained acceptable in smaller churches as a matter of practicality, those churches large enough to maintain a choir should institute

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<sup>1</sup> Riley used the term, "ancient," as taken from Pier Francisco Tosi (c. 1653-1732) in his *Observations on the Florid Song; or, Sentiments on the Ancient and Modern Singers*, trans. John Ernest Galliard (London, 1743), to describe music and musical style older than seventy years. For this reason, the term ancient will be used to describe tenor-led sacred music performance practice. Quoting Tosi, Riley stated that "[b]y the Ancients (by which he means those who lived about Seventy Years ago) Airs were sung in three different Manners; for the Theatre, the Stile was lively and various; for the Chamber, delicate and finished; and for the Church, moving and grave. This Difference, to very many Moderns, is quite unknown. § See TOSI on the Florid Song, Page 92" (5).

treble-led performance style as the only acceptable and genteel method of performance practice.

Although the rudeness of its compositional methodology caused musicians such as William Riley to view it with scorn, this objection was not its only fault. Perhaps more importantly, "country"-style music failed to promote congregational performance during the worship service. Instead, the music itself was too complicated for the average congregant to sing. As a result, it promoted choral performance by a specialized group of singers, at the expense of the rest of the congregation. Riley found that

[t]he original Psalm-Tunes were composed in an easy Stile, suitable to the Capacities of those for whom they were intended, which are chiefly such as sing only by Ear, and are (as the Title-Page of the Old Version expresses it) *To be sung of all the People together*. That is; those who sing by Ear, should follow the Clerk, who should always sing the Melody; and those who understand Music, should sing the Contra-Tenor, Tenor, or Bass, as their Voices will permit: But the Tunes which are used in Country Churches are too difficult to be remembred, and if they could, none are permitted to sing, unless they join themselves to those who are distinguished by the Appellations of THE SINGERS; who, being placed in a Gallery or Pew, engross this Part of the Public Worship to themselves; which Practice is directly opposite to the original Design and Intention of Psalmody, and deprives many devout Christians of the holy Pleasure they would have received in this Act of Devotion (2).

Without all members of the congregation being able to join in the performance, the music violated the spirit of the early Christian Church as described in the Book of Acts.

However, as an Anglican conformist, he would have been remiss not to allow any form of choral performance in the worship service. Riley continued:

I would not be understood, that those who delight to sing by themselves, in different Parts, should be intirely deprived of that Privilege, since that might be a Means of laying Psalmody wholly aside in those Churches; but if they have a Mind to sing an *Anthem*, or *Hymn*, it should be sung in that Part of the Service where the *Anthem* is appointed, or after Sermon; but in the *Singing-Psalms*, which should likewise be constantly used with such Tunes as are sung in *London*, the whole Congregations should join; and then, such as are best qualified would be a Help to those who sing only by Ear (2).

Within the liturgy, choral music occupied a fixed and limited position in the service, maintaining a distinct identity from congregational psalmody. Psalmody was designed for congregational worship: choral music for the parts of the service that allowed for such specialized performance, mostly anthems and liturgical music.

What Riley failed to see in the "country"-style music lay in its being neither new, nor originating among rural congregations. As discussed previously, the ancient "country" style enjoyed urban performance extending back to the earliest harmonized settings of psalm tunes in the sixteenth century. In particular, the "country" style became the one associated with urban English Presbyterians (as seen with the Eastcheap lectures and tunebooks) who cultivated and re-invigorated the ancient style of harmonization directly from Ravencroft's 1621 psalter. Contemporary to Riley, Presbyterian Aaron Williams (c. 1731-1776), a musician and clerk at the Scots Church, London Wall, composed psalm tunes and anthems, and compiled tunebooks utilizing the "country" style of psalmody, most notably in *The Universal Psalmody* (London, 1763). Many dissenter congregations used the tenor-led *Collection of Psalm Tunes* (London, c. 1760) by Caleb Ashworth (1722-1775), a Particular Baptist minister and school headmaster in Daventry near Northampton. Although it is true that "country"-style

psalmody was used in rural parishes and promoted by rural musicians, this style also remained as popular in certain urban churches and meetinghouses. Not coincidentally perhaps, Riley's disdain for the tenor-led style also encompassed other performance practices by Dissenters.

Riley's vitriol extended also to performance practice among the Nonconformist Anglicans associated with the early Methodist movement, a particularly large thorn in his conformist side. Methodism was perceived as a real threat to urban parish churches because their meetings started to usurp congregants' attention from the Divine Service. Instead, many attended the Methodist "Morning and Evening Lectures, where the Congregations, being mostly of that Cast, not only choose such Lecturers as suit their own Turn of Mind, but will also pay the Clerk and Organist to stay away, that Two of their own People may supply their Places; by which Means they have every Thing performed in their own Way" (3).

Although Riley found that the ancient style promoted choral performance at the expense of congregational singing, his objection lay in its practical execution. In contrast, he believed that Nonconformist performance practice violated fundamentally the principles of devotional propriety, literally transforming the church into a theater or alehouse, stating:

As to the *Methodists* singing of Song-Tunes to their *Hymns*, I believe none of them will deny, since Two of their greatest Preachers so strongly recommend it; and as a Book, intituled *Harmonia Sacra*, has been published by one of their own People, containing a Collection of their Hymn-Tunes, among which are the following Song-Tunes, &c. *viz.* *The DYING SWAN. My Bliss too long my Bride denies*, in the Play of *The Merchant of Venice*: ARNO'S VALE. *Busy curious thirsty Fly. Sure Jockey was the bonniest Swain. A Gavot in HUMPHREY'S Seventh Concerto*, which if danced to, is an HORNPIPE. *A MARCH in the Opera of RICHARD. Come let us agree. A DIALOGUE between Cupid*



and *Bacchus*, set by the late Mr PURCELL. *Tell me, lovely Shepherd, where. He comes, he comes, &c...* (3)

Besides the improprieties of performing theatrical, dance, and pagan-inspired music within a hallowed house of Christian worship, the use of love songs or ballad tunes by conformists revealed the poor taste of many of these adaptations. Devoid of religiosity and good sense, this style of music simply did not fit within Riley's views of the propriety of music used in the Divine Service:

But it may be necessary to inform such Persons, that it is the principal Concern of all good Composers, to make their Music expressive of the Sense, or Humour of the Words: If the Subject be divine, the Music should be grave, solemn and seraphic; but if gay, light or wanton, the Compositions are to be the same, and cannot with any Propriety be afterwards adapted to sacred Words; for the light airy Melodies, usually adapted to Ballads, have no manner of Connection with Divine Harmony; and a Composer would be thought to have lost his Reason and Senses, who would set a Penitential *Anthem* in the Stile of a *Sonnet*, in which a Lover is represented languishing at the feet of his Mistress; or a Thanksgiving-Hymn, in that of a Bacchanalian Song (4).

Though Charles Wesley might have held no reservations about using lascivious music for sanctified purposes, this principle proved thoroughly controversial to those conformist Anglicans that held notions of an innate sense of religiosity within a piece of sacred music. What Wesley saw as a means of empowering the church by taking music from the devil and transforming it to a godly expression, Riley saw as polluting the house of God by inviting Satan over the threshold. In particular,

The Singing of Ballad-Tunes in Public Worship, is not only ridiculous and profane, but also a very great Impropriety; they being only airy Melodies with thorough Basses for the Harpsichord, and sometimes Accompaniments for Violines, or other Instruments, as the Composer thinks most proper, which accompanying Parts, being peculiar to the Instruments for wick they are designed, are by no Means suitable to the Voice; and therefore none of them can be sung, but only the Melody itself: which, on Account of the great Variety of Notes into which it is divided, is therefore rendered very difficult for Practitioners in plain Psalmody, and consequently more so for those who sing only by ear, but especially for a large Congregation to sing together (8-9).

His remedy for these incursions of godlessness into the church was through the employment of poor and orphaned children to lead the performance of congregational psalmody, and occasional choral performance of hymnody. Hymns, in particular those associated with the *Harmonia Sacra* (London, ca. 1760) by Thomas Butts and *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (London, 1769) by Martin Madan (1726-1790) of London's Foundling Hospital, afforded children a creative outlet to sing the most current, fashionable modes of expression within a sacred setting. At the same time they were becoming inculcated with the moral virtues of their texts. However, their performance was limited mostly to extra-ecclesiastical venues. Riley believed that

[a]s for such of the Charity-Children as are taught Hymns, they are always those whom Nature has furnished with good Ears and tunable Voices, who, as aforesaid, learn every thing they hear. It is true they cannot learn Hymns, unless they are taught, but the Teaching of them Hymns does not instruct them in the singing of Songs, because they are not taught by Rule. Their learning of corrupt Ballads then

by Accident, may probably one time or other prove very prejudicial to them; but their learning of Hymns, at the same time that they please the Ear, they implant in their tender Minds the strictest Notions of Virtue and Religion (28).

Although the Methodist repertory violated Riley's principles of taste, decorum, and suitability for the Divine Service, hymnody did not, at least within certain circumstances. Further, a charity children's choir performance also afforded the opportunity for substantial monetary assistance by generous and often affluent members of the various Anglican parishes that employed children in the worship service (29).

In the British North American colonies during the 1750s and 60s, it was precisely this combination of performance styles, institutions for the performance of sacred music, and differing modes of expression that found reception and resonance in Dissenter and Anglican churches. Although William Riley fought against the rising wave of modernization and adaptation of the repertory and its modes of performance to contemporary sensibilities in London, the middle colonies of British North America were apparently the first areas to wholeheartedly adopt both the contemporary eighteenth-century form of ancient expression, and the aesthetic initiatives of Nonconformist Anglicans as an established performative norm. In this instance, the ancient style became associated almost exclusively with Dissenter and Calvinist-Nonconformist congregations, and both the modern, treble-led choral style performed by charity children, and Nonconformist solo style with basso continuo, with Anglican congregations. In effect, Anglicans and Dissenters established separate modes of expression: a distinct break from those trends established during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Tracing the split among Presbyterians and Anglicans involves studying the differences in performance practice in Dissenter and Anglican churches in the urban centers

of New York and Philadelphia. This split resulted in the instituting of Nonconformist musical expression in most Anglican churches throughout the middle colonies, the Chesapeake Tidewater and the Low Country. Likewise, the ancient style became associated mostly with Presbyterian and Baptist denominations of Philadelphia and its surrounding areas of Delaware, Maryland, the Virginia backcountry, and New Jersey. These trends would continue throughout the duration of the Colonial period, and into the early nineteenth century.

In contrast, the almost universal adoption of the ancient style in all churches in coastal Massachusetts and northern New England, regardless of denomination, would occur through the initiatives of Anglican musicians and publishers, creating an Anglican-ized Congregationalist choral performance practice distinct from the rest of British North America. As a result, two separate performative and compositional regions emerged in New England with one centered in Massachusetts Bay, and the other along the Connecticut River and Long Island Sound. These regions mirror the differing performance trends that appeared previously in the Congregationalist denominations in Massachusetts, and the Presbyterian churches of the Long Island Sound.

Discussions of sacred music performance practice before 1760 revealed a perceived commonality of eighteenth-century-style expression between Presbyterian and Anglican denominations in the colonies, with Massachusetts Congregationalist denominations maintaining an STB, seventeenth-century mode of expression. Now, the ancient style would come to characterize most of the Dissenter congregations in all areas of British North America. Further, the split between the tenor-led and treble-led style of expression would draw neat divisions among Anglican churches in New England, and those in the middle and southern colonies during the Late Colonial Period. This phenomenon explains how

churches in the Middle Atlantic and the Long Island Sound regions continued and modified their tradition of ancient expression independent of Anglicanized Congregationalist developments in northern New England. As a result, musicians in the Middle Atlantic exerted the most profound influence on subsequent southern and western backcountry trends in sacred music performance.

## Chapter 8. Perfecting Sacred Music: Ancient Expression in the Late-Colonial Middle Atlantic

In the final years of the 1750s, two musical figures emerged to exert a seminal influence on trends in sacred music in the future United States. Their careers and musical taste at once paralleled and contradicted each other. In similar paths, both men attended institutions of higher learning, graduating just one year apart: The College of New Jersey (Princeton) and the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania). Both found employment in Philadelphia, becoming central figures in the burgeoning cultural scene of the metropolis during its formative development. Both men composed sacred as well as secular music and published their own compositions. Finally, although music did not become their sole means of income, it played a critical role in their lives, both as composers and performers.

In contrast, they occupied opposing sides of the ancient and treble-led performance practice spectrum. One became a Dissenter minister, the other a devoted Anglican. Although one was destined to leave Philadelphia within a few years of his arrival, the other resided in this city for the duration of his life. These men were James Lyon (1735-1794) and Francis Hopkinson (1737-1791).<sup>1</sup> Though their tastes in expression differed greatly, each

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<sup>1</sup> Studies on Lyon and Hopkinson extend back to the pioneering *Francis Hopkinson: The First American Poet-Composer (1737-1791) and James Lyon Patriot, Preacher, Psalmist (1735-1794) Two Studies in Early American Music* (Washington, D.C., 1905) by Oscar Sonneck, and continued with Richard Crawford's "Preface" to the Da Capo Press reprint of *Urania* in 1974. Sonneck's work remains invaluable as a study into the life and activities of Lyon. Crawford's preface serves as a source study for publications that shaped the contents of this tunebook as well the dissemination of its contents to later printed source material. Finally, Nicholas Temperley, in his "First Forty: The Earliest American Compositions" in *American Music*, 15, 1 (Spring 1997), updated and corrected several of these findings.

drew from the other's works, maintaining a congenial and apparently open musical relationship.

Before the 1760s English-language denominations in the British North American colonies maintained distinct identities through two basic traits: the use of instruments inside the church or meetinghouse, and the creation of unique denominational tune repertoires shaped by source material from various other denominations. Although all shared a large common repertory, each performed a number of unique tunes that served as markers of identity. Similarly, as discussed previously, some tunes circulated regionally and appeared with variants specific to a particular denomination in a given geographic locale. In contrast, with the collections of Lyon and Hopkinson, many of the tunes found in Lyon's work appear also in that of Francis Hopkinson, but modified to suit Philadelphia's Anglican performance practice. Not coincidentally, a tune by Hopkinson first appeared in Lyon's Philadelphia Dissenter compilation before his own, being arranged to suit Dissenter taste.

As a result, repertory, while important in establishing a few compositions particular to either an individual denomination or the various denominations united by a similar theological disposition such as Calvinism, does not denote as clearly denominational specificity in the 1760s as it did earlier. Both Lyon and Hopkinson included psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs in their collections. What set them apart was the manner in which the tunes were presented in their compilations. Through a different means of expression, both men set the standards for Dissenter and Anglican musical worship in the middle colonies. In the Middle Atlantic, the ancient style became linked to the congregational repertory of Dissenting churches. Two related treble-dominated styles became associated particularly with Anglicans; the first a three-part choral form of metrical psalmody, and the second, a solo as well as a choral, Nonconformist form of hymnody taken from compilations

associated with early Methodism. Each would adapt a tune's presentation to the performance practice of their denomination. In essence, the Anglican and Presbyterian styles effectively split.

Before the 1760s, expression differed mostly by geographic region rather than denomination. Outside observers' perceptions on performance could conflate a similar-sounding expression with a difference of intent or purpose in its relationship to a particular denomination's history, as encountered in an early description of Presbyterian and Anglican performance practice. Now however, musical style defined denominational specificity throughout much of the southern Middle Atlantic. It did not become divided according to seemingly prejudiced notions of country and urban parameters that conflated ancient expression with rusticity, a view held by Londoner William Riley. Rather, ancient and treble-led expression became instead a statement of theological disposition. Throughout the southern Middle Atlantic, denominations assumed a role that declaimed Dissenters as bearers of tradition, and Anglicans purveyors of the modern and fashionable.

### **8.1 James Lyon's *Urania* and the Ancient Style in the Middle Atlantic**

James Lyon was born in Newark, New Jersey on July 1, 1735, son of Zophar Lyon, and his wife Mary.<sup>2</sup> Nothing much is known about his upbringing and training, other than his father's untimely death in 1744. James studied at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and graduated with two degrees, his baccalaureate in 1760, and a Master of Arts in 1762. During his college years, Lyon first distinguished himself through the composition of music to accompany an ode performed at the commencement exercise for his baccalaureate degree. Two years later at his second commencement, he delivered an oration and composed the

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<sup>2</sup> Sonneck, 121-24.



music to another ode, *The Military Glory of Great-Britain, an Entertainment*.<sup>3</sup> In the time between his degrees, Lyon lived in Philadelphia, exerting, through his publication of *Urania* a seminal influence on sacred music performance practice not only in Philadelphia, but also among Dissenters throughout a geographic area ultimately spanning New Hampshire to North Carolina, as well as Anglicans in New England, the southern backcountry, and the Caribbean.<sup>4</sup>

At the time that James published *Urania, a Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems, and Hymns* (Philadelphia, 1761), he had been active in Philadelphia as a teacher of singing schools for the past year. Scholar Oscar Sonneck dates his arrival to Philadelphia as sometime late in 1759 (128), based upon an advertisement for a singing school posted in the *Pennsylvania Journal* on December 6. Presumably, Lyon moved to Philadelphia upon completing his first degree from the College of New Jersey in September of that year (124). If he had not already begun work on compiling *Urania*, he must have started immediately, as his proposal for printing the tunebook by subscription appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on May 22, 1760 (134-6).

Although British colonial printers had issued earlier tune collections throughout the North American colonies from Massachusetts to South Carolina, Lyon understood his proposed collection to be distinct from these earlier publications. At the end of the proposal, he included the following comment on his new tunebook: "As this is the first Attempt of the kind to spread the Art of Psalmody, in its Perfection, thro' our American Colonies, and as the whole Collection will be better fitted to the Use of Churches and

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<sup>3</sup> *The Military Glory of Great-Britain, an Entertainment, given by the late candidates for Bachelor's Degree, at the close of the anniversary commencement, held in Nassau-Hall New-Jersey, September 29th, 1762* (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1762).

<sup>4</sup> Crawford, xxiv.

private Families than any ever published in America, 'tis humbly expected the Work will meet with proper Encouragement."<sup>5</sup> Lyon placed special emphasis on two features: using the word "perfection" to describe the settings or harmonizations of the tunes in his proposed collection, and indicating specifically that its intended audience lay within public *and* private spheres.

As discussed previously, British colonial collections before 1760 printed tunes in one, two, and occasionally three parts, depending either on the geographic point of origin of the compiler, or the work's intended use by a specific denomination, such as the traditional three-part style embraced by Congregationalists in Massachusetts. In particular, English Presbyterian manuscript and printed collections, though following ancient practice, almost exclusively presented the various tunes in two parts. Lyon evidently viewed this scoring procedure as an imperfection in expression. Similarly, *The Youth's Entertaining Amusement* by William Dawson, the only colonial Presbyterian publication before 1760, appeared merely as an instructional work with an appended congregational tune supplement intended for the singing school. Given the limitations of tune settings and intended audience within earlier Presbyterian compilations, Lyon addressed this paucity by advertising its more flexible use outside these restrictive conditions.

Successful in his endeavors to secure subscriptions for the work, Lyon placed another advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Journal* on July 24, 1760 stating that the printing of the work had commenced, and that he was "determined to compleat them as soon as possible."<sup>6</sup> By October, work had progressed far enough that several sheets became

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<sup>5</sup> *Pennsylvania Journal* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 22, 1760

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in Sonneck, 135.

available for public inspection at a singing school beginning on November 3 of that year.<sup>7</sup> Making his tunebook available to the subscribers in 1761, and to the general public the following year (Sonneck 136), Lyon settled on the title *Urania* for his tune collection, instead of the more generic "Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems, from the best Authors, with some entirely New, and a Number of Dr. Watts' and Mr. Addison's Hymns set to Music" listed in the May proposal.<sup>8</sup>

### ***8.1.1 Urania as Conceit***

Lyon's choice of *Urania* offers several interpretive possibilities. On the surface, Urania refers to the muse of astronomy. As expected, the figure of Urania appears in the engraved title page of Lyon's tunebook, seen with the stars surrounding her head, and her eyes transfixed on the heavens (**Example 8.1**). However, aspects characteristic of her typical iconography remain conspicuously absent, including a globe held in her left hand and an embroidered cloak. Despite the appearance of some visual features associated with Urania on the title page, citing the muse's representation as the only inspiration behind the name of Lyon's tunebook ignores other possibilities for her presence. As a minister, Lyon might have found inspiration with her association with philosophy and poetry as described by John Milton in book seven of *Paradise Lost*:

DEscend from Heav'n Urania, by that name

If rightly thou art call'd, whose Voice divine

Following, above th' Olympian Hill I soare,

Above the flight of Pegasean wing.

The meaning, not the Name I call: for thou [ 5 ]

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<sup>7</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia) and the *Pennsylvania Journal*, October 23, 1760.

<sup>8</sup> *Pennsylvania Journal* and *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 22, 1760.

Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top  
 Of old Olympus dwell'st, but Heav'nlie borne,  
 Before the Hills appeerd, or Fountain flow'd,  
 Thou with Eternal Wisdom didst converse,  
 Wisdom thy Sister, and with her didst play [ 10 ]  
 In presence of th' Almighty Father, pleas'd  
 With thy Celestial Song.<sup>9</sup>

Lyon also could have used her association with astronomy as a metaphor for the music of the spheres.

**Example 8.1. Title-page to *Urania* by James Lyon**



<sup>9</sup> [http://www.dartmouth.edu/~milton/reading\\_room/pl/book\\_7/index.shtml](http://www.dartmouth.edu/~milton/reading_room/pl/book_7/index.shtml).

However, he more likely used the muse specifically in reference to music. According to Classical mythology, Urania and the god Apollo were the parents of Linus, who inherited from his father, the gift of music. Although often associated with dirges in the pagan literature, Linus became a type of gnostic representation of song by early Christian writers. According to Hesiod as quoted by Clement of Alexander, Linus was "skilled in all manner of wisdom."<sup>10</sup> Similarly, Diogenes Laertius, (viii. 1. 26) also quoted Hesiod, stating: "So Urania bore Linus, a very lovely son: and from him all men who are singers and harpers do bewail at feasts and dances, and as they begin and as they end they call on Linus."<sup>11</sup> As a college-educated man and minister, Lyon would most likely have read these texts during his studies at the College of New Jersey.

From this perspective, *Urania* as a tunebook offers at least two forms of interpretation, given this metaphoric construct. The tunebook as a physical object could represent the embodiment of Urania the muse as mother of the gnostic embodiment of music. The music within its contents would represent the harp, a symbol of Apollo.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 1, 4

(<http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/clement-stromata-book1.html>).

<sup>11</sup> Hesiod, *Hesiod, the Homeric hymns, and Homeric*, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (London: W. Heinemann; Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1959), 159.

<sup>12</sup> Many tunebooks, both English and German, employed a harp metaphor for the music found within their collections, though more often from the perspective of King David during the eighteenth century. See, for instance, Henry Playford's *The Divine Companion: or, David's Harp New Tun'd. Being a choice collection of new & easie psalms, hymns and anthems*, ed. 2 (London: William Pearson, for Henry Playford, 1707), discussed in chapter six.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, this metaphoric construction extended to encompass both sacred and secular settings, such as the various books titled *Sacred Harp*, including J. J. Hickock's *The Sacred Harp* (Lewistown, Pa: Shugert & Cummings, 1832), Benjamin Franklin White and E. Joel King's *The Sacred Harp, a collection of psalm and hymn tunes, odes, and anthems, selected from the most eminent authors: together with nearly one hundred pieces never before published* (Philadelphia: B. F. White and Joel King, 1844), or Timothy and Lowell Mason's *The Sacred Harp, or Eclectic Harmony: a new collection of church music: in patent notes* (Cincinnati: Truman and Smith, 1834), besides an earlier Mennonite publication *Die kleine geistliche Harfe der Kinder Zions* (Germantown, PA: Michael Billmeyer, 1803).

Through learning the rudiments of music and singing, those who studied its contents would, like Linus, become the children of Urania and Apollo. As a collection of vocal music, equating the book with the muse seems particularly apt, given the association of Urania with Apollo and Linus with singing.

Alternatively, Lyon might have made a statement of colonial identity and his position as a compiler of a new type of British colonial tune collection. Hoping that *Urania* would give birth to a perfected form of musical performance practice and expression, Lyon's work could foster a burgeoning sacred music culture in the colonies as a virtual embodiment of Linus. Lyon considered the prevailing modes of sacred music performance imperfect throughout the colonies. By invoking the muse who gave birth to the gnostic symbol of music, Lyon could have hoped to perfect the prevailing modes with a model of sacred music expression for the British colonies through an awakening of musical sensibilities and aesthetic.

Besides classical allusions to music, the name Urania has another precedent among English Presbyterians and other Dissenters. Urania was one of the heroes in a seventeenth-century allegorical romance by the Dissenter minister Nathaniel Ingelo (c. 1621-1683). *Bentivolio and Urania* (London, 1660) demonstrated the triumph of virtue over adversity through a pilgrim-like wandering through lands cast with hedonism and fraud. The climax of

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Conversely, others contained secular titles such as Marcus Lafayette Swan's *The Harp Of Columbia: a new system of sacred music; with notes for every sound, and shapes for every note* (Philadelphia and Knoxville: for the author, by L. Johnson and Co., 1849), John G. McCurry's *The Social Harp, a collection of tunes, odes, anthems, and set pieces, selected from various authors: together with much new music never before published* (Philadelphia: T.K. Collins, Jr., 1855), or Lilla Linden's *Linden Harp: a rare collection of popular melodies, adapted to sacred and moral songs, original and selected* (New York: Daniel Burgess & Co.; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.; Cincinnati: Applegate & Co., 1856). Given the fluctuating meaning behind the use of the term "harp" within a collection, Lyon could easily have intended his harp to constitute a reference to Apollo.

the novel was the characters' arrival at the lands of prudence and goodness. This popular work influenced *The Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan, the most popular work of fiction among Dissenters.<sup>13</sup>

Ingelo, a member of the Cambridge Platonists, was a Dissenter clergyman active in Bristol. Involved in church music and poetry, he composed hymns popular among English Presbyterians, as seen with AN HYMN ON DIVINE MUSICK found in London's Little Eastcheap tunebooks and in the Long Island Sound Presbyterian repertory, with which Lyon possibly would have been directly familiar as he was raised in Newark, New Jersey. The factors of Ingelo's involvement in music and hymnody, combined with his position as a Dissenter minister could have inspired Lyon to appropriate the name Urania for his tunebook. In a similar vein, Lyon's tunebook offered a path to virtue through the study of musical notation as a means to allow the reader the ability to offer praise to the Divine. Conversely, it could also be a self-referential statement of Lyon's own pilgrimage to understand the mysteries of music and composition, thereby achieving moral goodness as a devoted Christian musician. In either case, it enabled the congregant to sing with understanding, as extolled by the Apostle Paul in 1 Corinthians 14:15, 19. Ultimately, both Ingelo's novel and Lyon's tunebook reveal to the reader the benefits of prudence and goodness through overcoming paths of adversity inherent in learning either morality or musical notation for praising God.

### ***8.1.2 Urania as a Traditional English Presbyterian Collection***

Despite being recognized as a seminal work in the development of American psalmody, *Urania's* relationship to earlier colonial collections and denominational expression

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<sup>13</sup> Robert Naylor Whiteford, *Motives in English Fiction* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1918), 53-58.

proves somewhat enigmatic. Crawford and Sonneck analyzed it mostly on the basis of its contents, and not its place as an English Presbyterian document.<sup>14</sup> An examination of *Urania* from a denominational perspective reveals that its contents and expression are simultaneously representative of traditional English Presbyterian practice, both in its London and North American colonial forms, and without precedent in American sacred music bibliographic history. Lyon adopted the modes of his denominational upbringing and modified some of its expression to create a new standard for Middle Atlantic, Dissenter practice.

From a traditionalist perspective, *Urania* preserved many features characteristic of English Presbyterians. Although Lyon drew a substantial portion of the actual repertory from English collections whose contents do not appear in earlier colonial-published compilations, the compositional types found in *Urania* remained traditional to colonial, English Presbyterian source material. Further, Lyon's process of tune selection followed standard, English Presbyterian practice, in its combination of traditional and progressive Dissenter and Anglican compositional genres within a single text. This combination of traditional repertory types and practice, with contemporary, ancient-style repertory and expression, reveals most demonstrably Lyon's place as a musical traditionalist.

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<sup>14</sup> Sonneck did however call attention to this deficiency. He admonished:

[t]he attempt [to assign Lyon's 'Urania' to its true place in the history of American psalmody] would call for a detailed examination of the denominational character of the book. This would necessitate the minute study of religious contrasts in the Colonies. Then the confluent or diffluent influences upon the development of psalmody would have to be closely investigated. And all this with the aid of a history of the individual psalm-tunes, which does not exist! I do not desire to confuse the public still more than has been done by others, and I prefer to describe 'Urania' without making it a mirror of the universe, to disclose to a certain degree the influence which both American and English publications had upon the book, to trace in turn the influence which it exercised over later psalmodists, and to refute previous criticism of Lyon's collection as far as I consider it incorrect (148).



Secondly, the format for the various compositional types appearing within the collection followed English Presbyterian practice, characteristic of both London's Little Eastcheap publications as well as the manuscript compilations from the Long Island Sound. Textless psalm tunes with and without a specific indicated text appear first, followed by the anthems and hymn repertory that include an underlying text. Although Lyon did not insert a few secular songs into his tunebook as found in the Long Island Sound repertory, his organization of *Urania* follows the traditional method of Presbyterian compilations, though on a somewhat larger scale than that of earlier colonial Presbyterian sources. In effect, Lyon's tunebook includes all of the genres prescribed by the Apostle Paul and the creators of the English Presbyterian repertory.<sup>15</sup> The majority of this repertory consists of textless psalm tunes, with approximately one-third of its contents devoted to hymns, spiritual songs, and anthems.

Further, *Urania* preserved a patriarchal mode of performance through the continuation of its ancient expression. In the tunes intended for congregational use, the tenor voice assumed the melodic lead, continuing the tradition of the male voice as song leader, and hence, as the voice of authority for devotional worship. As with earlier English Presbyterian compilations from both the Long Island Sound and Philadelphia, many of the tunes used tenor and alto clefs for the tenor and alto parts respectively. Not only using clef to establish the actual sounding pitch, Lyon specified often the gender of the person singing each individual part.<sup>16</sup> Unlike some later ancient-style musicians, Lyon evidently did not prescribe or encourage octave doubling of the treble and tenor voices.

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<sup>15</sup> See Table 9.

<sup>16</sup> "The C Cliff is movable in all Authors, but. the Line it stands on is always C, and must be sounded a 5th above the F Cliff, and a 5th below the G Cliff, except when the latter is prefix'd to a part design'd for mens Voices. (which is frequently the case. with the Tenor &

Finally, as a result of its format, the tunebook proved equally versatile for use in devotional, social, and domestic circles, attested by his intended reception of the compilation for "Churches and Private Families." Lyon hoped that the work would "merit your Approbation; to please the Taste of the Public; to assist the private Christian in his daily Devotion; and to improve in any Degree, an important Part of Divine Service in these Colonies, for which it was designed."<sup>17</sup> With a repertory that included textless psalm tunes for congregational use, extended anthems and hymns for choral performance, and secular songs for social occasions, the Long Island Sound repertory fulfilled the same criteria for which *Urania* could have served.

### ***8.1.3 Urania as Representative of Musical Innovation***

As well as fulfilling its role as a document of traditional denominational expression, *Urania* incorporated several features new to British North American colonial tune collections. These aspects include some inherent in the collection itself, such as part setting, part specification, and intent of performance; some related to its origin, such as the sources that influenced its contents and its compositional types; and others related to its distribution outside the Middle Atlantic. For the congregational repertory, Lyon increased the standard number of voices in part settings from two to four, paralleling scoring differences between the Laurence and Gawthorn tunebooks from London's Little Eastcheap congregation. In a few instances, Lyon composed additional voices for tunes that had originally appeared in only two and three parts in earlier compilations, mostly settings such as THE NEW 100 PSALM TUNE and ST. HUMPHRY'S TUNE in its Presbyterian, PSALM 108 variant. His

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Counter in this Book) then it is a 4th above the G Cliff, for that is now an Octave. (or 8 Notes) below its usual place, and Unison (or the same sound) with the highest G in the Bass." Source: James Lyon, *Urania*, iii.

<sup>17</sup> "Preface" to *Urania*.

adaptations included also pieces from Congregationalist and Anglican tunebooks and musicians. In all instances, the expression would be made to conform to ancient practice, regardless of the original setting.

However, in the hymn and spiritual song repertory, part settings would conform to their appearance in earlier sources, mostly the modern and fashionable three and two-part settings of tunes in Nonconformist Anglican tunebooks. Only one hymn tune included a four-part chorus, a setting of 'THE 104TH PSALM composed by Lyon himself. For hymn settings, unlike his presentation of congregational tunes, Lyon maintained a layout similar to that of Nonconformist tune collections, most notably 'Thomas Butts' *Harmonia Sacra* (London, ca. 1760), the work that was dismissed caustically by Londoner William Riley. In this instance, Butts presumably intended the tune-carrying voice for a treble singer, though placed on the second staff in a system. Unfortunately, Lyon did not specify whether the melody was intended for treble or tenor in this section of his tunebook. Despite this lack of clarity in voice assignation, Lyon's presentation mirrors those tunes' appearances in earlier publications.

Likewise, he presented the anthems and set pieces as they appeared in their original sources, with a resulting variation in part setting ranging from two to four voices. Similarly, the melodic line vacillates between the top and middle stave of a system among the works. Only in this section does the denominational point of origin, or possible original intent of public performance, become manifest. Lyon followed the conventions of the original source, whether a composition was taken from a published tunebook, or personally from a musician in the colonies. Interestingly, in the congregational section he had re-arranged the parts and added voices for a unified four-part ancient expression, whenever necessary. In the section devoted to extended choral pieces, he did not, suggesting that extended pieces in

*Urania* either did not follow a standardized practice, or that the pieces themselves reflected a pan-denominational or extra-denominational repertory, depending either on performance venue, or the social or devotional intent of its performance. This lack of uniformity becomes particularly revealing in the pieces original to *Urania* by area musicians in the Middle Atlantic colonies.

Differing scoring procedures based upon compositional type, and tune presentation suggest a different set of parameters for defining pan-denominational influences in *Urania*. For example, Lyon addressed his preface "To The Clergy of every Denomination in *America*," indicating its potential use among a wider spectrum of the Christian public than just Lyon's English Presbyterian base. Comparison of the contents of *Urania* with the earlier pan-denominational *Youths Entertaining Amusement* by William Dawson (Philadelphia, 1754) shows a difference in intent despite a seemingly identical intended reception of both works by their compilers.

Dawson's volume presented a repertory that could prove equally useful to all major English-language denominations in the colonies: Calvinist groups such as Congregationalists, English and Scottish Presbyterian, and perhaps Regular Baptist Dissenters,<sup>18</sup> as well as Anglicans. Limiting his collection's contents solely to congregational repertory, Dawson created a pan-denominational collection based upon his tune selection. By including the most popular tunes common to all denominations as well as a few works unique to each, Dawson attempted to create a balanced volume that would meet his work's intended reception, despite its tangible influence present almost exclusively among Presbyterian congregants.

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<sup>18</sup> In England, Calvinist Baptists were known as Particular Baptists owing to their belief in adult baptism versus pedo-baptism. In the British colonies and the later United States, Calvinist Baptists were known as Regular Baptists.

In contrast, Lyon's volume does not follow this same process of negotiation. Instead, his statement of pan-denominational influence is, in part, based upon musical style and compositional type. According to Lyon, the ancient style, in its earlier colonial Presbyterian form, remained imperfect. Now, a perfected ancient style of sacred music could find equal reception among all churches and denominations, at least theoretically. To achieve this end he enlisted the direct contributions of colonial Anglican and Dissenter musicians, as well as an array of British and American source material that featured the prevailing modes of ancient expression and compositional type. Not surprisingly, Lyon also arranged works by regional musicians to conform to the ancient style when necessary, or the performance standards of Calvinist Dissenter churches. Rather than offer a tune selection consisting solely of pieces intended for congregational performance, Lyon elected to follow the more typical English Presbyterian tradition and present a broader ancient-style repertory that combined both Anglican and Dissenter compositions and composition types.<sup>19</sup>

The second major aspect of pan-denominationalism in *Urania* lies in its inclusion of compositional types representative of particular denominations. In selecting pre-composed tunes for *Urania*, Lyon often chose pieces within compositional types that conformed to a single denominational origin. For example, all of the anthems, and extended fusing and antiphonal psalm tunes descend from Anglican conformist publications by ancient-style psalmists (**Table 8.1**). Similarly, the hymn repertory originated from Nonconformist tune collections associated with early Methodism. In each of these instances, Lyon consciously inserted distinctly Anglican works into his collection, following the tradition established both by the London Little Eastcheap tunebooks, as well as the manuscript compilations from the

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<sup>19</sup> Also different from Dawson's collection, *Urania* does not contain any specifically Scottish Presbyterian tunes, suggesting its intended use only among colonists of specifically English heritage.

Long Island Sound. As a result, *Urania* reveals itself to be a colonial English Presbyterian tune compilation descended directly from British aesthetic initiatives arising in the late seventeenth century. Although the compilation process remains traditional, the sources that Lyon drew from represent a new phase for American psalmody.

## **8.2 Compositional Types and Denominational Specificity in *Urania* Part 1: Ancient-Style Repertory**

The repertory that Lyon chose for inclusion in *Urania* falls into four basic compositional-denominational categories. From conformist Anglican publications, he chose a selection of newly composed ancient-style psalm and hymn tunes including decorated and/or extended plain tunes; fusing tunes, or plain tunes with fusing choruses; and antiphonal tunes, or antiphonal tunes with fusing choruses. He also selected from these sources a variety of anthems and extended choral works. Ancient-style harmonizations of older congregational plain tunes were taken from Dissenter publications. Finally, Lyon selected from Nonconformist tune collections associated with the early Methodist movement a variety of hymns and spiritual songs. Of note, the fusing tune or tune with fusing chorus was new to Presbyterian expression, seven of which he chose for inclusion in *Urania*.

### ***8.2.1 Ancient-Style Conformist Anglican Sources***

The newly composed ancient-style, decorated and/or extended, psalm and hymn tunes, and anthems belong to the Anglican tradition. For his collection, Lyon drew from some of the most popular as well as obscure collections of psalmody from mid-eighteenth-century England. Collectively, the compilers of these tunebooks were connected to most of the major urban centers and port cities in England, including London, Liverpool, and

Bristol, the principal English departure points for immigration and shipping to the colonies.<sup>20</sup> The area surrounding London, known as the Home Counties, was home to Abraham Adams (c. 1730-90) of Shoreham, Kent and John Arnold (c. 1720-92) of Great Warley, Essex. In the Midlands, Uriah Davenport (1690-1784) lived near Rushton Chapel in Leek, Staffordshire. Northeast of Manchester, two psalmodists lived in the area between the Yorkshire Dales and the Peake District: James Green (fl. 1713-51) of Wombwell and Israel Holdroyd (fl. 1724-53) of Halifax. Finally, in Southeast England lived John Stafford Smith (fl. 1745-65) of Market Lavington, Wiltshire, near the port city of Bristol. Though most of these compilers lived outside major urban centers, commerce, industry, employment, and other cultural influences necessitated close relationships with these cities. Adams and Arnold remained tied to London; Davenport, Green and Holdroyd to Liverpool; and Smith to Bristol.

However, these connections might have little influence over a compilation's dissemination to British North America because all were published and printed in London, and their distribution overseas would have been controlled both by individuals and local booksellers in colonial urban centers. Because of this fact, it remains impossible to know whether Lyon encountered these works as a result of their compilers' places of residence and connections to regional emigration or shipping patterns, or through the printing houses of London that in turn were connected to the largest mercantile houses and commercial shipping businesses, all based in the capital.<sup>21</sup> One scenario would reveal regional patterns

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<sup>20</sup> Bernard Bailyn and Barbara DeWolfe, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), 113-25.

<sup>21</sup> For example, Lyon might have acquired the tunes from Smith's collection directly from William Tuckey, the choirmaster at Trinity Church in New York City, who had previously held the post of Vicar-Choral at Bristol Cathedral and Clerk of the Parish of St. Mary Port in

for distribution, the other a mass distribution disregarding regionality. Because Philadelphia boasted the largest port of entry to the British North American colonies, Lyon's access to these publications could have occurred from either possibility.

A comparison of the tune contents of *Urania* to the Long Island Sound manuscript repertory reveals similar examples of decorated and extended choral works in all collections. Not surprisingly, these shared compositional types in the Long Island Sound repertory were taken from Anglican collections too, including Henry Playford's *The Divine Companion*, ed. 2 (London, 1707) and William Tans'ur's *The Royal Psalmodist Compleat* (s.l., c. 1744).<sup>22</sup> Consequently, *Urania* betrays a strong Anglican flavor. The reasons for this Anglican denominational presence do not lay primarily with Lyon's appropriation of the Anglican style. Rather, he incorporated some Anglican features into his English Presbyterian aesthetic, resulting from his attempts to modernize the repertory and revise somewhat its expression.<sup>23</sup> For instance, though part settings increased from two to mostly three and four parts, the aesthetic of ancient expression remained identical. It is in the extension of antiphonal and contrapuntal procedures in the newer repertory that its expression reveals the most visible changes over time.

Not only paralleling trends in earlier colonial Presbyterian source material, this expansion of compositional techniques appears in colonial Anglican sources too. For

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Bristol. Source: Amy Aaron, "William Tuckey, A Choirmaster in Colonial New York" in *The Musical Quarterly* 64, 1 (Jan., 1978), 81.

<sup>22</sup> Lyon took most of his rudiments from another Tans'ur source, the *Royal Melody Compleat* (London, 1756). Source: Sonneck, 166-168.

<sup>23</sup> Despite these Anglican trappings, *Urania* remains a document of English Presbyterian style. Paralleling earlier colonial manuscripts, much compositional overlap occurred between Anglican and Presbyterian compilations. See, for instance, the parallels in tune content between Anglican Samuel Peyre's manuscript commonplace book with Presbyterian Richard Ellis' manuscript. In other instances a tune might have specific Anglican and Presbyterian variant melodic contours and settings, as seen with the discussion of PSALM 106.



example, the apparently colonial-composed tunes found in the Joseph Holladay copybook from Tidewater Virginia, though appearing in one or two-part settings, followed the modern form of the ancient style as found in Lyon's *Urania*. PSALM 132 employed melismatic sigh figures and implied harmonic sequences characteristic of mid-eighteenth-century ancient-style British expression. Similarly, PSALM 106, a two-part psalm setting, featured an alternatim style of antiphonal performance, with solo passages given first to the tenor voice and second to the bass. *Urania* featured not only works with these older techniques, but also a number of others with more contemporary uses of antiphonal exchange, appearing in more fashionable, trendier compositional types.

Perhaps the biggest change occurred through the introduction of choruses to psalm settings. In all conformist instances, the chorus consisted of a repetition of the last two lines of text in a given verse. Introduction of this type of chorus afforded composers more flexibility for textural contrasts in a given tune. For example, the antiphonal tune DORCHESTER (**Anth**) by William Knapp taken from John Arnold's *The Compleat Psalmist*, features a verse setting that consists of an antiphonal exchange among all voices, with each assigned one line of the four-line stanza. Following the verse, all voices unite in a four-voice plain-style chorus, offering an antiphonal shift between verse and chorus for a dramatic and reiterative effect. Knapp also added further compositional variety by repeating in the tutti chorus the melodic material of the bass voice from its previous solo. Above this melodic repetition, Knapp provided a new melody in the tenor, harmonized (presumably) from the melodic material in the previous bass solo. Besides this specific antiphonal device, a composer could write a fusing chorus with a single point of imitation, providing yet another opportunity for textural variety. Alternatively, a verse might comprise a duet setting

of the verse without antiphonal exchange, and a tutti four-part chorus, again providing an antiphonal shift between verse and chorus.

In antiphonal tunes without choruses, composers expanded on the alternatim-style exchange by repeating melodic material in the various antiphonal passages between parts, and melodic material found in both antiphonal and tutti passages either in the same voice, or between parts. THE 98TH PSALM TUNE (**Anth**) taken from *A Book of Psalmody* by James Green contains several of these features with four instances of antiphonal exchange between varied duet and trio passages. The tune includes two instances of repeated cadential material, the first shared between the first and third phrases. In both phrases, the tenor is assigned repeated cadential material even though the antiphonal settings differ between sections. Secondly, the tune contains another repeated cadential statement between the second and fourth phrases. Although the melodic line of the cadential material is identical, the second phrase is set for the treble voice and the fourth the tenor. Further, repeated melodic material occurs between antiphonal and tutti sections. In effect, the tune follows an ABA'B' format typical of early congregational psalm tunes. However, the introduction of these textural variations remains distinct and modern. Likewise, though the substance of these antiphonal devices remains identical between the older and newer material, the techniques have expanded to allow for more creative license by the composer.

While tunes with antiphonal exchange appear in a more elaborate form than earlier examples from colonial Presbyterian and Anglican repertoires, this compositional type was at least present among all the major English-language denominations. In contrast, the fusing tune did not appear in earlier American source material.<sup>24</sup> As a result, both fusing tunes and

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<sup>24</sup> However, fusing sections did occur in some of the anthems in the earlier Long Island Sound repertory.

tunes with a fugging chorus demonstrate the adoption of new compositional types into the ancient-style colonial repertory.

However, despite the fact that tunes with fugging passages appear in these two basic compositional types, the construction of fugging sections shows little regularity in methodology or approach. Some composers attempted canonic points of imitation, others rudimentary tonic and dominant-style answers. Still others did not attempt strict counterpoint, but instead paired voices together for antiphonal fugging exchanges or paired textual overlap. Some composed tunes that imitated imitative counterpoint, but in reality constituted only free counterpoint among the various voices. Likewise, composers demonstrated little regularity in the number of fugging passages introduced within a given composition. Some might compose only one fugging passage in the final phrase, and others might write tunes with each phrase introducing a new fugging passage. In sum, much freedom was accorded the composer, given the fluid nature of the fugging tune and the tune with fugging chorus.

THE 12TH PSALM TUNE (**Anth**), adapted from *The Psalmist's New Companion* by Abraham Adams includes three fugging passages, each featuring a different approach to fugging technique, including single voice entries, paired antiphonal entries, and repeated melodic material found in both homophonic and fugging passages, and in various fugging passages between parts. This work begins and ends with homophonic sections, functioning as a set of compositional bookends. In the first fugging passage, the order of entries follows the bass to treble entry pattern common to many tunes of the period. However, the bass entry bears no relation to those of the other voices. Only the tenor and treble parts constitute a strict unison canonic point of imitation; the alto resembles the tenor line only through the first four notes. The second fugging passage appears to be built both upon the

first fusing passage and the tenor melody of the initial homophonic section. Now, repeated melodic material is shared between voices from the earlier material. The treble entry in the second fusing passage states the melodic material of the alto entry from the first. The bass voice enters with the material given previously to the tenor and treble in the first fusing passage. Then the tenor enters with melodic material identical to the opening homophonic phrase. The alto then repeats twice the melodic material of the first fusing passage. Though much of the material is the same between these sections, the work avoids tedium through varied repetitions of melodic material, orders of entries, and shared melodic material. The final fusing passage begins with the alto and is based upon the melodic material of the treble and bass in the previous fusing passage. It is answered by the other three voices, which enter as an antiphonal block unit. Not unexpectedly, only the tenor line enters with material that resembles the alto, the others functioning as free answers to the initial entry of this passage. For such a short piece, THE 12TH PSALM TUNE includes an array of techniques designed to showcase the singer's ability to perform intricate music, despite its frequent violations of common practice conventions of dissonance, voicing, harmony, and parallelisms.

In an effort to modernize ancient-style expression, Lyon selected a number of works taken from conformist Anglican practice. Though denigrated by musicians such as William Riley, the then-modern form of the ancient style allowed for more creativity in tune setting by the composer. It also offered the singers a chance to display their prowess at performing psalm and hymn tunes that featured antiphonal and contrapuntal passages, composed for a dramatic or at the very least, a musical special effect. Evidently, what Lyon saw as desirable in these tunes proved threatening to musicians such as William Riley. In contrast, Riley perceived a type of chasteness in the strictly homophonic repertory that lent to itself a

simple and devotional mode of congregational performance. Riley believed that the then-modern form of the ancient style remained too difficult for the average congregant. Hence, it only allowed for one segment of the congregation to worship for the rest. He saw only an obstruction and obfuscation to true religiosity. Lyon disagreed. He placed antiphonal and fusing tunes in the congregational section of *Urania*. Though not occupying a predominant portion of the tunebook, these decorated and extended tunes reveal a shift in attitude regarding the nature of congregational repertory and its effect on the religious experience.

### *8.2.2 Ancient-Style Dissenter Sources*

For much of the congregational repertory outside of ancient-style Anglican sources, Lyon chose harmonized settings of mostly older congregational material from various collections by Dissenter musicians from England and British North America. From Presbyterian compilers, Lyon chose tune settings from Thomas Moore (d. 1792) of Manchester, England and later Glasgow, Scotland, and William Dawson of Philadelphia. Likewise, Lyon took a few tunes from the Massachusetts tune supplement to Tate and Brady's *A New Version of the Psalms of David* (Boston, 1755) by Thomas Johnston, active as precentor and clerk in both Congregationalist and Anglican congregations in Boston.<sup>25</sup> Though he selected relatively few tunes from these collections, his efforts to encompass all Calvinist denominations except Scottish Presbyterians reveals further his intent to court a pan-denominational market for his tunebook. In contrast to the previously discussed Dissenter sources, the largest portion of the Dissenter repertory in *Urania* originated from a congregational tune collection by Caleb Ashworth (1722-1775), a Particular Baptist minister

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<sup>25</sup> Because of the differing scoring and part-setting procedures in Congregationalist tune supplements, Lyon added a fourth voice to these settings and placed the tune-carrying part in the tenor.

and school headmaster in Daventry near Northampton, about sixty miles northwest of London.

Tune settings in these compilations consist mostly of note-against-note, non-melismatic harmonizations stylistically akin to tune settings in Congregationalist publications and textless tunes in English Presbyterian colonial manuscripts. Though the expression among Congregationalist, Baptist, and Presbyterian sources differs in regards to part setting and assignation of the tune-carrying voice, the harmonic vocabulary remains similar among them. All pieces are plain tunes without any textual repetition. Moreover, although Lyon took some stylistically identical settings from conformist Anglican tune collections such as CANTERBURY, WESTMINSTER, and WINDSOR, this type of tune setting remains more characteristic of the Calvinist Dissenter compilations used by James Lyon. As before, exceptions occur with a few slightly melismatic tunes appearing in Ashworth's *Collection* such as CROWLE, NEWCASTLE, WALSAL, similar to some of the earlier colonial Presbyterian congregational repertory. However, these settings are still plain tunes without textual repetition, only now slightly more embellished. The reasons for these divergent approaches to harmonization and melodic contour most likely remain connected to their source's compilation intent: Dissenter works were compiled specifically for congregational use, and the conformist ancient-style Anglican pieces for choral performance.

### ***8.2.3 Ancient-Style Melodic and Harmonic Procedures***

For all of their differences, ancient-style tunebooks compiled by conformist Anglicans and Calvinist Dissenters that shaped Lyon's *Urania* shared one fundamental characteristic: both employed an identical concept of harmony and harmonization procedure. Particular to the ancient style, its expression constituted a mixture of pre-tonal and tonal characteristics, as well as a linear approach to harmonization that pre-dated the

style of vertical, functional harmony described by Jean-Philippe Rameau. The melodies, especially those in minor keys, would retain an archaic modal flavor created often through the avoidance of raised and lowered leading tones. Similarly, chromatic embellishment would not function according to common practice, but would remain tied to the contour of each individual voice part. On the one hand, many of the melodies composed in the contemporary ancient style during the eighteenth century follow an implied tonal outline. However, their harmonization method does not. Instead, composers and arrangers employed a system of harmony based upon a consonantal relationship between parts governed by consonant and dissonant intervallic use.<sup>26</sup>

Ancient-style composers used a harmonization method that retained certain features of Renaissance practice, including the concept of perfect and imperfect consonances (unisons, octaves and fifths being perfect, and thirds and sixths imperfect), contrasted with dissonant intervals (seconds, sevenths, and occasionally fourths).<sup>27</sup> In varying degrees of strictness, composers were limited to using perfect consonances at cadential points, and could only insert dissonances sparingly. According to Anglican John Arnold, "[d]iscords, when duly taken, render the Concorde more sweet and delightful; which are admitted into Music two several Ways; *viz.* by Pass [i.e. passing tones] and by Way of Binding [i.e. suspensions and neighbor tones]."<sup>28</sup> Similarly, Dissenter Caleb Ashworth believed that "[d]iscords are sometimes admitted into composition for the sake of variety, to be an echo to the sense when the sentiment is harsh, and to make the following concords the more

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<sup>26</sup> See, for instance the discussion of harmonization procedure by William Tans'ur in Book III of his *A New Musical Grammar, and Dictionary: or, A General Introduction to the Whole Art of Musick. In Four Books* [London, (1756)].

<sup>27</sup> John Arnold, *The Compleat Psalmist*, ed. 3 (London, 1753), 14-18.

<sup>28</sup> Arnold, *Compleat Psalmist*, 17.

pleasing to the ear."<sup>29</sup> The resolution of discords often occurred on imperfect consonances. According to Ashworth, "[a] discord should commonly lead to an imperfect, rather than a perfect concord; (for instance, a seventh to a sixth, and a fourth to a third, rather than an eighth, or fifth) and to the next, and not a remote concord" (21).

Related to their use of intervals, ancient-style composers treated parallel fifths and octaves in a similar fashion. However, the use of parallels violated both pre-tonal and common practice rules of musical orthodoxy. Labeled "consecutions" by eighteenth-century ancient-style writers, parallel fifths and octaves were generally forbidden, unless hidden within the texture of the harmonization. Anglican William Tans'ur held to the belief that "in the Composition of *Three*, or more *Parts*, that you do not make a *Consecution* of two, or more *Perfects* of one Kind together, from the *Bass*, unless it be covered by a *Higher Part*; which often happens when the *Tenor* makes a 5th or 8th, (being then the *Highest-Part*), and makes a *Consecution* of the same Kind, either ascending or descending: To prevent such like *Passages* great Care ought to be taken."<sup>30</sup> Tans'ur was more lenient towards consecutions of the fifth and octave as more parts were added to a given composition. Equating them with dissonance use, he stated "[t]hat neither two *Fifths*, nor two *Eighths* may not move together in *Four Parts*, especially between the *Tenor* and *Bass*: But it may be allowable in the *Contra*, if it be covered by a *Higher Part*. - *Discords*, and *Disallowances* are easier tolerated in *Four Parts*, than in *Two* or *Three*; by Reason their several *Parts* will screen many small *Disallowances*."<sup>31</sup>

Similarly, John Arnold allowed for consecutions in order to prevent a stilted and unnatural melodic contour when harmonizing the parts. He found "[t]hat two *Fifths*, or two *Eighths*, may be taken together in four *Parts*, rather than spoil the *Air* of the *Tunes*; but let it

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<sup>29</sup> Ashworth, *Collection*, 21.

<sup>30</sup> Tans'ur, *A New Musical Grammar*, 149.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 150.



be between one of the upper Parts and the Bass, by Reason of the Tenor's being between the upper Parts and the Bass, it will be easier tolerated."<sup>32</sup> As with consonance and dissonance, this approach to parallelisms reveals that ancient-style composers, though mindful of general agreement between voices, wrote from a horizontal perspective of harmony and theory. Though compositional details such as melodic shape might emulate common practice functional harmony, an analysis of the methods of harmonization reveals that the underlying concepts are different.

### **8.3 Compositional Types and Denominational Specificity in *Urania* Part 2: Nonconformist Repertory**

Thus far, discussion of Lyon's adoption of the ancient style encompassed repertory, performance genre, compositional type, and aesthetic ideal, in their relationship to denominational specificity. Portrayed as both a continuation of established English Presbyterian trends and an incorporation of some aspects of the modern Anglican ancient style into a Calvinist aesthetic, the ancient-style repertory found in *Urania*, though expressed with more artistic license and freedom, with only one exception, used compositional techniques found in earlier colonial source material. Rather, compositions within this style, though more elaborate, had become a staple part of Presbyterian and Anglican colonial expression over the past half century. In contrast, Lyon's inclusion of Nonconformist Anglican hymns and spiritual songs alongside the ancient-style repertory reveals the beginnings of yet another new phase in American music. This Nonconformist repertory fits within established compositional types, mostly plain tunes, along with a fugging tune and a contrafactum. However, in two areas there are important differences between these tunes

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<sup>32</sup> Arnold, 21.

and the ancient repertory found in *Urania* and other colonial sources: devotional aesthetic and musical style.

Accepted texts to accompany the congregational repertory consisted of metrical psalm translations taken mostly from Sternhold and Hopkins, Tate and Brady, the "Bay Psalm Book," and possibly Patrick. In varying degrees of faithfulness and literalness, these collections restricted their contents to psalmody and canticles. In contrast, texts in Nonconformist sources originated from hymn collections by or associated with Calvinist Dissenters (Isaac Watts), Anglicans (Joseph Addison, Nahum Tate), and Anglican Nonconformists (Charles and John Wesley, and George Whitefield). Although the tunes KETTELBYS and ST. MATHEWS in *Urania* employ texts taken from Watts' psalms, these poems were not actual translations of the Psalms of David, but rather newly composed pieces of poetry in imitation of those in the Book of Psalms.<sup>33</sup> As discussed previously with the British origins of the English Presbyterian hymn movement, ministers and authors believed that addressing theological issues of the present necessitated lyrics of modern composition. Not only did modern texts reflect current social, political, and religious issues, they also conveyed a more personal and direct message to congregants. Nonconformist Anglicans, through the efforts of the Wesley family and George Whitefield, adopted the hymn practices of liberal Calvinist Dissenters, notably Independent Isaac Watts and began to compose their own hymns on New Testament teachings.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Isaac Watts, *The Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament and Applied to the Christian State and Worship* (London, 1719).

<sup>34</sup> John Wesley, in particular, adopted hymnody also through his personal experience with Moravian congregants he met during his tenure in Savannah, Georgia (1735-7). Moravian hymnody reflected the Pietist movement associated with Lutherans Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705), August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), and subsequently Moravian Nikolaus Ludwig, Graf von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), a student of Francke and a godson of Spener. Source: Ron Byrnside, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Georgia* (Athens, Ga., 1997), chapter 5.

As a result, Nonconformists assumed a more intimate and personal approach to hymnody. This emphasis on personal reflection and a directly relevant message of God and Christ's divinity allowed Nonconformist ministers to heighten the religious experience for their congregants. Of the fourteen spiritual songs in *Urania*, nine contain personal appeals to God or Christ, or concern God and Christ's direct involvement with man. No longer was the address of praise given to an impersonal deity. Now, the texts could speak directly to the singers of these tunes through such verses as: "To heaven I lift my waiting eyes, || There all my hopes are laid || the Lord that built ye earth & skyes || is my perpetual aid" by Isaac Watts,<sup>35</sup> "O God, my God, my all thou art, || Ere shines the dawn of rising day; || Thy sov'reign light within my heart, || Thine all enlivening pow'r display" by John Wesley,<sup>36</sup> and "When all thy mercies, O my God, || My rising soul surveys, || Transported with the view I'm lost, || In wonder love and praise" by Joseph Addison. This personal connection to God illustrates the power and attraction hymns held for many eighteenth-century congregants.

In contrast, conformist Anglicans shunned this idea because for them, a strict observance of the liturgy of the Anglican Church instilled divinity and godliness in the worship service. Music that echoed these more dispassionate sentiments fit into firmly established performance modes, as discussed by conformist Londoner William Riley. Most importantly however, these differences went beyond denominational boundaries, but instead lay at the crux of two opposing worship styles: the staid and formal, and the more enthusiastic and emotional. Riley resisted the changes wrought by the First Great Awakening and its desire to instill a more emotional and informal tone to worship.

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<sup>35</sup> "Psalms 121, 2" from *The Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament*.

<sup>36</sup> John Wesley, *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (London, 1738).

Nonconformists adopted these measures wholeheartedly and were so successful in implementing them in their worship meetings that conformist musicians and ministers viewed them as a threat to the established Anglican Church. Outside of this Anglican orbit, Presbyterian Lyon's inclusion of Nonconformist pieces reflected both his awareness of traditional English Presbyterian modes of expression through its spiritual song repertory, as well as his knowledge of the most current and popular trends in evangelical music. Again, Lyon reveals himself to be a traditionalist and innovator, simultaneously.

Though the number of sources Lyon drew from for his spiritual song and hymn selection remained more limited than the other sections, these volumes reflected the prevailing modes of Nonconformist tune type and musical expression. All previously published works descended from collections emanating from London, including the *Harmonia Sacra* by Thomas Butts (1760), *The Psalm-Singer's Help* by Thomas Knibb (ca. 1760), and *The Divine Musical Miscellany* (1754) designed to accompany George Whitefield's hymnal, *A Collection of Hymns for Social Worship* (1753).<sup>37</sup> In contrast to the congregational and anthem repertories, all of the hymns and spiritual songs first appeared in print within seven years of Lyon's *Urania*. Alone among the sources used by him, *The Divine Musical Miscellany* is associated with a Nonconformist minister active in the British North American colonies. Whitefield had made preaching tours from Savannah to Boston, and personally had founded Bethesda, an orphanage outside of Savannah, Georgia in 1740.<sup>38</sup> Thus, Lyon's inclusion of

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<sup>37</sup> Lyon might have obtained a copy of Knibb's tunebook directly from its author. As described by Temperley, Knibb had been in direct contact with Anglican missionary ministers in the North American colonies, using them as agents for the sale of his tunebook. See: Nicholas Temperley, "The Lock Hospital Chapel and Its Music" in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 118, 1 (1993), 58.

<sup>38</sup> Byrnside, 83.

pieces associated with Whitefield's hymnal not only displayed his knowledge of current trends, but emphasized further the British colonial aspect of *Urania*.

Although Nonconformist hymns and spiritual songs follow established compositional tune types from earlier sources including plain and fusing tunes, and contrafacta, their choruses and expression remain distinct when compared to earlier tunebooks associated with Calvinist dissenters. Earlier Presbyterian spiritual songs constituted adaptations of operatic melodies, tunes with a repeated text functioning as a type of repetitive chorus associated often with the First Great Awakening, and folk hymns appearing in variant melodic forms without a proto-secular setting or set version of the tune. Now, Nonconformist sources introduced a new type of hymn and spiritual song to the repertory, a tune with an attached hallelujah chorus. Almost always, choruses in conformist pieces consisted of a reiteration of the last two lines of the verse. Each verse sung necessitated a new text for the ensuing chorus. Conformist composers might set a hallelujah chorus or coda at the conclusion of anthems, but not in psalm tunes. In contrast, and with few exceptions, Nonconformist composers only wrote choruses with a hallelujah or repeating text. Not surprisingly, all of the Nonconformist hymns and spiritual songs with choruses in *Urania* only feature hallelujah choruses.

HALLELUJAH (**Anth**), in an adapted setting from an original by William Markham,<sup>39</sup> and popular in British and later American compilations, reflects both the new type of chorus attached to these tunes, as well as the new musical expression of the spiritual song. The text, "Praise ye the Lord y'immortal choir, | | That fill the realms above; | | Praise him, who form'd you of his fire | | And feeds you with his love," by Isaac Watts, appeared in

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<sup>39</sup> This tune first appeared as HYMN: PSALM 119 in *The Second Book of the Divine Companion: or, David's Harp New Tun'd* by William Pearson (London, ca. 1725).

his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* series (1707-09). Reflecting the emotional tenor favored by Nonconformists and English Presbyterians, the poetry speaks of a personal relationship with God, emphasizing God's love of man through the coming of Jesus Christ. As expected, it includes a hallelujah chorus appended to the end of the piece. In this tune, the text of the chorus represents a change in emotional expression, although its specific musical effect does not.

The conformist chorus style functioned as a reiterative effect through the repetition of the last two lines of each verse. If a composer wrote a chorus as a tutti choral statement uniting various antiphonal exchanges in the verse, then he would create a dramatic effect occasioned by this shift in texture. The Nonconformist chorus presented a different intent. Rather than offer a repetition of text from the verse, the chorus would consist of an ejaculatory phrase repeated many times over, in this case the single word "Hallelujah." As a spiritual song, this type of chorus expressed the Nonconformist sentiment of direct and impassioned praise. However, alongside this different emotional expression and intent, the musical effect of the chorus is related to earlier conformist practice. The composer altered the meter between the verse and chorus, allowing it to become a prominent feature of the tune, and function similar to the antiphonal shifts in conformist tunes with choruses.

Besides having a more emotional form of expression and a different type of chorus, the harmonic language of these tunes provided the greatest contrast between the ancient and Nonconformist styles. They followed common practice functional harmony, typical of mid-eighteenth-century Britain. Making use of galante mannerisms, this style of composition echoed the freshness and spontaneity associated with the Nonconformist style. Rather than approach church music composition from a linear, contrapuntal orientation, as in the ancient style repertory, the Nonconformist style emphasized tunefulness over rhythmic and motivic

interplay, and a vertical sense of harmony. Reflecting the more current and fashionable trends of popular and theatrical music such as the *canzonetta á due* or *duetto notturno*, they were composed of two unspecified melodic parts, with a bass line to be performed either by an instrument or voice.<sup>40</sup>

HALLELUJAH follows all of these trends through its emphasis on tunefulness, employing a counter-melody that forms numerous instances of parallel thirds and sixths against the melody, a harmonic language involving a 4-3 suspension (m. 3), secondary dominants (m. 6, 17), chromatic-inflected passing tones (m. 10, 19), and diminished chords, as well as an overall style that valued gracefulness over stolidity. Making use of the fashionable Italianate style of British popular music, HALLELUJAH became one of the most popular tunes to enter the American repertory from the *Harmonia Sacra* in its three-part setting presented here, as well as in a slightly earlier two-part setting titled BOSTON that appeared first in *The Divine Musical Miscellany*.

In selecting Nonconformist-style pieces for his tunebook, Lyon displayed a savvy approach to compilation that encompassed all of the prevailing modes of evangelical expression in English-language psalmody. Each section in *Urania* fulfilled various notions of religiosity in contemporary sacred music, with congregational tunes displaying the tradition and authority of the ancient style, anthems the decorated music reserved for choral performance either within the Anglican service or as social or domestic entertainment, and Nonconformist spiritual songs the affective, emotional style reserved for informal, social performance, and enthusiastic worship. As a tunebook, *Urania* was the first colonial publication to embrace all of these modes of musical devotion, setting a standard for American compilation procedure for the next one hundred years.

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<sup>40</sup> Temperley, "The Lock Hospital Chapel," 63-4.

## 8.4 Original Compositions in *Urania* and Their Reflection of Denominational Specificity and Performance Venue: William Tuckey and James Lyon

Besides its inclusion of new tune types, an expanded repertory, more current source material that shaped its contents, and a broader scope of intent, *Urania* distinguishes itself by the unprecedented number of apparently American-composed tunes in an English-language publication from the British colonies (**Chart 8.1**).<sup>41</sup> Further, those pieces new to the collection fall into every compositional genre within the tunebook itself: psalm and hymn tunes, through-composed extended choral works such as anthems and set pieces,<sup>42</sup> and a spiritual song. Although earlier colonial English Presbyterian manuscript compilations contained apparently original examples from all of these categories, *Urania* was the first publication to do so. For this reason, the original contributions to *Urania* provide a representative sampling of the major compositional types, genres, and characteristics of the ancient style as practiced in the middle colonies of British North America around 1760.

### Chart 8.1. Colonial-Composed Tunes Appearing in *Urania*

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<sup>41</sup> Although the credit is often given to William Billings with his *New England Harmony* (1770), Conrad Beissel in fact was the first colonial composer to publish a compilation solely of his own compositions, albeit a German-language publication. Beissel brought out his *Paradisches Wunder-Spiel, welches sich in diesen letzten Zeiten und Tagen in denen abend-ländischen Welt-Theilen als ein Vorspiel der neuen Welt hervor gethan* in 1754, published at his religious community in Ephrata, fully sixteen years before Billings. Because the press did not possess a musical typeface, and chose not to engrave the collection on copper plate, the work was printed with blank staves and underlying text, with the music being entered by hand. This style of printing remained common to tunebooks in German-speaking areas outside of Philadelphia, encompassing an area extending west to Chambersburg with Johann Rothbaust's *Geistliche Ton-Kunst, enthaltend die vornehmsten Kirchen-Melodien, die bey allen Religions-Verfassungen gebräuchlich* (Hanover, Pa.: Wilhelm D. Lepper, 1807), north to Carlisle with Friedrich Sanno's *Sammlung Geistlicher Lieder nebst Melodien, von Verschiedenen Dichtern und Componisten* [Carlisle, Pa.: F. Sanno, (1807)], and south to Hagerstown, Maryland with Adam Arnold's *Geistliche Ton-Kunst, enthaltend die vornehmsten Kirchen-Melodien, die bey allen Religions-Verfassungen gebräuchlich* [Elisabeth-(Hägers-)Taun, MD: Johann Gruber, 1803].

<sup>42</sup> Set pieces are understood to constitute through-composed settings of metrical verse.



<b>Psalm Tunes</b>	<b>Hymn Tunes</b>	<b>Set Pieces</b>	<b>Spiritual Song</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>The IV Psalm Tune</b></li> <li>• <b>The 8th Psalm Tune</b> - James Lyon (?)</li> <li>• <b>The 9th Psalm</b> - William Tuckey</li> <li>• <b>The 23d Psalm Tune</b> - Francis Hopkinson</li> <li>• <b>The 33d Psalm Tune</b> - William Tuckey</li> <li>• <b>The 95th Psalm Tune</b> - James Lyon (?)</li> <li>• <b>The New 100 Psalm Tune</b></li> <li>• <b>The 148th Psalm Tune</b></li> <li>• <b>St. Humphry's Tune</b></li> <li>• <b>Willington Tune</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Christmas</b> - Giovanni Palma</li> <li>• <b>The Morning Hymn</b></li> <li>• <b>The 104th Psalm by Dr. Watts</b> - James Lyon</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>An Anthem taken out of the 97 Psalm</b> - William Tuckey</li> <li>• <b>An Anthem taken from the 150th Psalm</b></li> <li>• <b>Two Celebrated Verses by Sternhold &amp; Hopkins set to Music</b> - James Lyon</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Judgment</b></li> </ul>

As stated in his preface, Lyon intended that his tunebook be used among the various English-language denominations in the colonies. Lyon achieved this goal through his selection of various popular British compositional genres, including the decorated and extended conformist Anglican psalm and hymn tunes, and anthems from musicians in England, ancient-style psalm tunes drawn from the various Calvinist collections from Great Britain and the colonies, and Nonconformist hymns and spiritual songs favored by enthusiastic Anglicans as well as evangelical Calvinist Dissenters. Similarly, his inclusion of specifically Anglican compositional types such as anthems, fusing tunes, and tunes with a reiterative chorus, and Nonconformist spiritual songs with their distinctive ejaculatory choruses alongside the more general antiphonal and plain tunes, revealed his efforts to reach as broad an audience as possible. Further, Lyon created a pan-denominational market for

*Urania* through his inclusion of original works by prominent Anglican and Dissenter musicians in the Middle Atlantic colonies.

#### ***8.4.1 Anglican Contributions to Urania***

From the Anglicans around Philadelphia, Lyon chose to include THE 23D PSALM TUNE by Francis Hopkinson, his musical colleague. However, Hopkinson did not compose in the ancient style. He preferred the more fashionable, common practice, three-part treble-led style of sacred music favored by progressive conformist Anglicans such as William Riley and popular in many of London's parish churches, as well as Nonconformists. Nevertheless, Hopkinson evidently allowed Lyon to include a modified version of his original SSB setting. Lyon reassigned the tune-carrying voice to the tenor and composed an additional counter part to make it fit within his ancient-style aesthetic. Similarly, he adapted the tune CHRISTMAS by presumably Anglican or Catholic John (Giovanni) Palma to suit Calvinist conventions by removing the opening symphony from the piece and arranging the continuo part for voice. In both instances, Lyon included compositions by composers outside of his Calvinist orbit, but he arranged them to suit his Presbyterian taste and sensibility.

Although musicians from among Philadelphia's Anglican and Catholic populace might not have embraced ancient-style expression, William Tuckey (1708-81), active at New York's Anglican Trinity Church and her satellite, St. George's Chapel as a singing master, clerk, and impresario active in New York City from 1753 through c. 1773 was the first Anglican musician of note to compose and teach ancient-style psalmody. Originally from Bristol, England, Tuckey had found employment at the "cathedral of Bristol, whereof he was

for several years a vicar choral, and clerk of a parish also in the said city."<sup>43</sup> Despite his position as a singer in one of the major port cities of England, prospects in New York City appeared too good for him to forgo. Travelling in advance of his family, Tuckey arrived in the colonies by January of 1753.

Trinity Church employed Tuckey beginning January 31 of that year, following the dismissal of clerk and charity schoolmaster Joseph Hildreth on suspicion of arson after the destruction of the parish school the previous year.<sup>44</sup> The vestry

[o]rdered that William Tuckey (who is appointed by the rector to officiate as Clerk jointly with Mr. Eldridge till further Order) be allowed the annual salary of twenty-five pounds from the first of this month. That he officiate Alternately one Sunday & another at the chappel, Unless the Rector upon any Occasion shall think fitt to order it otherways; but that the said William Tuckey have Nothing to do with the Perquisites of the Clerk's Office, but that the same shall still wholly belong to Mr. Eldridge, And that Collo Robinson pay Mr. Ludlow Thirteen Pounds Sterling (upon the arrival of s:d Tuckey's wife and children which he has advanced for their passage) (Vestry Records, i., 268).<sup>45</sup>

Besides his duties as clerk of the church and its satellite chapel, Tuckey was expected to teach the charity children enrolled in the parish school. In effect, his position was identical to many of those in London's parish churches, such as that described and held by Londoner William Riley.

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<sup>43</sup> *New York Mercury*, ed. Gaine, March 11, 1754.

<sup>44</sup> Aaron, "William Tuckey," 81.

<sup>45</sup> Quoted in: *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*, pt. 1, comp. and ed. Morgan Dix (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; The Knickerbocker Press, 1898), 262.

Distinct from many Anglican parishes in the British colonies, Trinity Church had established a children's charity choir for performance of psalm tunes and liturgical music during the divine service as early as 1739.<sup>46</sup> Ten years later, Hildreth could boast of fifty singers drawn from the charity school and "about 20 Negroes who come to me in the Evenings to be instructed in singing the Psalm tunes &c."<sup>47</sup> With such a large enrollment, Tuckey devoted much of his professional time to the performance of church music. The vestry allotted him "the use of the Charity School Room and also of the Vestry Room two nights of the week for the teaching of his singing scholars till further orders."<sup>48</sup>

One year into his appointment, Tuckey sought to expand his pedagogical activities and offer his services to the entire city, with emphasis given foremost to the rudiments of singing with optional additional instruction in composition and music theory. On March 11, 1754 he posted the following advertisement in the *New York Mercury* describing his services and qualifications:

William Tuckey, singing-master, desires to inform all lovers of psalmody, that, in order to encourage and amend the singing in publick congregations in this city, all persons may be taught by him on very reasonable terms. As a great expectation of encouragement in this way, was the only motive which induced him to leave the cathedral of Bristol, whereof he was for several years a vicar choral, and clerk of a parish also in the said city, places of considerable profit, and on an establishment in both for life; and not meeting the encouragement he expected, is resolved to teach here no longer than one year more, which may be depended on: And as there is no

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<sup>46</sup> On April 24, 1739 the rector and a committee of churchwardens sought employment for a clerk and choirmaster at a rate of twenty pounds per annum. Source: *History of the Parish of Trinity Church*, 212.

<sup>47</sup> N. Y. Gen. Conv. Ass. ii (222) cited in *History of the Parish of Trinity Church*, 250.

<sup>48</sup> Vestry minutes cited in *History of the Parish of Trinity Church*, 263.

person in this country duly qualified in the musical way, who has made a practice of teaching but himself, not only in church musick, in all its branches, viz. services, anthems, chaunts, responses and psalms, according to the English, Dutch, French, or Italian method; but also in the knowledge of a thorough base, and composing musick in parts both vocal and instrumental; management of musick for concerts, &c. He humbly hopes, through this information, to meet with better encouragement, or at least to establish the singing of parochial psalms on a better and perfecter foundation than it hath been for some time past. He will undertake to compose, or set to musick, any piece on any subject, divine or moral, either in prose or verse, and adapt the musick according to the sense of the subject, for either a single voice; two, three, four, or more voices, and for any sort of instruments, with or without a thorough base, for the organ, harpsicord, or spinnet, on application to him, and a moderate satisfaction. Specimens of his composing may be seen at any time, by any gentlemen or ladies, who desire it, and understand musick, he having several pieces for three, four or more voices, accompanied with almost all sorts of instruments, and his own composition.

Mirroring the notions held by James Lyon, Tuckey sought also to perfect the prevailing standards of sacred music performance. Not content with the two-part or unisonal singing common to Anglican churches in the first half of the eighteenth century, he wished to "amend" its performance standards and expression and give it a "perfecter foundation." He advocated not only for more rigorous attention devoted to the performance of psalm tunes, but also the study of Anglican chant, liturgical music, responsorial performance of the psalms, and anthems. Finally, Tuckey revealed his aesthetic position on sacred music

through his emphasis on composition that reflected the emotional sense of the text, a burgeoning trend for church music in the colonies.

Unlike his contemporary, Francis Hopkinson, Tuckey embraced both the tenor-led ancient style popular among Anglican conformists and Calvinist Dissenters in the Middle Atlantic, as well as a treble-led four-part ancient style, typical of cathedral music or oratorio chorus, reflecting the two basic performance milieus for sacred music in New York City. His surviving works follow both of these approaches to composition, displaying not only his knowledge of current trends in sacred music performance, but also his particular devotion to teaching psalmody in its various forms of expression. Unfortunately, this commitment to pedagogy undermined his ability to perform his duties as clerk. The vestry of Trinity Church subsequently dismissed Tuckey from his position as clerk in 1756, but allowed him to continue his work as schoolmaster and choir director of the parish charity school over the next seventeen years.<sup>49</sup>

Lyon included three works by William Tuckey in *Urania*: two psalm settings and a set piece. The psalm settings followed the then contemporary form of the ancient style, both being tenor-led four-voice antiphonal tunes. THE 9TH PSALM (**Anth**) resembles a responsorial psalm setting through an antiphonal shift and meter change that occurs halfway into the piece. Beginning as a duet in simple duple time, the treble and bass state the first two lines of the stanza. The full chorus then enters at the end of this phrase to declaim the final two lines of text. In this work, Tuckey created a dramatic effect through simultaneously shifting texture, changing the time signature with the simple duple opening giving way to a triple duple choral response, and including a rhythmic transformation occasioned by longer

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<sup>49</sup> Aaron, "William Tuckey," 83. Joseph Hildreth was subsequently hired back as clerk of Trinity Church and a Mr. Silby as clerk of St. George's Chapel.

note values present throughout the second section. Although brief, this tune demonstrates the finesse with which a composer could achieve dramatic contrast through relatively simple compositional devices.

Also employing antiphonal exchange, *THE 33D PSALM TUNE* (**Anth**) exhibits a more elaborate form of antiphonal response than the previous work. It is a double stanza setting. The first section consists of a homophonic presentation of the first verse. In contrast to the previous work, the voices display more independence among each other, and contain broader ranges of pitch within the individual parts. The second section commences with the first use of antiphonal exchange, in this instance featuring the treble and counter lines, presumably intended as a division of gender or at the very least, a division separated by the highest-pitched voices. Following this passage, a full choral statement responds to the two-voice antiphonal section. Tuckey then features the tenor and bass voices in a second antiphonal exchange, which again is answered by a full choral response that concludes the piece. Distinguishing antiphonal exchanges by gender or pitch range, *THE 33D PSALM TUNE* provides a different form of responsorial or alternatim technique than *THE 9TH PSALM*. Its use of exchange resembles more the procedures of ancient-style tunes such as *PSALM 106*, which although set for two voices, featured first a solo for the tune-carrying voice and second one for the bass. This effect of exchange organized by gender or pitch range will become popular in the Middle Atlantic and western states during the nineteenth century. Tuckey's piece is the earliest known American-composed four-part example to include this specific technique.

For his psalm settings, Tuckey wrote for a mixed-voice choir that reflected his teaching activities outside his primary place of employment at Trinity Church. Both works feature tenor-led melody parts in a four-voice setting that utilized antiphonal techniques

common to pieces by contemporary conformist ancient-style composers. Further, Tuckey's harmonic language generally does not follow functional common practice harmony. Instead, it employs the consonantal form of harmonization common to ancient-style conformist Anglican music in eighteenth-century England. Avoiding chromatic embellishment, Tuckey presented a mostly diatonic harmonization of the cantus without a functional tonal scheme. Along with a few instances of unprepared dissonance, the pieces include a few incomplete triads, notably at major cadential points, such as the final cadence of THE 9TH PSALM. Occasionally though, Tuckey does present a functional secondary dominant such as the cadence to the relative minor in THE 33D PSALM TUNE that concludes the first stanza (mm. 8-9). It should be noted that he did not present a functional modulation to the relative minor, but immediately returned to the tonic D major for the first instance of antiphonal exchange. In sum, both works present all of the techniques associated with the ancient style.

However, for AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF THE 97 PSALM (**Anth**), his only surviving through-composed work, Tuckey opted to place the melodic line in the treble and set the piece for two trebles, tenor and bass. Further, James Lyon's preservation of Tuckey's apparently original part designations demonstrates Lyon's lack of a specific intended use for anthems and set pieces within a Presbyterian worship service. Rather than re-arrange the piece, as he did with some tunes in the hymn and spiritual song, and congregational sections of *Urania*, Lyon preserved the original part designations found in Tuckey's source material.<sup>50</sup> As such, extended choral pieces original to *Urania* reflect their performance history too.

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<sup>50</sup> It should be noted however that Lyon might have arranged the bass line from an instrumental part to bass voice in the solo and/or choral passages. All descriptions of performances of anthems by William Tuckey list an organist, performing presumably from a figured bass line, based upon Tuckey's advertisement for his services in the *New York Mercury* on March 11, 1754. In this case, Lyon's modifications would resemble those done to Palma's CHRISTMAS.



The parish's charity children's choir was to be made up mostly of "lads of ten years old, &c. as well as other persons of good repute, that has good voices, and willing to join the company."<sup>51</sup> If not a member of the school, other interested persons were directed by Tuckey to "give in their names to Mr. Hildreth, clerk of Trinity church, or Mr. Silby, clerk of St. George's chappel; as he [Tuckey] will begin immediately to instruct the performers, and receive all qualify'd." By December of 1762, the choir consisted of approximately sixty voices.<sup>52</sup>

Besides their performance of psalm tunes to guide congregational singing during the divine service, the charity choir performed extended choral works for special occasions, usually excerpts from oratorios such as *Messiah* by George Frederick Handel,<sup>53</sup> or anthems and liturgical music composed by Tuckey himself. For instance, in 1760 during the height of the Seven Years War, Tuckey composed a Thanksgiving Anthem for "his Excellency General Amherst, on his return to New-York, from the conquest of Canada."<sup>54</sup> In this instance, Tuckey acted also as soloist, along with Trinity Church's organist, Mr. Harrison, and "[t]he chorus parts by the charity scholars of Trinity Church School." The following month, Tuckey composed and directed an original "Anthem on the death of his late sacred Majesty" George II. As before, Tuckey performed the solo parts, accompanied by Harrison on the organ with a chorus of the charity school boys.<sup>55</sup>

Apparently, this choir performed for special events outside of the church, such as the performance of a TE DEUM composed by Tuckey in 1762 celebrating the return of

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<sup>51</sup> *New York Mercury*, October 18, 1762.

<sup>52</sup> *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy*, December 2 1762.

<sup>53</sup> *New York Gazette*, January 4, 1770.

<sup>54</sup> *New York Gazette*, December 1, 1760. *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy*, December 4, 1760.

<sup>55</sup> *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy*, January 15, 1761.

peace.<sup>56</sup> On another occasion, they performed Anglican service music in a space rented for the occasion, as advertised for October 30, 1766:

The Concert will consist of nothing but Church Musick, in which will be introduced a new Te Deum, Jubilate Deo, Cantate Domino, and Deus Misereatur, with an Anthem, in which there is an Obligato Part for a Harp, as there is also in the Cantate Domino, with several other Pieces of Church Musick, intermixed with other instrumental Performances, in Order to Ease the Voices. The whole to conclude with a Martial Psalm, viz the 46th, Tate and Brady's Version: accompanied with all the Instruments, and a Pair of Drums.<sup>57</sup>

Regardless of the setting, Tuckey maintained distinct vocal scoring procedures when composing specifically for the charity choir or a community ensemble within the singing school. Given the nature of a youth and adolescent choir, most of the voices would lie in the treble range, thus necessitating a treble-led ensemble. In contrast, a community group made up of persons belonging to any or all of the Christian denominations in New York City would follow the more standard tenor-led performance practice employed by Anglican, Dutch Reformed, and Presbyterian congregants throughout the northern Middle Atlantic and Long Island Sound region.

As a result, the occasional detailed descriptions of Tuckey's anthems printed in newspaper advertisements provide invaluable performative details for AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF THE 97 PSALM printed in *Urania*. Appearing roughly contemporaneous to this work, a description of a lost charity anthem by Tuckey was printed in the *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy* on December 2, 1762. On this occasion, Tuckey

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<sup>56</sup> *New York Mercury*, ed. Gaine, October 18, 1762.

<sup>57</sup> *New York Mercury*, ed. Gaine, October 6, 1766.

employed two soloists, himself and a Mr. Leadbetter, joined by Dr. Lee, Trinity Church's new organist, as well as the usual chorus of "Charity Scholars." The anthem commenced with a

SOLO, by Mr. Leadbetter.

Ps. XXXIV., verse 1

I will give thanks unto the Lord,

His praise shall be ever in my mouth---

O praise the Lord with me,

[Psalm 34:3]

VERSE AND CHORUS.

And let us magnify his name together.

SOLO, by Mr. Tuckey [source imperfect]

[I sought the Lord, and he delivered me:

[Psalm 34:4]

Yeah, he delivered me out of all fear.

They had an eye unto him, and were lightened:

[Psalm 34:5]

And their faces were not ashamed.]

By Mr. Leadbetter.

RECITATIVO.

Lo, the poor crieth, and the Lord heareth him---

[Psalm 34:6]

AIR.

Yea and saveth him out of all his trouble---

SOLO, by Mr. Tuckey.

He is Father of the fatherless, and defendeth the cause of the widow. [Psalm 68:5]

VERSE. THREE VOICES.

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel from everlasting to everlasting, [Psalm 106:46]  
World without end, and let all the people say Amen---

CHORUS.

Amen Hallelujah Amen.

From this description, the anthem comprised seven sections, divided by shifts in ensemble, including full chorus, individual solos, and small ensemble. Because two soloists were engaged for this piece, Tuckey probably composed something more elaborate than the other anthems that featured him singing all of the solo parts. This lost anthem would have consisted of the following movements or sections: Solo—Verse and Chorus (extended antiphonal passage with choral response)—Solo—Solo: Recitative and Air—Solo—Trio—Chorus.

A similar hypothetical program could be constructed for AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF THE 97 PSALM. Divided into five basic sections, this work would follow thus:

[CHORUS].

Jehovah reigns, let all the earth in his just government rejoice  
Let all the isles rejoice with sacred mirth, in his applause unite their voice.  
Darkness and clouds, of awful shade, his dazling glory shroud in state.  
Justice and truth his guards are made, and fix'd by his pavilion wait.

[VERSE AND CHORUS]

Devouring fire before his face his foes around, with vengeance struck  
His lightning set the world on blaze earth saw it and with terror shook

[SOLO, by Mr. Tuckey]

The proudest hills his presence felt, their hight nor strength could help afford  
The proudest hills like wax did melt in presence of th'almighty Lord

The heav'ns his righteousness to shew, with storms of fire, his foes pursu'd;  
and all the trembling world below have his descending glory view'd

[VERSE. FOUR VOICES]

Glad sion of thy triumph heard, and Judahs daughters were o're joyed,  
because thy righteous judgements, Lord, have pagan pride and power destroy'd.

[CHORUS]

Rejoice, ye righteous, in the Lord, memorial of his holiness,  
deep in your faithful breasts record; and with your thankful tongues confess

Both works feature essentially the same techniques, including full chorus, solos, small ensemble, and a duet with choral response. The biggest distinction between the two works lies in their textual sources. The text of the lost anthem consisted of psalm passages found in the *Book of Common Prayer* (as did all of the other surviving printed programs of lost anthems), while the set piece is a metrical setting from Tate and Brady. However, combining details from the set piece such as scoring procedure (SSTB), the designation of the treble as tune-carrying voice, and its formal and structural organization, with surviving printed programs of lost works by Tuckey, establishes AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF THE 97 PSALM as originally written for the charity choir.

As a result, two basic questions emerge. Was Tuckey an ancient-style composer forced by circumstance to write for a treble-led ensemble? Conversely, was Tuckey more familiar with the newer three-part SSB style but as a result of moving to New York City became forced to write ancient-style music? Compared to other parish ensembles, Tuckey's Trinity charity choir at Trinity Church differed from many choral groups at other British colonial urban parishes in that these groups comprised mostly SSB ensembles. Some British compilers such as William Riley included works in their compilations scored for three and

four-part treble-led ensembles. However, it is not known whether these pieces were written for choral, congregational, or social performance. Tuckey emigrated from one of the major port cities in England with professional experience in The Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity in Bristol, England. As such, his exposure to current cultural trends in one of eighteenth-century England's most cosmopolitan cities would have familiarized Tuckey with the latest developments in music. His performance of Handel's oratorios, his ability to teach figured bass, and his capacity to compose for voices and orchestra, and for instruments alone reveal him to be familiar with modern music. In this regard, Tuckey appears to have been equally comfortable with both styles.

AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF THE 97 PSALM includes several techniques not found in Tuckey's psalm settings. Much of this set piece follows functional common practice harmony. In particular, the opening chorus features numerous correct uses of secondary dominants (mm. 6, 10, 12, 15). Further, it presents an overarching tonal scheme of C major - C minor - E-flat major - B-flat major - F major - B-flat major - C minor - C major that includes modal shift, key relationships connected via the relative major and minor, and larger overarching secondary dominant relationships between entire sections. Generally speaking, the tonal outline of the work follows predictable functional chord progressions, confining itself mostly to the basic tonic, subdominant, and dominant chords of a given key. Tuckey also displayed his knowledge of functional modulations, seen in the tonal shift from C minor to E-flat major in the verse and chorus section of the work (mm. 19-35). After beginning in C minor during the antiphonal opening with a cadence on the dominant, he presented an almost immediate modulation to E-flat major accomplished with a basic I-V-I-IV-V-I progression that establishes E-flat major as the new tonal center (mm. 23-26). Flirting briefly with C minor again (mm. 29-30), he concluded the section with a

final phrase reinforcing the modulation to E-flat major. As further evidence of Tuckey's understanding of the modern style, the voicing remains complete throughout the work, with no incomplete triads present in any of the full choral sections.

However, tonal ambiguity surfaces occasionally through his use of chromatic alteration, particularly during solo passages. For instance, the solo occurring before the return to C major (mm. 59-75) presents a few notable techniques such as a seemingly false relation between voices (m. 72), and modal ambiguity occasioned by an almost constant chromatic modal shift between C major and C minor throughout the entire passage. Not connected to word painting devices, the melodic construction and its harmonization demonstrate a meandering sense of tonality that stretches the rules of musical orthodoxy.

Based upon his compositional and performance activities, Tuckey shows himself to be a Janus-faced musician comfortable with composing works that feature both functional and nonfunctional tonality, simple diatonicism and chromatic embellishment, and a tenor-led and treble-led ensemble. Related to the techniques of the ancient and fashionable modern styles, Tuckey demonstrates his mastery of both, relating these to their intended performance setting as well as the performers of his works. As a result, the use of the ancient style for social performance displays its societal place in New York City, serving the needs of the general populace in this colony. Alongside the ancient style, Tuckey composed common-practice music for a treble-led ensemble based upon performative standards demanded by his primary professional employment.

Connecting these works to *Urania*, James Lyon could include both styles of composition in his tunebook. His denominational background demanded ancient-style strophic settings for congregational performance. Through-composed works were intended for performance outside the Calvinist church service, based upon the lack of an ecclesiastical

colonial Calvinist tradition for choral performance of anthems and set pieces within the divine service. In effect, Lyon made use of Tuckey's compositions in the opposite manner for which they were intended, demonstrating how *Urania* documents simultaneously the general trends of Middle Atlantic ancient-style performance practice, as well as its specific Calvinist, Presbyterian heritage. For this reason, the activities and compositions of William Tuckey reveal both the social and cultural situation of ancient expression in the northern Middle Atlantic during the late colonial period, as well as their social and theological reception among other regional musicians and compilers.

#### ***8.4.2 Calvinist Contributions to Urania***

Just as James Lyon drew from Anglican and Calvinist sources for the congregational portion of his tunebook, so did he enlist original tune contributions by Anglican and Calvinist musicians from the colonial Middle Atlantic. Pieces original to *Urania* follow the same procedures as the preexistent works that Lyon included in his tunebook. Anglican tunes consisted mostly of extended plain tunes and more elaborate works with antiphonal exchange, Calvinist pieces exclusively plain tunes. Similarly, Lyon included examples of both Anglican and Calvinist works from all compositional genres: psalm and hymn tunes, anthems (set pieces), and hymns and spiritual songs. As discussed previously, Lyon occasionally modified colonial Anglican contributions to suit his English Presbyterian, Calvinist aesthetic, principally through the removal of instrumental accompaniment, and the rearranging of voice parts to suit his ancient aesthetic for congregational performance. Lyon did not employ this same process when selecting colonial-composed Calvinist works for inclusion in *Urania*. However, the idea of changing scoring procedure based upon a piece's compositional genre or its intended performance venue, remained the same.



Several anonymous works in the congregational and spiritual song sections of *Urania* betray a Calvinist aesthetic identical to tune settings taken from Dissenter sources such as *A Collection of Tunes* by Particular Baptist, Caleb Ashworth, based upon these piece's compositional style and their textual source material. Among the five colonial-composed Dissenter works in the congregational section are two psalm settings, two tunes with unfixed text, and one hymn tune. The psalm settings include THE NEW 100 PSALM TUNE taken from John Tufts of Massachusetts, harmonized presumably by James Lyon, and THE 148TH PSALM TUNE; the tunes with unfixed text consist of a new four-part setting of ST. HUMPHRY'S TUNE (PSALM 108), also presumably harmonized by Lyon, and WILLINGTON TUNE; and finally THE MORNING HYMN.

WILLINGTON TUNE (**Anth**) proclaimed its fashionableness through several features typical of the modern ancient style: its time signature set in the quicker second mood of triple time (3/4), its use of melismas in both melody and harmony that was characteristic of tunes such as NEWCASTLE from Ashworth's collection, its sense of controlled tunefulness in all voices, and its ability to convey tradition and modernity simultaneously, as seen with its ABA'B' form characteristic both of older psalm tunes and newer popular music. This trend towards the current and fashionable is expressed also through its structure, which follows a terse binary form complete with a tonal outline of i-III-i. Conversely, as a continuation of established ancient trends, it also includes a few instances of perfect consecutions at the fifth (parallel fifths) between voices (mm. 3-4, 13-14), allowable by period writers, as well as incomplete triads at major cadential points and the opening sonority.

THE MORNING HYMN (**Anth**), the only specifically congregational hymn tune included in *Urania*, presents many of the same expressive mannerisms of the mid-century

form of the ancient style, encountered in WILLINGTON TUNE. However, several other characteristics illustrate the anonymous composer's ancient aesthetic through their non-understanding of functional tonality and common practice conceptions of dissonance. Though three of the four cadences conclude on the fifth scale degree, only the last resembles orthodox cadential procedure. Resulting from a consonantal conception of harmonization, the cadence at the end of the first section (m. 4) consists of two main facets: the first a series of descending imperfect consonantal consecutions at the third between the treble and counter, and secondly an initial series of parallel imperfect consonantal consecutions at the sixth, offset and concluded by contrary motion between the tenor and bass. In contrast, the end of the second phrase presents a non-functional secondary dominant (m. 8), accomplished with an implied  $v/V-V$  cadence without a raised third in the counter line, necessitated by its downward shape. Generally speaking, this lack of an overarching tonal plan with functional harmonic progressions reveals most clearly its ancient aesthetic.

Similarly, uncontrolled and unprepared dissonance appears with greater regularity in THE MORNING HYMN than in WILLINGTON, resulting also from the harmonization process of consonantal counterpoint. For instance, the final beat of measure nine presents a minor second clash between the counter and tenor parts as a result of the composer's attempt to create tunefulness between voices. In their relationship to the cantus, all of the harmonized voices generally agree with the cantus individually, but not necessarily with each other. The beginning of the final section (m. 13) presents such an instance, complete with a clashing major seventh between the treble, and counter and bass voices as well as a perfect consecution at the octave between the bass and tenor. However, a comparison of each voice to the tenor demonstrates a methodical relationship between it and the tune-carrying voice.

Borrowing from the terminology of eighteenth-century psalmody, the treble and tenor present contrary motion between two imperfect consonants, inserting a dissonant fourth through an interchangeable pass [passing tone dissonance] between the two voices; the counter and tenor begin at the octave and continue with a dissonant fourth that is immediately resolved to an imperfect consonantal consecution of thirds [parallel thirds] that continues through the rest of the measure; the tenor and bass begin at the unison and arrive at a perfect consonant fifth before maintaining consonant intervals through contrary motion to the end of the phrase. When incorrectly applying a vertical conception of harmony to this horizontal understanding, the individual relationships of voices to the cantus tenor become obscured. Seen individually, each demonstrates a methodical process. Dissonance treatment and consonantal conceptions of harmony in THE MORNING HYMN will typify ancient expression used by Calvinist Dissenters in the Middle Atlantic from the late colonial period into the nineteenth century.

In the Nonconformist-influenced section of *Urania*, Lyon included a few spiritual songs favored by Calvinists that have parallels to European English Presbyterian published tunebooks, British colonial manuscript compilations from the Long Island Sound, as well as the Calvinist Anglican Nonconformist book *The Divine Musical Miscellany* (London, 1754). For instance, many of their texts are associated with progressive Calvinists such as Isaac Watts. Alone among the colonial contributions to *Urania*, these works appear mostly in two-part settings, maintaining an identical scoring procedure both to the spiritual songs in the Long Island Sound repertory and to the hymn settings in *The Divine Musical Miscellany*.

JUDGMENT (**Anth**) incorporates all of these features within a setting of a hymn by Isaac Watts from *Horæ Lyricæ* (1706) in the unusual Sapphic meter of 11.11.11.5. Lyon printed all of its verses in *Urania*, probably intending its performance outside of the divine

service. Conceived more for social and domestic performance, this spiritual song, neither a paraphrase of biblical song nor a poetic adaptation of a particular piece of scripture, recounts in particularly descriptive terms the horrors of God's judgment on his unrepentant subjects, similar in feel and style to the text of *THE CHIMES* from the London Eastcheap and Long Island Sound repertoires.

In this setting, the composer avoided the fashionable frequent use of melismas, and instead emphasized the natural rhythms of the text for a straightforward musical declamation. Either to accentuate the finality of the experience through dramatic gesture, or simply to insert a more grandiose ending, the composer supplied an alternate ending that featured a built-in ritard occasioned by a change in mood or time signature from the two-beat, third mood of common time to the four-beat, second mood of common time (i.e.  $q=120$  versus  $q=90$ ).<sup>58</sup> Together, these features speak to the heightened emotional tenor of the text, offering a directly and easily comprehensible musical setting of this spiritual song.

The original compositions and arrangements by James Lyon present many of the same ancient-style compositional and harmonic procedures as other Dissenter contributions to the tunebook. In addition, Lyon appears to have followed a compositional model similar to that used by Tuckey, in that Lyon would change scoring procedure between the congregational sections, and the anthems, hymns, and spiritual songs. Also like Tuckey, Lyon appears to have composed his non-congregational works for specific occasions and ensembles, thus reflecting their performance history outside of the divine service. Though Lyon never completely adopted functional harmony and common practice voicing, his set piece and spiritual song display much more of the elements of common practice orthodoxy than do his congregational tunes and arrangements. In particular, the congregational

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<sup>58</sup> Lyon, *Urania*, v-vi.

repertory contains many of the elements associated with nineteenth-century ancient-style evangelical music found in Middle Atlantic shape-note compilations.

Lyon displayed a fondness for melodic independence between voices and for a generally florid melismatic approach to harmonization. In its more basic form, his method of arrangement would be to take a pre-existent two-part TB setting and compose new treble and counter parts, as with the psalm tune, ISLE OF WIGHT (**Anth**). The added parts display little musical orthodoxy. The counter part is generally static throughout, but relieved with the occasional consecution of imperfect consonances. Also, it is limited to a range of a perfect fifth. In contrast, the treble line encompasses a ninth and is almost continually occupied with florid melodic embellishment, particularly in the first two phrases.

Lyon also included some harmonic quirks as a result of the horizontal orientation of the harmony. For instance, although the cadential material in the third phrase (m. 13) defies vertical comprehension as a functional chord progression, it can be explained through analysis of the individual lines in their relationship to the cantus. In particular, the treble and tenor voices present a unique clash as a result of the vestiges of Renaissance techniques within the ancient style. The treble line, because of its upward shape, includes a raised leading tone to the fifth scale degree that contrasts with the tenor line leading down to the fifth. The raised fourth also enabled Lyon to avoid a consecution of perfect consonances of the fifth against the bass leading into the final chord of the phrase. These nonfunctional harmonic characteristics display much independence between voices, allowing each to assume its own individual melodic shape.

Similarly, ST. ANNE'S TUNE (**Anth**) contains some florid melodic elaborations illustrative of part independence. In contrast to the previous tune however, these embellishments are more evenly distributed among the added voices. As a result, it features

numerous harmonic quirks when all parts are sounded together, particularly in the ensuing sonorities resulting from the application of consonantal contrapuntal procedures to a pre-existent harmonization with functional harmony. Again relating to the shape of the individual line, all can be explained through linear nonfunctional understandings of harmony, as seen with the counter line in the first phrase.

This independence extends also to the use of dissonance occurring through coincidental instances of dissonant pass technique between the added treble and counter voices. Displaying little to no concern for each other, both maintain their individual ties to the cantus (i.e. mm. 4, 8, 12). In sum, the overall effect of this tune reveals a linearity of harmonic conception, a nonfunctional understanding of harmony and dissonance, and an independence of voice parts that seems caught somewhere between modal counterpoint and common practice homophony. Neither tonal nor pre-tonal, it constitutes a hybrid form unlike any of its stylistic influences.

All of these features appear also in Lyon's original ancient-style congregational compositions. Though containing little dissonance between voices and demonstrating a more orthodox approach to chromatic embellishment, many of the same stylistic characteristics remain identical between his harmonization of older psalm tunes, and his original tunes, such as THE 8TH PSALM TUNE (**Anth**).<sup>59</sup> Like the ISLE OF WIGHT, the counter line is quite static with only a range of a fourth. Consequently, most of the melodic embellishment is shared between the treble and tenor voices. As a result of the cantus being embellished, few coincidental clashes occur among the other voices, as happened between the treble and counter voices in ST. ANNE'S TUNE.

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<sup>59</sup> Lyon's authorship, while not specifically attributed in *Urania*, has been established, based upon tune title variants and various attributions in other source material. Crawford, xviii-xix.

Another compositional device deserves mention. THE 8TH PSALM TUNE uses a repeated figure as a type of melodic motive present in the first three phrases of the tenor (mm. 1, 6, 8). It is also answered in a modified form in the treble line (m. 6), functioning as a written type of ornament. Although its melodic contour does not appear more than once between voices, its rhythmic pattern appears with greater frequency in the treble line (mm. 9, 11, 12), revealing it to be both a melodic and a rhythmic motive simultaneously. Despite its brevity, this tune contains most of Lyon's ancient-style quirks, exhibiting his fundamental approach to the ancient style.

Comparison of these ancient-style tunes to Lyon's set piece and hymn exhibits a duality in compositional style and expression. Almost no coincidental clashes of dissonance appear between voices as a result of linear conceptions of harmony. Instead, chromatic embellishment follows generally common practice procedure through functional secondary dominants. Though not completely tonal, its progressions resemble a generally orthodox common practice tonal scheme. Further, Lyon set the treble as the tune-carrying voice in both pieces, similar to scoring procedures employed by William Tuckey for his set piece, AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF THE 97 PSALM.

TWO CELEBRATED VERSES BY STERNHOLD & HOPKINS SET TO MUSIC (**Anth**), Lyon's most Anglican-style work, is divided into two movements, related to the two stanzas Lyon chose to set from "Psalm 18" in *The Whole Booke of Psalms: Collected into the English Metre* by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins first published in 1562. The opening movement consists of a verse and chorus setting, related to the form of the verse anthem, or at least the verse and chorus section of an anthem, as found in Tuckey's set piece. Following an AA' form, the first movement presents almost identical melodic material twice, first as a duet for the treble and bass voices, and then as a choral reiteration of this opening

antiphonal section. Demonstrating his familiarity with common practice tonality, Lyon concluded the antiphonal section with a cadence on the dominant to serve as a springboard for a restatement of the opening melodic material in its original key center. Despite a few consecutions of perfect consonances between voices, the movement displays Lyon's awareness of common practice functional harmony and tonality. Further, it conveys *Affekt* through a stateliness matching the sentiment of the text.

The second movement, marked *allegro*, presents many instances of musical pictorialism. In particular, the use of tempo echoes the sentiment of text in its relationship to rhythm and meter. The beat division increases with the first statement of the text "On cherubs & on cherubims full royally he rode, and on the wings of mighty winds came flying all abroad." This quickening rhythm relating to God's being supported by the hosts of heaven is further complemented with attention given particularly to madrigalisms suggestive of riding and flying. After a brief initial tutti statement, Lyon continues with a series of solo antiphonal passages that alternate between the treble and tenor voices. The full chorus then re-enters with an extensive melisma on the word "rode" in which Lyon imitates melismatic choral writing typical of George Frederick Handel's English oratorios (mm. 37-9). Throughout this tutti passage Lyon alternates between syllabic settings of the text and longer melismas on stressed words of the text such as "rode," "cherubs," "cherubim," "wings," and "flying." Although he avoids fusing passages, imitation does occur between voices during some of these exchanges (m. 46). After another series of antiphonal passages, the piece concludes with a full choral statement that includes a written-in ritard through a gradual slowing of note values leading into the final cadence (mm. 52-61). As with the first movement, the harmonic writing generally follows orthodox procedures complete with mostly functional chord progressions and secondary dominants.



Despite differences in expression and compositional style, TWO CELEBRATED VERSES BY STERNHOLD & HOPKINS SET TO MUSIC does bear several similarities to ancient-style compositions by Lyon. Most of the florid embellishment is shared between two voices, in this instance the treble and tenor. The counter remains fairly static, being given the most limited vocal range of any of the parts. As such, details, including identical compositional traits, might exist in both styles and repertoires, though their expression could differ.

This ability not only to distinguish between two separate compositional methodologies and expressions, but also to designate specific arenas for their performance *and* produce original compositions in these various styles, demonstrates a sophisticated aesthetic of sacred music culture in the Middle Atlantic colonies. Not confined to strictly ecclesiastical use, sacred music composition and performance could also occupy specific arenas and functions in secular settings too. On the basis of the congregational repertory, Lyon's music could operate as a voice of authority and tradition through his mastery of ancient technique. Further, he could maintain an identity as a sophisticated cutting-edge musician able to produce and incorporate into his style the current and fashionable modes of sacred-secular genres such as the oratorio chorus and the type of religious popular song associated with Anglican Nonconformists.

Although Anglican musicians such as William Tuckey also composed works representative of this duality of style and technique, the culture of New York City led by Anglican initiatives did not foster an identical environment for the development of compositional genres, the standardization of scoring procedure, and venues and settings for the performance of sacred music. In fact, Lyon's method of scoring procedure functioned in the exact opposite manner as his New York contemporary, William Tuckey. For Lyon,

the ancient-style repertory was intended for congregational performance, and the anthems for secular or social events such as public concerts and commencement exercises. For Tuckey, the set piece was designed for performance within the church, and the ancient-style psalm settings for social use. In this instance, Lyon demonstrated a continued Calvinist musical aesthetic despite the presence of Anglican, Nonconformist, and Dissenter tunes and compositional styles within *Urania*.

For all of his many groundbreaking initiatives and trendsetting procedures, James Lyon, most importantly, was able to feature his personal and denominational identities within *Urania*. As an English Presbyterian, Lyon selectively brought modern and extra-denominational elements into his ancient-style Calvinist aesthetic, choosing what he liked and rejecting what did not suit his sensibilities. Taken together, it proved especially influential on subsequent musical developments among American evangelical religious denominations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Finally, besides the fact that Lyon could compose in the two prevailing styles of composition in the northern Middle Atlantic, he was able also to impress his distinct personality on his works in both styles. It is this ability too, that shows Lyon's versatility of technique, and his recognition of distinct venues for the performance of his music. Through the compilation of *Urania* and his tunes included within its pages, Lyon remains British North America's first pan-colonial musical celebrity as teacher, artist, performer, businessman, and entrepreneur.

*Urania* remains a remarkable achievement, evidenced by its breadth of repertory, and compositional genres and types. Besides being considerably larger than earlier American publications and with an unprecedented range of compositional genres. However, this

tunebook is distinguished for several other reasons. It established the ancient style as *the* musical aesthetic for congregational devotion for Calvinist dissenters in the Middle Atlantic colonies. Further, it instituted the patriarchal, tenor-led performance style as *the* standard mode for Middle Atlantic Calvinist Dissenter worship, excluding the Dutch Reformed Church beginning in the 1770s. It also impressed within its pages a distinct colonial identity, seen with its addressed audience, the number of colonial-composed compositions within its pages, as well as the possible conceit behind its title.

Despite having an increase in the number of standardized parts in various psalm and hymn settings from two to four for the congregational repertory, *Urania*, through tune presentation, maintained its traditional English Presbyterian identity alongside the incorporation of newer Anglican influences. *Urania* was given three compositional categories: a congregational section of both textless psalm and hymn tunes to suit the various versions of the metrical psalter, extended anthems and set pieces for social-secular use, and hymns and spiritual songs with fixed texts intended for social and domestic performance, and informal worship. Lyon selected tunes from various Anglican publications, a practice of incorporation found not only in published English Presbyterian tunebooks from London, but also in manuscript copybooks from along the Long Island Sound. Rather than appropriate completely the Anglican style, *Urania* incorporated some features and characteristics of the conformist Anglican ancient style, but adapted these to English Presbyterian taste and tradition.

This compilation introduced into print a number of compositional genres and techniques to the British colonial public and increased the repertory of available works to colonial audiences. It influenced many subsequent American sacred-music publications, particularly tunebooks and tune compilations by Calvinist musicians in the Middle Atlantic

and the emerging southern and western backcountry. *Urania* standardized Middle Atlantic ancient-style performance practice and its compositional genres. It also established compositional methodology and harmonization procedures for future trends in ancient-style evangelical expression. As such, *Urania* remains arguably the most important American-published tunebook of the eighteenth century.

### 8.5 Other Late-Colonial Dissenter Publications from the Middle Atlantic

Although James Lyon's work endures as the most popular and influential tunebook compiled and published by Middle Atlantic Dissenters during the late colonial period, it was not the only Calvinist endeavor in music publishing. Two other publications from Philadelphia appeared during the Late Colonial period as well. *Tunes in Three Parts, for the several metres of Dr. Watts's version of the psalms; some of which tunes are new* (Philadelphia, 1763), an anonymous hymn and spiritual song compilation, was connected most likely to the New Side, pro-First Great Awakening, Second Presbyterian Church.<sup>60</sup> *The Customs of Primitive Churches* (Philadelphia, 1768), compiled by Regular Baptist, Welsh-born Morgan Edwards (1722-95), was a compendium of Baptist church customs such as ordination and communion rites, and church constitutions, together with a few tune settings. Though sharing much of their contents with *Urania* and each other, both betray a difference in intent and function, paralleling earlier European tune supplements to Calvinist hymnals and congregational tune collections by Calvinist Dissenters and Calvinist Nonconformists (Table 8.2).

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<sup>60</sup> This publication was printed by Anthony Armbruster, the printer of *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* by William Dawson, discussed in chapter seven.

In particular, *Tunes in Three Parts* reveals two strains of influence in its compilation methodology. Twenty-three of its thirty-four tunes appeared in and were drawn from tune settings in *Urania*, including several pieces that originated from Lyon's tunebook, such as MORNING HYMN, ST. HUMPHREYS, and WILLINGTON. Further, the compiler turned to the congregational section of *Urania* for all but one of the tunes from that source. Despite the overwhelming influence of *Urania*, typographical conventions differed between the sources, reflecting also a slightly different performance practice. Though set in three parts, the scoring procedure did not follow the convention adopted by New England Congregationalists. Instead, it omitted the counter or alto voice in four-part ancient-style settings, though still emphasizing a tenor-based style of harmonization. Reflecting these two trends, *Tunes in Three Parts* contained mostly a congregational ancient-style tune repertory, but was presented in the manner of hymns and spiritual songs.

Although new to Middle Atlantic Calvinists, this form of tune presentation did have English precedent, particularly involving similar tune supplements to hymn and spiritual song collections by earlier progressive Calvinist Dissenters such as *A Set of Tunes in 3 Parts (mostly new) fitted to the following hymns* (London, [1720]) by Simon Browne. Similarly, James Lyon, as well as the anonymous compiler(s) of *Tunes in Three Parts* drew a few pieces such as WHITEFIELD'S and AMARTY from *A Collection of Tunes in Three Parts, that are now us'd in the several dissenting congregations in London* (London, c. 1755) by Nonconformist Thomas Knibb, active in London during the 1750s and 60s. Both types of publications bear a striking similarity to the Philadelphia imprint, in that all tunes are set for three voices with the melody placed in the tenor, and their texts draw primarily from the hymns of Isaac Watts. Further the compiler or compilers of this collection apparently selected pieces from these specific publications. As a result, *Tunes in Three Parts* can be seen to parallel evangelical

Dissenter and Nonconformist musical initiatives in London over the past forty years. As the first American musical publication to be devoted solely to the poetry of Watts, it proclaimed its fashionableness both with this textual choice, as well as the printing and performing conventions implicit in its published format, despite the crude style of its engraving.

*Customs of Primitive Churches* was not a tunebook, but rather a compendium of religious services with a few single-voice tune settings. Its author, Morgan Edwards, though born in Wales, had attended Bristol Academy and was active as minister in the towns of Boston and Rye in England, and Cork, Ireland before arriving in Philadelphia in 1761. He later became involved with the founding of the first colonial Baptist institution of higher learning, the College in the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (Brown), helping to secure its charter and to raise funds for its establishment. As a result of his travels, employment, and education, the tunes in *Customs of Primitive Churches* reflect the breadth of Edward's musical sensibilities, encompassing evangelical initiatives of England, Ireland, and the Middle Atlantic.

Of the eleven tunes in this publication, six appeared first in Philadelphia sources, including three in *Tunes in Three Parts* (WHITCHURCH, [CHORUS TO PSALM CXXXIX], CHIDINGSTONE ) and three in *Urania* (MORNING HYMN, THE 98TH PSALM TUNE, ISLE OF WHITE), in varying degrees of adaptation. From British sources, two tunes were taken most likely from Thomas Knibb's publications [ELLENBOROUGH, BRENTWOOD'S PS. 100], popular among Nonconformists. MUSICIAN'S had only appeared previously in a hymn supplement to *A Collection of Hymns and Sacred Poems* (Dublin, 1749) by Dublin compiler S. Powell. It was possibly gleaned during Edwards' Irish pastorate. For another tune, he either arranged personally, or gathered from an unnamed,

unknown source, a metrical hymn adaptation of a cantata aria by John Stanley.<sup>61</sup> This type of contrafactum or spiritual appropriation of a secular song resembles the ANTHEM ON KING DAVID found in the Long Island Sound Presbyterian repertory, lifted from an operatic chorus. The final tune remained original to the collection, though it too claimed its origin falsely as a contrafactum of the "Dead March" in *Saul* by George Frederick Handel.

Despite the fact that the tune choices in *Customs of Primitive Churches* suggest a plausible direct connection between Morgan Edwards and his areas of professional activity, the tunes printed in this volume could also represent popular taste among Baptists in the greater region. Although *Tunes in Three Parts* most likely remained confined to a localized Philadelphia market based upon its intended audience, *Customs of Primitive Churches* was a product of the Philadelphia Association of Regular Baptists. Although based in this city, it was composed of a pan-colonial assortment of congregations. The Philadelphia Association, founded in 1707, had grown by 1765 to include member churches in the colonies of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia (**Fig. 8.1**). Concentrated primarily in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, Baptist congregations were connected to important water and land trade routes in the other Middle Atlantic colonies. This phenomenon was true especially in New York and Virginia, where the churches were based around New York City and along the Hudson River, and within the Potomac watershed that was connected to Winchester, the commercial hub of the Shenandoah Valley.

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<sup>61</sup> Temperley. *Hymn Tune Index*, 1937.

**Figure 8.1. County and Colony distribution for the Philadelphia Association of Baptists with their Dates of Establishment, 1768.**

<u>Colony/County</u>	<u>Church and Date of Establishment</u>
<b>Connecticut</b>	
Fairfield	Sept. 12, 1747
<b>Maryland</b>	
Baltimore	Nov. 1, 1754
<b>New Jersey</b>	
Burlington	July 23, 1764
Cape May	Jun. 24 1712
Cumberland	1690 (1 <sup>st</sup> church), May 30, 1761 (2 <sup>nd</sup> church)
Essex	Sept. 8, 1747
Hunterdon	Apr. 22 1711 (1 <sup>st</sup> church), May 23, 1742 (2 <sup>nd</sup> church)
Middle Sex	1689 (1 <sup>st</sup> church), Nov. 1, 1745 (2 <sup>nd</sup> church)
Monmouth	1688
Morris	Aug. 11, 1752 (1 <sup>st</sup> church), May 12, 1753 (2 <sup>nd</sup> church)
Salem	May 17, 1755
Sussex	Nov. 15, 1756
<b>New York</b>	
Dutchess	Nov. 1758
New York	June 19, 1763
Queens	July 11, 1748
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	
Berks	Aug. 19, 1738
Bucks	Apr. 8, 1746 (1 <sup>st</sup> church), Nov. 28, 1754 (2 <sup>nd</sup> church)
Chester	Apr. 22, 1711 (1 <sup>st</sup> church), Jun. 14 1715 (2 <sup>nd</sup> church)
Cumberland	Aug. 5, 1765
Delaware	Nov. 3, 1761
Philadelphia	Nov. 1687 (1 <sup>st</sup> church), 1701 (2 <sup>nd</sup> church), Jun. 20, 1719 (3 <sup>rd</sup> church), May 15, 1746 (4 <sup>th</sup> church)
<b>Virginia</b>	
Frederick	Oct. 20, 1752 (1 <sup>st</sup> church), Aug. 6, 1756 (2 <sup>nd</sup> church)
Loudon	Oct. 8, 1751

Number of Churches in the British Colonies within the Philadelphia Association:  
 Connecticut – 1, Maryland – 1, New Jersey – 14, New York – 3, Pennsylvania – 11, Virginia – 3.



Further, *Customs of Primitive Churches* suggests that the repertory found in this book reflected that of the Baptists in the Southern backcountry, through a link with minister John Gano, founder of the New York City Regular Baptist Church who had been active in Hopewell, New Jersey. By 1758, Gano had become a missionary for the Charles Town Association and was administering to a New Jersey settlement on Abbotts Creek in Rowan County, north of Charlotte, North Carolina.<sup>62</sup> Though Gano fled the colony during the Cherokee Wars of the early 1760s, many New Jersey settlers remained, joining the Separate Baptists of the Sandy Creek Separate Baptist Church Association.<sup>63</sup>

Because of these two possibilities for sources of influence, some elements of *Customs of Primitive Churches* remain difficult to determine. For instance, Morgan's book could reflect his own personal tune aesthetic, the general popular tune aesthetic among Baptists throughout the Middle Atlantic and Southern Backcountry, or both. All instances of musical settings in *Customs of Primitive Churches* appear in descriptions of church rites, as witnessed by Morgan. Thus, in one sense, the tune selections could reflect Morgan's personal choices if he himself chose the pieces for inclusion. Conversely, if the examples printed were not his,

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<sup>62</sup> Elder John Sparks, *The Roots of Appalachian Christianity: The Life and Legacy of Elder Shubal Stearns* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 96-9.

<sup>63</sup> Separate Baptists grew out of the First Great Awakening in Connecticut during the 1740s, coinciding with the preaching tour of George Whitefield along the Connecticut River. Theologically based in Calvinism, Separate Baptists adopted some of the tenets of Anabaptism such as foot washing, learned from General Baptists, an English Anabaptist denomination based in neighboring Rhode Island. Morgan Edwards also described the activities of the Separate Baptists in North Carolina and Virginia in a series of manuscript notebooks written during a 1771-72 tour of Baptist churches throughout the British colonies. A transcription of these notebooks, located at the American Baptist Historical Society, at Chester, Pennsylvania, can be found at: <http://baptisthistoryhomepage.com/nc.edwards.morgan.notes.html>. See also: David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America, and Other Parts of the World*, vol. 2 (Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.... for the Author, 1813), 96-104.

but rather the actual tunes used in the various rites, then the tune choices would reflect general Baptist practice throughout the Philadelphia Association churches. Determining this tune selection process proves difficult since the descriptions of tunes do not always match the actual printed examples, evidenced with spurious composer attributions listed in the text, as well as the supposed contrafactum of Handel's "Dead March" in *Saul*. Regardless of the source, the tune selection bears a strong resemblance to the New Side Presbyterian *Tunes in Three Parts*, though with a slightly more cosmopolitan repertory.

Collectively, both sources continue the trend initiated by James Lyon through emphasis on new compositions (presumably composed in the colonies), in this case emanating primarily from Philadelphia. Though denigrated by Nicholas Temperley,<sup>64</sup> these new tunes document all of the major trends in evangelical Presbyterian composition found in American source material throughout the eighteenth century. Neither collection shows a direct connection via a shared distinctive repertory between the Long Island Sound and Middle Atlantic regions. Rather, the compositional characteristics reflect the type of progressive source material used and incorporated by European and North American English Presbyterians over the previous sixty years. Printing conventions followed one set of trends, the original compositions to the collections another.

Most of the new tunes betray a strong Conformist Anglican influence, though not often used in a typically Anglican fashion. But whether these modifications were the result of ignorance of Anglican custom or because of a deliberate effort to conform to a Calvinist aesthetic remains unknown. [CHORUS] to AMARTY. TO PSALM CXXXIX (**Anth**) features the oldest compositional and melodic, stylistic conventions. Reminiscent of hymn tunes from the William and Mary, and late Stuart periods, this work resembles several of the

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<sup>64</sup> Temperley, "First Forty," 17, 20.

pieces from Henry Playford's *The Divine Companion: or, David's Harp New Tun'd*, ed. 2 (London, 1707) that appeared in colonial sources from the Long Island Sound region.

Following the conventions of three of the new pieces in *Tunes in Three Parts*,<sup>65</sup> this tune was designated a chorus for the final stanza of Watts' "Psalm 139, First Meter" from *The Psalms of David, Imitated in the Language of the New Testament* (1719). This type of tune and chorus was popular among fashionable Anglicans because of the dramatic effect created through a shift in texture, meter, and/or register at the height of the hymn's textual delivery, the final verse. AMARTY, a tune by Johann Friedrich Lampe that was used for the first four verses of this particular chorus, remained popular in Nonconformist publications, including the anonymous Irish tune supplement and the Knibb tunebooks discussed as source compilations for *Customs of Primitive Churches*. However, the chorus does not fit well with this tune, being cast in a different key and mode (G major vs. C minor). Indeed, in *Customs of Primitive Churches*, the chorus appeared as an independent hymn tune. Thus, evidence suggests that it may have been originally written as a stand-alone composition.

Though printed incorrectly without its intended anacrusis, the melody incorporates stylistic features typical of the eighteenth century, including sigh motives and repeated melodic sequences implying functional common practice harmonic progressions, as seen also in earlier colonial compositions such as PSALM 132ND from the Holladay manuscript. Together with its textual repetition, the melody conveys a sense of poignancy through the broad vocal range required for its performance, descending an octave and a half over the last half of the stanza through a series of sequences.

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<sup>65</sup> The other two tunes are HODO LE JEHOVAH: TO PSALM CV. THE 8TH STANZA, A REPEATING CHORUS and HALLEL. TO PSALM CXXXVI.

However, [CHORUS] to AMARTY is set in the ancient style unlike selections from other eighteenth-century modish Anglican collections such as *The Divine Companion*. Instead of functional common practice harmony, the tune follows almost exclusively the consonantal, non-functional approach to harmonization, other than a few chromatically altered leading tones within some cadential passages. Also present between voices are numerous instances of perfect consonantal consecutions such as a remarkable chain of five perfect consecutions at the fifth (parallel fifths) in the final phrase. Alongside these techniques, the composer displayed a typically Middle Atlantic aesthetic through melodic independence among voices, as found previously in tune settings and pieces new to *Urania*. Finally, the composer displayed a more contrapuntal approach to tune setting through shared melodic material between the treble and tenor voices, as found in phrases three (mm. 9-12) and four (13-16). The treble in phrase four repeats almost exactly the melodic content of the tenor of the previous phrase.

CHIDDINGSTONE: TO PSALMS LXXXIV. CXXI. CXXXVI, CXLVIII (**Anth.**) resembles a more recent Anglican conformist style of tune, the antiphonal tune with chorus, as seen with DORCHESTER by William Knapp, through an emphasis on melodic repetition between sections. Cast as an AA'BB' form, the construction of this tune provided an antiphonal shift halfway through the Hallelujah Meter (6.6.6.6. 8.8.) verse. CHIDDINGSTONE begins as an antiphonal dialogue between the tenor and bass voices, and concludes as a homophonic extended tutti choral statement with an added treble voice. Also resembling DORCHESTER, CHIDDINGSTONE includes repeated melodic cadential material between voices in the first and second halves of the tune (mm. 5-6, 19-20).

Though composed in the style of a tune with a reiterative chorus, CHIDDINGSTONE is missing one critical feature: the chorus. The antiphonal shift occurs

*within* the stanza, not as a reiteration of the final two lines of text of a given stanza. From this perspective, the composer understood the conventions of his compositional model, but did not appropriate its reiterative function. This aspect suggests a non-Anglican approach to composition. However, it remains impossible to know whether this modification was the result of ignorance or direct intent. Some antiphonal tunes did follow a similar approach to structure, either with an opening antiphonal dialogue followed by a choral conclusion such as THE 98TH PSALM TUNE, or an initial antiphonal duet with choral response, such as THE 9TH PSALM TUNE by William Tuckey. However, these tunes do not emphasize melodic repetition in such a strict form, nor do they convey fully the same dramatic effect occasioned by this melodic repetition.

CHIDDINGSTONE also presents a much more orthodox conception of harmony. Although still following the conventions of consonantal harmony, including melodic independence between voices, a few instances of perfect consonantal consecutions, and a nonfunctional approach to tonality, the harmony seems more controlled as a result of the lack of implied functional harmonic sequences. Rather, it demonstrates a more basic tonal grounding that centers on the tonic, subdominant and dominant sonorities. The overall effect bears a closer tonal and harmonic relationship to some of the hymns and spiritual songs in the *Harmonia Sacra* by Thomas Butts than to older tunes from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The composer's part writing also displays a more graceful, modern expression, typical of the fashionable galante style favored by Nonconformist congregations.

WHITCHURCH (**Anth**) displays a number of simultaneous dualities, including older and newer compositional techniques, and denominational influences from Anglicans and English Presbyterians. Most notably, this tune exists as the apparently earliest surviving American-composed fusing tune. It follows neither the more common homophonic

section-contrapuntal section-homophonic conclusion form, nor presents a series of staggered entries, as with THE 12TH PSALM TUNE. Instead, the final phrase includes an antiphonal fugging procedure of the tenor and treble voices moving together against the bass. This contrapuntal technique achieves the same form of textual overlap as the staggered-entry fugging tune but without a set of canonic or pseudo-canonic entries. Lyon included one tune using a similar antiphonal fugging procedure in the spiritual song section of his *Urania*, ITALIAN as it appeared in *The Harmonia Sacra*. Though not as frequently encountered as the staggered-entry technique, antiphonal fugging procedures do remain part of the standard array of contrapuntal techniques employed by both ancient-style conformist, and common practice Nonconformist Anglican composers.

WHITCHURCH also includes several older mannerisms associated with Anglicans and English Presbyterians. For instance, it includes implied functional melodic sequences often associated with the Anglican style. Beginning with the text "Array'd in robes of light," the composer inserted an implied sequential passage that is repeated a semitone higher before continuing with a repetition of the final phrase of the first half of the tune. Conversely, from the Presbyterian perspective, this tune includes a repeated melodic figure reminiscent of the gapped melodic patterns in British traditional music (mm. 7-9. 16-19), encountered in earlier Presbyterian tunes such as the ANTHEM ON KING DAVID. In particular, this melodic figure is almost identical to one of the most famous and widespread folk hymns, of which one setting became widely known as TWENTY-FOURTH or PRIMROSE by Amzi Chapin. Thus, WHITCHURCH displays progressive and traditional, melodic and stylistic features common to Anglican and English Presbyterian practice.

Two other tunes reflect less the influence of the conformist and Nonconformist Anglican styles. Rather, they demonstrate more a continuation of English Presbyterian

trends in hymn and spiritual song composition as found along the Long Island Sound and in Philadelphia. CHINTING (**Anth**), in particular, uses many of the same harmonization traits as AN HYMN ON YE BIRTH OF CHRIST from the John Sandey manuscript copybook. Favoring open sonorities, this tune makes frequent use of second inversion chords and open fourth dyads on the strong beats of measures (mm. 4, 6, 8, 11, 14). This feature, combined with numerous instances of incomplete triads, anticipates the distinctive sound of tunes found in evangelical ancient-style compilations of the nineteenth century, particularly in shape-note tunebooks.

CHINTING also displays chromatic harmonic trends established by Middle Atlantic English Presbyterians, such as a false relation resulting from the horizontal conception of harmony and voicing in measure five, similar to chromatic embellishment in ancient-style tune settings by James Lyon. Further, as with the chorus to AMARTY, the composer included numerous instances of perfect consecutions among the voices. However, in this tune, consecutions happen just as frequently at the octave as at the fifth, and between the tenor and bass as well as the tenor and treble. More than any other, this tune reveals an ancient-style aesthetic peculiar to English Presbyterians, independent of later ancient-style pieces from New England. Contrary to scholarship on this subject, the harmonic techniques most often associated with shape-note folk hymns in the nineteenth century had actually become part of the late-colonial English Presbyterian vernacular before the proliferation of New England social-secular ancient-style psalmody. In general, original pieces to *Tunes in Three Parts* such as CHINTING challenge previous scholarly assumptions about the New England musical hegemony in regards to the ancient style.

Finally, MIZMOR; TO PSALM THE L. AND XCIII, AND XCIII (**Anth.**), like CHIDDINGSTONE imitates conformist Anglican tunes with a reiterative chorus, but does

not actually present a chorus. Instead, it features an antiphonal shift between the first and second portions of the poetic meter of the verse (10.10.10.10. and 11.11.). The composer also indicated a change in tempo between these sections through a change in time signature, shifting from the second mood of common time (q=90) to the third (q=120). This shift in tempo emphasized further the musical dramatic possibilities relating to the shift in texture.

More important, the pseudo-chorus is not original to this tune. Instead, it is an adaptation of JUDGMENT, the anonymous spiritual song in James Lyon's *Urania*, modified to suit the extended 11.11. portion of the verse. In this instance, MIZMOR displays a similar form of melodic adaptation to the ANTHEM ON KING DAVID. It functions as a parody tune of the earlier JUDGMENT, as seen with both texts relating to God's final judgment of His people. In the ANTHEM ON KING DAVID, the arranger changed the subject of the song from Paris to King David, but still preserved the same words. Similarly, MIZMOR preserves the same Presbyterian sentiment as JUDGMENT but it expands on the earlier tune in a more dramatic setting involving a pseudo-Anglican-style antiphonal shift. As a result, MIZMOR demonstrates most clearly the effects of simultaneous denominational influences within a single piece of music.

Taken together, *Tunes in Three Parts* and *Customs of Primitive Churches* display a complex, multi-layered form of expression. On one level, these sources reveal an ancient aesthetic influenced by the most recent developments in Calvinist Nonconformist hymnody regarding compilation format, part setting, and fusing and antiphonal techniques. Rather than present a collection as all encompassing as *Urania*, these smaller works suggest an intended purpose for use in church or informal worship. *Tunes in Three Parts* follows the same general printing and part-setting conventions as the tune collections compiled by Thomas Knibb for Calvinist Nonconformists in London, a tradition that extended back to the earliest tune



supplements to hymnals by Isaac Watts. The tunes found in *Customs of Primitive Churches* were supposedly taken directly from religious ceremonies as witnessed by its author, Morgan Edwards. However, the accuracy of Edwards' observations remains suspect.

At the same time, some of the repertory shows a continuation of older techniques traditional to Anglican and Calvinist expression. In particular, a few pieces contain Anglican techniques characteristic of the William and Mary and late Stuart periods. Although new to surviving source material from the Middle Atlantic, the English Anglican repertory had influenced earlier colonial English Presbyterian source material too. Further, they also preserve a distinctly Calvinist Dissenter aesthetic regarding harmonization procedure within the ancient style, parody technique for folk hymns, and repertory for spiritual contrafacta. These three distinct influences do not operate independent of each other. Rather, they operate simultaneously within a single piece, revealing a surprisingly fluid and dynamic musical rhetoric.

As with Lyon's tune selections for *Urania*, the repertory found in these books straddles tradition and innovation, providing a missing link between the older eighteenth-century English Presbyterian practice and nineteenth-century Calvinist evangelical ancient-style psalm and hymn settings associated with shape-note hymnody. Further, these musical compilations, in conjunction with *Urania*, constitute the only American publications of spiritual songs before the turn of the nineteenth century. Later eighteenth-century compilers restricted their contents to psalm and hymn settings, and extended anthems and set pieces. Demonstrating a more reserved and less enthusiastic expression, other eighteenth-century publications mostly avoided the distinctly Calvinist form of spiritual song. Not until *The Christian Harmony* by Jeremiah Ingalls from 1805 do American publications again feature Calvinist-style spiritual songs identical to the range of examples from both the Long Island

Sound Repertory and the Dissenter tune collections published in the Middle Atlantic. As such, musical activity in the Middle Atlantic occupied a central and seminal role for the shaping of subsequent evangelical trends in the southern and western areas of the new Republic.

Table 8.1 Source compilations for previously composed tunes appearing in James Lyon's Urania (Philadelphia, 1761)

Key: **Boldface type** = American-composed, arranged, or adapted  
 ( ) = alternate titles  
 [ ] = most common title of a particular psalm tune, or a referential title in the absence of one in the source

Tune Name	HTI #	Anglican							Dissenter							?	
		Conformist Choral Compilations							Nonconformist Tune Collections			English European		English Colonial			
		SmitJ	GreeJ	SMC	ArnoJ	DaveU	ArnoJ	AdamA	ButtT	KnibT	MoorT	AshwC	DawsW	SP			
		SSAPT 1746	BP 11 1751	5 1753	CP 4 1756	PC 2 1758	LH 1759	PNC 6 1760	DMM 1754	HS 1760	PSH 1760	PSDC2 1750	CT 1760	YEA 1754	BostTB 1755		
ANGELS HYMN	387e	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—		
ANTHEM	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
TAKEN FROM THE 7TH CHAPTER OF JOB, AN																	
ANTHEM	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
TAKEN OUT OF THE 100TH PSALM, AN																	
ANTHEM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x		
TAKEN OUT OF THE 105 PSALM, AN																	
ANTHEM	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
TAKEN OUT OF THE 145TH PSALM, AN																	

Table 8.1 (continued)

Tune Name	HTI#	Anglican							Dissenter						?	
		Conformist Choral Compilations							Nonconformist Tune Collections			English European		English Colonial		
		HoldI							DMM	ButtT	KnibT	MoorT	AshwC	DawsW		SP
		SmitJ	GreeJ	SMC	ArnoJ	DaveU	ArnoJ	AdamA								
1746	1751	1753	1756	1758	1759	1760	1754	1760	1760	1750	1760	1754	1755			
ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF THE 148TH PSALM, AN	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF THE 16TH PSALM, AN	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF THE 34TH PSALM, AN	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF THE 47TH PSALM, AN	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF THE 96TH PSALM, AN	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
BATH	758	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
BEDFORD	930a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
BRUNSWICK	891a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
CANTERBURY	250h	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
COLESHILL	271c	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
COOKFIELD	1875	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 8.1 (continued)

Tune Name	HTI#	Anglican							Dissenter							?
		Conformist Choral Compilations							Nonconformist Tune Collections			English European		English Colonial		
		HoldI							DMM	ButtT	KnibT	MoorT	AshwC	DawsW	SP	
		SmitJ	GreeJ	SMC	ArnoJ	DaveU	ArnoJ	AdamaA								
SSAPT	BP 11	5	CP 4	PC 2	LH	PNC 6	1754	1760	1760	1750	1760	1754	1755			
CRANLEY	1851	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CROWLE	1084a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
DAGENHAM	1952b	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
DARKING	1877	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
DERBY	577	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
DORCHESTER	1504a	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
GLOUCESTER	368a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
HALLELUJAH	1139b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ISLE OF WIGHT	733a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
ITALIAN	2217a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
KETTERING	1805	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
KETTLEBY'S	2248	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
LEATHERED	1879	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LONDON NEW	497b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
MEAR	909b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
NEWCASTLE	1983	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
ORANGE	863	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
PALMY'S	2257a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
PORTSMOUTH	750b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
PSALM 5	1946a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PSALM 12	1950b	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PSALM 15	2561	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PSALM 40	1858	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PSALM 43	1859	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PSALM 50, NEW	1986a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
PSALM 50, OLD	116a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
PSALM 56	2080	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 8.1 (continued)

Tune Name	HTI#	Anglican							Dissenter							?
		Conformist Choral Compilations							Nonconformist Tune Collections			English European		English Colonial		
		HoldI							DMM	ButtT	KnibT	MoorT	AshwC	DawsW	SP	
		SmitJ	GreeJ	SMC	ArnoJ	DaveU	ArnoJ	AdamA								
SSAPT	BP 11	5	CP 4	PC 2	LH	PNC 6	1754	1760	1760	1750	1760	1754	1755			
PSALM 57	1193b	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PSALM 90	2542	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PSALM 98	1195a	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>PSALM 100,</b> <b>NEW</b>	1054	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
PSALM 100, OLD	143a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
PSALM 102	2342a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PSALM 112	130c	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
PSALM 113	1194b	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PSALM 113, OLD	146a	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PSALM 119, NEW	2364b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PSALM 119, OLD	120c	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
PSALM 122, NEW	1987a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
PSALM 136	1613a	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PSALM 145	2540	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PSALM 148, OLD	126a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
PSALM 149	657a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
PSALM 150	1855	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PUBLIC	920d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WORSHIP																
RESURRECTION	1820	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
RIPON	1261	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
RYGATE	1882b	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SALISBURY	685f	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
SKYLARK	1802	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 8.1 (continued)

Tune Name	HTI#	Anglican							Dissenter							?
		Conformist Choral Compilations							Nonconformist Tune Collections			English European		English Colonial		
		HoldI							DMM	ButtT	KnibT	MoorT	AshwC	DawsW	SP	
		SmitJ	GreeJ	SMC	ArnoJ	DaveU	ArnoJ	AdamaA								
SSAPT	BP 11	5	CP 4	PC 2	LH	PNC 6	1754	1760	1760	1750	1760	1754	1755			
SOUTHWELL	269h	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	
ST. ANN'S	664a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
ST. DAVID'S	379c	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
<b>ST. HUM- PHREY'S</b>	2035	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
ST. MATTHEW'S	669a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
ST. MATTHEW'S (HYMN)	2430	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
ST. MICHAEL'S	967a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	
ST. PETER'S	276d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	
STANDISH	586	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
WALSALL	1065a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	
WELLS	975a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	
WESTMINSTER	387d	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
WHITEFIELD'S	1687b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
WINDSOR	271a	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
WIRKSWORTH	848b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	

## Source Abbreviations

- AdamA PNC 6:** Adams, Abraham. *The Psalmist's New Companion*, ed. 6. London: Thompson & son, ca. 1760.
- ArnoJ CP 4:** Arnold, John. *The Compleat Psalmist*, ed. 4. London: Robert Brown, 1756.
- ArnoJ LH:** Arnold, John. *The Leicestershire Harmony*. London: Robert Brown for the author, 1759.
- AshwC CT:** Ashworth, Caleb. *A Collection of Tunes*. London: J. Buckland, ca. 1760.
- ButtT HS:** [Butts, Thomas]. *Harmonia Sacra*. London: for Thomas Butts.
- DaveU PC 2:** Davenport, Uriah. *The Palm-Singer's Pocket Companion*, ed. 2. London: Robert Brown, 1758.
- DawsW YEA:** Dawson, William. *The Youths Entertaining Amusement*. Philadelphia: printed at the German printing-office in Third Street, 1754.
- DMM:** *The Divine Musical Miscellany*. London: W. Smith, 1754.
- GreeJ BP 11:** Green, James. *A Book of Psalmody*, ed. 11. London: Robert Brown, for C. Hitch & L. Hawes, 1751.
- HoldI SMC 5:** Holdroyd, Israel. *The Spiritual Man's Companion*, ed. 5. London: Robert Brown, 1753.
- KnibT PSH:** [Knibb, Thomas]. *The Psalm Singers Help, being a Collection of Tunes in three parts, that are now us'd in the several dissenting congregations in London*. London: Thos. Knibb, c.1760.
- MoorT PSDC2:** Moore, Thomas, of Manchester. *The Psalm Singer's Divine Companion*. Vol. II. Ed.2. London: For the author, 1750.
- SmitJ SSAPT:** Smith, John Stafford. *A Set of Services, Anthems, & Psalm Tunes*. London: for the Author, ca. 1750.
- SP BostTB 1755:** Tune supplement to N. Tate and N. Brady, *A New Version of the Psalms of David*. Boston: Thomas Johnston, 1755.



Table 8.2 Late colonial Philadelphia dissenter musical publications after James Lyon's *Urania*, and parallel source material

Tune Title	HTI#	Philadelphia Imprints		Parallel Dissenter Source Material							
		<i>Tunes in Three Parts</i>		Tune Supplements			Tune Collections				
		1763	<i>Customs of Primitive Churches</i> 1768	SP BrowS ST3P 1720	SP WattI TTP 1725	SP CHSP 1749	KnibT CTTP 1755	KnibT PSH 1760	AshwC CT 1760	LyonJ U 1761	
*[CHORUS] TO AMARTY. TO PSALM CXXXIX. WITH A CHORUS FROM STANZA 5TH.	2872	x	x: [Girded With Truth, And Cloath'd With Grace]. The music by Mr. Brown	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
*[UNTITLED]: arrangement from "Cantata No. 6, 'What beauteous scenes enchant my sight,' by John Stanley from his <i>VI Cantatas</i> (1742) (Temp.).	3167	—	x: [Arise O King of Grace]. The music by Mr. Stanley	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
[UNTITLED]	1937	—	x: [The Ministry! A Noble Scheme]. The music by Mr. Arne	—	—	x: MUSICIAN'S	—	—	—	—	—
*[UNTITLED]	2205b	—	x: [The Temple of the Lord]	—	—	—	—	x - a	x - a	—	—
*[UNTITLED] - minor mode arrangement of 1195a (Psalm 98)	1195b	—	x: [But If Thy Saints Deserve Rebuke]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x - a
*[UNTITLED] - new arrangement of 'TALLIS' EVENING HYMN	246g	—	x: [Chearful Be Our Disposition]	—	—	—	x - e	x - e	x - d	—	—
*[UNTITLED]	3168	—	x: [Why Do We Mourn Departing Friends?]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
AMARTY	1830a	x: AMARTY. TO PSALM CXXXIX.	—	—	—	x: HYMN 164	x: BANBURY	x: BANBURY	—	—	—
ANGELS HYMN	387e	x	—	—	—	x: HYMN 19	x	x	x	x	x
BEDFORD	930a	x	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x
BRUNSWICK	891a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
*CHIDINGSTONE: TO PSALMS LXXXIV. CXXI. CXXXVI, CXLVIII,	2873	x	x: [In Patmos It Was Shown]. The music by Mr. Worgan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
*CHINTING	2874	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
*COLESHILL - new arrangement from a printer's error (?)	271j	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x - c
CROWLE	1084a	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x
DERBY	577	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
EVENING HYMN	598a	x	—	—	—	x: HYMN 166	—	x: EVESHAM	x	—	—
*HALLEL. TO PSALM CXXXVI.	2875	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
*HODO LE JEHOVAH: TO PSALM CV. THE 8TH STANZA, A REPEATING CHORUS,	2876	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ISLE OF WIGHT	733 - var. not in Temp.	x	x: [Sitting Around Our Father's Board]	x - a: ST. PETER'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
KINGSTON	116a	x: KINGSTON. TO PSALM. XCIII	—	—	x	x: Psalm 50, Old	—	—	x: Ps. 50, OLD	x: Ps. 50, OLD	—
MEAR	909b	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
*MIZMOR; TO PSALM THE L. AND XCIII, AND XCIII.	2877	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Tune Title	HTI#	Philadelphia Imprints		Parallel Dissenter Source Material							
		<i>Tunes in Three Parts</i> 1763	<i>Customs of Primitive Churches</i> 1768	Tune Supplements			Tune Collections				
				SP BrowS ST3P 1720	SP WattI TTP 1725	SP CHSP 1749	KnibT CTTP 1755	KnibT PSH 1760	AshwC CT 1760	LyonJ U 1761	
MORNING HYMN	2761	x	x: [Go Preach My Gospel]. the music by Dr. Green	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*x
NEWCASTLE	1983	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	
<b>*PHILADELPHIA, TO PSALM CXXXVI.</b>	2878	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
<b>PSALM 100, NEW</b>	1054	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
PSALM 100, OLD	143a	x: OLD-HUNDRED	—	—	x	x: HYMN 10	—	x	x: SAVOY	x	
PSALM 50, NEW	1986a	x: NEW FIFTIETH: TO PSALMS L. CXV.	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	
PSALM 98	1195a	x: THE 98TH PSALM TUNE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x - a
<b>THE 104TH PSALM BY DR. WATTS.</b>	2768	x: LYON, TO PSALM THE CIV. AND CXLVIII.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*x
PSALM 112	130c	x: LUTHER, TO PSALMS, XIX. XXXIII. LVIII. LXXXIX. XCVI. CXII. CXIII. CXLVI.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
SOUTHWELL	269h	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	
<b>ST. HUMPHREYS</b>	2035b	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*x
ST. PETER'S	276d	x: PETERS	—	—	—	x: HYMN 198	x: FARNHAM	x: FARNHAM	x	x	
<b>*TANSUR</b>	1987b	x: TANSUR. TO CXXII	—	—	—	—	x - a	x - a	—	—	x - a: PSALM 122
TORRINGTON	896a	x: TORRINGTON. TO PSALM CXV	—	—	x: Psalm 50, New	—	—	—	—	—	—
WHITCHURCH/ TRUMPET	1318	x: STANSFIELD	—	—	—	—	x: WHITCHURCH	x: WHITCHURCH	x: TRUMPET	—	—
<b>*WHITCHURCH TO PSALMS THE XCIII. CXXII. CXXXIII.</b>	2879	x	x: [A Solemn Fast Was Set]. The music (with some alteration) by Dodsley	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 8.2 (continued)

Tune Title	HTI#	Philadelphia Imprints		Parallel Dissenter Source Material						
		<i>Tunes in Three Parts</i> 1763	<i>Customs of Primitive Churches</i> 1768	Tune Supplements			Tune Collections			
				SP BrowS ST3P 1720	SP WattI TTP 1725	SP CHSP 1749	KnibT CTTP 1755	KnibT PSH 1760	AshwC CT 1760	LyonJ U 1761
WILLINGTON	2770	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*x
WIRKSWORTH	848b	x	—	—	—	x: HYMN 76	x	x	x	x

**Source Abbreviations**

**AshwC CT:** Caleb Ashworth, *A Collection of Tunes* [London: J. Buckland, (c. 1760)].

**KnibT CTTP:** [Thomas Knibb], *A Collection of Tunes in Three Parts, that are now us'd in the several dissenting congregations in London* [London: Thos. Knibb, (c. 1755)].

**KnibT PSH:** [Thomas Knibb], *The Psalm Singers Help, being a Collection of Tunes in three parts, that are now us'd in the several dissenting congregations in London* [London: Thos. Knibb, (c. 1760)].

**LyonJ U:** James Lyon, *Urania, a choice collection of psalm-tunes, anthems, and hymns* [Philadelphia: Henry Dawkins, (1761)].

**SP CHSP:** *A Collection of Hymns and Sacred Poems* (Dublin: S. Powell, 1749). Temperley classifies this supplement: #CHSP1749 i.

**SP BrowS ST3P:** *A Set of Tunes in 3 Parts (mostly new) fitted to the following hymns* [London: Em. Mathews, (1720)]. GB-Lbl: 3436.e.21. Bound with Simon Browne, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (London, 1720).

**SP WattI TTP:** *Tunes in the Tenor Part fitted to the several metres* (London): (John Clark, Richard Hett, and Richard Ford), (1725). GB-DRc: Mus.A.15. Bound with Isaac Watts, *The Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament, and Apply'd to the Christian State and Worship*, ed. (London, 1725).

## Chapter 9. Popular Trends in Sacred Music: Late Colonial Anglican Expression throughout the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, and the Carolina Lowcountry

On December 27, 1759, something extraordinary happened in the recently constructed theater on Society Hill in Philadelphia when the cities' Anglicans held a seemingly inconsequential benefit concert and dramatic performance.<sup>1</sup> Individually, both of these types of presentations had become somewhat standard in the major metropolitan areas of the British North American colonies, including Boston, New York, and Charles Town. However, this particular event set into motion a radical break from the past in terms of cultural expression and the performative history of Anglicans in the colonies. Instead of a repertory consisting primarily of psalm tunes descending from sixteenth and seventeenth century psalters and tune supplements, colonial Anglicans, now for the first time, drew from contemporary popular-theatrical secular music culture. Although this phenomenon had become commonplace in England since the time of the Restoration, the colonies had matured enough to begin cultivating this aesthetic. It shows that a few colonial churches could start to replicate the current fashionable modes of London.

The architects of this performance hoped to achieve two goals: the College of Philadelphia, an Anglican school, "by particular desire," wished to acquire a new organ for its College-Hall, and the city's Anglican populace wished to promote musical education through a charity children's choir drawn from among the city's poor.<sup>2</sup> According to the announcement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*: "As this benefit is wholly intended for improving our youth in the divine art of psalmody and church music, in order to render the

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<sup>1</sup> *The Cambridge History of American Theatre*, vol. 1, Don B. Wilmeth and Christopher Bigsby, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 382.

<sup>2</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia ed.) December 27, 1759.

entertainment of the town more compleat at commencements, and other public occasions in our college, it is not doubted but it will meet with all due encouragement from the inhabitants of this place."

Philadelphia's Anglicans sought the assistance of the first professional theater company in British North America, the American Company, then under the direction of David Douglass.<sup>3</sup> An itinerant company that had performed throughout the continent and the West Indies, Douglass' troupe first presented *The London Merchant: or The History of George Barnwell* by George Lillo (1693-1739), one of the most popular tragedies in eighteenth-century England. A moral play, the piece concerns a scheming prostitute named Sarah Millwood who is intent on finding an innocent young man to seduce, and separate him from his worldly goods. The second piece, a farce by David Garrick (1717-1779), *Lethe, or Æsop in the Shades* was performed first at Drury Lane in 1740. A mythological comedy, it concerns Proserpine begging Pluto to allow humans to drink the waters of forgetfulness of the river Lethe once a year, with an ensuing series of comic events.<sup>4</sup>

Besides the theatrical pieces, Philadelphia's Anglicans featured several other items on the program to entice people into attending the show: "Before the play, and between the acts, several celebrated pieces of concert music will be performed by some gentlemen of this city, who had kindly consented to promote the design of this entertainment; for which purpose a neat harpsichord will be provided." Although the pieces performed on this particular evening remain unknown, the presumed musical director and leader was Francis Hopkinson, a recent graduate of the college in its first class of 1757. He had previous

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<sup>3</sup> Douglass had assumed directorship of the company after the death of its first director, Lewis Hallam, c. 1756.

<sup>4</sup> Peter Holland, "Notes and Documents: Unpublished Scenes in David Garrick's *Lethe*" in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 57, 3 (1994), 301-2.

experience as music director for a performance of a revised version of Thomas Augustine Arne's masque *Alfred* as an oratorical exercise at the college in January of 1757.<sup>5</sup> Further, Lewis Hallam, Jr. delivered Hopkinson's "Prologue in Praise of Music" at this benefit performance, suggesting Hopkinson's direct involvement. In its presentation, this benefit replicated performance standards of London's professional theaters, complete with a tragedy and a farce, spoken prologues, and ent'raete music provided by a small orchestra or chamber ensemble. Clearly, the Anglicans spared no expense in presenting as elaborate an evening as possible in 1750s Philadelphia.

However, several features of the benefit seem contrary to previous Anglican traditions of performance practice and its culture in British North America. Besides the performance of plays concerning prostitution and conning people out of their money as a questionable subject matter for a church benefit, the nature of the fundraiser and its environment broke away from Anglican colonial precedent. To raise money for specifically Anglican purposes, either for an organ or a children's charity choir, both distinctly potent emblems of the Church of England, the organizers sought to raise funds not in the church or some neutral public place, but in the newest and most fashionable icon of popular culture representative of popular musical trends in London: the theater.

Further, the organizers did not choose to use the theater only as a space for the event. Instead, they programmed a secular theatrical performance to serve as a viable means to raise money for the church. In a sense, they equated the theater with the church and its religious college, and saw the theater as a suitable forum for both of these institutions. No devout Calvinist would have accepted this venue as suitable for the presence of the

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<sup>5</sup> Oscar G. Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson the First American Poet-Composer (1737-1791) and James Lyon Patriot, Preacher, Psalmist (1735-1794)* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1905, 1967), 40.

Almighty. Further, Nonconformist Anglican Calvinists such as George Whitefield would have warned of the pagan connotations inherent in associating one with the other.

However, the Anglicans had no such qualms about a shared affiliation. They instead embraced it wholeheartedly. Anglicans viewed music as serving an aural aid in understanding the dramatic enactment of the sacred liturgy. The same musical *Affekt* could conjure like emotions in either secular or sacred events. This sense of sensuality would prove the most controversial to non-Anglicans, given the music's immediate appeal to the physical senses rather than the spiritual heart. No longer did the music have to be pious, it just had to manipulate the congregant through psychology and dramatic convention to convey a sense of piety. Although earlier English Presbyterians allowed for musical composition to convey a sense of beauty, this manipulation went one step further. The Anglican Church literally became a theater of piety.

In fact, the alliance of the sacred with the secular, bringing in popular elements of polite, fashionable, and genteel culture from the theater and pleasure garden into the Anglican Church, became a hallmark of popular trends in Anglican sacred music performance throughout the rest of the Colonial era and into the Early Nationalist Period. Although Anglican churches in the colonies would remain highly orthodox in their religious beliefs, the artistic rhetoric of this music embraced that of the secular world. This notion of blending the sacred and secular vernacular was held also by progressive Anglicans, as well as Nonconformists in London associated with early Methodism or charity institutions such as the Foundling Hospital. Many Anglican musicians would find dual employment. They would compose sacred music for use in the liturgy of the divine service and parochial psalmody for ecclesiastical performance. These same musicians also would write secular music, including musical plays and English opera, songs performed in fashionable social

venues such as Vauxhall Gardens, songs intended for domestic performance, and instrumental works. Rather than embrace a musical style that favored traditional practice, as proliferated among the English Presbyterians, Anglicans championed popular music and its social institutions.

Though Presbyterians, Particular Baptists, and Nonconformist Calvinist Anglicans incorporated some popular-style pieces and contrafacta into their repertory, they did not necessarily embrace the secular culture that created this type of music. As seen with the Philadelphia publications *Urania, Tunes in Three Parts*, and *Customs of Primitive Churches*, English-speaking Middle Atlantic Calvinists kept abreast of current trends. At the same time, they maintained their distinctive tradition-bound ancient-style musical expression. In adopting treble-led Anglican and Nonconformist works, they omitted the instrumental ritornelli and figured bass indicative of Anglican instrumental accompaniment. They modified voice settings and part specification to conform to four-part tenor-led congregational psalmody, and performed Nonconformist works outside of the church. The theater remained a separate and distinct entity.

For Anglicans in the British colonies, theatrical music and popular song found a welcome refuge in the church through performance by trained choirs, professional organists, and musicians often concurrently holding employment in sacred and secular venues. In fact, this emphasis given towards popular secular musical culture spurred a separate aesthetic for music and its role in the worship service. The same musical-dramatic conventions used by musicians in theatrical music would find a welcome home in the church.

Anglican musical practice in the late Colonial Era reflects a wide range of European influences over the course of the first half of the eighteenth century. For instance, Nonconformist practice influenced that of Anglicans indirectly through publications



associated with leading religious figures such as John Wesley, or tunebooks associated with centers of evangelical Anglican and Nonconformist activity, such as *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes Never Published Before. To be had at the Lock Hospital near Hyde Park Corner* [London, (1769)] by Martin Madan. Also itinerant ministers such as George Whitefield came to British North America and peddled collections like *The Divine Musical Miscellany* [London (1754)]. Subsequently, these sources initiated a change in taste in Anglican worship. Not surprisingly, colonial musicians began to compose examples of this new type of music concurrent to the 1759 Philadelphia benefit performance. These pieces would eventually become an American tradition of Middle Atlantic and Southern Anglican performance practice that extended into the nineteenth century. This tradition would influence both the reform of the ancient style beginning in the 1790s, as well as American Methodist music after the founding of this group as an individually recognized denomination separate from the Anglican Church.

Philadelphia remains the first area of British North America to produce original surviving examples of this new style of composition. Though relatively late to enter into the polite arts in British America, Philadelphia not only served as a formative center for ancient-style music and composition, it cultivated the newly popular, theatrical style of composition too. Extending from Philadelphia, later examples appear in collections associated with the Chesapeake Bay and the Low Country, focusing specifically on Williamsburg, Virginia and Charles Town, South Carolina. Colonial modes of Anglican performance and compositional style persist in these areas throughout the Early Nationalist Period until circa 1815.

## 9.1 Cultural and Popular Influences in Nonconformist and Progressive Anglican Hymnody and Musical Expression

While almost all colonial Anglicans of the Middle Atlantic and the South would eventually embrace the style of Nonconformist hymnody influenced by fashionable popular and theatrical song, not all ministers, congregants, and musicians influenced by Nonconformist theology did. For instance, one anonymous English Presbyterian in Philadelphia described the influence of evangelical Calvinist Anglican Nonconformist, George Whitefield after his first tour of Philadelphia in 1740. He found that

[t]he alteration in the face of religion here is altogether surprising. Never did the people shew so great a willingness to attend sermons, nor the preachers greater zeal and diligence in performing the duties of their function. Religion is become the subject of most conversations. No books are in request but those of piety and devotion; and instead of idle songs and ballads, the people are everywhere entertaining themselves with psalms, hymns and spiritual songs. All which, under God, is owing to the successful labours of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield.<sup>6</sup>

Casting aside popular love songs, area congregants instead devoted their attention to sacred social singing influenced by an evangelical Anglican Calvinist. Although common at the beginning of the Great Awakening, this sentiment quickly changed to allow for the incorporation of secular British popular music trends into the sacred repertory. Examining the influence that Nonconformist hymnody exerted on the various denominations reveals how each brought the Nonconformist musical style into their individual repertories. Because Nonconformists were not recognized as a distinct denomination at this time, but remained nominally within the Church of England, no uniform expression, performance

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<sup>6</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia ed.) June 12, 1740.

practice, or style permeated all denominations under their influence. Even if by the 1760s progressive evangelical Calvinists apparently admired the beauty of functional harmony and the tunefulness of the harmony parts of Nonconformist hymnody, they could not adopt the theatrical aesthetic of their performance practice.

Similarly, orthodox Anglicans appreciated the fashionableness of Nonconformist music, its galante rhetoric and its tunefulness, even though many colonial Anglicans could not ascribe to Nonconformist theology. In fact, musical developments in many of London's urban parishes paralleled early initiatives by Nonconformists. Anglicans since at least the Restoration era had employed musicians who had one foot in the secular world and another in the sacred, including Henry Purcell, John Blow, and in the next generation, William Croft and Jeremiah Clarke.<sup>7</sup> However, these musicians neither adapted nor revised their secular material for use as metrical psalms and hymns. It was instead Nonconformist musicians who began to produce sacred contrafacta of secular tunes by composers of this earlier period (c. 1670-c. 1710).

Between 1700 and 1740, the era preceding the rise of Nonconformist Anglicanism, collections intended for parochial choirs did incorporate non-Anglican repertoires into Anglican practice. However, these musicians did not draw from secular songs, but rather from the German chorale repertory. Beginning with collections such as *Lyra Davidica: or, a Collection of Divine Songs and Hymns, partly new composed, partly translated from the High-German, and Latin hymns; and set to easy and pleasant tunes, for more general use* (London, 1708), musicians within the Church of England adapted Lutheran hymnody and its chorale tunes to English-

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<sup>7</sup> For instance, Clarke's tunes had figured prominently in a collection used by English Presbyterians along the Long Island Sound, *The Divine Companion: Being a Collection of New and Easie Hymns and Anthems* (London, 1701) by Henry Playford (see Chapter 6). Many of the later solo-style tunes popular among Nonconformists appear in this book too, including a set of four hymn-tunes set by Jeremiah Clarke (pp. 16-23).

language poetry. In this particular collection, more than one third of the metrical repertory consisted of Anglican adaptations of Lutheran chorales.<sup>8</sup>

Similar trends in Anglican composition and adaptation appear in the first Nonconformist tunebook, *A Collection of Tunes, Set to Music, As They Are Commonly Sung at the Foundery* (London, 1742), popularly known as the "Foundery" collection, by the Reverend John Wesley. Chorale tunes would form an important portion, occupying one fifth of the entire contents of this collection.<sup>9</sup> Though often associated with Lutherans, these particular chorale tunes also are found in the repertory of *Unitas Fratrum* (Moravian) musicians, whom Wesley encountered during his tenure in Georgia,<sup>10</sup> and later heard through his meetings with missionaries active within the United Kingdom. This collection also included two tunes by Jeremiah Clarke that first appeared in Henry Playford's *The Divine Companion* (London, 1701). Thus, in a sense, the "Foundery" collection largely paralleled progressive Anglican trends of the past half-century.

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<sup>8</sup> The anonymous compiler adapted the following chorales to the conventions of English-language hymnody: "*Lasset uns den Herren preisen*" (Zahn 7886b) as COMMEMORATION OF GOD'S MERCIES; "*In dulci Jubilo*" (Zahn 4947); "*Mein Herzens Jesu meine Lust*" (Zahn 4680b), based on the melody of "*Du Lebensbrot, Herr Jesu Christ*" (4680a); "*Ein feste Burg*" (Zahn 7377) as LUTHER HYMN; "*Salve cordis gaudium*" ("*Jesu meines Herzens Freud*") (Zahn 4797); "*Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*" (Zahn 8359) as SONG OF THE BRIDE; "*Straf mich nicht*" (Zahn 6274a) as SPIRITUAL WATCHFULNESS; and "*Wachet auf*" (Zahn 8405a, b) as WATCHMAN'S CALL. Source: Nicholas Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, <http://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu/default.asp>.

<sup>9</sup> These adaptations include the following chorale tunes: "*Sei willkommen*" (Zahn 7341a) as AMSTERDAM; "*Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben*" (Zahn 352) as FIRST GERMAN; "*Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen?*," a variant of Zahn 6456a (first half) or 6456b as HEMDYKE; "*Höchster Priester*," (Zahn 1256) for HERNHUTH; "*O ihr auserwählten Kinder*" (Zahn 6515c) as LOVE FEAST; "*Dich, Jesu, loben wir*" (Zahn 3980) as SAVANNAH; "*Zeuch meinen Geist*" (Zahn 788) as SECOND GERMAN HYMN; and "*Wer nur den lieben Gott*," (Zahn 2781) as SWIFT GERMAN. Source: Nicholas Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, <http://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu/default.asp>.

<sup>10</sup> Ron Byrnside, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Georgia* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 63.

However, alongside this continuation of orthodox Anglican compositional trends, Nonconformists, under the leadership of John Wesley and his brother Charles, began to introduce sacred contrafacta of secular melodies. On this point, the Wesley brother's innovations proved particularly irksome to conservative Anglicans. Wesley, seemingly testing the Nonconformist public, included only one sacred contrafactum in the "Foundery" collection, JERICHO, a vocal adaptation of the march featured in Act III of *Riccardo Primo* (1727) by George Frederick Handel. In this instance, Wesley preserved the sentiment of the march as a piece of military music and re-contextualized it to apply to the march by the Israelites around the city of Jericho before it was destroyed by God after the blowing of the trumpets by the priests (Joshua 6:1-27).<sup>11</sup> Although JERICHO was the only sacred contrafactum to appear in this collection, this particular work would become one of the more popular sacred contrafactum in the Nonconformist repertory, appearing in many subsequent tunebooks compiled and influenced by Nonconformist musicians throughout the latter part of the eighteenth century.

As more Nonconformist compilations became available to the general public, the number of sacred contrafacta increased within individual compilations, particularly with those works new to an individual collection. For instance, one of the most popular of these collections, *The Divine Musical Miscellany* [London, (1754)], associated directly with George Whitefield and distributed throughout the colonies, continued those trends established by Wesley and his "Foundery" collection. All twelve of the tunes that originated from non-Anglican sources and appeared in previous collections were German chorale adaptations.

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<sup>11</sup> English Presbyterians also engaged in this type of sacred appropriation of secular texts as seen with the ANTHEM ON KING DAVID in the Long Island Sound repertory.

Further, one additional new tune was composed by Johann Friedrich Lampe (1702-1751), a German-born opera composer who became converted to the teachings of John Wesley.

The new tunes that were not tied to the Anglican repertory consisted of sacred contrafacta. In particular, the anonymous musician who compiled this tunebook chose pieces either composed by Henry Purcell from his stage music, including DUBLIN based upon the aria "Fairest Isle all Isles Excelling" from *King Arthur* (1691), and HAVERFORD WEST based upon a dialogue scene between Cupid and Bacchus in *Timon of Athens* (1694), or from popular songs intended for domestic performance from song sheets or collections, or musical addenda to periodicals, such as BRAINTREE based on "Why does my heart thus restless prove" from *A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies* [London, (c. 1725)], and VIRGINIA based on the song "Charming Chloe," published circa 1730.<sup>12</sup> From this perspective, Nonconformist musical practice reflected a growing pan-cultural expression of music in Great Britain at this time. For Nonconformists, the Italianate music of Handel could comfortably co-exist alongside the older seventeenth-century English style of Purcell.

This mixing of cultural expression and repertory drawn from liturgy-based German and English denominations and couched within the fashionable idiom of the theater, found its most popular articulation in *Harmonia-Sacra, or A Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* [London, (1754)], a collection compiled by Thomas Butts. Provoking the wrath of conservative orthodox London Anglicans such as William Riley, Butts' work became a symbol of musical lasciviousness. Butts' tunebook in fact serves both as a compilation of the most popular tunes found in previous Anglican and Nonconformist musical publications, and also a source for many tunes and arrangements new to the repertory.

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<sup>12</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, <http://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu/default.asp>.

Conservative Anglicans did not find all of the tunes in the *Harmonia-Sacra* questionable. As with previous Anglican and Nonconformists, Butts employed four waves of stylistic influences for most of his tunebook. The oldest influence originated in the English psalm and hymn tunes originating from the metrical psalters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and set in Playford's three-part *Whole Book of Psalms* (London, 1677) and the various editions of *A Supplement to the New Version of Psalms by N. Tate and N. Brady* (London, 1700). Contemporary to the Playford text, he selected some original compositions by Anglican musicians of the Restoration, late Stuart, and early Hanoverian periods. From the eighteenth century, Butts inserted a few re-harmonized settings of psalm tunes by prominent ancient-style Anglican composers such as William Tans'ur. Finally, he included a grouping of eleven Lutheran and Moravian chorale tunes. In many instances these German tunes were either new harmonizations or expansions of two-part settings found in *The Divine Musical Miscellany*. For this wave of influence, Butts drew from musicians belonging to three source denominations: Lutherans active in London such as John Christian Jacobi,<sup>13</sup> evangelical Anglicans and Nonconformists, including the Wesley brothers and George Whitfield,<sup>14</sup> and Moravians active throughout England.<sup>15</sup> From other Nonconformist sources, Butts reprinted the entirety of Lampe's *Hymns on the Great Festivals, and Other Occasions* (London, 1746), intended specifically for John Wesley. However, none of these

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<sup>13</sup> PUBLICK WORSHIP/ARMLEY and OULNEY ultimately were taken from Jacobi's *Psalmodia Germanica or, A Specimen of Divine Hymns, translated from the High Dutch. Together with their proper tunes and thorough bass* (London: J. Young, M. Smith, and W. Smith, 1722).

<sup>14</sup> These tunes included: AMSTERDAM, FRANKFORD, LAMBETH, and SAVANNAH.

<sup>15</sup> These tunes included: DRESDEN, NEWCASTLE/HALLIFAX, SACRAMENT, SNOWFIELDS/AITHLONE, and possibly OLD GERMAN. Other versions of the Moravian tunes had appeared in an English publication by Thomas Hutton, *The Tunes for the Hymns in the Collection with several translations from the Moravian Hymn-Book* [London: (c.1744)]. However, the versions and settings found in *The Divine Musical Miscellany* and Butts do not correspond closely enough to the Moravian source to establish a direct connection among them.

Nonconformist and progressive Anglican contents provoked Reilly's and other conservative Anglican's invective.

Instead, Reilly condemned the *Harmonia Sacra* solely for its inclusion of a few sacred contrafacta. Butts included the one march introduced in the "Foundery" collection, as well as three contrafacta from *The Divine Musical Miscellany* including the two Purcell pieces, and VIRGINIA, adapted from a popular song. In addition, Butts introduced seven new contrafacta to the Nonconformist repertory.<sup>16</sup> This grouping of pieces was drawn from a repertory of popular-theatrical secular song similar to that found in *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, though slightly more current than the Whitefield collection.

Most of the originals of these contrafacta appeared as published sheet music intended for domestic consumption, including "The Dying Swan" by George Monro (c. 1730) set as GRAZEBROOK, "The Fly" by Maurice Green (1734) as GREEN'S, "Arno's Vale" by Henry Holcomb (pub. 1740) as GUERNSEY, and "A Thought in a Grotto," also by Holcombe (pub. 1755) as ST. MICHAEL'S.<sup>17</sup> To this group, Butts also added two works adapted from songs associated with the theater or the oratorio concert, including "My bliss too long my bride denies" by Thomas Augustine Arne from his music composed for *The Merchant of Venice* (1741) as LUDHAM, and the popular triumphal chorus "See, see, the conqu'ring hero comes" from Handel's oratorio *Judas Maccabaens* (1747) as ABINGTON.

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<sup>16</sup> Later editions of *The Harmonia Sacra* drew from other Nonconformist collections such as Thomas Knibb's *The Psalm Singers Help, being a Collection of Tunes in Three Parts, That Are Now Us'd in the Several Dissenting Congregations in London* (London, ca. 1760). In this instance, the word "dissenting" is synonymous with the term Nonconformist, or more specifically, Nonconformist Calvinist Anglican, especially from the 1750s through the end of the eighteenth century. This collection included contrafacta taken from theatrical works such as "He comes, he comes, the hero comes" by Henry Carey from his opera *Britannia* (1734) as TRUMPET, "My fond shepherds of late" by Thomas Augustine Arne from his opera *Eliza* (1754) as MITCHAM. Both contrafacta appeared in Butts.

<sup>17</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*.



The final contrafactum, OUNDELL, originated as a gavotte in John Humphries' *Organ Concerto*, op. 2, no. 7 (pub. c. 1755).

However, the interconnection between sacred and secular versions shifted between the "Foundery" collection, and many subsequent Nonconformist collections such as *The Divine Musical Miscellany* and *Harmonia-Sacra*. The contrafact of the march from *Ricardo Primo* that first appeared in the "Foundery" collection retained the military sentiment of the original, although now in a sacred context. Later contrafacta, such as those new to *The Divine Musical Miscellany* and *Harmonia-Sacra* only used the tunes because of their attractive melodies. The arrangers did not preserve the sentiment of the original song. This incongruity is what alarmed conservative Anglicans. Using the melody of a song about worldly pleasure to apply to a subject such as the crucifixion seemed blasphemous to them. Clergymen and musicians feared that congregants, familiar with the original song or tune, would not be able to separate the different meanings implicit in both. In other words, conservative congregants deemed the sacred contrafacta inappropriate and blasphemous.

Despite its somewhat tempestuous reception, the *Harmonia-Sacra* proved extremely influential and popular both in Great Britain and in the colonies. It went through at least four European editions between 1754 and 1768.<sup>18</sup> Along with *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, the *Harmonia-Sacra* would exert a strong influence on American source material too, among most English-language denominations. Initially, it found its most popular resonance among denominations in the Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies. Later, during the Early Nationalist Period, it spread to northern New England. In fact, a late reprint of this work

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<sup>18</sup> Though not documented in Temperley's *Hymn Tune Index*, an edition had to have been published sometime between the first edition of 1754 and 1760. The tunes taken from *Harmonia Sacra* that appeared in *Urania* by James Lyon follow the revised tune titles found in the 1767 edition. However, *Urania* was compiled by late 1760. Thus, at least one unknown edition of Butts' work had to have appeared between 1754 and 1767.

appeared in Andover, Massachusetts in the second decade of the nineteenth century, almost fifty years after the last London imprint of 1768.<sup>19</sup>

Within the Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies, the influence of both *The Divine Musical Miscellany* and the *Harmonia-Sacra* was seen in Calvinist publications beginning with James Lyon's *Urania*. Further, copies of the *Harmonia-Sacra* appear in bookseller's advertisements in Charles Town, South Carolina beginning in 1768,<sup>20</sup> and in Williamsburg, Virginia by 1773,<sup>21</sup> documenting their presence among Anglicans in the Virginia Tidewater and the Carolina Lowcountry. Finally, this tunebook would influence Particular Baptist performance practice and repertory in South Carolina by 1770.

## 9.2 Progressive Anglican and Nonconformist Performance Practice in London at Midcentury

Although many Anglican churches throughout Great Britain adopted the ancient style, it was viewed increasingly as old fashioned, equated with perceptions of rural

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<sup>19</sup> Thomas Butts, *Harmonia Sacra, or, A Compilation of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, collected from the most celebrated European masters, as published in the different London editions by Thomas Butts; to which are added several select pieces from Green & Handel* (Andover, Ma: Flagg and Gould, 1816).

<sup>20</sup> See, for instance, those items listed in an advertisement by George Wood, "book-binder and stationer, in Elliott-street." Along with Butts' work, Wood also offered for sale, among other items, "a great variety of song books, ditto of small picture books for children, entertaining and instructive, a large assortment of single plays, violins, and strings for ditto," emphasizing his targeted market, those persons interested in the theater and instrumental music, and possibly dancing. *South Carolina Gazette*, Oct 18, Oct. 25, Nov. 1, Nov. 7, Nov. 14, 1768.

<sup>21</sup> For example, those items listed for sale at the Printing Office in Williamsburg. Similar to the Wood advertisement, the *Virginia Gazette* offered for sale not only copies of the *Harmonia Sacra*, but also Scottish songs by Allan Ramsey, several plays and novels, an opera score, textbooks, Watts' hymns and various psalters, as well as sheet music and musical instruments. Again, the purveyors of these goods targeted an identical cultural audience, mostly wealthy Anglicans and possibly, in this particular instance, students of William and Mary College, who themselves would have been the sons of Virginia's Anglican gentry. *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg ed.), June 10, 1773.

backwardness, and often somewhat condescendingly referred to as "country" style music, despite its presence in urban parishes, including some in London. Alongside the ancient style, many progressive Anglicans and later, Nonconformists, adopted a modified version of the three-part musical style popularized by John Playford through his 1677 metrical psalter. Favoring a treble-led performance, often by the charity children of a particular parish or by a clerk, congregational performance of psalm tunes featured mostly unisonal singing accompanied by an organ, with the organist realizing a tune from a treble and figured bass setting. In the more elaborate hymn, anthem, and liturgical music settings, works would be set mostly in three parts: two trebles and bass, resembling the texture of secular music genres such as a galante trio sonata, or a mid-eighteenth century *canzonetta á due* or *duetto notturno* taken from the conventions of Italianate vocal music.

Outside of the congregational and choral repertoires, hymn tunes would appear for solo voice and basso continuo. These tunes would usually feature frequent and often extensive melismas, textual repetition, and a wide vocal range outside of the normal compass of the average voice. Some pieces would add an ejaculatory hallelujah chorus, adding a sense of spontaneity to a composition otherwise replete with contrivance. Occasionally, particularly with domestic songs or songs influenced by the theater and pleasure garden, hymn tunes would feature instrumental symphonies interspersed throughout the piece, often consisting of an opening introduction, and various brief interludes between paired lines of text. In every aspect, these pieces would be indistinguishable from secular popular-theatrical songs, except of course for their text. Again emphasizing the fashionable nature of this music, its aesthetic favored a direct appeal to the physical senses through standard dramatic conventions of *Affekt*, the modern galante style, tunefulness, and polite sensibility. In another sense, this music, through the directness of its texts and expression, paralleled the

intimacy shared between the communicant and the Divine as expressed in Nonconformist evangelical sentiment.

Because of the standardization of organ accompaniment to assist the clerk or children's choir in many Anglican churches throughout England, and accompaniment by a chamber organ, bentside spinet, or harpsichord in the home, popular-style Anglican music and its performance practice centered on settings with figured bass. Thus, performance practice followed identical conventions whether in a church, an extra-ecclesiastical public space, or a domestic setting. The same general conventions appeared in the congregational as well as the solo and choral repertoires. What differentiated them lay mostly in the complexity of melodic shape and difficulty of setting, and the presence of harmony parts for choral use.

VIRGINIA TUNE (**Anth**), taken from *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, presents many of the features that came to define Anglican and Nonconformist composition. This particular tune is one of the contrafacta to appear in this collection, having been adapted from the popular song, "Charming Chloe." In performance, it remains more suitable as a solo song than as a unisonal choral piece sung by an entire congregation, based not only on its history as a domestic song, but with several other features as well. The range of the song encompasses a tenth, and features numerous leaps of ascending and descending sixths in the form of a recurring melodic motive (mm. 2, 5, 6, 10, 13, 14, 17, 18). It further includes a few motivic melismas (mm. 3, 11, 15, 19) and appropriates the general affective style of an amorous song through the use of sigh motives and expressive augmented intervals (m. 2). VIRGINIA TUNE also appropriates a typical form of popular music through a final textual and musical extension, or a varied repetition of the last phrase of the verse twice, first

descending to the lower octave, and second with a final flourish at the upper octave with a transposed statement of the recurring melismatic motive.

While the style of music remains fashionable, designed to appeal to both Anglicans and Nonconformists, the lack of a shared sentiment between the secular original and the sacred adaptation reveals the disjointed effect these tunes might have had on conservative Anglicans. The sacred text associated with this hymn tune falls under a general textual category of the character of Christ. However, the arranger chose a minor mode tune for the setting of these words, seemingly at odds with a hymn in praise of Christ's divinity. Also, the arranger chose a song about a lovesick, sexually frustrated shepherd to apply to a believer's description of Jesus, lending an air of eroticism to the setting, echoed with the sensuous, affective musical devices inherent in the tune itself.

For the conservative believer, Christ becomes an object of unfulfilled carnal love, if applying the same sentiment of the original secular poem to this hymn. Chloe ignores Strephon's pleas for her love: "Charming Chloe, look with Pity || On your faithful Lovesick Swain || Hear, oh! hear his doleful Ditty, || And relieve his mighty Pain. || Find you Music in his sighing? || Can you see him in Distress? || Wishing, trembling, panting, dying, || Yet afford no kind Redress!"<sup>22</sup> Equating unfulfilled desires towards an unmoving fickle woman, with the relationship between man and Christ reveals why conservative Anglicans found these contrafacta so distasteful and blasphemous, and contrary to the general *Affekt* of religiosity.

The tune conjured up an erotic state of extreme frustration, a sentiment not to be associated with nor found in decent, Christian churches. Although the music follows the fashionable expression of the secular world and, by itself poses no problems, some

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<sup>22</sup> *The Weekly Amusement: or the Universal Magazine*, 3 (London: J. and T. Dornier, 1735), 860.

Anglicans could not separate its secular association of text *and* music when placed within a sacred context. Despite its controversial expression, people gradually forgot the popular song text and appreciated the tune for its melodic beauty. As a result, VIRGINIA TUNE became one of the most popular Nonconformist contrafacta to enter into the repertory, with welcome reception among Anglicans, Calvinists, Nonconformists, and eventually Unitarians.

Though it failed to enter the general repertory, CAPE FEAR (**Anth**) displays most of the features idealized within the Nonconformist aesthetic. Appearing also in *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, the tune is named after the river emptying into Cape Fear in North Carolina. The port city of Wilmington is located near its mouth and served as one of the most important urban centers within the colony. George Whitefield himself visited Wilmington during his first tour of the British North American colonies in 1739. As with many of the new tunes and adaptations of the German chorale repertory found in *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, North American geographic place names feature prominently in tune titles, either reflecting Whitefield's various tours of the American colonies and his orphanage founded in Bethesda, Georgia, or perhaps a more commercial attempt to promote the tunebook throughout the various American colonies by naming new tunes after colonial urban centers and geographic place names, as seen previously with VIRGINIA TUNE.

CAPE FEAR features several characteristics typical of the Nonconformist style. Not a contrafactum, it employs the same galante characteristics found in popular song and theatrical music. As with the previous tune, it presents a vocal range of a tenth, incorporates textual repetition in the final phrase of the verse, and includes frequent melismas characteristic of the Italianate style. In contrast, this tune also features more expansive compositional techniques than found in VIRIGNIA TUNE, closer to the theatrical or operatic style of mid-century Britain typified by musicians such as Lampe. It

presents more unified repetitive melodic and rhythmic motives within a particular melisma, such as the descending setting of the word "to" in the final phrase of the verse (mm. 13-14). Similarly, the composer constructed the entire third phrase of the verse as a repeated melodic and harmonic sequence. Finally, CAPE FEAR has an appended hallelujah chorus typical of Nonconformist expression. As expected within its conventions, it includes textual repetition of the single word "hallelujah," a change in meter between the verse and chorus, as well as an emphasis given to melodic repetition within the chorus, all features also seen in HALLELUJAH taken from Butts and printed in Lyon.

In general, VIRGINIA TUNE and CAPE FEAR proclaim their fashionableness through their textual and tonal rhetoric, embracing the style championed by Nonconformist and progressive Anglican musicians, characteristic of secular domestic and theatrical song in the middle of the eighteenth century. Through affective gestures such as melodic leaps and augmented intervals, and other similar devices, these tunes reveal the interconnectedness between the sacred and secular repertoires. However, in their presentation, the tunes found within *The Divine Musical Miscellany* appear in arrangements suited to either formal or informal worship. While it remains unknown how often these types of tunes were used in congregational performance, their place within a prayer meeting or for special performance during the divine service would certainly fit within the conventions of the time period. The texts set to these tunes reflect a feeling of praise, also crafted for formal or informal worship.

At the same time, other musicians began including pieces that not only employed the same fashionable musical rhetoric as the hymns in *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, but these works seemed specifically designed for domestic use independent of both a formal and informal worship service. These pieces do not appear so much as sacred appropriations of a secular rhetoric, but rather as religious popular songs intended for sacred or secular

performance, thus blurring the distinction between the sacred and the secular. These types of tunes constitute the Anglican form of the spiritual song. MIDNIGHT MEDITATION (*Anth*), appearing in the *Harmonia-Sacra* reflects precisely this phenomenon. In contrast to the previous hymns, this piece does not center on a feeling of praise or a description of divinity. Rather, the subject of this sacred song is the author of the text or the performer of the hymn, with its text addressed from a first person point of view; it is a religious song about the created, and not the creator. God figures prominently in this song. However, it is the performer's mental fixation on God rather than God's divinity that forms the song's subject.

MIDNIGHT MEDITATION focuses on a non-scriptural event, in this instance, the act of praying at night. Emphasizing a personal interaction with God, the song assumes more of an allegorical stance, using personal experience to convey a general prescriptive guide for holiness. The text does not involve a plea for God's personal watchfulness over an individual, such as would be found in an earlier hymn relating to morning or evening prayer. Rather, the subject operates under the assumption that God protects them and that their life has been improved by this assertion. This type of sentiment appeared in the Presbyterian spiritual song A MEDITATION ON DEATH/ THE CHIMES where the subject of the text relates his experience of hearing the chiming of bells to convey his thoughts and fears of the final judgment.

Related to the extra-ecclesiastical sentiment of the text, the music, even more than the pieces in *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, reflects the secular conventions of the era. Not only does the work include the tonal rhetoric of a popular song, including an extended vocal range of an eleventh, textual repetition, frequent use of melismas, motivic use of melodic figures, and a figured instrumental bass part for keyboard accompaniment, it also includes a



series of instrumental ritornelli. Although it is not clear in *MIDNIGHT MEDITATION* whether the ritornelli are meant for keyboard or another melody instrument such as flute or violin, the composer presented a composition identical in every fashion to a secular song, and typical of mid-century composers such as Thomas Augustine Arne. In fact, the instrumental symphonies occupy more measures than the vocal sections of the composition.

In a sense, the anonymous composer has presented an operatic sacred aria complete in form and sentiment. It reveals the subject's mental reflection of his or her actions, and employs the performative conventions of a theatrical or pleasure garden song with its extensive instrumental interludes, to be accompanied either by a keyboard instrument or instrumental ensemble. As such, Nonconformist spiritual songs betray an identical textual expression and intent as Calvinist works, but maintain their distinctiveness through musical expression. In this sense, music conveyed a demarcation of social and societal differences.

Though occupying different positions regarding the sources from which sacred music could draw, Nonconformists and progressive Anglicans embraced the same general expression for sacred music. From the Restoration period on, these groups employed musicians who composed sacred and secular, vocal and instrumental, and theatrical or popular and domestic music. For them, what remained important was their musicians' ability to remain relevant to their congregation, using the most current and fashionable style of music possible. While they did not always agree how to bring this style of music into the worship service and what constituted a proper form of expression, both understood the power of popular musical trends and their effect on a congregation. In the colonies, Nonconformist tunebooks could exert a strong stylistic influence on Anglican church music, despite the fact that the Anglican churches remained conformist in their theology. However, in understanding the power that popular musical trends influenced the Anglican public,

colonial musicians could simultaneously reject the theology of Nonconformist sentiment, and embrace this popular form of musical expression, without appearing hypocritical.

### **9.3 British Colonial Shifts in Anglican Performance Practice**

Just as progressive Anglicans and Nonconformists introduced new performance practice standards, and incorporated popular trends in music composition into their churches and worship services in London, so too did colonial parishes and congregations, beginning in the later colonial period. These changes were felt in every aspect of music making, including performance by congregations during the worship service, charity choirs in the urban centers of the Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies, extra-ecclesiastical choirs and professional musicians, and amateurs in the home. These same performance trends continued from the late Colonial to the Early Nationalist Period throughout the Middle Atlantic and Southern states, becoming their own denominational tradition of sacred performance that extended to part setting, instrumental accompaniment, placement of the tune carrying voice, and other performative conventions regarding choral singing and musical leadership.

#### ***9.3.1 Congregational Performance Conventions***

Beginning in the late 1750s, organs started to become more commonplace in Anglican churches not only in urban centers, but also in rural parishes, with instruments found in every British colony on the continent, and in many throughout the Caribbean. One of the consequences of the more widespread proliferation of organs involved the diminishing role played by the clerk in leading the congregational performance of psalm tunes. Now, the organist would set the pitch and frequently the tempo, leaving the clerk

more as a visual symbol of authority than one of musical leadership, at least for the performance of metrical psalmody and hymnody.<sup>23</sup>

However, the clerk's role in the performance of various liturgical pieces did remain unchanged in churches without a choir. Many writers and observers of the tradition debated the merit of the clerk and his place within the divine service. More often than not, the vestry appointed a man to this position based upon his financial circumstance as opposed to his musical ability. While some churchgoers remained sympathetic to the plight of their more economically disadvantaged brethren, many objected to this practice simply because of the inability of these individuals to sing and know the congregational repertory. Also, as happened in Massachusetts in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, many congregations began to discard the practice of lining out and instead employed the organist to play an interlude between phrases or verses.

Changes in congregational performance standards and practice represented as much a generational divide as much as an aesthetic one. Frequently, those persons adhering to traditional practice were mostly older congregants of a church. Further, some professional musicians, caught between the two opposing sides of this war on taste and style, followed the changing trends in performance conventions and taught both systems, whether the practice consisted of lining out versus regular singing, or the ancient nonfunctional versus the modern and fashionable common-practice style of harmonization.

Consider the observations made by Amanda, an adolescent girl in New York in 1761, who unwittingly became embroiled in a controversy over musical performance.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps constructed as a fictional satire, her incident echoes the sentiments voiced by

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<sup>23</sup> "Supplement" to the *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg ed.), October 18, 1770. *New York Mercury*, October 11, 1773.

<sup>24</sup> *New York Gazette*, September 28, 1761.

Londoners such as Anglican Joseph Addison and his remarks on performance practice within the church. Our protagonist began by describing her own thoughts on congregational performance in colonial Anglican churches:

But surely had Mr. Addison been now living, he would have took notice of as great an enormity now practiced among the old plebeans; which is, the hoarse and dissonant noise made by some of them, (as soon as the Clerk had begun the psalm) bellowing out such discordant notes, so injudicious to the Clerk and organ (being sometimes a whole, or half note higher or lower, as their fancy directs) that I think it surely impious. For [I] am sensible that it disturbs devotion. As psalms well sung, (nay even with a bad voice, if with judgement) surely affords a most divine melody, and certainly inspires in the zealous mind a greater warmth of devotion; so these breakers of sound may very justly be pronounced disturbers of piety.

Unhappy with congregants that failed to listen to the pitch, tempo, and tune given by the clerk and organ, she recounted her own personal experience: "Last Sunday I went to Chapel... and as soon as the psalm was given out, one of the above-mentioned plebeans (who sat in the next pew behind me) not only rais'd his voice, at least half a note higher than the clerk, but, poor old man! he mistook the psalm, and sung a contrary one."

This event caused her to laugh out loud, a serious social faux pas during a worship service. As a result, Amanda ruined the affective gravity and solemnity of the worship service. Whether truth or fiction, she felt embarrassed and wrote of the event and had it printed in a newspaper as a pseudo-apology for her behavior and its social consequences. However, she also used her description as an entreaty for more attention to be devoted to the congregational music sung in the divine service. Pleading, she "[w]ould therefore advise all these breakers of sound, for charity sake, to leave off singing in the church, without they

pay more regard to the leaders of it." For a person of her age, the quality of the music remained more important than the act of the full congregation joining in its performance. She would rather have had silence by discordant congregants than their heartfelt offerings of praise.

Although it might appear that Amanda was commenting on someone hard of hearing as a result of advanced age, she explicitly went on to comment not only on her own behavior, but also on the generational divide between herself and those persons raised on the practice of lining out in the earlier part of the century, besides the implication of a musical class difference through her pejorative term "plebean". She wrote: "[p]erhaps my elders may say, that the sacredness of the place ought to have aw'd me into better behaviour: But surely at my years they might have committed the like error on the same occasion." Amanda wanted aesthetically proper music to accompany the service, instead of a general aura of piety conveyed through mass congregational singing, an older aesthetic for congregational ecclesiastical performance. For her, only a decent and proper performance of the psalms could instill a sense of piety. Whether written by an actual young girl or fictitiously by an anonymous critic, the sentiments voiced a common sense of dissatisfaction by many progressive Anglicans.

This divide between the older and newer styles of performance also found expression through harmony, as seen with a singing school advertised by James Wilson in 1766 in Charles Town, South Carolina.<sup>25</sup> Wilson, a professional instructor of church music, offered to teach to the public "a complete set of psalm tunes, lately introduced into Britain, in different parts." Using the term "lately," he emphasized its fashionableness for its then current popular taste. However, he would also teach the "old method, if required, likewise

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<sup>25</sup> *South Carolina & Amer Genl Gazette*, May 23-30, May 30-June 6, 1766.

in the different parts" indicating his familiarity with both the tenor-led and treble-led styles, similar to the compositional activities of William Tuckey in New York City. Also indicative of Wilson's mastery of the new music, he taught Anglican chant, or, as he described it, "the service of the church on prose, Te Deum, Venite exultemus, &c."

For colonial Anglicans during the 1760s, congregational performance remained in a state of flux. Alongside the continuation of the older tradition of a clerk leading the singing a capella, the newer style of performance featuring organ accompaniment from a figured bass line to support unisonal performance by the congregation and clerk started to become the new performative norm. Although some resisted the change and unabashedly continued the style of their youth, younger persons desired a more aesthetically pleasing performance. For them, congregational music demanded a certain elegant and uniform expression dictated by the organ. Similarly, the newer musical style of Anglican music shifted away from ancient-style expression and its associations with backwardness. By the 1770s, most Anglicans in the Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies adopted these new performance conventions, preserving them into the Early Nationalist Period.

### *9.3.2 Charity Choirs and Trends in Choral Performance*

Charity children's choirs had existed in British North America as early as 1739, beginning with that at Trinity Church in New York City. The singers were drawn from the church's charity school, a public institution for the city's poor and orphans that taught the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, religion, and other practical skills, as well as the singing of psalms and more extended choral works. At first, Trinity Church's vestry council hired William Tuckey to act not only as clerk at Trinity Church and her satellite chapel, but also as instructor of the children at the parish school. Soon thereafter, the church released Tuckey from his duties as clerk, but maintained his position at the school. Engaged in ecclesiastical

performance as well as various public concerts around New York City, the children's choir played a seminal role in the concert culture of the city in the Late Colonial Period. Concurrent to Tuckey's role as teacher, performer, and impresario, other Anglican musicians formed charity children's choirs along the same model as that at Trinity Church.

In particular, the unified congregations of Christ Church and St. Peter's in Philadelphia established their own charity choirs by 1760 that not only performed during the divine service in the churches, but also at the College of Philadelphia. The first public record of their existence appeared in an advertisement for the commencement ceremony of the college on May 1, 1760.<sup>26</sup> Evidently, the benefit performance at the theater in Society Hill, held in December of the previous year, was a success as the college acquired an organ, and the churches instituted charity choirs. "Besides the orations and disputes by the candidates," according to the commencement announcement, there were "some pieces of music and psalmody by the charity-boys." One candidate, most likely Francis Hopkinson, "received his Master's degree on this occasion," and "conducted the organ with that bold and masterly hand, for which he is celebrated; and several of the pieces were also his own composition."<sup>27</sup> Presumably, the newly formed children's choir performed these choral pieces.

Although its earliest documented performance appeared in a secular event in a college hall, the charity choir also performed for the divine service in both of the united churches. Further, Hopkinson continued directing the charity children's choir until at least 1765, though the extent of his involvement remains unclear.<sup>28</sup> Documenting its

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<sup>26</sup> *Pennsylvania Journal*, April 24, 1760.

<sup>27</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia ed.) May 15, 1760.

<sup>28</sup> Joseph Garner of the Christ Church School House engaged two unlisted gentlemen to teach psalmody in the late winter and early spring of 1765. "Persons who are desirous of

performance within the church as well as for public events, the vestry of Christ Church noted their appreciation for the improvements in psalmody due to his and William Young's "great and constant pains in teaching and instructing the children" for the congregations of St. Peter's and Christ Church.<sup>29</sup> Following the model established by London's urban parishes, Philadelphia's Anglicans replicated as closely as possible European performing conventions.

Anglicans in Philadelphia and New York City maintained close ties, evidenced not only with similar choral institutions found at Anglican churches between them, but also through shared performance and professional activity. For instance, William Tuckey, after leaving New York City, became the clerk of St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia in 1778.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, in Philadelphia, Francis Hopkinson received donations for a benefit concert in New York City for "The Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England and America" on October 8, 1770 by Trinity Church's charity children's choir, and directed by Tuckey.<sup>31</sup> This particular concert featured "several Pieces of Cathedral Music, with Extracts from Handel's celebrated Oratorio, THE MESSIAH."

Besides the performance of sacred music at commencement ceremonies and in the various churches, local musicians directing charity school and community choirs also

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being instructed in psalmody, have a singular advantage of being rendered compleat therein, as there is an excellent organ, in good order, and a very judicious performer, who will regularly attend. The most easy, familiar and effectual methods will be made use of, and at the same time the strictest decorum [by] the youth of both sexes duly attended to." This judicious performer was most likely Francis Hopkinson, or possibly James Bremner. Source: *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia ed.), February 7, 14, 21, 1765.

<sup>29</sup>Rev. Benjamin Dorr, *A Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia, from Its Foundation, A.D. 1695, to A.D. 1841; and of St. Peter's and St. James's, until the Separation of the Churches* (New York: Swords, Stanford, and Co.; Philadelphia: R. S. H. George, 1841), 147.

<sup>30</sup>Aaron, "William Tuckey," 89-90.

<sup>31</sup>*Connecticut Journal*, October 12, 1770.



engaged in public concerts, such as the one described above. Typically, these concerts consisted of benefit performances for the local charity school, orphanage or some other benevolent institution, though occasionally these groups would perform to commemorate patriotic and other timely events, such as the New York performances given by Tuckey following General Amherst's conquest of Canada, or the funeral of George II.<sup>32</sup> Such events took place not only in churches, but also in public halls.

For instance, James Bremner, a Scottish immigrant to Philadelphia, and possibly involved at this time in some capacity at St. Peter's Church,<sup>33</sup> directed a benefit performance for the Boys and Girls Charity School, April 10, 1765 in the Hall of the College of Philadelphia.<sup>34</sup> The performers for this particular event consisted mostly of the "young gentlemen educated in this seminary." The works performed had "words suited to the place and occasion, being paraphrased from the prophets, and other places of scripture, upon the plan of the musical performances in cathedrals, &c. for public charities in England." Modeled on sacred music concerts performed in Great Britain, these performances featured vocal and instrumental music, as well as orations given by various speakers. In particular, "[t]he chorus, and other sublimer passages of the music, will be accompanied by the organ." Besides organ accompaniment for the sacred selection, other instrumental pieces, including orchestral and solo works, were featured on the program such as an "Overture" by one member of the Stamitz family, the sixth *concerto grosso* from an unspecified set by Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762), an unnamed violin concerto, an "Overture" by Thomas Erskine, the Sixth Earl of Kelly (1732-1781), an "Overture" by Giovanni Battista Sammartini (1700-

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<sup>32</sup> *New York Gazette*, December 1, 1760. *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy*, December 4, 1760. *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy*, January 15, 1761.

<sup>33</sup> Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson and James Lyon*, 28.

<sup>34</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia ed.), April 4, 1765.

1775), the "Overture" to *Artaxerxes* by Thomas Augustine Arne, and an unnamed sonata on the harpsichord.<sup>35</sup> As with the 1759 benefit performance, this concert shows how much the secular and sacred world became intertwined among Philadelphia's Anglican populace, illustrated not only with the extensive instrumental music featured alongside sacred hymns and orations, but also through the performance of an operatic overture at a sacred concert.

All of these performance conventions would appear later in Southern cities too, including most prominently Charleston, South Carolina,<sup>36</sup> particularly at St. Michael's, the preeminent Episcopalian church in that city during the Early Nationalist Period. In 1791, the rector at this church, the British-born Reverend Doctor Henry Purcell (1742-1802), proved instrumental in establishing a children's charity choir for the congregation.<sup>37</sup> Following Purcell's initiatives, the church decided that the organist, Samuel Rodgers, who had arrived in Charleston in May of 1789, could serve also as choir director.<sup>38</sup> Originally, St. Michael's had hired Rodgers only to play the organ. However, the vestry, confident in his abilities, charged him with these additional duties and raised his salary from £70 to £80. Paralleling earlier performance trends in New York City, this particular choir performed not only in church during the divine service, but also at various social events including benefit performances for local organizations, such as the Clergy Relief Society.

Despite their presence at ecclesiastical and public functions, funding for the maintenance of this ensemble remained somewhat tenuous. In his letter of resignation to the Clergy Relief Society on September 19, 1804, Rodgers stated:

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<sup>35</sup> Quoted in: Oscar G. Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 67-8.

<sup>36</sup> Charles Town became Charleston in 1783.

<sup>37</sup> George W. Williams, *St. Michael's, Charleston, 1751- 1951* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), 205-208.

<sup>38</sup> George W. Williams, "Organists of St. Michael's Charleston in *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 53, 4 (October, 1952), 221.

I fear I shall not be able to get up anything new to be performed at Michael's church on the Sunday preceeding the anniversary of the Clergy Socy, because in the first place, there are rules laid down by which I am governed, and which give the choice exclusively to the preachers, and secondly the person who assisted me last year is now attached to the Scotch Church, our Clerk is very sick and I have no choir.<sup>39</sup>

However, in the list of duties required of the organist at St. Michael's copied into an organ manuscript book of 1809, this person "shall, in conjunction with the clerk, instruct such youths as chuse to attend & who shall be particularly placed under his charges, in the rules & practise of psalmody; and he shall command and require of them, a serious & decent deportment, during the time of divine service."<sup>40</sup> Evidently, the children's choir had not permanently disappeared.

A similar choral ensemble was established at St. Philip's, the other eminent Episcopalian church in Charleston, during the 1790s.<sup>41</sup> Although it remains unknown how long this ensemble survived, the organist, Jervis Henry Stevens (1750-1828), ordered sets of prayer books for the choir in June of 1809.<sup>42</sup> Together, these churches' efforts to support and fund children's charity choirs reveal the importance Southern Episcopalians placed on maintaining the choral institutions common to progressive conformist Anglican and Nonconformist performance conventions in Great Britain.

Charleston's benevolent institutions also sponsored charity benefit concerts, again identical in scope and form to known examples from Great Britain and the British colonial

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<sup>39</sup> Minutes of the Society, I, 68, 162, 163. Quoted in: Williams, "Organists," 221.

<sup>40</sup> *Jacob Eckhard's Choirmaster's Book of 1809*, George W. Williams ed. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 5.

<sup>41</sup> George W. Williams, "Charleston Church Music 1562-1833" in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 7, 1 (Spring, 1954), 38.

<sup>42</sup> Williams, "Organists," 220.

Middle Atlantic. In particular, the Charleston Orphan House throughout the 1790s held annual concerts given by children's choirs of the city, in this instance, directed by Jacob Eckhard (1757-1833), organist at St. John's Lutheran church.<sup>43</sup> According to contemporary accounts, this charitable institution modeled their events on benefit concerts given at various hospitals, or sanitariums throughout London, including the Foundling Hospital established in 1738 as well as the Magdalen Asylum for Female Orphans in 1758. These institutions were founded and governed by Nonconformists and evangelical Anglicans.<sup>44</sup> Many of these earlier British hospitals and asylums would hire composers and musicians to direct, teach, and write for resident choirs drawn from the inmates at these institutions.

Because of his status as Charleston's outstanding church musician throughout the Early Nationalist Period, the Orphan House hired Jacob Eckhard to direct their annual concerts during the 1790s and early 1800s, which featured performances on the organ as well as by various choral and orchestral ensembles. The society even commissioned Eckhard to compose new hymns and anthems for special occasions, such as the dedication of its new building in 1794 and the annual festivals in 1798 and 1806. Replicating performing conventions of Great Britain and following an identical format to Middle Atlantic programs, this tradition of concertizing became a standard feature of Anglican tradition extending from the 1750s into the early nineteenth century. Together, the presence of charity choirs in Anglican churches, as well as the tradition of choral benefit performances for benevolent institutions, reveals the degree to which London's mid-century initiatives set and influenced American Anglican and Episcopalian performance trends over the course of the next seventy years.

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<sup>43</sup> George W. Williams, "Introduction" to *Jacob Eckhard's Choirmaster's Book of 1809* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), xii.

<sup>44</sup> Nicholas Temperley, "The Lock Hospital Chapel," 45.

#### **9.4 Three Late Colonial Centers for Anglican Music**

During the Late Colonial Period, Charles Town, Philadelphia, and Williamsburg became prominent for adopting newer performance characteristics that embraced the modern style of composition. Despite their general progressiveness, the three cities seem to have operated and developed independent of each other. However, this phenomenon should not be surprising, given the role that each city and its respective colony played in its relationship to the British Isles. With few exceptions, Anglican cultural institutions in the colonies remained closer to Europe and not necessarily to each other. That performance standards among churches in the Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies remained so similar also does not come as a surprise. The hierarchical structure of the Anglican Church, and the general homogeneity of its Middle Atlantic and Southern colonial congregants reveal distinct manifestations of social tiers implicit in the denomination,. These same patterns emerge when examining professional activity and compositional style among the various Anglican musicians, as well as ecclesiastical performance practice.

Paralleling the introduction of the new style of popular sacred music, colonial musicians began to produce their own compositions and publications that followed progressive Anglican congregational performance practice as well as the newer popular conventions associated with the theater or pleasure garden. Further, some colonial musicians modified older ancient-style settings to outwardly conform to the newer style. Although many of the same violations of common practice tonality would remain intact including parallelisms and incomplete triads, musicians would attempt to present them as reflecting the newer practice, thereby making them more appealing and fashionable to progressive and younger congregants and musicians. Adaptations of the older repertory involved mostly re-setting the melody for the treble voice from the original tenor-led ancient

style, and reducing part setting to three voices. Although this process of adaptation was not new to colonial trends in denominational expression, it reveals the split between the two styles that occurred in the Middle Atlantic during the 1760s. Further, it provides some insight into the association of certain musical styles with specific denominations.

Those who embraced the initiatives of London's progressive Anglicans and Nonconformists incorporated only their musical aesthetic into colonial Anglican practice. These musicians did not or were not allowed by clergymen to incorporate contemporary European trends in text choice found in Nonconformist and some progressive Anglican hymnals. Many of the pieces that bore the title of hymn in American Anglican manuscript and published compilations were in fact settings of metrical psalmody, almost invariably from Tate and Brady. The term "hymn," for some Anglicans, thus became as much a statement of musical style as a reference to a specific type of sacred poetry. This divide between progressive musical trends in composition, and conservative adherence to more orthodox, conformist texts, illustrates the split that could occur between conservative Anglican congregations and their clergy on the one hand, and musicians eager to embrace the Nonconformist style on the other. It also reveals the extent of the state of flux British colonial Anglicans found themselves in during the Late Colonial Period, paralleling trends in performance standards and musical pedagogy described by contemporary congregants and music teachers.

Divisions in musical style did exist with Anglican musicians in the Middle Atlantic colonies before 1760. However, as seen with the compositions of William Tuckey, the presence for two distinct compositional styles by one musician did not arise necessarily from the prevalence of two musical styles used in formal Anglican worship. Instead, Tuckey appears to have composed treble-led pieces in imitation of cathedral music for performance

by the charity choir, and ancient-style works for use outside of the church in singing schools by the general populace. Thus, his opposing approaches to composition reflects ecclesiastical and extra-ecclesiastical conventions of performance, and not the acceptance of two concurrent stylistic trends for performance within Middle Atlantic Anglican churches.

#### ***9.4.1 Charles Town: Benjamin Yarnold and Peter Valton***

Charles Town, unlike many cities in the British colonies, had employed organists in Anglican churches since the 1720s.<sup>45</sup> Two churches became noted centers for sacred music in the city: St. Philip's served as the preeminent institution before the American Revolution, and St. Michael's during the Early Nationalist Period. Both churches instituted vested children's choirs during the 1790s and contributed choristers to various charity concerts for the city's benevolent institutions into the nineteenth century. However, during the Late Colonial Period, congregational singing led by a clerk and accompanied by the organ formed the core of musical performance within the divine service. As in other southern colonies, choral music was reserved for special occasions, especially in conjunction with secular organizations or functions. Despite these somewhat limited opportunities, Charles Town's organist-composers provided music that kept abreast of contemporary developments in London, displaying the city's sophistication as a fashionable colonial urban center.

St. Philip's first became distinguished for musical performance through the residencies of two early keyboardists, John Salter active between c. 1728 and 1739, and Charles Theodore Pachelbel from 1740 to 1749. As typical Anglican musicians, both men involved themselves in secular as well as sacred musical venues, performing public concerts

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<sup>45</sup> George W. Williams, "Early Organists at St. Philip's, Charleston" in *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 54, 2 (April, 1953): 83.

and teaching young gentlemen and ladies the polite arts.<sup>46</sup> Their American careers paralleled those of early eighteenth-century Anglican musicians in London, such as Jeremiah Clarke (1674-1707), John Weldon (1676-1736), and William Croft (1678-1727).

This model for professional activity would characterize subsequent Anglican musicians' activities in Charles Town into the nineteenth century. Charles Town remained the most conservative of the colonial and Early Nationalist urban centers in the southern and Middle Atlantic colonies. Only in the 1790s did the city begin to incorporate some features associated with Nonconformist and progressive Anglican worship of mid-eighteenth-century London. Anglican musicians in Charles Town adopted the mid-century modern style for music composed for special events, as well as congregational performance during the divine service. This musical progressivism stems directly from the activities of two prestigious South Carolina Anglican musicians of the late colonial period: Benjamin Yarnold and Peter Valton.

Although no sacred music by Yarnold survives, his musical activities and life typify the Anglican musician's experience in the Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies. Almost all organists were men. Most would have been born in Great Britain or at least have had professional experience there. They would have lived in one of the larger urban centers of Great Britain, whether London, Edinburgh, Bristol, or some other important city. They would have had professional experience in both sacred and secular arenas for performance and composition, maintaining employment or producing original pieces in both, often concurrently. Further, as Anglicans, these musicians would have to keep abreast of fashionable modes of social culture, often affecting the trappings of polite society to

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<sup>46</sup> See: Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America*, 10-13; H. Joseph Butler, "A Newly Discovered Work of Charles Theodore Pachelbel" in *Bach: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 28 (1997): 126.



maintain this image. Anglican musicians had to present themselves as upstanding citizens or gentlemen in order to gain the attention, patronage, and respect of the most wealthy and influential residents of a particular town. Frequently, they would join the leading male social institutions or societies, most notably the Freemasons. Failure to adhere to these societal conditions could prove catastrophic to his professional viability and social standing.

In 1753, the Vestry at St. Philip's was in need of a new organist. Their previous musician, Edmund Larken, had recently died. However, before his passing, Larken had proved himself particularly irksome to the church on account of his too frequent absences during the worship service as a result of his being a drunk and frequently hung over from the previous night. This event happened so often that the Vestry had considered relieving him of his position as early as 1752, just six months after his arrival. In turn, Larken felt that he needed to assuage the Vestry by writing a letter to them in April of that year explaining his behavior. The letter stated, among other things: "That when I say I am ill I may be believed - because I scorn a lye."<sup>47</sup> The Vestry did not believe him. Larken's shortcomings were exacerbated by the fact that Charles Town's number of competent organists remained too small to allow for the hiring of deputy musicians, in the event the main organist became too "ill" to play on any particular Sunday morning.

As a result, the Vestry in their petition to London for a new organist specified that the potential candidate would conform to

The follow Qualifications, *viz.* that he be a person

*Ist.* of Capacity. - (i.e.) sufficiently skill'd to perform and teach Organ-Musick.

*Ildly.* of Sobriety. - (i.e.) not given to Sotting, or hard-Drinking.

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<sup>47</sup> Williams, "Early Organists at St. Philip's," 86.

*Ildly.* of Diligence. - (i.e.) giving punctual Attendance to teach those who are willing to become his Scholars.<sup>48</sup>

The rewards for such conduct were many. First, the position would entail a "Voluntary Subscription" from the church's congregants, an average of £50 bonus per annum. Further, his adhering to the societal expectations of an Anglican church musician would allow him the opportunity to teach numerous pupils from many of the most influential and prosperous families in the city, which would garner him an additional "100 if not 150 Guineas per Annum." Finally, his proper conduct would afford him the opportunity to program various public benefit concerts to wealthy audiences. His proper social acceptability "on his obliging Behaviour to the Gentlemen and Ladies of the Place may amount to 30 or 40 Guineas per Annum more." Thus, the position could prove particularly lucrative to the potential candidate, not just for employment within the church, but also through instantaneous social acceptance and established social connections inherent in membership in this denomination.

St. Philip's found their man in Benjamin Yarnold (1728-1787), a London organist who had served at St. Mildred Bread Street for the past two years.<sup>49</sup> Upon his arrival in 1753, the Vestry described him as "a person of sober good behaviour and from the recommendation of others who were judges, the said Mr. Yarnold is a person well qualified for the service proposed."<sup>50</sup> Yarnold, with his wife Mary and their children, settled in town and eventually built a brick home at 29 Legare Street, about a half mile from St. Philip's

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<sup>48</sup> Quoted in: Williams, "Early Organists at St. Philip's," 87.

<sup>49</sup> Nicholas Michael Butler, *Votaries of Apollo: The St. Cecilia Society and the Patronage of Concert Music in Charleston, South Carolina 1766-1820* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 24.

<sup>50</sup> Minutes of Vestry of St. Philip's Church, 1732-1755, p. 234; 1754-1774, *passim*. Quoted in: George W. Williams, "Eighteenth-Century Organists of St. Michael's, Charleston (Continued)" in *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 53, 3 (July, 1952): 148.

Church, in one of the most prosperous and exclusive neighborhoods at the time.<sup>51</sup> He immediately placed a notice in the *South Carolina Gazette* advertising his services as a harpsichord teacher "at the usual rate of Eight Pounds entrance, and Twenty Shillings a lesson."<sup>52</sup> Similarly, he later advertised his intent to open a music school for young women in the fall of 1762.<sup>53</sup>

Yarnold thrived initially in Charles Town. Besides his income from St. Philip's, he appears to have had a number of pupils as promised by the Vestry committee. The location of his house, as well as his other known activities, suggests an eagerness for upward mobility and funds to implement his entrance into elite society. Yarnold, in at least one instance, bought a domestic slave, perhaps as an attempt to enter into high society, or as a statement of his established entrance into a higher-ranking social tier. In July of 1756, Yarnold bought a girl captured and sold into slavery direct from Sierra Leone for £180.<sup>54</sup> This figure is significant as Yarnold's guaranteed annual salary was half of this amount.

However, the day after the purchase, the girl was returned. The slave agency, owned by the Vernon brothers of Newport, Rhode Island, agreed

to cure her of a Shocking disorder, it was so managd that the Girl had not the least appearance of any disorder in the Yard & the very next day was unable to stir with the foul disease, the purchaser sends her back to us & we refusd to receive her but thought ourselves obliged to consent to refer the matter to two or three impartial

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<sup>51</sup> Jonathan H. Poston for Historic Charleston Foundation, *The Buildings of Charleston: A Guide to the City's Architecture* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 248.

<sup>52</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, October 29, November 5, November 12, 1753.

<sup>53</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, October 23-30, October 30-November 6, November 6-13, 1762.

<sup>54</sup> William Vernon and Samuel Vernon, "Accot. of Late Charges & Net Proceed of 63 men Negro Slaves, Reveivd of the Sloop Hare Caleb Godfrey Commander from Sierra Leon. on the proper Account of Messrs. Samuel & William Vernon Merchants in Rhode Island" (July 17, 1756), New-York Historical Society, New York City, <http://digitalmetro.cdmhost.com/u?/p15052coll5,21994>.

Judges, there orderd that she should be cured at the Expence & Risque of the Owners, when the Account is adjusted if there is any saving it shall be passd to your Credit.<sup>55</sup>

The deplorable conditions aboard ship on the voyage from Sierra Leone to South Carolina undoubtedly caused her sickness. The Vernon brothers "agreed to pay for her cure which may be £30."<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately, the girl "lingerd under the Doctrs hands for Two or Three months and then dyed[.]" The Vernon brothers did not send a refund from the remainder of the disputed transaction.

Yarnold became incensed at his loss, but he did not want to risk social embarrassment through pursuing public legal action. However, possibly because of his relatively low income as a musician, Yarnold felt no other choice in the matter. Six months later, the firm of Austin and Laurens wrote to the Vernon brothers asking for a remittance of his investment: "the poor man who could but illy afford such a loss thinks it very hard he should pay for her As she had the disorder unknown to him when he bott her and the very day afterwards fell sick upon her hands We think it the fairest way to have it adjusted by Arbitration wich he has with much difficulty agreed to so that we shall now very soon have an End to it when we will Close that Acct."<sup>57</sup> It is not known how the matter was settled.

In another effort to further his social standing, Benjamin Yarnold joined the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons. On December 29 of 1758, in honor of St. John the Evangelist's Day, the Charleston lodge assembled at their "Lodge-Room, at Brother John Gordon's" and processed to St. Michael's Church for an observation

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<sup>55</sup> Austin & Laurens to Messrs. Samuel & William Vernon (July 17, 1756), New-York Historical Society, <http://digitalmetro.cdmhost.com/u?p15052coll5,21167>.

<sup>56</sup> Vernon and Vernon, "Accot. of Late Charges."

<sup>57</sup> Austin & Laurens to Messrs. Samuel & William Vernon, (January 22, 1757), New-York Historical Society, <http://digitalmetro.cdmhost.com/u?p15052coll5,21175>.

of the divine service, in which "an Anthem suitable to the occasion, set to music by Brother Benjamin Yarnold, was sung, and played by several masterly hands."<sup>58</sup> From their description, these pieces had orchestral accompaniment. The Lodge commissioned Yarnold to compose other works for Masonic festivals during his tenure at St. Philip's church. These pieces remained popular even after his death. As late as 1788, his Masonic anthems were performed at St. Philip's Church on the observation of the feast of St. John the Evangelist.<sup>59</sup> Yarnold even attempted to have one of the pieces published by subscription in 1762.<sup>60</sup> He was also one of the founders of the St. Cecilia Society in 1766, the famous social and musical organization in Charles Town that began its existence as a private subscription concert series.<sup>61</sup>

The Yarnold family appears to have had a number of health issues as a result of the unfamiliar climate of the Low Country. However, Yarnold's constant complaints about his health seem more the actions of a hypochondriac. On August 29, 1757, the Vestry at St. Philip's formally reprimanded him for "not attending on Holy Days to perform his Duty in the Church."<sup>62</sup> In March of the following year, he advised the Vestry of his intention to move back to England, on account of his wife's poor health. However, she recovered from the incident and the Yarnolds remained in Charles Town. He was reprimanded again in 1759 for his attendance record. This history of poor attendance would eventually cause the termination of his employment at St. Philip's in 1764. The church was tired of his excuses, his continual complaints about his health problems resulting from the semi-tropical climate,

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<sup>58</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, December 29, 1758 - January 1, 1759.

<sup>59</sup> "American Intelligence. Charleston, December 29," *Independent Gazetteer*, 8, February 18, 1789.

<sup>60</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, February 13-20, 1762.

<sup>61</sup> Butler, *Votaries of Apollo*, 63-111.

<sup>62</sup> Quoted in: Williams, "Eighteenth-Century Organists of St. Michael's," 148.

and possibly his involvement more in secular activities as opposed to his duties at the church. They summarily discharged him in early February.

However, with the arrival of a replacement at St. Philip's, St. Michael's promptly hired him to serve as organist of their church.<sup>63</sup> The idea of having two competent professional keyboard musicians in one colonial city seemed too opportune for St. Michael's to forego. Yarnold remained at St. Michael's for the next four years. On May 31, 1768, he notified the church that he intended to leave the colony for an extended year's absence, but requested that the church keep the position open to him upon his return.<sup>64</sup> This intended year's absence actually lasted fourteen years when St. Michael's recruited him again from London to return to Charleston in January of 1784 following the cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and the new United States. He immigrated again to South Carolina, residing at 83, Queen-Street, about a block from St. Michael's.<sup>65</sup>

Yarnold's death occurred on June 16, 1787, his wife and children surviving him. The funeral took place the following day at St. Michael's, the ceremony performed "by the Rev. Dr. Purcell, and the Rev. Mr. Frost, attended also by several of his scholars, and a respectable number of citizens, who dropt a silent tear for the loss of so good and useful a member of society."<sup>66</sup> He was buried at St. Philip's. Despite his occasional infractions with this church, Yarnold remained a well-respected musician within Charleston's high society.

Like other colonial Anglican musicians, Benjamin Yarnold appears to have been socially ambitious, involving himself in genteel society, living in fashionable areas of the city, and attempting to become a member of, or establish his place among, Charleston's social

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<sup>63</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, October 22-29, 1764.

<sup>64</sup> Quoted in: Williams, "Eighteenth-Century Organists of St. Michael's," 149.

<sup>65</sup> *The Columbian Herald or the Patriotic Courier of North-America*, July 12, 1787.

<sup>66</sup> *State Gazette of South-Carolina*, 45, June 21, 1787.

elite. This combination of activities remains typical for Anglican musicians throughout the Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies and later states. Musically, his attempt to publish his works by subscription also can be seen as a direct act of legitimization, as Charleston was not a center for music publishing at the time. As with many elite residents of the Southern colonies, Yarnold did not seek out a local artisan to carry out the work, but instead intended to have it executed in London and sold locally to wealthy members of the community, paralleling the European British and Southern Colonial aesthetic that looked to London as the ultimate center for the commodification of artistic goods. That he possibly failed in this initiative is not surprising given that many other Anglican musicians during the Colonial and Early Nationalist period, such as William Tuckey in New York City, did not gain enough subscribers to fund the publishing of their works. What remains important is that his desires and aspirations follow established Anglican trends.

Upon Yarnold's termination at St. Philip's in 1764, the church found a new candidate willing to accept the post as organist, Peter Valton (c. 1740-1784). Valton, like Yarnold before him, was recruited from London. However, his credentials proved somewhat more substantial than his predecessor's. In an unofficial capacity, Valton had served as deputy organist for a number of churches in London, associated with many of the more important English composers at the time. The Vestry of St. Philip's took pride in their young candidate and recorded in the minutes "that Mr. Valton has for some years acted as deputy organist to Dr. Boyce, Dr. Nares, and Mr. Keeble, at the King's Chapel Westminster Abbey and St. George's Hanover Square which shews (though so young a gentleman) his being long conversant in Church Musick and that under those great Masters he had had the best school

in this kingdom for his improvement."<sup>67</sup> William Boyce and James Nares had established connections to the Chapel Royal. Perhaps Valton had been an apprentice to one or more of these composer-organists, or possibly had served as a choirboy in the Chapel Royal.<sup>68</sup> In any event, he arrived in Charles Town in late October 1764 to assume his new post.<sup>69</sup>

Although Valton settled permanently in Charles Town in this year, he still maintained his connections to London's musical elite, presumably through Boyce and Nares. Years after having left Europe, Valton still had pieces performed and published in fashionable venues in London, and by exclusive organizations. For instance, Thomas Lowe (1719–1783), one of the leading tenors in England, performed Valton's only surviving theatrical-popular song, "The Reprisal" at Marylebone Gardens in 1765.<sup>70</sup> Lowe had performed alongside eminent artists like Cecilia Young Arne (1712-1789), Thomas Augustine Arne's wife, on this occasion performing the title role in the premiere of *Alfred*. John Lockman, the author of the text to "The Reprisal," had written odes set to music by William Boyce.<sup>71</sup> Valton also published a number of catches in collections associated with the exclusive, Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club of London.<sup>72</sup> Through these activities, he legitimized his social standing within polite society.

This trend would continue in Valton's dealing with local affairs in Charles Town. Like Yarnold, he was one of the founding members of the St. Cecilia Society. He also

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<sup>67</sup> Quoted in: George W. Williams, "Eighteenth-Century Organists of St. Michael's Charleston (Continued)" in *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 53, 4 (October 1952): 212.

<sup>68</sup> Peggy Ellen Daub, *Music at the Court of George II (r. 1727-1760)* [Thesis (Ph. D.), Cornell University, 1985], 131-60, 356.

<sup>69</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, October 22-29, 1764.

<sup>70</sup> Peter Valton, *The Reprisal in Answer to the Ingenious Mr. Smart's Blind Catch Many a Fly: Sung at Marybone Gardens by Mr. Lowe* [(London): printed at Welcker's Musick Shop, 1765].

<sup>71</sup> Butler, *Votaries of Apollo*, 35.

<sup>72</sup> Thomas Warren, comp., *A Ninth Collection of Catches, Canons and Glee's for Three, Four and Five Voices* (London: Welcker, ca. 1771); *A Twelfth Collection of Catches, Canons and Glee's for Three, Four and Five Voices* (London: Welcker, ca. 1773).



became a member of two exclusive fraternal organizations: the Union Kilwinning Lodge of Masons in 1767,<sup>73</sup> and the St. Andrew's Society in 1768,<sup>74</sup> many of whose members also belonged to the St. Cecilia Society. After Yarnold's departure in 1768, Valton assumed his predecessor's place as composer for special occasions; his compositions in this role included the ode "While Pallas and Phoebus in grand council sat" for the Masonic installation of the Hon. Egerton Leigh as Grand Master on February 20, 1770, and "Behold the Social band appears," another Masonic ode for St. John the Evangelist's Day in 1772, with text by Sir Egerton.<sup>75</sup> Further, one of his catches published in London, "Divine Cecilia," was probably composed originally for the St. Cecilia Society in Charles Town.

Valton initiated musical activities that his predecessor did not, namely performances for charity organizations, and benefit and subscription concerts. For instance, he composed an anthem that was "sung and played to universal satisfaction" for the anniversary meeting of the Society for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of the Clergy of the Church of England, on October 6, 1774.<sup>76</sup> He also instituted a series of concerts with the support of two singing actors from David Douglass's American Company of Comedians, Miss Wainwright and Miss Hallam. Beginning in 1765, these concerts featured orchestral, chamber, and solo instrumental pieces, as well as vocal works.

The first program was a benefit concert for Valton on November 13. Six months later on April 1, 1766, these same forces, joined by singing actors from within the theatrical company, performed another benefit concert for St. Philip's to raise money for the

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<sup>73</sup> Joseph B. Hyde, *Union Kilwinning Lodge No. 4* [Charleston: s.n. (1930)], 47.

<sup>74</sup> *St. Andrew's Society of the City of Charleston, South Carolina, Founded in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twenty-Nine. Incorporated in 1798: Rules, List of Officers and Members from 1729 to 1901, with Historical Sketch of the Society* (Charleston: Lucas & Richardson Co., 1901), 35.

<sup>75</sup> Williams, "Eighteenth-Century Organists of St. Michael's, 213.

<sup>76</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, October 10, 1774.

acquisition of an organ.<sup>77</sup> Clearly, Charles Town's Anglicans also had no qualms about bringing the church to the theater. This one event raised enough money to cover twenty percent of the purchase price of the new organ. He extended his thanks to Miss Hallam by composing a piece for her own benefit concert, "an Ode set to musick, call'd, Gratitude and Love, Written by a Gentleman in the Province," and programmed two days after the benefit performance for the organ.<sup>78</sup> Valton also initiated a series of subscription concerts between 1768 and 1773, some of these sponsored by the St. Cecilia Society.<sup>79</sup>

As a church musician, he maintained his employment at St. Philip's until 1781, when the position became compromised as a result of Charles Town's occupation by British troops under Lord Cornwallis. St. Michael's had been closed for some time during the war. However, after this church re-opened on July 16, 1781 under the leadership of its new rector, the Rev. Edward Jenkins, a vociferous Loyalist, St. Michael's needed an organist.<sup>80</sup> Valton agreed to volunteer his services and the Vestry duly accepted. He remained in this post until his untimely death two years later on February 10, 1784.

Fortunately, nine congregational psalm and hymn tunes by Valton survive that were composed during his tenures at St. Philip's and St. Michael's. These works offer direct insight not only into his sacred compositional style, but also into the taste of Anglican congregants in Charles Town during the late Colonial and Early Nationalist Periods. None of these tunes survive in Valton's hand or from the Colonial Period. Instead, they appear in early nineteenth-century manuscript copybooks from Charleston, one for the organ compiled by Jacob Eckhard dated 1809 while employed at St. Michael's, and another for the

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<sup>77</sup> Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America*, 16.

<sup>78</sup> Butler, *Votaries of Apollo*, 45.

<sup>79</sup> Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, 21.

<sup>80</sup> Williams, "Eighteenth-Century Organists of St. Michael's, 215-16.

harp-lute-guitar manuscript compiled sometime around the year 1815. Secondly, one of his tunes, ST. MARKS became part of the standard congregational repertory in Early Nationalist Middle Atlantic publications. The following discussion of tunes by Valton will be taken from their settings in the Eckhard manuscript because his sacred works survive in their most perfect state in keyboard form in this early nineteenth-century manuscript.

Valton's process of tune naming remains characteristic of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. At least five tunes are named apparently after Anglican churches or parishes located in the capital city and colony, including ST. PETERS, ST. PHILIPS, ST. MICHAELS, ST. PAULS, and ST. MARKS.<sup>81</sup> He named three others either after neighboring South Carolina parishes or saints associated with local fraternal organizations, including ST. ANDREWS for the St. Andrew's Society and ST. JOHNS OLD and ST. JOHN'S NEW for St. John the Evangelist, a saint honored annually by Charles Town's Freemasons. Finally, ST. ANNE'S NEW was named after a pre-existent tune, ST. ANNE'S by William Croft, which Valton acknowledged through the appellation "new."

Several characteristics unite Valton's pieces, suggesting a personal compositional style for this type of composition. For instance, all of Valton's surviving tunes are cast in triple meter. Further, these works exhibit a harmonic richness that exceeds that of other colonial Anglican composers of congregational psalm and hymn tunes. Using a sophisticated harmonic vocabulary, Valton demonstrated his mastery of common practice music and its functional harmony. This knowledge in turn served to legitimize his musical status to the Anglican community. That his psalm and hymn tunes were sung and performed locally thirty-five years after his death attests to his eminence as a musician and composer.

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<sup>81</sup> See: <http://www.archivesindex.sc.gov/guide/CountyRecords/parishes.htm>.

ST. MICHAELS (**Anth**), Valton's only surviving tune in the minor mode, shows his use of expressive dissonance. For instance, the opening phrase contains a chain of 7-6 suspensions in the intended middle voice (m. 3). Valton also employed dissonant upper neighbor passing tones (m. 11). Together, these harmonic devices convey the expressive sigh effects characteristic of the *Empfindsamer Stil*, made all the more effective through its being set to Psalm 39 from Tate and Brady: "Resolved to watch o'er all my ways, | | I kept my tongue, in awe; | | I curbed my hasty words when I | | the wicked prosp'rous saw." Alongside these sophisticated techniques, Valton also displayed his understanding of the typical church congregation's limited singing abilities. The vocal range of this piece is confined to a diminished seventh (f#'-eb"). Its melodic construction employs almost exclusively stepwise movement, allowing for ease of performance. Thus, almost all dissonance and its expressive devices occur in the middle voice, allowing the organist a full arsenal of harmonic effects while maintaining a straightforward unisonal setting for the congregation. This combination of simplicity of performance and complexity of harmony demonstrates Valton's professionalism and talent, and also his knowledge of current trends in the eighteenth-century style, all features valued by colonial Anglicans.

The setting of ST. PHILIPS (**Anth**), provides more specific details about realizing the middle voice through two instances of fleshing out the harmony without the aid of figures (mm. 2, 13-14). In the second of these two passages, Valton presented a more contrapuntal approach to harmony through a repeated motive independent of the movement of the outer voices. As before, he includes expressive dissonance through appoggiaturas and suspensions, both at cadential points and in the middle of phrases. Similarly, he maintained a level of independence between the outer voices both in contour and in movement. However, some features in this tune differ from ST. MICHAELS. The

vocal range of this work is somewhat larger than the previous tune, encompassing a ninth (e'-f"). Its melodic contour features more difficult leaps (m. 11), and employs more instances of melismas, resembling more the tunes found in Nonconformist mid-century sources such as *The Divine Musical Miscellany*. Perhaps this tune dates from early in his tenure at St. Philip's. At its premiere, the tune must have sounded thoroughly modern to the congregation, again displaying Valton's legitimacy as a modish Anglican musician.

Charles Town during the Late Colonial Period, despite the somewhat limited musical forces used in the church, remains one of the most sophisticated centers for Anglican expression in the British colonies. Unlike many Anglican churches in colonial urban centers, St. Philip's had employed professional musicians since at least the 1720s, early on establishing performance trends for congregational singing accompanied by the organ. Further, unlike musicians like William Tuckey in other cities such as New York, those at Charles Town's Anglican churches did not compose works in both of the prevailing harmonic styles. Instead, South Carolina Anglicans, at least those in Charles Town, apparently only embraced the popular style, typical of progressive London parishes. Ancient-style expression would only emerge from Charleston at the end of the eighteenth century through the efforts of Amos Pilsbury (1772-1812), a transplanted Calvinist musician from Newbury, Massachusetts. Thus, Anglican residents of Charles Town did not become embroiled in the controversy over the superiority of the ancient versus the modern popular style, as happened in other important centers in the Middle Atlantic and New England.

Finally, the activities and backgrounds of Benjamin Yarnold and Peter Valton display the trends of subsequent Episcopalian musicians during the Early Nationalist Period. Most would come from England, in some cases having initially been employed as choirboys in the Chapel Royal. All composed or performed a wide variety of secular music including that for

instruments and voice, intended for the theater, concert stage, and the home. Their association with genteel society reveals their efforts to become members of this group with its prestige and privilege. Finally, these musicians and composers kept abreast of the latest musical developments in progressive Anglican church music, despite the general conformist stance held by the established clergy in colonial churches. Only one of Valton's tunes included a suggested hymn text, the others to psalm versifications of Tate and Brady. This trend of musical progressivism alongside textual conservatism would become representative of much colonial Anglican and Early Nationalist Episcopalian practice in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. For these reasons, the initiatives in Charles Town provide a model for Anglican activities in the Middle Atlantic and southern, colonies and states.

#### ***9.4.2 Philadelphia: Francis Hopkinson, John (Giovanni) Palma, and James Bremner***

Late Colonial trends in Anglican performance in Philadelphia all centered around Francis Hopkinson (1737-1791), an important amateur musician, impresario, and composer who also became one of the most important attorneys and politicians in the city. Oscar Sonneck devoted a monograph to this musician, laying claim to his importance as the composer of America's earliest surviving secular song. While later scholars have corrected this assertion, his research illustrates the breadth of Hopkinson's musical activities and professional contacts and remains the most comprehensive study of this composer. Sonneck, in describing much of his activity and composition, did not place as much importance on Hopkinson's sacred music activities as his secular pursuits. However, Hopkinson's activities in sacred music, as well as his collecting of sacred vocal and instrumental music by resident composers of Philadelphia, occupy no less a seminal role in documenting changing trends in performance practice among Anglicans than Lyon's

accomplishments in ancient-style expression with *Urania*. Because of Hopkinson, much more is known about Philadelphia's embracing of current trends in both Anglican congregational psalmody and the Nonconformist popular-theatrical style than that provided in newspaper descriptions and vestry records.

Hopkinson held two degrees from the College of Philadelphia (1757, 1760) and taught the charity children's choir from 1760 to at least 1765. A brief account of his activities before the Early Nationalist Period provides some context for his musical accomplishments and his standing as an amateur Anglican musician. A native of Philadelphia, Francis Hopkinson was born on September 21, 1737, the son of an attorney, Thomas Hopkinson and his wife Mary.<sup>82</sup> He studied law and was admitted to the Pennsylvania Bar in 1761. Hopkinson also received a Master of Arts degree from the College of New Jersey, James Lyon's alma mater, *gratia causa* in 1763.

He first became active in public service as secretary to a conference between Governor Penn and the Delaware tribe of the Lehigh region. He also joined Benjamin Franklin's library, holding the office of secretary in 1759. After the 1760s, he involved himself in politics, first as the Collector of the Port of Newcastle, Delaware in 1772, and two years later, as a member of the Provincial Council of New Jersey. Hopkinson resigned these offices at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, serving as a delegate to the Continental Congress and subsequently as one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Throughout the war he was involved with the navy and supported the American cause through his satirical essays and poems. Hopkinson also married Ann Borden in 1768 and raised a family.

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<sup>82</sup> Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson and James Lyon*, 9.

On top of his busy professional and domestic life, he found time to become proficient at various keyboard instruments, gain an understanding of the principles of thorough-bass, direct children's choirs, compose music for sacred and secular venues, serve as impresario for a series of concerts from c. 1757 to 1765 as well as dramatic performances at various commencement ceremonies at his college, prepare a few published musical compilations for the Anglican/Episcopalian and Dutch Reformed churches, and take part in musical social organizations such as the Orpheus Club, of which he was most likely its founder. He would also develop improvements to the harpsichord and the glass harmonica. Clearly a man of much energy, Hopkinson devoted himself to many aspects of social, cultural, and political life in Philadelphia and the Middle Atlantic.

He also compiled a number of musical manuscripts, portions of which survive. In at least three sources, he copied a number of pieces by John (Giovanni) Palma, an Italian who presumably arrived in Philadelphia sometime late in 1756. These works include a "Lesson" for the keyboard; a few pieces of secular vocal music including English-language strophic songs as well as a full *da capo* aria, a setting of "*Di render mi la calma*" by Pietro Antonio Domenico Trapassi (Metastasio) (1698-1782); a *canzonetta á due*; and a sacred solo song, THE CHRISTMAS HYMN (**Anth**), patterned after similar works in the *Harmonia-Sacra* such as MIDNIGHT MEDITATION. Although Sonneck conjectured that Hopkinson might have studied keyboard with Palma, no evidence survives to prove such a relationship. Indeed, the only concrete information known about Palma consists of two concerts directed by him in Philadelphia in 1757, one given in January,<sup>83</sup> and the other on March 25.<sup>84</sup> These

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<sup>83</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia ed.) January 20, 1757.

<sup>84</sup> Palma apparently did not advertise this concert. The only information concerning its existence appeared in George Washington's ledger for the year 1757. See: John Ogasapian,



performances constitute the earliest documented public concerts offered in Philadelphia. However, because of Hopkinson's connections to musical society, he doubtless knew Palma.

James Lyon had included a modified setting of THE CHRISTMAS HYMN in *Urania*. However, Lyon removed the opening instrumental symphony and adapted the instrumental bass line for the voice. As one of the few examples to survive in its (presumed) original setting as well as in a Calvinist Presbyterian adaptation by Lyon, it reveals much about the differences between Calvinist and Anglican aesthetic. In its form as presented in Hopkinson's manuscript copybook, the piece closely resembles the type of popular song composed for pleasure gardens throughout London, modeled on the works of composers such as Thomas Augustine Arne.

Though it does not include a figured bass line or an instrumental interlude between paired verses or at the conclusion, it does adopt all of the features associated with the Nonconformist progressive style. Also, its early date of composition demonstrates how quickly Philadelphia's fashion-conscious Anglican elite adopted modern compositional trends, given this tune's appearance within only four or five years of the appearance of Butts' volume. Compositionally speaking, it includes almost all of the characteristics not only of the popular theatrical style, but also London's Nonconformists. The opening symphony foreshadows much of the melodic and sequential material of the song. It also sets the mood or *Affekt* of the intended text.

Within the song proper, Palma employed many popular traits characteristic of the mid-eighteenth-century popular style, including its vocal setting, textual musical effects, and rhythmic devices. For example, the piece uses conventions in melismatic text setting in two

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*Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Period* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004), 82.

basic forms common to popular-theatrical song. Many of the melismatic passages convey a typical gallante sense of grace and refinement, incorporating numerous sigh figures in sequential patterns. Melismas are used for their madigralistic effect, such as the extended treatment of the word "glory" (mm. 24-26). The sheer length of this melisma emphasizes the importance of this word compared to the rest of the verse. Also, the descending sequence that occurs with the text "had seiz'd their troubled mind" expresses the shepherd's dread (mm. 35-37), which then becomes lightened with an ascending sequence that conveys the glad tidings of great joy. Palma also presented textual repetition in an identical fashion as the sacred contrafactum VIRGINIA TUNE, and MIDNIGHT MEDITATION, with a cadential extension placed at important structural sections of the tune, again in imitation of popular song. Finally, one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the piece lies in Palma's use of rhythm, employing a syncopated soprano voice offset by a galloping bass (mm. 2, 17, 31, 43), especially in the rising sequence at the text "Glad tidings of great Joy I bring to you" (mm. 38-41).

Despite all of these progressive features, one aspect of the tune reveals it to follow the conventions of Anglican conformism: its text. Rather than choose a poem favored by progressive Anglicans and Nonconformists such as those by Isaac Watts or John Wesley, Palma used a hymn by Nahum Tate, co-compiler of the "New Version" of the Book of Psalms. Although Palma chose a hymn and not a metrical psalm for his text, this poem does not reflect the new aesthetic ideal of the personal interaction between the worshipper and the divine. As such, this tune demonstrates what will become the essential characteristics of Anglican expression throughout the Middle Atlantic and Southern British colonies. All embraced the musical rhetoric of the new worship style as seen with the use of instrumental accompaniment, compositional form, performance practice, and musical style that at times

displayed virtuosity, but overall, genteelness. At the same time, these musicians remained constrained by the more old-fashioned theological position held by various rectors and priests in colonial churches. For the clergy, suitable texts consisted almost exclusively of metrical psalm settings of Tate and Brady, with the occasional hymn by conformist Anglicans such as Joseph Addison.

Hopkinson copied other sacred works into his manuscript copybooks, including his own pieces, such as those psalms and anthems performed most likely by the charity children's choir under his direction at the commencement ceremony for his Master's degree at the College of Philadelphia. Although manuscript pieces remain important in documenting changing trends in colonial Anglican musical style, Hopkinson's two published compilations proved more directly influential as he intended these works for public consumption. As such, Hopkinson devoted most of their contents to congregational repertory, together with a smaller selection of more elaborate solo, choral, and liturgical pieces. However, the twenty-two years that separate the two volumes reveal a shift in taste in Philadelphia performance practice from the 1760s to the 1780s. Both collections feature extra-congregational tunes, but from distinctly different compositional genres. The earlier collection included a series of solo-style sacred songs typical of the Nonconformist style, as well as a few more elaborate pieces intended for performance by a choir. The later collection presented four Anglican chants, the second publication from the Americas to include this type of liturgical music.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Andrew Law, a minister from Connecticut who graduated from the Regular Baptist institution, Rhode Island College (Brown), included a series of eight pieces of Anglican chant as well as a realized setting of the Te Deum chant taken from William Tans'ur, in his collection *The Rudiments of Music: or A Short and Easy Treatise on the Rules of Psalmody* [(Cheshire, Ct.: William Law and Daniel Hopkins) 1783].

*A Collection of Psalm Tunes with a few Anthems and Hymns. Some of them Entirely New for the Use of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia*, appeared in 1763, during the time that Hopkinson was employed in teaching the charity children's choir. A compilation intended for congregants in both of the united Anglican churches in Philadelphia and available in other colonies such as New York,<sup>86</sup> Hopkinson's collection included an introductory rudiments section that outlined the basic components of musical notation and the art of singing. As with other compilations emanating from Philadelphia such as *Urania* or *The Youths Entertaining Amusement*, its purpose seemed didactic and intended for the average congregant, as opposed to functioning as a tune supplement to a metrical psalter or hymnal. Further, its intent of compilation also extended to serve the children's choir, given its conventions of vocal part setting.

The congregational portion of the compilation consisted of modified textless congregational tune settings taken from *Urania*. In all instances, Hopkinson preserved the original ancient-style harmonization of tunes appearing in Lyon's tunebook, including their violations of common practice harmonic procedure. However, he re-arranged their settings to outwardly comport to the newer progressive fashionable style. First, he reduced the number of parts from four to three by simply omitting the alto part. Second, he added a series of thorough-bass figures to the bass part for the aid of a keyboardist to realize the part in imitation of current Anglican fashion. The result reveals simultaneously Hopkinson's progressive attitude towards musical taste and style, and possibly, the musical limitations of Philadelphia's Anglican public. This section follows the trend set by Lyon in adapting a core body of material to a specific denominational practice, regardless its origin.

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<sup>86</sup> The work was advertised for sale by Hugh Gaine of Rotten Row in the *New York Mercury* on May 16 and 23, 1763.

ST. HUMPHRY'S TUNE (**Anth**) demonstrates this style in transition. Hopkinson preserved intact all of the crudities of the ancient-style harmonization but attempted to disguise them through the ornaments of musical progressiveness. As a result of his modifications, the piece resembles more the tune settings in the *Harmonia-Sacra* as seen with the tune HALLELUJAH scored for two unspecified treble parts and bass. The harmony remains unchanged between the Lyon and Hopkinson tunebooks. The overall impression of this arrangement shows a repertory caught somewhere between the ancient and progressive styles. Despite this somewhat strange amalgam of the two styles, Hopkinson did imprint a thoroughly Anglican stamp on these tunes through the emphasis given to keyboard accompaniment of the sacred repertory. No English-Language Calvinist at this time in the colonies would have endorsed the use of keyboard accompaniment, demonstrated with tune modifications in Lyon's *Urania*.

The second section of the tunebook consists of a series of five solo-style "hymns," four of which had never been published before. In contrast to the previous section, these tunes are set for a single voice with basso continuo, following the initiatives of Nonconformist musicians in London. Though they remain anonymous, at least one resembles other known works by Francis Hopkinson. Again, these pieces reflect the musical progressiveness of Anglican musicians in Philadelphia. At the same time, they display how musical innovation remained independent of textual progressiveness. Only two of the new solo pieces are hymns, the others being metrical psalm settings from Tate and Brady. Thus, their designation as hymns seems the result more of their musical as opposed to textual rhetoric. For Hopkinson, the term hymn did not apply solely to a piece of sacred poetry inspired by scripture or biblical teachings. Instead, the term functioned as a statement of musical style and performance convention.

HYMN [When we our wearied Limbs to rest] (**Anth**), like the older English Presbyterian spiritual song, THE GLIDING STREAMS uses for its text a metrical paraphrase of Psalm 137. Outwardly, it follows the general conventions of the popular-theatrical style, complete with basso continuo, textual repetition at major structural and cadential points, alterations of melismatic and syllabic text setting, and a typical extended vocal range found in popular song of the time period. In general the anonymous composer followed the affective mannerisms of contemporary popular songs, though the tune did not reflect the *Affekt* of the text. Overall, its melodic construction follows a somewhat random format with musical repetition occurring only in modified statements of the opening phrase in the first and second sections. The final phrase in particular seems to abruptly end without any preparation, being wrenched to scale degree one.

More important, the harmonic scheme of the tune also seems somewhat random without a firm sense of functional tonality, especially in the relationship between the voice and continuo parts.<sup>87</sup> Instead, the harmonization process appears more horizontally oriented than vertical. For instance, the composer has set the opening of the second section (m. 13) as an implied I 6/4 chord. The harmonic plan of the tune favors mostly the tonic with only some brief harmonic movement revolving around the dominant. As with the congregational repertory, this tune appears caught somewhere between the non-functional ancient style of harmonization and the modern fashion-conscious popular style. The composer affected the outward characteristics of the modern style without quite mastering its conventions.

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<sup>87</sup> This hymn tune includes similar melodic and harmonic characteristics as an anonymous song published in *The Pennsylvania Magazine* concerning the death of Major General, James P. Wolfe (1727-1759), the British hero who died on the Plains of Abraham outside of Quebec City. Source: "To the PUBLISHER of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE" in *The Pennsylvania Magazine; or, American Monthly Museum* 1, 3 (March 1775): 134.

HYMN [When all thy Mercies oh my God] (**Anth**), most likely composed by Francis Hopkinson was more conventional in approach and style. With its text taken from a hymn by Joseph Addison, this tune employed many of the same characteristics as other known works by Hopkinson contemporary to this sacred popular song, such as "My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free" composed most likely in 1759. The instrumental interludes introduced melodic material heard later in the song, and the middle ritornello repeats the final vocal phrase of the first half of the composition. The tonal outline remained more orthodox with a brief authentic shift to the dominant at the beginning of the second half of the piece. Somewhat surprising, the composer also affected a decidedly Scottish flair with an implied pentatonic gapped melodic construction in measures nineteen and twenty two, and at the conclusion of the opening symphony.

Despite his affection of the popular-theatrical idiom, the composer reveals somewhat his amateurish state through his treatment of text. The piece conveys a general air of pleasantness and tunefulness through the use of conventional melodic and cadential formulas. Unlike THE CHRISTMAS HYMN by Palma, the music does not echo the *Affekt* of the text. Further, the composer did not employ madrigalisms reflective of the mood or word being set musically. The music does not reveal anything about the nature of praise addressed in the poetry. Rather, the pleasantness of the tune seems independent of the text. This tune could serve equally well for any number of secular texts, similar to the MIDNIGHT MEDITATION. This feature, more than any other, separates a professional composer like Palma from a devoted amateur like Hopkinson.

The final new piece in the compilation, HYMN [Thro all the changing Scenes of Life] (**Anth**), takes its text from Psalm 34 of Tate and Brady's metrical psalter. More than any other work in the collection, this piece assumes the form of a Nonconformist spiritual

song. The composer of this work presented several dramatic devices characteristic of Nonconformist sentiment. Most obvious, the tune includes a distinctively Nonconformist, ejaculatory hallelujah chorus. Also, the composer instilled in the piece a sense of drama. It features a time signature shift between the verse and chorus, a popular dramatic device. This type of shift also occurred in the tune CAPE FEAR from *The Divine Musical Miscellany* and HALLELUJAH from the *Harmonia-Sacra*. Finally, the composer presented a shift in tempo between the verse and chorus. Not reliant only on the tempo values associated with specific time signatures labeled the moods of time, the composer instilled a sense of drama based on the specific tempo marking above the chorus.

Unlike the previous hymns new to the collection, it relies much more on melodic repetition, strongly delineated structure, and a more complex tonal design. For instance, the work includes a series of melodic motives, in which every phrase and many sub-phrases conclude with similar melodic material. Resembling a minuet, its structure follows an ABABCDC'A' form with a modified return of the opening material in the final cadence, an abbreviated rounded binary form. Finally, its harmonic structure follows a functional format common to the period, though with a somewhat unusual shift to the submediant beginning in the second half, a plan certainly more sophisticated than the previous two "hymns."

The final section of Hopkinson's tunebook consists of a series of decorated choral pieces. Within the divine service, the charity children's choir would have sung these tunes in the place of an anthem, thus probably accounting for the use of this term in the title of the collection. In an extra-ecclesiastical setting, these pieces allowed for much variation in performance, whether sung as solos with instrumental accompaniment, as vocal chamber music, or as ensemble music for larger choirs. Hopkinson appears to have drawn again from Lyon's *Urania* for four of the six tunes including HYMN [My soul thy great Creator praise]



and THE 4TH PSALM from that collection, and CHIDDINGSTONE from *Tunes in Three Parts* if not composed by Hopkinson himself. Thus, he perhaps only contributed one known tune to this section of the compilation, THE 23D PSALM (**Anth**). Its earliest appearance is in a signed holograph manuscript by Hopkinson.

Composed in 1759, this tune was likely one of the tunes sung by the charity choir at Hopkinson's commencement ceremony in 1760. Following the conventions of progressive Anglican and Nonconformist practice, he scored the piece for two trebles and bass. Although this work displays Hopkinson's affinity for modern scoring procedure, it also distinguished itself from the older colonial Anglican performance practice. This psalm setting was as much aligned with mid-eighteenth-century taste as the older repertory associated with the English Restoration period, and seen in works by earlier Anglican composers such as Jeremiah Clarke and William Croft.<sup>88</sup>

In particular, THE 23D PSALM employs almost constant dotted-rhythm patterns in all voices, suggestive of both the older French *notes inégales* and a common treatment of a pastoral text. This performance trend found favor by English composers attached to the Restoration-era royal court presumably because of the House of Stuart's affinity for French culture. As a result, English musicians connected to the Chapel Royal incorporated French techniques into their music. Subsequently, simpler choral works that still used French rhythms were published in collections intended for amateur parochial use. Through tunebooks such as Henry Playford's *The Divine Companion*, this seventeenth-century style maintained its popularity in some of the British colonies until at least the middle of the

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<sup>88</sup> In particular, Hopkinson's setting mimics many of the techniques found in a hymn setting, "O render thanks, and bless the Lord" by Croft that appeared in *The Divine Companion*, ed. 2 (1709) on page 173.

eighteenth century. Francis Hopkinson's composition establishes his familiarity with works such as those in Playford's compilation.<sup>89</sup>

In terms of melodic and structural construction, THE 23D PSALM displays much independence between the voices, evidenced with numerous voice crossings between the upper two parts, following more the techniques associated with the eighteenth-century Nonconformist style and found in *Harmonia-Sacra*. Hopkinson repeated cadential material throughout the tune (mm. 10-12, 18-20, 25-27) lending the piece a sense of unity. Finally, the structure of the tune resembles that found in his solo songs, which remain typical of the time period. The final phrase, beginning with the long melisma on the word "wants" (mm. 20-27), presents a slightly modified restatement of the previous phrase (mm. 13-20). The structure thus could be understood to follow an ABCC' form taking into account phrasal repetition, or an ABCDC'D'C" for cadential repetition. Overall, the rhythmic rhetoric of THE 23D PSALM seems couched in seventeenth-century conventions, but its structural, harmonic and melodic expression is more aligned with eighteenth-century characteristics.

*A Collection of Psalm Tunes with a few Anthems and Hymns*, though derivative in content, reveals much concerning the changing taste of colonial Anglicans in Philadelphia. Although this compilation did not exert a strong influence on later Anglican tunebooks in terms of tune contents, its importance rests on its ability to document in print colonial Anglicans' implementation of trends associated with progressive European Anglican and Nonconformist musical practice. It documented burgeoning performance standards of colonial Anglicans, including a new centrality given to keyboard accompaniment during the

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<sup>89</sup> Although the full contents of his library remain unknown, Hopkinson did own copies of some older English sacred works such as *The Psalmes of David, to fower parts, for Viols and voyce, The first booke Dorricke Mottoes, The second, Divine Canzonets* by Giles Farnaby. Source: Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson & James Lyon*, 31.

divine service, to support not only congregational singing, but also the extended music intended for the choir. Hopkinson's collection remains the earliest publication from the British colonies to specify and include any type of keyboard accompaniment, either secular or sacred. This phenomenon also becomes somewhat ironic as neither of the united churches in Philadelphia had organs at the time of its publication. St. Peter's would not have a functional organ until a year later in 1764, and Christ Church not until 1767. Most likely, the work was compiled for use in the parish charity school.

Hopkinson's collection also indicated the emerging popularity of the sacred solo popular theatrical song, a genre that would flourish later in the early nineteenth century, especially with the early gospel song movement. These pieces were acceptable in sacred and secular settings, and intended for domestic and public performance. With the lack of strict boundaries distinguishing the sacred and secular repertoires, Anglicans remained in a unique position to allow the theater into the church, and the church into the theater. Both venues employed an identical expression for the non-congregational repertory. Colonial Anglicans embraced an aesthetic that valued the fashionable and modern over maintaining tradition.

Perhaps most importantly, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes with a few Anthems and Hymns* established the manner of performance as an indicator of denominational specificity and identity, as opposed to the repertory of congregational tunes used in ecclesiastical performance. Although compositional genre played an important role in establishing denominational identity, it did not constitute the only means of demarcation. Before 1760, denominational, congregational repertoires included a few tunes common to many denominations as well as a few unique to that specific group. After 1760, performance practice split in the Middle Atlantic and South. As shown, almost all of the contents of Hopkinson's tunebook first appeared in Lyon's *Urania*. Indeed, Hopkinson lifted these

tunes directly from Lyon's collection. However, Hopkinson's settings would never be confused with Lyon's, not because of the harmony or repertory, but rather because of the performance standards peculiar to Calvinist and Anglican practices. From this perspective, Hopkinson's tunebook remains paramount to understanding burgeoning Anglican and Episcopalian trends over the next half-century, as well as those among evangelicals who espoused the concept of free grace throughout the nineteenth century.

#### *9.4.3 Williamsburg, Virginia: Peter Pelham and Martha Wayles Skelton Jefferson*

Even though Philadelphia, the largest city in the British colonies, represented the vanguard of fashionable Anglican expression in its transmission from Europe to the New World, it was not alone in its progressiveness. Concurrent to Hopkinson and other progressive amateur and professional musicians' efforts to modernize Anglican church music, various cities and churches throughout the Chesapeake Bay and Low Country started instituting the modern musical style and its performance conventions. However, not all of these new appurtenances to the divine service appeared in all areas of the Southern colonies, most notably the institution of charity choirs, which could exist only in places with a relatively large population. This phenomenon remained especially true for Virginia where even its colonial capital, Williamsburg, did not possess a charity choir at its centerpiece Bruton Parish Church throughout the entire eighteenth century. Surviving documentation reveals little formal choral music performed in the church during this period. When it did take place, choral performance would have coincided with major public events.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> For instance, an anthem was performed at the funeral of Norborne Berkeley, 4th Baron Botetourt (c. 1717–1770), who died in office as Virginia's Royal Governor from 1768-1770. This piece was conducted by a Mr. Woolls, and accompanied by the organ. However, it remains unknown if this anthem was intended for solo or choral performance. Source: "Supplement" to *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg ed.), October 18, 1770.

Williamsburg did embrace other newer initiatives largely through the efforts of its resident organist and composer, Peter Pelham (1721-1805). Because of him, Bruton Parish Church kept abreast of current trends not only in performance, but also in composition, which extended further to the region surrounding Williamsburg because of his teaching duties at various plantations. Pelham also established a set of informal concerts in the church, a tradition most likely learned during his early apprenticeship to German-born organist Charles Theodore Pachelbel (1690-1750) son of Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706). Williamsburg became one of the more progressive locales for Anglican church music despite its stature as a relatively small British colonial urban center.

At the time that Peter Pelham arrived in Virginia in 1749, he had had much professional experience given the few opportunities for such employment in the British North American colonies. His professional activity remains all the more striking since his musical training occurred entirely within the colonies, with Pelham having spent almost his entire childhood in Boston and Newport, Rhode Island beginning at the age of five.<sup>91</sup> Already by the early 1740s, he had established himself as a progressive musician embracing the modern fashionable repertory. After the completion of a nine-year apprenticeship in 1743, Pelham relocated from Charles Town, South Carolina to Boston where he taught instrumental music for various keyboard instruments, as well as "Psalmody, Hymns, and Anthems," all distinctly representative of and appealing to progressive Anglican taste.<sup>92</sup> He became the first organist at Boston's Trinity Church in 1744, after having been hired initially

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<sup>91</sup> H. Joseph Butler, "Introduction" to *The Peter Pelham Manuscript of 1744: An Early American Keyboard Tutor* (Colfax, North Carolina: Wayne Leupold Editions, Inc., 2005), 6.

<sup>92</sup> *Boston Evening Post*, May 30, June 6, June 13, June 20, and June 27, 1743.

to install the instrument in its gallery.<sup>93</sup> A surviving holograph copybook of keyboard lessons from 1744 attests to his further success as a keyboard instructor.<sup>94</sup>

Despite his accomplishments in Boston, Pelham, for no known reason, resigned his post at Trinity Church and moved to Virginia along with his family in 1749. During the next five years, he appears to have been itinerant, teaching lessons at various plantations in nearby Hampton and Suffolk.<sup>95</sup> In 1755, he settled permanently in Williamsburg, coinciding with Bruton Parish Church's acquisition of an organ possibly from the London builder, Richard Bridge. It remains unknown if Bruton Parish had contacted Pelham or London impresario Cuthbert Ogle (? - 1755) for possible employment at the church.<sup>96</sup> However, Ogle died shortly after arriving in Williamsburg, leaving Pelham as the preeminent candidate for the position. Six months after Ogle's death, the church unanimously chose Pelham to set up the instrument, appointing him "organist in the City of Williamsburg."<sup>97</sup> They agreed to pay him an annual salary of £20. Paralleling the careers of other musicians in smaller Anglican parishes in the Southern colonies, his employment status remained somewhat tenuous because of the unreliability of funds to support his position. His professional musical

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<sup>93</sup> Butler, 8.

<sup>94</sup> Peter Pelham, "The Peter Pelham Manuscript of 1744: an Early American Keyboard Tutor" (Boston, Massachusetts), MS 2003.7, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

<sup>95</sup> Butler, 8.

<sup>96</sup> Ogle most likely had had previous experience setting up the organ in his "Great Room," a private hall used for performances in his series of London subscription concerts offered from 1751-1753. Source: John W. Molnar, "A Collection of Music in Colonial Virginia: The Ogle Inventory" in *The Music Quarterly*, 49, 1 (April, 1963), 153.

<sup>97</sup> William A. R. Goodwin, *The Record of Bruton Parish Church*, ed. Mary Francis Goodwin (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1941), 140-141. Quoted in: Butler, 9.

employment at the church remained sporadic throughout the latter part of the colonial period (1757-1772), according to the records of the House of Burgesses.<sup>98</sup>

To supplement his income, Pelham found it necessary to engage in other musical pursuits. He continued to teach keyboard and singing in Williamsburg, circa 1760-80. Pelham also directed a few dramatic presentations at the city's theater in the late 1760s.<sup>99</sup> Finally, because of his experience in setting up an organ in Boston and in Williamsburg, Pelham would perform contractual work for other churches and individuals, such as that for the Church Wardens at the Upper Parish of Nansemond County for work with their barrel organ in 1770.<sup>100</sup>

He also assumed a number of public positions for the city and colonial government, including work as clerk for Governor Botetourt and possibly his predecessor, Governor Fauquier,<sup>101</sup> as supervisor for the printing of currency of the colony and also as the official Keeper of the Public Gaol. Further, Thomas Jefferson, during his tenure as head of the Albemarle County militia in 1770, hired Pelham to perform clerical work.<sup>102</sup> Through his teaching, Pelham appears to have established strong social connections to many prominent families in the area, thus accounting for his employment status in these civic positions.

More directly related to the adoption of progressive Anglican initiatives in sacred music, Pelham, while employed at Bruton Parish Church, performed two distinct musical

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<sup>98</sup> *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia: 1756-58*, 394, 452, 482; *1758-61*, 35, 165; *1761-65*, 216-357; *1766-69*, 333; *1770-72*, 191; *1773-76*, 17. Cited in Butler, 10.

<sup>99</sup> Butler, 11.

<sup>100</sup> *The Vestry Book of Upper Parish, Nansemond County, Virginia, 1743-1793*, Wilmer L. Hall, ed. (Richmond: Library Board of Virginia, 1941), 201.

<sup>101</sup> Butler, 11.

<sup>102</sup> *Jefferson's Memorandum Books: Accounts, with Legal Records and Miscellany, 1767-1826*, James A. Bear, Jr. and Lucia C. Stanton, eds. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, ca. 1997), 1:78, 1:142.

duties. He served as keyboard accompanist to the church's clerk,<sup>103</sup> demonstrating the adoption of congregational performance conventions identical to Charles Town and Philadelphia. Pelham also initiated a series of evening subscription concerts at the church, resembling the *Abendmusiken* concerts given by German organists, such as Dietrich Buxtehude.

As early as 1769, these concerts became part of the featured social life of Williamsburg as attested by Anne Blair: "The[y] are Building a steeple to our Church, the Door's for that reason is open every day; and scarce an Evening (as Dicky can tell you) but we are entertain'd with the performances of Felton's, Handel's, Vi-vally's, &c. &c. &c. &c."<sup>104</sup> Thomas Jefferson himself subscribed to Pelham's concert series in the fall of 1779.<sup>105</sup> As late as 1795, even after Williamsburg became a relatively forgotten city during the Early Nationalist Period, Pelham continued to offer his concert series: "A week rarely passes in which a number of the inhabitants do not assemble for the purpose of spending an hour or two at the church, while the ancient organist, or some of his pupils perform upon this instrument; and often is the passerby invited into the place on a fine evening by hearing 'the pealing anthem swell the note of praise...'"<sup>106</sup> Fortunately, a previously unrecognized manuscript copybook partly in Pelham's hand, survives from his Williamsburg period, offering a more complete picture of the keyboard and vocal repertory of the Tidewater region of Virginia, and its musical style performed at Bruton Parish Church during the divine service and subscription concerts.

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<sup>103</sup> This practice was documented in the funeral service for Governor Bottetourt. Source: "Supplement" to *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg ed.), October 18, 1770.

<sup>104</sup> Anne Blair to Martha Braxton, August 21, 1769. Quoted in: "Letter of Anne Blair to Martha Braxton" in *William and Mary Quarterly* 16, 3 (January 1908): 179.

<sup>105</sup> *Jefferson's Memorandum Books*, 1:488.

<sup>106</sup> "A Letter, to the Rev. Jedediah Morse, A. M., Author of the *American Universal Geography*" in *William and Mary Quarterly* 2, 3 (January 1894): 191-192.



This particular manuscript belonged to Martha Wayles Skelton Jefferson (1748-1782), the wife of Thomas Jefferson, and was created initially through her studies with Pelham either before or during her marriage with her first husband Bathurst Skelton from 1766 to 1768. Martha, the daughter of John Wayles and Martha Eppes, was born at her father's plantation, The Forest, in neighboring Charles City County, approximately twenty miles from Williamsburg. Details concerning her education and upbringing remain scant, and few of her material possessions survive except for a manuscript book of household accounts, her music copybook, and some examples of needlepoint. When she married her first husband, she moved to his residence in Williamsburg. Together, the couple had one child, John Wayles Skelton, who died of a fever in 1771.<sup>107</sup> After the death of her first husband in 1768, Martha moved back to her father's plantation with her young son.

Sometime within the next four years, Thomas Jefferson began courting her. They married on January 1, 1772. Shortly thereafter, Thomas Jefferson brought Martha back to Monticello where she ran the domestic affairs of the household and began raising a family. Her account books attest to her direct supervision.<sup>108</sup> Together, they had six children, only two of whom survived to adulthood. Martha died in 1782, presumably from complications relating to the birth of her seventh child.<sup>109</sup> She was buried at Monticello.

At some point she received musical lessons on the keyboard. Extant descriptions often concern her accomplishments on the harpsichord and pianoforte. For instance, Jacob

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<sup>107</sup> *The Holy Bible* (Oxford: Printed by Thomas Baskett, Printer to the University, 1752), Jefferson family Bible, E332.2 .Z9 C58 1752 no.2, Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

<sup>108</sup> Martha Wayles Skelton Jefferson, Manuscript household account book, 1772-1782. Library of Congress, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series 7, Vol. 1, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mtj.mtjbib026572>.

<sup>109</sup> Edmund Randolph to James Madison, September 26, 1782. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, James Madison Papers, Series 1 General Correspondence, [http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mjm.01\\_0720\\_0721](http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mjm.01_0720_0721).

Rubsamen, a Hessian officer visiting Monticello in 1780 described music making in the Jefferson household: "You will find in his House an Elegant Harpsicord Piano forte and some Violins. The latter he performs well upon himself, the former his Lady touches very skillfully and who, is in all Respects a very agreeable Sensible and Accomplished Lady."<sup>110</sup> She most likely acquired her musical education from Pelham before she met Thomas Jefferson, as he makes no mention of paying Pelham for lessons in any of his account books. Thus, at least the first part of the surviving manuscript copybook was compiled sometime between 1760 and 1770, and the later entries between 1770 and 1780, based upon the source's contents and Martha Jefferson's known activities. Pelham may have featured her on his subscription concerts, which Thomas Jefferson himself subscribed to in 1779 while governor in Williamsburg.

The copybook contains a mixture of keyboard pieces and songs, with many of the vocal pieces apparently copied for instrumental performance alone, evidenced both with added keyboard-style ornamentation and a lack of text provided in the score. The manuscript itself indicates several modifications to its binding and dates of compilation. Martha Jefferson inserted some leaves into the middle of the copybook, and she copied several later pieces in various places throughout. Thus, dating specific entries in her hand proves somewhat difficult to determine. However, the manuscript suggests three basic periods for compilation: an initial section featuring pieces copied by Pelham and Martha Wayles (Skelton), and two later portions entered by Martha presumably after the death of her first husband. Because another earlier holograph manuscript survives by Pelham from his Boston period, it becomes easy to determine Pelham's contributions to the manuscript

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<sup>110</sup> *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Julian P. Boyd, Charles T. Cullen, John Catanzariti, Barbara B. Oberg, et al, eds. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950-), 4:174.

despite the absence of his name or signature anywhere in the volume. Also, several pieces from the 1744 manuscript appear in the Jefferson copybook, establishing a link between the sources.<sup>111</sup> Apparently, Pelham entered some initial pieces in the book and loaned Martha pieces to copy for herself later. As a result, it remains unknown the extent of Pelham's influence on shaping her musical taste regarding the later pieces in the manuscript. However, their contents match known descriptions of Pelham's repertory performed at the evening concerts at Bruton Parish Church in 1769.

The vocal repertory consists of a mixture of sacred and secular pieces. The secular works include, on the one hand, popular songs from broadside texts and other patriotic numbers, such as "Gentle Sailor" and "[British Grenadiers/Heart of Oak]". In contrast, the other secular numbers derive from more fashionable and refined sources, encompassing popular song collections such as *Clio and Euterpe, or, British Harmony: a Collection of Celebrated Songs and Cantatas by the Most Approved Masters* (London, 1759), and other theatrical works such as the aria "If ever a fond Inclination rose " by Francesco Geminiani from Thomas Augustine Arne and Isaac Bickerstaff's *Love in a Village: A Comic Opera, as it is perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Covent-Garden* (London, 1763).

Alongside these secular numbers, Martha included three hymns in the earlier portion of the book, all in the format of popular-theatrical songs. Of these three pieces, only one appears in another source: Thomas Butts' *Harmonia-Sacra*. This piece follows typical Nonconformist-style conventions both as a contrafactum, and as a plain tune with an extended hallelujah chorus. However, this work, HYMN ["Happy Soul thy days are ended"], an arrangement of the tune OUNDELL, itself a contrafactum of a gavotte from John

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<sup>111</sup> For instance, a minuet in F major, presumed to be by Pelham is found in both manuscripts in the same hand.

Humphries' organ concerto, Op. 2, No. 7, does not appear in the same format as Butts' tunebook. Although notated in her hand, this piece was most likely an arrangement by Pelham. He removed the third voice and set the piece for keyboard, adding keyboard-style ornamentation above the melody line. He also added a short closing symphony, typical of popular strophic songs of mid eighteenth-century Britain. Despite its presentation as a keyboard arrangement of a vocal number and its differing presentation from Butts, the setting as copied by Jefferson included the same text as in the *Harmonia-Sacra*.

The other two sacred numbers appear to be original to the manuscript, and are thus assumed to be the work of Pelham, despite their appearance in Jefferson's handwriting. The first tune, HYMN (**Anth**), employs characteristics typical of other arrangements by Peter Pelham. The piece appears set for keyboard as an elaborated arrangement of a vocal work. The tune employs numerous keyboard-style ornaments, though it clearly allows for vocal performance too, with the symphonies clearly delineated from the vocal portions of the setting. Pelham's attention to detail reveals some insight into the level of improvised ornamentation of the time period. In these didactic works, he provided models for melodic improvisation through extensive elaborations, a feature present in the 1744 copybook as well. Further, his keyboard settings of secular songs present identical characteristics, suggesting a similar approach to keyboard instruction and technique between the two manuscripts.

Though without a chorus, the tune employs conventions typical of current and fashionable popular-theatrical style pieces within the Nonconformist and progressive evangelical Anglican repertory. The piece appears as a double-stanza setting of a long-meter text. Pelham presented an interlude between verses and a closing symphony, providing a fuller harmonic and contrapuntal realization than in the vocal portions of the tune.

Although not an extended setting with textual repetition, this tune followed a format typical of many popular songs with a modified restatement of the opening melodic phrase as the final vocal phrase of the tune (mm. 1-4, 15-18). He also maintained an orthodox sense of functional harmony through a shift to the dominant in the second phrase to then return to the tonic in the third (mm. 11-14). Overall, the work displays a progressive sense of tune setting, seen with all of the accoutrements of the modern style and couched within the conventions of a domestic Nonconformist song. As such, it illustrates Pelham's professional training and employment as well as his progressive sensibilities.

The second work, the ODE ON ADVERSITY (**Anth**), presents many of the same features as the previous tune, though it resembles more the type of sacred popular song seen in the anonymous MIDNIGHT MEDITATION, THE CHRISTMAS HYMN by Giovanni Palma, or the HYMN [When all thy Mercies oh my God] possibly by Francis Hopkinson. Apparently, the earliest printing of the text appeared in the August 16, 1770 edition of *The New York Journal* as an anonymous four-verse ode. Although Jefferson's manuscript only includes the first verse, the full poem remained popular among other members of the Jefferson family until at least 1830, becoming part of the family's oral tradition in the nineteenth century.<sup>112</sup>

As one of the few pieces in the minor mode in the entire manuscript, this piece was crafted to follow the affective sense of the text. For instance, the composer used melismas for their expressive possibilities, not just for virtuosic display, paralleling textual setting and its conventions in VIRGINIA TUNE from *The Divine Musical Miscellany*. Similarly, Pelham

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<sup>112</sup> One of Thomas Jefferson's first cousins inadvertently spoke a slight variant of these lines on the deathbed of one of his daughters in 1830. Source: Nannie H. Garrett, "[A Sketch of the Life and Parentage of Randolph Harrison, Sr. of Clifton, Cumberland County, Va] Harrison of James River (Continued)" in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 35, 3 (July, 1927), 308.

inserted fully realized chords at cadential passages, emphasizing the affective place of important words in the text such as bear and despair. Also following popular-theatrical sentiment, the ODE ON ADVERSITY makes extensive use of textual repetition for the final two lines of the stanza. Each successive statement becomes more florid followed by a climax on a series of triplets that emphasizes the phrase "but keep her from despair."

The keyboard works in this copybook follow the same trends as vocal works. The copybook includes a selection of country dances, hornpipes, minuets, marches, and other dance tunes from a variety of English composers. Alongside these smaller works, more extended pieces appear throughout the copybook, particularly in the second period of compilation, including theme and variation sets, sonatas and lessons, keyboard adaptations of concerto grossi, and keyboard reductions of instrumental operatic music by composers popular in Great Britain such as Arcangelo Corelli, Karl Friedrich Abel, Thomas Augustine Arne, and Samuel Arnold. In particular, the authors of some of these pieces match the composers represented in the subscription concerts at Bruton Parish Church.

The 1769 letter by Anne Blair lists unnamed pieces by Antonio Vivaldi (Vi-vally), George Frederick Handel, and William Felton (1713-1769) performed at Pelham's concert series. Works by all of these composers appear in the Jefferson copybook. An imperfect reduction of the first movement of the "Concerto for 2 Violins in A major," Op. 3, No. 5, RV 519 from *L'estro Armonico* by Vivaldi is transposed to G major. Works by Handel appear throughout all sections of the manuscript, including a gavotte from the "Overture" to *Ottone* (1723) transposed to C major with a set of original variations most likely by Pelham, the "Allmand" (G30) from the "Suite in B-flat" first published in his *Suite de Pieces Pour le Clavecin*, vol. 2 (1733) transposed to C major, the "Minuet in Sampson" (1742), movement eleven from *Water Music* (1717) transposed to C major, and an "Air in Lothario" from the 1729

opera. Finally, several pieces by Felton are found in the latter portion of the manuscript including two variation sets, one of which being his most famous composition, a gavotte and series of variations from the first set of organ concertos (1744), sometimes called, as in the Jefferson manuscript, "upo[n] Charles's Fairwell to Manchester," named after the Stuart Pretender. Felton's sixth suite from *Eight Suits of Easy Lessons* (1752) also appears in the latter section of the copybook. The gavotte in particular is marked "Org: solo" above the score. Although not all of the pieces listed above appear in Pelham's hand, clearly his influence permeates the manuscript, seen not only with compositional techniques, but also the repertory itself. Perhaps Thomas Jefferson's subscription to the 1779 concert series tacitly denotes his wife's participation in the event too.

Because of the Jefferson copybook, much new information has come to light regarding Pelham's specific activities as teacher, performer, and composer during his extended tenure in Williamsburg, Virginia. Previously, source material illustrating his method of pedagogy, compositional preference, and performance practice was limited to an early manuscript from his time in Boston. In addition, a few surviving Virginia sources documented some of his professional activities, his preferred composers, and one surviving minuet. However, with this manuscript, indications of the specific repertory performed on these concerts, as well as original sacred compositions performed either in the church, or in domestic or social gatherings reveals the extent of Pelham's fashionableness and ability to follow modern trends in composition.

The manuscript also demonstrates the progressiveness of Anglican musicians within such conformist environments as the Virginia Tidewater. The presence of a contrafactum taken from one of the most controversial Nonconformist tunebooks, within a decidedly non-evangelical Anglican manuscript, confirms the extent of this influence. An Anglican did

not have to embrace the tenets of evangelicalism to accept changing musical trends. However, as socially conscious individuals, Anglicans championed the modern and fashionable.

Finally, Pelham's activities document further the general lack of distinction between sacred and secular modes of performance. Within the church, secular concerts could occur using the most Anglican of musical trappings: the organ. Although these concerts most likely featured sacred pieces on their programs, such as the hymns found in the Jefferson manuscript, the tunes themselves betray as much the secular world as the sacred. Thus, a keyboard reduction of a concerto grosso would find a welcome place alongside a solo sacred popular song like the ODE ON ADVERSITY. This lack of distinction between performance modes within the church distinguished Anglicans from other English-language denominations. Again, Anglicans' desire to keep abreast of the most recent trends in social culture facilitated this shift in musical and social aesthetic from the older performance modes that dominated the first half of the eighteenth century. Anglicans in Williamsburg literally used the church as a theater, embracing the same aesthetic for both venues.

The activities of musicians in these important centers for Anglican music during the Late Colonial Period had much in common. Anglican musicians, if not given too much to "sotting," found themselves among the social elite of a particular community. Their employment allowed them instantaneous professional connections for teaching, performing, and composing. After gaining a community's approval of their character, these musicians enjoyed the support of the most influential and wealthiest patrons of a given community, given the status of this denomination's congregants in these urban centers.



However, because Anglican churches offered low wages, musicians rarely devoted their entire careers to the performance and composition of Anglican church music. Instead, their musical lives remained as much a part of the secular world as the sacred. Most became involved in teaching the children of wealthy families, organizing subscription and/or benefit concerts, and providing, composing, or arranging music for performance in theaters and other similar venues, such as the pleasure garden or coffeehouse. Not only did secular activities supplement their income, these types of employment appealed to the same audience that attended an Anglican church, demonstrating again the Anglican musician's viability in the trendy social scene of a given city or community.

Once they found acceptance by their church community, Anglican musicians often would attempt to enter the society from which they found employment. This trend of attempting upward mobility characterized many musicians who had to demonstrate to their social world their own abilities to mingle in polite society. It further legitimized musicians in their relationship to their audience. This demonstration of ability and intent extended to include the location of their residence, their membership in esteemed fraternal organizations, and the acquisition of material goods indicative of this social group, such as slaves, fine furniture, and a keyboard instrument or two. Keeping up appearances remained extremely important in this highly stratified society.

Anglican material culture was not overtly religious during this time period. As such, their music employed the same expression whether for a sacred or secular event. Musicians did not distinguish between sacred and secular performance modes; all were governed by the prevailing conventions of *Affekt*. Related to their interactions with polite society, what remained most important was their appeal to fashion. This ability to remain viable and modish determined in large part their success in colonial society.

Because Anglican music during this time exhibited a uniform musical expression, it documented colonial popular taste through its incorporation of popular music elements independent of oral tradition or folk process. Anglican church music broke away from a model that demanded that sacred pieces convey an air of religiosity, or sound appropriately solemn for their use in the divine service. Although a required, conventionalized religious sentiment might have been an innate feature of earlier practice in colonial churches, trends in the Late Colonial Period quickly broke away from this pattern. In fact, music follows often the general affective style popular of the time, especially the hymn repertory. Extant pieces provided examples of this phenomenon, as seen with THE CHRISTMAS HYMN by Palma, the ODE TO ADVERSITY by Pelham (?), and even the use of harmony in some of the congregational pieces such as ST. MICHAELS by Valton.

The sharp divide between Middle Atlantic and Southern colonial Anglican musical practice before 1755 and that afterwards displays an eagerness to keep abreast of the recent developments in some of London's urban parishes. In colonial churches between 1750 and 1765, organs became more commonplace, which necessitated the hiring of competent musicians to play them, or finding devoted amateurs from among the ranks of congregants. Upon their acquiring new instruments for use in the divine service, churches instituted new performance standards for congregational worship, namely an organist to accompany the clerk for the performance of psalm and hymn tunes and liturgical music. Related to this, some Anglican parishes established charity school choirs to perform in church during the divine service and in the community for social or public events. These activities display a new sense of ambition for acquiring the appurtenances of progressive English parishes.

Despite the institution of new performance standards and the general adoption of musical progressiveness, many theologians remained thoroughly orthodox and conservative

in their religious beliefs. In other words, colonial Anglican church music demonstrates the progressiveness of musicians compared to a predominant conservatism of the clergy, seen most clearly in musical trends versus those of texts. As early as the 1750s, Anglican musicians began to adopt the practices of their evangelical and Nonconformist brethren. However, the popular theological sentiment of the time did not allow composers to set much else beyond metrical psalmody. Even pieces titled "Hymn" would remain essentially psalm settings cast as religious popular-theatrical style songs. As a result, the adoption of evangelical Anglican and Nonconformist musical trends remained independent of trends in text selection. In the Late Colonial Period, an Anglican did not have to ascribe to the tenets of evangelicalism to embrace evangelical-style music.

Perhaps most important throughout this study of Late Colonial trends, all centers maintained like performance characteristics and compositional techniques despite the lack of an American bishop governing the Anglican churches in the colonies. With the exception of documented performance and missionary activities shared between New York and Philadelphia, Anglicans maintained their strongest ties to London through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The governing structure of the Church of England combined with Anglicans' desires to keep abreast of the most current and fashionable trends, accounts for the similarities in expression between Anglican centers in the Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies.

## Chapter 10. The Anglicanization of Northern New England Psalmody

Beginning in the 1720s, church music practice among progressive Congregationalists in northern New England had descended primarily from the works of Anglican Londoner, John Playford, in particular the three-part treble-led tune settings from his 1677 psalter. Torn between tradition and innovation, churches, under their own individual autonomy, gradually came to prefer homophonic regular singing from printed tune collections to the oral-based heterophonic practice of lining out the psalms by an appointed precentor. By the 1750s, regular singing had replaced lining out in many northern New England churches, becoming the performative norm throughout the region. This tradition of treble-led three-part harmony had set New England's Congregationalist practice apart from many other colonial denominations. Presbyterians employed the tenor-led ancient style descended from sixteenth-century Protestant initiatives, Anglicans a monophonic or two-part performance led by a clerk or organist.

Although Congregationalists drew from a variety of source material, they always arranged other traditions' tune settings to conform to their favored three-part style. With only one exception, all of the tunes consisted of plain tunes without any of the other compositional techniques embraced by other denominations such as antiphonal exchange and overlapping contrapuntal fugging entries. Not confining themselves to pre-existing compositions, Congregationalists produced a few original pieces that followed their distinctive performance practice (compared to other English-language colonial denominations). Although patterned after Anglican initiatives characteristic of London's parish churches, the retention of a seventeenth-century style into the latter half of the eighteenth century came to be viewed as increasingly anachronistic. By 1760, new

performative developments began to appear in meetinghouses throughout northern New England, which caused uproars among many congregants and clergy.

In particular, some churches instituted separate pews for a group of singers to lead congregational singing. Because Congregationalists at this time did not allow instruments in the church, a group of singers capable of singing in harmony helped give the tonal support necessary for proper regular singing. However, countering the traditional position of authority vested in the precentor, some choirs overstepped their bounds. The results of this action fueled the ire of many congregations and clergymen.

This chapter will examine the changes that occurred among northern New England Calvinists during the Late Colonial period, embracing the modes of ecclesiastical performance, composition types, and musical aesthetic. Over the course of the Late Colonial Period, sacred music performance practice became an Anglicanized form of expression and composition culminating in the works of the patriarch of New England music, William Billings (1746-1800). Although Billings is usually considered the seminal archetypal American composer, credited with initiating the flowering of New England psalmody, his music instead symbolized the schism that erupted between Congregationalist developments in psalmody related to the regular singing movement, and the adoption of the Anglican form of the ancient style during the Late Colonial period.

### **10.1 A War of Taste: Disputes over the Aesthetic of Musical Devotion**

Understanding the radical revolution of northern New England psalmody within its region and practice involves an examination of notions of religiosity and music within the divine service of Congregational churches during the 1760s. Fortunately, a series of exchanges on musical aesthetics survives in newspapers from Boston and Portsmouth, New

Hampshire in 1764, illustrating the many facets of this conflict. The first of these observations appeared in the *Boston News Letter* on January 5, a somewhat lengthy but remarkable diatribe excoriating the singers of one particular meetinghouse:

There are a set of geniuses, who stick themselves up in a gallery, and seem to think that they have a privilege of engrossing all the singing to themselves; and truly they take a very effectual method to secure this privilege, namely, by singing such tunes, as is impossible for the congregation to join in. Whom they get to compose for them, or whether they compose for themselves, I will not pretend to determine; but, instead of those plain and simple compositions which are essential to the awful solemnity of church music, away they get off, one after another, in a light, airy, jiggish tune, better adapted to a country dance, than the awful business of charging forth the praises of the King of Kings—A clergyman of my acquaintance, at my desire, presumed once to beg the favour of these gentlemen to sing the Old Hundredth Psalm. Was his request granted, think you? By no means. After looking upon him with a smile of pity for his want of taste, they told him that was out of date, but the[y] would give him the new tune to the same words, which was much better; for that it consisted of four or five parts, and had many fugues. Imagine to yourself, that you are hearing ten or a dozen ballad-singers bawling out Ally Croaker one after another, line after line, and it will give you some faint idea of our entertainment. Now, who will wonder, after this true representation of the matter, that the congregation, not being able to accompany these connoisseurs, should by degrees, look upon themselves as unconcerned in the duty, and consider it in the light of an amusement (such an amusement as it is!) rather than a part of divine service? They think they may as well sit down as stand up, to hear these gentlemen

shew their talents in music, which seems to be (and, I fear, too often is) their sole view in singing. They are so much taken up in beating time, and endeavouring to execute the fugues (as they are pleased to call them) properly, that the matter of the Psalm has very little share in their attention. How much better is it calculated to answer the purposes of devotion, when the Psalms are sung in such an easy and plain stile, as that the whole congregation may, with one heart and voice, join together to celebrate the praises of their creator?

J.B.

The author of this editorial clearly supported regular singing, but several issues of performance specifically provoked his wrath as a traditional Calvinist Congregationalist from eastern Massachusetts.

First and foremost, the singers' chosen repertory ran contrary to traditional notions of Congregational church polity. For the past one hundred forty years, tune choice remained under the jurisdiction of the church and its governing council. No tunes but those sanctioned by each individual church could be performed within the worship service. The precentor's tune selections were drawn from a relatively limited body of tunes, usually eight to fifteen pieces. With each church remaining independent of the others, tune choices could vary widely. Although disparate in terms of repertory, all conformed to an aesthetic of ease of performance and directness of expression that allowed each church member to participate in the congregational performance.

In this instance, the singers disregarded this most hallowed of Congregational traditions. Instead of bringing the entire congregation into this musical aspect of the worship experience, the choir used the space allotted for singing to demonstrate its prowess at performing complicated tunes featuring the conformist Anglican contrapuntal fugging

techniques. Going beyond the aesthetic of accepted religiosity inherent in simple homophonic settings, the choir not only trod upon the nature of music within the worship service, but on its intent and purpose as well. Rather than performing tunes set by members of the church council, such as OLD HUNDRED as requested by the clergyman, the choir performed their own choice selections, disregarding the authority of the church and its council. Their preferred tunes violated the principles of congregational psalmody within a Congregationalist aesthetic in that they excluded the congregation from participating in the performance.

Besides their disregard for church polity, the singers brought to the worship service a kind of sin previously unknown in colonial Congregational meetinghouses. They emphasized the importance of music over the word of God as interpreted by the translators and versifiers of metrical psalmody. In this instance, the writer of the editorial focused on the singers' devotion to elaborate and complex music over a simple homophonic style that served as a base for the delivery of the text. The music, instead of inculcating spiritual devotion, became an "amusement" for the congregation. For Congregationalists, metrical psalmody did not serve as entertainment, but an act authorized by the Apostle Paul to unite a congregation in Christian fellowship. According to the commentator, the singers not only usurped the authority of man, they also disregarded scriptural admonishments, placing themselves above God. Turning psalmody into an amusement or entertainment made the meetinghouse resemble a theater, which might be suitable for Anglicans, but not God-fearing Calvinists.

The author also stressed the style of music sung by the choir as foreign to Congregationalist sentiment. In addition to its complexity, downplaying of scriptural and ecclesiastical authority, and emphasis on the performers rather than the congregants, the



repertory also contradicted notions of religiosity in music. The older homophonic repertory distinguished itself by conveying sacredness through "plain and simple" pieces sung at a slow tempo as befitting the solemnity of the word of God sung during the divine service. The clarity of the harmony, the lack of overlapping text, and the slow tempo all conveyed a sense of devotion that lay outside the more modern *Affektenlehre* practiced by secular-minded musicians.

Instead, the choir chose a "light, airy, jiggish tune, better adapted to a country dance," denoting not only its quicker tempo, but also a shift in rhythmic emphasis not heard in the older repertory. Rather than convey the solemnity of a worship service, psalmody, through the quicker tempo, imparted an airy, more spirited character. Obsessed with "beating time" and singing according to rhythmic pulses reminiscent of dance music such as the jig, the music bore little resemblance to the earlier method of regular singing. Not only rendering their performance an amusement for the congregation, they also introduced rhythmic accentuation characteristic of the ballroom, another forbidden pleasure among the more conservative members of the church. Finally, the singers' manner of performance resembled more the singing of ballad singers with their secular love songs, also unsuitable for sacred worship. Together, all of these characteristics bespoke to the radicalness of the new style when viewed alongside the older manner of regular singing.

On January 12, 1764, one week after the first editorial appeared, the *Boston News Letter* printed another commentary on the state of sacred music in the Calvinist churches. Rather than complain about an existing group, this more literary-minded author, identified as Chrononhotonthologos,<sup>1</sup> constructed a metaphoric dialogue between "Mr. Timothy

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<sup>1</sup>The author identified himself as a satirist through his reference to the popular satirical play *Chrononhotonthologos* written by Henry Carey in 1734. This term also had the connotation of a

Standish, an elderly gentleman" and "Mr. Charles Anthem, a musical young gentleman, and the parson of this parish." In this instance, the older character is symbolized by the psalm tune STANDISH, and the younger person by the anthem, a distinctly Anglican compositional genre, at least for ecclesiastical performance. Constructing this exchange as a dispute between generations, the author attempted to show a lack of aesthetic understanding between those church members raised on regular singing, and those that embraced the new style of ancient music:

Mr. Anthem was humming over a tune, when Mr. Standish thus accosted him:

Standish. Young man, I perceive you are singing; pray tell me what tune it may be?

Anthem. The tune, Sir, I was singing is St. Martin's.

Stan. St. Martin's, why I never heard of that before, it's a brand new dance lately come over, isn't it?

Anthem. Dance, Sir, what d' ye mean? It's a psalm-tune, very much in vogue.

Stan. That's impossible, I'm sure it do'sn't go in 8 and 6 or 6 and 8, how can it be a Psalm-Tune?

Anth. I tell you, Sir, it is a Psalm-Tune, and sung in most of the congregations—

Stan. I'm amaz'd - sung in congregations! - it is surely a step to popery—what is the world a-coming to ? - it isn't a bit better than fiddling.

Anth. Ha, ha, ha; why we sing some that goe more like a fiddle than that: and ev'ry body looks upon it, that our public worship is much refin'd and polish'd by means of them.

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braggart or ineffectual blusterer, perhaps a reference to the futility of resisting the new style of sacred music.

Stan. Aye, aye, but the preface to my Psalm-Book say, that "God's altar needs not our polishings," and I'm sure it is a very great sin to introduce such 'light, airy, jiggish' tunes into the meeting-houses, when there is enough without 'em; there is Humphrey's, and Windsor, and Oxford, and others in the old psalm books that are much better, and ev'ry-body can sing them.

Anth. O, they are old things, and out of date; People have got a better taste in singing now-a-days.

Stan. Age is honourable; - I am old enough to be your grandfather, and therefore must know better than you: this is none of the good old primitive singing - our forefathers would as soon have conform'd at once, or have laid down their necks to the block, which is much better, than have changed the good old way for these new tunes; or David's psalms for your Tates and Brady's, as you do in Boston.

Although echoing some of the same themes as the first writer, this author provided more elaboration on the war of taste erupting throughout northern New England, in this instance siding with the younger generation of church musicians.

When the older Standish encounters Charles Anthem, the younger one is humming ST. MARTIN'S by the ancient-style Anglican musician William Tans'ur, a modern triple-meter piece recently printed in a new edition of Thomas Walter's *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* (c. 1760). Rather than being presented in the traditional three-part treble-led format characteristic of Congregationalists, this tune appeared in the tenor-led four-part ancient style characteristic of conformist Anglicans. In this sense, Mr. Charles Anthem identified himself as someone aligned with Anglican musical expression. As such, Anthem is further characterized as Anglican in style through his method of performance, embracing the

stronger rhythmic accentuation given to the modern repertory. Standish displayed his disgust by condescendingly referring to this pulse as characteristic of dance music performed by fiddlers.

For Anthem, his mode of performance denoted refinement and polish, both necessary for the aesthetic beautification of psalmody and church music in general. Not only embracing a more modern eighteenth-century repertory and rhythmic drive, Anthem felt that the ancient style of scoring procedure and vocal lead represented the vanguard among his New England brethren because of its break with a fifty-year-old regional tradition of performance. This belief betrayed a sense of irony given the fact that the three-part style advocated by the regular singing movement constituted a more modern and progressive style than its sixteenth-century ancient-style cousin. However, this inverted sense of progress and modishness followed colonial northern New England traditions, not those typical of Europe, or the Middle Atlantic, southern New England, and southern colonies.

To Standish, this style of performance confounded his comprehension of sacredness and ecclesiastical performance. For Anthem, the modern Anglican ancient style was equated with excellence of taste, extending also to poetry choice for metrical psalmody. According to Standish, psalmody needed no polish or refinement as long as it conveyed the solemnity necessary for the divine service. The best tunes were those familiar to the entire congregation and easily sung, consisting of established favorites such as HUMPHREY'S, OXFORD, and WINDSOR. The older Congregationalist "Bay" Psalm Book was preferred over the authorized Anglican Tate and Brady. Clearly, a generational divide separated the preference for tradition over the taste for novelty and modernity. As such, it was further clarified as a debate between Congregationalist and Anglican aesthetic.

These two editorials circulated throughout northern New England, being reprinted in the *New Hampshire Gazette* in Portsmouth a week after their initial release in Boston. By the beginning of the next month, yet another reader not only contributed his thoughts on sacred music, but also framed his letter as a response to the previous two contributors to the *Boston News Letter*. The latest author found fault with both of the previous contributors. The first he labeled "a person of no genius, void of judgment, and intirely unskilful in the art of singing," as well as lacking "high degrees of sanctity, what ever himself would insinuate." He considered the second author "to be born without a faculty for singing, but yet with a musical ear; and so he takes that to be the best assembly—singing, to all intents and purposes, which excites the most pleasing sensations in him; but this also is a wrong way of judging." The third author attempted to cut the Gordian knot, and through this effort revealed much in the way of the aesthetic reception, good or bad, of the new style of music.

His first point addressed the contest of musical expression as related to style. Older congregants objected to the ancient-style conformist Anglican repertory because "these new tunes are none of the tunes of David. This I am sure is of itself as ridiculous as any one thing needs to be, and so shall say nothing in particular to it. St. David we know used variety of music in divine praises; and as some of it was skilful and sprightly, we have no reason to conclude but it as much resembled a St. Martins or an anthem, as Mear or Oxford." Because of the lack of information about scriptural song and music, the objections made by the conservative faction of sacred music enthusiasts remained entirely hypothetical. However, given the variety of sentiment found in the psalms, the modern mixture of sprightly and grave music in the new ancient style followed scriptural precedent.

He then addressed the objection voiced by older church members that tunes should not be sung during the divine service unless "the congregation in general are able to bear a

part in them." Appealing to common sense, he pointed out that all tunes at some time or another were unfamiliar to congregations:

Does any one suppose that Canterbury and Old Hundred, or any other old tune were never new? or that people were in general acquainted with them before they were used in any public worshipping-assembly? I am of opinion, that Canterbury was as new once, as any tune can be now; and make no doubt every body will allow, that the first regular tunes were used in assemblies, when not near so many in proportion could join in them, as can at this day in our new tunes. I suppose, and not without reason, that the introduction of the first tunes, such as Old Hundred, Windsor, &c. gave as much offence to those who have been used in the public assemblies to make a noise, without any regularity or order, (which was in fact the case in antient times) as the introduction of our new tunes in these days, does to some of us.

Not only addressing the current war of taste occurring throughout northern New England, the author also demonstrated that the first tunes emanating from the regular singing movement of the 1720s were at first unfamiliar to most people. By the 1760s however, they now formed a common stock repertory and performance style throughout the region. While he thought it "unreasonable for one or two people to entertain themselves, and vex a whole congregation, with something which they know none but themselves can sing," the author found in the older congregants' objections "the narrowness of bigotry and education—prejudice is full as unreasonable and absurd."

After appealing to reason to explain the natural development of a repertory, the writer proceeded to the aesthetics of sacred music within the divine service, commenting on the propriety of style relating to the worship experience. He began by recounting the older generation's objection to the new ancient-style Anglican music. According to this group:

“[i]t is urged that as singing in worshipping assemblies is part of divine service, therefore nothing should be used in it, but what is plain and simple, removed from whatever has the least tendency to destroy or interrupt a spirit of solemnity and gravity: whereas the music made by these new tunes, is more like a merry hornpipe [hornpipe] or a jig, than it is to grave psalmody.”

However, he found these assertions untrue or at least unfounded. The final objection concerned the contrasting notions of religiosity between the two styles: “let it be promis’d, that as to solemnity and gravity, there should be the same in the singing as in any other part of worship; and in the whole, there ought to be nothing but what well consists with these: Yet let it be noted, that the singing is praising, and praising always implies a joyfulness and gratitude.” Framing his argument in a typically Anglican sentiment, he found that a piece of music must reflect the sentiment of the text, whether joyful or solemn. Contrasting with the older regular singing ideal, music must not serve just as a vehicle for the delivery of text.

In order to realize this ideal, congregations should sing tunes that emphasize the skill and ingenuity of modern composers. Calling into question the compositional ideal of simplicity held by the proponents of the regular singing controversy, the author commented: “there is an extreme on this hand as carefully to be avoided as that on the other; and since it is becoming to praise in our creator with all our heart and voice, methinks it is full as comely & proper, to use psalmody that is the product of ingenuity and skill, as that which is low, flat, jejeune and lazy, the effect of indolence, carelessness and sloth.” This passage demonstrated an understanding of an intertwining relationship between words and music. If singing was praise, then singing must convey the essence of praise and jubilation. The older generation found that the new type of singing and its repertory contradicted the notion of

praise as gravitas. For progressive, younger New Englanders, conformist ancient-style Anglican psalmody's core value lay within its ability to convey emotion through a direct appeal to the senses. Rather than the older, more abstract concept of praise as an act of devotion, the aesthetic ideals of the younger generation placed value on the music's ability to convey effect. Proper humility and adoration had its place within the repertory, but music could communicate much more than this one devotional sentiment.

His final point concerned the additional skill and practice required of the new repertory. The older generation could not get past the intricacies of the Anglican ancient-style repertory: "there is so much attention given to the just timeing, turning of the quavers, semiquavers, &c. that it is impossible the singers should be able to give heed to the words of the psalm." Again, a generational divide appeared regarding the efforts of the choir. Older congregants heard the new style and assumed that the singers were flaunting their prowess, placing themselves above God for displaying their human skill. Siding with the younger congregants, the author found this assumption "in the main a gross mistake." He knew "of no singers who pretend to make such parade of the business. The new way appears equally easy, and as free from vanity or pride as the old. As to the quavers, semiquavers, &c. they are great beauties; and there is, as I am told, no difficulty in observing them, after the tune is well learned."

Again, this author attempted to address both sides of the conflict. On the one hand, he related the new war of taste to the earlier battle between the regular singing and lining methods of congregational performance. Turning the older generation's argument on its head, he demonstrated that "the old way of singing is worse (if there's anything bad in quavers) than the new: for conviction, get some-body to sing over Oxford or London the



old way," referring to the improvisatory ornamentation characteristic of the heterophonic call-and-response technique of the "old way" of congregational performance.

To conclude his essay, he reiterated his point that repertory grows organically with new tunes replacing older ones, and the new way of singing was only the most recent initiative of improvement towards the furthering of taste and fashionableness in sacred music: "[i]n short, all the objections against the gradual introduction of new tunes, (which is all I would contend for) might with the same reason have been brought against the old ones." Echoing a modern sense of progression and improvement, he believed that "there is but one system of musical rules, on which all tunes new and old are built, all the difference is, the last are the best, so far as they show a farther improvement of judgment, and more refined skill."

Over the next decade, this debate would embroil many churches within eastern Massachusetts and New Hampshire, with many rural churches joining the fray. After congregations instituted a group of singers to lead the singing, choral activity flourished both during the divine service and also in secular social and domestic environments. From there, the role of sacred music in the region shifted to fulfill not only the requirements for congregational worship, but also informal devotion, social fellowship, and domestic performance. In this way, sacred music among Congregationalists began to occupy a similar place as it did among Anglicans and English Presbyterians. This shift in aesthetic and receptive function also revealed a break from Congregational tradition. It allowed for the effect and beauty of a composition to determine its worth and usefulness during the church service, while simultaneously creating a secular forum for this sacred-social art form. The music shifted from craft to art.

Beginning in the Late Colonial Period, northern New England ministers were invited to preach an introductory sermon to various choral concerts, sometimes known as singing lectures. In their addresses, progressive clergymen used this opportunity to present the benefits of the newer style and its aesthetic considerations. For instance, a discourse delivered by John Mellen before a singing lecture in Marlborough, Massachusetts in 1773 illustrated how and why the new style would gradually usurp the older manner of regular singing.<sup>2</sup> In his address, he advocated for the necessity of a choir, aesthetic considerations of the new style of ancient music, the place of hymns within the divine service, and the generational divide that continued to characterize the war over taste.

Opening with an appeal to scriptural authority, Mellen paraphrased the second verse of Psalm 100 to describe the place of a choir in the meetinghouse: "[i]n the first place there, when we come before God's presence with singing, we must be united in a *song*. The whole church, assembly, or band of social worshippers must conform themselves to the portion proposed to be sung, or the words set to music" (14). Knowing that the psalms would be recognized as the universal authority among the older and younger congregants, Mellen emphasized the necessity for unity among churches in achieving their common goal: allowing music to ennoble the worship experience. However, the singers must also echo the sentiments voiced by the minister and the church congregants and not offer their own selections in opposition to the assembly. Alongside this phenomenon, the musicians could serve as the voice of authority in many musical matters, just as the clergy and other church officials could decide which texts to sing at any given meeting: "[t]hese are psalms, hymns and spiritual song, parcelled out by the masters of our religious assemblies, suitable to times,

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<sup>2</sup> John Mellen, *Religion Productive of Music. A discourse, delivered at Marlborough, March 24th, 1773, at a singing lecture. Published at the desire of the band and friends of music* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas, 1773).

occasions and circumstances. This requires some judgment, attention and discretion, in such as from time to time, propose and deal out the songs of *Zion*" (14).

Aligning himself with the most progressive of Congregationalists, Mellen felt that psalmody, while sacrosanct as scriptural song, was not the only metrical verse allowable in the church. Alongside psalms, hymns would also become welcome during the divine service, since modern verse best suited modern times:

[t]he book of psalms is a most excellent collection of worthy and sublime songs. But methinks such christians deprive themselves of a great pleasure and advantage, who confine themselves to the poetical compositions of those ancient ages and dispensations, less suitable in general, to the free and benevolent spirit of christianity, when we go about so much with spiritual songs and hymns, in the New-Testament taste, and done by so many pious and able hands. The psalms of *David*, the sweet singer of *Israel*, ought surely never to be neglected, undervalued or disused. But why should gospel sonnets be wholly omitted by christians, who are required to cultivate the evangelical rather than the legal spirit (14-15)?

In this respect, Mellen revealed himself to have adopted a position on hymnody embraced by late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century English Presbyterians, as well as notable progressive Independents and Congregationalists such as Isaac Watts. Since all Christians lived in New Testament times, gospel-influenced hymnody better served the needs of modern Christians.

Mellen did not only call for the adoption of new texts and a new style of music, he also argued for a style of church music and poetry that could emotionally and directly affect a congregation. In particular, he was inspired by Isaac Watts, who described the possibilities of this part of the divine service in contrast to its practical application: "*Psalmodie* is the most

unhappily managed. That very Action which should elevate us to the most delightful and divine Sensations doth not only flat our Devotion, but too often awakens our Regret, and touches all the Springs of Uneasiness within us."<sup>3</sup> Echoing a sense of evangelical revival in many Congregational churches throughout eastern Massachusetts, he stated the progress of psalmody, the overtures made by the new ancient Anglican style into colonial meetinghouses, and this music's ability to cause "delightful and divine Sensations." Addressing both musical and poetical developments, he found that

[t]he spirit of psalmody that is now revived in our towns, has reference to the song as well as the singing of it. And a relish for the beauties of poesy is excited in proportion to the improvements in the art of music. The taste of the people of this country is much confined in regard of poetical composition---they have discovered the difference in the various versions of the psalms of *David*, and prefer the more elegant, spirited and sublime performances of this kind, answerable to their native majesty, to the many flat, unanimated translations, which sing so much below the lofty and divinely inspired original (16).

Congregations were beginning to awaken to the potential of beautiful and affecting music and poetry to appeal to the senses and echo the spirit of divine inspiration manifest in the scriptures.

Not only could music and poetry beautify a particular text's sentiment, music could also reflect and complement the emotion of a text. Breaking from earlier tradition, a composer did not have to produce tunes designed only to support any text with a like poetic meter. Rather, a symbiosis existed between the two. According to Mellen: "it requires art

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<sup>3</sup> Isaac Watts, "Preface" to *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (London: J. Humfreys, for John Lawrence, 1707).

and understanding in him that governs the music, to conform the tune to the genius and spirit of the song---that there may be an agreeableness, and as it were a chord between the words and the sound" (24). He further emphasized that music and text together could express more than they could individually. Speaking of beauty in music in poetry, Mellen found that "[t]he music and the words would greatly tend to lessen the beauty of each other. But you must endeavour to make the music conform to the words; then they will serve to beautify each other" (24). Throughout the address, the author stressed the interconnectivity of music and poetry and man's ability to beautify the worship service through human artifice. Gone were the days of a simple sentiment of gravitas setting a tone of religiosity, characteristic of the older regular singing movement.

John Mellen then proceeded to address the generational divide that caused much of the reigning turmoil. Echoing sentiments voiced a decade earlier, he found the recent hostilities between regular singing and the new enthusiastic ancient style "an affront to common sense and decency, to labour the argument in favour of *art* and *rule*, either in composing or performing music" (25). Placing it within a historical perspective, he stated:

[t]hey are so plain necessary, that we now stand amazed at the opposition once made to what was called the *regular way of singing*. It is beyond all account, that towns and churches should have suffered themselves to be broken and divided on such a point as this! And will not children yet unborn, be struck hereafter with equal astonishment, at the offence taken by some few, at the present reformation in singing, and the happy revival of the spirit of music? Will it not appear wonderful, that such *discord* should spring from *harmony*, and the societies should again a second time suffer themselves to be rent in pieces, by an eager, violent contention about little formalities and customs, *harmless* in themselves, and *useful* in the work of praise?

Rule and measure is allowed and thought necessary in all other arts, and why not in the noble science of music and psalmody? In nothing are they more necessary. Without them no piece of music could be constructed; or performed to edification, or without the utmost confusion, when made (25-6).

Mellen appealed to common sense and a modernist conception of progress. The tribulations that divided congregations, although seemingly dire at the moment, would soon be forgotten or viewed as petty in the greater scheme of religious developments over the course of time.

He concluded his discourse by paraphrasing the words of the Apostle Paul in Ephesians 5:19: "I know it is the heart that is chiefly to be regarded; and *there* we should especially endeavour to make melody to the Lord. But we must sing with the understanding as well as heart. The rule and art of singing, is no hindrance to the piety and devotion of it. Such men argue strangely, as contend that in order to please God, we must sing so as to offend men. It becomes us to serve God with our best" (28). Above all, congregants should not only utter their heartfelt pleas of sorrow or shouts of joy to God, but their address to the Almighty should be as eloquent as possible, as befitting the majesty of God and the divine service. Rather than being chastised for devoting themselves to the skill of music, choirs should be supported by the church or meetinghouse for apportioning their time to so important a part of the worship service.

Throughout the Late Colonial Period churches and congregants in the Massachusetts Bay and northern New England redefined the role of music within the worship service. Having entered into a consistent subject of public discourse over a twenty-year period, the progressive arm of Massachusetts Congregationalism emerged as the victor in this struggle. The aesthetic ideals of regular singing gave way to the newer initiatives of the infectious

ancient-style Anglican mode of expression, causing a disconnect between music as religious gravitas and music as emotional aid in beautifying the nature of praise.

In creating a historiography of American sacred music, nineteenth-century authors tended to side with the older generation, denigrating the efforts of younger ancient-style musicians. Writing in the middle of the nineteenth century, author Nathaniel Duren Gould found that "[s]o far as real devotional music was concerned, the thirty years referred to was a dark age."<sup>4</sup> He elaborated:

[d]uring the aforementioned period, and for many years afterwards, ministers and churches who ought to have had a voice, if not the direction, in this part of public worship, suffered it to be wrested from them, and to be managed and executed generally by those who apparently had no higher object in view than to please, astonish and amuse. The music sung was so constructed that none but the choir could take part in its performance. Ministers, Christians, and all good men, and men of correct taste in regard to music, looked on, sometimes grieved and sometimes vexed. But they had let go their hold, and the multitude had the whole management of it, and sung *what* and *when* they pleased; until finally hearers had well-nigh given up all interest in the subject and settled into indifference (59).

The practice of sacred music had lost its devotional quality. It became a secular-sacred entertainment that delighted the senses. Though most scholars have dismissed Gould's view of New England psalmody during this period, his observations follow accurately the Massachusetts war of taste.

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<sup>4</sup> Nathaniel Duren Gould, *Church Music in America, comprising its history and its peculiarities at different periods, with cursory remarks on its legitimate use and its abuse; with notices of the schools, composers, teachers, and societies* (Boston: A. N. Johnson, 1853), 58.

Perhaps, what was more relevant and important about this debate remained unspoken. Gould did not address the underlying motive behind or the catalyst for this change: the Anglican Church and its conformist ancient-style psalmody. In northern New England, Anglican musicians, impresarios, and publishers introduced the ancient style to Congregational musicians, beginning with Thomas Johnston. Further, the act of singing sacred music fulfilled as much a secular-social role as it did ecclesiastical performance. Revealing the disconnect between northern New England and the rest of British America, Anglican musicians did not adopt the musical style associated with London's progressive but orthodox Anglicans, and Nonconformists. Instead, their progressiveness was demonstrated by their backwardness, illustrating the quirky state of sacred music in this region. Descriptions of performance and aesthetic described the overarching thread that permeated discussions of sacred music. To understand how choirs adopted the new repertory involves an examination of the surviving printed tunebooks by musicians in northern New England during the 1760s, all of which emanated from Anglican musicians.

## **10.2 Anglican Taste, and Tunebook Compilation and Publication in northern New England (1760-1771)**

With the introduction of ancient-style music in colonial meetinghouses, Congregationalists began to purchase tunebooks that redefined their conceptions of sacred music composition and performance practice. This process in some ways resembled the efforts of James Lyon for the compiling of his tunebook *Urania* (1761). He selected popular European collections by Calvinists Caleb Ashworth and Thomas Moore; Anglicans Abraham Adams, John Arnold, Uriah Davenport, James Green, Israel Holdroyd, and John Stafford Smith; and a few Nonconformists such as Thomas Butts, Thomas Knibb, and the



anonymous compiler of the *Divine Musical Miscellany*. Lyon also drew from British colonial sources, *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* by William Dawson, and the tune supplement published by the sometime Congregationalist sometime Anglican Thomas Johnston in 1755.

Similarly, Massachusetts Congregationalists had access to a variety of Anglican and Dissenter source material, based upon merchant advertisements in regional newspapers and the contents of tunebooks from Massachusetts. For instance, several items were listed for sale in the *Boston Gazette* in 1764 including "Davenport's Psalm-Singer's Pocket Companion, containing, a new introduction, with such directions for singing as is proper and necessary for learners; also the Psalms of David, new tunes with such musick as will best express the words to their proper sense; also chanting tunes, anthems, hymns, &c. all composed in four musical parts," advertised on February 13 and available from the firm of Rivington & Miller. Later that year, Timothy White advertised on December 10 a number of collections available at his shop, including "Arnold's, Ashworth's Knap's, Williams's and Davenport's singing books, with an abstract from Walter and Tansur."

Although not completely identical to the specific compilations that shaped Lyon's *Urania*, the types of sources followed the same range of denominational influence and form of expression. These advertised sources ranged from European collections by Anglicans including *The Compleat Psalmist* (ed. 5, 1761) by John Arnold, the *New Church Melody* (1753) by William Knapp, *The Royal Melody Compleat* (ed. 2, 1760) by William Tans'ur, and *The Psalm-Singer's Pocket Companion* (1755) by Uriah Davenport, to a few by Calvinist Dissenters including *A Collection of Tunes* (c. 1760) by Caleb Ashworth and *The Universal Psalmist* (1763) by Aaron Williams. Further, Massachusetts colonial imprints such as Walter's *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* and various editions of tune supplements by Thomas Johnston

continued to be popular in Boston into the 1770s.<sup>5</sup> However, until the middle of the 1760s, no published compilations by local musicians appeared before the Massachusetts public that reflected the changing taste and new performance trends.

With a reinvigorated interest in sacred music, two musicians in coastal Massachusetts sought to meet the demand for new music. Not coincidentally, both men were Anglicans, aligning themselves with the progressive (for Massachusetts Bay standards) ancient Anglican style. Josiah Flagg resided in the colony's capital, Boston, Daniel Bayley in Newburyport, a village north of Cape Ann near the border of New Hampshire. Flagg became a central figure in Boston's burgeoning concert scene as well as the city's only tunebook compiler before William Billings. Bayley, a self-described chorister and clerk at St. Paul's Anglican church in Newburyport, was the most prolific tunebook compiler before the Revolutionary War. Together, their collections formed a contrasting but unified testament to changing musical taste and repertory throughout the Late Colonial Period.

### *10.2.1 Josiah Flagg and A Collection of the best Psalm Tunes*

Josiah Flagg (1737-1794), born in Woburn, Massachusetts, moved with his family to Boston sometime before 1747, settling in the northern part of the city.<sup>6</sup> The Flaggs became members of Christ Church, an Anglican church more often referred to as "Old North" and known for its role in signaling the advance of British troops before the battles of Lexington and Concord. Josiah served as one of seven bell ringers charged with playing and caring for the set of bells hung in the Christopher Wren-style steeple of Christ Church, the first such

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<sup>5</sup> See, for instance: *Boston News Letter*, March 21, 1760; Britton, Lowens, and Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints 1698-1810: A Bibliography* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1990), 374-79.

<sup>6</sup> David W. Music, "Josiah Flagg" in *American Music* 7, 2 (1989): 140-60. All subsequent biographical information will be taken from this source, unless otherwise noted.

set in the British North American colonies. During this time, Flagg met Paul Revere, the two becoming lifelong friends and professional colleagues.

In 1764, Flagg along with his wife and three children were stricken by a smallpox outbreak and quarantined with four other neighboring households, among them Paul Revere's family. During this time, Flagg and Revere prepared a new tunebook representative of the latest trends in sacred music performance throughout Massachusetts Bay. Flagg was responsible for compiling the work, Revere for the engraving. *A Collection of the best Psalm Tunes, in two, three, and four Parts. From the most approv'd Authors, fitted to all Measures, and approv'd of by the best Masters in Boston New England; to which are added some Hymns and Anthems the Greater part of them never before Printed in America* (Boston, 1764) contained more tunes than Lyon's *Urania*, but fewer extended set pieces and anthems. Compared to Lyon's work, Flagg's collection displayed none of the careful assemblage of tunes and texts representative of the functions of the different types of sacred music, and divided according to their compositional and performative genres. Instead, the collection consisted of a hodgepodge of different pieces without any particular care given to their use or function (**Table 10.1**).

Although their repertoires shared much in common, their method of compilation could not have been more disparate. Lyon compiled his book to serve equally well either during the divine service or outside the church for social-secular performance and informal devotion. He divided the work by compositional genre and performative function regarding congregational ancient-style psalm tunes, and anthems, set pieces, and hymns intended for extra-ecclesiastical use. In contrast, Flagg introduced all of these types of pieces without any sense of formal order or division. The reasons for this lack of care could have stemmed from at least two possibilities. Lyon, as a Calvinist, was centrally concerned with the strictures placed on music within the church. Because of this factor, he might have been

compelled to structure his tunebook to ensure its greater versatility and hence greater marketability among colonial congregants. Flagg, the Anglican, would have had little regard for such a methodical means of organization. All of his tune choices would have been welcome in Boston's Anglican churches, and the Nonconformist repertory had become accepted by Anglicans throughout British America, though some of the hymn texts might have raised some reservations. Flagg alternatively might not have intended his tunebook for use in the church, but rather by a society of singers who would have sung together outside of the church as commonly as within.

Regardless of its intended function, *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* satisfied a number of requirements placed upon a choir that embraced the new style. All of the tunes featured the tenor-led, patriarchal form of expression. The pieces appeared in a wide variety of poetic meters, allowing for the tunes to be matched to any sacred text, whether a metrical psalm or hymn. Many of the pieces are textless, allowing the singers to match any text of a given poetic meter to any tune that employed that meter. This flexibility would have been particularly appealing to a society of singers given the variety of psalm and hymn books in use throughout Boston and the constantly changing metrical psalm and hymn texts sung throughout the year. Finally, most of the repertory consisted of plain tunes, precisely the types of pieces favored in Congregational churches at that time. Although the mode of expression differed between plain tunes sung by followers of the regular singing style and the new, more enthusiastic ancient style, overtures were made to satisfy both through the low instances of decorated psalm and hymn tunes, with only five antiphonal and three fusing tunes appearing in the entire work.

Conversely, several features of Flagg's tunebook distinguished it as a specifically Anglican collection. One fourth of the pieces appeared with figured bass, emphasizing the

role of a keyboard instrument for accompanying psalm tunes. In this instance, Flagg did not merely copy them directly from his sources. A number of pieces of ancient-style psalmody in Flagg's work include figures that were not found in their original source compilation, suggesting Flagg's personal hand in presenting the repertory, similar to Francis Hopkinson's arrangement of *Urania's* congregational repertory in his tunebook, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes, with a few anthems and hymns* (Philadelphia, 1763). Flagg's personal knowledge of thorough bass is corroborated by his later performance in Providence, Rhode Island as an organist for a concert in 1771.<sup>7</sup> Christ Church, his home church in Boston acquired a new organ in 1759, built by Thomas Johnston.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps Flagg studied with Johnston. As another sign of Anglican expression, he also included a small selection of anthems, a motet, and two pieces of liturgical music.

Though his manner of organization seems somewhat slipshod, his documentation of source material is more thorough. In this respect, Flagg was unique among his fellow tunebook compilers by providing the specific source compiler's name and/or source for most of the compositions in the compilation. As a result, he offered a rare glimpse into the specific sources that shaped the contents of his collection. Although not every tune appeared with a source or author attribution, almost all of the remaining works are identified easily by examining the tunebooks of the referenced authors throughout his text (**Table 10.2**). Not surprisingly, many were identical to those compilations advertised for sale by various Boston merchants.

Perhaps setting a trend for New England sacred music publication during the 1760s, Flagg's compilation drew from Anglican, Nonconformist, and Calvinist tunebooks. Out of

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<sup>7</sup> Music, "Josiah Flagg," 148.

<sup>8</sup> Barbara Owen, *The Organs and Music of King's Chapel, 1713-1991*, ed. 2 (Boston: Society of King's Chapel, 1993), 10.

the one hundred and nine tunes with identified sources, the collection contained a relatively even balance between Anglican and Calvinist tunes and settings (54 Anglican to 46 Calvinist), with a small but important selection of nine Nonconformist pieces. Among the Anglican sources, this repertory appears to have been caught between the current craze for the Anglican ancient style and its compiler's apparently personal preference for common practice psalmody associated with London's parish churches. From the ancient-style tunebooks, he favored first and foremost, pieces from the fifth edition of *The Compleat Psalmody* by John Arnold, followed by the publications of William Tans'ur, with single pieces selected from Michael Broome and Uriah Davenport. Apparently, the library of sources available to Flagg must have been more varied than the compilations advertised in newspapers since he had access to an early seventeenth-century collection by George Wither, *The Songs of the Old Testament* (London, 1621). Perhaps, this collection was brought to New England by one of the original members of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and kept by his descendants until the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Although the ancient-style repertory remained the largest single portion of his Anglican selections, Flagg did include a substantial number of pieces from William Riley's *Parochial Harmony*, a tune collection often bound with *Parochial Music Corrected* (London, 1762). Riley spared no invective against the prevailing ancient style found in parish churches throughout much of England and sought to correct the taste for this type of psalmody by shifting the melody to the treble and printing tunes with figured bass parts. In this manner, Riley conformed to the more progressive trends in Anglican sacred music through his advocacy for an ecclesiastical performance style led by a children's charity choir and/or organ. Significantly, though Flagg retained the figured bass in his compilation, he felt compelled to move the melody line from the treble to the tenor. In so doing, Flagg made

the selections from the progressive Riley conform to the modish performance standards of the Massachusetts Bay.

Shifting to the Nonconformist repertory, Flagg selected from two of the more popular collections, the anonymous *Divine Musical Miscellany* designed to accompany *A Collection of Hymns for Social Worship* (London, 1753) by George Whitefield, as well as *The Psalm Singers Help* compiled by Thomas Knibb, a prominent musician among London's Nonconformists. Although forming a relatively small segment of the overall repertory, these sources were the most progressive pieces found within the entire selection. Mostly hymn tunes, they were printed with the accompanying texts found in the original sources. Further, Flagg even included a Nonconformist-style contrafactum, the MARCH IN RICHARD 3D that first appeared in Wesley's "Foundery" collection. Apparently, Massachusetts Anglicans did not have as strong an objection to the Nonconformist repertory as those in London's parish churches. As with his inclusion of both the progressive Anglican repertory and his personal adaptations to certain tunes, Flagg retained the figured bass settings in the pieces taken from *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, revealing a sense of progressivism alongside the contradictory notions of betterment manifest in adopting the ancient-style repertory.

Calvinist contributions to *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* constituted a more disparate set of influences and sources. Drawing from three of the main branches of English-language Calvinism found in the colonies, Flagg selected pieces from collections by Baptists including *A Collection of Tunes* by Caleb Ashworth; English Presbyterians through *Harmonia Perfecta* by Nathaniel Gawthorn of the Little Eastcheap Meetinghouse, *The Universal Psalmody* by Aaron Williams at the Scots Church, London Wall, and *Urania* by James Lyon; and New England Congregationalists including the ever popular *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* by Thomas Walter and the Thomas Johnston tune supplement. Because of the

somewhat independent traditions of these groups and a widely varying approach to sacred music, Flagg also felt compelled to adapt the various Congregational sources to conform to the ancient style. These changes occurred possibly because of his disposition as a New England Anglican and/or as a result of a deliberate attempt to adapt some of the older Congregationalist regular singing repertory to the newer style, thereby broadening the market for his tunebook.

Without the contributions of pieces from *The Universal Psalmist* (1763) by Aaron Williams (1731-1776), the Calvinist contributions would have remained quite paltry. However, more pieces emanated from this collection than any other single source in the entire tunebook. Williams' collection documented the changing face of London's Calvinist expression and aesthetic for sacred music. As a Presbyterian tunebook, it paralleled the repertory and musical trends that shaped *Urania* by James Lyon. Both embraced the same compositional genres, including traditional congregational psalm tunes, new tunes in the modern form of the ancient style popular among Calvinists and Anglicans, anthems and set pieces, and the progressive galante and German-influenced Nonconformist repertory. Though not exactly identical, the compilers' choices in tune contents followed the same basic model, thus explaining the popularity of Williams' tunebook on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Williams' place of employment also helped make clear the similarities between the two compilations. A singing master and sometime music engraver who resided in London, he became noted for his activities while clerk or precentor of the Presbyterian Scottish Church, London Wall within the city of London.<sup>9</sup> Thus, London's Presbyterian congregations in the latter part of the eighteenth century appeared as much in the vanguard

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<sup>9</sup> Ralph T. Daniel, *The Anthem in New England before 1800* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1966), 64.



of determining and catering to progressive popular taste as English Presbyterians in the British North American Middle Atlantic colonies.

The selections Flagg chose for inclusion in *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* drew from almost every Anglican ancient-style compositional genre, except for the extended choral pieces. As a result, Flagg's selections included many of the most popular works found in Williams' tunebook, offering a representative sampling of London's progressive evangelical Presbyterian repertory. As with Lyon, Williams published a selection of tunes in the tenor-led ancient style, as well as a number of pieces in the treble-led modern and galante style associated most closely with Nonconformists (**Table 10.3**).

The ancient-style works fall into two general categories: tunes that had appeared in earlier and contemporary tunebooks, and works new to the collection. From the previously-composed repertory, Flagg chose pieces representative of the three major denominational influences manifest throughout the collection. A selection of older textless psalm tunes would have appealed to both Calvinist and Anglican congregants. Williams also included some modern Anglican tunes suitable for congregational use in the church. Further, he chose a number of Nonconformist-associated works representative of the latest trends among Arminian (Free Grace) and Calvinist followers of Methodism. These tunes either adopted the galante melodic style, or consisted of adaptations of the Pietist chorale repertory with texts by Nonconformists Charles Wesley and Robert Seagrave, or progressive Independent Isaac Watts. Finally, many of the Nonconformist settings or melodic variants were descended from the *Divine Musical Miscellany* associated with George Whitefield.

The new tunes also followed many of these same trends. With the exception of THE CHRISTIAN SOLDIER, all of the other works featured the poetry of Isaac Watts, particularly popular among English Presbyterians. However, Williams also included or wrote

some tunes that followed the distinct compositional characteristics of Anglicans and Nonconformists. From among these works, Flagg chose two fusing tunes, a genre associated with enthusiastic but conformist Anglicans. He also selected a number of new Nonconformist-influenced plain tunes and a set piece that adopted the melodic techniques of the galante style. In this sense the previously composed and newly composed repertoires closely mirrored each other. Significantly, Flagg chose more than twice as many pieces from the ancient-style repertory, perhaps emphasizing the importance of the ancient style over the three-part style popular throughout Massachusetts Bay during the earlier part of the eighteenth century.

Although a smaller portion of the chosen repertory, a number of two and three-part tunes had been arranged to conform to the prevailing English Presbyterian tenor-led performance practice. In this respect, Williams and Lyon followed identical trends in tune presentation, emphasizing the influence of traditional English Presbyterian performance practice even when adopting Nonconformist repertoires. As before, Williams included tunes representative of Calvinist, Anglican, and Nonconformist trends. Within the previously composed repertory Flagg selected from Williams a sampling of modern triple-meter psalm tunes, some of which had also appeared in Nonconformist tune collections. From the Nonconformists, Williams chose tunes that descended from popular sources including the anonymous *Divine Musical Miscellany* and *The Psalm Singer's Help* (c. 1760) by Thomas Knibb. ARMLY constituted an arrangement of a German chorale tune. GOODMAN'S appeared in a fashionable evangelical collection associated with the Foundling Hospital in London. Text choices centered on Watts. The three new pieces Flagg included from Williams all followed the same trends in Nonconformist expression in regards to melody, harmonic style, and text choice, though with an emphasis on English poets influenced by German Pietism.

*A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* reflected a performance practice in a state of flux. Rather than standing as a bold statement of compositional genre and its application to performance practice and milieu, Flagg's collection seemed caught between the regular singing practice characteristic of older congregants throughout the region and the rise of the modern ancient style. In this sense, the repertory of the tunebook and its presentation are seen best as a work in progress towards a newer aesthetic standard for music that conveys emotional effect and sentiment over one of religious devotion. Because of its place in documenting the developing trends in Massachusetts Bay, this tunebook reveals this change among Anglicans. Though it went through only one edition and apparently one printing, *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* reveals much regarding the changing performance environment for Anglican music within the churches of coastal Massachusetts. From this perspective, it provides an inestimably valuable study in Anglican trends in sacred music making. Though it had yet to fully blossom, the fashionable ancient style was quickly becoming the musical style of choice for many singers throughout the region.

### ***10.2.2 Daniel Bayley as Music Publisher***

In 1764, another Anglican publisher began to issue a series of publications that defined in many ways future trends in repertory and compilation methods among Massachusetts Bay and northern New England psalmodists and musicians. Daniel Bayley (1729-1792), of Essex County, was born in Rowley, Massachusetts and moved with his family to Newbury sometime during his childhood.<sup>10</sup> By the early 1760s, Bayley had opened up a pottery shop and served as clerk in his local parish church, St. Paul's. After Newburyport separated from Newbury in 1764, St. Paul's became the church to serve the

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<sup>10</sup> Britton, Lowens, and Crawford, 115.

new town's Anglican populace.<sup>11</sup> Bayley proclaimed himself "Chorister of St. Paul's Church, Newburyport,"<sup>12</sup> though vestry records did not recognize the institution of a formal choir. This group most likely assisted in informally leading the singing during the divine service along with the famous old Brattle organ, which had been retired from service in King's Chapel in Boston in 1756 and then sold to the Newburyport church.<sup>13</sup> Members of Bayley's family including his son Daniel served as organist at St. Paul's into the 1790s.

In the same year that Flagg published *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes*, Bayley began to publish a number of tune supplements and tune collections. Though living in a provincial town north of Boston, he exerted a seminal influence on coastal Massachusetts' tunebook trends. Through these works, he established a publication market that extended north into New Hampshire and south throughout coastal Massachusetts. Despite a wide-ranging series of publications, their focus remained small. Most consisted of unauthorized editions of popular tune collections from Boston and Great Britain. This act of piracy would later vex American compiler Andrew Law and lead to establishing copyright protection laws in the fledgling United States.<sup>14</sup> However, colonial law offered no protection, thus allowing him to create new editions of pre-existing works without the permission of the compilers or their publishers.

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<sup>11</sup> John James Currier, *History of Newbury, Massachusetts 1635-1902* (Boston: Damrell & Upham, 1902), 267.

<sup>12</sup> Daniel Bayley, title page to *A New and Complete Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Music. In two books. I. Containing the grounds and rules of music; or an introduction to the art of singing by note, taken from Thomas Walter, M.A. II. Containing a new and correct introduction to the grounds of music, rudimental and practical; from William Tans'ur's Royal Melody. The whole being a collection of a variety of the choicest tunes from the most approved masters* (Newbury-port: for Daniel Bayley, 1764).

<sup>13</sup> Frank J. Metcalf, *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music* (New York and Cincinnati: Abingdon Press, 1925), 25; Owen, *The Organs and Music of King's Chapel*, 4.

<sup>14</sup> Richard Crawford, *Andrew Law, American Psalmist* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968), 19-23; Irving Lowens, "Andrew Law and the Pirates" in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13, 1 (1960): 206-223.

In the introductory material to his pirated edition of Law's *Select Harmony* (Newbury-port, 1784), Bayley summarized his publishing career over the past two decades:

my first publication, was an abstract from Mr. Walter of Boston, and Mr. Tansur of England, which were the chief singing-books then known among us. Next I published Tansur's Royal Melody, consisting of Psalm tunes and Anthems. Soon-after Mr. Williams' singing-book made its appearance among us; I then added the principal part of that book, which was very generally approved of, and was the first singing-book, that was ever printed in New-England, done after the English method. I then consulted the best singing-masters, which I knew, and examined all the musical authors I could find, in order to make my publication as agreeable as possible, and added several pieces from Stephenson, Knap, Arnold, Davenport, Lyon &c. with some pieces which were composed in AMERICA.

His compilation methods followed two basic procedures: unauthorized reprints with a few editorial emendations, and original compilations, mostly tune supplements, designed to compete with other Massachusetts collections. Because the compilations issued between 1764 and 1770 proved the most influential, discussion will focus on these sources.

Bayley's earliest publication was an unauthorized revision of Thomas Walter's *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* only retitled *A New and Compleat Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Musick* (Newbury-port, 1764) and printed with one new tune, NEWBURY PORT, Bayley's city of residence.<sup>15</sup> Though drawing most of his material from Walter, Bayley did personalize the work through significant changes in voicing. He recast Walter's three-part Cantus, Medius, Bassus settings for a tenor-led setting, scored either for

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<sup>15</sup> This system of publication dating aligns with Crawford, Britton, Lowens, and not Temperley, based upon scoring procedure, repertory, and contemporary source material of Massachusetts tune collections in the 1760s.

Medius, Tenor, Bass, or Counter, Tenor, and Bass, shifting the melodic line to the second system and designating it specifically for male voice. He also added a few four-part ancient-style tunes taken from collections such as the second edition of the *Royal Melody Compleat* by Tans'ur (London, 1760). Through this publication, Bayley influenced Calvinist singing school performance practice and practical instruction of sacred music through his changes in voice assignation and the insertion of ancient-style Anglican pieces.

Three years later, he reprinted the bulk of Tansur's *Royal Melody Compleat*, a compilation of pieces either set or composed by Tans'ur. Of the ninety-four tunes printed in Bayley's edition, seventeen are harmonized settings of older psalm tunes set by Tans'ur, along with forty-seven metrical psalm tunes, three canons, fourteen anthems, one liturgical piece, and three canons, all composed by Tans'ur, as well as a few works excerpted from *The Universal Psalmodist* by Aaron Williams. Tans'ur's compositions proved exceptionally popular during the 1760s with his tunes found in almost every compilation issued by publishers in coastal Massachusetts during this decade. In 1769, Bayley issued a two-volume set comprising two unauthorized editions of English tunebooks under the unified title, *American Harmony: the Bayley-Tans'ur Royal Melody Complete* [Bayley's spelling], and an abridgement of *The Universal Psalmodist*.

Bayley through this one tunebook established two modes of compilation for New England compilers, based upon the sources from which he created the two volumes for the *American Harmony*. Tans'ur's collection was a single author compilation in that he either composed all of the tunes or provided original harmonizations of older pieces. Created by an Anglican, Tans'ur's compilation method came to represent a departure from Calvinist tunebooks and tune supplements, which had only existed as tune assemblages by one or more compilers. Tans'ur also did not align himself with Nonconformists, but remained

within the orthodox branch of the Anglican Church. Williams, the evangelical Calvinist, followed Calvinist Presbyterian traditions of compilation in that his collection embraced all of the genres of sacred music and expressed them through their traditional ancient style. In this sense, the two compilers' methods came to represent two opposing theological and denominational trends in northern coastal New England: Tans'ur's tunebook as distinctly Anglican, and Williams' collection progressive Calvinism.

Alongside these unauthorized editions, Bayley also published two original compilations designed as tune supplements to psalters and hymnals. Also appearing in 1764, *The Psalm-Singer's Assistant*, though a collection of tunes designed for congregational performance, was intended specifically for choristers within the church. Perhaps, through this title, he intended its use among Congregationalists, as this term more often was associated with choral groups in Calvinist churches.<sup>16</sup> The term "Singer's Assistant" indicates precisely that it was designed for a society of singers in aiding the performance of sacred music within the divine service. Further, Bayley proclaimed through his tunebook's title, his identity as clerk and chorister, as well as his authority on matters of church music. Through his collection, he could aid congregations in learning the new style of music.

The supplement itself closely resembled the earlier 1755 tune supplement by Thomas Johnston. In creating a small but serviceable collection of psalm tunes, Bayley, like Johnston before him, printed the work in the older diamond-head notation. Similarly, the repertory, consisting almost exclusively of three-part settings, replicated much of the material in the Johnston and 1752 Barnard supplements (see **Table 4.2**). On the other hand, Bayley's presentation of the tunes displayed a thoroughly Anglican disposition. Johnston's

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<sup>16</sup> Ralph T. Daniel, *The Anthem in New England before 1800* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1966), 38.

supplement indicated a tentative step towards the embracing of the Anglican repertory, as seen with his arrangement of PSALM 136. However, Bayley went much further. By mimicking a Calvinist tune supplement, he fundamentally changed tune presentation. As with Flagg and his revision of Walter, Bayley shifted part designation to a tenor-led performance style by reassigning the melodic voice and recasting the parts for Medius, Tenor, and Bass. Similarly, despite the shift in the cantus, Bayley kept the harmonizations the same, again paralleling the efforts of Francis Hopkinson in his 1763 collection. Finally, Bayley included a few newer ancient-style tunes from Williams and Tans'ur, including the controversial antiphonal tune ST. MARTIN'S discussed metaphorically by the anonymous Chrononhotonthologos.

In 1770, Bayley issued a similar tune supplement, *The Essex Harmony*. Designed as a tune supplement that comprised two major divisions, the first part consisted of a selection of three-part settings of mostly traditional Calvinist psalm tunes along with a couple of Tans'ur and Williams pieces as they appeared in *The Psalm-Singer's Assistant*. The second section was devoted to two denominational repertories: the modern ancient-style works found in Tans'ur, Williams, and Lyon, and the Nonconformist repertory taken from Williams that appeared in two, three, and four parts. The first edition was flawed. Subsequently, these errors were corrected in the second edition.<sup>17</sup> As a result, this revised compilation offered the

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<sup>17</sup> The first edition of *The Essex Harmony* constitutes a jumbled arrangement of traditional and progressive repertory. Pages one through eight presented the same type of three-part reassigned settings of traditional psalm tunes, which continue on pages eighteen, and twenty through twenty-one. Pages nine through fifteen consist of mostly four-part and a few two-part settings taken from Williams, Tans'ur and Lyon, with a few similar tunes set in three parts from these sources occurring on pages sixteen through seventeen, nineteen, and twenty-two. Crawford, Britton, and Lowens (135) noted the presence of two engravers for the preparation of this text, assigning the older repertory to Bayley's assistant, John Ward Gilman, of Exeter, New Hampshire, and possibly Bayley himself to the newer pieces. The



clearest method of structure and intended purpose of any of his other collections. It bridged both the Calvinist and Anglican repertories and catered to several generations of congregants. *The Essex Harmony* illustrated most clearly the Anglican ancient style as the new performative standard for congregational worship.

Bayley's influence on northern New England tune practice was not confined only to his own publications, but also to that of his colleagues. His assistant, New Hampshire postmaster and engraver John Ward Gilman (1741-1823), engraved, printed, and distributed his own tune supplement. *A New Introduction to Psalmody; or The Art of Singing Psalms. With a variety of psalm tunes, hymns & chorus's, in three & four musical parts* (Exeter, New Hampshire, 1771) expanded on the congregational repertory shaped by Bayley. Although Bayley devoted half of his contents to the traditional Massachusetts Bay repertory and the other to modern ancient Anglican and Calvinist-Nonconformist pieces, Gilman preferred the modern ancient repertory to the revised settings of the traditional three-part psalm tunes. In this manner, Gilman revealed that pieces representing all of the branches of English-language psalmody extant throughout northern New England were now acceptable for use in church. These influences consisted of several disparate repertories. Tans'ur's tunebook represented conformist expression among Anglicans, Williams' collection evangelical Presbyterians, the revised form of three-part tune settings progressive Congregationalists, and even Independent-Unitarians seen through works by Joseph Stephenson (1723-1810), an English clerk of the church at Poole in Dorsetshire.<sup>18</sup> Thus, Gilman's work echoed and foreshadowed the changing theological climate of New England, with many Congregationalists becoming Unitarians over the next few decades. He chose to include not

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second edition apportioned the collection into two halves, divided by repertory and compositional-denominational styles.

<sup>18</sup> Daniels, *Anthem*, 65.

only plain tunes, but also antiphonal tunes, conformist Anglican tunes with a reiterative chorus, and a Nonconformist tune with an ejaculatory chorus. Although many tunes remained textless, Gilman printed others with texts designed to appeal to progressive Anglicans and Calvinists, including poetry by Isaac Watts, George Whitefield, and Tate and Brady. Together, they demonstrated how Anglicans responded to new initiatives in style and repertory.

In just six years, northern New England Anglicans not only inculcated to musicians and congregants throughout coastal Massachusetts and New Hampshire the value for the new style of music and expression, they also changed attitudes towards what music could mean and accomplish in the meetinghouse. After spearheading a war on taste, Anglican musicians responded to this conflict by saturating the market for tunebooks and tune supplements. Not only did these publications represent the vanguard of repertory, performance practice, and performance expression and stylistic characteristics within their region, they also fundamentally changed the expression of the traditional repertory too. Rather than cast tradition entirely aside, Anglican musicians rearranged the parts to conform to the newer and more progressive ancient style (at least by northeastern New England standards), allowing for continuity between past and present trends. They also cultivated a market for tunebooks rather than the traditional didactic works and tune supplements characteristic of earlier regional practice. As in other colonies, Anglicans exerted an influence that far outstripped their number of congregants. They once again demonstrated their modishness compared to other congregations of British North America, albeit in contradictory notions of progressiveness.

### 10.3 The Congregationalist Response to Anglican Initiatives

Concurrent to the transformation in the repertory, the 1760s witnessed a revolutionary change in Congregationalist performance practice too, influenced by Anglican neighbors and colleagues. Though Flagg and Bayley led the published tunebook market, new editions of Walter's venerable *The Grounds and Rules of Musck Explained* entered into a final series of editions beginning in 1759.<sup>19</sup> Over the course of six years, the collection underwent a number of revisions that added newer Anglican works by or from Tans'ur, and Calvinist Nonconformist material from Williams. As in Bayley's collection, melodic assignment began to shift from the treble to the tenor voice. Likewise, Thomas Johnston continued to publish new and expanded editions of his 1755 tune supplement. As with the Walter editions, the Johnston supplement gradually saw a change in melodic assignment and tune repertory, more closely resembling the tune supplements issued by Bayley and Gilman. However, Johnston's imprints did not represent specifically Congregationalist sentiment, since he served as an Anglican clerk, and organ builder and repairer throughout coastal Massachusetts and New Hampshire beginning in the 1750s.

As a result, printed sources do not necessarily reveal strictly Congregationalist trends in sacred music performance practice. Instead, they display as much the work of Anglicans who attempted to cater to their own denomination as well as that of the Calvinists. As arbiters of taste, Anglicans dominated the market for printed tune collections. Even those works designed to appeal to Calvinists conformed to Anglican trends. The question naturally arises: what were Congregationalists performing and did the Anglican publications

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<sup>19</sup> A series of inconsistent editions appeared between c. 1759 and 1764, with a number of variant printings in surviving copies of these imprints. For a full bibliography of Walter's tunebook as issued by Benjamin Mecom and Thomas Johnston, see: Lowens, Britton, Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 607-610.

influence specifically Calvinist trends in Late Colonial coastal Massachusetts and New Hampshire too? Answering this question involves looking beyond printed source material.

Fortunately, four manuscript supplements to Walter's collection survive from the Massachusetts Bay area, reflecting strictly Congregationalist performance practice (**Table 10.4**). Though their compilers remain either unknown or undocumented, several features suggest strongly a Calvinist provenance. All sources are connected to Walter's text, a traditionally Congregationalist tune collection, with two appended to copies of the fourth edition of 1746, and the others to one of the variant 1760 and 1764 editions respectively. Though the supplements postdate some editions by as much as twenty some years, this factor suggests that the compilers either inherited these imprints or had owned them since their youth, perhaps in a singing school. Also, none of these collections contains any extended choral works such as anthems or set pieces, nor do they include any pieces of liturgical music. Further, three of the four appear to have been compiled in two basic stages, with the earlier portion of the repertory devoted to three-part treble-led psalm tunes. Finally, none of the works indicate specific Anglican usage through instrumental accompaniment, as seen with the presence of figured bass in Flagg, or in the instrumental bass accompaniment found in some of Bayley's publications.<sup>20</sup>

The manuscripts represent two general periods of compilation. Two sources in particular, the Alexander Chamberlain and James Foster supplement, and the anonymous manuscript supplement to one of the 1760 editions of Walter, reveal the transition in New England psalmody from the older regular singing method to the newer (by coastal Massachusetts standards) ancient style associated with Anglicans and progressive Calvinists.

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<sup>20</sup> See for instance "An Anthem. Psalm XLVII" by William Tans'ur as it appeared in Bayley's edition of *The Royal Melody Complete, or the New Harmony of Zion* (Newbury-port, 1767), 60.

The initial sections of these manuscript supplements consist of three-part treble-led psalm tunes copied from earlier Massachusetts tune supplements such as those by Johnston and Barnard, as well as various editions of Walter. In some instances, four-part treble-led versions of the older Congregational repertory appear, but these pieces consist of psalm tunes re-harmonized for four voices following earlier Congregational conventions of treble-led part setting, such as the variant of HUMPHREY'S discussed in chapter four.

The second sections of these two books and almost all of the contents of the other two sources date from the latter half of the 1760s. This body of tunes reflects the influence and dominance of Anglican ancient-style performance practice for three basic reasons. Much of the repertory emanates from the publications of Tans'ur and Williams, taken mostly from Bayley's unauthorized editions. Likewise, most of the tunes are now set in two or four parts with the melodic line placed in the tenor. Also, the manuscript supplements include a number of decorated antiphonal and fusing tunes, and tunes with antiphonal and fusing choruses associated primarily with the Anglican ancient style. The influence of these tunebooks among Congregationalists testifies to an Anglicanization of Congregational psalmody. Significantly, Williams was employed in a Calvinist church in London. However, his tunebook was disseminated throughout New England primarily by Anglican publishers in urban and rural Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

### *10.3.1 Denominational Origin of the Manuscript Tune Repertory*

The contents of the manuscript supplements derive from the expected three mainstream theological branches: Anglicans, Nonconformists, and Calvinists who comprised two denominations, Congregationalists and English Presbyterians (**Table 10.5**).<sup>21</sup> Almost all

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<sup>21</sup> Identification of the denominational affiliation of these tunes was achieved through four processes: identification of the composer or arranger if known, comparison of the

of the previously composed repertory descends from contemporary printed source material. None of the sources that directly influenced this Congregational repertory appeared before 1730. Further, with few exceptions, all of the pieces were taken from collections printed sometime between 1750 and 1765. It should be noted that a number of tunes are variants unique to their manuscript sources. However, their origin as variants of specific tunes with known composers appearing in only one known melodic form indicates either a deliberate arrangement of the tune from an earlier printed source, or a miscopying of that tune from the printed source to the manuscript supplement. Together, the currency of the repertory and its reliance almost exclusively on earlier and contemporary printed source material testifies to its ability to reveal denominational influence as understood by sacred musicians during the 1760s.

Beginning with the Calvinists, most of the Congregationalist repertory was taken from printed Massachusetts tune supplements before 1760. Though an identical tune setting's earliest instance of publication might have been in Anglican sources such as *The Whole Book of Psalms with the usual hymns and spiritual songs* (London, 1677) by John Playford, or *The Divine Companion* (London, 1701) by his son Henry, its appearance in New England source material followed Congregationalist traditions of tune presentation and compiling. These settings also were found in New England collections throughout much of the eighteenth century. This pattern extended also to tunes first appearing in colonial Congregationalist tune collections, such as 100 PSALM TUNE NEW, NEW YORK, and the colonial variant of PAL[L]ATINE HYMN. Similarly, the titles given some tunes were

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manuscript tune setting with known tunebooks listed in newspaper advertisements and accounts, the name given a tune based upon denominational association, and the ultimate source for a tune if its origin is associated with a specific denomination (i.e. the Nonconformist tunes printed by Williams).

associated only with colonial Congregationalist tradition, with different names ascribed to them by other denominations, such as ST. PHILIPS TUNE NEW as AYLESBURY or WIRKSWORTH, or PORTSMOUTH as NAMUR. In this aspect, Congregationalists maintained somewhat their ties to patterns in coastal Massachusetts' performance practice and repertory springing from the regular singing initiatives of the 1720s.

English Presbyterian influence occurred via three main avenues of transmission. In its oldest stream of influence, several tunes were taken either directly from the Little Eastcheap tunebooks of William Laurence and Nathaniel Gawthorn, or from later European collections by compilers influenced by the Little Eastcheap sources who were active at midcentury such as Abraham Milner and Thomas Moore. Next, in terms of chronology was *The Universal Psalmist* by Aaron Williams. Though some traditional tunes such as WANTAGE appeared in Williams' tunebook, pieces original to the collection exerted a much stronger influence on the contents of Massachusetts' manuscript supplements. These new works included traditional ancient-style psalm tunes such as BURNHAM TUNE or their modern English Presbyterian equivalent such as FUNERAL HYMN set to a text by Isaac Watts. Others betrayed a Nonconformist aesthetic both through the appropriation of galante melodic mannerisms seen in CHARLOTTE TUNE and NEW EAGLE STREET, or through the choice of hymn texts such as "Rejoice the Lord is King" by Charles Wesley, taken from George Whitefield's hymnal, *A Collection of Hymns for Social Worship* (London, 1753) as set to TROY TUNE. Finally, some pieces from Williams embraced the extended techniques of the conformist Anglican ancient style such as the fusing tune NEWBURY TUNE.

The final main influence exerted by Presbyterians on Congregationalist manuscript tune supplements originated in the Long Island Sound repertory, including pieces such as

the contrafactum AMBITION [AN ANTHEM ON KING DAVID]. Other tunes were given distinctly English Presbyterian titles such as BABILON STREAMS TUNE and BUCKLAND TUNE. Together, the sources demonstrated that Congregationalists were aware of English Presbyterian trends and traditions of ancient-style expression despite the fact that Williams' publications circulated primarily through colonial Anglican publishers.

Congregationalists embraced a small but noteworthy selection of Nonconformist tunes. As before, the majority of these pieces were taken from Williams' tunebook. When taking into account all of the surviving source material, consisting of Flagg's tunebook, Bayley's unauthorized editions, and the Congregationalist manuscript supplements, one significant theological trend emerges. The tunes from Williams' collection that circulated throughout coastal northern New England originated from compilations identified with both branches of Nonconformism, including the Arminian theology of John Wesley (e.g. AMSTERDAM TUNE), as well as the amalgam of Anglican Calvinism embraced by George Whitefield. Probably as a result of Whitefield's tours of New England, *The Divine Musical Miscellany* circulated throughout the region with two tunes from this collection found in the colonial manuscript supplements. This same phenomenon appeared in the Nonconformist hymn section of James Lyon's *Urania*.

Despite a strong sampling of Calvinist and Nonconformist pieces, the Anglican repertory reveals the most concerning the taste of Congregationalists in the turbulent 1760s. Not unexpectedly, more pieces emanated from collections compiled and published by Anglicans more than any of the other traditions combined. However, the manuscript supplements differed from some regional colonial Anglican published source material. Bostonian Josiah Flagg favored works from the collections by John Arnold over those by William Tans'ur. Bayley, from provincial Newburyport, preferred Tans'ur to Knapp (he



would not publish pieces by Arnold until the 1770s). In this sense, the new Congregationalist aesthetic was shaped by Bayley's publications more than Flagg's. Somewhat surprisingly, the strongest musical influence exerted upon coastal Massachusetts Calvinists originated not in the colonial capital Boston, but rather rural Newburyport.

In fact, almost four out of five pieces within the Anglican repertory originated directly from Tans'ur, either through Bayley's edition of *The Royal Melody Compleat*, or in an earlier European anthology, *The Works of Mr. William Tans'ur* (London, [1736] 1737). The only tune from Arnold found in any of the manuscripts was Thomas Johnston's arrangement of 136 PSALM TUNE from his 1755 supplement. After Tans'ur, the only other source compilations shaping the manuscript repertory consisted of a few tunes taken from one of the editions of Playford's three-part psalter,<sup>22</sup> Flagg's *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes*, and the Anglican-influenced Boston tune supplements of the 1750s. Although the Barnard and Johnston supplements followed colonial Congregationalist conventions descended from Anglican initiatives, many of the tunes in them were new to New England source material. Thus, it remains impossible to know the exact manner in which some traditional tunes were descended from Playford, whether adopted indirectly through the colonial tune supplements of the 1750s or directly via Playford's metrical psalter itself.

Together, the repertory mirrored Anglican and Calvinist trends in tunebook publication and compilation method. These sources demonstrate that despite the radical nature of the new style, Anglican performance modes quickly became assimilated among Congregationalists. Of the one hundred and twenty seven pieces, the ratio of

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<sup>22</sup> Various editions of Playford's 1677 psalter circulated throughout the region. For instance, a copy of the twelfth edition of *The Whole Book of Psalms with the usual hymns and spiritual songs* (London: J. Heptinstall, 1713) is part of the personal library of John Adams in the Boston Public Library (Adams 298.16).

denominational influence most demonstrably leans towards the Anglican works, constituting fifty-three percent of the total number of pieces found in the supplements. Calvinist works occupy about a third of the total, with 13 percent originating from Congregationalists and 18 percent from English Presbyterians. Significantly, Presbyterian collections exerted more of an influence in the manuscript supplements than the Congregationalist contributions. Nonconformist tunes constitute a paltry four percent, but indicate in some measure the progressiveness of coastal northern New England Calvinist denominations. The remaining twelve percent of works were new to the manuscript supplements, thereby boosting somewhat the contributions by Congregationalists in creating a new body of tunes during the 1760s. Besides the denominational origin of these pieces, the influence of Bayley's publications permeates the manuscript sources with fifty-three percent of the works originating from his publications alone. This figure not only demonstrates the extent of the Anglican influence on Congregationalist psalmody, but it also reveals how an Anglican musician active in a provincial Massachusetts village exerted more of an influence on the repertory of regional musicians than one in Boston.

When seen individually, a roughly identical set of ratios of denominational origin for the repertory appears in each manuscript (**Table 10.6**). However, some exceptions occur. For instance, the Chamberlain and Frost supplements do not contain any new pieces except for a number of unique variants and settings, descending from every theological group except for the Nonconformists. Similarly, the combined Calvinist contributions by Congregationalists and English Presbyterians equal those by Anglicans in two manuscripts, the anonymous supplements to the 1760 and eighth editions of Walter's *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* (SM GRME 1760 AAS and SM GRME8 AAS). Despite the stronger Calvinist influence in these manuscripts' contents, Anglican contributions still

appear with greater frequency than those of any other single denomination or group. Also, these two manuscripts contain the largest proportion of new tunes. Collectively, these three manuscripts betray an influence from Flagg through the inclusion of SOLOMON'S SONG TO 85TH PSALM, which had only appeared previously in the early seventeenth-century collection by George Wither. In a similar vein, all three collections show more the influence of Thomas Johnston's 1755 supplement because all three contain pieces such as 136 PSALM TUNE originating from this source.

Besides its later date of compilation and total use of the ancient style, the fourth manuscript compiled by Edward Lang is distinguished from the other three. Although the Anglican repertory occupies the largest portion of all of the manuscripts' contents, the Lang supplement devotes two thirds of its contents to modern ancient-style Anglican tunes, almost exclusively works from Tans'ur. The traditional Congregationalist repertory is reduced to a paltry five tunes, only one more than the Nonconformist pieces found in the collection. Lang not only embraced Anglican initiatives by Bayley, he favored Tans'ur the Anglican over Presbyterian Williams. The larger proportion of Calvinist tunes in the earlier collections could have resulted from their compiler's copying those tunes not found in Walter's collection, but popular among regional Congregationalists, such as the Barnard and Johnston supplements. However, Lang, though he owned an older 1746 edition of Walter, did not copy the newer Congregationalist repertory introduced in the past twenty years. Instead, he devoted his energy only to the newer ancient style and its modern Anglican repertory.

On the other hand, the Lang supplement does show a closer connection to SM GRME8 AAS, possibly resulting from its close date of compilation compared to the other manuscripts. As already noted, these two sources contain the greatest proportion of ancient-

style pieces. Also, they are the only ones to include the Long Island Sound Presbyterian contrafactum, *AMBITION*, albeit in a variant melodic form. Likewise, they contain the only shared new piece found among all of the manuscripts, the *DUTCH HYMN*. Significantly, this tune does not appear in any other printed source of the time, though it is found somewhat strangely in a contemporary Particular Baptist manuscript from rural South Carolina, "The Cashaway Psalmody" by Durham Hills. Perhaps popular among Baptists, it entered into the southern repertory through *A Collection of the Best Psalm and Hymn Tunes*, the lost tunebook compiled by Boston-born Jonathan Badger.

### ***10.3.2 Denominational Reception and Dissemination of the Tune Repertory***

Two thirds of the pieces found in the manuscript supplements appear in source collections associated with two or more influential or parallel denominations (**Table 10.7**). Unlike the manuscript supplements, these sources fall into two general categories: tune collections designed primarily for ecclesiastical performance by the congregation and/or choristers, and compilations intended more for social use, either within the singing school or among a society of singers. Rather than organizing the repertory by a tune's specific denominational or theological origin, the pieces are categorized now by the source denomination associated with the collection as a whole. As such, compilations intended for ecclesiastical use originated from Anglican, Congregationalist, and English Presbyterian sources from England and the colonies, social-choral tune collections from Congregationalist and Anglican publishers. These sources do not show the exact contributions to the repertory by individual denominations, but rather those compilations that are directly connected to the Massachusetts manuscript supplements.

The large amount of compositional overlap between the various denominations occurred through two basic trends. Much of the older psalm tune repertory remained

common to all denominations, descending from the metrical psalters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although the Church of England sanctioned the use of these psalters, Calvinist Dissenters used them too, influencing tune repertories among all branches of English-language Calvinism. This earlier trend in establishing a common Protestant body of material permeated Congregationalist, and Scottish and English Presbyterian practice throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As a result, most of the Congregationalist repertory associated with the regular singing movement consisted of late-seventeenth century British trends in tune compilation, and augmented by a selection of traditionally Calvinist pieces and a few original works.

However, beginning in the 1750s and coinciding with the rising popularity of the conformist Anglican ancient-style aesthetic throughout the region, the Congregationalist repertories began to merge with those of regional Anglicans. Compositional genres such as the Anglican fusing tune, or antiphonal tunes associated with Anglicans and English Presbyterians were consciously brought into the Congregationalist repertory. These trends remained common to both ecclesiastical tune collections and social choral compilations. Through this means of cross-denominational influence, Congregationalist practice gradually came to mirror that found in New England Anglican publications. An examination of the repertory appearing in ecclesiastical tune collections between 1755 and 1771, as well as the social-choral compilations after 1765 demonstrates a common form of tune selection and aesthetic in what were once diametrically opposing modes of performance. Again, Congregationalists distinguished themselves from other English-language Calvinists because this denomination did not embrace the ancient style until the 1760s, unlike their Presbyterian and Baptist cousins. These two waves of denominational commonality betray a difference in intent and manner of cross-denominational dissemination.

Most of the tunes in the supplements display a cross-denominational dissemination or sphere of influence, in that these tunes remain common to the traditions of the three basic denominations. However, forty-three tunes are found in collections associated with a single denomination, allowing for some observations on compositional genre, denominational specificity, and the intended original performance venue (**Table 10.8**), with implications for their subsequent adoption by Congregationalist musicians. Not surprisingly, this grouping of tunes also parallels trends seen in the overall repertory, with the lion's share originating from Anglicans, together with substantive contributions by English Presbyterians and a few by Congregationalists. These pieces also represent in miniature the larger phenomenon of denominational influence and expression found within the manuscript tune supplements. Their single denominational point of origin also reveals the types of pieces associated with specific denominations, allowing for some observations into expression among the groups during the 1760s.

Of the thirty tunes found only in Anglican collections, twenty-eight originate from Anglican conformist William Tans'ur. All of these works follow the compositional characteristics typical of the Anglican ancient style, as seen with a similar grouping of pieces found in *Urania* by James Lyon. Although most are plain tunes, a number of others employ fusing and antiphonal techniques. Further, a significant portion has typically ancient-style Anglican choruses appended to the verses, constituting the reiterative-style chorus unique to Anglican practice. In some instances, these choruses also contain fusing and antiphonal techniques that provide a dramatic or structural contrast between the verse and its appended chorus. Finally, these works descend primarily from the social-choral collections published by regional Anglican musicians Josiah Flagg and Daniel Bayley (**Table 10.9, 10.10**). Those tunes that appear in works intended for choral-congregational ecclesiastical use mostly date

from the latter part of the period (1770-71) after the ancient style was becoming the norm in many Congregational meetinghouses. These crossover tunes illustrate that pieces appearing in social-choral collections were familiar enough to regional congregants to enter into the general congregational repertory. All attest to this same phenomenon, but reveal that the repertory's shift in function and use predates and expands on the printed examples.

Only three tunes in the list descend from Congregationalist practice. This phenomenon demonstrates two significant trends. Most important, it suggests that traditional Congregationalist practice had reached its apex and was declining in terms of its influence and popularity among regional congregations. Of these three works, two appear in Congregationalist congregational tune supplements, with one by ancient-style composer William Billings (1746-1800), taken either from one of his singing schools or his first tunebook, *The New-England Psalm-Singer, or, American Chorister* (Boston, 1770). The second reason for this phenomenon is explained through the bibliographic history of cross-denominational influence associated with Congregationalist imprints of the Johnston tune supplements and Walter's textbook (**Table 10.11**). In particular, the social-choral editions of Walter display two divisions of style and repertory. The various editions with a 1760 imprint issued between 1759 and 1764,<sup>23</sup> contain more treble-led pieces and thus remain tied to earlier practice. Those imprints issued between 1765 and 1766 feature tenor-led works, including a significant number of ancient-style Anglican pieces taken from *Tans'ur*. From this perspective, the published sources exactly mirror the shift in performance practice indicated in the manuscript supplements.

English Presbyterian sources followed the three main areas of cross-denominational influence: London's Little Eastcheap Meetinghouse, the Long Island Sound, and the Middle

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<sup>23</sup> Britton Lowens Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints* (1990), 607-609.

Atlantic (**Table 10.12**). Although less uniform, the English Presbyterian repertory with its tradition of ancient-style expression demonstrated to Congregationalists how local churches could embrace the ancient style through a shared Calvinist heritage. Significantly, European Presbyterian collections exerted the most direct Calvinist influence on Massachusetts Congregationalist repertory. Unlike the Anglican and Congregationalist cross-denominational influence, that from English Presbyterians had no direct connection to the published repertory of northern New England. Similarly, English Presbyterian tunebook compiling conventions did not solely follow local colonial Calvinist conceptions as the collections were designed to suit every social and sacred venue for the performance of sacred music. The Massachusetts manuscript supplements testify to a more wide-ranging Presbyterian influence on Congregationalist repertory and expression than previously demonstrated by analysis of published sources only.

Together, the four supplements document not only what Congregationalists were performing and adding to the repertory, but also the denomination's transition and transformation of performance conventions, aesthetic, and repertory. Adopting a wider body of denominational and pan-regional tunes, the newly popular ancient-style performance practice, derived most distinctly from conformist Anglican musicians and publishers. It irresistibly drew in Congregationalist musicians who fell under the sway of music conveying effect and sensual beauty over an abstract sense of devotion.

This phenomenon also explains how Congregationalists gradually came to abandon the performance practice and repertory associated with the older regular singing movement shaped over the course of the eighteenth century. It seems as if many Congregationalists realized how insular and anachronistic their seventeenth-century expression had become and quickly sought to incorporate the modern ancient-style repertory associated with Anglicans



and English Presbyterians. With the New England market saturated by Anglican or Anglican-influenced publications, Congregationalists kept abreast of modern regional developments, bringing their performance practice into that of the mid-eighteenth century. The manuscript supplements anticipated and expanded upon the transition recorded in print sources, allowing for a more nuanced understanding of musical practice than the published efforts by a few Anglicans and Anglican-influenced Congregationalists in Boston and Newburyport. The widespread enthusiasm for the new style affected congregations throughout the entire region of northern coastal New England, Anglican and Calvinist alike.

#### **10.4 Congregationalist Trends in Music Composition (1760-1770)**

Although Anglican musicians and publishers set the trends for style, repertory, and performance conventions throughout the region, this denomination's dominance did not extend to music composition. Before 1770, Daniel Bayley only printed two original tunes in all of his collections: NEWBURY PORT in *A New and Compleat Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Musick* (1764) and 110TH PSALM TUNE in the *Essex Harmony* (1770). Significantly, both of these tunes were designed for congregational and ecclesiastical use by Anglicans and Congregationalists. The anonymous composer(s) of these pieces catered to Massachusetts taste through their three-part note-against-note settings. These works were published in a few later tune supplements. Similarly, Flagg's collections included a few original adaptations and arrangements of older tunes, but no new compositions.

Congregationalists distinguished themselves from regional Anglicans in two ways. First, they produced a relatively small but steady stream of new compositions. Second, although they quickly adopted and embraced the ancient style, they did not immediately drop their traditional practice. Instead, it took them approximately ten years to incorporate fully

the newly popular ancient style. One of the best ways to observe this shift, besides the documentation of repertory and its denominational and cultural influences, is through an examination of the tunes adapted and original to New England Congregationalist source material. These pieces detail how regional musicians reacted to the newer initiatives and incorporated their characteristics into Congregationalist expression.

When Congregationalist musicians brought other denominations' tunes into their repertory, they did not necessarily copy them as they appeared in the original sources. Instead, they adapted voice attributions, part writing, and occasionally harmony to suit their taste. For instance, the setting of ALDERMASTON as it appeared in the Chamberlain and Foster supplement illustrates how Congregationalists originally responded to the ancient style. First printed in *A Collection of Psalm Tunes in four parts* (London, 1711), an Anglican tunebook, ALDERMASTON did not enjoy wide circulation. Of the two compilers who included it in later tune collections, only Nathaniel Gawthorn exerted a direct impact on southern New England colonial English Presbyterian trends through his *Harmonia Perfecta* (London, 1730), associated with the Little Eastcheap Meetinghouse in London. As found in Gawthorn (**Anth**), the tune follows typical ancient-style conventions. The four-voice texture is set for two trebles, tenor, and bass. Of note, the treble parts maintain separate ranges and do not cross each other throughout the entire piece. The first treble part is limited to a melodic range of a fourth and floats on top of the setting. In contrast, the second treble is given much more melodic and harmonic interest.

ALDERMASTON, as it appears in the Chamberlain and Foster supplement (**Anth**), reveals the direct influence of the tune's setting from Gawthorn's tunebook. However, the manuscript copy did not simply replicate the printed one. Even though most of the original harmonic writing duplicated the Gawthorn printing, the colonial setting has had the upper

three parts redistributed. The tenor melody was moved to the cantus or treble and the second treble to the tenor. The first treble was transposed down an octave and given to the counter. Thus, the original four-part setting was preserved more or less intact between the printed and manuscript source, but each conformed to their respective traditional performance practices. At this point, the ancient style seemed somewhat alien to the compiler and he attempted to have it conform to his notions of traditional ecclesiastical performance practice.

ALDERMASTON illustrates the initial Congregationalist reaction to ancient-style Presbyterian tune settings, transforming the ancient style to the seventeenth-century form of progressive treble-led psalmody. In contrast, most of the original tunes to the repertory demonstrate the opposite approach. For instance, ST. CLEMENT'S TUNE, though printed for the first time in an edition of Johnston's congregational tune supplement, c. 1765, actually appeared first in one of the earlier manuscript supplements, SM GRME 1760 AAS (**Anth**). In this source, the tune was set for the standard cantus, medius, and bass and copied in a somewhat antiquated notation system with double bars only occurring at the end of lines of verse. Regarding its musical style, the piece closely resembles the tune settings found in earlier congregational tune collections descended from the Playford 1677 psalter.

In its published form, ST. CLEMENT'S TUNE (**Anth**) has been transformed. Johnston, the publisher, used contemporary conventions of meter and barlines. He also demonstrated a more sophisticated harmonic palate through chromatic alteration and a correctly notated secondary dominant. Most prominent however, the change in voice specification reveals the transformation of the Congregationalist aesthetic. The medius line was renamed "Counter," and the cantus "Tennor." In a further demonstration of a change in the intended pitch of the melody part, the line was brought down to the second staff of

the system. This shift illustrated not only a new voice designation for the part, but also an alternation in sounding pitch and function between the two settings. Though outwardly resembling the melodic construction of the older Congregationalist aesthetic, this tune demonstrated that the newer ancient-style expression (for northern coastal Massachusetts standards) had already begun to transform performance practice.

Tunes composed by Congregationalist musicians during the 1760s reflect the transition from the regular singing method to the ancient style. Because of this, half of the pieces retain some of the older conventions. Others display varying attempts to master newer compositional initiatives. Some pieces suggest an attempt to bridge the two styles. For instance, PSALM LXVII (**Anth**), first appearing in the 1760 edition of Walter, seems caught somewhere between the two. Following traditional Congregationalist practice, the piece is set in three parts with the melody given to the treble voice. However, the tune itself shows a distinct break with the older Congregationalist repertory.

Employing the fashionable modern form of the triple meter psalm tune, PSALM LXVII resembles more a Nonconformist piece through its attempt to imitate the modern galante style associated with tunes such as HALLELUJAH found in Lyon's *Urania*. Compared to the older Congregationalist tune NEW YORK, a syllabic block-chord triple meter tune using seventeenth-century conventions of expression, PSALM LXVII features extensive melismas in all voices, with a sense of galante-inspired tunefulness between the treble and medius voices. These parts also include numerous instances of imperfect consecutions (parallel thirds and sixths), imitating the fashionable and modern Nonconformist repertory. Alongside these more contemporary facets, the composer still presents a number of unprepared dissonances demonstrating that the tune's harmonic setting is governed by the independence of the individual voices and not a functional

conception of tonality. In other words, the use of harmony demonstrates a linear construction in its relation to the tune carrying voice. Similarly, PSALM LXVII also includes a number of perfect consecutions (parallel fifths and octaves). The overall effect of the tune suggests that the composer was aware of the modern fashionable style but he had not quite understood the intricacies of functional harmony.

Besides melodic construction, other aspects of these tunes demonstrate how the older style began to concede to newer developments. In particular, harmony serves as an indicator of a changing approach to composition. Some tunes, already infused with the older modal characteristics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, begin to acquire a sense of nonfunctional tonality. This phenomenon coincides with the linear construction of each melodic and harmonic line. The nonfunctional harmony of the ancient style emphasizes the shape of an individual part over the function of vertical harmony in supplying predictable, common-practice formulas. However, understanding the relationship between a composer's harmonic orientation and the presence of linear or vertical harmony in one of their compositions can prove somewhat problematic. Just because a tune appears to functionally realize a modulation or introduce chromatic alteration does not necessarily indicate that its composer understood functional harmony. Rather, the composer, as often as not, merely aped examples seen in the tunebooks available to him. Not surprisingly, many new tunes follow the same general harmonic stencil: the first phrase cadences on the tonic, the second on the dominant via a secondary dominant, the third on the dominant, and the fourth on the tonic.

The tune NOTHING (**Anth**), found in SM GRME8 AAS, illustrates the coexistence of functional and nonfunctional harmony. The opening sections of the first and third phrases feature mostly stepwise movement in the individual voices that avoids dissonance,

but allows for perfect consecutions between the cantus and medius voices in the opening phrase, and random chord inversions in the third. This harmonic scheme often meanders without a sense of direction, seen with the I-IV<sup>6</sup>-I<sup>6/4</sup>-ii<sup>6</sup>-V-IV<sup>6</sup>-I-V progression in the third phrase. It does not resemble modal treatment of earlier tunes. Instead, it conveys a tonal sense of nonfunctional harmony dictated by the shape of the individual parts. The resulting sonorities appear to be entirely coincidental, resembling harmonic conceptions typical of modern ancient-style metrical psalmody. In contrast, the larger tonal scheme vacillates between nonfunctional and functional common-practice harmony, evidenced by a proper secondary dominant in the second phrase achieved through a 4-3 suspension. Together, NOTHING presents a strange amalgam of the disparate influences shaping Congregationalist practice during the 1760s.

Other tunes, such as LINEBOROUGH (**Anth**) from the same manuscript, attempt to express the two competing styles simultaneously, being further removed from Congregationalist tradition. In this instance, the anonymous composer has created a treble-led modal-inflected minor melody characteristic of the older metrical psalm tune repertory. As before, the presentation of the tune is couched in the compositional conventions typical of the regular singing movement. However, this tune contains numerous unprepared dissonances and inversions that do not result necessarily from the linear orientation of the various voices. For instance, the fourth note of the piece produces a dissonant i<sup>7</sup> chord that is neither set up from the previous VII chord, nor resolved as a 7-6 suspension in the penultimate chord of the phrase. The dissonance becomes all the more striking as it occurs on a strong beat rather than being set as a passing tone on a weak beat, seen in the cadential material of the third phrase (III-VI<sup>7</sup>-v). Similarly, the composer employed free use of inversions, again without regard to their function. For example, the opening sonority of the

third phrase begins on a  $i^4$  and proceeds to a  $i^{9/5}$  on the next strong beat before resolving the dissonance to an open VII chord on the following weak beat. In both instances, the resulting unprepared dissonance and inversion does not occur as a result of preserving an innate sense of tunefulness in the individual parts. Perhaps the medius and basso parts were harmonized independently of each other, relating only to the cantus and not each other. In any case, the harmonic treatment does not resemble earlier Congregationalist practice.

Alongside the three-part psalm tunes that expressed traditional treble-led practice and the modern ancient style simultaneously, other compositions embraced contemporary New England Anglican-inspired initiatives. These products of popular culture consisted of the types of pieces associated with *The Universal Psalmist* by Aaron Williams. Because tunes selected by Williams originated from all of the major streams of Protestant English-language influence, scoring practice varied in the tunes selected from other denominations' repertoires. When he included some pieces from the Nonconformist tunebook, *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, Williams removed the figures from the bass line but kept the original two-part setting intact. Similarly, some tunes in the colonial supplements appeared in two-part settings, others in the four-part ancient style.

For instance, SM GRME 1760 AAS contains a couple of two-part tunes that closely resemble the two-part settings found in the various editions of *A Supplement to the New Version of Psalms by Dr. Brady and Mr. Tate* published in the first half of the eighteenth century. The Brady and Tate psalter is identified most closely with Anglicans in Great Britain and the colonies, and eventually with Congregationalists and Anglicans in coastal northern New England.<sup>24</sup> ST. THOMAS'S (**Anth**) presents several distinctive traits. As with PSALM

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<sup>24</sup> Peter Benes, "Psalmody in coastal Massachusetts and in the Connecticut River Valley," in *The Bay and the River: 1600-1900* (Boston: Boston University, 1982), 121-23.

LXVII, this tune features graceful melismas, the popular triple meter, and a fashionable galante-influenced melody. The composer includes a secondary dominant in the second phrase as well as a descending sequence in the third. Also, the cadential material of the first phrase quotes the cadential material of the first phrase of PSALM 149/ST. MICHAEL'S, a tune originating in the musical supplement to the Brady and Tate psalter.<sup>25</sup> Conversely, some two-part works resemble more the older syllabic psalm tunes appearing in collections beginning with *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Music* by John Playford (London, 1658). THE 37TH PSALM TUNE (**Anth**) closely imitates an older piece through its narrow melodic range, its syllabic setting, and employment of a modally inflected sense of harmony.

Related to these two-part tunes, Congregationalist musicians also began composing four-part ancient-style psalm tunes influenced by mid-century Anglican musicians such as John Arnold and William Tans'ur. Despite their strong Anglican influence, the original contributions to the Congregationalist repertory consisted only of plain tunes. Surviving original New England source material from the 1760s does not include any works that embrace fusing and antiphonal procedures, nor do they include any pieces with choruses. Underneath an Anglican ancient-style facade, these tunes employ many of the same compositional features found in the three-part repertory.

Two four-part tunes typify the new Congregationalist style: MIDDLEBOROUGH TUNE (**Anth**) from a late edition of the Johnston supplement, c. 1765,<sup>26</sup> and 130 PSALM TUNE (**Anth**) from the Lang manuscript supplement. The two pieces have much in common. They follow the same generic harmonic stencil though their third phrases differ

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<sup>25</sup> *A Supplement to the New Version of Psalms by Dr. Brady and Mr. Tate*, ed. 6 ([London]: John Nutt, 1708).

<sup>26</sup> This dating follows Britton, Lowens, and Crawford, and not Temperley, and is based upon repertory, printing conventions, and scoring procedure.



somewhat. These pieces also share much the same melodic contour and cadential material. They are set in the same key in the same meter, and employ the same scoring procedure and clef designation. The counter part for both tunes suggests male rather than female performance because of its low tessitura.

These works also employ the same use of unprepared dissonance and linear conceptions of nonfunctional tonality. In MIDDLEBOROUGH TUNE, most of the dissonance throughout the piece occurs as a result of the independent nature of the individual voices. For instance, in their relationship to the melody, the counter and bass parts in measure three present logical consonantal harmonizations of the tenor when viewed individually. Sounding together, they create an unprepared dissonance as a result of their coincidental harmony. Similarly, in the third phrase of 130 PSALM TUNE, the composer attempted to create a functional melodic sequence such as that found in ST. THOMAS'S. However, he clearly did not understand common practice harmony because of the clumsy resolution of the implied secondary dominant (V-V/ii-IV-V-I-IV-I-V). Again, composers demonstrated their ability to follow a boilerplate tune template for the creation of a new piece, but they did not comprehend the function of their stencil.

Finally, Congregationalists began to compose hymn tunes. Until the 1760s, original pieces by regional musicians consisted only of psalm tunes intended to accompany the various metrical psalters used throughout coastal northern New England. Though absent in printed sources, a small selection of original hymn tunes appears in the manuscript supplements. The earliest one, AN HYMN ON THE NATIVITY OF OUR SAVIOR (**Anth**), was set to a Christmas hymn written by Nahum Tate from the supplement to the Brady and Tate psalter. Although cast in the popular triple meter, the piece resembles more the older syllabic tunes such as NEW YORK. Significantly, this Christmas piece was one of

the earliest northern New England tunes to document the shift in melodic assignment, and to distinguish between the older cantus and the newer tenor parts. Apparently, the term treble had not yet replaced the word cantus to describe the top voice.

Two other hymn tunes are found in SM GRME8 AAS. As with the previous work, these pieces reveal much about changes in expression among Congregationalists during the 1760s. THE DUTCH HYMN (**Anth**), apparently an older tune, is not found in any known printed source. Though its age cannot be ascertained, it employs an ABB'A' form characteristic of the older psalm tune repertory. As stated before, the tune appears in three manuscript sources—two from New England, and one from South Carolina—suggesting its provenance as a Baptist tune via Jonathan Badger. Its appearance in this manuscript constitutes its only known appearance in a three-part setting. In this case, the copyist ascribed the top voice to the tenor and the second voice to the medius, using contradictory terminology drawn from both styles. Similar to the other pieces, the harmonic language follows the same linear approach, creating an identical nonfunctional meandering harmony and voicing characteristic of those tunes original to the manuscript supplements.

MELODY employed the most modern and fashionable trends in hymn tune composition, descending from the Nonconformist repertory found in *Harmonia-Sacra, or A Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* [London, (1754)] by Thomas Butts. It also is the earliest-known Congregationalist piece with a text by Isaac Watts. In outward appearance, the piece imitates the popular galante style through a delicate melodic line graced with numerous melismas, as well as an equal amount of tunefulness shared between the upper voices. However, all of these features represent a veneer on top of the same nonfunctional linear harmonic construction. In this instance, the composer understood the need for a static bass line in imitation of the galante original. As a result, this style of bass limited the

composer's ability to create the expected meandering chord series typical of the ancient style. Instead, much of the tune revolves around various inversions of the tonic and mediant chords, especially in the third and fourth phrases. What is perhaps the most important aspect of the tune is its ability to demonstrate the attempts by regional musicians to thoroughly modernize and expand upon traditional Congregationalist expression. Though the musicians might not have understood fully what they were studying, their attempt to bring themselves a hundred years forward (compositionally and stylistically speaking) within a five-year period testifies to the value they placed on the modern Anglican and Nonconformist styles.

Although the documentation of the Congregationalist manuscript tune repertory reveals an almost immediate shift towards the adoption of the modern Anglican ancient style, compositional practice did not follow these same precise trends. In contrast, original pieces emanating from Congregationalist source material indicate a more gradual adoption of ancient-style techniques. Although the pieces created at the end of the Late Colonial Period bear little resemblance to those from the 1750s, an examination of these tunes reveals a continuum among them.

At first, Congregationalists rejected the ancient style and arranged some of its repertory to conform to their familiar practice. Then, they reassigned the treble-led cantus and medius voices to imitate the ancient-style tenor-led treble and tenor conventions. Part writing became less modally influenced and more nonfunctional. Some pieces employed the traditional melodic formulas characteristic of Congregationalist expression, others a more melismatic approach to melody, reflecting the popular galante style associated with Nonconformists and some English Presbyterians. Eventually, regional composers would also extend part-setting conventions to include two-part Anglican-style metrical psalm tunes,

as well as the four-part ancient style plain tunes typical of conformist orthodox Anglicans and English Presbyterians. Finally, Congregationalists not only expanded their denomination's concept of musical style, melodic construction, and expression, they also built upon tune types. Hymn tunes and hymnody would find a place within the Congregationalist experience, encompassing not only the older verses of Brady and Tate, but also the poetry of Isaac Watts. Consequently, what had identified them as distinctly Congregationalist was now lost. They had become Anglicanized.

### 10.5 William Billings

Of all the composers associated with New England psalmody, none achieved the esteem of William Billings (1746-1800), the tanner from Boston. Indeed, Billings' name remains synonymous with the entire popular movement of ancient-style psalmody cultivated in New England from 1770 to 1820. A colorful persona, neither his physical handicaps nor his social improprieties hindered his entrance into polite religious Bostonian society. In the nineteenth century, he was viewed as a devoted though certainly misguided pioneer. Frédéric Louis Ritter characterized Billings as "a mixture of ludicrous, eccentric, commonplace, smart, active, patriotic, and religious elements, with a slight touch of music and poetical talent."<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, as a quintessential American, Billings symbolized to twentieth-century Americans the self-made rugged individual. Indeed, Karl Kroeger found Billings "to be the epitome of the eighteenth-century Yankee, ebullient, self-confident, and self-reliant. His music is held in high esteem as a prime species of American folk-art."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Frédéric Louis Ritter, *Music in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884), 60.

<sup>28</sup> Karl Kroeger, "Introduction" to *The Complete Works of William Billings*, 1 (American Musicological Society and The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Boston: 1981), xv-xvi.

His life became an icon of the American experience. Raised nominally as a Congregationalist, Billings along with his entire family was disowned by his father, who bequeathed to his brothers, wife, and son, one shilling each in his will.<sup>29</sup> From abject poverty and with a limited education, he was able to learn a professional trade. In his spare time, he taught himself music and music composition. Despite these limited opportunities he associated with some of the leading practitioners of psalmody in the city, including Josiah Flagg and John Barrey. Billings and Barrey on at least one occasion co-taught a singing school at the Congregationalist Old South Meeting-House.<sup>30</sup> As a patriot, Billings was friends with Paul Revere and Samuel Adams and wrote music promulgating the American cause during the Revolution. One of his tunes, CHESTER, became the cry for soldiers on the battlefield.

Because his life has come to symbolize so much of what Americans in the twentieth century valued as ideally American and patriotic, Billings has acquired a hallowed status. As a result, it is hard to separate the composer from the prestige surrounding him. Billings came of age during the musically tumultuous decade of the 1760s, publishing his first tunebook, *The New-England Psalm-Singer: or, American Chorister*, in Boston in 1770. While scholars have commented on Billings' American-ness found throughout his compilations, encompassing his topical and patriotic music, poetry, and essays,<sup>31</sup> his works more aptly demonstrate the Congregationalist response to ancient-style initiatives. Although largely Anglican in origin, his influences reflect the unique musical-denominational environment of northern coastal Massachusetts churches, paralleling the trends established in the

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<sup>29</sup> David P. McKay and Richard Crawford, *William Billings of Boston: Eighteenth-century Composer* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975), 32.

<sup>30</sup> *Boston Gazette*, October 2, 1769.

<sup>31</sup> J. Murray Barbour, *The Church Music of William Billings* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1960), 8-12; McKay and Crawford, *William Billings*, 63-68.

contemporary manuscript supplements to various editions of *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*. Presenting Billings within the musical culture of his environment allows for some new insights into the purpose and achievements of his activities between the 1760s and 1781.

Perhaps the greatest misunderstanding of Billings' music is the common scholarly notion of his compositions representing a flowering of the singing school, originating in the regular singing movement of the 1720s. This belief, stated first by George Hood in *A History of Music in New-England* (Boston, 1846) holds that

[t]he cultivation of music had been increasing since the time of the reformation, in 1720; and the increased demand for music, was, as yet, but imperfectly supplied. The works that had preceded his, had afforded but small variety; his gave more; and as the last and greatest charm, it was the first American composition ever published in this country; and bearing a spice of patriotism on its pages, it became in that patriotic day, except with the critics, quite popular (167).

As already demonstrated, mid-century congregants viewed the new ancient style as an anathema to the older method of choral-congregational performance. The 1760s saw the demise of traditional Congregationalist expression, being cast aside for the Anglican and English Presbyterian repertoires. Rather than representing the maturation of the singing school movement, Billings should be credited with driving a stake through the heart of traditional Congregationalist expression. Rather than a "folk-art" as Kroeger described, Billings' ancient-style music constituted a popular style of expression with no folk basis in coastal, northern New England. Instead, his style represented that of a popular movement. As Irving Lowens stated: "[t]he compositional techniques he uses are not typically American; they are markedly similar to those used by his English contemporaries, perhaps more so than

to those used by other New Englanders. His music owes its undoubted distinction more to his superior individual talent than to any specifically American style."<sup>32</sup>

Another construct involving the Billings myth revolved around his statements of self-reliance. His essay, "To all Musical Practitioners," found within the introductory material of *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, provided several oft-quoted passages addressing this notion. He thought it "best for every *Composer* to be his own *Carver*,"<sup>33</sup> or creator of their own style. Likewise, he proclaimed: "I don't think myself confin'd to any Rules for Composition laid down by any that went before me, neither should I think (were I to pretend to lay down Rules) that any who came after me were any ways obligated to adhere to them."<sup>34</sup> In these statements, the image of Billings as a self-made, forthright, industrious Yankee was born. He fashioned an art without the aid or need of a formal teacher.

Instead, all that was necessary for musical ability was the inspiration of nature. As Billings stated:

PERHAPS it may be expected by some, that I should say something concerning Rules of Composition; to these I answer that *Nature is the best Dictator*, for all the hard dry studied Rules that ever was prescribed, will not enable any Person to form an Air any more than the bare Knowledge of the four and twenty Letters, and strict Grammatical Rules will qualify a Scholar for composing a Piece of Poetry, or properly adjusting a Tragedy, without a Genius. It must be Nature, Nature must lay the Foundation, Nature must inspire the Thought.

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<sup>32</sup> Irving Lowens, "The Origins of the American Fuging Tune" in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 6, 1 (Spring, 1953), 44.

<sup>33</sup> William Billings, "To all Musical Practitioners," in *The New-England Psalm-Singer: or, American Chorister* (Boston: Edes and Gill, [1770]), 20.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

Through these passages, Billings emphasized the purity of nature in inspiring genius. Nature represented the purity of God since it constituted the unblemished product of the Creator. Because of its virtue, nature provided the genius for creating art. These examples suggest a tone not of Transcendentalist self-reliance associated with Ralph Waldo Emerson, but rather the concepts of nature and primitive man expounded by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778).

Rousseau, a fellow progressive Calvinist, addressed these sentiments in several of his writings. For instance, "A Discourse on the Arts and Sciences," described the same intertwining relationship of nature and genius with self-tutorship:

A man who will be all his life a bad versifier, or a third-rate geometrician, might have made nevertheless an excellent clothier. Those whom nature intended for their disciples have not needed masters. Bacon, Descartes, and Newton, those teachers of mankind, had themselves no teachers. What guide indeed could have taken them so far as their sublime genius directed them? Ordinary masters would only have cramped their intelligence, by confining it within the narrow limits of their own capacity. It was from the obstacles they met with at first that they learned to exert themselves, and bestirred themselves to traverse the vast field which they covered. If it be proper to allow some men to apply themselves to the study of the arts and sciences, it is only those who feel themselves able to walk alone in their footsteps and to outstrip them.<sup>35</sup>

Rousseau stressed that nature is the source of genius. While it is true that humans have the ability to learn skills by reading about them, this form of education does not guarantee their prowess or genius. Instead, mastery of the arts and sciences is determined by natural

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<sup>35</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "A Discourse on the Arts and Sciences" in *The Social Contract and The Discourses*, trans. G.D.H. Cole, rev. and aug. by J. H. Brumfitt and John C. Hall (New York: Everyman's Library, 1993), 27.



proclivity. Nature reveals the genius of an individual. Genius is not bound by manmade laws and principles to understand the infinite.

Billings, through these passages, also presented himself as a paradigm for moral goodness inherent in primitive man before the corrupting influence of society stripped away his freedom and liberty. Unconfined to previous rules as a self-made composer "carving" out his art, Billings recalled the notions of Rousseau's savage man in his natural state. According to Rousseau in "A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality":

[i]t appears, at first view, that men in a state of nature, having no moral relations or determinate obligations one with another, could not be either good or bad, virtuous or vicious; unless we take these terms in a physical sense, and call, in an individual, those qualities vices which may be injurious to his preservation, and those virtues which contribute to it; in which case, he would have to be accounted most virtuous, who put least check on the pure impulses of nature.<sup>36</sup>

Billings, living in Boston, outside the mainstream of intellectual thought of the Western world, identified himself musically with Rousseau's savage. Because of his place outside of the main centers of composition and performance, Billings was able to enjoy the freedom and virtue inherent in his isolation and self-tutorship. For Billings, his music presented a purity of expression untainted by the strict artistic conventions characteristic of Europe at the time. Nature provided the inspiration for his pure, natural art, not the conventions of society.

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<sup>36</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality" in *The Social Contract and The Discourses*, 71.

As further proof of his convictions, Billings in the same address quoted his elder contemporary William Tans'ur's prescriptions for part writing, noting that exceptions were allowable and unavoidable within the system of harmony he chose to adopt:

I have read several Author's Rules on Composition, and find the strictest of them make some Exceptions, as thus, they say that two Eights or two Fifths may not be taken together rising or falling, unless one be Major and the other Minor; but rather than spoil the Air, they will allow that Breach to be made, and this allowance gives great Latitude to young Composers, for they may always make that Plea, and say, if I am not allow'd to transgress the Rules of Composition, I shall certainly spoil the Air, and Cross the Strain, that fancy dictated: And indeed this is without dispute, a very just Plea, for I am sure I have often and sensibly felt the disagreeable and slavish Effects of such a restraint as is here pointed out, and so I believe has every Composer of Poetry, as well as Music, for I presume there are as strict Rules for Poetry, as for Musick (19-20).

Given that the consonantal harmonic system already allowed for exceptions, Billings felt that he had enough artistic license to forge his own style while remaining true to his compositional and stylistic idiom. Whether it was nature, genius, or the ancient-style concept of exceptionalism as described by Tans'ur, Billings forged his path following eighteenth-century Enlightenment-era identifications of a composer-artist within his medium.

#### ***10.5.1 The New-England Psalm-Singer: or, American Chorister (Boston, 1770)***

From any standpoint, Billings' first volume, *The New-England Psalm-Singer: or, American Chorister*, represented a notable achievement for a composer living in the British colonies. Although not the first colonial musician to publish a collection made up entirely of his own

compositions,<sup>37</sup> Billings proclaimed much that was new to the colonial experience on its title page. Most obvious was the collection's title and some of its contents, expressing colonial sectionalism, often interpreted as a statement of proto-American nationalism through his seemingly patriotic references to New England and America.<sup>38</sup> He even described himself as "A Native of Boston."

Scholar John McCardell, in his pioneering study of American sectionalism or regionalism versus American nationalism, distinguished between these differing concepts: "[s]ectionalism results when the inhabitants of a geographical entity possess or perceive a common interest in a specific issue or set of issues."<sup>39</sup> In this sense, a colonial identity would have designated New England as the paramount achievement of Great Britain, functioning within a greater sense of formal British nationalism. Further, "[n]ationalism need not exclude sectionalism. So long as a national government is able to embrace and preserve diverse interests—whether these interests be sectional, class, ethnic, political, social, or economic—it will retain the loyalties of the various elements in its population. Provided that local and national goals can remain coordinated, local allegiances can reinforce nationalism." From this viewpoint, Billings announced that his collection reflected and addressed his local market, demonstrating that New England could now occupy a place among the musical centers of Great Britain, at least for psalmody.

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<sup>37</sup> This honor belongs to Conrad Beissel with his *Paradisches Wunder-Spiel, welches sich in diesen letzten Zeiten und Tagen in denen abend-ländischen Welt-Theilen als ein Vorspiel der neuen Welt hervor gethan* published in 1754 by the Ephrata Society press.

<sup>38</sup> McKay and Crawford, *William Billings*, 65; Nym Cooke, "Sacred music to 1800" in *The Cambridge History of American Music*, ed. David Nicholls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 93.

<sup>39</sup> John McCardell, *The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830-1860* (New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), 5.

The other notable characteristic of Billings' title included his exact description of its intended audience: psalm singers and choristers. These terms could connote distinct denominational identities. In New England, the appellation chorister most often applied to a member of a choir in an Anglican church, as used by Daniel Bayley. A singer pertained more to a member of a choir in a Congregationalist church.<sup>40</sup> Thus, Billings proclaimed that his work was intended for both Congregationalists and Anglicans now that their performance practice followed the same conventions and expression. This tunebook united Anglican and the new Congregationalist practice under a single identity, unified by region and musical style. Through this act of tunebook naming, Billings struck the final blow to the older Congregationalist performance practice.

The union of Anglican-Congregationalist expression extended to other features of the collection, most of which remained tied to two specific churches: the Anglican Christ Church, and Hollis Street Congregational Church. Regarding the connections to Christ Church, Josiah Flagg appeared as one of the book agents for Billings. Flagg may also have engraved Billings' tunebook.<sup>41</sup> Fellow parishioner Paul Revere engraved the famous decorated frontpiece. Beginning in 1768, the church appointed a new rector, Mather Byles II, the son of the Hollis Street Congregational Church's minister, Mather Byles senior, who contributed a number of original hymns. Billings himself later held a pew at the Hollis Street Church for a time.<sup>42</sup> Through his local denominational marketing, Billings carefully crafted his volume to appeal to as wide an audience as possible. He even included a commemorative funeral hymn for the recently deceased Calvinist-Anglican evangelical, George Whitefield.

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<sup>40</sup> Ralph T. Daniel, *The Anthem in New England before 1800*, 38.

<sup>41</sup> McKay and Crawford, *William Billings*, 44-45; Kroeger, "Introduction," xxx-xxxi.

<sup>42</sup> McKay and Crawford, *William Billings*, 32.

Regarding the compositions in *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, several elements demonstrate Billings' awareness of current trends in northern New England psalmody (Table 10.13). As expected, 85 percent of the repertory is plain tunes. This phenomenon suggests that he intended much of his collection for congregational use during the divine service, led by a group of singers or choristers. The remaining repertory includes the typical social-choral compositional genres found in the Anglican-published tunebooks by Flagg and Bayley of coastal northern New England, including four anthems, one set piece, four canons, three plain tunes with fusing choruses, three antiphonal tunes, three antiphonal tunes with reiterative plain choruses, and one secular part song. These pieces demonstrate Billings' efforts to appeal to a secular-social environment for sacred singing, such as that depicted in the engraved frontpiece (a group of men including a minister sitting around a table singing from Billings' tunebook). Most of this repertory, particularly the anthems, would only have been suitable for ecclesiastical performance on special occasions if at all.<sup>43</sup>

Similarly, his choice of time signatures, or "moods of time," as ancient-style psalmodists call them, displays a modern sensibility. Falling under two general divisions, the "moods of time" consisted of duple and triple meter signatures with strict tempo assignments applied to each. At this time, Billings made use of only seven moods, corresponding to the modern 4/4, 2/2 (two tempos were applied to this meter), 2/4, 3/2, 3/4, and 3/8. Sixty-two percent alone were cast in the first mood of triple time (3/2). Similarly, almost seventy-percent of the entire collection was devoted to triple time pieces. Found not only in the Anglican and Presbyterian ancient-style repertories but also the Massachusetts manuscript tune supplements, triple meter tunes with their more elegant "notes of transition" (grace notes and passing tones) became fashionable and modern,

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid. 134-35.

replacing the syllabic triple-meter settings characteristic of older tunes such as NEW YORK. Similarly, roughly half of the duple meter works also follow the more modern and quick time signatures, with many breaking away from the older, slower, syllabic style associated with the metrical psalm tune repertory of the sixteenth century. In this way, Billings further proclaimed his fashionableness among psalm singers and choristers throughout New England.

In some respects, *The New-England Psalm-Singer* and its repertory does not reflect the denominational fusion expressed both in the wording of his title and with the use of the ancient style. Instead, these features show distinctly Anglican and Congregational influences. For instance, Billings, in shaping the contents of his tunebook had two basic methods he could have followed. From a cross-denominational Anglican and Calvinist perspective, he could have produced an anthology consisting of established, popular older works, along with a number of new pieces. This approach was manifest in every previous Congregationalist and English Presbyterian compilation, as well as in many European and colonial Anglican collections. The second method would be to publish pieces composed or arranged entirely by one individual. The tunebook as a unified collection by a single author remained distinctly Anglican, and was associated in New England with William Tans'ur and all of his publications. Significantly, Billings chose the Tans'ur model, not the anthology approach that characterized the collections by Walter, Johnston, Flagg, Lyon, Ashworth, Knapp, and Williams. In following Tans'ur, Billings proclaimed his identity as both an established author or persona, and that of an Anglicanized Congregationalist.

Similarly, Billings included in many of his tunes, repeated melodic and cadential material. Further, many tunes employ formal constructions based upon melodic repetition. Three-fourths of the pieces in *The New-England Psalm Singer* employ some form of melodic

repetition. A comparison of this ratio with other printed New England collections reveals a distinctly modern Anglican approach to composition. Of the tunes appearing in the Johnston supplement of 1755, only forty-three percent utilize the same manner of formal construction, the supplement of c. 1765 thirty-six percent. Larger Calvinist collections such as the seventh edition of Walter (1760) and Bayley's edition of *The Universal Psalmist* by Williams show slightly higher proportions, averaging sixty percent. In contrast, the Bayley edition of Tans'ur's *The Royal Melody Compleat* is the only one to rank with Billings, with seventy-two percent of its tunes including repeated melodic and cadential material.

Although Anglican influences are most strongly seen in compilation method and compositional form, progressive English Presbyterian sentiment had the greatest impact on Billings' use of text. However, two-thirds of the tunes in the collection remain textless, without even a suggested text printed above the tune. This phenomenon is characteristic of both Congregationalist and Anglican publications in New England before 1770. As a collection intended for social and ecclesiastical use by a choir, *The New-England Psalm-Singer* met the needs of this ensemble, which would have had to select a suitable psalm or hymn for each worship service. This flexibility extended also to the choice of verse, whether a metrical psalm or hymn. For most of his pieces, Billings followed the conventions of the printed tune supplements circulating throughout New England during his youth.

The remaining third of the repertory includes or specifies various metrical psalms, hymns and spiritual songs, and biblical text. In this respect, Billings displayed his knowledge of English Presbyterian trends seen in the collections of Williams and Lyon. As with Lyon, Billings kept almost all of the potentially congregational pieces textless. Only the anthems, set piece, hymn tunes, and a few decorated psalm tunes were printed with underlying text. Only twelve strophic pieces specify a metrical psalm, in all instances from Tate and Brady.

More than twice this number of tunes prescribes hymn texts. Billings chose more hymns from Watts than any other traceable single author. Somewhat unusual for the time, Billings also emphasized hymn texts by local poets, including the Reverend Dr. Mather Byles, the Boston physician Samuel Byles, Harvard College student Perez Morton, and Billings himself. This emphasis on hymnody more than psalmody reflects the influence of progressive English Presbyterian trends in textual setting.

Billings' compositions within *The New-England Psalm-Singer* reflect the compositional techniques of tunes found in popular collections circulating around Boston. Although he followed the Tans'ur model in presenting a unified collection of pieces written by a single author, much variation in compositional technique is found. In this respect, the tunebook resembles an anthology because of Billings' ability to compose in a wide variety of Anglican and Calvinist styles, mimicking their compositional and orthographic conventions. Further, Billings' compositional techniques also speak to the same sentiment of denominational fusion. Karl Kroeger found Billings' ability to compose in several styles of psalmody illustrative of various periods of Billings' growth as a composer, and he attempted to compile a chronological list of tune contents based upon these stylistic characteristics.<sup>44</sup> However, he did not establish denominational connections to tune presentation, nor did he view these works as related to the printed works in circulation throughout coastal Massachusetts, other than to place them within their general idiom.

A number of tunes in *The New-England Psalm-Singer: or, American Chorister* resemble Congregationalist-style pieces found in the printed and manuscript tune supplements. For example, MARBLEHEAD (**Anth**) looks more like a version of one of the earlier stencil tunes found in the Congregationalist supplements, such as MIDDLEBOROUGH TUNE or

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<sup>44</sup> Kroeger, "Introduction," xli-xlvi.



130 PSALM TUNE.<sup>45</sup> Although the melody is a bit more florid, the same techniques are present in Billings' piece and the anonymous psalm tunes. A nonfunctional sequence is introduced in the third phrase, paralleling the harmonic traits of other tunes written in the modern form of the ancient style.

Further, the melody lines of MARBLEHEAD and the earlier Congregationalist pieces all follow the same implied harmonic outline. Of note, Billings, like other Congregationalist musicians, understood neither the function of this harmonic template at this point in his career, nor the concept of the leading tone. Instead of moving to the dominant at the end of the second phrase, he returns to the tonic via a  $I^6-vii^{6/3}-I$  progression instead of the expected  $I-V/V-V$ , resulting from the missing raised leading tone approach to the fifth scale degree in the tenor. The individual parts, in their relationship to the tenor, employ the technique of consonantal harmonization, and preserve a sense of tunefulness in each part, seen through Billings' descending bass line. Harmonically though, Billings' piece follows the same concept of nonfunctional tonality found in other Congregationalist tunes such as NOTHING, MELODY, and the 130 PSALM TUNE.

Billings later revised this piece for inclusion in his second tunebook, the *Singing-Master's Assistant, or Key to Practical Music* (Boston, 1778) (**Anth**). This time, he correctly realized the secondary dominant, adjusted the bass line, and inserted a raised leading tone up to the fifth scale degree. He also attempted to clean up the sequence, though it still fails to follow common practice procedures. Although Billings seemed more comfortable with his medium in this revised setting, he still did not comprehend functional common-practice

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<sup>45</sup> The tunes NANTUCKET and LIBERTY in *The New-England Psalm-Singer* also follow the same harmonic stencil as MARBLEHEAD with varying degrees of success.

harmony. He still did not understand functional harmony, but he had at least acquired enough skill to mimic more successfully its conventions.

Billings also included a number of block-chord textless psalm tunes in the first mood of common time (4/4). These works closely resemble the pieces found in printed tune supplements issued from regional presses. Often employing a limited melodic range, they are intended for congregational use during the divine service. Two tunes, HINGHAM and FRIENDSHIP (**Anth**), illustrate Billings' adherence to traditional practice within the formulaic compositional framework of a syllabic congregational psalm tune. Not unexpectedly, these tunes feature a melodic range limited to a major sixth and perfect fifth respectively. Both present mostly stepwise movement in their melodies, allowing for ease in performance by an untrained group of singers. The treble and counter parts include a number of "choosing notes," or alternate notes to be sung at the discretion of the performers. Reflecting a predilection for a full and rich choral sonority, Billings expanded on the techniques of his New England contemporaries, as seen in the anonymous original tunes found in the manuscript tune supplements of the 1760s. For instance, 130 PSALM TUNE has choosing notes in the counter and treble parts, though with lesser frequency than Billings' tunes.

In contrast, his writing for the bass does not resemble the work of other ancient-style musicians. Most of the tunes in the collection have what Kroeger termed a "false bass."<sup>46</sup> Not the fauxbourdon associated with the Burgundian School, Kroeger's term refers instead to a modified version of the bass line printed in the lower octave and limited by the compass of the human voice. As a result, most of the "false bass" consist of parallel octaves. However, he occasionally introduces sixths, thirds, and fourths, as the shape of the line and

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<sup>46</sup> Kroeger, "Introduction," xliii.

his fancy called for it. Although he was the only musician to write for the bass in this manner, Billings, through this device, employed additional nonfunctional harmonic techniques found in the manuscript supplements, mirroring the use of free inversions in other regional works by his contemporaries, such as LINEBOROUGH and MELODY.

In addition to the Congregationalist-influenced pieces, Billings also included a number of tunes that imitated orthographic and metrical alignment procedures by other contemporary ancient-style musicians. Because Billings' use of rhythm and meter often do not follow the metric-rhythmic accentuations of dance music, the rhythmic accents characteristic of the various time signatures do not always match the accentuation demanded by the poetry. The two remain independent of each other. Kroeger described this discrepancy as a flaw in metric-rhythmic alignment, citing Billings' later assessment of his earlier works: "I was fool enough to commence author before I really understood either *tune*, *time*, or *concord*."<sup>47</sup> He found that Billings was "not always capable of notating his musical intentions. Bar lines, on the whole, are meaningless, and the time signature is sometimes useful only to determine the basic tempo of a section."<sup>48</sup> The fact that these errors disappeared in his later compilations is generally ascribed to his improvement as a musician. While this suggestion is undoubtedly true, Billings' first collection encompasses all of the popular styles and presentation of fashionable ancient-style psalmody circulating throughout Massachusetts Bay during the 1760s. Kroeger's notions also did not take into account that other tunebooks such as *The Universal Psalmist* by Aaron Williams feature the same mixture of tunes that both correspond with and ignore conventional metric-rhythmic alignment.

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<sup>47</sup> William Billings, *The Continental Harmony* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer Andrews, 1794), xxix.

<sup>48</sup> Kroeger, "Introduction," li.

Tastes began to change after 1770 and the modish repertory of the previous decade became outdated, demonstrating again its popular as opposed to folk expression.

For many ancient-style musicians, meter did not connote rhythmic accentuation, but rather tempo and beat division. In particular, Billings devoted much attention to precise pendulum lengths for setting tempo, providing specific directions for each mood of time in the introductory material. Throughout the eighteenth century, some psalmodists revised the metrical alignment of earlier pieces to reflect the more mainstream notions of mood as an indicator of rhythm. However, many did not, though they themselves might not have composed any tunes with this independence of meter and text. Billings employed both approaches to mood in *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, imitating the conventions presented in his source material. While some of these instances might have risen from inexperience, they also can be explained by his desire to imitate what he saw and what was popular, suggesting another way in which Billings could have marketed his tunebook.

One of the most popular tunes to appear in *The New-England Psalm-Singer* is AMHERST (**Anth**). Employing a modified sarabande-like rhythm, Billings begins on the anacrusis to allow for an alignment of both textual and rhythmic accentuation on the first and second beats of the opening portion of the tune. However, in the second section (mm. 8-12), this union breaks apart and the implied metric-rhythmic accent becomes independent of the accent of the poetry. Though the setting fits into the time signature, it ceases to reflect the rhythmic pulse of the first section.

Apparently this version did not suit either Billings or his audience. Eight years later, he published a modified version of AMHERST (**Anth**) in the *Singing Master's Assistant* that differs somewhat in its harmony, in particular the bass and treble parts. More important, Billings changed the time signature to the third mood of common time (2/2). Now, the

tune begins on the downbeat and follows a simple two-pulse tactus that matches the accent of the poetry. Through his removal of the implied sarabande-like rhythm, he now employed a union of text and meter in the second section that was absent in the original. According to Kroeger, the revision is generally seen as an improvement. However, Billings' original version might not have been flawed, but rather presented according to modish conventions of the 1760s, which quickly became outdated as he became more confident and comfortable in the development of his compositional style.

In particular, Billings seems to have modeled the independence of text and meter in AMHERST on similar psalm tunes found in *The Universal Psalmist*. For example, WELLS TUNE, first published in *The Spiritual Man's Companion* (London, 1722) by Anglican Israel Holdroyd of Yorkshire, appeared in Williams' later tunebook. It became popular throughout the region and was later arranged by English Presbyterian Thomas Moore and printed in *The Psalm Singer's Compleat Tutor and Divine Companion* (London, 1750) when Moore was active in Manchester. Aaron Williams subsequently included Moore's arrangement of WELLS TUNE (**Anth**) in *The Universal Psalmist*, and from there it entered into the New England ancient-style repertory. This tune employs the same independence of meter and text, beginning on the anacrusis. In particular, it not only began on the wrong beat, but it also did not fit the implied rhythmic accentuation of the time signature, based upon the accents of the poetic meter.

If the time signatures of WELLS were changed to reflect the poetic accentuation, the ensuing result would not be performable at the tempo indicated by the second mood of common time (♣). The tune would have to be changed so that each phrase would include an initial measure in cut time, followed by two measures of 3/4, then by a measure of 3/2 (**Anth**). However, these three time signatures connoted three distinct tempos and would not

accurately reflect eighteenth-century conceptions of mood. Thus, the limiting concept of musical rhythmic-metric accentuations does not allow for the flexibility required to suit the poetic meter, at least for some practitioners of the ancient-style idiom. Though it goes against conventional notions that the time signature conveys rhythmic pulse, the apparently incorrectly barred WELLS TUNE fits entirely within the parameters of ancient-style text setting and the moods of time.

Related to the issue of poetic and rhythmic alignment, some tunes were printed with the same independence of text and meter accentuation as a result of the lack of symmetrical phrasing. Not only did some ancient-style composers evade the alignment of poetry and time signature, they also avoided predictable melodic statements of text. These two techniques collide in LEBANON (**Anth**), one of the few spiritual songs found in Billings' first collection. Though occupying a total of only eight measures divided into four phrases, this tune does not fulfill the symmetry inherent in such an organization. The opening melody establishes the independence of text and meter by starting not on an anacrusis, but rather the downbeat. Although the first three phrases appear to be simply incorrectly barred, the final phrase introduces an asymmetry of melody and accent. The text "summons then" follows the expected strong-weak-strong or stressed-unstressed-stressed poetic accentuation. However, Billings implied a five-beat measure through his designating the first syllable of "Return" as a half note. An identical stretching of the text occurs in the last measure with the last syllable of "again" written as a whole note leading into the implied anacrusis on the downbeat of the opening bar, creating the effect of a five-beat measure. Thus, even though the tune fits into a symmetrical grouping of phrases and measures, Billings displaced the melody and presented a final asymmetrical phrase.

The same phenomenon also appears in Williams' tunebook. For example, the spiritual song, FUNERAL THOUGHT (**Anth**), composed by Aaron Williams, employs the same independence of text and meter, as well as asymmetry of phrase structure. As with LEBANON, the tune at first glance seems to comprise a symmetrical grouping of four three-measure phrases. Reminiscent of the first version of AMHERST, the opening phrase of FUNERAL THOUGHT places equal stress on the first and second beats of each measure. However, rather than resembling a sarabande-like rhythm, the setting of the text "from ye" suggests more a weak-beat musical-rhythmic accentuation. This displacement imbues the melody with asymmetry given the implied five-beat opening measure. Similar extensions of beat occur throughout the piece, revealing not only the independence of text from meter, but also asymmetrical phrasing within a symmetrical setting. Imposing conventional understandings of rhythm and time signature on this repertory fundamentally distorts the flexibility of mood as understood by ancient-style musicians. Billings and Williams were not necessarily incorrect or flawed; they just did not always obey modern conventions of rhythm, accent, and meter.

Besides the English Presbyterian repertory found in Aaron Williams' tunebook, works from the other members of this denomination also influenced Billings' compositions. In particular, some tunes, such as UXBRIDGE (**Anth**), mimic modern triple-meter psalm tunes composed by English Presbyterians. Reflecting its congregational ecclesiastical intent, Billings employed a limited pitch range of a fifth for the tune. Because of the narrowness of its melodic content, this piece can only meander up and down the first five notes of the G major scale. Employing the same method as other tunes in the collection, harmonic movement does not follow a functional sense of harmony and Billings again fails to introduce the raised fourth leading tone at the end of the third phrase. On the other hand,

Billings conceived the piece in the modern ancient-style idiom, featuring numerous melismas and notes of transition (passing tones). He also set the tune in the quicker second mood of triple time (3/4), conveying a more modish and contemporary spirit on a pedestrian congregational tune.

UXBRIDGE shares many similarities with NEWCASTLE TUNE (**Anth**), a modern English Presbyterian piece first appearing in *The Psalm Singer's Compleat Tutor and Divine Companion* (London, 1750) by Thomas Moore. Though featured in *The Universal Psalmist* by Williams and *Urania* by Lyon, the setting found in Lyons' compilation seems to have inspired Billings' later piece. This arrangement originated in *A Collection of Tunes* (London, 1761) by the Baptist compiler Caleb Ashworth. As with MARBLEHEAD, MIDDLEBOROUGH TUNE, and 130 PSALM TUNE, NEWCASTLE TUNE follows the same compositional and harmonic blueprint, though the composer of the English tune was more in control of his medium than Billings or his anonymous Massachusetts contemporaries. Although set to a different poetic meter, NEWCASTLE TUNE is cast in the same key and mood of time as UXBRIDGE. Further, the second and fourth phrases of both UXBRIDGE and NEWCASTLE TUNE closely resemble each other, suggesting this piece as the model for Billings' work. Regardless the inspiration, Billings demonstrates his fashionableness through his attempts at the modern English Presbyterian style.

Billings also included a number of Anglican-style pieces, ranging from congregational plain tunes, to the more elaborate antiphonal and fusing pieces, and tunes with choruses. Of the former, AFRICA (**Anth**) became popular, appearing in forty-two tunebooks before 1820. Showing a more mature Billings, this tune's melody displayed his characteristic sweep, in this case rising a tenth during the first half of the tune, and gradually descending back to its starting point by the end. He endowed the tenor, bass, and treble parts with graceful lines



replete with tunefulness. Alongside these personal compositional traits, AFRICA followed the characteristics typical of the modern Anglican style of metrical psalm tune. Except for the hemiola in the fourth phrase, Billings employed metrical-rhythmic alignment, uniting the rhythmic metric accentuation of the music with textual accent created by the poetic meter. He also set the tune in the first mood of triple time (3/2), indicating a slower performance tempo characteristic of the congregational repertory. All of these features appeared in works by his English contemporaries, such as William Tans'ur's TRINITY TUNE (**Anth**). However, Billings did not simply ape his models; he incorporated their elements into his personal style.

Besides the Anglican-style congregational repertory, Billings included a few pieces that imitated the extended techniques and tune types of the social-choral repertory. These works constitute specifically Anglican tune types such as the anthem, the plain and antiphonal tune with fusing chorus, the antiphonal tune with chorus, and antiphonal tunes. At this stage in his development, Billings had not composed any fusing tunes, only tunes with fusing choruses patterned after pieces by William Tans'ur and John Arnold. Similarly, he also produced a few tunes that used antiphonal techniques, identical in style to mid-eighteenth-century English pieces such as DORCHESTER by William Knapp as printed in James Lyon's *Urania*.<sup>49</sup>

ASHFORD (**Anth**) by William Billings employs the Anglican antiphonal conversational style, with almost all of the verse devoted to solo and duet exchanges, and demarcated by the lines of the stanza. Following this opening section, he presented an

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<sup>49</sup> A revised version of DORCHESTER, known as WESTON FAVELL, taken from *The Divine Musical Miscellany* appeared in *The Universal Psalmist* by Aaron Williams. Daniel Bayley subsequently included it in many of his collections, popularizing it throughout northern coastal New England. The arranger removed the points of antiphonal exchange, and recast it as an extended plain tune.

Anglican-style reiterative chorus, repeating the final two lines of the verse with the full choral sonority. Pieces like this tune proved so controversial to traditional Congregationalists because this technique created a musical dramatic effect that could potentially shift a congregant's attention away from the text. These types of antiphonal tunes fell out of favor during the 1770s, coinciding with the rising popularity throughout the region of works by other English ancient-style musicians such as William Knapp and Joseph Stephenson. Significantly, Billings would seldom publish any other conversational-style antiphonal tunes after *The New-England Psalm-Singer*. As a composer of popular music, Billings changed his compositional expression to cater to modish trends in sacred music throughout coastal northern New England.

Finally, some pieces in Billings' first tunebook betray a multi-denominational set of influences, reflecting the unique musical cultural climate of Billings' region. Rather than demonstrating his ability to capably write in the prevailing styles of ancient-style psalmody circulating throughout Boston, these pieces display two notable traits. First, the strict denominational repertoires and styles found in England and other parts of the British colonies did not carry the same meanings in Massachusetts Bay. Instead, they formed a set of influences that could be drawn from and mixed together in ways not found in European compositions. Second, the combination of these influences without regard to their religious and denominational association reveals the manner in which Billings developed his personal voice. Not held to convention because of his region's lack of traditional ancient-style expression, he felt free to explore all of the possibilities found in available source material.

One tune in particular illustrates the conglomeration of influences manifest in some of Billings' pieces: A NEW TUNE TO DR. WATTS'S SAPPHICK ODE (*Anth.*)<sup>50</sup> Simultaneously, this work shows the influence of European English Presbyterian and Anglican compositional and orthographic conventions. It was written as a parody of the tune JUDGMENT, an English Presbyterian spiritual song appearing in James Lyon's *Urania*. While NEWCASTLE TUNE could be seen as the inspiration for UXBRIDGE, enough difference exists between the two to suggest influence, not parody. Instead, Billings' spiritual song, though expressed along a different set of stylistic and compositional conventions, mimics the content and to some degree the form of the earlier Middle Atlantic piece.

Billings set A NEW TUNE TO DR. WATTS'S SAPPHICK ODE to an early judgment hymn by Isaac Watts, taken from *Horæ Lyrica* (1707), his first collection of poetry. For his spiritual song, Billings employed the rhythmic independence of text from meter, characteristic of some of the pieces found in *The Universal Psalmist* by Aaron Williams. Like AMHERST, he began the tune on the anacrusis and switched between a triple and duple tactus created by the text. However, Billings wrote the piece in the style of an Anglican conversational antiphonal tune with a reiterative chorus. Beginning with a full choral sonority, he proceeded through a series of trio and duet exchanges to conclude with two

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<sup>50</sup> On the basis of this tune, it can be concluded that *The New-England Psalm-Singer* went through at least two printings. The copy in the John Carter Brown Library used for Kroeger's edition of this tunebook differs from the copy at the American Antiquarian society that was included in *Early American Imprints, Series I: Evans, 1639-1800* (E11572). The AAS edition includes a few differences in measure thirteen: 1) a repeat sign, corresponding with the revised version of this tune in *The Singing Master's Assistant*, 2) the word "storm" is printed as st<sup>o</sup>rm, and 3) the bass duet includes a dynamic marking, "lower part soft," corresponding to the one above the previous treble duet. None of these features appear in the edition at Brown, and the word storm appears correctly. It remains unknown which edition is the earlier. These differences in printing are not documented in bibliographic studies of this tunebook, including McKay and Crawford (272-73), Karl Kroeger (367), or Britton, Lowens, and Crawford (175-78).

statements by the full ensemble of the last two lines of the verse. Billings also conceived the piece along the lines of Anglican musical-dramatic conventions, through dynamic specifications that create a startling musical effect between the points of exchange and the full choral statements, and a change in tempo indicated in the final statement of the last two lines of the verse. The piece follows an ABCDD'ED'E' form with repeated melodic material occurring between the bass duet and the choral response, further accentuating the drama of Billings' setting. As a piece of music, it displays influences from ancient-style Anglican and Calvinist compositional conventions.

In addition, several features demonstrate the nature of parody between Billings' spiritual song and the Middle Atlantic tune, JUDGMENT. Most prominently, he borrowed some of the melodic content of the earlier piece. For instance, the opening phrase of both tunes differs only in insignificant details; both have the same melodic movement that begins on the tonic and extends down to the fifth scale degree only to conclude at the octave above. Similarly, the pitch content of "lightning, with a storm of hail" (mm. 10-12) in JUDGMENT corresponds almost exactly to "like a storm of hail comes" (mm. 9-10) in A NEW TUNE TO DR. WATTS'S SAPPHICK ODE. Finally, the same general pitch content occurs at the text "comes Rushing amain down" (mm. 12-14) in JUDGMENT, in comparison with the two statements of "comes Rushing amain down" in Billings' piece. Clearly, the spiritual song in *Urania* was the source of inspiration for Billings' melody.

Besides the borrowing of melodic content, the two pieces closely resemble each other in the use of melodic repetition. The second phrase of JUDGMENT closely approximates the melodic content of the third, with both employing the same cadential material. Further, the anonymous composer provided two possible endings, with the second an elaboration of the first. The piece follows an ABACDC'D' form. Billings took these two

ideas and transformed them slightly in his piece. He includes a modified restatement of the melodic content of the fourth phrase, the bass duet, in the full choral response. He also has built upon JUDGMENT by including two full melodic repetitions of the final two lines of text, recalling the two endings to the earlier piece. Instead of the slower, more grandiose ending of JUDGMENT, A NEW TUNE TO DR. WATT'S SAPPHICK ODE quickens the pace through a tempo marking. Again, the similarities in treatment suggest a direct relationship between the two works.

Thus, Billings was able to present A NEW TUNE TO DR. WATT'S SAPPHICK ODE following the orthographic conventions of Williams and other ancient-style psalmists, but couched within the textural and compositional framework of an Anglican social-choral piece, while parodying a colonial English Presbyterian spiritual song. Although other compilers might have introduced Anglican, Nonconformist, and Calvinist tunes into their collections, none incorporated these elements within the same piece. However, for Billings, these older notions of strict denominational identification associated with tune type and technique did not apply in Boston by 1770. Instead, they served as a point of inspiration, and could be remolded to suit Billings' creative bent.

The multi-denominational expression of A NEW TUNE TO DR. WATT'S SAPPHICK ODE and Billings' treatment of these influences represented in microcosm the overall spirit that pervades *The New-England Psalm-Singer: or, American Chorister*. With no longstanding tradition of ancient-style expression in the region, Billings, through his tunebook, presented a musical practice in the process of being crafted. He was cognizant of earlier initiatives, and in some ways was beholden to their restrictive delineations. Some pieces reflect one specific sphere of influence, embracing the characteristics of individual denominational expression. Others consist of a hodgepodge of different styles and

techniques. It is this new combination of disparate influences that illustrates the remarkable nature of Billings' tunebook. Billings came to represent a popular New England ancient style because his stylistic and compositional traits reflected the combination of influences and elements unique to his region.

Alongside the novelty of *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, the tunes found in the collection parallel the contents of contemporary, regional manuscript source material. Although Billings stands out from among his peers because of his quirky personality and the sheer number of his compositions, his own growth as a composer mirrors the developments among Congregationalists within his greater region. The same influences and expression pervade Billings' tunebook as well as the regional manuscript supplements during the 1760s. The biggest difference between the two is that the compilers of the supplements did not emphasize originality in composition as an aesthetic ideal. Instead, as anthologies, the manuscripts testified to a changing taste and its denominational influences. *The New-England Psalm-Singer* was the product of a single mind, though compiled as an anthology of all of the popular ancient-style branches. This shift from a source documenting denominational identity to one proclaiming individual expression remains central to understanding the radical and decisive nature of Billings' initial efforts in ancient-style composition.

#### ***10.5.2 Singing Master's Assistant, or Key to Practical Music (1778)***

In the eight years that separated his first and second efforts at tunebook compilation, Billings had found his compositional voice. Rather than produce a pseudo-anthology of pieces composed according to the various branches of ancient-style psalmody, Billings only included pieces in the *Singing Master's Assistant, or Key to Practical Music* (Boston, 1778) that bore his personal compositional trademarks. Not content to mimic denominational styles and combine disparate denominational elements into a single piece, he fused these

techniques and influences, creating a synergy of ancient-style expression. As a result, his pieces lost their mannerisms springing from modish trends of the 1760s. Further, those tunes appearing in *The New-England Psalm-Singer* that were revised for inclusion in the *Singing Master's Assistant* shed their dated accoutrements and became integrated into the new repertory.

Billings' second tunebook shows the composer not as an imitator of popular styles, nor as a musician catering to New England's fashionable trends in sacred music. His voice is his own and the ancient style has now been shaped to reflect his distinctive approach to composition. Addressing the public as to his intentions, Billings stated: "I have selected and corrected some of the Tunes which were most approved of in that book, and have added several new pieces which I think to be very good ones; for if I thought otherwise, I should not have presented them to you."<sup>51</sup> Rather than being coerced into bringing his tunes before the public, as declared in *The New-England Psalm-Singer*,<sup>52</sup> Billings issued a collection irrespective of the desires of his colleagues. Instead, he offered a compilation of his favorite pieces to the lovers of sacred harmony, taking into account what he thought the public should like and had enjoyed in the past. The Billings of the *Singing Master's Assistant* is now an arbiter of taste.

Another explanation for the unified style lies in the book's stated intention as a collection of tunes for social singing. Not a collection intended for choristers, this tunebook is targeted towards the secular-social environments of the singing school, and informal singing with friends and family. Though some of Billings' tunes, such as BROOKFIELD, had entered the general repertory, the pieces in this collection were not designed specifically

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<sup>51</sup> William Billings, "The Preface" to the *Singing Master's Assistant, or Key to Practical Music* (Boston: Draper and Folsom, 1778), 2.

<sup>52</sup> Billings, "Preface" to *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, 2.

for congregational use. Each tune appears with a specific text. These metrical psalms and hymns draw from a wide variety of textual sources, some of which would not be suitable during the divine service in a Congregationalist church. The tunebook is now the tool of the singing master, serving both as a didactic study of choral singing and musical notation, and also as the artistic product of a master of sacred music.

Perhaps as a result of his emboldened approach to publication and a newfound sense of compositional freedom, Billings, through the *Singing Master's Assistant*, expressed himself more intimately, allowing his idiosyncratic personality to permeate the collection. Much scholarly work has been devoted to his rhapsodic orgiastic enchantment with music, the use of satire, and the overtly patriotic themes of many of the pieces.<sup>53</sup> As McKay and Crawford noted, the aim of *The New-England Psalm-Singer* "was instruction; the later [*Singing Master's Assistant*], entertainment." Even though it was approximately half the size of Billings' first tunebook, the *Singing Master's Assistant* provided more variation in compositional technique, tune type, and text selection. For the purposes of this study, discussion of this volume will be limited to the more technical aspects of the tunebook concerning repertory and the relationship of this volume to his first publication.

With seventy-one pieces, the *Singing Master's Assistant* comprises two parts: a revised selection of the most popular pieces from *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, and a new gathering of strophic psalm and hymn tunes, and anthems, as well as a number of secular part songs (**Table 10.14**). Although plain tunes appear more frequently than any other tune type, Billings maintained a more even balance between this type and the decorated and extended repertory. Instead of the approximately 8:1 ratio of plain tunes found in the first tunebook,

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<sup>53</sup> See, for instance: Barbour, *Church Music of William Billings*, 8-12; Ralph T. Daniel, *The Anthem in New England before 1800*, 107-08; McKay and Crawford, *William Billings*, 82-88, 96-98.



the second favors plain tunes in a ratio of 3:2. Half of these pieces are revised versions of pieces printed in *The New-England Psalm-Singer*. Taking this phenomenon into account, if the revised pieces were removed, the other pieces would outweigh the number of plain tunes, a striking difference between the two books.

Billings displays his knowledge of a wider variety of compositional techniques. He offers more extended pieces in the *Singing Master's Assistant* than *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, occupying fifteen percent of the entire volume. Similarly, he places more emphasis on tunes with fusing sections, consisting of plain tunes with fusing choruses as found in his first tunebook, and also fusing tunes. He offers a selection of new antiphonal tunes along with a revised version of A NEW TUNE TO DR. WATTS'S SAPPHICK ODE, renamed SAPPHO. Billings even includes a tune with a recurring refrain, RICHMOND, similar in structure to Nonconformist tunes with ejaculatory choruses.

He also expands on the various moods of time. In particular, five pieces appear in compound time, time signatures almost completely absent in *The New-England Psalm-Singer*. Further distancing himself from his first tunebook, Billings used the third mood of common time (2/2) more than any other time signature. Almost two-thirds of his earlier volume was devoted to the first mood of triple time (3/2). In fact, he introduced only one new piece in the *Singing Master's Assistant* employing this mood. Billings also apportioned almost one third of the tunebook's contents to pieces that incorporated two or more moods within a single work. This trend demonstrates his attention to the concept of music creating a musical effect. The use of multiple moods of time in one work allows for sectional contrast, structural organization, and dramatic effect, devices embraced by Billings throughout his second collection. As a social pastime, singers could enjoy the sensual effects of rhythm and meter produced by the alternations of mood.

Finally, the texts used by Billings in the *Singing Master's Assistant* draw from a wider array of source material, though earlier trends extend into the present volume. As before, he featured hymns by local poets in the revised portion of earlier tunes, as well as new texts prepared and composed by Billings himself.<sup>54</sup> Significantly, he omits the pieces set to hymns by Mather Byles. As a loyalist, Byles was placed under house arrest and shunned by the patriots. Hymns constitute the majority of the selections, with the poetry of Watts appearing more than that of any other author. 40 percent of the pieces in the entire volume are set to hymns by Watts. As before, metrical psalm settings found in this collection consist mainly of the versifications of Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady. In this respect, text choices follow the trends established in Billings' first tunebook.

In contrast, a new denominational influence from Nonconformists started to appear in his pieces, specifically the Anglican-Calvinist form of Methodism espoused by George Whitefield. Although one hymn by Charles Wesley was included in *The New-England Psalm-Singer* as a memorial for the deceased minister, Nonconformist influence remained notably absent. In this respect, Billings' tunebook differed the most from contemporary manuscript supplements from the region. Although occupying a small portion of tunes within the repertory, Nonconformist pieces were found in each manuscript, whether taken directly from *The Divine Musical Miscellany* or through Williams' tunebook. Now, Billings appears to have caught up to his fellow Congregationalists in the *Singing Master's Assistant*. Four hymns were taken from George Whitefield's *Collection of Hymns for Social Worship* (London, 1753): one by John Cennick and three by Charles Wesley. He also composed a tune with a text by James Rely, a onetime Calvinist Anglican who is credited with fathering Universalism.

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<sup>54</sup> A few texts appear without attribution. If not found in earlier sources, these have been provisionally attributed to Billings.

Finally, Billings took a small selection of hymns from Anglican tunebooks, none of which had entered into the standard repertory. Apparently, he had access to a copy of *The Divine Companion* (London, 1701) by Henry Playford. Although this collection had directly influenced English Presbyterian activity along the Long Island Sound, its presence had not been seen or felt in northern coastal Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Billings took two hymns from this collection, and matched them to the tunes CONSOLATION and HEATH. Similarly, he set the tune JUDEA to an anonymous Christmas text that most likely originated in the second edition of *The Compleat Psalmodist* by John Arnold (London, 1752). The larger emphasis given to Nonconformist and Anglican poetry represented a tentative step away from textual trends in *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, and presaged his more widespread adoption of these kinds of hymns in later collections, such as the *Suffolk Harmony* (Boston, 1786).

In terms of the tunes in the *Singing Master's Assistant*, Billings appears to have cemented his concept of form and structure, distancing himself from the modish compositional trends of the 1760s associated with Anglicans Tans'ur and Arnold. From the 1770s onward, Billings seems more influenced by the works of two musicians from Poole, Anglican William Knapp (1699-1768) and his Independent-Unitarian colleague, Joseph Stephenson (1723-1810). Stephenson, in particular, represents a European Calvinist-Unitarian parallel to William Billings. The Unitarian church in Poole was originally an Independent meetinghouse.<sup>55</sup> The church split during the 1750s over the issue of Trinitarian doctrine. Stephenson, who grew up in the church, sided with the Unitarian faction. He remained at the Hill Street Meetinghouse, serving as clerk from 1766 until his death in 1810.

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<sup>55</sup> John Sydenham, *The History of the Town and County of Poole* (London: Whittaker & Co., 1839), 340-41.

Stephenson, like Billings, embraced the Anglican country style, in this instance influenced by his elder friend William Knapp.<sup>56</sup> Further, Stephenson's publications consisted only of his own pieces, as occurred in all of Billings's publications, with the exception of his congregational tune supplement *Music in Miniature* (Boston, 1779). Like Billings, Stephenson composed not only psalm tunes, but also other distinctly Anglican genres such as fusing tunes and anthems.

One tune in particular directly influenced Billings, Stephenson's PSALM 34TH (**Anth**), published by Daniel Bayley in his unauthorized edition of *The Universal Psalmist* by Aaron Williams, as well as Josiah Flagg in his second collection, *Sixteen Anthems* (Boston, [1766]). Through the form embraced by Stephenson, the fusing tune in New England became standardized as a mostly two-part composition, generally with a homophonic opening, and a contrapuntal second section. Earlier forms of tunes with fusing techniques consisted either of a plain or antiphonal verse with optional fusing chorus as found in Tans'ur, or a fusing tune with a multi-sectional series of points of imitation as encountered in THE 12TH PSALM TUNE printed in *Urania* by James Lyon. With Stephenson, the verse was neatly divided into two halves, with the two sections corresponding to the first and last two lines of the stanza.

In PSALM 34TH, Stephenson follows a typical AA'BC form, with a homophonic beginning section that concludes with a strong cadence, in this case a secondary dominant V/ii leading to the ii. The second section begins with a free point of imitation. The independence of the four voices breaks down at the beginning of the counter entrance where the tenor becomes paired with the bass following its sustained pedal tone. From this

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<sup>56</sup> Knapp wrote an encomium on Stephenson's music, which was published in the prefatory matter of Stephenson's *Church Harmony Sacred to Devotion* (London, 1757).

point onward, the tenor and bass remain paired together against the free counterpoint in the treble and counter parts. Stephenson concludes the work with a homophonic final phrase. The entire second section is then repeated.

Billings apparently admired this piece, and created a parody of it in the *Singing Master's Assistant*. AURORA (**Anth**), with a text possibly composed by Billings himself, is not a fuging tune, but rather a plain tune with a fuging chorus. As a demonstration of the nonessential nature of a fuging or antiphonal chorus in Anglican-influenced ancient-style psalmody, he printed it without the fuging chorus a year later in *Music in Miniature* (Boston, 1779). True to the spirit of the Anglican fuging tunes composed by Tans'ur and Arnold, the verse was written in the first mood of triple time, employing the characteristic notes of transition and overall tunefulness among the voices. He also cast this section in what would become the typical formal structure of the genre, an AA'BB' form.

An analysis of the fuging section AURORA demonstrates its connection to PSALM 34TH. Though the order of the parts is different, the opening figure closely imitates the Stephenson model. The bass, treble, and tenor parts even employ almost the same melodic content. Whereas Stephenson's pseudo-four-voice contrapuntal entry almost immediately shifted to become three opposing sets of voices, Billings presented a tidier, antiphonal fuging tune. In Stephenson's work, the tenor and bass, less than a measure into the counter entry, are coupled together until the end of the fuging section. Billings pairs the tenor and counter voices together for the point of pseudo-imitation. This pattern continues over the course of three measures before Billings frees up the voices for a concluding five measures of free counterpoint. He further parodies Stephenson's piece with the pairing of the tenor and bass over the extended melisma on the word "day." Not only does Billings employ the same pairing of voices, he also presents almost identical melodic material as Stephenson's

extended melisma on the word "heart." He concludes the piece with a modified statement of the final cadential material of the first section with the treble and counter voices paired against the tenor and bass. In effect, Billings again demonstrates a uniquely northern coastal New England mingling of modern ancient styles, drawing from the sources available to him.

In the composition of fusing tunes, Billings did not always seem so restricted to parodying popular pieces throughout the region. Some pieces surpass his English models. For instance, WASHINGTON (**Anth**) is cast in the same general format as a Stephenson fusing tune. However, Billings now applied some expanded and madrigalistic techniques not present in the metrical psalmody of his contemporaries. In the opening section, Billings employs his characteristic melodic sweep, rising a sixth over the first line of verse, and descending a tenth over the course of the two statements of the second. Appropriately, the opening line "Lord when thou didst ascend on high" corresponds to this rising figure, demonstrating a sense of musical pictorialism.

The fusing section, like Stephenson's, introduces a point of pseudo-imitation, or an imitation of a point of imitation without any shared melodic material between voices. Instead, each voice enters with its own melody. After the initial statement of the counter voice's line of text, Billings begins to pair voices, this time between the tenor and counter on the word "Char'ots." Immediately afterward, he couples the counter and treble voices over the next three measures before concluding the fusing passage with free counterpoint among all voices. The piece ends with a repetition of the final melodic content of the tenor line of the fusing passage, which also resembles the concluding melodic material of the opening section of the piece. He also featured another madrigalistic device, this time in imitation of a wheel. Featuring extended melismas on the word "Char'ots," the tenor, counter, and treble voices share a melodic motive occurring on every instance of this word. Though using many

of the same techniques as his British contemporary, Billings expands on the scope of Stephenson's fusing tunes.

The concept of dividing a psalm tune into two distinct halves was extended to new antiphonal tunes too. Billings began to compose tunes where the points of antiphonal exchange coincide with the placement of a fusing section in a fusing tune. MAJESTY (**Anth**) displays not only this trend in antiphonal tune composition, but also the way in which Billings inserts a miniature version of this formal construction within the larger piece. He sets the tune to two verses Psalm 18 by Sternhold and Hopkins, the sixteenth-century versifiers of the authorized psalter of the Anglican Church. As expected, he introduced a solo antiphonal section at the beginning of the second section that is answered by the other three voices. Similarly, he also restates modified versions of the final cadential material of the first section in both statements of "flying all abroad." Further, he repeats the entire second section, treating it the same as a fusing tune.

Within this larger musical framework, Billings inserts a miniature version of this textural form in the first half of the piece. Two points of antiphonal exchange appear in the second half of the opening section, beginning with the treble duet on "underneath" and continuing with a bass, tenor, treble trio on "his Feet he Cast." In this sense, he replicated in miniature this newer form within the opening section of the larger antiphonal tune. Other composers in New England later imitated this conceit, but Billings was the first American to use this technique.

With the release of the *Singing Master's Assistant*, Billings had reached the apex of his career. Alone of any of his tunebooks, this collection went through four editions, being

printed as late as 1789.<sup>57</sup> He had developed his signature compositional voice and demonstrated a mastery and synthesis of all of the prevailing popular styles of ancient-style music circulating throughout northern coastal New England. Rather than being a strictly functional compilation, the *Singing Master's Assistant* demonstrates that a collection intended for social and perhaps sacred use could become popular, independent of the congregational collections characteristic of earlier practice. Though the repertory in it is led by plain tunes, even these pieces acquire a new sense of sensual delight and drama through extended techniques such as changes of mood (time signature) and texture. Billings composed topical works pertaining to the occupation of Boston between 1775 and 1776, as well as pieces dedicated to famous Americans such as George Washington. Through a concerted synthesis of technique, style, intent, and sentiment, Billings produced one of the most timely and important ancient-style tunebooks of the entire era.

In the next three years, he issued two other collections. Attempting to offer a companion volume to the secular-social *Singing Master's Assistant*, he published a congregational tune supplement titled *Music in Miniature* in 1779. Its tune contents consist of new arrangements of older traditional psalm tunes, congregational-style pieces by Billings from his earlier collections, and a new selection of similar tunes with one contribution by Abraham Wood, a psalmodist from Northborough (Northboro), Massachusetts. All tunes are textless. Resembling earlier works such as the Johnston supplement, or Bayley's *Essex Harmony*, the collection was suitable for use with any commonly circulating metrical psalter or hymnal. Unlike the *Singing Master's Assistant*, *Music in Miniature* did not prove popular and was never printed again. The public seemed disinterested in a new, more functional congregational collection, compared to a book designed primarily for social use.

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<sup>57</sup> Britton, Lowens, Craford, *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 185-86.



Billings then tried to appeal to the public through a compilation of extended pieces and difficult metrical psalm and hymn tunes. Performing an about face, he created a tunebook intended solely for advanced singers, *The Psalm-Singer's Amusement* (Boston, 1781). Neither suitable for the singing school, nor for informal social performance, the pieces demanded a level of technique not found commonly in the prevailing popular tunebooks throughout the region. As he stated in the prefatory material to *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, Billings had attempted to publish a volume of anthems as early as 1770, but evidently was not met with suitable encouragement or patronage by potential subscribers.<sup>58</sup> *The Psalm-Singer's Amusement* constitutes part of this book of anthems. However, he was limited in resources for obtaining copper plate, thus explaining the abbreviated version of the volume.<sup>59</sup> It too failed to appeal to the public, and apart from the tune MENDOM none of the tunes entered the general repertory.

While it is filled with much valuable and expressive music, the importance of *The Psalm-Singer's Amusement* rests primarily in its title. Rather than being a singing master's collection of delightful pieces, this collection now describes the singing of sacred music as an amusement. Reflecting a decidedly Anglican theatrical disposition, the contents speak to comic performance and parody as in the secular part song MODERN MUSIC, extensive madrigalistic treatment in set pieces such as RUTLAND and EUROCLYDON AN ANTHEM PSALMS 107 FOR MARINERS, and an overall sense of music conveying the sentiment of the text. While valued in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries as a display of art, the pieces contradicted traditional Congregationalist notions of sacred music. In fact, by

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<sup>58</sup> William Billings, "Advertisement" in *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, 2.

<sup>59</sup> William Billings, "Advertisement" in *The Psalm-Singer's Amusement* (Boston: William Billings, 1781), 2.

labeling sacred music an amusement, the worst fears of the preceding generation had been realized.

Over the course of twenty years, a fundamental shift in sacred music expression occurred throughout coastal Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Two publications issued in the 1750s displayed a tentative interest in the ancient-style repertory. Apart from a few pieces included in these printed tune supplements such as PSALM 136 the repertory overwhelmingly consisted of traditional three-part treble-led psalm tunes descended from the 1677 psalter of John Playford. However, within five years, performance practice throughout northern coastal New England fundamentally changed. Led first by colonial Anglican musicians and publishers, the modern Anglican ancient style quickly became the standard performance practice in progressive churches and meetinghouses. Compared with the rest of the English-speaking world, northern New Englanders' embracing of the ancient style followed contrary notions of progressiveness.

With the adoption of the modish style came new concepts of the nature of musical performance. Rather than conveying a sentiment of devotion, as characterized traditional practice, the new music created dramatic and musical effects that allowed for music to echo the sentiment of the text. Although this sense of drama was an anathema to many Calvinist congregants at the time, for Anglicans it satisfied the desire for greater musical expressiveness during the divine service. In addition, the ancient style also served in a new capacity for secular-social amusement and recreation. Rather than operating as completely functional music for ecclesiastical performance, the ancient style was as equally suited for use outside the church or meetinghouse, as within.

By 1764, ancient-style psalmody had not only become popular, but also marketable. Two Massachusetts' Anglican publishers, Josiah Flagg of Boston and Daniel Bayley of Newburyport, began printing the modern, fashionable repertory for use by regional singing societies, singing schools, and singers and choristers. To this list could be added Thomas Johnston, a Congregationalist who converted to Anglicanism during the 1750s. The collections and pieces printed by these individuals consisted of popular Anglican and, to some degree English Presbyterian works. Though drawing from similar but not exactly identical repertoires, these musicians demonstrated that simple congregational music, while valued, was not the only type of music favored throughout the region. Instead, younger musicians throughout the region, both Anglican and Calvinist, embraced the new style and entered into a war of taste with older congregants that continued into the next decade.

Alongside these Anglican initiatives, Congregationalists began to select pieces from the ancient-style repertory and copied their favorite pieces into older editions of the standard Massachusetts Congregationalist musical textbook, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* by Thomas Walter. Documenting the shift in taste among Calvinists between 1760 and 1770, these manuscript supplements reveal the gradual abandonment of the traditional style in favor of the modern Anglican ancient-style repertory. At first, Congregationalists simply changed the voice assignation of their older pieces, adjusting the melody from the female-led treble cantus to the male-led tenor. The tune not only acquired a new part specification, the line in which it was printed changed too, emphasizing further the change in tessitura. Then, Congregationalist musicians began to learn the modern Anglican and English Presbyterian repertory, incorporating traditionally Anglican tune types into their body of material, such as plain and antiphonal tunes with reiterative choruses, plain and antiphonal tunes with reiterative fusing choruses, and fusing and conversational-style antiphonal tunes. By 1770,

Congregationalist practice mirrored the Anglican style, indicating a general Anglicanization of Calvinist psalmody.

Efforts at composition during the 1760s also followed these same patterns. Original, anonymous psalm and hymn tunes that appeared throughout regional manuscript and printed supplements speak to these same changes in compositional style, practice, and expression. Initially following the traditional three-part treble-led style, colonial-composed pieces first underwent a shift in part designation, followed by new tenor-led tunes in two and four parts. Congregationalists began to embrace hymnody, producing their earliest examples of hymn tunes during this decade. The pieces also reflected the influence of the Nonconformist style through exposure to Nonconformist tunebooks such as *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, as well as pieces published in *The Universal Psalmist* by English Presbyterian Aaron Williams.

All of these revolutions in taste, repertory, and musical style culminated in the activities of William Billings. Through the publication of his first tunebook, *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, Billings revealed his ties to local practice and also his ability to transcend somewhat the limitations of musical composition and performance in Boston during the 1760s. The same influences witnessed in Anglican publications and Congregationalist manuscript supplements permeate Billings' tunebook, extending to tune type, scoring procedure, choice of moods of time, textual selections, harmonic practice, and considerations of aesthetic. Besides augmenting the number of colonial-composed psalm tunes, the importance of Billings' collection rests with its author's statement of musical and compositional intent. He could write comfortably in the prevailing popular styles of ancient-style psalmody found throughout the region. Further, he combined these somewhat disparate elements together, creating a style unique to coastal northern New England.

Finally, over the next ten years, Billings issued a number of other publications, only one of which attained fame and esteem. Through the *Singing Master's Assistant*, he demonstrated that a tunebook could do more than contain a selection of beautiful music. As an organ of the secular world, the locus for the practice of sacred music in northern New England was no longer the church, but instead the social environment of the home, tavern, and other public places. A composer no longer needed to compile a collection of functional psalmody. Instead, Billings' works operated as popular music independent of the church. Psalmody, rather than a delightful avocation, could now influence and infiltrate all levels and aspects of society. Because of its popular as opposed to traditional nature, the practice of psalmody by 1780 in northern and eastern New England would not have been recognizable to regional congregants of the 1750s.

Table 10.1 Pieces printed in A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes by Josiah Flagg (Boston, 1764)

Key: **Boldface type** = American-composed, arranged, or adapted  
 ( ) = alternate titles  
 [ ] = most common title of a particular psalm tune, or a referential title in the absence of one in the source

Tune Name	Melody Incipit first line	Melody Incipit second line	Composer Information	Text Source Information	Text Incipit	Meter of Verse	Meter of Chorus /Refrain	Number of Parts	Tune Type
50TH NEW	133654321d7	5u11d7u12(3)43 21	— —	— —	—	10.10.10.10. 10.10.		4	Plain Tune
OLD 50TH PSALM TUNE	5432454321	1443456554	— —	— —	—	10.10.10.10. 11.11.		4	Plain Tune
67 PSALM TUNE.	13(2)14(321)d7u1	54(3)65(4)32	— —	— —	—	S.M.		2	Plain Tune
81ST PSALM TUNE	13455665	567u1d67	— A__r__d	— —	—	C.M. double		4 - figured bass (FB)	Plain Tune
85 PSALM TUNE	55345321	55475345	— —	— —	—	8.8.8.8.8.8.		3	Plain Tune
90TH PSALM TUNE	132(1)d5u3(4)543	541(2)35(4)321	— —	— —	—	L.M.		4	Plain Tune
C PSALM TUNE	11d765u123	33321432	— A__r__d	— —	—	L.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
<b>100 NEW</b>	11d7u354(3)21	12434135	— —	— —	—	L.M.		3	Plain Tune
PSALM CIII	35(43)23(21)54(54) )32	55(4)36(5)45	— D__v__t	— —	My soul give laud unto the	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
108TH PSALM TUNE	13254321 - S	1d67u121 - S	— —	— —	—	C.M. double		3	Plain Tune
136 PSALM TUNE	1d75u4(3)21	d5u15432	— A__r__d	— —	—	H.M.		4	Antiphonal Tune
148TH PSALM TUNE	15u11d7u1	d6u11d644	— A__s	— —	—	H.M.		4	Plain Tune
149 PSALM TUNE	5u1123512d7u1	2321d7u121(d7) 6(5)5	by Handel	— —	—	10.10.11.11.		4	Plain Tune
ABINGTON TUNE	11325432	234545	— A__r__d	— —	—	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
AILOFF STREET	5u12351(2)d7u1	23(2)1d7u12 (1d7)6(5)5	— W__s	— —	—	L.M.		4	Plain Tune

Table 10.1 (continued)

Tune Name	Melody Incipit first line	Melody Incipit second line	Composer Information	Text Source Information	Text Incipit	Meter of Verse	Meter of Chorus /Refrain	Number of Parts	Tune Type
ALL SAINTS TUNE	11(d7)65u12(1)d7 u1	23(2)1d7(u1)21 (d7)65	— —	— —	—	L.M.		4	Plain Tune
AMERICA	53213532	53121321	— —	— —	—	L.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
AMSTERDAM. A. HYMN.	1d5u1(23)2323(4)	565432	— W__s	— —	Rise my soul & stretch thy	7.6.7.6. 7.7.7.6.		4	Plain Tune
ANGEL'S TUNE	1(2)312343(2)1	1(2)345255(4)5	— R__l__y	— —	—	L.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
ANTHEM PS. 117, AN (?)	11122(3)43(2)1 - T 11 - B	—	— —	— —	O Praise ye Lord all ye	—		2 - 4	Anthem
ANTHEM. PS. 135, AN	13(45)45(43)1(2)3 21 - B 5u1(2) - T	—	Set by Wm. Tansur	— —	O give ye thanks unto the	—		4	Anthem
APOSTLES TUNE	1321365(4)3 - S	3u1d76543(45)2 - S	J. Worgan. MB. R__l__y	— —	—	L.M.		4	Plain Tune
ARMLY	5u1(23)2321(23)2( 1)d7	5u1(23)23(2)1 (23)2(1)d7u1	— W__s	— —	Why did ye Jews proclaim their	L.M.		3	Plain Tune
AVELY TUNE	11(d7)u33(2)51(4) 32	23(21)d7u1(d7)6 5	— A__r__d	— —	—	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
BANGOR	53215(67)u1d7(6) 5	55(6)7(6)545	by Wm. Tans'ur	— —	—	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
BEMINSTER TUNE	13(2)1543(2)12	23(2)1d7(65)7u1 - S	by W. Tansur	— —	O God thy House I love	C.M. double		4	Antiphonal Tune
BLACKMORE. TUNE.	13(432)15(654)34( 3)23	53(21)2(3)432	— A__r__d	— —	I Glory in the Word of	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
BOSTON	13(2)15(4)3212	23(2)1545	— W__s	— —	Hail, hail all glor'ous Lamb of	C.M. double	4. chorus	4	Plain Tune

Table 10.1 (continued)

Tune Name	Melody Incipit first line	Melody Incipit second line	Composer Information	Text Source Information	Text Incipit	Meter of Verse	Meter of Chorus /Refrain	Number of Parts	Tune Type
BRENTWOOD TUNE	13(43)2(1)4(54)3(2) )5(65)4(3)3(2)	23(234)5645	— A__r__d	— —	—	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
BROOMSGROVE TUNE	15(4)3232(1)d7u1	32(1)2345	by W. T.	— —	—	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
BUCKLAND TUNE	123211d7u1	13453432	— A__r__d	— —	O Lord	L.M.		4	Plain Tune
BURFORD TUNE	112345(4)32	d7u12345	— —	— —	consider my Distress and All Laud and Praise with Heart	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
BURLINGTON TUNE	15321d7	13534(3)2	— —	— —	—	C.M.		3	Plain Tune
BURNHAM	15(43)2345(4)32	23(2)12d7u1	— W__s	Ps. 116 Dr.	W. What shall I render to my	C.M.	4. chorus	4	Plain Tune
CAMBRIDGE TUNE	13121d67u1	323212	— —	— —	—	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
CANON OF FOUR IN ONE, A	12321221	1d7u1d5645u1	— —	— —	—	L.M.		4	Canon
CANON OF FOUR IN ONE, A	153221d7u1	111d5445u1	— —	— —	—	L.M.		4	Canon
CANTERBURY TUNE	13231234	432132	— A__r__d	— —	—	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
CHARLOTTE TUNE	5432d5u1(234)33( 2)	234313(45)45	— W__s	— —	Let ye old Heathens tune their Hallelujah	L.M.		4	Plain Tune
CHORUS FOR 5 VOICES, A	1d535u1d7u1122	—	— —	— —	—	—		5	Chorus
CHRISTIAN SOLDIER, THE	5u1132(1)5	532(1)432	— W__s	Hymn 40th G.	W. Souldiers of Christ arise & put	S.M.		4	Set Piece
CLIFTON TUNE	3234(56)5432	31d7u1(23)2(34) 321	— —	— —	—	L.M.		2 - FB	Plain Tune



Table 10.1 (continued)

Tune Name	Melody Incipit first line	Melody Incipit second line	Composer Information	Text Source Information	Text Incipit	Meter of Verse	Meter of Chorus /Refrain	Number of Parts	Tune Type
COLCHESTER TUNE	13214532	534321	— A__r__d	— —	—	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
COLCHESTER TUNE NEW	11(d7)6543(2)15	56(7)u12d7u1	— —	— —	—	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
CUMBERLAND TUNE.	534(56)1(d7)u112 (34)33(2)	2(34)3(2)3(4)5(6) 5)1d7(6567)6 5	— W__s	— —	—	L.M.		3	Plain Tune
DALSTON TUNE	5u112d7u1	133423	— W__s	— —	How pleas'd & blest was I	6.6.8. 6.6.8.		4	Plain Tune
DENTON TUNE	15(4)34(3)2(1)1	32(1)d7u1(23)45	— —	— —	—	S.M.		4	Plain Tune
EVANGELISTS TUNE	55565(4)567	765u121(d7)6(5) 5	by Blow. Dr. R__l__y	— —	—	L.M.		3 - FB	Plain Tune
EVENING HYMN, AN	5u1232(3)4(2)1(d7) ) u1	233(45)4(3)2(3) 4d65	— —	— —	No farther Go tonight but stay	8.8.6. 8.8.6.		3	Plain Tune
FAREHAM FUNERAL THOUGHT, A	5u1321d7u12 5432321d7	d5u1d7u123 u235432	— — — —	— — Hymn W. 63d. Dr.	— HARK from the Tombs a doleful	C.M. C.M.		4 4	Plain Tune Plain Tune
GAINSBOROUGH TUNE	154321	576545	— A__r__d	— —	—	S.M.		4	Plain Tune
GOODMAN'S	15(4)34(5)65(43)2( 1)1(d7)	u25(4)5u1(d7)65	— —	— —	My shepherd is the living Lord	C.M.		2	Plain Tune
GRAY'S TUNE	123(4)545	56(54)34(3)21	— A__r__d	— —	—	S.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
GREEN'S 100	11343421	12153432	— —	— —	—	L.M.		3	Plain Tune
GUILFORD	154321	2123(1)45	by Tansur Wm.	— —	—	S.M.		4	Plain Tune
HALLIFAX	11d5u35(4)3212(3) )1	d7u2d7u22d7u2 (3)435(43)2	— W__s	hymn W. 50th G.	Ye Servants of God Your Master	10.10.11.11.		4	Plain Tune

Table 10.1 (continued)

Tune Name	Melody Incipit first line	Melody Incipit second line	Composer Information	Text Source Information	Text Incipit	Meter of Verse	Meter of Chorus /Refrain	Number of Parts	Tune Type
HARLINGTON	11325312	21355432	by Tansure Wm.	— —	—	8.8.8.8.8.8.		3	Plain Tune
IRISH TUNE	11d5u1(2)34(3)23	53(4)51(2)d7u1	— A__r__d	— —	—	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
ISLE OF WIGHT	15(4)3(4)57(6)545	57(6)5(4)521	— —	— —	—	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
KETTERING TUNE	133254(3)2(1)2	d5u1(2)321(d7)u 1(d7)6(7)	— W__s	— —	—	L.M.		4	Plain Tune
<b>KINGSBRIDGE</b>	5u1(23)2(1)2(5)d5 u1(23)2(1)d7(6 5)	5u4(5)65(1)232 (1)1	— —	— —	—	L.M.		2	Plain Tune
LAINDON. TUNE	132(1)556(54)32	23(21)d7u1(23)4 5	— A__r__d	— —	The Singers go before with Joy	C.M.		4	Fuging Tune
LEEDS	135u1d56	54323(4)5	— W__s	— —	—	S.M.		4	Plain Tune
LEIGHTON TUNE	5u1d7u1(2)34(3)2( 1)2	32d5u1d7u1	— A__r__d	— —	Like as the hart doth pant	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
LITTLETON. A HYMN	1354(3)2(3)43(2)1	22311(d7)7u1	— —	— —	Lo he cometh countless trumpets Blow	8.7.8.7. 4.7.		3	Plain Tune
MARCH IN RICHARD 3D	1(d5)u11111	232(1)345	— —	— —	Soldiers of Christ Arise	S.M.		3 - FB	Set Piece
MECKLINBOURG	12343211d7u1	12343211d7u1	— —	— —	—	10.10.10.10. 10.10.		4	Plain Tune
MORETON TUNE	5u1(23)21(d5)65(u 1)4(3)2	23(2)12(3)43(21) )d7u1	— —	— —	—	L.M.		4	Antiphonal Tune
<b>MORNING HYMN</b>	11(21)3(2)1(d5)u5 4(321)2(3)2	d5u1d7u1(d7)65 (67)65	— L	— —	—	L.M.		4	Plain Tune
NAZING TUNE	123(4)56(5)43(2)5	1(2)3(1)4(2)5(3) 6(54)5	— A__r__d	— —	—	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
NEW EAGLE STREET	5u1(23)23(454)32	2(34)3(2)54(3)2 1	— —	— —	—	S.M.		3 - FB	Plain Tune

Table 10.1 (continued)

Tune Name	Melody Incipit first line	Melody Incipit second line	Composer Information	Text Source Information	Text Incipit	Meter of Verse	Meter of Chorus /Refrain	Number of Parts	Tune Type
NEWBURY	5523(21)d7u123	23(4565)4321	— —	Ps. 77 W. Dr.	How awful is thy chast'ning rod	C.M.		4	Fuging Tune
NEWCASTLE	13(2)15(4)32	23(2)13(45)45	— W__s	Psalm 48th W. Dr.	Great is the Lord our God	S.M.		3	Plain Tune
NORFOLK	56u1d75u1(234)33 (2)	2321d5u1(21d7) 66(5)	— W__s	Ps. 95 N.V.	O come loud Anthems let us	L.M.		3	Plain Tune
OLD YORK TUNE	13546352 - S	235545 - S	— —	— —	—	C.M.		3	Plain Tune
PENBURY	13(432)153d75u13 (234345)4(3)2	21(234)5645	— W__s	Hymn 88 B. 2d. D.	Salvation! Oh the joyful Sound Tis	C.M.		4	Fuging Tune
PLYMOUTH	13454312	231345	— —	— —	—	C.M.		3	Plain Tune
PLYMOUTH TUNE	32(1)251(23)2(1)d 7(65)	67u112(3)43	— —	— —	—	7.7.7.7.		2	Plain Tune
PORTSMOUTH TUNE	11231345	365545	— —	— —	O God my God I early	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
QUERCY TUNE	133232d7u1	35456545	— —	— —	What noble Fruit the Vines produce	L.M.		4	Plain Tune
RICKMANSWORTH	11353132	d5u1323545	— W__s	— —	Great God attend while Zion sings	L.M.		4	Plain Tune
ROCHESTER	112312d7u1	345645	— W__s	Ps 73 W. Dr.	God my supporter and my Hope	C.M.		4	Plain Tune

Table 10.1 (continued)

Tune Name	Melody Incipit first line	Melody Incipit second line	Composer Information	Text Source Information	Text Incipit	Meter of Verse	Meter of Chorus /Refrain	Number of Parts	Tune Type
ROTHWELL	135u1d56(5)43	234556(5)45 - S	by Tansure Wm.	— —	Awake my Soul awake mine Eyes	L.M.		4	Antiphonal Tune
SHEFFIELD	13(4)54(3)21	d7u1234(3)2	— —	— —	—	S.M.		2 - FB	Plain Tune
SOLOMON'S SONG	13453432	567u1d5665	— —	— —	—	8.8.8.8.8.8.		4	Plain Tune
SOUTH OCKENDON TUNE	5u1(21)d7u1(23)2 1(4)32	23(432)12d7u1	— A__r__d	— —	—	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
SOUTHWELL TUNE	131221	343212	— A__s__h	— —	—	S.M.		4	Plain Tune
ST. ANN'S TUNE	5365u11d7u1	d5u1d56(5)45	by Crofts. Dr. A__r__d	— —	My Glory and Salvation doth On	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
ST. BENNET'S TUNE	1543(4)543(2)1	2365(4)51d7(6)5	by Riley Wm.	Ps. 150 N.V.	Let all that vital Breath enjoy	L.M.		3 - FB	Plain Tune
ST. BRIDGET'S TUNE	1d5u1321 - S	3d7u3543 - S	— R__l__y	— —	—	S.M.		3	Plain Tune
ST. CHRISTOPHER'S TUNE. GLORIA PATRI	113536u1(d7)u1	d567u1d76u21( d7)	by W. Riley	— —	To Father Son & Holy Ghost	L.M.		3 - FB	Liturgical Music
ST. EDMONDS TUNE	1d5u523142	313454(3)2(1)d7	— —	— —	—	L.M.		4	Plain Tune
ST. GEORGE'S TUNE	15554(3)6(5)4(3)2	235645	— A__w__h	— —	—	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
ST. HUMPHRY'S TUNE	124254(32)12	24(32)1545	— —	— —	—	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
ST. JAMES'S TUNE	5u1231243	3d67u1d65	— A__r__d	— —	—	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
ST. LUKE'S TUNE	5u1(d7)u1234(3)2 3	35(65)365545 - A	by Tans'ure Wm.	— —	Come loud Anthems let us sing	L.M.	8.8. chorus	4	Antiphonal Tune
ST. MARTIN'S TUNE	11(21)d5u1(23)3(4) 5(43)12	35(43)12(1)d7u1	by Tans'ur Wm.	— —	How perfect is the Law of	C.M.		4	Plain Tune

Table 10.1 (continued)

Tune Name	Melody Incipit first line	Melody Incipit second line	Composer Information	Text Source Information	Text Incipit	Meter of Verse	Meter of Chorus /Refrain	Number of Parts	Tune Type
ST. PANCRAS TUNE	15u1d7(6)54(5)4(3) )3(2)	34(6)u1d6(543)2 (1)1(23)21	by Battishill. Jont. R__l__y	Ps. 139 N.V.	Thou Lord by strictest search hast	L.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
ST. PATRICE'S TUNE OR EVENING HYMN	11(d7)65u23(2)11 (d7)	u5554343(2)3	— R__l__y	— —	—	L.M.		3 - FB	Plain Tune
STANDISH TUNE	13215432	23(4)5545	— —	— —	—	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
STORTFORD	1d5u11(2)32	23(2)1(2)345	— —	— —	Exalt ye Lord our God, &	S.M.		3	Plain Tune
STROUD. TUNE	11(23)45(43)23(21) )d7u1	23(21)d7u1(23)4 5	— W__s	Psalm W. 69 Dr.	Now let our lips with holy	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
SUTTON TUNE	15367u1	1d7u1d6(5)45	— —	— —	—	S.M.		2 - FB	Plain Tune
TRINITY	11(232)15(4)34(56) )7u1	d7u1(d76)56(5)4 5	by Tansur Wm.	— —	Sing to the Lord ye distant	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
TROY. A HYMN	154(3)23(4)5	532(1)2(5)4(3)3 (2)	— W__s	— —	REIOICE ye Lord is King Your	H.M.		3	Plain Tune
TRUMPET WANSTED TUNE	5u1133553 1(23)2(1)2(34)23 (45)34(5654)	312d57u132 5(u1)d7u1(d1)23 1d7(u121 d5)	— W__s — —	— — — —	— —	L.M. 7.7.7.7.		4 2 - FB	Plain Tune Plain Tune
WANTAGE	1d77(6)5567u1	1d7567(6)5	— W__s	— —	—	C.M.		3	Plain Tune
WARWICK	11315421	354231d7u1	— —	— —	—	L.M.		4	Plain Tune
WELSH TUNE	345(43)21233	43(2)5(43)2121	— —	— —	—	8.7.8.7. double		3	Plain Tune
WENDOVER OR MEDFIELD TUNE	13453432	21d7u1(2)3(4)5	— A__r__d	— —	—	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
WESTMINSTER	11123425	135545	— A__r__d	— —	—	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune

Table 10.1 (continued)

Tune Name	Melody Incipit first line	Melody Incipit second line	Composer Information	Text Source Information	Text Incipit	Meter of Verse	Meter of Chorus /Refrain	Number of Parts	Tune Type
WESTMINSTER. NEW	1333(2)34(5)66(5)	43(2)11(d7)u1(2 3)3(2)	by Nares Dr.	— —	—	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
WESTON. FAVEL	13(43)21(21)35(65 )43(42)	23(21)3545	— W__s	— —	Come let us Join our cheerful	C.M.		4	Plain Tune
WILLINGALE	15453454(3)21	15453454(3)21	— —	— —	—	10.10.10.10. 11.11.		4	Plain Tune
WINDSOR TUNE	1123211d7u	354323	— A__r__d	— —	—	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
WORKSOP TUNE	13254342	2354(3)21	— A__r__d	— —	—	C.M.		4 - FB	Plain Tune
YARMOUTH	111(2)112(3)43(21 )	14435221	— W__s	— —	—	L.M.		4	Plain Tune

Table 10.2 Source compilations for pre-composed tunes appearing in Josiah Flagg's A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes (Boston, 1764)

Tune Name	Melody Incipit First Line	Melody Incipit Second line	Anglican Source Material								Nonconformist Source Material		Calvinist Source Material						?
			ArnoJ CP 5 1761	BrooM		RileW PH 1762	TansW CMHS 1735	TansW MH 1735	TansW RMC 2 1760	WithG SOT 1620	DMM 1754	KnibT PSH c. 1760	European (Baptist, Presbyterian)			British Colonial (Presbyterian, Congregationalist)			
				CCPT HA 1731	DaveU PSPC 1755								AshwC CT 1761	GawtN HP 1730	WillA UP 1763	SP Bost TB 1755	LyonJ U 1761	WaltT GRME c. 1760	
50TH NEW	133654321d7	5u11d7u12(3)4321	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x (?)	—	—	x (?)	—	x (?)	—	—	
OLD 50TH PSALM TUNE	5432454321	1443456554	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	
67 PSALM. TUNE.	13(2)14(321)d7u1	54(3)65(4)32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
81ST PSALM TUNE	13455665	567u1d67	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
85 PSALM TUNE	55345321	55475345	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x (?)	—	x (?)	
90TH PSALM TUNE	132(1)d5u3(4)543	541(2)35(4)321	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
C PSALM TUNE	11d765u123	33321432	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
100 NEW	11d7u354(3)21	12434135	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
PSALM CIII	35(43)23(21)54(54)32	55(4)36(5)45	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
108TH PSALM TUNE	13254321 - S	1d67u121 - S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
136 PSALM TUNE	1d75u4(3)21	d5u15432	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
148TH PSALM TUNE	15u11d7u1	d6u11d644	x (?)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x (?)	—	x (?)	—	
149 PSALM TUNE [AILOFF STREET]	5u1123512d7u1	2321d7u121(d7)6(5)5	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: ST. MI-CHAE'L'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
ABINGTON TUNE	11325432	234545	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
AILOFF STREET [149 PSALM TUNE]	5u12351(2)d7u1	23(2)1d7u12(1d7)6(5)5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	
ALL SAINTS TUNE	11(d7)65u12(1)d7u1	23(2)1d7(u1)21 (d7)65	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
AMERICA	53213532	53121321	x (?)	—	—	—	—	x (?)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

Tune Name	Melody Incipit First Line	Melody Incipit Second line	Anglican Source Material										Nonconformist Source Material			Calvinist Source Material						?
			ArnoJ CP 5 1761	BrooM		RileW PH 1762	TansW CMHS 1735	TansW MH 1735	TansW RMC 2 1760	WithG SOT 1620	DMM 1754	KnibT PSH c. 1760	European (Baptist, Presbyterian)			British Colonial (Presbyterian, Congregationalist)						
				CCPT HA 1731	DaveU PSPC 1755								AshwC CT 1761	GawtN HP 1730	WillA UP 1763	Bost TB 1755	LyonJ U 1761	WaltT GRME c. 1760				
AMSTERDAM. A. HYMN.	1d5u1(23)23 23 (4)	565432	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—			
ANGEL'S TUNE	1(2)312343(2) )1	1(2)345255(4) 5	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
ANTHEM PS. 117, AN	11122(3)43(2) )1 - T 11 - B	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x			
ANTHEM. PS. 135, AN	13(45)45(43) 1(2)321 - B 5u1(2) - T	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
APOSTLES TUNE	1321365(4)3 - S	3u1d76543(45) )2 - S	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
ARMLY	5u1(23)2321( 23)2(1)d7	5u1(23)23(2)1( 23)2(1)d7u 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—			
AVELY TUNE	11(d7)u33(2) 51(4)32	23(21)d7u1(d7) )65	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
BANGOR	53215(67)u1 d7(6)5	55(6)7(6)545	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
BEMINSTER TUNE	13(2)1543(2) 12	23(2)1d7(65)7 u1 - S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
BLACKMORE. TUNE.	13(432)15(65) 4)34(3)23	53(21)2(3)432	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
BOSTON	13(2)15(4)32 12	23(2)1545	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—			
BRENTWOOD TUNE	13(43)2(1)4(5) 4)3 (2)5(65)4( 3)3 (2)	23(234)5645	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
BROOMS- GROVE TUNE	15(4)3232(1) d7u1	32(1)2345	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
BUCKLAND TUNE	123211d7u1	13453432	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
BURFORD TUNE	112345(4)32	d7u12345	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—			
BURLINGTON TUNE	15321d7	13534(3)2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—			

Table 10.2 (continued)



Tune Name	Melody Incipit First Line	Melody Incipit Second line	Calvinist Source Material																	?
			Anglican Source Material								Nonconformist Source Material		European (Baptist, Presbyterian)			British Colonial (Presbyterian, Congregationalist)				
			ArnoJ CP 5 1761	BrooM		DaveU PSPC 1755	RileW PH 1762	TansW CMHS 1735	TansW MH 1735	TansW RMC 2 1760	WithG SOT 1620	DMM 1754	KnibT PSH c. 1760	AshwC CT 1761	GawtN HP 1730	WillA UP 1763	SP			
				CCPT HA 1731	CCPT HA 1731												Bost TB 1755	LyonJ U 1761	WaltT GRME c. 1760	
BURNHAM	15(43)2345(4)32	23(2)12d7u1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—		
CAMBRIDGE TUNE	13121d67u1	323212	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
CANON OF FOUR IN ONE, A	12321221	1d7u1d5645u1	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
CANON OF FOUR IN ONE, A	153221d7u1	111d5445u1	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
CANTERBURY TUNE *	13231234	432132	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
CHARLOTTE TUNE	5432d5u1(23)4)33(2)	234313(45)45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—		
CHORUS FOR 5 VOICES, A	1d535u1d7u1122	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x		
CHRISTIAN SOLDIER, THE	5u1132(1)5	532(1)432	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—		
CLIFTON TUNE	3234(56)5432	31d7u1(23)2(34)321	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
COLCHESTER TUNE	13214532	534321	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
COLCHESTER TUNE NEW	11(d7)6543(2)15	56(7)u12d7u1	x (?)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x (?)	—	x (?)	—	—	x (?)		
CUMBERLAND. TUNE.	534(56)1(d7)u112(34)33(2)	2(34)3(2)3(4)5(65)1d7(65)67)65	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—		
DALSTON TUNE	5u112d7u1	133423	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—		
DENTON TUNE	15(4)34(3)2(1)1	32(1)d7u1(23)45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—		
EVANGELISTS TUNE	55565(4)567	765u121(d7)6(5)5	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
EVENING HYMN, AN	5u1232(3)4(2)1 (d7)u1	233(45)4(3)2(3)4d65	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: title	x: setting	—	—	—	—	—	—		
FAREHAM FUNERAL THOUGHT, A	5u1321d7u125432321d7	d5u1d7u123u235432	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		

Table 10.2 (continued)

Tune Name	Melody Incipit First Line	Melody Incipit Second line	Anglican Source Material										Calvinist Source Material						?		
			Anglican Source Material										Nonconformist Source Material		European (Baptist, Presbyterian)			British Colonial (Presbyterian, Congregationalist)			
			ArnoJ CP 5 1761	BroomM CCPT HA 1731	DaveU PSPC 1755	RileW PH 1762	TansW CMHS 1735	TansW MH 1735	TansW RMC 2 1760	WithG SOT 1620	DMM 1754	KnibT PSH c. 1760	AshwC CT 1761	GawtN HP 1730	WillA UP 1763	SP Bost TB 1755	LyonJ U 1761	WaltT GRME c. 1760			
GAINSBOROUGH TUNE	154321	576545	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
GOODMAN'S	15(4)34(5)65(4)3)2(1)1(d7)	u25(4)5u1(d7)65	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	
GRAY'S TUNE	123(4)545	56(54)34(3)21	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
GREEN'S 100	11343421	12153432	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
GUILFORD	154321	2123(1)45	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
HALLIFAX	11d5u35(4)3212 (3)1	d7u2d7u22d7u2(3)435(43)2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
HARLINGTON	11325312	21355432	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
IRISH TUNE	11d5u1(2)34(3)23	53(4)51(2)d7u1	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
ISLE OF WIGHT	15(4)3(4)57(6)545	57(6)5(4)521	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
KETTERING TUNE	133254(3)2(1)2	d5u1(2)321(d7)u1(d7)6(7)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
LAINDON TUNE	132(1)556(54)32	23(21)d7u1(23)45	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
LEEDS	135u1d56	54323(4)5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
LEIGHTON TUNE	5u1d7u1(2)34(3)2(1)2	32d5u1d7u1	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
LITTLETON A HYMN	1354(3)2(3)43(2)1	22311(d7)7u1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
MARCH IN RICHARD 3D	1(d5)u11111	232(1)345	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
MECKLINBOURG	12343211d7u1	12343211d7u1	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
MORETON TUNE	5u1(23)21(d5)65(u1)4(3)2	23(2)12(3)43(21)d7u1	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
MORNING HYMN	11(21)3(2)1(d5)u54(321)2(3)2	d5u1d7u1(d7)65(67)65	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	
NAZING TUNE	123(4)56(5)43(2)5	1(2)3(1)4(2)5(3)6(54)5	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

Table 10.2 (continued)

Tune Name	Melody Incipit First Line	Melody Incipit Second line	Calvinist Source Material																	?
			Anglican Source Material								Nonconformist Source Material		European (Baptist, Presbyterian)			British Colonial (Presbyterian, Congregationalist)				
			ArnoJ CP 5 1761	BrooM		DaveU PSPC 1755	RileW PH 1762	TansW CMHS 1735	TansW MH 1735	TansW RMC 2 1760	WithG SOT 1620	DMM 1754	KnibT PSH c. 1760	AshwC CT 1761	GawtN HP 1730	WillA UP 1763	SP			
				CCPT HA 1731	CCPT HA 1731												Bost TB 1755	LyonJ U 1761	WaltT GRME c. 1760	
NEW EAGLE STREET	5u1(23)23(45)4)32	2(34)3(2)54(3)21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
NEWBURY	5523(21)d7u123	23(4565)4321	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
NEWCASTLE	13(2)15(4)32	23(2)13(45)45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
NORFOLK	56u1d75u1(234)33(2)	2321d5u1(21d7)66(5)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
OLD YORK TUNE	13546352 - S	235545 - S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
PENBURY	13(432)153d75u13(234345)4(3)2	21(234)5645	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
PLYMOUTH	13454312	231345	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PLYMOUTH TUNE	32(1)251(23)2(1)d7(65)	67u112(3)43	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x (?)	—	—	x (?)	—	—	—	—	—	—
PORTS-MOUTH TUNE	11231345	365545	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x (?)	x (?)	—	—
QUERCY TUNE	133232d7u1	35456545	—	—	—	—	x (?)	—	—	—	—	—	x (?)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
RICKMANS-WORTH	11353132	d5u1323545	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
ROCHESTER	112312d7u1	345645	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
ROTHWELL	135u1d56(5)43	234556(5)45 - S	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SHEFFIELD	13(4)54(3)21	d7u1234(3)2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SOLOMON'S SONG	13453432	567u1d5665	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SOUTH OCKENDON TUNE	5u1(21)d7u1(23)21(4)32	23(432)12d7u1	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SOUTHWELL TUNE	131221	343212	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. ANN'S TUNE	5365u11d7u1	d5u1d56(5)45	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. BENNET'S TUNE	1543(4)543(2)1	2365(4)51d7(6)5	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 10.2 (continued)

Tune Name	Melody Incipit First Line	Melody Incipit Second line	Calvinist Source Material																	?	
			Anglican Source Material								Nonconformist Source Material		European (Baptist, Presbyterian)			British Colonial (Presbyterian, Congregationalist)					
			ArnoJ CP 5 1761	BrooM		DaveU PSPC 1755	RileW PH 1762	TansW CMHS 1735	TansW MH 1735	TansW RMC 2 1760	WithG SOT 1620	DMM 1754	KnibT PSH c. 1760	AshwC CT 1761	GawtN HP 1730	WillA UP 1763	SP				
				CCPT HA 1731	CCPT HA 1731												Bost TB 1755	LyonJ U 1761	WaltT GRME c. 1760		
ST. BRIDGET'S TUNE	1d5u1321 - S	3d7u3543 - S	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. CHRISTOPHER'S TUNE. GLORIA PATRI	113536u1(d7)u1	d567u1d76u21(d7)	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. EDMONDS TUNE	1d5u523142	313454(3)2(1)d7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. GEORGE'S TUNE	15554(3)6(5)4(3)2	235645	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. HUMPHRY'S TUNE	124254(32)12	24(32)1545	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
ST. JAMES'S TUNE	5u1231243	3d67u1d65	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. LUKE'S TUNE	5u1(d7)u1234(3)23	35(65)365545 - A	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. MARTIN'S TUNE	11(21)d5u1(2)3(4)5(43)12	35(43)12(1)d7u1	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. PANCRAS TUNE	15u1d7(6)54(5)4(3)3(2)	34(6)u1d6(543)2(1)1(23)21	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. PATRICE'S TUNE OR EVENING HYMN	11(d7)65u23(2)11(d7)	u5554343(2)3	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
STANDISH TUNE	13215432	23(4)5545	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
STORTFORD TUNE	1d5u11(2)32	23(2)1(2)345	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
STROUD. TUNE	11(23)45(43)23(21)d7u1	23(21)d7u1(23)45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
SUTTON TUNE	15367u1	1d7u1d6(5)45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TRINITY	11(232)15(4)34(56)7u1	d7u1(d76)56(5)45	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 10.2 (continued)

Tune Name	Melody Incipit First Line	Melody Incipit Second line	Anglican Source Material										Nonconformist Source Material			Calvinist Source Material						?
			ArnoJ CP 5 1761	BrooM		RileW PH 1762	TansW CMHS 1735	TansW MH 1735	TansW RMC 2 1760	WithG SOT 1620	DMM 1754	KnibT PSH c. 1760	European (Baptist, Presbyterian)			British Colonial (Presbyterian, Congregationalist)						
				CCPT HA 1731	DaveU PSPC 1755								AshwC CT 1761	GawtN HP 1730	WillA UP 1763	SP						
Bost TB 1755	LyonJ U 1761	WaltT GRME c. 1760																				
TROY. A HYMN	154(3)23(4)5	532(1)2(5)4(3)3 (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—			
TRUMPET	5u1133553	312d57u132	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—			
WANSTED TUNE	1(23)2(1)2(34)23(45)34(5654)	5(u1)d7u1(d1)231d7(u12)1d5)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
WANTAGE	1d77(6)5567u1	1d7567(6)5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—			
WARWICK	11315421	354231d7u1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x - setting	—	—	—	x - title	—			
WELSH TUNE	345(43)21233	43(2)5(43)2121	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
WENDOVER OR MEDFIELD TUNE	13453432	21d7u1(2)3(4)5	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
WESTMINS-TER	11123425	135545	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
WESTMINS-TER. NEW	1333(2)34(5)66 (5)	43(2)11(d7)u1(23)3(2)	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
WESTON. FAVEL	13(43)21(21)35(65)43(42)	23(21)3545	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—			
WILLINGALE	15453454(3)21	15453454(3)21	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
WINDSOR TUNE	1123211d7	u354323	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
WORKSOP TUNE	13254342	2354(3)21	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
YARMOUTH	111(2)112(3)43(21)	14435221	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—			

Table 10.2 (continued)

### Source Abbreviations

**ArnoJ CP 5:** Arnold, John. *The Compleat Psalmodist*, ed.5. London: Robert Brown, 1761

**AshwC CT:** Ashworth, C[aleb]. *A Collection of Tunes*, London: J. Buckland, c. 1760.

**BrooM CCPHA:** Broom[e], Michael. *A Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Hymns and Anthems*. Isleworth: Michael Broom, c. 1730.

**DaveU PSPC:** Davenport, Uriah. *The Psalm-Singer's Pocket Companion*. London: Robert Brown, for Stanley Crowder and Henry Woodgate, [1755].

**DMM:** *The Divine Musical Miscellany*. London: W. Smith, 1754.

**GawtN HP:** Gawthorn, Nathaniel. *Harmonia Perfecta*. London: William Pearson, 1730.

**KnibT PSH:** [Knibb, Thomas]. *The Psalm Singers Help, being a Collection of Tunes in three parts, that are now us'd in the several dissenting congregations in London*. London: Thos. Knibb, c.1760.

**LyonJ U:** Lyon, James. *Urania, or A Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems, and Hymns*. Philadelphia: 1761

**RileW PH:** Riley, William. *Parochial Harmony*. London: For the editor, 1762.

**SP BostTB 1755:** Tune supplement to N. Tate and N. Brady, *A New Version of the Psalms of David*. Boston: Thomas Johnston, 1755.

**TansW CMHS:** Tans'ur, William. *A Compleat Melody: or, The Harmony of Zion*. London: W. Pearson, for James Hodges, 1735.

**TansW MH:** Tans'ur, William. *The Melody of the Heart*. London: W. Pearson, for James Hodges, 1735.

**TansW RMC 2:** Tans'ur, William. *The Royal Melody Compleat*, ed. 2. London: R. Brown, for S. Crowder, 1760.

**WaltT GRME:** Walter, Thomas. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*. Boston: Benjamin Mecom... for Thomas Johnston, [c. 1759].

**WillA UP:** Williams, Aaron. *The Universal Psalmodist*. London: Joseph Johnson, 1763.

**WithG SOT:** Wither, George. *The Songs of the Old Testament*. London: T. S., 1621.

Table 10.3 Tune and text sources for tunes appearing in Josiah Flagg's A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes (Boston, 1764) from The Universal Psalmist (London, 1763) by Aaron Williams

1. Ancient-Style Four-Part Tunes

Previously-Composed Pieces			New Pieces		
Textless Older Congregational Tunes	Modern Anglican Congregational Tunes	Nonconformist Associated Congregational Tunes	Congregational Tunes	Modern Anglican-Style Fuging Tunes	Nonconformist-Influenced Tunes
1. AILOFF STREET [PSALM 148]	1. BURFORD TUNE: version based on KnibT PSH. Text from the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter.	1. AMSTERDAM: melodic variant from DMM. Text by Robert Seagrave, a poet associated with Charles Wesley and George Whitefield.	1. DALSTON TUNE: text by Isaac Watts.	1. NEWBURY: text by Isaac Watts.	1. BURNHAM: text by Isaac Watts.
2. LEEDS			2. FUNERAL THOUGHT: text by Isaac Watts.	2. PENBURY: text by Isaac Watts.	2. CHRISTIAN SOLDIER, THE: text from George Whitefield.
3. OLD 50TH PSALM TUNE	2. ROCHESTER : text by Isaac Watts	2. BOSTON: melodic variant from DMM.	3. RICKMANSWORTH: text by Isaac Watts.		3. CHARLOTTE TUNE: text by Isaac Watts.
4. TRUMPET		3. HALLIFAX: melodic variant is an adaptation of a Moravian chorale tune. Text by Charles Wesley.			4. STROUD TUNE: text by Isaac Watts.
5. YARMOUTH: melodic variant from DMM or KnibT PSH		4. KETTERING TUNE: from DMM.			
		5. WESTON. FAVEL: melodic variant from DMM. Text by Isaac Watts.			

2. Two and Three-Part Tunes

Previously-composed Pieces		New Pieces
Modern Calvinist Tunes	Anglican and Nonconformist Galante-Style Tunes	Nonconformist-Influenced Galante-Style Tunes
1. NEWCASTLE: text by Isaac Watts.	1. ARMLY: melodic variant is an adaptation of a German chorale tune first appearing in DMM. Text by Isaac Watts.	1. LITTLETON. A HYMN: text by John Cennick, a Calvinist Anglican who became a Moravian.
2. WANTAGE: English Presbyterian tune that also appeared in KnibT PSH.	2. CUMBERLAND TUNE: tune that was most popular in Nonconformist Sources, though it appeared in GawtN HP.	2. NORFOLK: text from the Tate and Brady psalter.
	3. GOODMAN'S: tune first appeared in <i>Psalms, Hymns and Anthems; for the Use of the Chapel of the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children</i> . [London]: [Foundling Hospital], [1760]. Text by Isaac Watts.	3. TROY. A HYMN: text by Charles Wesley.
	4. STORTFORD: version based on KnibT PSH. Text by Isaac Watts.	



Table 10.4 Tune repertory of Massachusetts manuscript supplements to Thomas Walter's The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained (1760-1770)

Tune Name	Music Incipit Line 1	Music Incipit Line 2	HTI#	SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70			SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760			SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765-70			SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-70		
				Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice	Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice	Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice	Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice
37TH PSALM TUNE, THE	15451321	35145432	—	—	—	—	x 2	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	
67TH PSALM TUNE, (THE)	13(2)14(321)d7u1	54(3)65(4)32	2582	x 2	—	S/T	x 2	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	
100 PSALM TUNE NEW	11d7u354(3)21	12434135	1054	x 3	—	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
108TH PSALM TUNE, THE	13254321	1d67u121	759 - var. not in Temp	x 3	—	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
130 PSALM TUNE	1534(3)21	323(45)6(5)45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	
136 PSALM TUNE (a)	1d65u321	d5u15432	1613b	x 3	—	S	—	—	x - PSALM 136	4	T	—	—	—	
136 PSALM TUNE (b)	1d65u543	d5u15432	1613 - var. not in Temp	—	—	—	x 3	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	
137(TH) PSALM TUNE	1d765u1321	123423	109a	x 3	—	S	x 3	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	
149(TH) PSALM TUNE, THE (a)	5u1123512d7u1	2321d7u121(d7)6(5)5	657a	x 3	—	S	x 3	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	
[149 PSALM (b)] ST. MICHAELS TUNE	5u1123512d7u1	2321d7u121(d7)65	657 - var. not in Temp	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	
ABINGTON	11325432	234545	1388	x 3	—	S	—	—	x 3	T	x - ABINGTON TUNE	4	T	—	
ALDERMASTON	13455421	53(4)5645	725	x 4	—	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
[ALESBURY (a)] ST. PHILIPS TUNE NEW	154321	576545	848b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 2	T	—	
[ALESBURY (b)] ALSBURY TUNE	154323	576545	848c	—	—	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	—	—	—	
ALL SAINTS TUNE	11(d7)65u12(1)d7u1	23(2)1d7(u1)21(d7)65	1511 - var. not in Temp	x 4	—	T	x 2	T	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	
AMBITION	1235421	415 - B 3232345 - T	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 2	T	—	x 2	T	—	
AMSTERDAM TUNE	1d5u1(23)2323(4)	565432	1648c	x 4	—	T	—	—	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	
ANGELS SONG	11123425	13452545	387e	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	
ANTIPHON	111d7u1d675 - S	56(7)u1211d7u1 - S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 3	T	—	
AXMINSTER TUNE	15(4)323(4)5(4)32	35(4)34(3)21	1454 - var. not in Temp	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	
BABILON STREAMS TUNE	13455432	23455445	304 - var. not in Temp	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x - 2 printings with one var. title: BABYLON TUNE	4	T	
BANBURY TUNE	11d7u15432	231345	1455	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 3	T	—	
BANGOR TUNE	53215(67)u1d7(6)5	55(6)7(6)545	1390 - var. not in Temp	x 4	—	T	—	—	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	
BARBY TUNE	13323(2)1d7u1	3543(21)32	1668a	x 4	—	T	—	—	x 4	T	—	x 4	T	—	
BARNET TUNE	11235(4)321	125432	735a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	
BEDFORD TUNE	53165432	5u1d7665	930a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	
BELLFORD TUNE	15(4)323(2)123	365245	1456b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	
BEMINSTER TUNE	13(2)1543(2)12	23(2)1d7(65)7u1 - S	1719a	x 4	—	T	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
BETHESDA TUNE	13234(2)1	321d7u1(23)2	2196a	x 4	—	T	—	—	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	
BINCHESTER TUNE	321d7u5432	23(4)5645	641 - var. not in Temp	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	
BLenheim TUNE	15655(4)321	565432	1670	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	
BOSTON TUNE - 1	13235421	153135	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 2	T	—	
BOSTON TUNE - 2	1d5555u1(d7)65	5u12(3)4(3)2(1)2	3366	—	—	—	—	—	x 4	T	—	—	—	—	
BRISTOL TUNE	15432421	353445	547 - var. not in Temp	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 3	T	—	
BROMSGROVE TUNE	15(4)3232(1)d7u1	32(1)2345	1084a	x 4	—	T	x - BRUMESGROVE TUNE	4	T	—	—	x 4	T	—	
BRUNSWICK TUNE	11234(3)251	1354d7u3	891a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x 2	T	—	

Tune Name	Music Incipit Line 1	Music Incipit Line 2	HTI#	SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70			SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760			SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765-70			SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-70		
				Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice	Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice	Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice	Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice
BUCKLAND TUNE	123211d7u1	13453432	758	x - BUCKLAND	3	S	x 3	3	S	x - 4	4	T	x 4	4	T
BURLINGTON TUNE	15321d7	u13534(3)2	1457	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	BUCKLAN D	— —	—	x 3	3	T
BURNHAM TUNE	15(4)32345(4)32	23(2)12d7u1	2925	x 4	4	T	x 4	4	T	— —	—	—	— —	—	—
CAMBRIDGE	13121d67u1	323212	249a	x 3	3	S	— —	—	—	x 3	3	S	x - 4	4	T
CHARLOTTE TUNE	5432d5u1(234)33(2)	234313(45)45	2926	x 4	4	T	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	— —	—	—
CHESHUNT TUNE	11d5u131d557u1	1321241d765	2927	x 4	4	T	— —	—	—	x - 4	4	T	— —	—	—
CHESTERTON TUNE	11(d76)5u1(d7)6u2(1)d7u1 - B	3(4)5(65)36(54)3(21)2 - T	2041	x 4	4	T	— —	—	—	CHESHA NT	— —	—	— —	—	—
CHRIST CHURCH CLIFT TUNE	13(4)565432 13214352	23(4)5u1(d7)65 235665	1533a —	x 4 — —	4 —	T —	— — — —	— —	— —	— — — —	— —	— —	x 2	2	T
COLCHESTER NEW	11(d7)6543(2)15	56(7)u12d7u1	1393a	x - NEW COLCHESTER TUNE	4	T	x - THE 150 PSALM TUNE OR NEW COLCHESTER	4	T	— —	—	—	x 4	4	T
COLCHESTER TUNE	13214532	534321	1287	x - COLCHESTER	3	S	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 4	4	T
DEERFIELD	1113211d5	u3542d7u1	—	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 3	3	T	— —	—	—
DORCHESTER TUNE	15(4)3(4)556(5)4(3)2	3234(5)65	1398a	x 4	4	T	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	— —	—	—
DUNCHURCH TUNE	1d65u132(1)d7u1	132(3)432	1399	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 4	4	T
DUTCH HYMN	11123421	13455234	—	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 3	3	T	x 2	2	T
ELY TUNE	11235342	565545	366	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 3	3	T	x 4	4	T
EMMLEY TUNE	15343421	355665	754	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 4	4	T	— —	—	—
EVENING HYMN (a)	11(d7)65u23(2)1d7	u555434(3)23	598b	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 2	2	T
EVENING HYMN (b)	11(d7)65u23(2)1d7	u55543423	598a	x 2	2	S/T	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 2	2	T
EVENING HYMN (AFTER SERVICE), AN	1d5655u1(2)3(21)d7	u2321(d7)65	1726	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 3	3	T	x 3	3	T
EXETER TUNE	13(21)d5u12(1)d7(6)5u1 - B	35(43)21(23)3(4)5 - T	1991	x 4	4	T	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 4	4	T
FALMOUTH TUNE	311(2)33(4)5(43)12	35(43)12(1d7)65 - S	1930	x 4	4	T	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 4	4	T
FAREHAM TUNE	5u1321d7u12	d5u1d7u123	485	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x - FAREHAM	3	T	x 4	4	T
FARINGDON	11315421	354231d7u1	911	x 3	3	S	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	— —	—	—
FUNERAL THOUGHT, (A)	5432321d7	u235432	2931a	x 4	4	T	x 4	4	T	— —	—	—	x 4	4	T
GUILFORD TUNE	154321	2123(1)45	1411a	x 4	4	T	x 3	3	S	x 4	4	T	x - GUILTFORD TUNE	4	T
[HARTFORD TUNE (b)] HYMN: FOR WHITSONDAY, AN	154(3)2534(3)2	2134(3)21	1413	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 2	2	T
HARTFORD TUNE (a)	154(3)25(4)34(3)2	21(2)34(3)21	1413 - var. not in Temp	x 4	4	T	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 4	4	T
HESLINGTON TUNE	13253451	u1d7652532	805a	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 4	4	T	— —	—	—
HEXHAM TUNE	112345(4)32	d7u12345	846a	x - 2 printings with one var. title: BURFORD TUNE	4	T	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 4	4	T
HORTON HUMPHREY'S	135312 124(3)254(32)12	323145 24(32)d5u545	— 2035 - var not in Temp	— — x 4	— 4	— S	— — — —	— —	— —	x 3	3	T	— — — —	— —	— —
HYMN ON THE NATIVITY OF OUR SAVIOUR, AN	23213532	2314(3)23	—	— —	—	—	x 3	3	S	— —	—	—	— —	—	—
ISLE OF WHIGHT KIDDERMINSTER	15(4)3(4)57545 112534(3)21	57(6)5(4)521 323d7u12	733a 1418	x 3	3	S	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	— —	—	—
KIMBOLTON TUNE	13(21)15(43)3(4)54(3)2	23(21)12(1)d7u1	1931 - var. not in Temp	x - KIMBOLTON	4	T	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 4	4	T
KINGSTONE TUNE	11(2)3(4)53(2)1(2)32	536545	1419 - var.	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	— —	—	—	x 4	4	T

Tune Name	Music Incipit Line 1	Music Incipit Line 2	HTI#	SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70			SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760			SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765-70			SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-70		
				Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice	Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice	Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice	Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice
LEEDS TUNE	135u1d56	54323(4)5	577	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
LEMSTER TUNE	134(3)25432	234534(3)21	1421	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
<b>LINEBOROUGH</b>	134521	345545	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	3	S	—	—	—
LITCHFIELD	11232345	543323	381b	x	3	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>LITTLETON (a)</b>	1354(3)2(3)43(2)1	22311(d7)7u1	2935 - var.	x	3	T	—	—	—	—	—	—	x - LITTLETON	3	T
			not in Temp TUNE												
LITTLETON (b)	1354(3)2(3)43(2)1	2231d77u1	2935a	—	—	—	x	3	T	—	—	—	—	—	—
MANCHESTER TUNE	13453465	573543	374a	x - MANCHESTER	3	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
<b>MANSFIELD TUNE</b>	1134(3)23	356545	1424 - var.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
			not in Temp												
<b>MARLBOROUGH TUNE</b>	134556(54)32	23(4)5545	1425 - var.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
			not in Temp												
<b>MELODY</b>	11(23)45(43)23(45)34	1d5u13(43)45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	3	T	—	—	—
<b>MONMOUTH</b>	153423	565432	—	—	—	—	x	3	S	—	—	—	—	—	—
MORNING HYMN	135u1d56(5)43	234556(5)45 - S	2409b	x	4	T	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
NEW EAGLE STREET	5u1(23)23(454)32	2(34)3(2)54(3)21	2381a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
NEW EVENING HYMN, A	1135653432	23453534(3)21	1402	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	3	T	—	—	—
<b>NEW YORK</b>	13542312	135425	2312	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	3	T	—	—	—
NEWBERY TUNE - 1	5523(21)d7u123	23(4565)4321	1946a	x	4	T	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>NEWBURY TUNE - 2</b>	15(4)321321	123432	1427 - var.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
			not in Temp												
NEWBURY TUNE - 3	1d7u1234(3)2(1)d7	77u12345(6)5	708	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T	—	—	—
NORWICH	13451234	3211d7u1	327a	x	3	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>NOTHING</b>	123(4)53321	325545	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	3	S	—	—	—
<b>PAL[L]ATINE HYMN</b>	1153112	343221	1123b	x	4	S	—	—	—	x	4	T	—	—	—
PLIMOUTH TUNE	13454312	231345	1431	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	3	T	—	—	—
PORTSMOUTH	11231345	365545	750b	x	3	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
QUEENBOROUGH	1534534(3)2	d7u134(3)21	1433	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	3	T	—	—	—
<b>[QUERCY] QUERSEY</b>	133232d7u1	35456545	1434b	x	4	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
RESURRECTION HYMN	3(4)5556(7)u1	d12(3)4(5)65(4)4(3)	1820	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	2	T	—	—	—
RUGBY TUNE	135(4)33432	15(4)36(5)45	1436	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
RUTLAND TUNE	13(23)4536(54)32	35(43)12(1)d7u1 - S	1725	x	4	T	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
RYHALL TUNE	5u1(2)325(4)345	35(43)32(1)d7u1	2660	x	4	T	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SOLOMON'S SONG TO 85(TH) PSALM	13453432	567u1d5665	350	x - SOLOMONS SONG OR NEW 87TH PSALM TUNE	4	T	x	4	T	x	4	T	—	—	—
ST. ANN'S TUNE	5365u11d7u1	d5u1d5645	664a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	2	T
<b>ST. CLEMENT'S TUNE</b>	153421	325545	2599	—	—	—	x	3	S	x	3	S	—	—	—
ST DAVIDS TUNE	134556(5)4(3)2	234565	1514	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
<b>ST. EDMONDS TUNE (a)</b>	15(4)323(2)14(3)2	23(4)5(4)321	1408 - var.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
			not in Temp												
<b>ST. EDMUND'S TUNE (b)</b>	1d5u523142	323454(3)2(1)d7	1408 - var.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
			not in Temp												
ST. JOHN'S	1353235432	3564534532	1439	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T	x	4	T
ST. KATHERINES TUNE	5u1(2)323(2)12(1)d7	u21d5545	1526	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
ST. LUKES TUNE	5u1(d7)u1234(3)23	35(65)365545 - A	1506a	x	4	T	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
ST. MARTIN'S	11(21)d5u1(23)3(4)5(43)12	35(43)12(1)d7u1	1929	x	4	T	x	3	T	—	—	—	x - ST.	4	T
													MARTIN'S TUNE		
<b>ST. THOMAS'S</b>	13(4)23(4)51(2)d7u1	23(6)54(2)45	—	—	—	—	x	2	T	—	—	—	—	—	—
SUTTON TUNE	15367u1	1d7u1d6(5)45	2223a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	1	T	—	—	—
TRINITY TUNE	11(232)15(4)34(56)7u1	d7u1(d76)56(5)45	2042a	x	4	T	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	4	T
TROY TUNE	154(3)23(4)5	532(1)2(5)4(3)3(2)	2951	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	3	T
UPMINSTER	13(2)123(4)5(4)32	2434(3)23 - S	1193d	x	4	T	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 10.4 (continued)

Tune Name	Music Incipit Line 1	Music Incipit Line 2	HTI#	SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70			SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760			SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765-70			SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-70		
				Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice	Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice	Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice	Instance	Number of Parts	Melodic Voice
UPPINGHAM TUNE	1d5(67)5u11(d76)55u1 - B	3(4)53(4)545 - T	2410	x 4		T	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	
VANITY	13352132	356423	—	— —	—	—	— —	—	x 4	T	— —	—	— —	—	
WANTAGE TUNE	1d775567u1	1d75675	901a	— —	—	—	x 3	S	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	
WELLINGBOROUGH	15321321	21d5765	1480	— —	—	—	— —	—	x 3	T	— —	—	— —	—	
WELLS TUNE	135u1d7u1d65	55553421	975a	— —	—	—	— —	—	x - 100 PSALM TUNE	4	T	x 4	T		
WENDOVER TUNE	13215432	23(4)5545	586 - var. not in Temp	x 4		T	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	
WENLOCK	15(4)32(1)d7u1(23)45	54(3)2(1)4(3)2(1)d7	1665b	x 3		T	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	
WESTERHAM	55(6)55 - A 35(4)32 - T	53(2)12(1)d7u1 - S	1729a	x 4		T	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	
WESTON FAVELL	13(4)21(21)35(65)43(42)	23(21)3545	1504b	x 4		T	x - WESTON FAVELL TUNE	4	T	x - WESTON FAVEL	2	T	x - WESTON FLAVEL	4	T
WORCESTER	12321443	154765	382a	x 3		S	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	
WORKSOP TUNE (a)	1325434(3)2	23(4)54(3)21	751 - var. not in Temp	x 4		T	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	x 4	T	
[WORKSOP TUNE (b)] HYMN FOR CHRISTMASS DAY	1325434(3)2	23(4)5421	751 - var. not in Temp	x 2		T	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	
[WORMINSTER] HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS DAY, AN	11325432	24321345	1392 - var. not in Temp	— —	—	—	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	x 2	T	
YAXLEY	113123	321345	1483b	x 4		T	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	
ZEALAND TUNE	134(3)231(2)32	321(2)345	1400 - var. not in Temp	— —	—	—	— —	—	— —	—	— —	—	x 4	T	

Source Abbreviations

SM ChamAFostJ GRME4: Chamberlain, Alexander and James Foster. Manuscript supplement to Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick* (Boston, 1746). South Natick (?), MA, c. 1760-80. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

SM GRME 1760 AAS: Manuscript supplement to Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, ed. 6a (Boston, c. 1760). Boston, c. 1760 [E8760]. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

SM GRME8 AAS: Manuscript supplement to Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, ed. 8 (Boston: Samuel Gerrish, 1764). Framingham (?), MA, c. 1760-70. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA, copy originally from the Framingham Historical and Natural History Society.

SM LangE GRME4: Lang, Edward. Manuscript supplement to Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, ed. 4 (Boston: Samuel Gerrish, 1746). MA, c. 1760-70. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

Table 10.5 Denominational origin of tune repertory in Massachusetts manuscript

supplements to Thomas Walter's *The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained*, c. 1760-70

1. Anglican Repertory

TUNE TITLE	COMPOSER OR SOURCE
<b>136 PSALM TUNE (a)</b>	var. from SP BostTB 1755
<b>136 PSALM TUNE (b)</b> (not this variant)	from John Arnold (?)
ABINGTON	by William Tans'ur
<b>ALL SAINTS TUNE</b> (not this variant)	by William Knapp, from Tans'ur (?)
ANGELS SONG	from Milner via Timbrell
<b>AXMINSTER TUNE</b> (not this variant)	by Tans'ur (?)
BANBURY TUNE	by Tans'ur
<b>BANGOR TUNE</b> (not this variant)	by Tans'ur (?)
BARBY TUNE	by Tans'ur
BEDFORD TUNE	from Timbrell via Milner, Knib, Lyon or Moore
BELLFORD TUNE	by Tans'ur
BEMINSTER TUNE	by Tans'ur
<b>BINCHESTER TUNE</b> (not this variant)	from Tans'ur (?)
BLENHEIM TUNE	by Tans'ur
<b>BRISTOL TUNE</b> (not this variant)	from Playford 1677, or SP BarnJ 1752 (?)
BROMSGROVE TUNE	from Tans'ur
BURLINGTON TUNE	by Tans'ur
CHESTERTON TUNE	by Tans'ur
CHRIST CHURCH	from Tans'ur
COLCHESTER NEW	by Tans'ur
DORCHESTER TUNE	by Tans'ur
DUNCHURCH TUNE	by Tans'ur
ELY TUNE	(?)
EVENING HYMN (598b)	from Playford via Williams or Milner
EVENING HYMN AFTER SERVICE	by Tans'ur
EXETER TUNE	by Tans'ur
FALMOUTH TUNE	by Tans'ur
FAREHAM TUNE	(?)
GUILFORD TUNE	by Tans'ur
<b>HARTFORD TUNE (a)</b> (not this variant)	by Tans'ur (?)
[HARTFORD TUNE (b)] HYMN: FOR	by Tans'ur
WHITSONDAY, AN	
HEXHAM TUNE	from Tans'ur
ISLE OF WIGHT	(?)
KIDDERMINSTER	by Tans'ur
<b>KIMBOLTON TUNE</b> (not this variant)	by Tans'ur (?)
<b>KINGSTONE TUNE</b> (not this variant)	by Tans'ur (?)
LEMSTER TUNE	by Tans'ur
MANCHESTER TUNE	(?)
<b>MANSFIELD TUNE</b> (not this variant)	by Tans'ur (?)
<b>MARLBOROUGH TUNE</b> (not this variant)	by Tans'ur (?)
MORNING HYMN	by Tans'ur
NEW EVENING HYMN	by Tans'ur
<b>NEWBURY TUNE (2)</b>	by Tans'ur
NORWICH	from Playford 1677

Table 10.5 (continued)

<b>TUNE TITLE</b>	<b>COMPOSER OR SOURCE</b>
PLIMOUTH TUNE	by Tans'ur
QUEENBOROUGH	by Tans'ur
<b>[QUERCY] QUERSEY</b>	by William Tans'ur, var. from SP Barn] 1752)
RUGBY TUNE	by Tans'ur
RUTLAND TUNE	by Tans'ur
RYHALL TUNE	by Tans'ur
SOLOMON'S SONG TO 85(TH) PSALM	from George Wither via Flagg
ST. ANN'S TUNE	by William Croft
ST DAVIDS TUNE	by Tans'ur
<b>ST. EDMONDS TUNE</b> (a) (not this variant)	by Tans'ur (?)
<b>ST. EDMUND'S TUNE</b> (b) (not this variant)	by Tans'ur (?)
ST. JOHN'S	by Tans'ur
ST. KATHERINES TUNE	by Tans'ur
ST. LUKES TUNE	by Tans'ur
ST. MARTIN'S	by Tans'ur
TRINITY TUNE	by Tans'ur
UPMINSTER	from Tans'ur
UPPINGHAM TUNE	by Tans'ur
WELLINGBOROUGH	by Tans'ur
WELLS TUNE	by Israel Holdroyd
<b>WENDOVER TUNE</b> (not this variant)	from Tans'ur (?)
WESTERHAM	by Tans'ur
<b>WORKSOP TUNE</b> (a) (not this variant)	from Tans'ur (?)
<b>[WORKSOP TUNE (b)] HYMN FOR CHRISTMASS DAY</b> (not this variant)	from Tans'ur (?)
<b>[WORMINSTER] HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS DAY, AN</b> (not this variant)	by Tans'ur (?)
YAXLEY	by Tans'ur
<b>ZEALAND TUNE</b> (not this variant)	by Tans'ur (?)

## 2. Nonconformist Repertory

<b>TUNE TITLE</b>	<b>COMPOSER OR SOURCE</b>
AMSTERDAM TUNE	from Aaron Williams
BETHESDA TUNE	from Williams
RESURRECTION HYMN	from <i>The Divine Musical Miscellany</i>
SUTTON TUNE	from Williams
WENLOCK	from Williams
WESTON FAVELL	from DMM

Table 10.5 (continued)

**3. Calvinist Part I: Congregationalist**

<b>TUNE TITLE</b>	<b>COMPOSER OR SOURCE</b>
<b>67TH PSALM TUNE, (THE)</b>	from Thomas Walter
<b>100 PSALM TUNE NEW</b>	from John Tufts
<b>108TH PSALM TUNE, THE</b> (not this variant)	(?)
137(TH) PSALM TUNE	(?)
149(TH) PSALM TUNE, THE (a)	(?)
<b>[149 PSALM (b)] ST. MICHAELS TUNE</b> (not this variant)	(?)
[ALESBURY (a)] ST. PHILIPS TUNE NEW - 848b	(?)
<b>BOSTON TUNE 2</b>	by William Billings
CAMBRIDGE	(?)
COLCHESTER TUNE	(?)
EVENING HYMN - 598a	(?)
<b>HUMPHREY'S</b>	SP Barn] 1752 (?)
LITCHFIELD	(?)
<b>NEW YORK</b>	SP BostTB 1755
<b>PAL[L]ATINE HYMN</b>	SP BostTB 1755
PORTSMOUTH (Independent/Congregationalist sources titled this tune PORTSMOUTH)	(?)
<b>ST. CLEMENT'S TUNE</b>	SP BostTB 1755
WORCESTER	

**4. Calvinist Part II: English Presbyterian**

<b>TUNE TITLE</b>	<b>COMPOSER OR SOURCE</b>
ALDERMASTON	from Nathaniel Gawthorn
ALESBURY (848c)	(?)
<b>AMBITION</b> (not this variant)	(?)
<b>BABILON STREAMS TUNE</b> (Presbyterians titled this tune BABILON STREAMS)	(?)
BARNET TUNE (Presbyterian settings were titled BARNET)	(?)
BRUNSWICK TUNE	(?)
BUCKLAND TUNE (Presbyterian settings were titled BUCKLAND)	(?)
BURNHAM TUNE	from Williams
CHARLOTTE TUNE	from Williams
CHESHUNT TUNE	from Williams
ELY TUNE	(?)
EMMLEY TUNE	from Milner or Gawthorn
FARINGDON	(?)
FUNERAL THOUGHT, (A)	from Williams
HESLINGTON	from Milner
<b>HUMPHREY'S</b>	(?)
LEEDS TUNE	from Williams
<b>LITTLETON</b> (a) (not this variant)	from Williams (?)
LITTLETON (b)	from Williams
NEW EAGLE STREET	from Williams

Table 10.5 (continued)

<b>TUNE TITLE</b>	<b>COMPOSER OR SOURCE</b>
NEWBERRY TUNE 1(Presbyterian sources titled this tune NEWBERRY/NEWBURY)	from Williams or Milner
NEWBURY TUNE (3)	from Williams
TROY TUNE	from Williams
WANTAGE TUNE	(?)

**5. Compositions Original to the Supplements**

**37TH PSALM TUNE, THE**  
**130 PSALM TUNE**  
**ANTIPHON**  
**BOSTON TUNE - 1**  
**CLIFT TUNE**  
**DEERFIELD**  
**DUTCH HYMN**  
**HORTON**  
**HYMN ON THE NATIVITY OF OUR SAVIOUR, AN**  
**LINEBOROUGH**  
**MELODY**  
**MONMOUTH**  
**NOTHING**  
**ST. THOMAS'S**  
**VANITY**



Table 10.6 Denominational origin of Massachusetts manuscript tune repertory listed by manuscript

1. SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 Ms

Congregationalist	Anglican	Nonconformist	English Presbyterian
1. 67TH PSALM TUNE, (THE)	1. 136 PSALM TUNE (a) - from John Arnold, var. from SP BostTB 1755)	1. AMSTER-DAM TUNE - from Aaron Williams	1. ALDERMASTON - from Gawthorn
2. 100 PSALM TUNE NEW	2. ABINGTON - by William Tans'ur	2. BETHESDA TUNE - from Williams	2. BUCKLAND TUNE (Presbyterian settings were titled BUCKLAND)
3. 108TH PSALM TUNE, THE (not this variant)	3. ALL SAINTS TUNE (not this variant) - by William Knapp, from Tans'ur	3. SUTTON TUNE - from Williams	3. BURNHAM TUNE - from Williams
4. 137(TH) PSALM TUNE	4. BANGOR TUNE (not this variant) - by Tans'ur	4. WENLOCK - from Williams	4. CHARLOTTE TUNE - from Williams
5. 149(TH) PSALM TUNE, THE (a)	5. BARBY TUNE - by Tans'ur	5. WESTON FAVELL - from DMM	5. CHESHUNT TUNE - from Williams
6. CAMBRIDGE	6. BEMINSTER TUNE - by Tans'ur		6. FARINGDON
7. COLCHESTER TUNE	7. BROMSGROVE TUNE - from Tans'ur		7. FUNERAL THOUGHT, (A) - from Williams
8. EVENING HYMN - 598a	8. CHESTERTON TUNE - by Tans'ur		8. HUMPHREY'S (not this variant)*
9. HUMPHREY'S (not this variant)*	9. COLCHESTER NEW - by Tans'ur		9. LITTLETON (b) - from Williams
10. LITCHFIELD	10. DORCHESTER TUNE - by Tans'ur		10. NEWBERY TUNE 1 - from Williams or Milner
11. PAL[L]ATINE HYMN	11. EXETER TUNE - by Tans'ur		
12. PORTSMOUTH	12. FALMOUTH TUNE - by Tans'ur		
13. WORCESTER	13. GUILFORD TUNE - by Tans'ur		
	14. HARTFORD TUNE (a) (not this variant) - by Tans'ur		
	15. HEXHAM TUNE - from Tans'ur		
	16. ISLE OF WIGHT		
	17. KIMBOLTON TUNE (not this variant) - by Tans'ur		
	18. MANCHESTER TUNE		
	19. MORNING HYMN - by Tans'ur		
	20. NORWICH - from Playford 1677		
	21. [QUERCY] QUERSEY - by William Tans'ur, var. from SP BarnJ 1752)		
	22. RUTLAND TUNE - by Tans'ur		
	23. RYHALL TUNE - by Tans'ur		
	24. SOLOMON'S SONG TO 85(TH) PSALM - from George Wither via Flagg		
	25. ST. LUKES TUNE - by Tans'ur		
	26. ST. MARTIN'S - by Tans'ur		
	27. TRINITY TUNE - by Tans'ur		
	28. UPMINSTER - from Tans'ur		
	29. UPPINGHAM TUNE - by Tans'ur		
	30. WENDOVER TUNE (not this variant) - from Tans'ur		
	31. WESTERHAM - by Tans'ur		
	32. WORKSOP TUNE (a) (not this variant); [WORKSOP TUNE (b)] HYMN FOR CHRISTMASS DAY (not this variant) - from Tans'ur		
	33. YAXLEY - by Tans'ur		

Table 10.6 (continued)

## 2. SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760

Congregationalist	Anglican	Nonconformist	English Presbyterian	Original Compositions
1. 67TH PSALM TUNE, (THE)	1. 136 PSALM TUNE (b) (not this variant) - from John Arnold	1. WESTON FAVELL - from DMM	1. BUCKLAND TUNE (Presbyteria n settings were titled BUCKLAND)	1. 37TH PSALM TUNE, THE
2. 137(TH) PSALM TUNE	2. ALL SAINTS TUNE (not this variant) - by William Knapp, from Tans'ur		2. BURNHAM TUNE - from Williams	2. HYMN ON THE NATIVITY OF OUR SAVIOUR, AN
3. 149(TH) PSALM TUNE, THE (a)	3. BROMSGROVE TUNE - from Tans'ur		3. FUNERAL THOUGHT, (A) - from Williams	3. MONMOU TH
	4. COLCHESTER NEW - by Tans'ur		4. WANTAGE TUNE	4. ST. CLE- MENT'S TUNE
	5. GUILFORD TUNE - by Tans'ur			5. ST. THOMAS'S
	6. SOLOMON'S SONG TO 85(TH) PSALM - from George Wither via Flagg			
	7. ST. MARTIN'S - by Tans'ur			

Table 10.6 (continued)

## 3. SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765-70

Congregationalist	Anglican	Nonconformist	English Presbyterian	Original Compositions
1. 137 <sup>(TH)</sup> PSALM TUNE	1. <b>136 PSALM TUNE</b> (a) - from John Arnold, var. from SP BostTB 1755	1. RESURRECTION HYMN - from <i>The Divine Musical Miscellany</i>	1. ALESBURY - 848c	1. <b>DEER-FIELD</b>
2. <b>BOSTON TUNE</b> (2) - by Billings	2. ABINGTON - by William Tans'ur	2. SUTTON TUNE - from Williams	2. <b>AMBITION</b> (not this variant)	2. <b>DUTCH HYMN</b>
3. CAMBRIDGE	3. BARBY TUNE - by Tans'ur	3. WESTON FAVELL - from DMM	3. BUCKLAND TUNE	3. <b>HORTON</b>
4. <b>NEW YORK PAL[L]ATINE HYMN</b>	4. CHRIST CHURCH - from Tans'ur		4. BURNHAM TUNE - from Williams	4. <b>LINEBOR-OUGH</b>
6. <b>ST. CLEMENT'S TUNE</b>	5. COLCHESTER NEW - by Tans'ur		5. CHESHUNT TUNE - from Williams	5. <b>MELODY</b>
7. WORCESTER	6. ELY TUNE (?)*		6. ELY TUNE (?)*	6. <b>NOTHING</b>
	7. EVENING HYMN AFTER SERVICE - by Tans'ur		7. EMMLEY TUNE - from Milner or Gawthorn	7. <b>VANITY</b>
	8. FAREHAM TUNE		8. HESLINGTON - from Milner	
	9. GUILFORD TUNE - by Tans'ur		9. NEWBURY TUNE (3) - from Williams	
	10. KIDDERMINSTER - by Tans'ur		10. WANTAGE TUNE	
	11. NEW EVENING HYMN - by Tans'ur			
	12. PLIMOUTH TUNE - by Tans'ur			
	13. QUEENBOROUGH - by Tans'ur			
	14. SOLOMON'S SONG TO 85 <sup>(TH)</sup> PSALM - from George Wither via Flagg			
	15. ST. JOHN'S - by Tans'ur			
	16. WELLINGBOROUGH - by Tans'ur			
	17. WELLS TUNE - by I. Holdroyd			

Table 10.6 (continued)

## 4) SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-70

Congregationalist	Anglican	Nonconformist	English Presbyterian	Original Compositions
1. [149 PSALM (b)] ST. MICHAELS TUNE (not this variant)	1. ABINGTON - by William Tans'ur	1. AMSTERDAM TUNE - from Aaron Williams	1. AMBITION (not this variant)	1. 130 PSALM TUNE
2. ALESBURY (a)] ST. PHILIPS TUNE NEW - 848b	2. ALL SAINTS TUNE (not this variant) - by William Knapp, from Tans'ur	2. BETHESDA TUNE - from Williams	2. BABILON STREAMS TUNE	2. ANTIPHON
3. CAMBRIDGE	3. ANGELS SONG- from Milner via Timbrell	3. WENLOCK - from Williams	3. BARNET TUNE	3. CLIFT TUNE
4. COLCHESTER TUNE	4. AXMINSTER TUNE (not this variant) - Tans'ur	4. WESTON FAVELL - from <i>The Divine Musical Miscellany</i>	4. BRUNSWICK TUNE	4. DUTCH HYMN
5. EVENING HYMN - 598a	5. BANBURY TUNE - by Tans'ur		5. BUCKLAND TUNE	
	6. BANGOR TUNE (not this variant) - by Tans'ur		6. ELY TUNE (?)*	
	7. BARBY TUNE - by Tans'ur		7. FUNERAL THOUGHT, (A) - from Williams	
	8. BEDFORD TUNE - from Timbrell via Milner, Knib, Lyon or Moore		8. LEEDS TUNE - from Williams	
	9. BELLFORD TUNE - by Tans'ur		9. LITTLETON (a) (not this variant)- from Williams	
	10. BINCHESTER TUNE (not this variant) - from Tans'ur		10. NEW EAGLE STREET - from Williams	
	11. BLENHEIM TUNE - by Tans'ur		11. TROY TUNE - from Williams	
	12. BRISTOL TUNE (not this variant) - from Playford 1677 or SP BarnJ 1752			
	13. BROMSGROVE TUNE - from Tans'ur			
	14. BURLINGTON TUNE - by Tans'ur			
	15. COLCHESTER NEW - by Tans'ur			
	16. ELY TUNE (?)*			
	17. EVENING HYMN (598b) - from Playford via Williams or Milner			
	18. EVENING HYMN AFTER SERVICE - by Tans'ur			
	19. EXETER TUNE - by Tans'ur			
	20. FALMOUTH TUNE - by Tans'ur			
	21. FAREHAM TUNE			
	22. GUILFORD TUNE - by Tans'ur			
	23. HARTFORD TUNE (b)] HYMN: FOR WHITSONDAY, AN - by Tans'ur			
	24. HEXHAM TUNE - from Tans'ur			
	25. KIMBOLTON TUNE (not this variant) - by Tans'ur			
	26. KINGSTONE TUNE (not this variant) - by Tans'ur			
	27. LEMSTER TUNE - by Tans'ur			
	28. MANCHESTER TUNE			
	29. MANSFIELD TUNE (not this variant) - by Tans'ur			
	30. MARLBOROUGH TUNE (not this variant) - by Tans'ur			
	31. MORNING HYMN - by Tans'ur			
	32. NEWBURY TUNE (2) (not this variant) - by Tans'ur			
	33. RUGBY TUNE - by Tans'ur			
	34. ST. ANN'S TUNE - by William Croft			
	35. ST DAVIDS TUNE - by Tans'ur			
	36. ST. EDMONDS TUNE (a) (not this variant)- by Tans'ur			
	37. ST. KATHERINES TUNE - by Tans'ur			
	38. ST. LUKES TUNE - by Tans'ur			
	39. ST. MARTIN'S - by Tans'ur			
	40. TRINITY TUNE - by Tans'ur			
	41. WELLS TUNE - by Israel Holdroyd			
	42. WORKSOP TUNE (a) (not this variant) - from Tans'ur			
	43. [WORMINSTER] HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS DAY, AN (not this variant) - by Tans'ur			
	44. ZEALAND TUNE (not this variant) - by Tans'ur			

Table 10.7 Tune repertory of Massachusetts manuscript supplements to Thomas Walter's *The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained* and parallel source material

Tune Name	HTI#	Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Tune Collections					Social-Choral Tune Collections					
		SM ChamA FostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 c. 1760	SM GRME 8 AAS c. 1765-1770	SM LangE GRME 4 c. 1765-1770	English Presbyterian					Anglican Publications					
						New England Anglican (1764-1771)	Congrega-tionalist (1755-1767)	Long Island Sound (c. 1750-c.1770)	British Colonial Compilations		European Compilations	Congregationalist Publications		British European Compilations - Anglican/Nonconformist		
									Philadelphia (1754-1763)	London Repertory (1719-1761)		Period I (1760-1764)	Period II (1765-1770)	Massachusetts Compilations (1766-1769)	TansW WWT 1737	DMM 1754
37TH PSALM TUNE, THE	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
67TH PSALM TUNE, (THE)	2582	X	X	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—
100 PSALM TUNE NEW	1054	X	—	—	—	X	X: ANTHEM TO 100	X	X	—	—	X: ANTHEM TO 100	X: ANTHEM TO 100	—	—	—
108TH PSALM TUNE, THE	759 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	—	X - a	X - a	—	—	—	X - a	—	—	—	—	—
130 PSALM TUNE	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
136 PSALM TUNE (a)	1613b	X	—	X	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
136 PSALM TUNE (b)	1613 - var. not in Temp.	—	X	—	—	X - a	X - b	X - b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
137(TH) PSALM TUNE	109a	X	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—
149(TH) PSALM TUNE, THE (a)	657a	X	X	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X - a, b	—	—
[149 PSALM (b)] ST. MICHAELS TUNE	657 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a, b	—	—
ABINGTON	1388	X	—	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	X	—	X	—	X	—
ALDERMINGTON	725	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—

		Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Tune Collections								Social-Choral Tune Collections					
		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				English Presbyterian				Anglican Publications					
Tune Name	HTI#	SM	SM	SM	SM	New England Anglican (1764- 1771)	Congrega- -tionalist (1755- 1767)	Long Island Sound (c. 1750- c.1770)	British Colonial Compilations		European Compilations	Congregationalist Publications		British European Compilations - Anglican/ Nonconformist	
		ChamA FostJ GRME4 c. 1760- 70	GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	8 AAS c. 1765- 1770	LangE GRME4 c. 1765- 1770				Philadelphia (1754-1763)	London Repertory (1719-1761)	Period I (1760- 1764)	Period II (1765- 1770)	Massachusetts Compilations (1766-1769)	TansW WWT 1737	DMM 1754
[ALESBURY(a)] ST. PHILIPS TUNE NEW	848b	—	—	—	X	X: EXETER; GAINS- BOROUGH	X: ST. PHILLIPS TUNE	—	X: WIRKS- WORTH	—	—	X: EXETER	X: ALESBURY	—	X: WIRKS- WORTH
[ALESBURY (b)] ALS BURY TUNE	848c	—	—	X	—	—	—	X – AYLS- BURY	—	X	—	—	—	—	—
<b>ALL SAINTS TUNE</b>	1511 - var. not in Temp.	X	X	—	X	X - a	X - a	X - a	—	—	—	X - a	X - a	—	—
<b>AMBITION</b>	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	X - (a): ANTHEM ON KING DAVID	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
AMSTERDAM TUNE	1648c	X	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	X
ANGELS SONG	387e	—	—	—	X	X	—	X	X: ANGEL'S HYMN	X	—	—	—	—	—
<b>ANTIPHON AXMINSTER TUNE</b>	1454 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	X - (a)	—
<b>BABILON STREAMS TUNE</b>	304 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X - 2 set- tings	—	—	X - a	X - a	X - a	—	—	X - b	—	—
BANBURY TUNE	1455	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X: HOLY COM- MUNION	—
<b>BANGOR TUNE</b>	1390 - var.	X	—	—	X	X - a	X - a	X - a	—	—	—	X - a	X - a	X - a	—

Table 10.7 (continued)

		Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Tune Collections							Social-Choral Tune Collections						
		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)					English Presbyterian		Anglican Publications						
Tune Name	HTI#	SM	SM	SM	SM	New England Anglican (1764- 1771)	Congrega- -tionalist (1755- 1767)	Long Island Sound (c. 1750- c.1770)	British Colonial Compilations		European Compilations	Congregationalist Publications		British European Compilations - Anglican/ Nonconformist	
		ChamA FostJ GRME4 c. 1760- 70	GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	GRME 8 AAS c. 1765- 1770	LangE GRME4 c. 1765- 1770				Philadelphia (1754-1763)	London Repertory (1719-1761)	Period I (1760- 1764)	Period II (1765- 1770)	Massachusetts Compilations (1766-1769)	TansW WWT 1737	DMM 1754
BARBY TUNE	1668a	X	—	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	—
BARNET TUNE	735a	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	—
BEDFORD TUNE	930a	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	X	X	—	—	X	X	—
BELLFORD TUNE	1456b	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X: BEL- FORD	—
BEMINSTER TUNE	1719a	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
BETHESDA TUNE	2196a	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	X
<b>BINCHESTER TUNE</b>	641 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - b	X - b	—
BLENHEIM TUNE	1670	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	—
<b>BOSTON TUNE - 1</b>	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>BOSTON TUNE - 2</b>	3366	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—
<b>BRISTOL TUNE</b>	547 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	X - a	—	—	X - a	—	—	—	—	—
BROMSGROVE TUNE	1084a	X	X: BRUMES- GROVE TUNE	—	X	X: BROOMS- GROVE	X	—	X: CROWLE	X: CROWLE	X	X	X	—	—
BRUNSWICK TUNE	891a	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	—
BUCKLAND TUNE	758	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X: BATH	X	—	X	—	—	—
BURLINGTON TUNE	1457	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	X	—
BURNHAM TUNE	2925	X	X	—	—	X	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	—	—
CAMBRIDGE	249a	X	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	X	—	—	—

Table 10.7 (continued)

		Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Tune Collections							Social-Choral Tune Collections							
		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)					English Presbyterian		Anglican Publications							
Tune Name	HTI#	SM ChamA	SM FostJ	SM GRME4	SM GRME	SM LangE	SM GRME4	New England Anglican	Congregationalist	Long Island Sound	British Colonial Compilations	European Compilations	Congregationalist Publications	British European Compilations - Anglican/Nonconformist		
		c. 1760-70	1760 AAS	c. 1765-70	8 AAS	c. 1765-70	c. 1765-70	(1764-1771)	(1755-1767)	(c. 1750-c.1770)	Philadelphia (1754-1763)	London Repertory (1719-1761)	Period I (1760-1764)	Period II (1765-1770)	Massachusetts Compilations (1766-1769)	TansW WWT 1737
CHARLOTTE TUNE	2926	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
CHESHUNT TUNE	2927	X	—	—	X: CHESHANT	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
CHESTERTON TUNE	2041	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
CHRIST CHURCH CLIFT TUNE	1533a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
COLCHESTER NEW	1393a	X: NEW COLCHES-TER TUNE	X: THE 150 PSALM TUNE OF NEW COLCHES-TER	—	—	X	—	X	X	—	—	X	X	X	X: COLCHESTER	—
COLCHESTER TUNE	1287	X	—	—	—	X	X	X	X	—	—	X	X	—	—	—
DEERFIELD	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
DORCHESTER TUNE	1398a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	—
DUNCHURCH TUNE	1399	—	—	—	—	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	X	—
DUTCH HYMN	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ELY TUNE	366	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—
EMMLEY TUNE	754	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X: EMLY	—	—	—	—
EVENING HYMN (a)	598b	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	—	—
EVENING HYMN (b)	598a	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—
EVENING HYMN AFTER	1726	—	—	—	X: AN EVENING	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	X: EVENING HYMN	—	—	—

Table 10.7 (continued)



		Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Tune Collections							Social-Choral Tune Collections							
		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				English Presbyterian			Anglican Publications			British European Compilations - Anglican/ Nonconformist				
Tune Name	HTI#	SM ChamA	SM FostJ	SM GRME4	SM LangE	New England Anglican (1764- 1771)	Congrega- -tionalist (1755- 1767)	Long Island Sound (c. 1750- c.1770)	British Colonial Compilations		European Compilations	Congregationalist Publications		Massachusetts Compilations (1766-1769)	TansW	DMM
		c. 1760- 70	1760 AAS c. 1760	8 AAS c. 1765- 1770	GRME4 c. 1765- 1770				Philadelphia (1754-1763)	London Repertory (1719-1761)	Period I (1760- 1764)	Period II (1765- 1770)	1737		1754	
SERVICE, AN																
EXETER TUNE	1991	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
FALMOUTH TUNE	1930	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—
FAREHAM TUNE	485	—	—	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—
FARINGDON	911	X	—	—	—	X: WARWICK	—	X: WAR- WICK	—	X	X: WAR- WICK	X: WAR- WICK	—	—	—	—
FUNERAL THOUGHT, (A)	2931a	X	X	—	X	X	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—
GUILFORD TUNE	1411a	X	X	X	X: GUILT- FORD TUNE	X	—	X: GUD- FORD	—	X	—	—	X	X	—	—
<b>HARTFORD TUNE (a)</b>	1413 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	X	X - (a)	X - (a)	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	X - (a)	—	—
[HARTFORD TUNE (b)] HYMN: FOR WHITSON- DAY, AN	1413	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	X: HAR- FORD	—	—
HESLINGTON TUNE	805a	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - PSALM 98; HESLINGTON	—	—	—	—	—
HEXHAM TUNE	846a	x - 2 printings with one var. title: BUR- FORD TUNE	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	X - BURFORD	—	—	X	—	—
<b>HORTON</b>	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 10.7 (continued)

		Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Tune Collections							Social-Choral Tune Collections							
		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)							English Presbyterian			Anglican Publications				
Tune Name	HTI#	SM ChamA	SM FostJ	SM GRME4	SM LangE	New England Anglican (1764-1771)	Congrega-tionalist (1755-1767)	Long Island Sound (c. 1750-c.1770)	British Colonial Compilations		European Compilations	Congregationalist Publications		British European Compilations - Anglican/Nonconformist		
		1760-70	1760	AAS c. 1760	8 AAS c. 1765-1770				GRME4 c. 1765-1770	Philadelphia (1754-1763)	London Repertory (1719-1761)	Period I (1760-1764)	Period II (1765-1770)	Massachusetts Compilations (1766-1769)	TansW WWT 1737	DMM 1754
HUMPHREY'S	2035 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	—	X - b	X - a	X - b: THE 108TH PSALM	X - b: ST. HUMPHREY'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
HYMN ON THE NATIVITY OF OUR SAVIOUR, AN	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ISLE OF WHIGHT	733a	X	—	—	—	X	X - var. not in Temp.	X	X	X	—	—	—	X: FUNERAL HYMN/ KELLINGTON	—	—
KIDDERMINSTER	1418	—	—	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
KIMBOLTON TUNE	1931 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	—	—	—
KINGSTONE TUNE	1419 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	X - (a)	—	—
LEEDS TUNE	577	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	X: BELLA/ DERBY	X: BELLA	X: BELLA OR 25 PSALM TUNE	X: BELLA OR 25 PSALM TUNE	—	—	—	—
LEMSTER TUNE	1421	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	—
LINEBOROUGH	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LITCHFIELD	381b	X	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 10.7 (continued)

		Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Tune Collections							Social-Choral Tune Collections									
		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)					English Presbyterian		British Colonial Compilations		European Compilations	Anglican Publications						
Tune Name	HTI#	SM ChamA	SM FostJ	SM GRME4	SM GRME	SM 8	SM LangE	SM GRME4	New England Anglican	Congregationalist	Long Island Sound	Philadelphia	London Repertory	Period I	Period II	Massachusetts Compilations	TansW	DMM
		c. 1760-70	1760	AAS c. 1760	AAS c. 1765-70	c. 1765-70	1770	(1764-1771)	(1755-1767)	(c. 1750-c.1770)	(1754-1763)	(1719-1761)	(1760-1764)	(1765-1770)	(1766-1769)	1737	1754	
LITTLETON (a)	2935 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	X	X - a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - a	X - a	—	—	
LITTLETON (b)	2935a	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	
MANCHESTER TUNE	374a	X	—	—	X	—	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	
MANSFIELD TUNE	1424 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	X - (a)	—	—	X - (a)	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	X - (a)	—	
MARLBOROUGH TUNE	1425 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	X - (a)	—	
MELODY	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
MONMOUTH	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
MORNING HYMN	2409b	X	—	—	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	
NEW EAGLE STREET	2381a	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	
NEW EVENING HYMN, A	1402	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
NEW YORK	2312	—	—	X	—	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	
NEWBERY TUNE - 1	1946a	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	X: PSALM 5	X: NEW NEWBERY	—	—	—	X	—	—	
NEWBERY TUNE - 2	1427 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	X - (a)	—	
NEWBERY TUNE - 3	708	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	
NORWICH	327a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X: DUNDEE/LINCOLN	—	—	—	—	
NOTHING	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

Table 10.7 (continued)

		Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Tune Collections							Social-Choral Tune Collections							
		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)					English Presbyterian		Anglican Publications							
Tune Name	HTI#	SM ChamA	SM FostJ	SM GRME4	SM GRME	SM LangE	SM GRME4	New England Anglican	Congregationalist	Long Island Sound	British Colonial Compilations	European Compilations	Congregationalist Publications	Massachusetts Compilations	British European Compilations - Anglican/Nonconformist	
		c. 1760-70	1760 AAS	c. 1765-70	8 AAS	c. 1765-70	c. 1765-70	(1764-1771)	(1755-1767)	(c. 1750-c.1770)	Philadelphia (1754-1763)	London Repertory (1719-1761)	Period I (1760-1764)	Period II (1765-1770)	(1766-1769)	TansW WWT 1737
PAL[L]ATINE HYMN	1123b	X	—	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PLIMOUTH TUNE	1431	—	—	X	—	X: PLY-MOUTH	X: PLY-MOUTH TUNE	X: PLY-MOUTH	—	—	—	—	X: PLY-MOUTH	—	X: PLY-MOUTH	—
PORTSMOUTH	750b	X	—	—	—	X	X	X	X – PORTSMOUTH/NAMURE	X - NAMURE	X	X	—	—	—	—
QUEENBOROUGH	1433	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
[QUERCY] QUERSEY	1434b	X	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	X	X	—	X - a	—
RESURRECTION HYMN	1820	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X: ON THE RESURRECTION
RUGBY TUNE	1436	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	—
RUTLAND TUNE	1725	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
RYHALL TUNE	2660	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
SOLOMON'S SONG TO 85(TH) PSALM	350	X: SOLOMONS SONG OR NEW 87TH PSALM TUNE	X	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. ANN'S TUNE	664a	—	—	—	X	X	X	X	—	X	X	—	—	X	—	—
ST. CLEMENT'S TUNE	2599	—	X	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. DAVIDS TUNE	1514	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X: ST. DAVID'S NEW TUNE	—	—

Table 10.7 (continued)

		Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Tune Collections							Social-Choral Tune Collections						
		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)					English Presbyterian		European		Congregationalist Publications			Anglican Publications	
Tune Name	HTI#	SM ChamA	SM FostJ	SM GRME	SM LangE	New England Anglican	Congregationalist	Long Island Sound	Philadelphia	London Repertory	Period I	Period II	Massachusetts Compilations	TansW	DMM
		c. 1760-70	1760 AAS	c. 1765-70	c. 1765-70	(1764-1771)	(1755-1767)	(c. 1750-c.1770)	(1754-1763)	(1719-1761)	(1760-1764)	(1765-1770)	(1766-1769)	WWT 1737	1754
ST. EDMONDS TUNE (a)	1408 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	X - (a)	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	X - (a): FUNERAL HYMN	—
ST. EDMUND'S TUNE (b)	1408 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	X - (a)	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	X - (a): FUNERAL HYMN	—
ST. JOHN'S	1439	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
ST. KATHERINES TUNE	1526	—	—	—	X	X: ST. KATHERINE'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
ST. LUKES TUNE	1506a	X	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	—
ST. MARTIN'S	1929	X	X	—	X	X	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	—	—
ST. THOMAS'S SUTTON TUNE	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TRINITY TUNE	2223a	—	—	X	—	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	X
TROY TUNE	2042a	X	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	—
UPMINSTER	2951	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
UPPINGHAM TUNE	1193d	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
VANITY	2410	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
WANTAGE TUNE	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WELLINGBOROUGH	901a	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—
WELLS TUNE	1480	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X: WELLINGBOROUGH	—
WELLS TUNE	975a	—	—	X: 100 PSALM TUNE	X	X	X	X: WEELLS	X	X	—	X	X	—	—
WENDOVER TUNE	586 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	—	—	—	X - (b): STANDISH: var. not in Temp.	X - (a): STANDISH	X - (a): SANDWITCH	—	—	X - (a)	—	—

Table 10.7 (continued)

		Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Tune Collections							Social-Choral Tune Collections									
		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)					English Presbyterian		British Colonial Compilations		European Compilations		Congregationalist Publications		Anglican Publications			
Tune Name	HTI#	SM ChamA	SM FostJ	SM GRME4	SM GRME	SM 8	SM LangE	SM GRME4	New England Anglican	Congregationalist	Long Island Sound	Philadelphia	London Repertory	Period I	Period II	Massachusetts Compilations	TansW	DMM
		c. 1760-70	1760	AAS c. 1760	AAS c. 1765-70	8	LangE c. 1765-70	GRME4 c. 1765-70	(1764-1771)	(1755-1767)	(c. 1750-c.1770)	(1754-1763)	(1719-1761)	(1760-1764)	(1765-1770)	(1766-1769)	WWT 1737	DMM 1754
WENLOCK	1665b	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	X
WESTERHAM	1729a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
WESTON FAVELL	1504b	X	X: WESTON FAVELL TUNE	X: WES- TON FAVEL FLAVEL	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X: WESTON FLAVEL	X	—	—	X
WORCESTER	382a	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	X: WOOSTER/ SHREWSBURY	—	—	—	—	—
WORKSOP TUNE (a)	751 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	—	X	X - a	—	—	—	X - a	—	X - a	—	X - a	X - a	—	—
[WORKSOP TUNE (b)] HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS S DAY	751 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	—	—	X - a	—	—	—	X - a	—	X - a	—	X - a	X - a	—	—
[WORMINS- TER] HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS DAY, AN	1392 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	X	X - (a)	X - (a)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a): WOR- MINS-TER
YAXLEY	1483b	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X - a	—
ZEALAND TUNE	1400 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	X	X - a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - a	X - a	—

**Source Abbreviations**

**DMM:** *The Divine Musical Miscellany*. London: W. Smith, 1754.

**SM ChamA FostJ GRME4:** Chamberlain, Alexander and James Foster. Manuscript supplement to Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick* (Boston, 1746). South Natick (?), MA, c. 1760-80. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

**SM GRME 1760 AAS:** Manuscript supplement to Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, ed. 6a (Boston, c. 1760). Boston, c. 1760 [E8760]. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

**SM GRME4 AAS:** Manuscript supplement to Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, ed. 4 (Boston: Samuel Gerrish, 1746). Framingham (?), MA, c. 1760-70. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., copy originally from the Framingham Historical and Natural History Society.

**SM LangE GRME4:** Lang, Edward. Manuscript supplement to Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, ed. 4 (Boston: Samuel Gerrish, 1746). MA, c. 1760-70. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

**TansW WWT:** William Tans'ur, of Ewell. *The Works of Mr. William Tans'ur. In Two Parts. Part I. A Compleat Melody. Part II. The Melody of the Heart*. London: For James Hodges, [1736] 1737.

Table 10.7 (continued)

Table 10.8 Tunes unique to a single denomination in the source material that influenced the manuscript  
 Massachusetts tune supplements to The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained by Thomas Walter (c. 1760-  
 1770)

Anglican	Congregationalist	English Presbyterian
1. <b>AXMINSTER TUNE</b> (not this variant) - by Tans'ur (plain tune) (S-C)	1. <b>BOSTON TUNE 2</b> - by William Billings (plain tune) (S-C)	1. <b>ALDERMASTON</b> - from Gawthorn: London (plain tune)
2. <b>BANBURY TUNE</b> - by Tans'ur (plain tune) (S-C)	2. <b>PAL[L]ATINE HYMN</b> (plain tune) (CTS)	2. <b>AMBITION</b> (not this variant): Long Island Sound (antiphonal tune)
3. <b>BELLFORD TUNE</b> - by Tans'ur (plain tune) (S-C)	3. <b>ST. CLEMENT'S TUNE</b> (plain tune) (CTS)	3. <b>BRUNSWICK TUNE</b> : Long Island Sound, Philadelphia, London (plain tune)
4. <b>BEMINSTER TUNE</b> - by Tans'ur (antiphonal tune) (S-C)		4. <b>CHARLOTTE TUNE</b> - Anglican via Williams (plain tune) (S-C)
5. <b>BINCHESTER TUNE</b> (not this variant) - from Tans'ur (plain tune) (S-C)		5. <b>CHESHUNT TUNE</b> - Anglican via Williams (plain tune) (both)
6. <b>CHESTERTON TUNE</b> - by Tans'ur (antiphonal tune with a reiterative chorus) (S-C)		6. <b>EMMLEY TUNE</b> - from Milner or Gawthorn: London (plain tune)
7. <b>CHRIST CHURCH</b> - from Tans'ur (plain tune) (S-C)		7. <b>HESLINGTON</b> - from Milner: London (plain tune)
8. <b>DORCHESTER TUNE</b> - by Tans'ur (plain tune with a fugging reiterative chorus) (S-C)		8. <b>NEW EAGLE STREET</b> : Anglican via Williams (plain tune) (S-C)
9. <b>ELY TUNE</b> (?)*(plain tune)		9. <b>NEWBURY TUNE</b> (3): London (plain tune)
10. <b>EXETER TUNE</b> - by Tans'ur (antiphonal tune with a reiterative chorus) (S-C)		10. <b>WANTAGE TUNE</b> : London (plain tune)
11. <b>KIDDERMINSTER</b> - by Tans'ur (plain tune) (E C-C)		
12. <b>KIMBOLTON TUNE</b> (not this variant) - by Tans'ur (antiphonal tune) (S-C)		
13. <b>KINGSTONE TUNE</b> (not this variant) - by Tans'ur (plain tune) (S-C)		
14. <b>LEMSTER TUNE</b> - by Tans'ur (plain tune) (S-C)		
15. <b>MARLBOROUGH TUNE</b> (not this variant) - by Tans'ur (plain tune) (S-C)		
16. <b>NEW EVENING HYMN</b> - by Tans'ur (plain tune)		
17. <b>NEWBURY TUNE</b> (2) - by Tans'ur (plain tune) (S-C)		
18. <b>QUEENBOROUGH</b> - by Tans'ur (plain tune)		
19. <b>RUGBY TUNE</b> - by Tans'ur (plain tune) (S-C)		
20. <b>RYHALL TUNE</b> - by Tans'ur (antiphonal tune with a fugging reiterative chorus) (S-C)		
21. <b>SOLOMON'S SONG TO 85(TH) PSALM</b> - from George Wither via Flagg (plain tune)		
22. <b>ST DAVIDS TUNE</b> - by Tans'ur (plain tune) (S-C)		
23. <b>ST. JOHN'S</b> - by Tans'ur (plain tune)		
24. <b>ST. KATHERINES TUNE</b> - by Tans'ur (plain tune) (both)		
25. <b>UPMINSTER</b> - from Tans'ur (antiphonal tune with fugging reiterative chorus) (S-C)		
26. <b>UPPINGHAM TUNE</b> - by Tans'ur (antiphonal tune with fugging reiterative chorus) (S-C)		
27. <b>WELLINGBOROUGH</b> - by Tans'ur (plain tune) (S-C)		
28. <b>WESTERHAM</b> - by Tans'ur (antiphonal tune with an antiphonal reiterative chorus) (S-C)		
29. <b>YAXLEY</b> - by Tans'ur (plain tune) (S-C)		
30. <b>ZEALAND TUNE</b> (not this variant) - by Tans'ur (plain tune) (both)		

Table 10.9 Tunes in Massachusetts Congregationalist manuscript tune supplements appearing in compilations by Anglican Daniel Bayley (1764-1771)

		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Compilations								Social-Choral Compilations	
Tune Name	HTI#	SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765-70	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-70	BaylD NCIGRM 1 1764	BaylD NCIGRM 2 1764	BaylD PSA 1764	BaylD NCIGRM 4 1766	BaylD NCIGRM 5 1768	BaylD EH 1 1770	BaylD EH 2 1771	BaylD AH1RMC 5 1769	BaylD AH2UP 5 1769	
67TH PSALM TUNE, (THE)	2582	X	X	—	—	X	X	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	
100 PSALM TUNE NEW	1054	X	—	—	—	—	—	X: ANTHEM TO 100	—	—	—	X	—	—	
[149 PSALM (b)] ST. MICHAELS TUNE	657 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - b: ALIFF STREET	
[ALESBURY] ST. PHILIPS TUNE NEW	848b	—	—	—	X	X: EXETER	X: EXETER	X: EXETER	X: EXETER	X: EXETER	X: EXETER	—	—	X: ALESBURY	
ALL SAINTS TUNE	1511 - var. not in Temp.	X	X	—	X	—	—	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	—	
AMSTERDAM TUNE	1648c	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	
AXMINSTER TUNE	1454 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	—	
BABILON STREAMS TUNE	304 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X - 2 printings with one var. title: BABYLON TUNE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - b	—	
BANBURY TUNE	1455	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
BANGOR TUNE	1390 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	X	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	—	
BARBY TUNE	1668a	X	—	X	X	X: BARLY	X: BARLY	X	X: BARLY	X: BARLY	X	X	X	—	
BEDFORD TUNE	930a	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	X	—	
BELLFORD TUNE	1456b	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
BEMINSTER TUNE	1719a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
BETHESDA TUNE	2196a	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	
BINCHESTER TUNE	641 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - b	—	
BLLENHEIM TUNE	1670	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	X	X	—	—	X	—	



		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Compilations								Social-Choral Compilations	
Tune Name	HTI#	SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765-70	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-70	BaylD NCIGRM 1 1764	BaylD NCIGRM 2 1764	BaylD PSA 1764	BaylD NCIGRM 4 1766	BaylD NCIGRM 5 1768	BaylD EH 1 1770	BaylD EH 2 1771	BaylD AH1RMC 5 1769	BaylD AH2UP 5 1769	
		BROMSGROVE TUNE	1084a		X: BRUMESGROVE TUNE	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
BUCKLAND TUNE	758	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	
BURLINGTON TUNE	1457	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	
BURNHAM TUNE	2925	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	
CAMBRIDGE	249a	X	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	
CHARLOTTE TUNE	2926	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	
CHESHUNT TUNE	2927	X	—	X: CHESHANT	—	—	X	—	X	X	—	—	—	X	
CHESTERTON TUNE	2041	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
CHRIST CHURCH	1533a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
COLCHESTER NEW	1393a	X: NEW COLCHESTER TUNE	X: THE 150 PSALM TUNE OF NEW COLCHESTER	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	X	
COLCHESTER TUNE	1287	X: COLCHESTER	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	
DORCHESTER TUNE	1398a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
DUNCHURCH TUNE	1399	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	—	
EVENING HYMN (a)	598b	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	
EVENING HYMN (AFTER SERVICE), AN	1726	—	—	X: AN EVENING HYMN	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	
EXETER TUNE	1991	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
FALMOUTH TUNE	1930	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
FAREHAM TUNE	485	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	
FARINGDON	911	X	—	—	—	X: WARWICK	X: WARWICK	X: WARWICK	X: WARWICK	X: WARWICK	X: WARWICK	X: WARWICK	—	—	
FUNERAL THOUGHT, (A)	2931a	X	X	—	X	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	X	
GUILFORD TUNE	1411a	X	X	X	X: GUILTFORD TUNE	—	—	X: GUILDFORD	—	—	X: GILFORD	X	X	—	
<b>HARTFORD TUNE</b> (a)	1413 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	—	

Table 10.9 (continued)

		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Compilations								Social-Choral Compilations	
Tune Name	HTI#	SM ChamAFostj GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765-70	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-70	BaylD NCIGRM 1 1764	BaylD NCIGRM 2 1764	BaylD PSA 1764	BaylD NCIGRM 4 1766	BaylD NCIGRM 5 1768	BaylD EH 1 1770	BaylD EH 2 1771	BaylD AH1RMC 5 1769	BaylD AH2UP 5 1769	
HEXHAM TUNE	846a	X - 2 printings with one var. title: BURFORD TUNE	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	
ISLE OF WHIGHT	733a	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	X: ISLE OF WHITE	X: ISLE OF WHITE	—	—	
KIDDERMINSTER KIMBOLTON TUNE	1418 1931 - var. not in Temp.	— X	— —	X —	— X	— —	— —	X —	— —	— —	X —	X —	— X - (a)	— —	
KINGSTONE TUNE	1419 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	—	
LEMSTER TUNE LITTLETON (a)	1421 2935 - var. not in Temp.	— X	— —	— —	X X	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	X —	— X - a	
LITTLETON (b) MANCHESTER TUNE	2935a 374a	— X	X —	— —	— X	— —	— —	— —	— —	X —	— —	— —	— X	— —	
MANSFIELD TUNE	1424 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	X - (a)	—	X - (a)	
MARLBOROUGH TUNE	1425 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	—	
MORNING HYMN, NEW EAGLE STREET	2409b 2381a	X —	— —	— —	X X	X —	X —	X —	X —	X —	— —	— —	— —	— X	
NEW YORK NEWBURY TUNE - 1 NEWBURY TUNE - 2	2312 1946a 1427 - var. not in Temp.	— X —	— — —	X — —	— — X	X — —	X — —	X — —	X — —	X — —	X — —	X — —	— — X - (a)	— X —	
PLIMOUTH TUNE	1431	—	—	X	—	X: PLYMOUTH	X: PLYMOUTH	X: PLYMOUTH	X: PLYMOUTH	X: PLYMOUTH	X: PLYMOUTH	X: PLYMOUTH	—	—	
PORTSMOUTH [QUERCY] QUERSEY	750b 1434b	X X	— —	— —	— —	X X	X X	X X	X X	X X	X X	X X	— —	— —	
RUGBY TUNE RUTLAND TUNE	1436 1725	— X	— —	— —	X —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	X X	— —	

Table 10.9 (continued)

		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Compilations								Social-Choral Compilations	
Tune Name	HTI#	SM	SM	SM	SM	BaylD	BaylD	BaylD	BaylD	BaylD	BaylD EH	BaylD EH	BaylD	BaylD	
		ChamAFostj GRME4 c. 1760-70	GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	GRME8 AAS c. 1765-70	LangE GRME4 c. 1765-70	NCIGRM 1 1764	NCIGRM 2 1764	PSA 1764	NCIGRM 4 1766	NCIGRM 5 1768	1 1770	2 1771	5 1769	5 1769	
RYHALL TUNE	2660	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
ST. ANN'S TUNE	664a	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	—	X	
ST DAVIDS TUNE	1514	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X: ST. DAVID'S NEW TUNE	—	
<b>ST. EDMONDS TUNE (a)</b>	1408 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	—	
<b>ST. EDMUND'S TUNE (b)</b>	1408 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	X - (a)	—	—	X - (a)	X - (a)	—	—	
ST. KATHERINES TUNE	1526	—	—	—	X	—	—	X: ST. KATARINE'S	—	—	—	—	X	—	
ST. LUKES TUNE	1506a	X	—	—	X	X	X	—	X	X	—	—	X	—	
ST. MARTIN'S TUNE	1929	X	X	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	
SUTTON TUNE	2223a	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	
TRINITY TUNE	2042a	X	—	—	X	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	
TROY TUNE	2951	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	
UPMINSTER	1193d	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
UPPINGHAM TUNE	2410	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
WANTAGE TUNE	901a	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X: var. not in Temp.	X: var. not in Temp.	X: var. not in Temp.	X: var. not in Temp.	X: var. not in Temp.	—	
WELLINGBOROUGH	1480	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
WELLS TUNE	975a	—	—	X: 100 PSALM TUNE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	X	
<b>WENDOVER TUNE</b>	586 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	—	
WESTERHAM	1729a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	
WESTON FAVELL TUNE	1504b	X	X: WESTON FAVELL TUNE	X: WESTON FAVEL	X: WESTON FLAVEL	X	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	X	
<b>WORKSOP TUNE (a)</b>	751 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	X	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	—	
<b>[WORMINSTER] HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS DAY, AN</b>	1392 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	X - (a)	—	—	X - (a)	X - (a)	—	—	
YAXLEY	1483b	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	

Table 10.9 (continued)

		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Ecclesiastical Choral-Congregational Compilations							Social-Choral Compilations	
Tune Name	HTI#	SM	SM	SM	SM	BaylD	BaylD	BaylD	BaylD	BaylD	BaylD	BaylD	BaylD	BaylD
		ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	GRME8 AAS c. 1765-70	LangE GRME4 c. 1765-70	NCIGRM 1 1764	NCIGRM 2 1764	PSA 1764	NCIGRM 4 1766	NCIGRM 5 1768	BaylD EH 1 1770	BaylD EH 2 1771	AH1RMC 5 1769	AH2UP 5 1769
ZEALAND TUNE	1400 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X - a	—	X - a	—

Source Abbreviations

- BaylD AH1RMC 5:** Bayley, Daniel. *The American Harmony; or, Royal Melody Complete*, vol. 1, ed. 5. Newburyport, MA: Daniel Bayley, 1769.  
**BaylD AH2UP 5:** Bayley, Daniel. *The American Harmony; or, Universal Psalmist*, vol. 2, ed. 5. Newburyport, MA: Daniel Bayley, 1769.  
**BaylD EH 1:** Bayley, Daniel. *The Essex Harmony*. Newburyport, MA: The author, 1770.  
**BaylD EH 2:** Bayley, Daniel. *The Essex Harmony*, ed. 2. Newburyport, MA: The author, 1771  
**BaylD NCIGRM 1:** Bayley, Daniel. *A New and Compleat Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Musick*. Newbury, MA: Bulkley Emerson and Daniel Bayley, 1764.  
**BaylD NCIGRM 2:** Bayley, Daniel, ed. 2. *A New and Compleat Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Musick*. Newbury, MA: Daniel Bayley, 1764.  
**BaylD NCIGRM 4:** Bayley, Daniel. *A New and Compleat Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Musick*, ed. 4 (?). Boston: Thomas Johnston, 1766.  
**BaylD NCIGRM 5:** Bayley, Daniel. *A New and Complete Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Music*, ed. 5 (?). Boston: The author, [1768].  
**BaylD PSA:** Bayley, Daniel. *The Psalm-Singer's Assistant*. Newburyport, MA: The author, [c.1764].

Table 10.10 Tunes in Massachusetts Congregationalist tune supplements appearing in coastal Massachusetts and New Hampshire Anglican compilations (1764-1773)

		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music</i> <i>Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Devotional Choral-Congregational Tune Collections				Social-Choral Tune Collections		
Tune Name	HTI#	SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765- 1770	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-1770	Bayley (Table 22c)	GilmJ NIP 1771	NEH 1771	SP Bost TateNBradN 1773	FlagJ CBPT 1764	BayID AH1RMC 5 1769	BayID AH2UP 5 1769
67TH PSALM TUNE, (THE)	2582	X	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	—	—
100 PSALM TUNE NEW	1054	X	—	—	—	X	X: ANTHEM TO 100	X	X	X	—	—
108TH PSALM TUNE, THE	759 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - a	—	—
[149 PSALM (b)] ST. MICHAELS TUNE	657 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - b: ALIFF STREET	X - a	X - b: ALIFF STREET
ABINGTON	1388	X	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
[ALESBURY(a)] ST. PHILIPS TUNE NEW	848b	—	—	—	X	X: EXETER	—	X: EXETER	—	X: GAINSBOROUGH	—	X: ALESBURY
ALL SAINTS TUNE	1511 - var. not in Temp.	X	X	—	X	X - a	—	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	—
AMSTERDAM TUNE	1648c	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	—	X
ANGELS SONG	387e	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	—	—
AXMINSTER TUNE	1454 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	—
BABILON STREAMS TUNE	304 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X - 2 printings with one var. title: BABYLON TUNE	—	—	—	—	—	X - b	—
BANBURY TUNE	1455	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
BANGOR TUNE	1390 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	X	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	—
BARBY TUNE	1668a	X	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	X	—
BEDFORD TUNE	930a	—	—	—	X	X	—	X	X	—	X	—
BELLFORD TUNE	1456b	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
BEMINSTER TUNE	1719a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	—

Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to  
Thomas Walter's *The Grounds and Rules of Music*  
*Explained* (c. 1760-1775)

Tune Name	HTI#	Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music</i> <i>Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Devotional Choral-Congregational Tune Collections				Social-Choral Tune Collections		
		SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765- 1770	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-1770	Bayley (Table 22c)	GilmJ NIP 1771	NEH 1771	SP Bost TateNBradN 1773	FlagJ CBPT 1764	BayID AH1RMC 5 1769	BayID AH2UP 5 1769
BETHESDA TUNE	2196a	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X
BINCHESTER TUNE	641 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X - b	—
BLENHEIM TUNE	1670	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	—
BROMSGROVE TUNE	1084a	X	X: BRUMESGROVE TUNE	—	X	X	X	X: BROOMSGROVE	X: BROOMSGROVE	X: BROOMSGROVE TUNE	X	—
BUCKLAND TUNE	758	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	—
BURLINGTON TUNE	1457	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	X	—	—
BURNHAM TUNE	2925	X	X	—	—	X	X	—	—	X	—	X
CAMBRIDGE	249a	X	—	X	X	X	X	—	X	X	—	—
CHARLOTTE TUNE	2926	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	X
CHESHUNT TUNE	2927	X	—	X: CHESHANT	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X
CHESTERTON TUNE	2041	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
CHRIST CHURCH	1533a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
COLCHESTER NEW	1393a	X: NEW COLCHESTER TUNE	X: THE 150 PSALM TUNE OF NEW COLCHESTER	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	X
COLCHESTER TUNE	1287	X	—	—	X	X	—	X	X	X	—	—
DORCHESTER TUNE	1398a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
DUNCHURCH TUNE	1399	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	X	—	X	—
EVENING HYMN (a)	598b	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X
EVENING HYMN AFTER SERVICE, AN	1726	—	—	X: AN EVENING HYMN	X	X	—	X	X	—	—	—
EXETER TUNE	1991	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
FALMOUTH TUNE	1930	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
FAREHAM TUNE	485	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	—
FARINGDON	911	X	—	—	—	X: WARWICK	X: WARWICK	—	—	X: WARWICK	—	—
FUNERAL THOUGHT, (A)	2931a	X	X	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	X
GUILFORD TUNE	1411a	X	X	X	X: GUILTFORD TUNE	X	X	—	X	X	X	—

Table 10.10 (continued)

Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to  
Thomas Walter's *The Grounds and Rules of Music*  
*Explained* (c. 1760-1775)

Tune Name	HTI#	Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music</i> <i>Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Devotional Choral-Congregational Tune Collections				Social-Choral Tune Collections		
		SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765- 1770	SM LangeE GRME4 c. 1765-1770	Bayley (Table 22c)	GilmJ NIP 1771	NEH 1771	SP Bost TateNBradN 1773	FlagJ CBPT 1764	BayID AH1RMC 5 1769	BayID AH2UP 5 1769
HARTFORD TUNE (a)	1413 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	X - (a)	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	—
HEXHAM TUNE	846a	X - 2 printings with one var. title: BURFORD TUNE	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X: BURFORD	X	—
HUMPHREY'S	2035 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - b: ST. HUMPHREY'S	—	—
ISLE OF WHIGHT	733a	X	—	—	—	X	X: ISLE OF WIGHT; var. not in Temp.	X	X: ISLE OF WIGHT; var. not in Temp.	X - ISLE OF WIGHT	—	—
KIDDERMINSTER	1418	—	—	X	—	X	X	X	X	—	—	—
KIMBOLTON TUNE	1931 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	—
KINGSTONE TUNE	1419 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	—
LEEDS TUNE	577	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	—	—
LEMSTER TUNE	1421	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
LITTLETON (a)	2935 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	X	X - a	X - a	—	—	X - a	—	X - a
LITTLETON (b)	2935a	—	—	X	—	X	X	—	—	X	—	X
MANCHESTER TUNE	374a	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
MANSFIELD TUNE	1424 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	X - (a)	X - (a)	—	X - (a)	—	—	X - (a)
MARLBOROUGH TUNE	1425 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	—
MORNING HYMN, NEW EAGLE STREET	2409b 2381a	X —	— —	— —	X X	X —	X —	— —	— —	— X	— —	— X
NEW YORK NEWBERY TUNE - 1	2312 1946a	— X	— —	X —	— —	X —	X —	X —	X —	— X	— —	— X

Table 10.10 (continued)

Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to  
Thomas Walter's *The Grounds and Rules of Music*  
*Explained* (c. 1760-1775)

Tune Name	HTI#	Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music</i> <i>Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Devotional Choral-Congregational Tune Collections				Social-Choral Tune Collections		
		SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765- 1770	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-1770	Bayley (Table 22c)	GilmJ NIP 1771	NEH 1771	SP Bost TateNBradN 1773	FlagJ CBPT 1764	BayID AH1RMC 5 1769	BayID AH2UP 5 1769
NEWBURY TUNE - 2	1427 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	—
PLIMOUTH TUNE	1431	—	—	X	—	X: PLYMOUTH	X: PLYMOUTH	X: PLYMOUTH	X: PLYMOUTH	X: PLYMOUTH	—	—
PORTSMOUTH	750b	X	—	—	—	X	X	—	X	X	—	—
[QUERCY] QUERSEY	1434b	X	—	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	—	—
RUGBY TUNE	1436	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
RUTLAND TUNE	1725	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
RYHALL TUNE	2660	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
ST. ANN'S TUNE	664a	—	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	X
ST DAVIDS TUNE	1514	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X: ST. DAVID'S NEW TUNE	—
ST. EDMONDS TUNE (a)	1408 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	X - (a)	—	X - (a)	—	X - (a)	—
ST. EDMUND'S TUNE (b)	1408 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	—	X - (a)	—	X - (a)	—	X - (a)	—
ST. KATHERINES TUNE	1526	—	—	—	X	X: ST. KATARINE'S	—	—	—	—	X	—
ST. LUKES TUNE	1506a	X	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	X	X	—
ST. MARTIN'S	1929	X	X	—	X	X	X	—	X	X	X	—
SUTTON TUNE	2223a	—	—	X	—	X	—	X	X	X	—	X
TRINITY TUNE	2042a	X	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—
TROY TUNE	2951	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	—	X
UPMINSTER	1193d	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
UPPINGHAM TUNE	2410	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
WANTAGE TUNE	901a	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—
WELLINGBOROUGH	1480	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
WELLS TUNE	975a	—	—	X: 100 PSALM TUNE	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	X
WENDOVER TUNE	586 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - (a)	—
WESTERHAM	1729a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
WESTON FAVELL	1504b	X	X: WESTON FAVELL TUNE	X: WESTON FAVEL	X: WESTON FLAVEL	X	—	—	—	X	—	X

Table 10.10 (continued)



		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Devotional Choral-Congregational Tune Collections			Social-Choral Tune Collections			
Tune Name	HTI#	SM ChamAFost] GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765- 1770	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-1770	Bayley (Table 22c)	Gilm] NIP 1771	NEH 1771	SP Bost TateNBradN 1773	Flag] CBPT 1764	BayID AH1RMC 5 1769	BayID AH2UP 5 1769
WORKSOP TUNE (a)	751 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	X	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	—
[WORKSOP TUNE (b)] HYMN FOR CHRISTMASS DAY	751 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	—	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	—
[WORMINSTER] HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS DAY, AN	1392 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	X - (a)	—	X - (a)	—	—	—	—
YAXLEY	1483a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
ZEALAND TUNE	1400 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	X - a	—	X - a	X - a	—	X - a	—

Source Abbreviations

**BayID AH1RMC 5:** Bayley, Daniel. *The American Harmony; or, Royal Melody Complete*, vol. 1, ed. 5. Newburyport, MA: Daniel Bayley, 1769.

**BayID AH2UP 5:** Bayley, Daniel. *The American Harmony; or, Universal Psalmist*, vol. 2, ed. 5. Newburyport, MA: Daniel Bayley, 1769.

**Flag] CBPT:** Flagg, Josiah. *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes, in two, three, and four parts. From the most approv'd authors, fitted to all measures, and approv'd of by the best masters in Boston, New England; for which are added some hymns and anthems the greater part of them never before printed in America.* Boston: Paul Revere and Josiah Flagg, 1764.

**Gilm] NIP:** [Gilman, John Ward]. *A New Introduction to Psalmody or The Art of Singing Psalms. With a variety of psalm tunes, hymns & chorus's; in three & four musical parts the whole engrav'd on copper-plates.* Exeter, N.H.: John Wd. Gilman, 1771.

**NEH:** *The New-England Harmony.* Boston: John Fleeming, 1771.

**SP BostTB 1773:** *A New Version of the Psalms of David, fitted to the tunes used in churches.* By N. Brady, D.D. Chaplain in ordinary. And N. Tate, esq; Poet-Laureat to his Majesty. Boston: A. Ellison, 1773.

Table 10.11 Tunes in Massachusetts Congregationalist manuscript tune supplements appearing in Massachusetts published Congregationalist tune supplements and choral collections (1755-1770)

Tune Name	HTI#	Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Congregationalist Congregational Tune Supplements			Congregationalist Social-Choral Collections					
		SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765- 70	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765- 70	SP BostTB 1755	SP BostTB c. 1762	SP BostTB c. 1766	Period I			Period II		
									WaltT GRME c. 1759	WaltT GRME 1760	WaltT GRME 1764	WaltT GRME c. 1765	WaltT GRME c. 1766	BillW NEPS 1770
67TH PSALM TUNE, (THE)	2582	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	—	X	X	X	X	—
100 PSALM TUNE NEW	1054	X	—	—	—	X: ANTHEM TO 100	X: ANTHEM TO 100	X: ANTHEM TO 100	X: ANTHEM TO 100	X: ANTHEM TO 100	X: ANTHEM TO 100	X: ANTHEM TO 100	X: ANTHEM TO 100	—
108TH PSALM TUNE, THE	759 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	—	X - a	X - a	X - a	—	—	—	—	—	—
136 PSALM TUNE (a)	1613b	X	—	X	—	X - b	X - b	X - b	—	—	—	—	—	—
137(TH) PSALM TUNE	109a	X	X	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—
149(TH) PSALM TUNE, THE (a)	657a	X	X	—	—	X	—	X	—	X	X	X	X	—
[149 PSALM (b)] ST. MICHAELS TUNE	657 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	X - a	—	X - a	—	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	—
ABINGTON	1388	X	—	X	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	—
[ALESBURY(a)] ST. PHILIPS TUNE NEW	848b	—	—	—	X	—	X: ST. PHILLIPS TUNE	—	—	—	—	—	X: EXETER	—
ALL SAINTS TUNE	1511 - var. not in Temp.	X	X	—	X	—	—	X - a	—	—	—	—	X - a	—
AMSTERDAM TUNE	1648c	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
BANGOR TUNE	1390 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	X	—	—	X - a	—	—	—	X - a	X - a	—
BARBY TUNE	1668a	X	—	X	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	—
BARNET TUNE	735a	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	—
BLENHEIM TUNE	1670	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	—
BOSTON TUNE	3366	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X

Tune Name	HTI#	Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Congregationalist Congregational Tune Supplements			Congregationalist Social-Choral Collections					
		SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765- 70	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765- 70	SP BostTB 1755	SP BostTB c. 1762	SP BostTB c. 1766	Period I			Period II		
									WaltT GRME c. 1759	WaltT GRME 1760	WaltT GRME 1764	WaltT GRME c. 1765	WaltT GRME c. 1766	BillW NEPS 1770
BRISTOL TUNE	547 - var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	X	X - a	X - a	X - a	—	—	—	—	—	—
BROMSGROVE TUNE	1084a	X	X: BRUMESGROVE TUNE	—	X	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	—
BUCKLAND TUNE	758	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	X	X	—
BURLINGTON TUNE	1457	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	—
BURNHAM TUNE	2925	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
CAMBRIDGE	249a	X	—	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	X	—
COLCHESTER NEW	1393a	X: NEW COLCHESTER TUNE	X: THE 150 PSALM TUNE OF NEW COLCHESTER	—	X	—	—	X	—	X	X	X	X	—
COLCHESTER TUNE	1287	X	—	—	X	X: COULCHESTER	X	X	—	X	X	X	X	—
EVENING HYMN (b)	598a	X	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—
EVENING HYMN (AFTER SERVICE)	1726	—	—	X: AN EVENING HYMN	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
FALMOUTH TUNE	1930	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
FAREHAM TUNE	485	—	—	X	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	—
FARINGDON	911	X	—	—	—	X: WARWICK	X: WARWICK: FAR	—	X: WARWICK	X: WARWICK	X: WARWICK	X: WARWICK	X: WARWICK	—
FUNERAL THOUGHT, (A)	2931a	X	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
[HARTFORD TUNE (b)] HYMN: FOR WHITSONDAY, AN	1413	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—
HEXHAM TUNE	846a	X - 2 printings with one var. title: BURFORD TUNE	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—
HUMPHREY'S	2035 - var. not in Temp.	X	—	—	—	X - a: ST. HUMPHREY'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 10.11 (continued)

Tune Name	HTI#	Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Congregationalist Congregational Tune Supplements			Congregationalist Social-Choral Collections					
		SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765- 70	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765- 70	SP BostTB 1755	SP BostTB c. 1762	SP BostTB c. 1766	Period I			Period II		
									WaltT GRME c. 1759	WaltT GRME 1760	WaltT GRME 1764	WaltT GRME c. 1765	WaltT GRME c. 1766	BillW NEPS 1770
ISLE OF WHIGHT	733a	X	—	—	—	X: ISLE OF WHITE: var. not in Temp.	X: var. not in Temp.	X: var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	—
LEEDS TUNE	577	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	X: BELLA OR 24 PSALM TUNE	X: BELLA OR 24 PSALM TUNE	X: BELLA OR 24 PSALM TUNE	X: BELLA OR 24 PSALM TUNE	X: BELLA OR 24 PSALM TUNE	—
LITCHFIELD	381b	X	—	—	—	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—
LITTLETON (b)	2935a	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
MANCHESTER TUNE	374a	X	—	—	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—
MORNING HYMN, NEW YORK	2409b 2312	X —	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	X
PAL[L]ATINE HYMN	1123b	X	—	X	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—
PLIMOUTH TUNE	1431	—	—	X	—	—	—	X: PLYMOUTH TUNE	—	—	—	—	X: PLYMOUTH	X: PLYMOUTH
PORTSMOUTH	750b	X	—	—	—	X: NAMUR OR PORTSMOUTH	X	X: NAMUR OR PORTSMOUTH	X	X	X	X	X	—
[QUERCY] QUERSEY	1434b	X	—	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—
ST. ANN'S TUNE	664a	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. CLEMENT'S TUNE	2599	—	X	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. EDMUND'S TUNE (b)	1408 - var. not in Temp	—	—	—	X	X - (a)	X: var. not in Temp.	X - (a)	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. LUKES TUNE	1506a	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	—
ST. MARTIN'S	1929	X	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	X	X	X	—
TRINITY TUNE	2042a	X	—	—	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	—
WELLS TUNE	975a	—	—	X: 100 PSALM TUNE	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	—
WESTON FAVELL	1504b	X	X: WESTON FAVELL TUNE	X: WESTON FAVEL	X: WESTON FLAVEL	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X: WESTON FLAVEL	X: WESTON FLAVEL
WORCESTER WORKSOP TUNE (a)	382a 751 - var. not in Temp	X X	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	X - a	X - a

Table 10.11 (continued)

Tune Name	HTI#	Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Congregationalist Congregational Tune Supplements			Congregationalist Social-Choral Collections					
		SM ChamAFostJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRME8 AAS c. 1765- 70	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765- 70	SP BostTB 1755	SP BostTB c. 1762	SP BostTB c. 1766	Period I			Period II		
		WaltT GRME c. 1759	WaltT GRME 1760	WaltT GRME 1764	WaltT GRME c. 1765	WaltT GRME c. 1766	BillW NEPS 1770							
[WORKSOP TUNE (b)] HYMN FOR CHRISTMASS DAY	751 - var. not in Temp	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - a	X - a	—

**Source Abbreviations**

**BillW NEPS:** Billings, William. *The New-England Psalm-Singer, or, American Chorister*. Boston: Edes and Gill, 1770.

**SP BostTB 1755:** [Collection of Psalm Tunes, with an introduction "To learn to sing."] Bound with Tate and Brady. *A New Version of the Psalms*. Boston: Thomas Johnston, 1755.

**SP BostTB 1762 c.:** [Collection of Psalm Tunes, with an introduction "To learn to sing."] Bound with Tate and Brady. *A New Version of the Psalms*. Boston: Thomas Johnston, 1760 [c. 1762].

**SP BostTB 1766 c.:** [Collection of Psalm Tunes, with an introduction "To learn to sing."] Bound with Tate and Brady. *A New Version of the Psalms*. Boston: Thomas Johnston, [c. 1766].

**WaltT GRME 1759, c.:** Walter, Thomas. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*. Boston: Benjamin Mecom for Thomas Johnston, [c. 1759].

**WaltT GRME 1760:** Walter, Thomas. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*. Boston: Benjamin Mecom, 1760.

**WaltT GRME 1764:** Walter, Thomas. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*. Boston: Thomas Johnston, 1764.

**WaltT GRME 1765, c.:** Walter, Thomas. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*. Boston: Thomas Johnston, 1764 [c. 1765].

**WaltT GRME 1766, c.:** Walter, Thomas. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*. Boston: Thomas Johnston, 1764 [c. 1766].

Table 10.12 Tunes in Massachusetts Congregationalist Tune Supplements Appearing in English Presbyterian Tunebooks (1719-1770)

Tune Name	HTI#	Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)		British Colonial Compilations							London-Based English Compilations					
		SM ChamAFo stJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRM E8 AAS c. 1765-1770	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-1770	Long Island Sound Manuscript Repertory (1750-1770)		Philadelphia Published Repertory (1754-1763)			LaurW CT 1 1719	LaurW CT 2 1722	GawtN HP 1730	MoorT PSCTD C 1750	MilnA PSC 1751	MilnA PSPA 1761
						NewbG GNB Ms c. 1750 - 1770	SandJ Ms 1756	DawsW YEA 1754	LyonJ U 1761	T3P 1763						
100 PSALM TUNE NEW	1054	X	—	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—
108TH PSALM TUNE, THE	759 - var. not in Temp	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - a: PSALM 23	—	—
136 PSALM TUNE (a)	1613b	X	—	X	—	X - b	X - b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
137(TH) PSALM TUNE	109a	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	X - PSALM 137, OLD	—
149(TH) PSALM TUNE, THE (A)	657a	X	X	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	X: HAN-OVER	X: HANOVER	X: PSALM 104	X: HANOVER	—
ABINGTON	1388	X	—	X	X: ABINGTON TUNE	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X
ALDERMASTON	725	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—
[ALESBURY(a)] ST. PHILIPS TUNE NEW	848b	—	—	—	X	X: AYLESBURY	—	—	X: WIRKS-WORTH	X: WIRKS-WORTH	—	—	—	X: WIRKS-WORTH	—	X
[ALESBURY (b)] ALSBURY TUNE	848c	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X: ALESBURY	—
ALL SAINTS TUNE	1511 - var. not in Temp	X	X	—	X	X - a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
AMBITION	—	—	—	X	X	X - (a): var.: ANTHEM ON KING DAVID	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Tune Name	HTI#	Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)					British Colonial Compilations					London-Based English Compilations				
		SM ChamA Fo stJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRM E8 AAS c. 1765- 1770	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-1770	Long Island Sound Manuscript Repertory (1750-1770)		Philadelphia Published Repertory (1754-1763)			LaurW CT 1 1719	LaurW CT 2 1722	GawtN HP 1730	MoorT PSCTD C 1750	MilnA PSC 1751	MilnA PSPA 1761
						NewbG GNB Ms c. 1750 - 1770	SandJ Ms 1756	DawsW YEA 1754	LyonJ U 1761	T3P 1763						
ANGELS SONG	387e	—	—	—	X	—	X	—	X: ANGEL'S HYMN	X: ANGEL'S HYMN	—	—	—	X: ANGELS HYMN	X	X
<b>BABILON STREAMS TUNE</b>	304 - var. not in Temp	—	—	—	X - 2 printings with one var. title: BABYLON TUNE	—	X	X - a	—	—	X - a	X - a	X - a	X - a	—	X - a
<b>BANGOR TUNE</b>	1390 - var. not in Temp	X	—	—	X	X - a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
BARNET TUNE	735a	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	X: WAKEFI ELD	—	X
BEDFORD TUNE	930a	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	X	X	X
BETHESDA TUNE	2196a	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X
<b>BRISTOL TUNE</b>	547 - var. not in Temp	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - a	—	—	X - a
BROMSGROVE TUNE	1084a	X	X: BRUMES- GROVE TUNE	—	X	—	—	—	X: CROWLE	X: CROWLE	—	—	—	X: CROWLE	X: CROWLE	X: CROWL
BRUNSWICK TUNE	891a	—	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	X	X	—	X	—
BUCKLAND TUNE	758	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	X: BATH	—	—	X	X	X: BATH	X	—
BURNHAM TUNE	2925	X	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CAMBRIDGE	249a	X	—	X	X	—	X	X	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X
COLCHESTER NEW	1393a	X: NEW COLCHES- TER TUNE	X: THE 150 PSALM TUNE OF NEW COLCHESTER	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X: COL- CHESTER	X
COLCHESTER TUNE	1287	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	X: COL- CHESTER	X: COL- CHESTER OLD

Table 10.12 (continued)

Tune Name	HTI#	Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)		British Colonial Compilations							London-Based English Compilations					
				Long Island Sound Manuscript Repertory (1750-1770)			Philadelphia Published Repertory (1754-1763)									
				SM ChamA Fo stJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRM E8 AAS c. 1765- 1770	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-1770	NewbG GNB Ms c. 1750 - 1770	SandJ Ms 1756	DawsW YEA 1754	LyonJ U 1761	T3P 1763	LaurW CT 1 1719	LaurW CT 2 1722	GawtN HP 1730	MoorT PSCTD C 1750
ELY TUNE	366	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	X	—	X	X
EMMLEY TUNE	754	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X: EMLY	—	X: EMLY	—
EVENING HYMN (b)	598a	X	—	—	X	X	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	X	—
FARINGDON	911	X	—	—	—	X: WARWICK	—	—	—	—	—	X	X	—	X	—
FUNERAL THOUGHT (A)	2931a	X	X	—	X	X: A FUNERAL THOUGHT HYMN	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
GUILFORD TUNE	1411a	X	X	X	X: GUILT- FORD TUNE	X: GUDFORD	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—
HESLINGTON TUNE	805a	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X: PSALM 98	—	X: HESLING- TON	—
HEXHAM TUNE	846a	X - 2 printings with one var. title: BURFORD TUNE	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X: BURFORD	X: NOR- WICH	X: BURFORD	X: BURFORD
<b>HUMPHREY'S</b>	2035 - var. not in Temp	X	—	—	—	X - b: THE 108TH PSALM	X - b: THE 108TH PSALM	X - b: PSALM 108	X - b: ST. HUMPHR EY'S	X - b: ST. HUMPHR EY'S	—	—	—	—	—	—
ISLE OF WHIGHT	733a	X	—	—	—	X: THE ISLE OF WIGHT	X: THE ISLE OF WIGHT	X: ISLE OF WIGHT	X: ISLE OF WIGHT	X	—	—	X: ISLE OF WIGHT	—	—	—
LEEDS TUNE	577	—	—	—	X	—	—	X: BELLA	X: DERBY	X: DERBY	X: BELLA	X: BELLA	X: BELLA	X: DERBY	X: BELLA	X: BELLA
LITCHFIELD MANCHESTER TUNE	381b 374a	X X	— —	— —	— X	X —	X X	— X	— —	— —	— X	— X	— X	— X	— X	— —
MANSFIELD TUNE	1424 - var. not in	—	—	—	X	X - (a)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 10.12 (continued)



Tune Name	HTI#	Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)					British Colonial Compilations					London-Based English Compilations				
		SM ChamA Fo stJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRM E8 AAS c. 1765- 1770	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-1770	Long Island Sound Manuscript Repertory (1750-1770)		Philadelphia Published Repertory (1754-1763)			London-Based English Compilations					
						NewbG GNB Ms c. 1750 - 1770	SandJ Ms 1756	DawsW YEA 1754	LyonJ U 1761	T3P 1763	LaurW CT 1 1719	LaurW CT 2 1722	GawtN HP 1730	MoorT PSCTD C 1750	MilnA PSC 1751	MilnA PSPA 1761
NEW YORK	Temp 2312	—	—	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
NEWBURY TUNE - 1	1946a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X: PSALM 5	—	—	—	—	—	X - NEW NEWBURY	—
NEWBURY TUNE - 3	708	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - NEW- BURY	X	—	X	—
NORWICH	327a	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - DUNDEE; LINCOLN	—	X - LINCOLN	—
PLIMOUTH TUNE	1431	—	—	X	—	X: PLY- MOUTH	X: PLY- MOUTH	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PORTSMOUTH	750b	X	—	—	—	X	X	X - NA- MURE	X	—	X - NA- MURE	X - NAMURE	X - NAMURE	—	X - NAMURE	—
[QUERCY] QUERSEY	1434b	X	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
RESURREC-TION HYMN	1820	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. ANN'S TUNE	664a	—	—	—	X	—	—	X	X	—	—	—	X	X	X	X
ST. MARTIN'S	1929	X	X	—	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SUTTON TUNE	2223a	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X
WANTAGE TUNE	901a	—	X	—	—	X: var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X
WELLS TUNE	975a	—	—	X: 100 PSALM TUNE	X	X: WEELLS	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	X	X
WENDOVER TUNE	586 - var. not in Temp	X	—	—	—	X - (b): STANDISH: var. not in Temp.	—	X	X - (a): STANDISH	—	—	—	X - (a): SAND- WITCH	—	X - (a): SAND- WITCH	—
WENLOCK	1665b	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X
WESTON FAVELL	1504b	X	X: WESTON FAVELL TUNE	X: WES- TON FAVEL	X: WESTON FLAVEL	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X
WORCESTER	382a	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	X: WOOSTER; SHREWS-	—	—	—

Table 10.12 (continued)

Tune Name	HTI#	British Colonial Compilations															
		Massachusetts Manuscript Supplements to Thomas Walter's <i>The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained</i> (c. 1760-1775)				Long Island Sound Manuscript Repertory (1750-1770)		Philadelphia Published Repertory (1754-1763)			London-Based English Compilations						
		SM ChamAFo stJ GRME4 c. 1760-70	SM GRME 1760 AAS c. 1760	SM GRM E8 AAS c. 1765-1770	SM LangE GRME4 c. 1765-1770	NewbG GNB Ms c. 1750 - 1770	SandJ Ms 1756	DawsW YEA 1754	LyonJ U 1761	T3P 1763	LaurW CT 1 1719	LaurW CT 2 1722	GawtN HP 1730	MoorT PSCTD C 1750	MilnA PSC 1751	MilnA PSPA 1761	
WORKSOP TUNE (a)	751 - var. not in Temp	X	—	—	X	—	—	X - a: ST. GEORG E'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	X - a	X - a
[WORKSOP TUNE (b)] HYMN FOR CHRIST-MASS DAY	751 - var. not in Temp	X	—	—	—	—	—	X - a: ST. GEOR-GE'S	—	—	—	—	X - a: ST. NEOT'S	X - a	—	X - a	X - a

Source Abbreviations

- DawsW YEA:** Dawson, W. *The Youth's Entertaining Amusement, or A Plain Guide to Psalmody*. Philadelphia: German printing-office, sold by the author, 1754.
- LyonJ U:** Lyon, James, A.B. *Urania, or A Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems, and Hymns, from the most approv'd authors, with some entirely new*. Philadelphia: James Dawkins, 1761.
- T3P:** *Tunes in Three Parts, for the several metres in Dr. Watts's version of the psalms*. Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1763.
- LaurW CT 1:** (L[aurence], W[illiam]). *A Collection of Tunes*. London: W. Pearson, for John Clark, R. Ford, and R. Crittenden, 1719.
- LaurW CT 2:** (L[aurence], W[illiam]). *A Collection of Tunes*, ed. 2. London: W. Pearson, for John Clark, R. Ford, 1722.
- GawtN HP:** Gawthorn, Nathaniel. *Harmonia Perfecta*. London: William Pearson, 1730.
- MilnA PSC:** Milner, Abraham. *The Psalm Singers Companion*. London: William Benning, and sold by John Gilbert, 1751.
- MilnA PSPA:** Milner, Abraham. *The Psalm Singers Pocket Amusement*. London: (Abraham Milner), [1761].
- MoorT PSCTDC:** Moore, Thomas, of Manchester. *The Psalm Singer's Compleat Tutor and Divine Companion*, vol. 1, ed.2. London: For the author, 1750.
- NewbG GNB Ms:** Newberry, George. "George Newberry Book." s.l., 1750, c. - 1785, ca. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., Lowens Collection, Octavo Series, vol. 25.
- SandJMs:** Sandey, John. "John Sandey His Book. 1756 April 16 Day." Portsmouth [RI] 1756. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA, Mss. Dept., Mss. boxes "M", Octavo vol. 1.

Table 10.13 William Billings' compositions in The New-England Psalm-Singer: or, A American Chorister (Boston: Edes and Gill, [1770])

Tune Title	Melodic Incipit Line 1	Melodic Incipit Line 2	Key	Text Incipit	Text Attribution	Text Meter	Tune Type	Special Features	Form	Mood of Time
18TH PSALM, THE AFRICA	15(4)36(5)u1d5(4)32 13(45)u1d7(65)13(4)32	532(1d7)u1(23)45 23(4)5u1(2)32	G major E-flat major	— —	18th Psalm —	C.M. C.M.	plain tune plain tune	— —	— —	1 - triple 1-triple
ALBANY AMERICA	11(d5)u13(4)51(3)21 11(5)43(u1)d7u1(d7)65	12(3)45(67)65 5543(6)5u1(d76)7u1	A minor D major	— To Thee the tuneful Anthem soars,	— Rev. Dr. Byles	C.M. 8.8.8. 8.8.8.	plain tune plain tune	— —	ABCC' ABCDEC'	1-triple 1-triple
AMHERST ANDOVER	135421 1d5(u2)14(3)21(54)32	5u1d56(54)32 23(2)12(1)d7u1	G major C major	In God & —	Psalm 136 —	H.M. C.M.	plain tune plain tune	— —	ABCA'B'B" ABCB'	1-triple 1-triple
ANTHEM PSALM THE 143 FOR FAST DAY, AN	135(4)32(34)57(65)45(43)2	—	A minor	Hear my prayer O Lord and	Psalm the 143	—	anthem	—	—	varies
ANTHEM TAKEN FROM MATHEW 5 & 25 1 CHORIN CHAP 13 & 14 PSALM 34 & 41, AN	1323234321	—	C major - C minor - C major	Blessed is he that considereth	Mathew 5 & 25 1 Chorin Chap 13 & 14 Psalm 34 & 41	—	anthem	—	—	varies
ANTHEM. PSALM 18, AN	11d56(7)u12(1)d7(6)5	5u1d7(u1)232	C major	the lord descended from above &	Psalm 18	C.M.	set piece	—	—	varies
ANTHEM. PSALM 42, AN	1d7u1d51237u3(2)1 - B	—	alternates between G minor and G major	As the hart panteth after the	Psalm 42	—	anthem	—	ABCDEFEG	varies
ANTHEM. PSALM 93, AN	1121(d7)655u111(2)	—	C major	The Lord is King & is	Psalm 93	—	anthem	—	—	varies
ASHFORD	11d76(5)43(454)3(2)1	5u12(3)432	C major	the Lord himself the mighty Lord	Psalm 23	C.M. with 8.6. chorus	antiphonal tune with chorus	—	—	1-triple
ASIA	123432	233445	A minor	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	minim driven	ABA'A"	1-common
ATTLEBOROUGH BARRE	15(65)4(3)2(343)21 15u1d51432	56(7u1d7)65(u1d7)65 15u1d765	F major G major	— —	— —	S.M. C.M.	plain tune plain tune	— —	AA'A"A" ABA'B' or ABB'B"	1-triple 4-common
BOSTON	1d5555u1(d7)65	5u12(3)4(3)2(1)2	B-flat major D major	Shepherds rejoice & —	Christmas Hymn 33d —	C.M. 8.8.8. 8.8.8.	plain tune plain tune	crotchet driven minim driven	ABCB'B"DB""B"" ABB'B"CB""	3-common 1-common
BRANETREE [BRAINTREE IN INDEX]	55345645	5u1d765435	D major	—	—	8.8.8. 8.8.8.	plain tune	minim driven	ABB'B"CB""	1-common
BRATTLE ASTREET	13(4)5u1(d7)u1d6(5)45	56(54)34(32)11(2)d7u1	G major	—	—	L.M. double	plain tune	—	ABCC'DEC"F	1-triple
BRIDGWATER OR EVENING HYMN	1565u1d65(67)u1	11(d7)66(5)43(45)65	F major	Creator of these orbs of light	—	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
BROOKFIELD	5u1323(2)1(d7)u12	23(21)d7u1(23)23(21)d7u1	D minor	—	Hymn 72d	L.M.	plain tune	—	ABCB'	1-triple
BROOKLINE	11(21)d7u1(23)2(1)4(32)1d5	u1(2)3(45)4(3)4(32)1(d7)u1	A major	—	Ps. 19	C.M.	plain tune	minim driven	ABA'B'	3-common

Tune Title	Melodic Incipit Line 1	Melodic Incipit Line 2	Key	Text Incipit	Text Attribution	Text Meter	Tune Type	Special Features	Form	Mood of Time
CAMBRIDGE	13215432	23451(4)321	C major	—	—	8.8.8. 8.8.8.	plain tune	minim driven	AA'BCDA"	2-common
CANON OF 4 IN 1, A	133532(1)d7u1	111d5645u1	B-flat major	—	—	L.M.	canon	—	—	2-triple
CANON OF 4 IN 1, A	1545(67)35(43)21	11d7u3(2)11d5u1	F-sharp minor	When Jesus wep't, the falling tear,	—	L.M.	canon	—	—	1-triple
CANON OF 4 IN 1, A	13(21)23(45)43(21)d7u1	11d5u1d6u1(d76)5u1	G major	Thus saith the high the lofty	—	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	canon	—	—	2-triple
CANON OF 5 IN ONE WITH A GROUND	13(43)21(23)45(43)21	11d56(7u1)d65(u1)d5u1 - B	C major	Wake ev'ry Breath & ev'ry String	the Words by ye Rev'd. Dr. Byles	8.8.8. 8.8.8.	canon	—	—	1-triple
CHELSEA	53(4)56(7)u1(d76)5(4)35	53(4)56(7)u1(d76)5(4)3(2)1	D major	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	AA'A"B	1-triple
CHESTER	567u1d56(u1d7)65	5555(654)34(32)12	F major	Let tyrants shake their Iron rod	—	L.M.	secular part song	minim driven	—	2-common
CHESTERFIELD	1d5(u1)31d535u1	1d7(6)54(5)75	D minor	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
CONCORD	15(43)23(21)d7u1(2)32	23(21)d7u1(23)45	A minor	—	Ps.	C.M.	plain tune	—	AA'A"B	1-triple
CORSICA	13(45)65(4)34(5)65	5u1(d76)56(54)32	F major	The Lord almighty is a God	words by P M. [Perez Morton]	C.M.	plain tune	—	ABB'B"	1-triple
CUMBERLAND	1342312d5	5u15432	C major	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	—	ABB'C	1-triple
DEADHAM	1d7(u12)32(34)32(1)d7u1	13(45)65(4)32(34)32	G major	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	AA'BC	1-triple
DICKINSON	5u13432	2312d7u1	D major	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	minim driven	ABA'B'	1-common
DIGHTON	15(4)36(5)43(2)15	51(2)35(43)21	A minor	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	—	ABCB'	1-triple
DORCHESTER	1545(6765)43(4567u1)d5(46) 5	5u1(d7u1)d56(54)32	F-sharp minor	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
DUXBOROUGH	55u1d75545	5u1d7u1d5435	E minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	minim driven	ABCA'	1-common
EAST-TOWN	13(45)434(32)1	53(45)65(4)32	G major	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	—	AA'A"A"	1-triple
EASTHAM	13(4)56(5)45(4)32	54(3)21(23)45	A minor	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	—	ABB'B"	1-triple
ESSEX	5u1(2)34(3)21	23(2)15(4)32	C major	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	—	AA'A"A"	1-triple
EUROPE	15u1d5(u1)d76(5)45	55(4)3(1)4(3)21	F major	Let whig and torie all subside,	—	C.M. with 8.6. chorus	plain tune with fuging chorus	—	ABCDEDED'	2-common; 1-triple
FAIRFIELD	13(2)34(5)42	53(4)31(23)45	A minor	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	—	ABA'C	1-triple
FREEDOM	13(2)35(4)32	23(2)34(3)21	A minor	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	—	AA'A"A"	1-triple
FRIENDSHIP	132132	223421	A major	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	minim driven	ABA'B' or ABB'B"	1-common
GEORGIA	13(2)1235(43)4(3)2	5u1(d5)62(5)15(43)21	G major	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
GREENLAND	134215	57(6)56(5)45	A minor	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	—	ABB'C	1-triple
HAMPSHIRE	13234532	22343421	A minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	minim driven	—	1-common
HAMTON	11(2)1d7(6)56(7u1)d7u1	13(45)43(2)13(4)32	C major	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	AA'BA"	1-triple
HANOVER	1d5u1d65u1d7u1	1d656u1432	D major	Bless'd is the man supremely bless'd	—	L.M.	plain tune	minim driven	ABCC'	1-common

Table 10.13 (continued)

Tune Title	Melodic Incipit Line 1	Melodic Incipit Line 2	Key	Text Incipit	Text Attribution	Text Meter	Tune Type	Special Features	Form	Mood of Time
HANOVER NEW	13565432	55(4)32(3)45	A major	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	—	ABB'B''	1-triple
HARVARD	1d5u1d7757u1	123432	D minor	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	minim driven	ABA'C	1-common
HAVERILL	11(d76)5u1d54(3)21 - B	34(32)13(45)42 - T	G major	through all the changing scenes of	Psalm 3rd	C.M. with 8.6. chorus	antiphonal tune with chorus	—	ABCDEDED'	1-triple
HEBRON	5u1(d7u1)23(23)21	13(2)1d7(65)45	D minor	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	—	ABA'B'	1-triple
HINGHAM	1d7u1232	2312d7u1	B minor	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	minim driven	ABA'B'	1-common
HOLDEN	11321432	231432(1)d7u1	C major	—	—	8.8.8. 8.8.8.	plain tune	—	AA'BCA'D	1-triple
HOLLIS	1d5(4)36(7)u1d5(6)7u1	1d6(5)6u1(2)31(d7)65	B-flat major	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
HOLLIS STREET	1356u1d76545	567u1d5(6)7u1d765	F major	Let angels above & saints here	Words by the Rev'd Dr Byles	10.10.11.11.	plain tune	—	ABCC'	1-triple
HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS, AN. OR CHARLSTON	13343215	565432	F major	While shepherds &c.	hymn 26	C.M. double	plain tune	crotchet driven	AA'BCDA''EF	3-common
IPSWICH	12325421	223212	A minor	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	minim driven	ABB'B''	1-common
JAMACIA [JAMAICA IN INDEX]	1d7(5)u12(d7)u53(1)42	57(65)56(54)45(43)21	A minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	ABA'B'	1-triple
LANCASTER	15345342	53422345	A minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	minim driven	—	1-common
LEBANON OR FUNERAL HYMN	1321d7u1(2)3(4)5	565432	G minor	Death with his warrent in his	—	C.M.	plain tune	crotchet driven	—	2-common
LEXINGTON	13(4)54(3)21(2)32	23(4)55(6)75(4)32	A minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	ABCA'	2-triple
LIBERTY	1356(543)21	23(45)6545	G major	God Bless our gracious King &	—	S.M.	plain tune	—	ABCA'	1-triple
LINCOLN	11(2)35(1)d7u1	1d6(5)13(4)5u1	C major	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
LYNN	134(321)45(432)3(43)2(1)2	23(45)6u1(d765)45	G major	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
MALDEN	13(45)53(45)65(4)32	56(7u1)d56(5)53(43)21	G major	—	Ps. 106	L.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
MARBLEHEAD	15(65)43(43)21(21)32	23(43)45(65)45	G major	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	—	ABCA'	1-triple
MARSHFIELD	13(45)47(65)u13(21)d7u1	1d7(65)65(43)21(23)45	E minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
MASSECHUSTTS [MASSACHUSETTS IN INDEX]	5u1321(23)54321	1d6565(u1)3432(1)2	C major	Great is the lord god, ye	—	10.10.11.11.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
MEDFIELD	5u12d5u1432	23454321	C major	When I my various blessings see,	Words by the late Sml byles. M. D.	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	plain tune	—	ABA'C	3-triple
MEDFORD	13(21)2d7(65)u13(45)75	56(54)34(32)31(d7)65	B minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
MIDDLESEX	133514(3)2(1)2	35(4)34(5)6(54)5	G major	—	—	C.M.	antiphonal tune	—	ABCB'	1-triple
MIDDLETOWN	135321	355765	G minor	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	—	AA'BC	4-common
MILTON	13(2)1(234)5(4)34(3)21	23(4)56(5)45	G major	the will I laud my God	Psalm 145	C.M. with 8.6. chorus	plain tune with fuging chorus	—	—	1-triple
NANTASKET	1323(2)1d7(u12)32	2d5(u1)d7u1(2)34(3)21	C major	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
NANTUCKET	5u1(4)32(1)d7u1	1d5(u1)d76(5)45	D major	—	Hymn 5	S.M.	plain tune	—	AA'BA''	1-triple

Table 10.13 (continued)

Tune Title	Melodic Incipit Line 1	Melodic Incipit Line 2	Key	Text Incipit	Text Attribution	Text Meter	Tune Type	Special Features	Form	Mood of Time
NEW BOSTON	1321d7u1	1d7u1232	D major	—	Ps. 148	H.M.	plain tune	minim driven	ABA'CA''B' or ABA'CB''	1-common
NEW HINGHAM	1d7u1232	2312d7u1	B minor	Death O the awful sound: what	—	S.M.	plain tune	crotchet driven	ABCB'	2-common
NEW NORTH	55345u1d65	u1d76545	D major	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	minim driven	ABB'C	1-common
NEW SOUTH	11d7u132	2312d7u1	C major	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
NEW TOWN	13235432	531432d7u1	A major	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	minim driven	ABA'C	2-common
NEW TUNE TO DR. WATTS'S SAPPHICK ODE, A	11d7u1d5u4321(2)3(4)5	3112(d7)u12321d7(6)5 - S	C major	When the fierce North wind with	Dr. Watts	11.11.11.5.	antiphonal tune	—	ABCDD'D'	1-triple
NEWPORT	156545(43)21	3575(4)3215	B minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	—	2-triple
NO. 45	156545	553432	F major	—	—	H.M.	plain tune	—	ABCDEDE'	1-triple
NORTH RIVER	12356545	532345	A minor	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	crotchet driven	ABCC'	2-common
NUTFIELD	555345	577565	E minor	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	minim driven	AA'A''B or AA''BB'	1-common
OLD BRICK	15654765	54376542	A minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	minim driven	—	1-common
OLD NORTH. OR MORN	13(4)5u1(d7)65	5u1(d7)65(4)32	F major	Awake my soul awake, awake look	—	S.M. double	antiphonal tune	—	AA'A''BCA''''A''''A''''	1-triple
OLD SOUTH	1d75u1(23)5432	23(5)4(2)3(1)2(d7)u1	B minor	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	minim driven	AA''BB'	2-common
ORANGE STREET	11(d7)u12(3)13(2)35	57(6)56(54)32	A minor	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	—	ABB''B''	1-triple
ORLEANS	13456542	532132	G minor	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	—	ABB'C	1-triple
PEMBROKE	11d7u1d5u1(2)32	d7u1231d67u1	D major	—	Hy. 17	L.M.	plain tune	minim driven	—	1-common
PEMBROKE NEW	5u1d53(45)65(67)6(5)u1	13(45)43(2)1d5(u1)32	D major	—	—	8.8.8. 8.8.8.	plain tune	—	ABCDEB'	1-triple
PITT	1111d7u1	1d55565	C major	—	—	S.M. double	plain tune	crotchet driven	AA'A''A''''BA''''CD	2-common
PLAINFIELD	1112(5)31(23)21	333432	G major	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	—	AA'A''B	1-triple
PLEASANT STREET	13(2)15(4)31(23)42	23(45)45(43)21(23)21	A minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	ABA'B'	1-triple
PLYMTON	11325432	23454321	B minor	—	—	8.8.8. 8.8.8.	plain tune	minim driven	AA''BA''CA'''' or ABB'A''B''B''	1-common
POMFRET	11(23)23(45)65(43)21	56(5)43(4)32	G major	—	Ps 92	C.M.	plain tune	—	ABCB'	1-triple
POWNAI	15425432	23453235	A minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	ABCB'	1-triple
PRINCE TOWN	5u1(2)3211d7u1	1d5(u1)d7u1(2)32	D minor	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	—	ABCA'	1-triple
PROVIDENCE	15(4)32(34)5u1(d7)65	5u1(d7)65(4)32(1)d7u1	E minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	—	2-triple
PUMPILY	1312d7u1	1d65u132	C major	—	Psalm 140	H.M.	plain tune	—	ABCA'A''C'	1-triple
PURCHASE STREET	15(u1)d76(5)45	56(5)1(23)4(54)32	F major	—	—	S.M.	plain tune	—	ABB'A'' or ABB''B''	1-triple
QUEEN STREET	155331(2)3(4)5	5u1d7665	F major	O clap your hand & shout	words by P M.	C.M. double	plain tune	crotchet driven	ABCDEDE''FD''	2-common
ROXBURY	13(45)45(67)65(4)32	53(21)42(1d7)u32(1)d7u1	A minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	ABCB'	1-triple
SCITUATE	11(23)23(45)43(4)32	23(2)12(34)51(234)21	B minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple

Table 10.13 (continued)

Tune Title	Melodic Incipit Line 1	Melodic Incipit Line 2	Key	Text Incipit	Text Attribution	Text Meter	Tune Type	Special Features	Form	Mood of Time
SHIRLEY	15345342	53422345	E minor	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	minim driven	AA'BC	1-common
SMITHFIELD	11d75((67)u1d7(6)5u1 - B	51(4)32(34)32 - T	A minor	Lord who's the happy man that	Psm 15	C.M. with 8.6. chorus	antiphonal tune with chorus	—	ABCC'B'B"	1-triple
ST. ELISHA'S STOUGHTON	1d56543(23)45 13(4)53(2)1(2)3(45)42	u32d7u1d7645 23(21)21(23)45	D major A major	—	Hymn 14 —	L.M. C.M.	plain tune plain tune	— —	ABA'A" ABCC'	1-triple 2-triple
SUDBURY	15u1(d5)6(4)5(3)1(3)4(6)5	53(1)2(4)3(1)2(d7)u1	F major	—	—	C.M.	plain tune	minim driven	ABB'C	2-common
SUFFOLK SUMMER STREET	15(u1)d7(6)5(4)51(23)45 13(21)51(234)56(54)32	56(5)45(4)34(3)21 21(23)45(43)45	G minor A minor	—	—	L.M. C.M.	plain tune plain tune	— —	— —	1-triple 1-triple
SWANZEY TAUNTON	15(4)32(1)d7u1(2)35 1545(4)32(34)32	55(4)31(2)32 23(4)5645	A minor A minor	As pants the hart for cooling	Psalm 42d	C.M. with 8.6. chorus	plain tune with fuging chorus	—	ABCC'DA'	1-triple
TOWER HILL UNION	11357545 5u154(3)21	575342 23(45)65(4)32	A minor C major	—	— Ps. 25	C.M. S.M.	plain tune plain tune	— —	— AA'A"A"	1-triple 1-triple
UNITY	11d5u14321	d5u1342142	D major	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	minim driven	—	1-common
UXBRIDGE WALTHAM	15(4)351(23)4(3)21 5u1(23)21(4)32	53(2)12(34)32 21(d5)6u1(21)d7u1	G major C major	— To the I made my cry,	— words by P M	C.M. S.M.	plain tune plain tune	— —	ABCA' —	2-triple 1-triple
WATER TOWN	55(u1)d7u1(d5)4(6)5(4)32	21(23)2(1)2(34)3(2)3(45)6(7)u 1	D major	—	—	L.M.	plain tune	—	ABCC'	2-triple
WELLFLEET WESTFIELD	153421 11(5)43(7)u1d5(67)65	35(4)32(1)32 55(67)u1d7(6)54(3)21	A minor F-sharp minor	—	—	S.M. L.M.	plain tune plain tune	— —	ABB'C ABCB'	1-triple 1-triple
WHEELERS POINT WILKS	13(4)5u1(d7)u1d5(4)32 11(d76)5u1d54(3)21	23(4)5u1(2)32(1)d7u1 15(u1)d13(4)5u1(d7)65	D minor D major	— Almighty God eternal king, to whom	— words by P M	L.M. L.M.	plain tune plain tune	— —	ABB'C ABCA'	1-triple 1-triple
WILLIAMSBURGH	13(43)45(65)43(43)21	15(65)43(21)32	G major	Almighty God whose boundless sway earth	—	C.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple

Table 10.14 William Billings' compositions in the Singing Master's Assistant, or Key to Practical Music (Boston: Draper and Folsom, 1778)

Tune Title	Melodic Incipit Line 1	Melodic Incipit Line 2	Key	Text Incipit	Text Attribution	Text Meter	Tune Type	Special Features	Form	Mood of Time
AFRICA	13(45)u1d7(65)13(4)32	23(4)5u1(2)32	E-flat major	Now shall my inward joy arise	D W	C.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
AMERICA	5543(u1)d7u1(d7)65	5543(6)5u1(d76)7u1	D major	Come let us sing unto the	—	8.8.8. 8.8.8.	plain tune	—	AA'BCDB' or ABCDB'C'	1-triple
AMHERST	1354(3)21	5u1d56(54)32	G major	To God the Mighty Lord. Your	Words by T & B	H.M.	plain tune - crotchet driven	—	AA'BA"A""A""	3-common
BOSTON	1d555u1(d7)65	5u12(3)4(3)2(1)2	B-flat major	Methinks I see a Heav'nly host	—	C.M. double	plain tune - crotchet driven	—	—	3-common
BROOKFIELD	5u1323(2)1(d7)u12	23(21)d7u1(23)23(21)d7u1	D minor	'Twas on that dark that doleful	D W	L.M.	plain tune	—	ABCB'	1-triple
CAMBRIDGE	13215432	23451(4)321	C major	Ye that delight to serve the	T & B	8.8.8. 8.8.8.	plain tune - minim driven	—	AA'BCDA"	3-common
CHESTER	567u1d56(u1d7)65	5555(654)34(32)12	F major	Let tyrants shake their iron rod,	[William Billings]	L.M.	secular part song - plain tune, crotchet driven	—	—	3-common
DORCHESTER	1545(6765)43(4567u1)d5(46)5	5u1(d7u1)d56(54)32	F-sharp minor	Time what an empty vapour tis	D W	C.M.	plain tune - minim driven	time signature change	ABCB'	1-triple; 3-common
DUXBOROUGH	55u1d75545	5u1d7u1d5435	E minor	In vain the wealthy mortals toil	D W	L.M.	plain tune - minim driven	—	ABCA'	1 - common
HEBRON	5u1(d7u1)23(23)21	13(2)1d7(65)45	D minor	My God my Life my Love,	D W	S.M.	plain tune	—	ABA'B'	1-triple
HOLLIS STREET	1356u1d76545	567u1d5(6)7u1d765	F major	Ye servants of God your Master	G W	10.10. 11.11.	plain tune	—	ABCC'	1-triple
LEBANON	1321d7u1(2)3(4)5	565432	A minor	Death with his warrant in his	[William Billings]	C.M.	plain tune - minim driven	—	AA'BA"	3-common
MARBLEHEAD	15(65)43(43)21(21)32	23(43)45(65)45	G major	How vast must their Advantage be	T & B	C.M.	plain tune	—	ABCA'	1-triple
MARSHFIELD	13(45)47(65)u13(21)d7u1	1d7(65)65(43)21(23)45	E minor	When we our weary'd Limbs to	T & B	L.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
MEDFIELD	5u12d5u1432	23454321	C major	When I my varous Blessings see	Words by S Byles MD	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	plain tune - quaver driven	—	ABA'B' or ABB'B"	3-triple
NEW-HINGHAM	1d7u1232	2312d7u1	A minor	Death O the awful sound, What	[William Billings]	S.M.	plain tune - crotchet driven	—	ABCB'	3-common
NEW NORTH	55345u1d65	u1d76545	D major	O Praise the Lord with one	T & B	C.M.	plain tune - minim driven	—	ABB'C	1-common
NEW SOUTH	11d7u132	2312d7u1	C major	To Bless thy chosen Race, In	T & B	S.M.	plain tune	—	ABCA'	1-triple
PRINCETOWN	5u1(2)3211d7u1	1d5(u1)d7u1(2)32	D minor	Lord hear the voice of my	T & B	C.M.	plain tune	—	AA'BA"	1-triple
PUMPILY	1312d7u1	1d65u132	C major	Ye boundless Realms of joy Exalt	T & B	H.M.	plain tune - crotchet driven	—	ABCA'A"C'	3-common



Tune Title	Melodic Incipit Line 1	Melodic Incipit Line 2	Key	Text Incipit	Text Attribution	Text Meter	Tune Type	Special Features	Form	Mood of Time
SAPPHO	11d7u1d5u4321(2)3(4)5	55651432122 - A	C major	When the fierce North-wind with his	Dr. W	11.11.11.5.	antiphonal tune	repeated material between solo and tutti sections	ABCDD'E	3-common
SUFFOLK	15(u1)d7(6)5(4)51(23)45	56(5)45(4)34(3)21	G minor	Bright King of Glory dreadful God,	D W	L.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple
WALTHAM	5u1(23)21(4)32	21(d5)6(7)u1(21)d7u1	C major	My Saviour and my King	D	S.M.	plain tune	—	ABA'C	1-triple
ANTHEM PSALM 39TH, AN	12323(21)d7u123(2)1	—	B minor	Hear my Pray'r O Lord my	Psalm 39	—	anthem	—	—	varies
ANTHEM TAKEN FROM SUNDRY SCRIP-TURES, AN	11(2)345434(3)21	—	G minor - G major	Is any afflicted let him Pray	—	—	anthem	—	ABCB'	varies
ANTHEM. PSALM 81ST, AN	1d5u11132333	—	C major	Sing ye merrily unto God our	Psalm 81st	—	anthem	—	—	varies
ANTHEM. SOLOMON'S SONGS. CHAP 2D, AN	5u121231d7u12 - S	—	A major	I am the Rose of Sharon	Solomon's Songs, Chap 2d	—	anthem	—	—	varies
ASHHAM	11(2)3212(1)d7u1	23(2)1543(2)1(3)2	A major	Thou whom my Soul admires above,	D Watts	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	plain tune	—	—	2-com-pound
AURORA A MORNING HYMN	5u13(5)4(3)21	23(21)d7u1(d7)65	C major	Awake my soul awake. Awake look	—	S.M. with 8.6. chorus	plain tune with fugging chorus	time signature change between verse and chorus	AA'BB'CD or AA'BCDC'	1-triple; 3 - common
BALTIMORE	11113	32d7u214	C major	Father of mercies thou fountain of	[William Billings]	5.6.5. 6.6.6.4.	plain tune - crotchet driven	—	ABCDD'EC'	1-com-pound
BENEVOLENCE	11232(1)555	4(3)43(2)1(2)3(4)5	F major	Happy the man whose tender care	T & B	C.M.	fugging tune	—	—	3-common
BETHLEHEM	5u1d7u1(d7)5(4)3(43)2(1)5	53(4)5u1(d7)65	E major	While Shepherds watch their flocks by	Dr W	C.M. with 8.6. chorus	plain tune with fugging chorus	time signature change between verse and chorus	ABA'B'CB''	1-triple; 3 - common; 1-triple
BOLTON	11d7u123(54)	431432	G major	Rejoice the Lord is King, Your	G W	H.M.	fugging tune	—	ABCD A'B'EF	2-com-pound
BRUNSWICK	5123(21)23(2)3(4)5	57(6)5(4)5(4)32	F-sharp minor	Stoop down my Thoughts that use	words by Dr W	C.M.	plain tune - crotchet driven	—	ABA'CB' or ABB'CB''	3-common

Table 10.14 (continued)

Tune Title	Melodic Incipit Line 1	Melodic Incipit Line 2	Key	Text Incipit	Text Attribution	Text Meter	Tune Type	Special Features	Form	Mood of Time
CHOCKETT	112345	432(3)4(3)2(1)2	G major	Lord of the worlds above, How	D W	H.M.	plain tune - crotchet driven	—	ABA'B'A"C	3-common
COLUMBIA	53167u1	d531432	E major	Not all the Pow'rs on earth,	[William Billings]	H.M.	plain tune - crotchet driven	—	AA'BCDA"	3-common
CONNECTION	15567u1	1d7(6)56(5)45	E major	Great is the Lord our God	D W	S.M.	plain tune	—	—	2-triple
CONSOLATION	55(4)34(3)21(3)45	5u1(d7)65(6)7u1	E-flat major	He's come let ev'ry knee be	Words Anon.	C.M.	plain tune	extended	ABCDA'	2- com- pound
DAVID'S LAMEN- TATION	112323234(2)1	—	A minor	David the King was grieved &	[William Billings]	—	anthem	—	—	4-common
DUNSTABLE	15(434)57(65)43(45)7(5)u1(d7 )	65(43)5u1d7u1	F-sharp minor	With earnest longings of the mind,	D W	C.M. with 8.6. chorus	plain tune with fuging chorus	time signature change between verse and chorus	ABB'CDEFG	1-triple; 4: common
EMMAUS	11(2)3531(d7)u1(3)2	21(2)35(67)u1d7(65)45	G minor	When Jesus wept a falling tear,	Words by P M	L.M.	plain tune	time signature change	—	1-triple; 3 - common; 1-triple
EXETER	15565447	654345	F minor	My thoughts on awful subjects roll,	D W	C.M. double	plain tune - crotchet driven	—	ABB'CDEFG	3-common
FUNERAL ANTHEM, A	155u1d765543	—	F minor	I heard a great voice from	Rev. Chap 14th	—	anthem	—	—	varies
GRATITUDE AN ANTHEM.	5u123143231	—	C major - C minor - C major	I love the Lord because he	Psalm 116th	—	anthem	—	—	varies
HALIFAX	5u113213212	23122321d7u1	C minor	Not to our names thou only	D W	10.10. 10.10. 10.10.	plain tune - crotchet driven	—	ABB'CDE	3-common
HEATH	5u1111333	35531432	C major	Awake my Soul awake my eyes	words Anon.	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	fuging tune	—	—	3-common
INDEPENDENCE	55(65)5u1(21)23(43)45(65)43( 43)	—	D major	The States O Lord with Songs	[William Billings]	—	anthem	—	—	varies
JARGON	16436516	65u1d3u1d36	G major	Let horrid Jargon split the Air,	[William Billings]	8.7.8.7.	secular part song	—	—	3-common
JUDEA	11312423121	32223123545	F major	A Virgin unspotted ye Prophet foretold	words anon	11.11. 11.11. with 11.11. refrain	antiphonal tune	repeated refrain	—	1-com- pound: 2-com- pound varies
LAMENTATION OVER BOSTON. AN ANTHEM	1d5u12322213	—	A minor	By the Rivers of Watertown we	[William Billings]	—	secular extended part song	—	—	varies
MAJESTY	5u1(d7u1)d65(3)143(1)u1	d765(4)56(7)u1	F major	The Lord descended from above &	Words by S & H	C.M. double	antiphonal tune	—	ABCDEFGD'HD"	3-common

Table 10.14 (continued)

Tune Title	Melodic Incipit Line 1	Melodic Incipit Line 2	Key	Text Incipit	Text Attribution	Text Meter	Tune Type	Special Features	Form	Mood of Time
MARYLAND	135432	2354(3)21	A minor	And must this body die, This	D W	S.M. with 8.6. chorus	plain tune with fuging chorus - crotchet driven	—	AA'A"A""BA""	3-common
MEDWAY	155553(2)15	567u1d7u1	G major	Sing to the Lord Jehovah's name,	D W	C.M. with 8.6. chorus	plain tune with fuging chorus	time signature change between verse and chorus	ABB'CDC'	2-triple; 4- common
NORTH PROVIDENCE	13332(1)222	3(4)51432	G major	Come let us Join our cheerful	D W	C.M.	fuging tune	—	ABCB'	3-common
PHILADELPHIA	555u1d7u1	1d5(4)36(5)45	D major	Let differing nations Join To celebrate	T & B	S.M. with 8.6. chorus	plain tune with fuging chorus	—	ABCDEC' or ABCDED'	1-triple; 3- common; 1-triple
PHOEBUS	155(4)3455(6)7	7(6)545(6)7u1	F-sharp minor	Lord in the morning thou shalt	D W	C.M. double	fuging tune - antiphonal single	—	ABCDB'EE'D'	3-common
RETROSPECT AN ANTHEM FROM SUNDRY SCRIPTURES	11d7u1554554	—	A minor - A major - A minor - A major	Was not the Day dark &	sundry Scrip- tures	—	anthem	—	—	varies
RICHMOND	1d5u12354	321321d75	A minor	My Beloved haste away, Sick of	Words by Relly	7.8.7.8. with 7.8. refrain	plain tune with refrain	time signature change between verse and refrain	ABAB'CA'	1-com- pound; 4- common
ROXBURY	55u1d7u1(d76)5u11d7u1	12d75u1d7u1232	D major	O priase ye the Lord, Prepare	T & B. 149th Psalm	10.10.11.11.	plain tune	—	ABCDEFB'CB'	2-triple
SAVANNAH	5u1123212	232121d7u1	C minor	Ah! lovely appearance of Death No	words by G W	8.8.8.8.	antiphonal tune	—	AA'BA"	3 - common
SHARON	11(3)32(3)45(3)56(4)	65(3)54(3)21	G major	How Glo'rous is our heav'nly King,	D W	C.M.	plain tune - crotchet driven	extended	ABA'B'CC'B"	1-com- pound; 1-triple
SHERBURNE	15567u1	11d7u1(d7)65	F major	How pleasant tis to see, Kindred	D W	6.6.8. 6.6.8.	plain tune - crotchet driven	—	ABCDA'B'	3-common
SPAIN	113432	235421	C major	How pleas'd, and Blest was I	D W	6.6.8. 6.6.8.	plain tune - minim driven	—	ABA'CA"A""	3-common
STOCKBRIDGE	11d76567u1 - B	55432345 - T	F major	From all that dwell below the	D W	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.) double	antiphonal tune	—	AA'A"BA""B'CB"DB""C'C" EB""	3-common
SULLIVAN	55(u1)d7u1(d76)5u1(21)d7u1	d5u1d7u1(21)21(4)32	D major	Let mortal tongues attempt to sing	D Watts	L.M.	plain tune	—	—	1-triple

Table 10.14 (continued)

Table 10.14 (continued)

Tune Title	Melodic Incipit Line 1	Melodic Incipit Line 2	Key	Text Incipit	Text Attribution	Text Meter	Tune Type	Special Features	Form	Mood of Time
SUNDAY	5u132d7u1(d53)15	5u1(d7)65(4)36(5)6(7)u1	E-flat major	Majestic God when I descry The	[William Billings]	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	plain tune	extended	—	1-triple; 3-common
VERMONT	5315u1d7(u1)d7(6)5	4345(4)32	E minor	In vain we lavish out our	D W	C.M. double	plain tune - crotchet driven	—	ABCB'DED'F	3-common
WARREN	1212345	4321432	G major	Children of the Heav'nly King, As	G W	7.7. 7.7.	plain tune	—	ABA'C	2-compound
WASHINGTON	555u1d7u123	21d765u1(21)d7u1d764543(43)21	E major	Lord when thou did'st ascend on	D. W.	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	fuging tune	—	ABB'CB''B'''	3-common
WORCESTER	13235432	1(2)35432	G minor	How short & hasty are our	D W	C.M. double	plain tune - crotchet driven	—	AA'BA''CDEF or AA'BCDEFC'	3-common
WRENTHAM	1355535432	534556u1d765	F major	The God of glory sends his	D W	10.10. 10.10. 11.11.	plain tune - crotchet driven	—	AA'BB'CD	3-common

## **Chapter 11: Early Nationalist Continuations of Middle Atlantic and Southern Colonial Anglican Trends**

By the 1780s, Anglicans were undergoing a crisis of identity. Reflecting the change in national government, members of this church body found themselves without a formal denomination. The hierarchical Anglican system of church government, with the church tied directly to the state, did not suit the republican and democratic ideals of the United States. As a result, the denomination dropped its royal-ecclesiastical identity and officially became the American Protestant Episcopal Church beginning in 1784. This shift reflected both the recognition of the new country by the Treaty of Paris in 1783 and the need for Episcopalian self-governance. Instead of colonial parishes and churches being designated centers for missionary activity under the aegis of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, these bodies now had to determine not only the nature of their church structure, but also their form of ecclesiastical authority.

Although church elders found it expedient to redefine the denomination's identity and place within the paradigms of the new country, not all these aspects would break from the colonial past. In particular, Anglican musical trends that developed throughout the Middle Atlantic and Southern Colonies during the Late Colonial Period would continue into the Early Nationalist United States. What changed was the concept of regionalism versus nationalism in terms of repertory and practice. Many of the same ideals of expression, cultural influence, and conventions of performance would appear throughout the country, but now these trends assumed a more national character. This seeming conflict between religious-denominational ideals and musical practice appeared in a series of letters between

two of the founding members of the new denomination: Dr. William Smith and the Reverend William White.

In September of 1785, the first General Convention of the American Protestant Episcopal Church met to discuss how to reform the liturgy of the Church of England to suit an American context, which by necessity involved a revision of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The attendees at the convention appointed Dr. William Smith (1727-1803), the eminent Middle Atlantic Anglican divine, chairman of the committee. Smith, born in Aberdeen, Scotland was the first provost of the College of Philadelphia and an outspoken critic of Pennsylvania's pacifist Quakers. During the war, he fled Philadelphia on account of his religion. At ordination, Anglican priests had to recognize the authority of the king. Thus, their loyalty to the American cause often remained in doubt and Smith was no exception. Though he stayed true to his denomination, he also championed the patriot cause and became the first president of Washington College in Chestertown, Maryland, endowed personally by George Washington.

Smith and the other members of the convention faced an enormous task. They had to preserve the essential character of the Anglican Church, while allowing for the recognition of the sovereignty of their country, a position held also by Anglicans in Scotland. In 1784, the denomination formally became the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America after the consecration of its first bishop, Samuel Seabury. Smith engaged in a series of exchanges between himself and the second bishop of the United States, The Most Reverend William White (1748-1836), who had been appointed the President of the House of Deputies, the first legislative branch of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The two men debated the format of the new liturgy, the place of psalmody and hymnody within the new denomination, and what type of music remained best suited to metrical psalms and hymns.

Unlike Smith, White had lived his entire life in Philadelphia. Further separating himself from many Anglican ministers throughout the Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies and states, White had supported the American cause and remained in Philadelphia for the duration of the war. Perhaps because of his status as a native-born son of the colony, White's loyalty did not come under such close scrutiny as other foreign-born ministers such as Smith. In 1782, White published a pamphlet that outlined his view on the current crisis of identity of Anglican congregants in regards to national sovereignty regarding matters of faith. In it, he stated: "[a]ll former jurisdiction over the churches being thus withdrawn, and the chain which held them together broken, it would seem, that their future continuance can be provided for only by voluntary associations for union and good government."<sup>1</sup> The British government and its state church could no longer function as the Episcopal head of state.

The convention in 1785 established Philadelphia as this new center. Not coincidentally, the two men entrusted most with the creation of this new church government came to prominence in Philadelphia and had demonstrated their support of the American cause. Merging a distinctly American form of identity with an organizational system based upon a monarchical, state-run, form of government proved a daunting task. Understanding that Loyalist elements among the United States clergy still persisted after the war, William White noted that

[t]he Church of England, to which the Protestant Episcopal Church in these States is indebted, under God, for her first foundation and a long continuance of nursing care and protection, hath in the preface of her book of common prayer laid it down as a

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<sup>1</sup> William White, *The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered* (Philadelphia: David C. Claypoole, 1782), 8.

rule, that—"The particular forms of divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable that, upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those who are in place of authority should, from time to time, seem either necessary or expedient."<sup>2</sup>

Clearly, the only way to revise the Book of Common Prayer involved following its own directive. However, the new denomination still had to decide on its own form of ecclesiastical sovereignty.

White had his thoughts on this matter too. Political independence from Great Britain also connoted religious independence. Echoing the words of Thomas Jefferson, he believed that

when, in the course of divine providence, these American States became *independent* with respect to civil government, their *ecclesiastical independence* was necessarily included; and the different religious denominations of Christians in these States were left at full and equal liberty to model and organize their respective churches and forms of worship and discipline, in such manner as they might judge most convenient for their future prosperity, consistently with the constitution and laws of their country.<sup>3</sup>

This newfound freedom allowed for two possible types of episcopacies to exist in the United States: one based upon the autonomy of churches in the individual states, and another based

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<sup>2</sup> Rev. Dr. White to Rev. Dr. Smith, December 6, 1785. Source: Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith*, 2, 158.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 163



upon a more national central authority, paralleling in many aspects the debate on the superiority of a confederate versus federalist form of government.

In the end, White believed that the best solution to the issue would be found in creating the least amount of change between pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods. This solution called for the creation of a national character impressed upon the church with minimal alterations to the liturgy, occasioned mostly by the removal of monarchical references. He found that "[t]he attention of this Church was, in the first place, drawn to those alterations in the liturgy which became necessary in the prayers for our civil rulers, in consequence of the revolution..."<sup>4</sup> However, anything more than these surface details would be controversial. In his view, the general belief among Anglicans held that

[i]t is far from the intention of this Church to depart from the Church of England any farther than local circumstances require, or to deviate in any thing essential to the true meaning of the Thirty-nine Articles; although the number of them be abridged by some variations in the mode of expression, and the omission of such articles as were more evidently adapted to the times when they were first framed and to the political constitution of England.<sup>5</sup>

As such, much of the same Late-Colonial Anglican sentiment persisted into the Early Nationalist Episcopalian church. This phenomenon extended also to musical practice, preserving many of the same features as in the Late Colonial Period. Only this time, activity in Philadelphia affected most strongly the popular musical climate of the Middle Atlantic and Southern states. Late Colonial trends influenced Early Nationalist practice through

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 163

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 165

congregational performance conventions and tune collections, venues for the performance of Episcopalian psalm tunes, and finally extended solo and choral works in the repertory.

### **11.1 Episcopalian Congregational Trends**

Of the various forms of music making among Episcopalians during the Early Nationalist period, congregational performance changed the least. As established during the Late Colonial Period, psalmody sung during the Divine Service consisted either of unisonal or a treble-dominated three-part common-practice psalm and hymn tunes, most often to the authorized versification of Tate and Brady. Accompanied by the organ, a congregation would follow the direction of a clerk or charity children's choir. However, Episcopalian performance and repertory remained distinct from some other congregations and not only through this method of performance. Episcopalians continued to adopt Nonconformist initiatives and musical style. In Philadelphia, they also maintained a shared repertory between Calvinists and Episcopalians though presented and performed according to their individual traditions. Finally, Episcopalians continued to promote the three-part treble-led ensemble descended from popular initiatives in Great Britain during the middle of the eighteenth century. In much of the Middle Atlantic and the South, these trends inherited from the Late Colonial Period would persist throughout the duration of the Early Nationalist Period.

#### ***11.1.1 Francis Hopkinson and the Tune Supplement to the Book of Common Prayer***

The first American edition of *The Book of Common Prayer, And Administration of the Sacraments, And other Rites and Ceremonies, As revised and proposed to the Use of The Protestant Episcopal Church, at a Convention of the said Church in the States of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South-Carolina, Held in Philadelphia, from September 27th to October 7th, 1785* (Philadelphia, 1786), prepared under the auspices of the Protestant

Episcopal Church, included a tune supplement, *Tunes, Suited to the Psalms and Hymns of the Book of Common Prayer* (Philadelphia, 1786). Bound into the prayer book, it was designed for use in all Episcopalian churches in the Middle Atlantic and Southern states. Although Francis Hopkinson is often credited with the tune selection,<sup>6</sup> a couple of informal committees actually decided on its contents. In Philadelphia, William White wrote to William Smith in January of 1786 declaring: "I have lost no time in making provision for inserting a few tunes in the prayer book. We have selected some which I send you the names of on an enclosed paper. Mr. Hopkinson is beginning to copy them for the engraver, and I expect they will be done with sufficient speed."<sup>7</sup> The committee considered Hopkinson an authority on tune presentation and harmonization. However, the tune selection remained under the purview of the entire committee, not just this lone individual.

William Smith also had his own opinions of tunes suitable for the supplement. Agreeing with the committee, he declared: "Mr. Hopkinson's judgment will always have great weight with me, especially on a subject of elegance and taste. I am happy that he has agreed to devote a few hours to the psalmody."<sup>8</sup> Smith also consulted the organist, clerk, and various gentlemen of his church in Chestertown, Maryland to hear their thoughts on the proposed tune selection. This informal committee generally approved the Philadelphia committee's choices, "except Canterbury, which is too flat and inanimate. St. Anne's, though good, is too difficult for singers in general. These two might be exchanged for some more popular tunes, which you have omitted, such as Brunswick and Stroud tunes." In the end, the committee agreed to keep CANTERBURY, remove ST. ANNE'S, adopt BRUNSWICK,

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<sup>6</sup> Allen Purdue Britton, Irving Lowens, and Richard Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints 1698-1810: A Bibliography* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1990), 492.

<sup>7</sup> Rev. Dr. White to Rev. Dr. Smith, January 17, 1786. Source: Smith, 2, 166.

<sup>8</sup> Rev. Dr. Smith to Rev. Dr. White, January 23, 1786. Source: Smith, 2, 167.

and reject STROUD.<sup>9</sup> Also, White somewhat begrudgingly accepted Hopkinson's selection of a few pieces of Anglican chant "to gratify him, as he has taken so much trouble in the matter."

More importantly, Smith revealed himself to be more progressive than many of the other committee members. Besides metrical psalmody, Smith sent to the committee, "a collection of hymns to follow the psalms, and which I have every reason to believe will be a great recommendation of our Prayer Book to multitudes of our most serious and religious members."<sup>10</sup> Part of this sentiment arose from his fears that the numbers of Methodist congregants would overtake that of Episcopalians in the United States because of their attention to hymns in their worship service. He admonished: "[t]he Methodists captivate many by their attention to Church music, and by their hymns and doxologies, which, when rationally and devoutly introduced, are sublime parts of public and private worship." Echoing earlier colonial sentiments, Smith felt a sense of competition from Nonconformists, recognizing that Episcopalians of the eighteenth century needed modern hymns to suit modern sensibilities. Unlike their Methodist brethren, Anglicans remained suitably rational and devout in their expression, at least according to Smith. Ultimately, the committee approved fifty hymns, mostly taken from Watts and the hymn supplement to Tate and Brady. However, Smith designated a few metrical psalms as "hymns," continuing the pattern established in Hopkinson's 1763 compilation, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes, with a Few Anthems and Hymns*.

As the first musical publication associated with the newly founded Protestant Episcopal Church, its contents were intended for general use throughout the Middle Atlantic

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<sup>9</sup> Rev. Dr. White to Rev. Dr. Smith, February 1, 1786. Source: Smith, 175.

<sup>10</sup> Rev. Dr. Smith to Rev. Dr. White, January 23, 1786. Source: Smith, 2, 168.

and Southern states. Though consisting of a small grouping of eighteen congregational tunes and four Anglican chants, it also instituted Anglican chant as an established compositional genre for the performance of liturgical music and choral psalm recitation. Further, this supplement established in print another congregational performance convention that had developed in colonial Anglican churches over the past twenty years: unisonal singing accompanied by an organ.

The 1763 colonial compilation by Hopkinson presented the congregational repertory in three parts with figures provided for keyboard accompaniment. This style of presentation mimicked progressive midcentury Anglican and Nonconformist tunebooks that were published in London. In contrast, the Early Nationalist congregational repertory presented in the tune supplement consisted solely of two-part settings, suggesting a unisonal performance of the psalm tunes led by the clerk and/or organist, or possibly, a treble and bass setting appropriate for a choir-led congregational performance also accompanied by the organist. This convention remained common to many urban parishes in Great Britain and the colonies. Though it existed as early as the late 1750s in the Americas, its widespread proliferation did not begin until the 1760s, coinciding with the more common presence of organs in rural and urban parishes. Once established, it became the basic performance standard in many churches up to the present.

The 1785 committee chose tunes that had appeared in Late Colonial Middle Atlantic publications: James Lyon's *Urania, Tunes in Three Parts*, and Francis Hopkinson's *A Collection of Psalm Tunes with a few Anthems and Hymns* (**Table 11.1**). Besides the older repertory, the publication included some new American-composed tunes. This indebtedness to local imprints reveals an essentially Middle Atlantic or northern Chesapeake Bay regional character impressed upon its contents. This phenomenon is not surprising; besides Jonathan

Badger and his 1752 collection, no musician in the Southern colonies had published a tune compilation. Thus, it remains impossible to know if the repertory reflects a regional preference or bias, or simply that the committee selected published material readily available to them. In any event, their choices reflect the implementation of a regional repertory common, for the most part, to Philadelphia's colonial Calvinist and Anglican churches.

Also reflective of Middle Atlantic sensibilities and a continuation of colonial trends, the repertory in the supplement parallels the tune contents not only of earlier Calvinist tune collections, but also of Calvinist collections contemporary to the supplement itself. *A Collection of Church Music. 1787*, issued by John M'Culloch (1754-1824) and William Young (1755-1829) in Philadelphia, presented almost the same tune content as the Episcopalian supplement, specifically including two of the three new tunes and four chants. However, the only metrical pieces that were presented in two parts consisted of these Anglican tunes: the others appeared in the standard four-part ancient style, strongly suggesting their intended use by Calvinists.<sup>11</sup>

From the 1780s into the first decade of the nineteenth century, M'Culloch and Young dominated the printing market for ancient-style and sacred German-language musical publications in Philadelphia. Because of the association of musical style with theological disposition, these printers also served the needs of the city's Calvinists. Either in partnership or individually, M'Culloch and Young issued all of the publications associated with members of the Uranian Society, a choral organization indebted to James Lyon's initiatives in sacred music. As further proof of their Calvinist association, the few tunes in *A Collection of Church*

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<sup>11</sup> Other Calvinist compilers included Anglican chant in their compilations, such as psalmist Andrew Law in *The Rudiments of Music: or A Short and Easy Treatise on the Rules of Psalmody. To which are annexed, a number of plain tunes and chants* [(Cheshire, CT), 1783].

*Music. 1787* that did not appear in the Episcopalian tune supplement were found first in Late Colonial Philadelphia Presbyterian publications.

Alongside this tune selection, Hopkinson's supplement did add three new pieces to the repertory. Although the composer's identity for one of the tunes remains unknown, the other two reflect some changing trends, and possibly the committee's attempts to instill a unified national character to the Protestant Episcopal Church. The committee chose one tune each from the most eminent church musicians in the Late Colonial, Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies: ST. MARK'S by Peter Valton and a setting of PSALM 96 by Francis Hopkinson. This effort to include a tune by a Charleston musician demonstrated a new sense of unity that did not exist in the Late Colonial Period. It also showed that Middle Atlantic trends and repertory would dominate, with contributions allowed by other churches linked within the nexus of the new national church. Finally, it implemented a link between Late Colonial and Early Nationalist practice, paralleling the general approach to creating a national Episcopalian Church held by members of the 1785 committee.

Hopkinson's PROPER TUNE FOR PS[ALM] 96TH (**Anth**) survives as Philadelphia's earliest original Anglican composition to demonstrate the new congregational mode of performance. As with the other tunes in the collection, Hopkinson set it for melody and bass, with the bass part suitable for vocal and instrumental performance. Although not requiring as much vocal dexterity as the earlier Nonconformist pieces, this tune follows many of the same techniques, including its vocal range and use of melismas.

Despite these fashionable features, it also reveals some of Hopkinson's limitations. Paralleling his other known works, this tune demonstrates how Hopkinson never fully mastered functional harmony, illustrated with his harmonization of the psalm tune's penultimate phrase. Though the melody implies a sequence typical of the galante style, the

harmony does not. In the third bar of this phrase, the chord progression, according to functional harmony should follow a chord progression of I-IV-V/V-V, instead of his somewhat clumsy I-ii-vi-V-I-V progression. Hopkinson presents himself as an enthusiastic amateur embracing an aesthetic of the modern and fashionable, though his lack of formal training is always just below the surface. However, his importance as a chronicler of changing performance conventions and taste places Hopkinson's aesthetic in a seminal position for understanding the prevailing sentiment of popular, Anglican musical trends throughout the Middle Atlantic and Southern states over the next forty years.

#### ***11.1.2 Benjamin Carr and *A Collection of Chants and Tunes****

Between 1795 and 1830, two musicians dominated Episcopalian practice in Philadelphia: Benjamin Carr (1768-1831) and Rayner Taylor (1747-1825). Like many professional musicians in the Early Nationalist United States, both men were born in Europe, had received formal training, and produced compositions intended for professional and amateur use. Further, they found employment as teachers, impresarios, and leaders of community-based ecclesiastical and theatrical ensembles, both vocal and instrumental. Because of these qualifications, Taylor and Carr gained more prestige in America than Great Britain because of the United States' reticence to honor native efforts in composition within polite society. While thorough investigations into these particular men's lives remain beyond the scope of this thesis, a study of some of their efforts in church music reveals a further continuation of trends inherited from the colonial period. In particular, the activities of Benjamin Carr in the realm of congregational performance display a compositional and performative continuum between the late Colonial and Early Nationalist eras.



Benjamin Carr, born presumably in Holborn, Camden Town, in Greater London, epitomized the ecclesiastical-theatrical duality of the Anglican musician.<sup>12</sup> He studied organ with Charles Wesley (1757-1834), son of Charles Wesley (1707-1788) the famous Nonconformist minister.<sup>13</sup> He took composition lessons from Samuel Arnold, one of the preeminent late eighteenth-century composers of English opera and a dedicated antiquarian devoted to George Frederick Handel. Carr's father operated a music store and engraved sheet music. All of this experience would serve him well throughout his life. His earliest professional activity was in the theater, employed as Arnold's assistant harpsichordist and principal tenor at the Academy of Ancient Music beginning in 1789, and Sadler's Wells Theater in 1792.

Carr immigrated to the United States in 1793. Shortly thereafter, he joined the Old American Company, being employed as a composer and sometime singing actor until 1797. At the same time, he operated a music store in Philadelphia and New York City. After 1797, he settled permanently in Philadelphia, becoming active as a keyboard performer and singer, musical proprietor, and publisher of sheet music in conjunction with his father Joseph, who had settled in Baltimore in 1794. Though he remained a devout Episcopalian, he served as organist and choirmaster to a number of Catholic and Episcopal churches, including the Roman Catholic Churches of St. Augustine's (1801-1831), St. Mary's (1807-1811), and St. Joseph's (dates unknown); and St. Peter's Episcopal Church (1816- c. 1831).<sup>14</sup> Carr's works span almost every compositional genre including orchestral, chamber, band, and keyboard

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<sup>12</sup> Ronnie L. Smith, "The Church Music of Benjamin Carr (1768-1831)," D.M.A. diss. (Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1969), chapter 1. All biographical information on Carr is taken from this source.

<sup>13</sup> Wesley the younger took composition lessons from William Boyce and developed connections to the highest circles of English musicians in London.

<sup>14</sup> Smith, "Benjamin Carr," 51.

pieces, and sacred and secular vocal music intended for the church, theater, concert hall, and the home. He also composed for a wide range of musical proficiency, encompassing works for beginning students, enthusiastic amateurs, and his professional colleagues. His role as composer, performer, and publisher presented him numerous opportunities to present his works before the public.

Among his many compositions and publications, Carr offered several collections of sacred music and independent sacred sheet music imprints between 1805 and 1825. The majority of these individual sheet music editions also appeared in the larger collections.<sup>15</sup> In 1830, the year prior to his death, he issued a final series of sacred solo songs titled *Carr's Sacred Airs*. These works reveal the influence of the popular-theatrical style, paralleling the earlier efforts of Palma, Hopkinson, and Pelham during the Late Colonial Period. For his choral pieces, Carr adhered to the standard treble-led scoring procedure with organ accompaniment, preserving Late Colonial conventions of part setting. These parts were performable by either an SSB or STB choir.

Despite the ability of Philadelphia's ensembles to perform SATB pieces, Carr apparently used a three-part scoring procedure throughout his entire career in the United States, with only one exception.<sup>16</sup> In a review of his last choral collection, *The Chorister, a Collection of Chants & Melodies adapted to the Psalms & Hymns of the Episcopal Church*, Op. 12

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<sup>15</sup> For instance, "Miserere or the 51st Psalm" appeared both in *Carr's Musical Miscellany in Occasional Numbers* (Baltimore: J. Carr, 1812-25) and his collection, *The Chorister, A Collection of Chants & Melodies adapted to the Psalms & Hymns of the Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia: B. Carr, 1820). However, he also issued it as an independent imprint according to the catalog of pieces listed in the front matter of *The Chorister*.

<sup>16</sup> Carr composed a concert version of an English-language SATB setting of the *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* for Boston's Handel and Society. It was included in their first publication, *The Boston Handel And Haydn Society Collection of Sacred Music: Consisting of Songs, Duets, Trios, Chorusses, Anthems, &c. Selected From The Works Of The Most Celebrated Authors*, vol. I (Boston: Thomas Badger, 1821).

(Philadelphia, 1820), George Knowil Jackson (1757-1822), an English musician trained at the Chapel Royal and living in Boston, Massachusetts, criticized Carr for not setting the tunes in four parts with a male countertenor alto voice, following the practice of Great Britain's musical elite. Jackson himself had almost always scored his sacred choral pieces for four voices throughout his American career.<sup>17</sup> Carr, in a letter to John Rowe Parker, the editor of the journal *Enterpiad*, which had published Jackson's review, did not dispute Jackson's criticism. He stated:

I truly agree with you - that the whole had better have been in 4 parts but, that it is very difficult to find counter tenors in all the choirs I have any thing to do with. The only way is to take the highest voices of the tenors, and these of course you weaken that part too much. The best reason I can give for 3 instead of 4 parts is an old proverb "cut your coat according to your cloth" In all my little endeavors at choral music both in composing or arranging, I have generally used 3 parts only as a matter of necessity, not of choice.<sup>18</sup>

As suggested by Carr, the use of three-part harmony in Episcopalian churches occurred as a result of a tradition of voice setting that had been in existence for the past sixty years. He felt that he had no other choice in the matter. However, this statement seems contradictory. The population size of Philadelphia and its relatively large Anglican populace would seem to belie this assertion. A number of ancient-style SATB tunebooks and tune collections had

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<sup>17</sup> The few exceptions were extended works for three solo performers, such as his setting, "The Dying Christian to his Soul" from *Pope's Universal Prayer and Sacred Ode* [New York, 1808]. In these instances, his scoring procedure followed an SSB form echoing both mid-eighteenth-century progressive Anglican and Nonconformist scoring practice, as well as standard scoring procedure for operatic and theatrical choral works in Middle Atlantic cities including Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York.

<sup>18</sup> Benjamin Carr to John Rowe Parker, June 30, 1821. John Rowe Parker Papers, Rare Book Room, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. The author extends his thanks to Peter Leavenworth for sending me a transcription of these letters.

been published in the city since the 1760s. Further, Carr's Catholic liturgical music composed for St. Augustine's Church also followed an identical scoring procedure.

The answer to this contradiction can be explained by the performance conventions of Middle Atlantic English-language liturgical churches, descended from Colonial practice. Peter Erben (1771-1861), an associate of Carr serving as organist at St. George's Chapel in New York City,<sup>19</sup> provided some explanation. In the "Introduction" to Erben's tunebook *Sacred Music* (New York, 1808), he described contemporary performance practice in Episcopalian churches: "[i]n all regular compositions, the part which is called the treble, contains the air or melody, and ought to be sung by females and boys." As a result, the various children's charity choirs would sing mostly unisonal settings of psalm tunes accompanied by organ.

Viewing the organ as a necessary component to many churches of the time, Erben further stated that

[t]he Tenor and Counter parts are mere accompaniments to the treble and bass, calculated only to fill up the harmony, and ought therefore to be sung with a softened male voice, just strong enough to give connection to the several parts, and neither of these ought to assume the character of principals in the tune. Superiority appertains to the treble and bass voices; to the treble voice, because it has the air or melody to perform, and to the bass voice, because it has to support the general

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<sup>19</sup> Part of Carr's HYMN FOR WHITSUNDAY was bound into Erben's first edition of *Sacred Music* [New York: ca. 1808] establishing a connection between the two individuals, besides their serving as organists in Anglican churches in the Middle Atlantic.

harmony of the whole piece; there, the bass part ought always to be sung with great judgment, either as to tone, time and tune.<sup>20</sup>

Women did not sing the alto part, only the treble. If an organist could supply the inner harmonies, the middle voices became somewhat extraneous. Carr himself echoed these sentiments in another letter to his friend John Rowe Parker. He remarked: "as the treble & Bass stand over each other & the harmony is filled up in small notes - either the whole or the part entitled Hymns, are as useful in the parlour or in schools as in churches - it is arranged in 3 parts for reasons I have before explained."<sup>21</sup> Carr was simply using a scoring procedure found in both sacred and secular musical settings, and universally practiced by genteel society throughout much of the Middle Atlantic.<sup>22</sup> This form of expression, rooted in popular music trends, had become a regional tradition.

In all of his collections, Benjamin Carr adhered to the three-part treble-led popular-theatrical style descending from eighteenth-century Anglican and Nonconformist initiatives. Like many professional musicians trained in common-practice harmony, he disdained ancient-style expression. For him, the ancient style was synonymous not only with orthodox provincial Anglicans, but also in particular with Calvinists. In another letter, he noted that "several persons in England have of late years employed their pen upon the necessity of

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<sup>20</sup> Peter Erben, "Introduction" to *Sacred Music in Two, Three, and Four Parts, selected from European & American Publications of the highest Repute, Adapted to the Various Measure and Version of David's Psalms in Use in the Protestant Episcopal Church, of the United States* (New York City: s.n., 1808).

<sup>21</sup> Benjamin Carr to John Rowe Parker, October 4, 1821. John Rowe Parker Papers, Rare Book Room, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

<sup>22</sup> Surviving choral parts to theatrical works and concert choruses followed an identical scoring procedure. See for instance: Alexander Reinagle, *Chorus Sung before Gen.; Washington As he passed under the Triumphal Arch raised on the Bridge at Trenton April 21st 1789* (Philadelphia: for the Author, [1789]); and Victor Pelissier, incidental music to *The Voice of Nature* by William Dunlap, in *Nineteenth-Century American Musical Theater 2* (New York: Garland, Pub., 1994). Reinagle lived in Philadelphia and Baltimore, Pelissier in Philadelphia and New York City.

some alteration in parochial psalmody - to change that dull monotony of style introduced by the gloomy Calvin & so regretably adhered to by those who do not even follow his doctrines."<sup>23</sup> In contrast, "[s]ome professors have also published works both of original compositions & selections, where the music is grave, solemn, joyous, grand, pastoral &tc &tc according as the sense of the poetry may require," suggesting that the modern church musician by necessity needed to become familiar with a variety of affective sentiments to echo all of the different types of texts. Clearly, he felt that the ancient style did not provide for the variety of expression implicit in Christian worship. This wedding of sentiment and expression in both text and music also found resonance in secular music, particularly with that of the theater. No longer did Episcopalian and Catholic church music have to sound religious, it only had to convey a sense of drama. For Carr, the theatrical-religious musician, the demarcation of style remained the same.

Finally, he also felt that theoretically correct music that followed common-practice procedures was the only style truly compatible with the sacredness of church music. Carr did not limit his aesthetic beliefs to the music of his own denomination. He railed against any musician who embraced the ancient style:

I do not approve of musical works being edited by those who are not professors of the art, therefore, I have been speaking disinterestedly - it seems as if the whole mass of sacred music in this country is committed to clerks of churches, while the works of those who have made music a study is scouted by clergy—trustees—choirs & congregations & every organ loft groans under the weight of piles of books replete with "dreadful harmony" The production of these self taught handels when I kept

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<sup>23</sup> Benjamin Carr to John Rowe Parker, May 30, 1821. John Rowe Parker Papers, Rare Book Room, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

store upon being asked for Sacred Music I would hand down books of Dr. Arnold & other church masters that I had brought from England which the enquirers would throw down with disgust & ask for Adgate, Billings & other names I did not then even know<sup>24</sup>

For Americans to disregard Carr's stock of sacred music seemed a personal insult to his training and upbringing, particularly with many Americans' instant dismissal of a compilation by one of the foremost English musicians of the period well-versed in theatrical-religious expression (who also happened to be Carr's former teacher). The ancient style represented everything "dreadful," amateurish, and lacking in a proper understanding of *Affekt* and common-practice theory. Not coincidentally perhaps, Andrew Adgate (1762-1793) and William Billings (1746-1800) had been the most prominent ancient-style Calvinist musicians in two of the United States' largest urban centers, Philadelphia and Boston respectively.

*A Collection of Chants & Tunes for the use of Episcopal Churches, in the city of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, [1816]), a tunebook prepared by Carr with the assistance of Taylor, included a set of congregational psalm tunes, a small selection of Anglican chants, and four pieces of liturgical music. As described by Carr, it was compiled for "the E[piscopal]. Ch[urch] under the particular auspices of Bishop White—it consists of old chaunts & tunes that were then in use—the former one by Mr. [Rayner] Taylor & arranged by him—& whenever I doubted the geniune use of a tune I applied to Mr. T who furnished me with a correct copy & I have reason to hope that the harmony is sound throughout."<sup>25</sup> This work in particular demonstrates Carr's efforts to cater to his Episcopalian clientele, including the preservation of a Middle Atlantic and Southern regional/national aesthetic, and keeping the basic format

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<sup>24</sup> Carr to Parker, October 4, 1821.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

and much of its contents grounded in Middle Atlantic popular taste (**Table 11.2**). The repertory in this collection was intended for congregational use as only a third of the tune settings include an accompanying text.

Even though Carr's compilation shares only about a third of its repertory with the earlier *Tunes, Suited to the Psalms and Hymns of the Book of Common Prayer*, his tune selection demonstrates its indebtedness to Middle Atlantic and Episcopalian taste. For instance, the tune MEAR had been associated historically with Calvinists. However, it found acceptance in Philadelphia Episcopalian collections, largely through the coordinated efforts of Calvinists and Anglicans/Episcopalians, harkening back to *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* by William Dawson and descended from Late Colonial and Early Nationalist trends. Similarly, the tunes further establish their denominational intent through their Episcopalian method of tune presentation and setting, a Late Colonial aesthetic preserved by Carr. In this way, he demonstrated not only his predilection for Middle Atlantic, Episcopalian performance aesthetic, but also his ability to recognize and cater to Middle Atlantic repertory trends established over the past sixty years.

This collection parallels a slightly earlier but contemporary Episcopalian tunebook compiled by Philadelphian, John Aitken: *Aitken's Collection of Divine Music. Consisting of psalms, hymns, chants & anthems. For one, two, three & four voices organ & pianaforte* (Philadelphia, 1806).<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Aitken, "List of Subscribers" in *Aitken's Collection of Divine Music. Consisting of psalms, hymns, chants & anthems. For one, two, three & four voice organ & pianaforte* (Philadelphia: John Aitken, 1806). Aitken's tunebook demonstrated strong ties with most of the eminent musicians and clergy of many of the liturgical churches throughout the Middle Atlantic and northern Chesapeake Bay area. Among the subscribers are several important clergymen such as The Right Reverent William White, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of Pennsylvania; Robert Blackwell and James Abercrombie, assistant ministers of Christ Church and St. Peter's; John Andrews, the Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania; several Episcopalian rectors including Joseph Pilmore of St. Pauls and Absalom Jones of St. Thomas African Episcopal Church; and Nicholas Collin, rector of Gloria Dei (Old Swedes)



Significantly, Aitken's work had also received an endorsement from Bishop White. Approximately three-fourths of Carr's selections appeared in Aitken's work, albeit in some variant versions not chosen by Carr. However, the similarities in repertory between the two collections outweigh their differences.

Reflecting Middle Atlantic Episcopalian taste, both Aitken and Carr included compositions by Hopkinson and Valton from the 1786 Episcopalian tune supplement. Significantly, Aitken also printed versions of the two contrafacta that appeared in Carr's collection, both taken from oratorio arias by Handel. Some of this repertory continuity could be explained by the aesthetic considerations by William White, whose eminence as an Episcopalian divine, arbiter of musical taste, and endorser and subscriber of tunebooks, provided a link to regional Episcopalian sources. On the other hand, Carr, a savvy and successful publisher, performer, and composer, understood local Episcopalian sentiment despite his status as an immigrant musician who was employed as organist and choirmaster at a Catholic church. In either case, aesthetic considerations and repertory choice reveal a strong sense of regional identity.

Besides its demonstration of regional considerations of taste and tune choice, Carr's collection also reflects two other likely sources of influence: earlier publications by himself and his father, and collections popular among Anglicans and Methodists in England at the

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Lutheran Church. Several prominent musicians also subscribed to Aitken's collection including Episcopalian church organists Peter Kurtz of Christ Church, Rayner Taylor of St. Peter's and David Simons of St. Paul's; a Mr. Trimner of the Catholic German Holy Trinity Church; and also J. P. Mauroe, organist of the Lutheran Church in Georgetown within Washington D.C. A few church musicians also subscribed, including Matthew Whitehead, the clerk of Christ Church; John Connelly, the inventor of shape-note notation; and John Cole, Episcopalian church musician and publisher of sheet music in Baltimore. Finally, prominent professional musicians also subscribed to the collection including Alexander Reinagle in Philadelphia and John Fusz in Germantown, Pa.

beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Carr's father had published a small collection of tunes in London, c. 1790, set for a single voice with keyboard accompaniment. This format was used primarily for domestic or social informal devotion. Though appearing in only one edition, Carr's collection proved somewhat influential as the hymn tune PLEYEL, a contrafactum of the slow movement from a string quartet by Ignace Pleyel appeared for the first time in this collection. It would become one of the most popular hymn tunes in the nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Carr also had a tendency to cannibalize his earlier publications, issuing works both as independent sheet music imprints and also bound into larger collections. Carr's earlier compilation, *Sacred Harmony* (c. 1805), follows this practice, demonstrating its possible influence on his collection.

For a few of his tunes, he introduced some compositions that had not appeared in an identical form in earlier Philadelphia imprints. All of these pieces had originated from Anglican and Methodist publications in Great Britain. BREWER did not appear in Carr's collection in similar form, though it was featured in several tunebooks by Andrew Law, including his *Harmonic Companion* (Philadelphia, 1806, ed. 3 1813), the *Harmonic Companion, and Guide to Social Worship* (Philadelphia, ca. 1809), *The Art of Singing*, ed. 5 (Philadelphia, 1810-11), and *Select Harmony* (Philadelphia, ca. 1812), as well as *Sacred Music, in Miniature* (Philadelphia, 1812) by Charles Woodward. Set in four parts, the tune was printed in shape-note notation. These publications would have appealed to the same type of Nonconformist

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<sup>27</sup> Although it is unknown exactly what tunebooks Carr used as source material for his collection, the compilations listed in the table constitute the most likely sources, popular at the time of Carr's compilation, and used by other common-practice musicians in Great Britain and the United States.

<sup>28</sup> The most popular variant of the tune actually appeared in Samuel Arnold and John Wall Callcott's *The Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (London: for John Stockdale and George Goulding, 1791). Given the relationship between Carr and Arnold, it remains impossible to know who adapted the Pleyel piece first.

Calvinist musicians as would have sung from the older *Tunes in 3 Parts* published in Philadelphia during the Late Colonial Period. Instead, Carr's version resembles more the setting of BREWER in the popular *Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns, set to new music* by Edward Miller (1735-1807), a popular genteel composer and compiler from England. Similarly, MOUNT PLEASANT and SHIRLAND appeared in collections associated mostly with Methodists, such as the influential *David's Harp* compiled by Edward Miller and his son, William.

In this sense, Carr's *Collection of Chants & Tunes for the use of Episcopal Churches, in the city of Philadelphia* continued Late Colonial trends in congregational performance descended from early eighteenth-century practice in Great Britain. Following earlier conventions, he incorporated a Methodist and Nonconformist aesthetic into an otherwise Episcopalian collection, evidenced by his repertory choice and contrafacta. He also continued the pattern established by Late Colonial Anglicans in the Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies through his inclusion of repertory shared between Calvinist and Anglican congregants. Further, his statement of denominational identity existed through his method of tune presentation, its style of accompaniment, and its stylistic aesthetic. These notions reflect not only Late Colonial sentiment held by other Middle Atlantic and Southern colonial Anglican musicians, but also Carr's own preferences, as stated in his correspondence to his friend John Rowe Parker. Thus, at once, Carr reveals himself to follow regional and denominational patterns of compilation while remaining true to his own principles. Through it he was able to preserve his own sense of personal identity and its aesthetic within the confines of the established popular tradition unique to the region of his adopted country. This feat alone constitutes a notable achievement.

## 11.2 Tunebooks and Secular Venues for the Performance of Sacred Music

As demonstrated with congregational performance and its repertory, many uniform colonial-era conventions persisted among Episcopalians throughout the Early Nationalist Period in the Middle Atlantic and Southern states. These features included scoring procedure, conventions in accompaniment, music and its relationship to social status, and ensemble types. This continuation extended also to the arenas of performance for sacred music outside of the church. Many Episcopalian composers and musicians also found employment in the theaters of major urban centers, particularly among the immigrant professionals. During the colonial period, Anglican musicians became involved in subscription concerts and other public venues for the performance of secular music. However, only a few had the opportunity to direct theater orchestras or participate as singing actors. In the Early Nationalist period, things would change, particularly in Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, and New York City. This era witnessed a burgeoning scene for public concerts and theatrical entertainments that more closely replicated the standards of Great Britain.

However, alongside the performance of oratorios, sacred arias, and anthems and set pieces in public concerts, domestic and other smaller social arenas existed for the performance of sacred music throughout the Middle Atlantic and Southern states. Also continuing performance trends documented in Colonial-era sources, manuscript and printed collections reveal how Episcopalians continued to intertwine sacred and secular realms and their social spheres for performance. Two extant collections demonstrate the perpetuation of a genteel, sacred repertory used for formal and informal performance in extra-ecclesiastical settings. Benjamin Carr's *Sacred Harmony. A Selection of Aires, Duos, Trios &c. Arranged for the Organ, Piano Forte, or Harp* (Philadelphia, [1805]) was compiled and published

principally for the use of female academies as part of the schools' curricula and recreational use. Academies in the Middle Atlantic and Southern states purchased copies of this book by subscription, demonstrating a prevailing aesthetic among the genteel during the Early Nationalist Period. The second item is a young lady's manuscript copybook from the South Carolina Lowcountry, c. 1810. Largely a collection of popular songs arranged for voice and harp-lute-guitar, this manuscript also includes a selection of psalm tunes. This particular copybook demonstrates the continuation of the intermingling of sacred and secular repertoires within a single volume, reflecting the popular nature of Episcopalian expression. Together, the sources constitute on the one hand, an act of distribution intent for consumption by secular, genteel society, and on the other, an act of consumption of popular sacred and secular compositions. Both reinforce the idea of a blended sacred-secular world characteristic of Episcopalian Middle Atlantic and Southern society.

### ***11.2.1 A Sacred-Secular Episcopalian/Catholic Tunebook, c. 1805***

Carr's *Sacred Harmony* included the names of its subscribers in the front matter of the collection. This list provides essential information regarding the intended consumers of the work. As expected, two members of the clergy purchased copies: Bishop William White, and the Reverend Samuel Smith, President of Princetown College. Also, several gentlemen and a politician were listed,<sup>29</sup> as well as one of Carr's colleagues, Rayner Taylor. Conversely, the overwhelming majority of the subscribers were women. Typical for the time, three young ladies and two married women purchased copies of the book.<sup>30</sup> However, twelve

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<sup>29</sup> These men included: Mr. Lucas, George Reinholdt Esqr., David Williamson Esqr. Baltimore, Mr. Mathews of Germantown, and "His Excellency the Marquis de Casas Yruso his Catholic Majestys Envoy Extraordinary & Minister Plenipotentiary." It should be noted that David Williamson's name is added to the list in manuscript in the only surviving copy.

<sup>30</sup> These women included: Miss Burd, Miss Francis, Miss Keene, Mrs. Harrison, and Mrs. Page.

copies were purchased by "Mrs. Mallon for the use of her Academy," and fifty copies by "Mrs. Rivardi for the use of her Seminary." Although the presence of clergy, distinguished musicians, and gentlemen and ladies as subscribers is not surprising, the number of copies going directly to schools seems distinctive. Clearly, the work was intended primarily for various finishing schools for young women. Indeed, one of the only surviving copies of the first edition belonged to the Salem Female Academy (Salem College), a Moravian girls' school in Salem, North Carolina.

Further investigation into these two academies reveals that Benjamin Carr and his colleague Charles Hupfeld taught music at Madame Rivari's Seminary, which was located in the Gothic Mansion of Philadelphia, the first Gothic Revival structure in the city.<sup>31</sup> Along with music lessons offered as part of the school's curriculum, informal concerts became part of the standard extracurricular activities: "The weekend routine was similar for students of all ages. Household chores and needlework were the main items on the Saturday agenda, and attendance at a church service of one's choosing and afternoon sacred concerts occupied Sundays."<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Mrs. Mallon's Academy operated as another private school for girls in Philadelphia.<sup>33</sup> From this perspective, Carr assembled these collections specifically for educational and social use despite their sacred contents, with an intended market found throughout the Middle Atlantic and Southern states, among other places.

This tradition of publishing a sacred tunebook for an academy has its roots in colonial practice too, remaining specific to Philadelphia, again beginning with William Dawson and *The Youths Entertaining Amusement*, and continuing with *A Collection of Psalms and*

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<sup>31</sup> Mary Johnson, "Madame Rivardi's Seminary in the Gothic Mansion" in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 104, 1 (Jan., 1980), 20.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 17

<sup>33</sup> Joseph Guerin Fucilla, *The Teaching of Italian in the United States* (New Brunswick, N.J.: American Association of Teachers of Italian, 1967), 223.

*Hymns, with tunes affixed; for the use of the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1794) by John Poor (1752-1829), the principal and founder of this academy.<sup>34</sup> However, these earlier compilers were Calvinist Presbyterians, with Poor leaning towards Unitarianism, popular among liberal Congregationalists in the United States.<sup>35</sup> Carr appears to have been the first Episcopalian and Catholic musician to publish a collection specifically for schools and academies in the United States. Later Episcopalian/Catholic musicians would also compile books specifically for these same purposes, such as *Peters' Catholic Harp: a collection of sacred music, designed for the use of choirs, schools and musical associations* (Cincinnati, 1863) by William Cumming Peters (1805-1866), an English-born musician active in the West. In this sense, Carr simultaneously continued an older trend representative of the Middle Atlantic region and initiated a new model of tunebook compilation for liturgy-based denominations.

The twenty-six pieces included in Carr's *Sacred Harmony* represent a wide range of compositional genres, encompassing solo and choral strophic hymns; anthems, set pieces, and other extended choral works; and oratorio arias (**Table 11.3**). Further, approximately one fourth of the collection consists of American-composed or adapted works taken from John Aitken, Rayner Taylor, and himself. Representative of his employment, Carr included a few works in Latin, indicating the book's intended acceptance and use by Catholics. *Sacred Harmony* features pieces set either for solo treble voice or three-part chorus, as found in his other publications. Significantly, it does not include any oratorio choruses, which would have necessitated a mostly four-part ensemble for their proper performance. A few of these

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<sup>34</sup> Britton, Lowens, and Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 491.

<sup>35</sup> Thomas Baker, *Memorials of a Dissenting Chapel, Its Foundation and Worthies; being a sketch of the rise of Nonconformity in Manchester and of the erection of the chapel in Cross Street, with notices of its ministers and trustees* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co; Manchester: Johnson and Rawson, 1884), 44-6. Poor included a lengthy essay by the Rev. Ralph Harrison (1748-1810), a Unitarian minister at the important Cross Street Chapel in Manchester.

pieces had appeared in other publications by Carr, including the *Musical Journal for the Piano Forte* 2, 29 (Philadelphia, 1800) and *Masses, Vespers, Litanies, Hymns, Psalms, Anthems & Motetts. Composed, selected and arranged, for the use of the Catholic Churches, in the United States of America* (Baltimore, 1805), as well as independent sheet music imprints.<sup>36</sup> However, the range of compositional genres and their performance conventions reveals much about performance practice for sacred music in a domestic or informal public setting.

Most striking is the range of instrumental accompaniment indicated in the various pieces. Although many feature a generic keyboard accompaniment, a few provide specific instrumental indications in the score, for precisely those instruments found among liturgy-based congregants. Further, all of these instruments would have been found in the parlors of modish high society. The most common genteel instrument, the piano, could have accompanied all of the pieces in the absence of the other specified accompanying instruments.

In addition, Carr explicitly indicated an organ in the scores of several works, including some of the strophic hymns, several of the anthems and set pieces, and one of the oratorio arias. While these pieces could have found use in the church, chamber organs remained fairly common in the homes of the upper classes. Significantly, only two of the pieces specify registration, Rayner Taylor's fugging tune STEPNEY and "Anthem MY SONG shall be of mercy and judgment" by James Kent, in both instances a trumpet stop. Kent's piece originated as a cathedral anthem and Taylor's work originally appeared in *Psalmodia Evangelica* (London, 1789), a Nonconformist tunebook by Thomas Williams. However, a

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<sup>36</sup> These works include GRATEFUL NOTES, HYMN TO ST. AUGUSTINE, HYMN FOR WHITSUNDAY, LIMEHOUSE, PORTUGUESE HYMN, and STEPNEY.



chamber organ could easily have accompanied all of the works within the collection, given the lack of pedal boards on English and English-inspired American organs at this time.

Carr also suggested another instrument more directly related to domestic performance. In two of the pieces, he listed the harp as an optional accompanying instrument: HOTHAM, a Nonconformist strophic hymn tune by the Rev. Martin Madan, choirmaster of the Lock Hospital during the 1760s, and "Praise the Lord" an aria from Handel's oratorio *Esther*. In these instances, Carr specified these pieces' use in an extra-ecclesiastical setting, either for the home or public concert, given the instrument's place in the parlor and the extended concerted solos found in Handel's original orchestration. In sum, the conventions of accompaniment throughout the tunebook display equal potential for sacred and secular use, given their suitability for harp, piano, or organ.

Besides conventions in accompaniment, compositional genres reflect established trends in Anglican/Episcopalian secular-sacred concert activity extending back to the 1760s. Carr provided an approximately equal number of pieces in each of three basic compositional genres: strophic hymns (8); anthems, set pieces, and other extended choral works (10); and oratorio arias (8). These compositional genres had appeared on concert programs given by noted Late Colonial Anglican musicians, including William Tuckey in New York City, Francis Hopkinson and James Bremner in Philadelphia, and Peter Valton in Charles Town. All of these musicians had distinguished themselves outside of the church through secular performances of sacred works.

The types of pieces within their compositional genres reflect not only Carr's Catholic/Episcopalian aesthetic, but also conventions of domestic performance by Middle Atlantic and Southern Anglican musicians extending back at least to the 1740s. Solo strophic hymns with keyboard accompaniment had appeared in colonial source material

from the Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake Bay beginning in the late 1750s. Domestic performances of solo anthems with keyboard accompaniment had been documented in South Carolina as early as 1742.<sup>37</sup>

The forces necessary for the performance of these works follow established trends emanating from the Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies and later states. Although he did not include any sacred popular-theatrical songs in *Sacred Harmony*, Carr wrote and arranged for an identical ensemble to perform the solos and duets. In this volume, he included approximately equal numbers of pieces for one or two solo voices or for a full SSB/STB chorus. This emphasis on solo performance also has parallels with earlier Middle Atlantic practice, again relating to scoring procedure, the type of piece within its compositional genre, and performance venue. For instance, the "hymns" found in Francis Hopkinson's 1763 collection appeared for solo voice and continuo, despite the fact that neither Christ Church nor St. Peter's owned an organ at the date of the work's publication. Even with the cathedral anthems in *Sacred Harmony*, three of the four works call only for one or two solo voices, allowing for ecclesiastical and extra-ecclesiastical performance. Of note, the hymns in Carr's collection that featured a solo voice for the verse and the full ensemble for the chorus such as his HYMN TO ST. AUGUSTINE, or settings of established favorite hymn tunes such as THE PORTUGUESE HYMN, anticipate later conventions of nineteenth-century American parlor songs.

Perhaps more important, the denominational origins of many of these works also reflect the continuation of a close relationship between orthodox Anglican/Episcopalian and Nonconformist/Methodist repertoires. As with many of the other features characteristic of

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<sup>37</sup> Eliza Lucas Pinckney, *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney 1739-1762*, Elise Pinckney and Marvin R. Zahniser, eds., repr. (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1972, 1997), 25.

this volume, this wedding of repertory and sentiment descends from progressive Anglican and Nonconformist compositional and aesthetic trends from the mid-eighteenth century. Carr devoted approximately equal attention to Anglican/Catholic and Nonconformist/Dissenter compositions for his selection of strophic hymns (4:3), and anthems and set pieces (4:3). Significantly, the composers of some of the Nonconformist/Dissenter repertory were themselves Anglicans, including Rayner Taylor and Samuel Arnold. However, their stature in England afforded them the opportunity to provide commissioned or contractual work with notable Nonconformists and Dissenters such as Thomas Williams and John Rippon (1751-1836).

Related to this sentiment, Carr also assembled an "Anthem for Christmas," a quodlibet of various arias and arrangements of choruses from Handel's *Messiah*, Haydn's *The Creation*, and the "Christmas" *Concerto Grosso*, Op. 6, No. 8, by Arcangelo Corelli. Although not a contrafactum, this piece follows a similar aesthetic through its aggregation of pieces taken from the first part of Handel's oratorio, as well as the general praise of God found in Haydn's work. The quodlibet shared some compositional elements with the cantata and medley overture. Carr wrote a few examples of this type of tune, including more extended secular works like "The History of England From the Close of the Saxon Heptarchy to the Declaration of American Independence. In familiar Verse" from *Carr's Musical Miscellany* (Baltimore, n.d.). In a sense, he created a composition representative of the Christmas spirit through his assemblage of pieces not only directly related to this festival, but also indirectly through an association of festive *Affekt* created by the inclusion of other snippets of unrelated oratorio music. This equation of oratorio with any major religious holiday remained prevalent among the American public at the beginning of the nineteenth century, largely because many were still being introduced to this genre of music.

The first edition of Benjamin Carr's *Sacred Harmony*, though a relatively small collection, proved especially versatile in its possibilities for performance venue, ensemble, and accompaniment. As such, Carr issued a second edition within the next five years. Even though its contents consisted only of sacred music, the volume was used primarily by schools and academies. Following a different set of conventions than his *Collection of Chants & Tunes for the use of Episcopal Churches*, Carr displayed his acumen in creating a collection tailored to a specific ensemble, whether designed for congregational use, or, as with *Sacred Harmony*, for young women at private schools for extracurricular formal and informal domestic performance. Though each collection had an intended specific audience, both could be used either in the church or in a secular environment, demonstrating the lack of strong distinctions between the sacred and secular realms of performance among Episcopalians. Together, these collections demonstrate a tradition of practicality not only representative of a successful businessman like Carr, but also those trends that had evolved in the Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies and states since the 1750s.

### ***11.2.2 An Episcopalian Manuscript Copybook from Charleston, ca. 1810***

Printed sources reflect their compiler's act of intent, in that these works were meant for public consumption. Conversely, manuscript sources reflect the taste and aesthetic of an individual or smaller localized group, constituting an act of consumption. For this reason, the way in which an individual conceived or used a manuscript functioned separately and distinctly from printed source material. Being an assemblage of pieces that directly circulated around a compiler's area of residence, a manuscript copybook documents mostly popular pieces of the source's region of origin. Further, the pieces within a manuscript often contain a wide range of dates for source material. This factor can arise from a single source being used over the course of a century or more by multiple individuals or family members.

Alternatively, it can reflect common access to music imprints owned by individuals within the community and region. Thus, a single manuscript can reflect multi-generations of individuals and taste. As a result, manuscript copybooks reveal much about regional musical cultural trends as well as the personality of the compiler(s).

The way in which a source was copied reveals not only the source material available to an individual at the time of the manuscript's compilation, but also its owner's personal taste and aesthetic, and the copybook's intended function. For instance, keyboard music or popular songs in manuscript often replicated the calligraphic decorative titles in the original sheet music imprints, providing a clue as to the specific imprint that served as a model for the manuscript copy. Conversely, some compilers personally adapted works for their own performance needs, whether it involved changes of key, melodic ornamentation, instrumentation or orchestration, or anything else. The copybook often provides a reaction to popular trends manifest in print and oral culture. This information illustrates an aspect of music not documented in print sources, but is nevertheless crucial to understanding prevailing taste and aesthetic, particularly of a distinct group, denomination, and culture.

For example, a surviving Episcopalian manuscript copybook for the harp-lute-guitar from the middle of the Early Nationalist period documents trends for domestic performance in the Southern Lowcountry.<sup>38</sup> Although the rear binding bears the seal of Leys, Masson & Co., a linen factory at Grandholm Woolen Mills in Aberdeen, Scotland,<sup>39</sup> the contents of the manuscript include several pieces composed in the United States, including a few unique to Charleston. Most likely, the book was originally a bound collection of blank sheets imported

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<sup>38</sup> "For The Lute," manuscript copybook of songs, hymns, and instrumental pieces for voice and harp-lute-guitar (Charleston (?), South Carolina, ca. 1810), Charleston Museum.

<sup>39</sup> Sources: <http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/images/1/741865/>; *Aberdeen: 1800-2000, A New History*, W. Harmish Fraser and Clive H. Lee, ed. (East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 2000), 81.

from Great Britain, and compiled in South Carolina, possibly by a congregant of the Episcopal churches of St. Michael's or St. Philip's. In addition, this source displays performance trends typical of genteel society, reflecting not only the repertory typical of this socio-economic group, but also the venue of performance for these pieces.

All of the works in the copybook are arranged either for voice or an instrument called the harp-lute-guitar. Invented by British instrument maker Edward Light, c. 1800, the harp-lute-guitar incorporated elements of the harp-guitar and the theorbo or bass lute.<sup>40</sup> An eleven-stringed instrument, it included a set of eight diatonically tuned bass strings (g-c'-d'-e'-f'-g'-a'-b') with three melody strings tuned to a C major triad (c''-e''-g''), combining the tuning of the top melodic strings of the English guitar with a set of bass strings reminiscent of the theorbo and harp-lute. Occasionally, when featured as a solo instrument with keyboard accompaniment, the harp-lute-guitar would be tuned a whole step higher so to be more audible, resembling Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's retuning of the viola by one raised semitone in his "Sinfonia Concertante," K. 364 (320d).<sup>41</sup> Intended solely as a parlor instrument both to accompany singing and to perform simple solo arrangements of songs, and popular and folk instrumental tunes, it enjoyed brief popularity between 1800 and 1815, being supplanted by the harp-lute.

Edward Light, the creator of the instrument as well as the harp-guitar and harp-lute, was active not only as an inventor, but also as musical pedagogue, arranger and performer, and publisher of music for his instruments, besides serving as organist at Trinity Chapel, a chapel connected to the Anglican church of St. George in Hanover Square, London. In

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<sup>40</sup> Robert Bruce Armstrong, *Musical Instruments Part II: English and Irish Instruments* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1908), 53.

<sup>41</sup> Edward Light, *A Collection of songs, airs, marches, rondos etc. adapted for the harp-lute-guitar, with an accompaniment for the piano forte* (London: the author, 1800).

addition to the settings of songs and instrumental arrangements of popular melodies, Light also published a collection of psalm tunes set for the harp-lute and Apollo lyre,<sup>42</sup> as well as an earlier one for keyboard.<sup>43</sup> All of his collections and inventions were intended for consumption by genteel women for performance in their parlors. The appearance of the harp-lute-guitar also coincides with a burgeoning Romantic interest in Bardic poetry, Irish and Welsh music, and medieval culture. Light's instruments represent a musical equivalent to other Romantic cultural revivals of native exoticism and non-Classical antiquarianism, epitomized by Thomas Moore, Ossian as "interpreted" by James Macpherson, Samuel Coleridge, and Sir Walter Scott. As such, the presence of a harp-lute-guitar in Charleston, South Carolina reflects the fashionableness of the Lowcountry in adopting the most current English Romantic popular trends.

In addition to the modish nature of the instrument, the lady who compiled the copybook also followed popular established trends in Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, and Carolina Lowcountry Episcopalian consumption. Typically for the time, the manuscript contains a mixture of sacred and secular repertoires, at a ratio of 17:3 in favor of secular pieces. This emphasis placed upon popular songs and instrumental pieces remains characteristic of Episcopalians. Compilers who embraced the ancient style would favor an almost exactly opposite ratio of sacred to secular tunes if any appeared in their vocal compilations, as seen with the English Presbyterian manuscripts from the Long Island Sound. Both secular and sacred repertoires reveal a unified denominational aesthetic.

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<sup>42</sup> Edward Light, *A Collection of Psalms Hymns, &c. adapted for the Harp-lute and Lyre* (London: for the author, [ca. 1814]).

<sup>43</sup> Edward Light, *The psalms, hymns &c. used at Trinity Chapel, Conduit Street, St. George's, Hanover Square,; to which is added divine songs, & voluntaries; with an introduction to, & some practical lessons in thorough bass* (London: printed for the Editor, 1794).

The secular pieces demonstrate many features associated with Episcopalian taste, evidenced by the various types of song and their area of origin (**Table 11.4**). The compiler overwhelmingly favored popular music over traditional songs (5:1). However, within the traditional repertory, she favored music originating from Ireland and Wales, countries known for their harp traditions. In particular, the seven pieces taken from Edward Jones' *Music and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (London, 1794) are almost double the contributions by any other single source or composer in the copybook. The manuscript proclaims its fashionableness through the adoption of quasi-ancient musical "relics" arising from popular trends in native exoticism. Significantly, only two Scottish tunes appear in the manuscript, and one of these, "Roslin Castle," served as the funeral march of the British and American armies. Given the nature of the image of the instrument, and its place within burgeoning popular Romantic artistic trends, the compiler's predilection for harp music reveals much about her personality and affection for high society.

Within the realm of popular music, the compiler preferred domestic (21 pieces) and theatrical songs (17), along with a sizeable portion of concert songs (14) associated with and popularized by noted performers of the period and written for performance in pleasure gardens and concert halls. Besides Jones and his *Music and Poetical Relicks*, the most popular composers represented in the manuscript's secular repertory were associated with English opera and pleasure gardens, including James Hook (4), Michael Kelly (4), and Thomas Augustine Arne (3). Her desire to perform theatrical music also demonstrates her sense of fashionableness because of this need to keep abreast of currents in popular music.

The attention given to theatrical music also reveals something about the compiler's denominational orientation. Calvinism and many branches of Methodism did not allow a congregant to attend the theater. However, for persons either connected to liturgical



churches or not inclined towards public religion, the theater bore no such social stigma. Reflecting this attitude, the compiler included enough sacred pieces to suggest some religious conviction. This proportional blending of theatrical and religious pieces within a single source remains characteristic of members of liturgical churches in the United States, most notably the Episcopalians.

Several other trends proclaim the fashionableness of the compiler, paralleling her adoption of the harp-lute-guitar. Mirroring tune content in other secular compilations and sheet music imprints associated with Episcopalian musicians, the overwhelming majority of pieces emanated from Great Britain (56), followed by the United States (6), France (4), and Germany (1). In particular, she chose works from all major areas of the United Kingdom, but clearly favored England (40) over Wales (8), Anglo-Ireland (4), Ireland (2), and Scotland (2). Significantly, all of the pieces of popular music originated only from England and Anglo-Ireland. For the fashion-conscious members of the United States, England provided the model for social acceptability and politeness. Not surprisingly, most American professional composers imitated English popular conventions for popular and theatrical song, including English-born Episcopalian George Knowil Jackson, the most popular American composer featured in the Charleston copybook.

The range of composition dates of the works in this collection also reveals a preference for modern music above an older repertory, typical of the genteel aesthetic. Although the earliest piece in the manuscript, a song by John Eccles (c. 1668-1735), dates from 1695, the majority of the secular repertory in the manuscript appeared between 1791 and 1810 (41 pieces). Only one third predated 1790, and only one piece (the Eccles work) was composed before 1750. Further, approximately seventy-percent of the composers of pieces in the manuscript were living at the time of the copybook's compilation. In sum, not

only did the music have to be English, it also had to be current and by a living composer in order to be deemed fashionable. From this perspective, all aspects of the manuscript reflect the aesthetic ideals of high society, a class ruled largely by members of the Protestant Episcopal Church and other liturgical-based denominations. Paralleling the harp-lute-guitar itself, secular pieces found in the copybook convey the aesthetic of the genteel and fashion-conscious middling and upper classes, as seen with compositional type, area of origin, and date of composition.

Shifting to the sacred repertory in the manuscript, the strophic psalms and hymns display a somewhat different set of parameters for cultural representation and popular expression than the secular pieces (**Table 11.5**). However, the sacred compositions also reflect typically Episcopalian trends inherited from Late Colonial Anglican practice that in turn derive from initiatives by progressive Anglicans in London during the mid-eighteenth century. Following local trends connected to the Lowcountry, these features include the names given some of the tunes, metrical psalms set to both strophic psalm and hymn tunes, and the denominational association attached to the sacred repertory of the manuscript.

Three-fourths of the pieces originate either as variants unique to the copybook, or are only found in Episcopalian source material by Jacob Eckhard, organist of St. Michael's in Charleston. Further, three pieces by Late Colonial composer Peter Valton appear in the manuscript, all named after Episcopalian churches in Charleston. None of these pieces had appeared in print at the time of the manuscript's compilation. As a result, the compiler's knowledge of these tunes would have occurred through personal contact, either the church or possibly Eckhard himself. The fact that tunes by Valton were still in circulation twenty-five years after his death testifies both to the high esteem conferred upon him by the Episcopalian community, and his compositional style as an arbiter of popular taste and

fashion. Thus, the sacred contents bespeak to a continued sense of regional identity found among Lowcountry Anglicans/Episcopalians and established by Valton during his tenure at St. Michael's.

Besides the actual tune selection, the textual sources reflect trends unchanged from the Late Colonial into the Early Nationalist Periods. Almost all of the sacred texts originate from Tate and Brady, the metrical psalmists of choice for colonial Anglican congregations since at least 1710. Anglican congregations throughout all of the British North American colonies sang from Tate and Brady, as seen in most surviving Anglican source material from the Late Colonial Period. The compiler, following the conservative orientation of Charleston's Episcopalians, matched all but one of the pieces to a metrical setting of a psalm. Significantly, only one third of the tune titles specified psalm versifications, the others being named after various churches and geographical place names. Despite the fact that Middle Atlantic and Northern Chesapeake Bay Episcopalians started to introduce hymnody into the general repertory, Charleston's Episcopalians were slower to adopt this trend.

With the exception of HUNDRED PSALM and 149 PSALM, which appeared in the repertory of almost all English-language denominations, the body of tunes included in the harp-lute-guitar manuscript followed established Late Colonial Anglican trends. Progressive Anglicans in England during the middle of the eighteenth century began to adopt some of the Nonconformist/proto-Methodist hymn repertory. This sense of competition between Episcopalians and Methodists also entered into Episcopalian discourse in the exchanges between William Smith and William White in establishing the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. Late Colonial musical source material testified to the progressiveness of Anglicans in adopting some of the Nonconformist tune repertory and its compositional mannerisms, alongside the preservation of conservative orthodox Anglican notions of

accepted texts. The manuscript copybook follows these same trends. None of the pieces specifically originated from or were associated with Calvinist dissenters. Instead, the tunes constitute a mixing of Anglican and Nonconformist repertoires. Significantly, the only pieces associated specifically with Anglicans consisted of local tunes originating from Charleston.

The other pieces were either affiliated with Nonconformist tunebooks, or had a shared Anglican and Nonconformist association. For instance, the HYMN FOR EASTER first appeared in the Anglican compilation, *Lyrical Davidica* (1708). However, the variant included in this manuscript is identical to that in Thomas Butts' *Harmonia-Sacra* (1754). Similarly, 139 PSALM 2ND PART, though attributed to Valton in this manuscript, was actually composed by Thomas Call, the organist of the Nonconformist-influenced Magdalen Chapel in London for reformed prostitutes. This close association between Anglican/Episcopalian and Nonconformist/Methodist musical practice reveals most pronouncedly the continuation of Late Colonial trends into the nineteenth century.

Besides establishing its provenance as an Episcopalian popular-theatrical style collection, what remains central to the thesis of this manuscript centers on understanding the performance venue for psalm tunes among genteel society. Although ancient-style manuscript copybooks occasionally included a mixture of sacred and secular tunes, the expression and emphasis given them differs greatly between the types of sources. With the exception of one duet, all of the pieces in the Charleston copybook are for solo voice, and many with accompaniment by a fashionable, popular instrument designed for use exclusively in the parlor: the harp-lute-guitar. Following an aesthetic influenced by burgeoning trends in Romantic English expression, the effect conveyed both by the instrument and the pieces in the manuscript revolves around social politeness and an attention to fashion. Psalm tunes could occupy the same performance venue as operatic arias outside of the church. Indeed,

the contents of both repertoires are interspersed throughout the entire manuscript, not given separate divisions or sections, as happens frequently in ancient-style manuscripts.

While ancient-style extra-ecclesiastical manuscripts featured mostly sacred selections with a few secular pieces intended for choral performance, parallel popular-theatrical Episcopalian sources presented mostly secular works for solo performance with a small selection of sacred psalm and hymn tunes. Their compiler's intent is realized through an opposite means of expression. For Middle Atlantic and Southern Episcopalian, informal domestic performance consisted often of a selection of instrumental music and popular songs written for the parlor, concert hall, pleasure garden, and theater, along with a few sacred pieces.

In a literal sense, a psalm tune found in a manuscript copybook reflected the compiler's piety. From another perspective, a psalm tune also can reveal her worldview and social situation. Displaying her awareness of current trends, a lady could establish her legitimacy through the repertory she sang and performed based upon its conforming to the most current genteel notions of popular taste. When the situation called for it, she would also be able to perform graceful, decorated psalm and hymn tunes influenced by the popular-based galante style. Together, these repertoires conformed to differing but socially equivalent trends among high society. Although the specific repertory changed, the underlying aesthetic remained distinctly Episcopalian and rooted in Middle Atlantic and Southern Late Colonial taste.

Though following a different set of criteria for defining fashion consciousness, a similar set of circumscribed requirements existed between the repertoires. Through her adherence to these strictures, family, neighbors, and potential suitors could confirm and attest to her sociability. Music then became symbolic of power and prestige. To be able to

acquire these skills and afford the accoutrements of musical polite society demonstrated her family's socio-economic power. Though she might not have been desirable as an individual, her societal eminence was assured through her chosen repertory. It is this means of using music to demarcate social roles and power that most clearly defines musical practice among Episcopalians during the Early Nationalist period. This relationship between popular-theatrical music and genteel society would persist throughout the nineteenth century.

### **11.3 Extended Sacred Choral Works**

Most of the sacred music sung in private and public settings among Episcopalians consisted of strophic hymns and oratorio selections. While these pieces remained popular and well suited to informal and formal social events, extended solo and choral sacred works also appeared in all types of performance settings. Solo anthems were sung at home and in sacred and secular public spaces. Choral anthems were performed at public concerts, charity events, schools and academies, and other places, besides their use during the Divine Service. These performance settings needed suitably elaborate music to convey the importance and gravitas warranted by a particular event.

To satisfy this demand and to suit these types of venues, three compositional types of extended solo and choral sacred music existed during the Early Nationalist Period: cathedral anthems and set pieces, Nonconformist-influenced anthems and set pieces, and sacred contrafacta of operatic choruses, also shaped by Nonconformist developments in sacred music. All originate from the same source material that influenced Late Colonial Anglican practice. However, only the first two types had had enough of an impact on American composition to produce surviving American-composed examples during the Late Colonial period. Significantly, both resided in Middle Atlantic urban centers: William

Tuckey in New York City and Francis Hopkinson in Philadelphia. Tuckey supplied cathedral style anthems for sacred and secular performances; Hopkinson composed an anthem for the inaugural performance of the children's charity choir on May 1, 1760 at the College of Philadelphia.<sup>44</sup>

These earlier colonial-era extended choral pieces reveal their composers' efforts to create suitably elaborate music for special occasions. The works demonstrated the sophistication and eminence of a particular ensemble or church within the community. They also showed that an individual church or organization could replicate European compositional and performance standards, thus legitimizing itself to their community. The performance of extended choral works helped implement a sense of high church with its most formal and elaborate type: the cathedral anthem. At the same time, anthems composed for charity events were designed to showcase the success and relevance of a properly trained charity children's choir. The adoption of operatic sacred contrafacta by Episcopalians demonstrated a continued influence exerted by Nonconformists into the nineteenth century. Extended choral pieces exemplify their composers' highest efforts at sophistication. Not only pertaining to a composition and the group performing it, this sense of elegance extended also to the audience's attendance at a venue designed for the enjoyment of these particular works.

Alongside the patterns of meaning implicit in extended choral works and their relationship to British precedent, Early Nationalist composers conformed to local and regional practice when writing pieces in the United States. Unfortunately, there are too few American Anglican extended choral works from the Late Colonial period to allow for

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<sup>44</sup> Francis Hopkinson, "Francis Hopkinson His Book," manuscript copybook (Philadelphia, c. 1760), Library of Congress, Music Division, ML 96.H83 case.

generalizations about their style, other than that they reflect contemporary British practice. During the Early Nationalist Period, musicians in Philadelphia and Charleston would have to follow regional trends in performance despite the conventions associated with a particular genre. Performance practice among Episcopalians had become fairly uniform. Scoring did not vary between genres, only their compositional features.

### *11.3.1 Rayner Taylor*

In documenting patterns of musical activity among Middle Atlantic and Southern Episcopalians during the Early Nationalist Period, those of British emigrant Rayner Taylor (1747-1825), particularly in his surviving compositions, foreshadow what would become typical of extended choral works among liturgy-based churches throughout the nineteenth century. Taylor's professional activities in England before his arrival to the United States mirror the high church-low church duality that would come to characterize the ideals of and strife among Anglicans in England and Episcopalians in the United States, presaging the Oxford Movement of the 1830s. In the Americas, before this tension emerged, a musician could provide music to suit both sentiments consistently in line with their musical upbringing and professional activity. Taylor, brought up in the Chapel Royal, became a professional musician active in theaters and pleasure gardens, and churches. Not coincidentally, he composed cathedral-style anthems as well as sacred pieces influenced by popular-theatrical trends.

An examination of sacred examples from both spheres of influence reveals the aesthetic ideal of American Episcopal churches and their congregants. Some wanted to replicate as closely as possible the pomp and grandeur of the Anglican Church. Others attempted to relax these strictures in favor of a more modern and fashionable introduction of operatic pieces into the church. The secular aesthetic for modern and fashionable



popular-theatrical music would extend also to choral pieces performed during the Divine Service. Taylor composed both types of pieces. His American cathedral anthem demonstrates the ideals of the more conservative and orthodox high-church faction among Episcopalians. Conversely, his sacred contrafactum of an operatic solo and chorus served the aesthetic demands of the more fashion-conscious congregants.

#### *11.3.1.1 Cathedral Anthem*

Rayner Taylor, born in Soho, in Westminster, grew up in London near Hanover Square.<sup>45</sup> By 1757, Taylor had been admitted to the Chapel Royal as one of ten choirboys. Studying principally under James Nares (1715-83), the Master of the Children, Taylor received instruction in voice and keyboard. Sharing an upbringing with other Anglicans and Episcopalians active in the Americas, such as Peter Valton and George Knowil Jackson, he performed daily services at the Chapel Royal as well as contractual work for public concerts and theaters under the auspices of his employer.

Taylor's tutelage at the Chapel Royal would influence his later compositions and professional employment. He served as organist at St. Mary's in Chelmsford, England (1773-83), St. Anne's in Annapolis (1792-3), and St. Peter's (1795-1813) and St. Paul's in Philadelphia (1813-c. 1815). However, the choral forces available at these churches consisted primarily of charity children's choirs that would perform either unisonal settings of psalm tunes accompanied by the organ, or the relatively simple extended choral works in the popular SSB or STB Anglican and Nonconformist style. As seen in previous discussions of Late Colonial and Early Nationalist Anglican and Episcopalian performance practice, only

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<sup>45</sup> Biographical information on Taylor is taken from: Nicholas Temperley, *Bound for America: Three British Composers* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 53-71. Temperley, in turn, took much of his information from: John A. Cuthbert, "Rayner Taylor and American Music Life," Ph.D. diss. (West Virginia University, 1980).

New York City's Trinity Church attempted to maintain a performance standard imitating treble-led four-part cathedral choir practice, which was solely through the efforts of its choir master, William Tuckey. Other colonial and Early Nationalist ensembles uniformly followed the style associated with English three-part Nonconformist, and Anglican children's charity choirs.

Somewhat inexplicably, Taylor's anthems do not correspond to his history of employment. For instance, he composed and published several cathedral-style SATB anthems in England during his tenure as organist at the parish church in Chelmsford, which boasted a charity children's choir. According to Nicholas Temperley, this choir would have performed the choral music set in the popular SSB format.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, for several years after his arrival in Philadelphia, Taylor did not find employment in any church in the city. However, during this time, he composed a cathedral anthem suitable for performance by a charity children's choir.<sup>47</sup> Although the motivation for writing these pieces remains unknown, Taylor's upbringing served him well. Perhaps, as Temperley suggested, Taylor hoped to establish his name and reputation among his more genteel neighbors, and to attract potential students. In either case, only the American cathedral-style anthem betrays any direct connection to its environment and date of composition.

Taylor's European anthems follow the stylistic techniques set by British composers from the Restoration Era to the time of his service at the Chapel Royal. All exist as verse anthems with continuo, featuring extended solo passages for one or two voices that conclude with a four-part chorus. In the various sections of the work, Taylor shifted between solo and duet settings, and he provided several changes in key, time signature, and

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid. 61-2

<sup>47</sup> Temperley, *Bound for America*, 61.

tempo. Typical for popular-theatrical Anglican expression, the main thrust of the work revolves around the solo voice. The writing demands the high level of vocal proficiency expected of a professional singer. Similarly, the concluding chorus remains equivalent to an oratorio chorus, consisting either of an extended polyphonic or fugal movement, or one featuring antiphonal shifts between soloist and chorus in an operatic fashion. Many composers, including Taylor, were associated with the Chapel Royal and also composed dramatic works. Thus, the presence of theatrical devices follows a long-established precedent.

"An Anthem for Two Voices" (**Anth**), his only surviving American-composed anthem, incorporated some conventions of his European cathedral-style anthems, but differed significantly with others. Following British practice, Taylor wrote technically demanding solo sections, preserving the same alterations of key, tempo, and rhythm. For contrast, he introduced a declamatory recitative between arias. Similarly, alongside its technical considerations, the anthem presents two typical part-writing conventions of popular-dramatic composers during the mid-to-late eighteenth century. It maintained a relatively homophonic texture throughout the entire piece. Featuring little textual overlap, the two solo voices instead respond to each other with antecedent and consequent phrases. Direct melodic imitation with textual overlap only occurs sparingly in the solo portion of the anthem (mm. 147-8, 156-7, 237-40). Second, the duets move predominantly by parallel sixths and thirds. Though Taylor intended the solo passages for professional virtuosic singers (mm. 189-93, 243-8), he maintained a direct and easily comprehensible texture and harmonic language.

Taylor's British and American cathedral anthems differ in several significant ways. Most obvious, the concluding chorus is set for three voices, not four. Deviating from

cathedral practice, Taylor wrote for a Nonconformist or children's charity choir-influenced SSB ensemble instead of the expected four-part SATB ensemble. Similarly, the concluding chorus occupies a scant twenty-seven measures compared to the ninety-nine measure polyphonic choral Amen in his British anthem "Hear my crying, O Lord." Further, the part writing for the chorus to the American anthem includes several brief instances of melodic imitation and textual overlap. This chorus is mostly homophonic without any antiphonal interaction between chorus and soloists, just between the voices and the organ (mm. 274-7). Overall, Taylor composed a chorus to suit a parochial choir, not a professional ensemble. That this one piece should differ in choral scoring procedure and difficulty from the European anthems reveals the influence of Middle Atlantic conventions in part setting. Like Carr, Taylor also had to "cut his coat according to his cloth."

Composed in 1793, "An Anthem for Two Voices" demonstrates how Taylor's motivation for writing sacred choral music could exist independently of his actual employment. Within the past few months, Taylor had quit his position at St. Ann's in Annapolis and moved to Philadelphia with his family. Twelve months earlier, he had left London for Richmond, Virginia, for no apparent reason and without any guaranteed employment. Despite his qualifications as a professional musician and his efforts at concertizing to promote his services, Taylor made no inroads into the cultural world of Virginia or Baltimore. Philadelphia proved more congenial as he remained there for the rest of his life. However, until 1795, Taylor had no fixed employment, but instead worked as a freelance musician, teacher, and impresario. Despite his connections to prominent musicians in the area, including Benjamin Carr and his former pupil Alexander Reinagle, Taylor's first and only long-term appointment in Philadelphia was as organist at St. Peter's. He struggled somewhat to enter into the social world of the Early Nationalist Middle Atlantic.

Two basic questions remain: why did Taylor write this piece and what did he hope to accomplish with it? He composed the anthem two years before he successfully competed for a position as a church organist. Further, none of his surviving concert programs from his brief sojourn into Virginia and Maryland, and from his first year in Philadelphia include performances of any sacred music, let alone this particular piece. Finally, music in the Episcopalian churches in Philadelphia in the early 1790s consisted primarily of unisonal performances of psalm tunes. Extended choral works only appeared on special occasions and in mostly extra-ecclesiastical venues.

Although the evidence lacks to establish a prevailing Middle Atlantic and Southern Episcopalian trend in all forms of ecclesiastical composition at this time, elaborate extended choral music did exist in Philadelphia's Catholic churches. *A Compilation of the Litanies and Vespers Hymns and Anthems as They are Sung in the Catholic Church Adapted to the Voice or Organ* (Philadelphia, 1787) by Scottish immigrant John Aitken includes among its contents a complete set of Marian antiphons, a number of motets and anthems, and "The Holy Mass of the Blessed Trinity" that featured alternating passages for solo voice and treble-led choir, along with extended instrumental symphonies. Resembling Nonconformist-style anthems and set pieces, or parochial charity children's choir works, these pieces follow the galante style associated with composers such as John Stanley.<sup>48</sup> In addition, many of these pieces appear to be the work of one musician, as they share musical material among them.<sup>49</sup> However, Taylor, an Episcopalian, only composed Catholic liturgical music upon the behest

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<sup>48</sup> Robert R. Grimes, "John Aitken and Catholic Music in Federal Philadelphia," *American Music* 16, 3 (Autumn, 1998), 299.

<sup>49</sup> For instance, the setting of the Kyrie in "The Holy Mass of the Blessed Trinity" includes an instrumental symphony almost identical to the opening symphony of the setting of "Regina Cœli lætare."

of Benjamin Carr, and Carr largely ignored Aitken's compilation, so it is unlikely the anthem was composed for a Catholic church.

A more compelling explanation for Taylor's anthem lies in the tragic event Philadelphia experienced in the summer of 1793, a yellow-fever epidemic that killed thousands of people and is considered one of the worst to affect the United States. Taylor, drawing upon his experience in the Chapel Royal, presented a topical funeral anthem in memory of the victims of the plague. He himself described the work as "An Anthem. Suitable to the present occasion, for public or private worship" in an advertisement in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* on October 23, 1793.

The text (**Ex. 11.1**), a collage of several passages from the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, begins with an excerpt from the first four verses of the third chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon. Several prominent composers associated with the Chapel Royal chose this text for anthem settings and all of the works were associated with funerals. For instance, William Croft used this text for the anthem composed for and performed at the funeral of Queen Anne in 1714.<sup>50</sup> James Nares, Taylor's teacher, composed a short verse anthem on this text in 1734.<sup>51</sup> In particular, the setting by Nares closely resembles Taylor's opening movement, being cast in the same meter and tempo, and set for two solo voices. From this perspective, Taylor shows his indebtedness to his teacher.

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<sup>50</sup> *A collection of anthems used in His Majesty's Chapel Royal, and most cathedral churches in England and Ireland. Published under the direction of Anselm Bayly, L. L. D. Sub-Dean of his Majesty's Chapels Royal* (London: for J. and F. Rivington in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and W. Ginger in College-Street, [1769]), 54-55.

<sup>51</sup> James Nares, *Twenty Anthems in Score, for 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 voices, composed for the use of His Majesty's Chapels Royal* (London: for the author, 1778).

### Example 11.1. Textual Sources for "An Anthem for Two Voices"

#### Taylor's Text

The Souls of the righteous are in the hand  
of God and there shall no torment  
touch them.

In the sight of th'unwise they seem to Die  
and their departure is taken for misery

but they are in peace

For though they be punished in the sight  
of men yet is their hope full of  
immortality.

Lord teach us to number our Days that  
we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.

Turn thee again o Lord and deliver our  
Souls o save us for thy mercies sake.

Comfort us again after the time  
where in we have suffer'd adversity.  
Show thy servants thy work and their  
Children thy glory.

So shall we rejoice and be glad all the  
Days of our Life.

Hallelujah. Amen.

#### Biblical Passages

##### Wisdom of Solomon 3:1-4 (King James Bible)

But the souls of the righteous are in the  
hand of God, and there shall no  
torment touch them.

In the sight of the unwise they seemed to  
die: and their departure is taken for  
misery,

And their going from us to be utter  
destruction: but they are in peace.

For though they be punished in the sight  
of men, yet is their hope full of  
immortality.

##### Psalm 90:12 (*The Book of Common Prayer*)

So teach us to number our days: that we  
may apply our hearts unto wisdom.

##### Psalm 6:4 (BCP)

Turn thee, O Lord, and deliver my soul:  
O save me for thy mercy's sake.

##### Psalm 90:13-16 (BCP)

Turn thee again, O Lord, at the last: and  
be gracious unto thy servants.

O satisfy us with thy mercy, and that  
soon: so shall we rejoice and be glad  
all the days of our life.

Comfort us again now after the time that  
thou hast plagued us: and for the years  
wherein we have suffered adversity.

Shew thy servants thy work: and their  
children thy glory.

Besides the opening passage, the rest of the text consists of excerpts from the sixth and ninetieth psalms as translated in *The Book of Common Prayer*. This collage format also shows the influence of earlier composers attached to the Chapel Royal extending back to the sixteenth century, including Orlando Gibbons, John Blow, and Maurice Greene. George Frederick Handel followed the English collage tradition most famously in "The Ways of Zion Do Mourn," the funeral anthem for Queen Caroline (HWV 264), which took its text from Old Testament (Lamentations, Samuel 2, Job, Psalms, Daniel), New Testament (Philippians) as well as Apocryphal verses (Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon). In this light, a collage text not only referenced general Anglican compositional trends in the Chapel Royal, but also a famous, specific piece composed for a funeral by one of the most eminent composers in England during the eighteenth century. Collectively, the text itself as well as the manner in which it is presented follow identical trends in aesthetic and *Affekt*.

In assembling his text, Taylor followed standard procedures used by Anglican composers associated with the Chapel Royal and royal family. According to scholar Ruth Smith, composers employed seven basic techniques for the creation of an anthem text:

- (1) Alteration of tense or person: e.g. future to past tense, second to third person.
- (2) Omission: e.g. only the first or second half of one or more verses is used.
- (3) Condensation: a 'gluing together' of parts of two verses, e.g. uniting the first half of one with the second half of another.
- (4) Selection: disjunct verses are selected from a single psalm or chapter, but used sequentially.
- (5) Selection and rearrangement: verses from a single psalm or chapter are selected and reordered.



(6) 'Collage' texts: a selection of verses, verbatim, from any number of psalms and/or books of the Bible.

(7) Same as (6) with repetition of one or more verses.<sup>52</sup>

Of these techniques, Taylor used omission, condensation, selection, and selection and rearrangement, besides the collage format. In addition, he also modified person, changing some pronouns from the singular to the plural to create a more unified text consistent with his solo/duet setting. He also made some personal modifications to the text, such as substituting the word "Lord" for "So" in Psalm 90:12. Significantly, Taylor removed a direct reference to the word "plague" in Psalm 90:15.

In its final form the anthem text is transformed into a personal meditation on the 1793 yellow fever epidemic. Those that succumbed to sickness are now beyond pain and suffering. Though dead, their souls shall triumph beyond the grave. But for those who survived, they will find peace through the knowledge that the departed enter into the kingdom of God, and exalt in the dead finding rest.

Rayner Taylor's anthem occupies many levels of intent through its seemingly incongruent scoring procedure as a cathedral-style anthem set for an SSB charity children's choir, its topicality, and the questionable practical motivation for its composition. As a recent emigrant from England, Taylor needed to establish his credentials as a performer and composer among the genteel. In his anthem, he attempted to appeal to high society through its most prestigious genre of sacred composition: a cathedral-style verse anthem performable either in public or in the home. To accomplish this, Taylor modified certain typical compositional conventions to conform to regional Episcopalian taste through his extensive

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<sup>52</sup> Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 95-6.

use of homophony and the anthem's simple three-part choral conclusion. At the same time, he needed to establish his legitimacy to his intended audience. Employing the skills learned through his training, Taylor recalled the conventions of the Chapel Royal not only through music, but also in his choice of text and its collage format. He also imbued the work with a funerary *Affekt* reserved for English royalty and genteel society, seemingly equating the victims in Philadelphia with the royal family.

His efforts, combined with an elaborate and sophisticated command of common practice harmony that replicated European standards of grace and fashionableness, potentially validated him to the Philadelphia public. As a piece that spoke personally to the residents of the city, the anthem commemorated the tragedy and served as a musical example of a *momento mori*. It remains unknown how successful his appeal was to high society. However, within a year and a half, he became the organist at one of the most prestigious churches in Philadelphia and acquired a level of income sufficient to allow him to remain there for the rest of his life. In any event, Taylor's anthem helped establish a trend of pieces suitable for high-church aesthetic, a phenomenon that would become more widespread throughout the nineteenth century. Most important, it established Taylor as sympathetic to the United States. Through this piece he became an American.

### ***11.3.1.2 A Sacred Contrafactum***

Following the end of his tenure as organist at St. Mary's in Chelmsford, England, Rayner Taylor moved to London. By 1784, he secured an appointment as the "director of music to the Sadler Wells theater, a pleasing place of amusement, open during the summer months, which began to rise somewhat above the level of a mere show box for rope dancing, tumbling &c for which it was no less indebted to Mr. Taylor as composer than to

Lonsdale, who had assumed the office of author, as well as that of stage manager."<sup>53</sup> His duties included directing and rehearsing the orchestra and singers, composing music for various theatrical works, and preparing arrangements and orchestrations for other pantomimes and burlettas. According to scholar John Cuthbert, he composed or prepared scores for approximately forty-five pieces over the course of seven seasons between 1785 and 1791.<sup>54</sup>

Towards the end of his work with this theater, Taylor achieved his most popular success through a timely work associated with the French Revolution. *The Champs de Mars, Or, Loyal Fæderation* concerned the deposed Louis XVI. On July 14, 1790, the first anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, the king accepted the demands of the revolutionaries before the National Assembly, its municipal authorities, and the general public. In exchange for his recognition, Louis XVI attempted to maintain his sovereignty over the French people and end the revolution that had begun the previous year. This recognition of monarchical rule resounded among the English because it seemingly instilled in France a legitimate constitutional monarchy, the form of government embraced in England. This compromise was ultimately unsuccessful; the king was executed two years later and England subsequently declared war against France after the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte.

However, in 1790, the English remained hopeful for a resolution of the uprising that had occurred across the English Channel. Capitalizing on its positive message and popularity among the citizens of London, Taylor composed the music for a theatrical re-enactment of the king's speech to commemorate the event. More than any other previous

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<sup>53</sup> Benjamin Carr, "Musical Reminiscences" No. 3, *Enterpeiad* (January 5, 1822). Quoted in: Temperley, *Bound for America*, 62.

<sup>54</sup> John A. Cuthbert, "Rayner Taylor," 448-50.

musical-dramatic piece performed at Sadler's Wells, his music captivated and enthralled the London public. According to *The Times*:

[t]he rapturous burst of applause bestowed on the four lines chaunted in the concluding scene of *Loyal Fæderation*, at Sadler's Wells, is a tribute justly due to the respective merits of the Poet, the Composer, and the Performer - so great is the impression created by this particular part of the ceremony, that Pit, Box, and Gallery, catch the enthusiasm of the moment, as if by electricity, and *Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!* seems to be echoed from the very hearts of every spectator.<sup>55</sup>

The surviving piano vocal score of this scene reveals why it achieved its level of popularity **(Anth)**.

The opening section of the "Solemn Chaunt in the *Champ de Mars &c.*," set for a solo voice, begins with a series of long drawn-out chords establishing the solemnity of the event. Following the introduction, the movement assumes the form of a verse anthem, with the opening solo "chaunted" by a High Priest and answered by an a capella solo quartet repeating the previous melodic and textual material. Though a secular work, the music functions as a piece of sacred music through its slow intonation resembling a response sung during the Divine Service. Further, the first half of the verse is given note values twice as long as the second half, perhaps to emphasize the sentiment of the text that freedom only exists through the grace of a monarch. The upward thrust of the melodic line conveys a further sense of drama to the authority of the king. Taylor couched the political ideology of the text in the musical rhetoric of the state church. The a capella answer to the priest confirms the sacredness of its political expression and connotes directly a religious *Affekt* suitable to the gravitas of the subject.

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<sup>55</sup> *The Times*, London ed. (Aug. 21, 1790).

The second section consists of a chorus sung by the French citizenry gathered for the occasion in response to the king. In this section, Taylor shifted from the solemn *Affekt* of the king's capitulation, to an uninhibited ecstatic reaction by the crowd. The change in tempo, dynamics, and ensemble created a startling and ebullient effect on the audience in the theater. Beginning with a series of antiphonal responses between the voices and orchestra, the movement bristles with energetic triplets in the orchestra creating a forward-driving rhythm that propels the chorus. This surge continues throughout the movement building to a climax on the text "Vive le Roi!," emphasizing the authority of the king as an assertion of his sovereignty.

Significantly, the librettist Mark Lonsdale chose to use English for the opening section and French for the ensuing chorus. In this instance, Lonsdale established a separation between an ideal truth espoused by figures of authority, and shouts of unfeigned loyalty by the common citizenry. Though both sections declare the same type of sentiment, the priest, an agent of the government, establishes the rule of law through the use of the English language. The text bespeaks the power of English as much as French monarchical sovereignty. For the English people, the reigning monarch grants and guarantees the liberty of his citizens through the eminence of his nobility entrusted through the unwritten constitution and Parliament. Lonsdale's text confirms the notion of an idealized constitutional monarchy as sacrosanct, establishing the same sacred-secular duality of sentiment found in Taylor's music. It is easy to see why this piece electrified London audiences during its run at the theater.

Fifteen years later, Benjamin Carr published a new arrangement of this work first in his collection, *Masses, Vespers, Litanies, Hymns, Psalms, Anthems & Motetts. Composed, selected and arranged for the use of Catholic Churches, in the United States of America* (Baltimore, [1805]) and later

in the second edition of *Sacred Harmony*. Following the same type of concessions as found in the American cathedral anthem, Taylor rescored the work for a three-part chorus from the four-part English original. He also provided a fully realized accompaniment part for a keyboard instrument, removing the figured bass from the original orchestral reduction. Finally, he removed the solo quartet response to the opening solo. But most significantly, Taylor transformed the piece into a sacred contrafactum of the dramatic original, resembling the type of conversion authorized by John Wesley in the hymn tune JERICHO, an adaptation of the march in *Riccardo Primo* by Handel.

The PRAYER FOR THE COMMONWEALTH (**Anth**) as adapted by Taylor appears at first glance to address the citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. However, in the first verse, he used the term "commonweal" instead of "commonwealth." Its implications within the verse address three basic understandings of the term, besides its application to Pennsylvania. The term commonweal pertains to the common wellbeing or prosperity of a particular community, the whole body of people within a state or community, and the congregants of a denomination or religion.<sup>56</sup> In this sense, Taylor introduced a term that applied to both sacred and secular realms, and pertinent to both simultaneously. With this piece, he conveyed a similar political and religious duality as found in the earlier theatrical version of the piece, only through an opposite form of expression.

Instead of the work existing as a secular statement with a pseudo sacred-political identity, the piece now functions as a sacred statement pertaining to political identity within a nationalist framework. In the sacred version, God has replaced the king. No longer do "Kings Confirm the rights of Man," "who nobly make a People Free;" citizens of Columbia

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<sup>56</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. 2 (1989), <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/view/Entry/37260>.

(United States) trust in the graciousness of God in granting them their Liberty. Through God the "peoples rights prevail." Although the sentiment of a powerful but gracious ruler granting its citizens prosperity and freedom remains unchanged between the two versions, the type of power exercised by their ruler differs considerably. The sovereignty of the king is established through his recognition of the rights of the people. In contrast, God's eminence is not subject to the wishes of the people, but established through Divine Providence.

Similarly, the second section of the piece centers on an *Affekt* of wholehearted adoration offered as a contrasting choral response to the previous solo section. However, the original ejaculatory outbursts offered by the citizens of France do not find an exact equivalent in the later sacred adaptation. The secular original proclaimed simple loyalty to the law of the nation, the nation itself, and the king. The sacred contrafactum offered praise to God as patriarch of liberty, echoing more the sentiment of the previous section. Again, God is not subject to a constitutional agreement as with Louis XVI. Rather, liberty is established through his fondness for the American people. Thus, the contrast offered between sections consists of a musical-dramatic effect rather than the distinction of mood or sentiment between the texts as seen in the original version.

As with JERICHO, the PRAYER FOR THE COMMONWEALTH preserves the same sentiment as the secular original. JERICHO, a vocal arrangement of an instrumental march, preserved a militaristic *Affekt* through a reference to the Israelites' march around the walls of Jericho resulting in the city's destruction. Taylor's PRAYER FOR THE COMMONWEALTH not only preserved the association between the nature of authority and the people's praise of a sovereign ruler, it also proclaimed a distinctly American nationalist political sentiment in direct opposition to the original theatrical solo and chorus. God replaced the king. His ultimate power and authority governs the universe, transcending

any specific nation. That He would favor the United States to allow it to shed the yoke of monarchy demonstrates the power and authority of God over any of His creation. It also reveals the respect the American people have for God as patriarch of the United States. God is king, not Louis XVI.

More importantly, a shared connotation of power and authority proclaimed between the two versions reveals why Catholic and Episcopalian churches in the United States accepted this contrafactum. Though a piece of theatrical music in origin, it bore no association of lasciviousness or promiscuity as found in many Nonconformist contrafacta from the middle of the eighteenth century. Instead, it took a statement of monarchical idealism and transformed the identity of the monarch. In this way, Taylor echoed the guiding spirit of the original framers of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. Though the trappings and liturgy of the denomination would continue much the same way as before the Revolution, an earthly monarchy would find no place in the new Republican idealism of the Early Nationalist United States.

### *11.3.2 Jacob Eckhard and the Children's Charity Choir-style Anthem*

Extended choral and solo anthems and set pieces, rather than following one aesthetic paradigm, were created to suit many different trends and ideals of taste and setting. The cathedral anthem addressed the desires of congregants wishing to replicate as closely as possible the high church style of the English cathedral or royal chapel, a statement of cultural attainment and social status. In contrast, sacred contrafacta served those church members who wished to bring the conventions of popular-theatrical secular music into the divine service. As seen with the South Carolina harp-lute-guitar manuscript, two divergent trends of fashion and taste could exist side-by-side in Episcopalian practice. Occurring not only between secular and sacred vocal music embraced by the genteel, opposing aesthetic



standards could appear within Episcopalian sacred source material too. *Sacred Harmony* included cathedral anthems, oratorio arias, and Nonconformist hymns and set pieces, reflecting Carr's knowledge of the latest fashionable trends in Anglican sacred music.

Because elaborate extended sacred music was performed during the divine service as well as in extra-ecclesiastical settings, these pieces did not fit into one general type or performative ideal. Instead, composers sought to create pieces to suit the venue, ensemble, and occasion. As a result, the type of choral pieces performed at charity events were determined by the ensemble featured at such a gathering, usually a children's choir. Anthems, set pieces, and other extended choral pieces composed for charity events straddled a high church/low church duality, forming a compromise between the compositional standards associated with the cathedral anthem, and the popular-theatrical ideals manifest in contrafacta and evangelical Anglican and Nonconformist hymn repertory. These pieces demanded a certain amount of elegance and sophistication to demonstrate the ensemble's legitimacy. Their performance and compositional style also needed to charm and delight their audience through popular-theatrical expressive techniques.

British and Colonial Anglican choir directors performed treble-led charity children's choir and Nonconformist style pieces at various events. Local composers occasionally wrote new pieces for these occasions. As discussed previously, charity choirs existed in many of the major urban centers of the Middle Atlantic and Southern states, including New York City, Philadelphia, and Charleston. Not surprisingly, a few pieces for this type of ensemble survive from the Late Colonial and Early Nationalist Periods, beginning in 1760. From the earliest example by Francis Hopkinson to later Early Nationalist pieces from Charleston, all surviving works display the same compositional-stylistic traits of scoring procedure, texture, complexity, and performance practice. These works demonstrate the presence of a tradition

of a popular style of composition, paralleling Middle Atlantic and Southern Episcopalian trends in congregational psalm and hymn tunes, and solo hymns influenced by earlier Nonconformist initiatives.

The career and compositional style of Jacob Eckhard (1757-1833) remains typical for professional musicians active in fashionable genteel society, even of those with non-English backgrounds. As with other German, French, and Italian musicians in the Early Nationalist United States, Eckhard conformed his compositional style to the prevailing English-inspired American taste. Unlike Hopkinson, Yarnold, Valton, Pelham, Carr, and Taylor, Eckhard was active in German Reformed and Lutheran churches, besides his service at St. Michael's Episcopal in Charleston. His surviving works display his knowledge of current Episcopalian and Lutheran stylistic trends and repertory. Alongside his psalm and hymn tunes following an English gallante-inspired idiom, he reworked German chorale tunes for use in Episcopal churches.<sup>57</sup> This form of adaptation mirrored progressive Anglican initiatives in London beginning in the eighteenth century. It also displays the influence of Nonconformist pieces taken from Lutheran and Moravian sources at midcentury.

Eckhard, born in Eschwege in Hessen-Kassel began his professional career at the age of twelve as organist in a Calvinist, Reformed church in Germany.<sup>58</sup> Active in both sacred and secular spheres, he arrived in British North America in 1776 as a musician enlisted with the Hessian troops of the British Army. Following the war, he chose to remain in the new United States and settled briefly in Richmond, Virginia and presumably served as

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<sup>57</sup> These pieces appear in two sources compiled by Eckhard, including his manuscript copybook dated 1809, and his published *Choral Book* (Boston, [1816]).

<sup>58</sup> George W. Williams, "Introduction" to *Jacob Eckhard's Choirmaster's Book of 1809: a facsimile with introduction and notes*, George W. Williams, ed. (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), xi. Biographical information on Eckhard is taken from this source, unless otherwise noted.

organist at St. John's Episcopal Church. However, Charleston appeared more lucrative. Eckhard accepted a post as organist at St. John's Lutheran Church there in 1786, and remained in South Carolina for the rest of his life. As with colonial-era Charleston professional musicians, he became a Freemason. In addition, he joined another fraternal-social organization, the German Friendly Society, in 1789, serving as treasurer beginning in 1802.

Eckhard's activities in both sacred and secular realms would continue in South Carolina. As impresario, he initiated a series of benefit performances for French refugees fleeing the Caribbean in 1793, and performed on other concerts from c. 1795 to 1810.<sup>59</sup> Besides these secular events, Eckhard also directed an annual benefit performance for the Charleston Orphan House, conducting the children's choir and the orchestra. As a composer, he published patriotic songs, variation sets for the piano, and psalm and hymn tunes in his tunebook, *Choral Book, containing psalms, hymns, anthems and chants, used in the Episcopal Church of Charleston, South Carolina; and a collection of tunes, adapted to the metres in the Hymn-Book, published by order of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the State of New York. The whole a selection for the service of all protestant churches in America* (Boston, [1816]).

Eckhard served at St. John's Lutheran Church from 1786 to 1809, when he accepted a new post at St. Michael's. Although, this church hired him based upon his experience in Hessen-Kassel, and in Virginia as an Episcopalian organist, his motivation for resigning his post at St. John's Lutheran Church seems to have been entirely musical. According to the German Friendly Society:

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<sup>59</sup> Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America (1731-1800)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 30, 36, 38.

[m]any members of the Lutheran Church censured him for leaving them, but when we consider that the Organ then in the Lutheran Church was a small one, very limited in its powers, and such as was not calculated to gratify either the feelings of vanity of a good player; and that the one appertaining to St. Michael's Church was not only of great compass and power, but of an exquisite and brilliant order of tone—we must admit that the temptation was too great for a musician of such a high character and enthusiasm as he was, to resist, particularly as no inconvenience resulted to the Church he had left.<sup>60</sup>

Eckhard would serve at St. Michael's until his death in 1833. However, he still retained his ties to the Lutheran church, maintaining a pew and serving as an elected vestryman (1815-16) and treasurer (1827-33). He also supervised the acquisition of St. John's new organ in 1823. Significantly, he chose to be buried at St. John's, not St. Michael's.

Jacob Eckhard, despite his non-English background, became a valued member of Charleston high society. His memorial tribute bespoke his personal and musical accomplishments:

[h]is extraordinary acquirements in this profession, soon attracted the notice of the community, and an equanimity, cheerfulness and affability of demeanor, rendered him peculiarly fitted for the station he had assumed: accordingly a requisition was made upon his services, which, whilst it advanced his pecuniary interests, introduced him in the best and most respectable circles of Society.<sup>61</sup>

In fact, his German heritage, religious upbringing, and musical training enabled him to become a more versatile musician than would otherwise have been possible for an

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<sup>60</sup> "Tribute of Respect," *Courier*, Charleston ed., November 15, 1833.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

Englishman. German Calvinists, unlike their English and Scottish cousins, held no qualms about introducing an organ into the church. In fact, many German Reformed churches employed organists. As such, his German Calvinist background offered more opportunities for employment, evidenced by his service in various liturgical churches throughout the Chesapeake Bay and Southern Lowcountry.

Perhaps, because of his acceptance by English-speaking "respectable" society, Eckhard's command of the expressive German *Empfindsamer Stil* became in some ways subordinate to his ability to master the prevailing English-influenced style. The German Lutheran community, though substantial in Charleston, remained relatively small compared to the Episcopalians and Catholics throughout the coastal areas of the Middle Atlantic and Southern states. For this reason, Eckhard's surviving pieces reflect the stylistic characteristics of gallante-influenced English trends rather than the German chorale tradition. However, he did infuse a harmonic richness in his works that exceeded that of typical English psalm and hymn tunes. It could be argued that he expressed his German heritage through his harmonic language.

Eckhard's most distinguished professional service included his assistance at numerous charity events. Again, his memorial tribute makes special mention of his benevolence, stating that

upon all occasions of a public nature where his services could advance or benefit any useful or charitable institution, he would render them cheerfully, without fee or reward. For many years had the Orphan House derived advantages in their annual

celebrations, by his exertions in arranging the music and instructing the Orphans in singing upon these occasions.<sup>62</sup>

Besides conducting and arranging, he is known to have composed two anthems for the annual Charleston Orphan House concerts, one in 1798 and the other in 1806.

Two unattributed charity anthems, "Let your light so shine before men" and "Blessed is he that considereth the poor," as well as an "Anthem for the Fourth of July" appear in Eckhard's 1809 manuscript copybook for St. Michael's. Their style is close to that of works securely attributed to him. Given his documented activity of directing children's choirs and composing two anthems for the annual concerts, these works are most likely by Eckhard himself. As a result, they offer a unique view into extended choral works performed by Episcopalians and members of other liturgical churches in Charleston. For example, the second charity anthem "Blessed is he that considereth the poor" (**Anth**) employs the typical compositional and stylistic traits of the other three pieces.

Divided into three sections with a concluding hallelujah chorus, the anthem, surviving in a short score for keyboard, was set originally for either two-part treble or three-part SSB chorus with keyboard accompaniment. It also features a number of sections for single and paired solo voices. In general, the harmonic language is particularly rich involving expressive dissonance through diminished and augmented passing tones, appoggiaturas, suspensions, and chromatic embellishment, and sequences and modal shifts. As with the tunes by Valton, this work demonstrates its composer's knowledge of the scientific aspects of common practice harmony, but limits the complexities of the melodic material to the abilities of children and amateur singers.

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

Regarding the structure of the anthem, it bears a closer resemblance to that of Tuckey's set piece than Taylor's cathedral anthem. Each section or movement is relatively short and self-contained, and only features a setting of a single verse of scripture, much in the same way that Tuckey's work is divided into movements according to the individual stanzas of the metrical psalm. Similarly, the charity anthem favors antiphonal shifts and textural changes over alterations of homophony and polyphony. Tuckey's composition presented mostly a full choral texture with a few solo sections, the anthem by Taylor a series of solos with a final chorus. In Eckhard's anthem, the text, a paraphrase of verses one, two, and thirteen from Psalm 41 in *The Book of Common Prayer* undergoes the same type of modification as found in Taylor's cathedral anthem.

Alongside these shared features, the charity anthem differs from the earlier pieces in that it does not undergo any modulation, with all movements in G major. Although modal shift appears in the first and third movements, the only extended harmonic shift in the entire piece includes a typical I-V-I scheme of the second movement, following the conventions of popular songs and binary dances such as the minuet. In fact, its overall simplicity allows for the dramatic aspects of the work to come to the forefront, particularly in the first movement. The overall effect remains decidedly theatrical, being grounded in typically Episcopalian and Nonconformist compositional traits.

For instance, the first movement begins with an instrumental introduction that states the melody of the opening vocal solo. Before the keyboard can completely present the entire phrase, the vocal part interrupts the bass line, not allowing it to finish a full statement of this melodic material. The solo then restates the opening ritornello but expands on it through a short sequence that ends with a dramatic fermata, coming to rest on the submediant. A duet resumes the initial momentum with a vocal confirmation of or response

to the opening line. Following this passage, the composer repeated the entire opening section intact, creating a sense of unfulfilled resolution. This simple device instills a sense of tension that is only resolved through the dramatic entrance of the full chorus affirming the promise of the second half of the scriptural verse, "the Lord shall deliver him." Quickening motion in the bass line helps propel the choral melodic material forward through another short sequence. As before, this drive collapses in on itself through an abrupt change in tempo that concludes with another dramatic fermata, this time on a rest. Following the silence, the composer changes texture and modality through a solo duet response in the modal minor that concludes with another prolonged rest. However, the mood is suddenly brightened through an immediate shift back to G major, a resumption of the initial tempo, and a textural switch to the full chorus. Finally, two melodically varied choral statements of the last line of the verse over a progressively more ornate bass line, present a strong dynamic contrast, driving the movement to a close. Though following a typical AABCC' form in this movement, the composer uses its melodic structure for dramatic effect. Through these types of rhythmic, textural, and harmonic devices, the piece achieves a direct and effective means of conveying a sense of drama and theatricality, entirely suitable to the popular nature of a children's charity benefit performance.

These same devices characterize the other movements as well. The second movement, cast in popular song or binary dance form, features a call and response technique typical of a verse and chorus section of an anthem in its first section, conveying a sense of drama similar to the opening section of James Lyon's set piece, "The Lord descended from above." This time however, the composer expands on the possibilities of dramatic reiteration by shifting away from the literal response in the first half of the movement, to a more extended solo with a short choral reaffirmation at the conclusion of the final section.



Again, the composer plays upon the audience's expectations and creates a similar effect both times without resorting to a literal repetition of this specific device.

The third movement imparts a sense of gravitas through dotted rhythmic gestures recalling the Baroque French overture. Further, this movement and the concluding hallelujah chorus feature the full choir throughout, confirming the sacredness of God through a nod to older trends of popular-theatrical composition. Presenting the nature of God within the expressive techniques of ancient music impresses upon the audience the timelessness of God's power and majesty, echoing the sentiment of the text. In addition, the composer adds harmonic color through chromatic embellishment, and employs several theatrical techniques: dynamic contrast, dramatic pauses, and a grand ritardando leading to the movement's conclusion. The ensuing hallelujah chorus resumes the original tempo and features a final shift in dynamics, leading to the long, sustained final amen.

Overall, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor" displays the professional and experienced hand of its creator. Through relatively simple expressive devices, changes in ensemble, and accessible melodies, a composer such as Eckhard could create an impressive-sounding piece without asking too much of its performers. Favoring substance over virtuosity, the anthem contained a harmonic language that added a level of richness and sophistication to the piece, which otherwise could have remained a competent but pedestrian example of its genre. Instead, Eckhard's expressive uses of dissonance, chromatic alteration, and modal shift, and his theatrical penchant for tempo fluctuations, plays in silence, and affective treatment of the text, combine to create a direct but effective piece that spoke well to its intended audience. The anthem conveys simultaneously the tradition and authority of the high church anthem through its harmony, and the fashionableness of

popular music through its theatricality and form. Eckhard understood how to straddle both sides of Middle Atlantic and Southern Episcopalian musical taste and aesthetic.

In the Early Nationalist Period, Episcopalians and other liturgical churches continued performative trends, compositional initiatives, and venues for performance first encountered in the 1750s and 60s. With the establishment of the American Protestant Episcopal Church in 1786, Philadelphia replaced London as the center of the denomination's government. As result, localized and regional trends characteristic of the Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies during the Late Colonial Period began to acquire a more national character in the new Middle Atlantic and Southern states. Congregational collections began to include tunes by esteemed musicians from both of the main centers for performance and composition, Philadelphia and Charleston. Seventy years after their initial documented appearance in colonial churches and among colonial musicians, these trends would still persist among Episcopalians and members of other liturgical churches.

Part of this extended continuation of mid-eighteenth-century popular-theatrical musical initiatives into the first quarter of the nineteenth century can be accounted for by one musician who helped to establish Late Colonial trends in performance practice and composition, as well as the musical repertory of the Early Nationalist church: Francis Hopkinson. Hopkinson published the earliest examples of progressive Anglican and Nonconformist popular-theatrical sacred songs in the colonies and composed the earliest examples of charity children's choir SSB psalmody and anthems. However, he also was the person most responsible for assembling the first congregational tune repertory in the musical supplement to *The Book of Common Prayer*. Many of the tunes found in the collection, including the one by himself and another by Valton would be included in Episcopalian tune

collections over the course of the next thirty years, entering into the repertory of later musicians such as Benjamin Carr who had no direct ties to Hopkinson or colonial practice. In many ways, Hopkinson was responsible for establishing a tradition of popular expression.

However, too much credit should not be given to any single musician. An explanation for the presence of Late Colonial practice in the Early Nationalist Period can also be explained through parallel trends in secular music in genteel society. Those persons following the latest fashions of art, literature, and culture, almost exclusively members of liturgical churches, had narrowly defined conceptions of taste and fashionableness. Though the repertory might vary from place to place and change over time, the aesthetic ideal of modishness would remain the same. Thus, trends in sacred music could be seen to parallel those in secular music, as seen with contrafacta and sacred songs designed for performance in the parlor.

Regardless of their source of creation and inspiration, those trends inherited from Late Colonial initiatives would continue into the nineteenth century and ultimately influence compositional genres and trends into the Antebellum Period (1830-60). Sacred parlor songs would shape subsequent efforts in gospel song, designed for informal worship and domestic devotion. Contrafacta would become a standard part of the repertories of progressive and reactionary religions and denominations, influencing trends among Calvinists, Arminian Methodists, Catholics, Lutherans, Jews, Unitarians, and others. Early Nationalist trends in Episcopalian extended sacred choral and vocal composition would also help shape compositional modes in high and low church worship, and influence New School Congregationalists and Presbyterians, as well as members of the Cecilian and Oxford Movements in the United States. Despite their relatively small numbers, Episcopalians in American society exerted a level of impact greater than their statistical numbers. Their

progressiveness in both sacred and secular spheres of performance influenced subsequent adaptation and innovation by other denominations, thus explaining why this denomination remains so critical to understanding trends in American music of the Middle Atlantic, South, and West throughout the nineteenth century.

Table 11.1 Early Nationalist Middle Atlantic congregational tune compilation repertory compared with Late Colonial compilations

Key: **Boldface type** = American-composed, arranged, or adapted  
 ( ) = alternate titles  
 [ ] = most common title of a particular psalm tune, or a referential title in the absence of one in the source  
 \* = New to the Early Nationalist Collection.

Tune Name	HTI#	Early Nationalist Compilations		Late Colonial Compilations		
		Episcopalian	Calvinist	Calvinist		Anglican
				English Presbyterian	Presbyterian-Nonconformist	
				SP TSPHBCP 1786 (Treble-led: 2 voices)	CCM 2 1787 (Ancient: 2 and 4 voices)	
ANGEL'S HYMN	387e	X	X	X	X	X
BEDFORD	930a	X	X	X	X	X
BRUNSWICK	891a	X	X	X	X	X
CANTERBURY	250h	X	X	X	—	X
<b>CHIDINGSTONE</b>	2873	X: 148TH PS.	X: CHIDINGTON	—	X	X: CHID-DINGSTONE
CHRIST CHURCH	2490	X	X: CHRIST'S CHURCH	—	—	—
COLESHILL	271c	X	X	X	—	X
ISLE OF WIGHT	733a	—	X	X	X	—
MEAR	909b	X	X	X	X	X
<b>MORNING HYMN</b>	2761	X	—	X	X	—
NEW CASTLE	1983	X	X: NEWCASTLE	X	X	—
PSALM 100, OLD	143a	X	X	X	X	X
PSALM 149	657a	X	X	X	—	X
<b>*PSALM 50/ST. MARK'S</b>	4641	X: 50TH PROPER	—	—	—	—
<b>*PSALM 96</b>	4642	X	X	—	—	—

Tune Name	HTI#	Early Nationalist Compilations		Late Colonial Compilations		
		Episcopalian	Calvinist	Calvinist		Anglican
				English Presbyterian	Presbyterian-Nonconformist	
		SP		LyonJ		
		TSPHBCP		U		
		1786	CCM 2	1761	T3P	HopkF CPT
		(Treble-led: 2 voices)	1787	(Ancient: 4, 3, and 2 voices)	1763	1763
			(Ancient: 2 and 4 voices)		(Ancient: 3 voices)	(Treble-led: 3 voices)
ROCHESTER/ST. MICHAEL'S	967a	—	X	X: ST. MICHAEL'S TUNE	—	—
*SHIPHAM	4643	X	X	—	—	—
ST. JAMES'S	582a	X	X	—	—	X
ST. MATTHEW'S	669a	X	—	X	—	—
WILLINGTON	2770	—	X	X	X	—
WIRKSWORTH/AYLESBURY	848b	X: WIRKSWORTH	X: ALESBURY/WIRKSWORTH	X: WIRKSWORTH	X: WIRKSWORTH	—

**Source Abbreviations**

**CCM 2:** *A Collection of Church Music. 1787. Number II.* Philadelphia: Young & McCulloch, 1787.

**HopkF CPT:** Francis Hopkinson, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes with a few Anthems and Hymns. Some of them Entirely New for the Use of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia.* [Philadelphia]: 1763.

**LyonJ U:** James Lyon, *Urania, a choice collection of psalm-tunes, anthems, and hymns.* Philadelphia: Henry Dawkins, [1761].

**SP TSPHBCP:** *Tunes, Suited to the Psalms and Hymns of the Book of Common Prayer.* Philadelphia: Hall & Sellers for the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1786.

**T3P:** *Tunes in Three Parts, for the Several Metres in Dr. Watts's Version of the Psalms.* Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1763.

Table 11.1 (continued)

Table 11.2. Benjamin Carr's A Collection of Chants & Tunes for the use of Episcopal Churches, in the city of Philadelphia (Philadelphia: For the editor, [1816]) and relative influential Episcopalian and Nonconformist/Methodist source material

Tune Name	HTI#	English Sources			Middle Atlantic Sources		
		SHVH c. 1790	MillE WPH 1800	MillW DH 1803	SP TSPHBCP 1786	CarrB SH c. 1805	AitkJ ACDM1 1806
ASHLEY	3662a	X	X	—	—	—	X
AYLESBURY	848b	—	X: WIRKSWORTH	—	X: WIRKS- WORTH	X	X
BEDFORD	930a	—	X	X	X	—	X
BREWER	8182	—	X	—	—	—	—
BRODSWORTH	2254	—	—	—	—	—	X
BRUNSWICK: BASED ON THE AIR 'SIN NOT, O KING' FROM HANDEL'S <i>SAUL</i> (1738).	1994c	—	—	—	—	—	X - b
CANTERBURY	250h	—	—	—	X	—	—
EVENING HYMN	246f	X	X	X	—	—	X: SUFFOLK
FALCON STREET	4091a	X	X	X	—	X: HYMN	X
ISLINGTON	1655a	X: KLINGTON	—	X	—	—	X
LONDON NEW	497b	—	X: LONDON	—	—	—	—
MARTINS LANE	4470b	—	—	—	—	—	X
MEAR	909b	—	—	—	X	—	—
MOUNT PLEASANT	5178	—	—	X	—	—	—
NEW YORK	2042b	—	X: WHITTON	X: CHIMES	—	—	X
OLD YORK	331c	—	—	—	—	—	X
OPORTO	6979d	—	—	—	—	X: THE PORTU- GUESE HYMN	—
<b>PHILADELPHIA</b> BY FRANCIS HOPKINSON	11350	—	—	—	—	—	X
PORTUGAL	3965a	—	X	—	—	—	X
PSALM 100, OLD	143a	—	X	X	X	—	—
PSALM 149/HANOVER	657a	X: HANOVER	X: PSALM 104, OLD	X	X: PSALM 149	—	—
<b>PSALM 50/ST. MARK'S</b> BY PETER VALTON	4641	—	—	—	X: PSALM 50	—	X: VALTON

Tune Name	HTI#	English Sources			Middle Atlantic Sources		
		SHVH c. 1790	MillE WPH 1800	MillW DH 1803	SP TSPHBCP 1786	CarrB SH c. 1805	AitkJ ACDM1 1806
*SAXONY - EXTRACTED FROM THE AIR 'I KNOW THAT MY REDEEMER LIVETH' FROM HANDEL'S ORATORIO <i>MESSIAH</i> (1742).	3510l	—	—	X - f: COLNE	—	—	X - b: MESSIAH
SHIRLAND	7866b	—	—	X	—	—	—
SICILY	6141g	—	X: SICILIAN MARINERS	—	—	X: THE SICILIAN HYMN	—
ST. ANN'S	664a	—	X	—	—	X	X
ST. JAMES'S	582a	—	—	X	X	—	X
ST. MARTIN'S	1929	—	—	—	—	X	X
SURRY	1034b	X: CUMBERLAND	—	—	—	—	X
WATCHMAN	6812	—	—	—	—	—	—
WELLS	975a	—	—	—	—	X	X
WESTON FAVEL	1504b	X	X	X	—	—	X
WINDSOR	271a	—	X	X: OLD WINDSOR	—	X	X
ZION	3503	—	X: DARWELLS PSALM 148	—	—	—	—

### Source Abbreviations

**AitkJ ACDM1:** Aitken, John. *Aitken's Collection of Divine Music. Consisting of psalms, hymns, chants & anthems. For one, two, three & four voice organ & pianaforte.* Philadelphia: John Aitken, 1806.

**CarrB SH:** Benjamin(?) Carr, *Sacred Harmony: a Selection of Airs, duos, trios &c.* Philadelphia: Carr & Schetky, (c. 1805).

**MillE WPH:** Dr. Edward Miller. *Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns, set to new music.* London: For the author, [1800].

**MillW DH:** William Edward Miller, *David's Harp.* London: R. Lomas, (c. 1803).

**SHVH:** *Select Hymns for the Voice and Harpsichord.* London: J. Carr, (ca.1790).

**SP TSPHBCP:** *Tunes, Suited to the Psalms and Hymns of the Book of Common Prayer.* Philadelphia: Hall & Sellers for the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1786.



Table 11.3 Compositional genres for works in Benjamin Carr's Sacred Harmony. A Selection of Airs, Duos, Trios & c. Arranged for the Organ, Piano Forte, or Harp (Philadelphia, [1805])

Strophic Hymns		Set Pieces, Anthems, and other Extended Choral Works			Oratorio Arias
Anglican/ Catholic	Nonconformist/Dissenter	Anglican Cathedral Anthems	Nonconformist/Dissenter Set Pieces	Non-Specified Extended Choral Works	
1. <b>HYMN [HYMN TO ST. AUGUSTINE]</b> B[enjamin]. Carr "Great Jehovah God of glory." Solo song and choral amen at the end of the last verse (3 voices) with organ accompaniment.	1. HYMN [FALCON STREET] [Isaac Smith - Independent and clerk at the Alie Street Meeting House, Stepney, London] "Come sound his praise abroad." Solo with antiphonal chorus (3 voices), with keyboard accompaniment.	1. ACQUAINT THYSELF WITH GOD Dr. [Maurice] Greene "Acquaint thyself with God and be at peace with him." Anthem, solo and duet with keyboard accompaniment.	1. ANTHEM FOR EASTER [CHESHUNT] Dr. [Samuel] Arnold. "Our Lord is risen from the dead." Set Piece, chorus (3 voices) and duet with organ accompaniment.	1. <b>ANTHEM FOR CHRISTMAS</b> Selected and Arranged from Different Authors by B: Carr (Handel, Corelli, Haydn). "There were shepherds abiding in the field." Quodlibet anthem, chorus (3 voices) and solos with keyboard accompaniment.	1. ANGELS EVER BRIGHT AND FAIR [from <i>Theodora</i> ] Handel "Angels ever bright and fair." Solo with keyboard accompaniment.
2. <b>HYMN FOR WHITSUNDAY</b> B[enjamin]: Carr "Spirit Creator of Mankind." Plain tune, chorus (3 voices) with organ accompaniment.	2. HYMN [HOTHAM] [Rev. Martin Madan] "Jesu Saviour of my soul." Solo or duet with organ or harp accompaniment.	2. ANTHEM HEAR MY PRAY'R [James] Kent [(1700- 1776)]. "Hear my pray'r O God." Anthem, chorus, and duets and solos (3 voices) with keyboard accompaniment.	2. <b>GRATEFUL NOTES</b> [Based on the "Magdalen Ode" published first in <i>The Hymns Anthems and Tunes with the Ode used at the Magdalen Chapel.</i> (Book I). London: Henry Thorowgood, (c.1766). This arrangement is based on John Aitken, of Philadelphia. <i>A Compilation of the Litanies Vespers Hymns &amp; Anthems as they are sung in the Catholic Church.</i> (Philadelphia, 1787) and adapted by Carr (?). "Grateful notes and numbers bring." Set piece, chorus (3 voices) with keyboard accompaniment.	2. <b>CHORUS</b> R[ayner]. Taylor "Praise ye the Lord praise the name of the Lord." Chorus, chorus (3 voices) with keyboard accompaniment.	2. BUT THOU DIDST NOT LEAVE [from <i>Messiah</i> ] Handel "But thou didst not leave his soul in hell." Solo with keyboard accompaniment.
3. <b>PORTUGUESE HYMN, THE</b> "Adeste fideles; Hither ye faithful." Solo and chorus (3 voices) with keyboard accompaniment.	3. HYMN [STEPNEY] R[ayner]. Taylor "Hark how the watchmen cry." Fuging tune, chorus (3 voices) with organ accompaniment (Trumpet Stop specified in text) (+symphonies).	3. ANTHEM MY SONG SHALL BE OF MERCY AND JUDGMENT [James] Kent. "My Song shall be of mercy and judgment." Solo anthem, voice with organ accompaniment (Trumpet Stop).	3. HYMN [DENMARK] Revd. Dr. [Martin] Madan. "Before Jehovah's awful throne." Set piece, chorus (3 voices) with organ accompaniment.	3. <b>HYMN</b> Pleyel, [Arr. Carr (?)] "Children of the heav'nly King." Hymn anthem, chorus (3 voices) and duet with keyboard accompaniment (+interludes between verses).	3. FAREWELL OF JEPHTHA'S DAUGHTER, THE [from <i>Jephtha</i> ] Handel "Ye sacred Priests whose hands." Solo with keyboard accompaniment.
4. SICILIAN HYMN, THE "O Sanctissima O Purissima." Plain tune, chorus (3 voices) with organ accompaniment.	4. PSALM XCV [LIMEHOUSE] R[ayner]: Taylor "O come loud anthems let us sing." Chorus (3 parts) with organ accompaniment (+symphonies).	4. DUETT Revd. Dr. [W.] Blake. "Thou shalt shew me the path of life." Anthem (?), duet with keyboard accompaniment.			4. I KNOW THAT MY REDEEMER LIVETH [from <i>Messiah</i> ] Handel "I know that my Redeemer liveth." Solo with keyboard accompaniment.
					5. OH HAD I JUBAL'S LYRE [from <i>Josua</i> ] Handel "Oh had I Jubals Lyre." Solo with keyboard accompaniment.
					6. PIOUS ORGIES [from <i>Judas Maccabaens</i> ] Handel "Pious Orgies Pious Airs." Solo with keyboard accompaniment.
					7. PRAISE THE LORD [from <i>Esther</i> ] Handel "Praise the Lord with chearful noise." Solo with organ or harp accompaniment.
					8. PRAISE THE LORD [from <i>Esther</i> ] Handel "Praise the Lord with chearful noise." Solo with organ or harp accompaniment.
					9. TOTAL ECLIPSE SAMSON'S LAMENTATION FOR THE LOSS OF SIGHT [from <i>Samson</i> ] Handel "Total eclipse no sun no moon." Solo with keyboard accompaniment.

Note: all editorial additions to the table are enclosed in brackets.

Title	Composer/Musical Source	Author of Text	Performer	Venue/Category/Nationality	First Line - text	Original Date/Source
AH! DELIA	Composed by Dr. G[eorge] K[nowil] Jackson [(1757-1822)]	—	—	domestic - United States	"Ah! Delia see the fatal hour"	c. 1800
AH! WHAT IS THE BOSOM'S COMMOTION IN THE ROMANCE OF THE FORTY THIEVES	Comp'd by Mich[ae]l Kelly [(1762-1826)]	—	—	theatrical: <i>The Forty Thieves</i> - England	"Ah! what is the bossoms commotion"	1806
AIR BY ABEL	[Carl Friedrich Abel (1723-1787)]	—	—	instrumental tune - England	—	—
AIR IN ROSINA	[Stephen] (Paxton) [(1734-1787)]	—	—	theatrical: <i>Rosina</i> - England	"The morn returns in Saffron drest but not to sad Rosina rest"	1782
AMERICAN SERENADE	Composed by Dr. G. K. Jackson. of New York.	The Words written by Mrs. Jackson	—	domestic - United States	"Bring your Vows to Cupids Shrine,"	c. 1800
ARETHUSA, THE	[William Shield (1748-1829)]	—	—	theatrical: <i>Lock and Key</i> - England	Come all ye jolly Sailors Bold whose hearts are cast in Honours mold"	1796
BABBLING ECHO. OR THE REQUEST	[George Joseph] Vogler [(1749-1814)]	—	—	domestic - Germany	"Tell me Babbling Eccho why, you return me sigh for sigh"	c. 1785
BANISH GRIEF	—	—	—	instrumental tune - England	—	—
BONNY BROOM, THE	Comp'd by Mr. [Thomas Augustine] Arne [(1710-1778)]	—	—	concert: pleasure garden - England	"How blyth was I each Morn to see"	1751
CALIDONIAN MAID!, THE	Composed by J[ohn]. Moulds	Written by Peter Pinder Esqr. [Pindar]	—	domestic - England	"Oh say have you my Mary seen"	1795
CANZONET	By Cha[rle]s Neate [(1784-1877)]	—	—	domestic - England	"Love's a joy melting sorrow a pleasure that brings a hope"	1805
CAST AWAY CARE	(Welsh Bards p 175.) [Edward Jones] JoneEM MPRWB	—	—	traditional: instrumental tune - Welsh	—	1794
COME TO BATTLE	JoneEM MPRWB	—	—	traditional - Welsh	"Sons of Cam'bria Come to Battle"	1794
COOLUN. A FAVORITE IRISH AIR	—	—	—	traditional - Irish	"O the hours I have pass'd in the arms of my Dear"	
COTTAGE IN THE GROVE, THE	Composed by Mr. [James] Hook [(1746-1827)]	—	—	concert: pleasure garden - England	"Now wanton gales perfume the glade,"	1796
DAWN OF HOPE, THE	set by Dr. Arne	—	—	domestic - England	"A Dawn of Hope my Soul revive & banishes despair"	c. 1750
DOWN BY YON BANK	compos'd by J[ohn] Braham [(1774-1856)]	the words by T. Dibdin	Sung by Mrs. Woodham in Thirty Thousand	theatrical: <i>Thirty Thousand or Who's the Richest?</i> - England	"Oh! I first saw the youth who to me came a wooing"	1805
FAITHLESS EMMA	Composed by Dr. [John] Stevenson [(1761-1833)]	—	—	concert - England/Anglo-Ireland	"I wandr'd once at break of day,"	1803
FAVORITE SONG	set by Mr. [James] Oswald [(1710-1769)]	—	—	theatrical: <i>The Reprisal</i> - English	"From the Man whom I love tho my Heart I disguise"	1757

Table 11.4. Secular pieces in "For The Lute," Manuscript copybook of songs, hymns, and instrumental pieces for voice and harp-lute-guitar. Charleston (?), South Carolina, c. 1810

Title	Composer/Musical Source	Author of Text	Performer	Venue/Category/Nationality	First Line - text	Original Date/Source
FAVORITE SONG IN THE WEDDING DAY, A	by J[ohn]. Ambrose	—	—	theatrical: <i>The Wedding Day</i> - England	"In the dead of the Night when with labour oppress'd,"	1794
FAVOURITE SCOTCH SONG, A	—	—	—	traditional - Scottish	"'Twas within a mile of Edinborough town, in the rosy time of the year,"	—
FAVOURITE SONG, A	Composed by Mr. Hook	—	—	concert: pleasure garden (?) - England	"Young Will of the green is the Lad to my mind"	c. 1800
FEMME SENSIBLE	[Etienne-Nicolas Méhul (1763-1817)]	—	—	theatrical: <i>Ariodant</i> - French	"Femme sensible entend Aule ramage"	1799
GRAMACHREE MOLLY. A FAVOURITE IRISH AIR.	—	—	—	traditional - Irish	"As down on Bannas banks I stray'd one evning in May"	—
HAUNCH OF VENISON. A FAVORITE RONDO, THE	by Sigr. [Tommaso] Giordani [(ca.1730-1806)]	—	—	domestic - England	"Now we mighty men of London, croud around the Festive Board,"	1779
JEW PEDLAR, THE	—	—	—	concert (?) - United States	"Ben I vash a mighty little Poy"	—
JEW PIG, THE	—	—	—	concert (?) - United States	"Vatch de matter cood folksh dat you pash your jokesh"	—
JULIET TO THE WOOD ROBIN	comp'd by [Reginald] Spofforth [(1769-1827)]	—	—	domestic - England	"Stay sweet enchanter of the grove"	c. 1800
JUST LIKE LOVE	Composed by John Davy [(1763-1824)]	the words translated from Cameones	—	concert - England	"Just like Love is yonder Rose"	1804
LADY OWEN'S FAVOURITE	(See Jones's Welsh Bards p. 167.) JoneEM MPRWB	—	—	traditional: instrumental tune - Welsh	—	1794
LISTEN TO THE VOICE OF LOVE	(Hook)	—	—	concert: pleasure garden - England	"Oh! Listen Listen to the Voice of Love"	c. 1795
LIVE LONG NIGHT, THE [ARHY DI NOS]	JoneEM MPRWB	—	—	traditional - Welsh	"Fain would some with vows persuade me,"	1794
MAID OF LODI, THE	[William Shield]	—	—	domestic - England	"I'll sing the Maid of Lodi, who sweetly sung to me"	c. 1798
MARCH IN HENRY THE 4TH	[Jean-Paul Gilles Martini (1741-1816)]	—	—	instrumental tune - French	—	1774
MARMOTTE, LA	—	—	—	domestic - France (?)	"Le guittar la Mortagne"	c. 1800
MORVA RHYDDLAN. (THE MARSH OF RHUDDLAN)	for this Tune & variations. see Jones's Welsh Bards page 143. 2nd edition JoneEM MPRWB	—	—	traditional - Welsh	"Fair on old Havrens bank, The modest violet blooms,"	1794
MY PHILLIDA. A FAVOURITE ARIETTE	[Miss Melish]	—	—	domestic - England	"My Phillida adieu love forevermore farewell"	1795
NEGRO AND BUCKRA MAN [JACK OF GUINEA]	Written by T[homas] Dibdin [(1771-1841)] & Respectfully Dedicated to the Ad Libitum Society	—	—	concert - England	"Great way off at Sea when at hom I beence"	1805
NEW YEAR'S NIGHT	(See Welsh Bards p 159.) JoneEM MPRWB	—	—	traditional - Welsh	"Oh! how soft my Fair one's bosom!"	1794
NIGHTINGALE. A BALLAD, THE	by Mr. [William] Jackson [Exeter (1730-1803)]	[George Dyer]	—	domestic - England	"Sweet Songstress that unseen unknown,"	(?)

Title	Composer/Musical Source	Author of Text	Performer	Venue/Category/Nationality	First Line - text	Original Date/Source
NOBODY COMING TO MARRY ME	Thomas Cooke [(1782-1848)]	—	—	concert - Anglo-Ireland	"When I was a smart young girl of fifteen or sixteen years old"	1805
NUT BROWN MAID, THE	Comp'd by Mr. [Samuel] Howard [(1710-1782)]	—	—	domestic - England	"Twas in the bloom of May"	1750
O EVER IN MY BOSOM LIVE. IN OSCAR & MALVINA. A DUETTE SUNG BY SANDY & JENNY	[William Reeve (1757-1815)]	—	—	theatrical: <i>Osacar and Malvina</i> - England	"O ever in my Bosom live thou source of endless pleasure"	1791
OF NOBLE RACE WAS SHENKIN	JoneEM MPRWB	—	—	traditional: instrumental tune - Wales	—	—
OH! NO MY LOVE! NO!	[Michael Kelly]	—	—	theatrical: <i>Of Age To Morrow</i> - England	"While I hang on your Bosom distracted to lose you"	1800
OWEN A FAVOURITE WELSH AIR	—	—	—	traditional - Welsh	"Tho far beyond the mountains that look so distant here"	c. 1800
PIPE DE TABAC. A CELEBRATED FRENCH AIR, LA	Composed by M.P. Gaveaux [Pierre Gaveaux (1761-1825)]	the English Words Written by Mr. Winter	—	domestic - France	1. "Contre les chagrin de la vie" 2. "Why should life in sorrow be spent"	c. 1800
POOR EMMA	—	—	—	domestic - United States	"Keen Blew the Blast the night unkind"	c. 1802
ROSLIN CASTLE	—	—	—	traditional - Scottish	"'Twas in the season of the year when all thing's gay and sweet appear"	—
SEQUEL TO THE POPULAR BALLAD OF THE BEAUTIFUL MAID, A SINCE THEN I'M DOOMD	composed by an Amateure. & dedicated to Mr. Braham.	the words by A Lady of Fashion.	—	domestic - England	"There's no Lilley on Earth half so fair, Nor Rose with rich colour array'd"	c. 1803
SISTER RUTH	Composed by Mr Hook.	the Poetry by Mr Cherry.	Sung by Mrs. Mountain in Lifes Masqurade or Fortunes Wheel in Motion	theatrical: <i>The Spoiled Child</i> - England theatrical: <i>Life's Masquerade or Fortunes Wheel in Motion</i> - England	"Since then I'm doom'd this sad reverse to prove," "Sister Ruth once a Quaker so coy and so prim,"	c. 1765 1804
SONG IN CONGREVE'S COMEDY OF LOVE FOR LOVE	Composed by John Eccles [(ca. 1668-1735)]	—	—	theatrical: <i>Love for Love</i> - England	"A soldier and a sailor a tinker and a taylor"	1695
SONG.	Written by King Charles 2nd. see Hawkins's Hist. of Music 5th Vol page [Hawkins, John. <i>A General History of the Science and Practice of Music</i> , vol. 5. London: T. Payne and Son, 1776.]	—	—	domestic - England	"I pass all my hours in a shady old Grove,"	1776
SONG. SELECTED FROM THE FLITCH OF BACON	Compos'd by Sigr. [Johann Christian] Bach [(1735-1782)]	—	—	theatrical: <i>The Flitch of Bacon</i> - England	"Banish grief thou lovely creature"	1778

Title	Composer/Musical Source	Author of Text	Performer	Venue/Category/Nationality	First Line - text	Original Date/Source
SOUTH CAROLINA HYMN	[Jacob Eckhard (?) (1757-1833)]	—	—	domestic or concert - United States	"Columbia's Sons do greet the Sound"	c. 1810
STRANGER THINK ME NOT TOO BOLD	[Thomas Dibdin]	—	—	theatrical: <i>Il Bondoncari</i> - England	"Stranger think me not too Bold"	c. 1800
SYLVIA	Set to Music by Mr. Arne	—	—	concert: pleasure garden - England	"Sylvia wilt thou wast thy Prime"	1751
TINK A TINK	[Michael Kelly]	—	—	theatrical: <i>Blue Beard</i> - England	"Yes, Beda - Thus, Beda, when I melancholy grow"	c. 1798
TOM TRUE=LOVE'S KNELL	Composed by Mr. [Charles] Dibdin [(1745-1814)]	—	—	concert - England	"Tom True love woo'd the sweet Fair"	1795
[VOI AMANTE] AS SUNG IN LOVE IN A VILLIAGE	[Felice de] (Giardini) [(1716-1796)]	—	—	theatrical: <i>Love in a Village</i> - England	"Cupid God of soft persuasion take the helpless Lover's past,"	1762
VOI AMANTE OR RONDEAU	Composed by Sigr. D. Giardini	—	sung by Signora Mattei, in the Opera of Antigona [Colomba Mattei]	theatrical: <i>Antigona</i> - England	1. "Dearest Creature of all Nature" 2. "Voi Amante, che vedete"	1760
WERTER'S SONNET	[Anne Harrison Cantelo]	—	—	concert - England	"Make thou my Tomb beneath the Lime tree shade,"	1788
WHEN PENSIVE I THOUGHT ON MY LOVE	by Micheal Kelly	—	—	theatrical: <i>Blue Beard</i> - England	"When pensive I thought on my Love,"	c. 1798
WHY DOES AZURE DECK THE SKY	Composed by R. Humfrey	written by T. Moore	—	domestic - England	"Why does azure deck the Sky. 'Tis to be like thy Eyes of Blue"	c. 1807
WILL YOU COME TO THE BOW'R		words by T. Moore	—	domestic - Anglo-Ireland	"Will you come to the bow'r I have shaded for you,"	1798
WILLOW, THE	(Braham)	[Thomas Dibdin]	—	domestic - England	"Oh take me to your arms my Love."	c. 1800
WILT THOU SAY FAREWELL LOVE	[Thomas Moore (1779-1852)]	—	—	domestic - Anglo-Ireland	"Wilt thou say farewell Love, & from Rosa part"	c. 1806

#### Source Abbreviation

**JoneE MPRWB:** Jones, Edward. *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards: preserved, by tradition and authentic manuscripts, from very remote antiquity; never before published. To the bardic tunes are added Variations for the harp, harpsichord, violin, or flute: with a select collection of the pennillion and englynion. or, epigrammatic stanzas, poetical blossoms, and pastoral songs, of Wales, with English translations. Likewise, a general history of the bards and druids, from the earliest period to the present time: with an account of their music and poetry, to which is prefixed, a copious dissertation on the musical instruments of the aboriginal Britons.* New ed. London: for the author, 1794.

Table 11.5 Sacred pieces in "For The Lute," (Charleston (?), South Carolina, c. 1810) and contemporary Charleston Episcopalian source material

Key: Boldface type = American-composed, arranged, or adapted.

\* - Tune or variant unique to this source

^ - Tune or variant unique to Charleston. Also found in: Eckhard, Jacob. *Jacob Eckhard's Choirmaster's Book of 1809: a facsimile with introduction and notes*. George W. Williams, ed. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1971.

‡ - Tune or variant unique to Charleston. Also found in: Eckhard, Jacob. *Choral Book, containing psalms, hymns, anthems and chants, used in the Episcopal Church of Charleston, South Carolina; and a collection of tunes, adapted to the metres in the Hymn-Book, published by order of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the State of New York. The whole a selection for the service of all protestant churches in America*. Boston: James Loring, for the Author [1816].

Tune Name	Composer Attribution in Source	Corrected Composer Attribution	Tune Incipit - line 1	Tune Incipit - line 2	Text Attribution in Source	Text Incipit	Source of Text	Denominational Association of Tune
HUNDRED PSALM	by Martin Luther [sic]	—	11d765u123	33321432	—	With one consent, let all the	Tate and Brady	None
<b>139 PSALM. FIRST PART.*</b>	(Valton) [sic]	Henry Carey	54(3)61(d7)u14(3)2(34)4(3)	3245d5u1(d7)65	—	Thou, Lord, by strictest search hast	Tate and Brady	Calvinist Dissenter and Nonconformist
139 PSALM 2ND PART.	(Valton) [sic]	Thomas Call, organist of Magdalen Chapel	7u1(d5)66(5)43(2)15	5(4)3(2)15(67u1)21(d7)65	—	If I the Morning wings could	Tate and Brady	Nonconformist
149 PSALM	Handle	—	5u1124(3)3(45)3(1)3(2)1(d7)u1	23211(d7)u13(2)1(d7)6(5)5	—	Oh! praise ye the Lord, prepare	Tate and Brady	None
<b>BEXLY ^‡</b>	—	—	11(d7)65(4)34(32)15	56(7)u12(1)d7u1	—	When Heaven thy Beauteous work on	Tate and Brady	Anglican and Nonconformist
<b>CHRIST CHURCH*</b>	—	—	11(5)34(6)56(u21)d7u1	d5u1(d76)56(5)45	145th Psalm	Thee I'll extol my God and	Tate and Brady	Anglican
<b>HARCOURT ^‡</b>	—	—	13(4)56(7)u1d7(65)45	56(54)34(3)23	—	How vast must their advantage be	Tate and Brady	Anglican
HYMN FOR EASTER	—	—	133(45)144(56)6(5)	3(4514)3(456)3(2)1	—	Christ the Lord is ris'n today	—	Anglican and Nonconformist - version taken from Butts
<b>MOUNT EPHRAIM*</b>	—	—	13(2)15(4)31	u1d7(6)5u2(1d7)65	67th of David. for 2. 3. 4. & 5 Versis. see page 69.	To bless thy chosen race, In	Tate and Brady	Calvinist Nonconformist
<b>ST. MICHAEL'S ^</b>	Valton	—	13(2)1543(2)11(d7)	7u123(4)54(3)23	137th Psalm	When we our weary limbs to	Tate and Brady	Anglican
<b>ST. PAUL'S *</b>	(P. Valton)	—	13(2)11(d7)u1423	33(2)31(d7)67	the 9th Psalm of David	To celebrate thy prais, O Lord!	Tate and Brady	Anglican
<b>ST. PHILIP'S *</b>	(Valton)	—	15(4)33(21d7)6u6(54)3(2)4(3)	3251d7u3(65)45	the 101st of David	Of Mercy's never-failing spring, & steadfast	Tate and Brady	Anglican

## Chapter 12. Traditional and Popular Movements Emanating from Southern New England and the Connecticut River Valley

In August of 1769, an unnamed resident of the town of G—l—d [Guilford?], Connecticut wrote a scathing and thinly disguised metaphoric editorial that attacked the village's former Presbyterian minister. Apparently, he was not the first clergyman to desert this church, being described as but

another Shepherd lately deserted, or run away from his Flock without Leave or Licence, either from his own, or the Flocks of the Circuit with which he was consociated, having nothing to keep him in Countenance but the Advice of Seven of his Brethren and the concurring Yelps of Four of their Spaniels. When he come to them, he had neither Crook, Shoes, nor Script, nor two Coats — but soon cloathed and warmed himself with their Fleeces, and very soon became a Listener to the Bleatings of other Flocks, and nothing would stop their Din, from his Ears, but to stuff them with the Fleeces of his own Purchase. He may be found in the Cool of the Evening rolling in his Chaise, wich his c[h]arming Shepherdess clad on when he went away, a large *Presbyterian* Cloak, somewhat soil'd with a Full bottom'd Wigg, and five or six Hundred Pounds of Fleece from his Flock. Whoever shall secure him, or set him over a Herd of Goats, till his Master's Will shall be known; no doubt when the flocks are gathered together will meet with an ample Reward.<sup>1</sup>

Patterned after a runaway slave notice, the writer of the editorial constructed a metaphor of the minister as shepherd to describe the church's plight. The congregation under this shepherd must have belonged to one of the older and more prominent churches in the area,

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<sup>1</sup> *The Connecticut Journal, and New-Haven Post-Boy*, August 18, 1769, Number 96.

as it was part of a consociation of churches, unique to Connecticut's church governance system as established by the Saybrook Platform of 1708. In addition, the use of the term "Full bottom'd Wigg" connoted the conservative nature of the minister by the use of an old-fashioned piece of headwear. As such, this event must have caused much social damage among fellow churches within the consociation. This writer's vengeful ardor most likely expressed the frustration felt by many other members of the congregation.

The following week, the minister in question fired back an acerbic response that placed the blame not on himself, but one particularly virulent individual: the author of the original editorial. Equating him with a dog, the minister created a similar metaphor that bespoke uniquely to people who understood sacred music traditions among English Presbyterians along the Long Island Sound. His trope would only have resonated fully among residents of the region. Framed as an advertisement for a singing master, he proclaimed

*[A]hat the Art of Barking is taught by Toby Ramshorn, Bell weather of the Flock at G—l—d. It is unnecessary to expaciate on the Benefits arising from this noble art; let it suffice that the Flock in G—l—d, under the Instructions and Directions of old Toby, have regained their Liberty, driving away their Shepherd, and are now barking at him after he is gone. Old Toby, instructs, at the lowest Price, in all the various Ways of Barking, teaches to bark by Note, both Treble, Tenor and Bass, and is preparing a Treatise upon the Subject of Barking. He proposes for Ready Money, to bark either for Religion or Liberty, or against them; and will bark gratis, monthly, for public Good. He at present bears the Bell in the Flock at G—l—d, which is a fine Flock though we must confess very much hide-bound. A Specimen of his Skill in Barking, may be seen in the last Paper. If any Man, Dog, Wolf, Sheep, or any other Kind of Animal, desires to be instructed in this noble*



*Art, let him repair to aforesaid Toby, who with all possible Cheapness and Diligence will teach him the Exercise of the Windpipe.*<sup>2</sup>

In this instance the minister did not equate barking with singing, but rather the blathering of a simple-minded vociferous naysayer. However, he did equate Toby's ramblings with that of a singing master.

The musical language employed by the writer demonstrated his knowledge of English Presbyterian practice. His conceit described three-part ancient-style practice of treble, tenor, and bass. Manuscript source material from the 1750s revealed these same exact trends, with several examples apparently originating from along the Long Island Sound. The use of three-part harmony employing the traditional English Presbyterian form of the ancient style distinguished this description most prominently from the regular singing movement among Congregationalists in northern coastal Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Further, as a presumed conservative church, the use of these voice assignments suggests the longstanding nature of this type of expression within the denomination and community. Using local denominational traditions to convey his point, the minister demonstrated his viability to his regional community.

Although accounting for some regional variation in textual considerations,<sup>3</sup> earlier musicological studies of New England psalmody characterized New England as a mostly like-minded single region.<sup>4</sup> However, musical practice in Connecticut and within the

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<sup>2</sup> *The Connecticut Journal, and New-Haven Post-Boy*, August 25, 1769, Number 97.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Benes, "Psalmody in coastal Massachusetts and in the Connecticut River Valley," in *The Bay and the River: 1600-1900* (Boston: Boston University, 1982).

<sup>4</sup> Richard Crawford, "Connecticut Sacred Music Imprints, 1778-1810," *Notes* 27, 3 (March 1971): 445-52; 27, 4 (June 1971): 671-79; David Warren Steel, "Sacred Music in Early Winchester," *The Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin*, 45, 2 (Hartford, Ct.: April, 1980): 33-44; Ruth Mack Wilson, with Kate Van Winkle Keller, *Connecticut's Music in the Revolutionary Era*, Connecticut Bicentennial Series, 31 (Hartford, Ct.: American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Connecticut, 1980); Crawford, "Massachusetts Musicians and the Core

Connecticut River Valley deviated distinctly from northern coastal New England. As with coastal Massachusetts Congregationalists, consociated Calvinists in Hartford cultivated their own tradition of regular singing beginning in the 1720s.<sup>5</sup> However, this tradition was that practiced by English Presbyterians, sharing more similarities with the Middle Atlantic than other parts of New England.

When the Anglican ancient-style reform movement started to influence Connecticut practice in the late 1760s and 1770s, two streams of ancient-style expression became manifest in southern and western New England. The older traditional style consisted of mostly three and two-part settings of older spiritual songs, contrafacta, and folk hymns as well as psalm and hymn tunes. The newer popular style sprang from the social-sacred ventures of William Tuckey in New York, and Daniel Bayley and William Billings in Massachusetts. Rather than the popular ancient style replacing the anachronistic treble-led seventeenth-century expression typical of Congregationalists, musicians in Connecticut embraced both stylistic influences of ancient expression. As a result, ancient-style psalmody flourished both as a traditional and popular art. The traditional practice remained tied to regional English Presbyterians and other Calvinist congregations. The popular style transcended specific denominational affiliation, instead functioning as much for social-sacred entertainment and amusement as for music suitable for performance by choirs in regional churches and meetinghouses.

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Repertory of Early American Psalmody,” *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630–1820*, v. 2, *Music in Homes and in Churches*, ed. Barbara Lambert (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985): 583–629.

<sup>5</sup> Timothy Woodbridge, *The Duty of God's Professing People in Glorifying their Heavenly Father, Preached at a Singing-Lecture in Hartford East Society, June 28, 1727* (New London: T. Green, 1727); Nathaniel Chauncey, *Regular Singing Defended and proved to be the Only True Way of Singing the songs of the Lord* (New London, Ct.: T. Green, 1728).

Both the traditional and popular forms of the ancient style flourished throughout Connecticut, Rhode Island, and western and central Massachusetts from the Late Colonial to the Early Nationalist periods. In its traditional form, ancient-style music remained tied to its theological-denominational affiliation. As a popular style of music, social-sacred ancient-style psalmody was practiced by all denominations within the area, ranging from Calvinists to Anglicans. However, rather than an Anglicanization of the Calvinist style, the sources of influence did not disseminate principally via regional Anglican musicians and publishers. Instead, members of all denominations practiced this style and freely embraced each other's compositions, culminating in pan-denominational tune collections. Ancient-style music enjoyed a wider array of community and denominational expression and involvement than encountered in coastal northern New England.

### **12.1 Theological climate and the influence of the First Great Awakening**

Although churches throughout the state experienced the same tempestuous argument between the method of lining out and regular singing, their expression differed markedly from each other. In particular, the effects of the First Great Awakening resonated more broadly among congregants in southern and western New England. Initiatives by area ministers such as Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) in Northampton, Massachusetts, as well as the activities of George Whitefield during his initial preaching tour of the Connecticut River Valley helped foster a more enthusiastic religious atmosphere. Not surprisingly, Edwards served as pastor to both Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches. More to the point, he expounded the virtues of saving grace, imbuing traditional New England Calvinism with a new sense of salvation. Beginning in the 1730s with writings such as *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton, and the*

*Neighbouring Towns and Villages of New-Hampshire in New-England* (London, 1737), he preached that the idea of a revelatory sense of grace brought on a "new light" to a congregant, bringing them to an elevated state of being.<sup>6</sup> This divine light brought about

[a] true sense of the divine Excellency of the things revealed in the Word of GOD, and a conviction of the truth and reality of them, thence arising.

THIS *spiritual Light* primarily consists in the form of these, *viz.* a real sense and apprehension of the divine Excellency of things revealed in the Word of GOD. A spiritual and saving Conviction of the truth and reality of these things, arises from such a sight of their divine Excellency and Glory; so that this Conviction of their truth is an effect and natural consequence of this sight of their divine Glory.<sup>7</sup>

It comprised two parts: a "sense of the divinity and excellency of the things of faith" and "a conviction of the truth of divine things." This revelatory atmosphere found favor among area Calvinists as well as Nonconformists who embraced the form of Calvinist Anglicanism espoused by George Whitefield.

The effects of the First Great Awakening and its central tenet of the conversion experience continued to influence the religious climate of southern New England well into the 1770s. The idea of instantaneous conversion formed a common religious and literary trope among regional churchgoers, such as one anonymous testimonial appearing in the May 7, 1771 issue of the *Connecticut Courant* of Hartford. Employing the typical format of the repentant Christian, he used the editorial as a warning for other unrepentant sinners who strayed from the path of righteousness:

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<sup>6</sup> Ava Chamberlain, "Self-Deception as a Theological Problem in Jonathan Edwards's "Treatise concerning Religious Affections," *Church History*, 63, 4 (December, 1994): 541-543.

<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Edwards, "*A Divine and Supernatural Light, Immediately imparted to the Soul by the Spirit of God, Shown to be both a Scriptural, and Rational Doctrine*" (Boston: S. Kneeland and T. Green, 1734), 10.

What makes me willing to hold up my conduct to public view, is, that others may see their own faces in my glass, and that the shameful accident I met with, might deter others from doing as I have done. And I would take this opportunity humbly to intreat parents and masters to take more care that their children and servants behave better than I have done, otherwise I must confess 'twill be just if they meet with my fate.

He began his tale by describing his childhood wickedness:

I was bred an arrant clown, and never had the least relish for piety, learning, or good breeding. For which reason I always despised, and envied those who had ever since the late revival of singing commenced, which was, perhaps about ten years of age; I have observ'd it had a mighty influence over the minds of young people in general, especially those who were well instructed in the art of music; disposing them much to civility, harmony, and good agreement. And although my mind has at several times been struck with a sense of its beauty. Yet finding myself an unqualified member for such an agreeable society, (by reason I could never till very lately, be persuaded to apply myself to the study of the rules of said art.) Have for the most part improv'd all my faculties, to invent means whereby to make myself the most disagreeable to them I possibly could.

As an unsaved youth, he observed his fellow classmates receiving musical salvation during the "revival of singing." As an instrument of devotion, instruction in music brought about a conversion of "civility, harmony, and good agreement," which even the unrepentant author could appreciate somewhat its beauty and moralizing effect.

Not alone among the youths of his community, the writer described his sinful ignorance and general mischief:

whenever I heard of a singing meeting in the town, it was my practice to take with me, a crew of my own kidney, and often club the house, fling chips at the windows, and sometimes set up a hideous yell in derision of the music. At other times, I would enter the company with my train after me, all with our hats on, while our betters were bare, with long cains in our hands, and endeavour with many odd postures, and broggarly behaviour, to fix the attention of the learners wholly on our silly conduct; so as to render it impossible for the master to go on with his business, with any good success. At a certain time, a number of us rushed into a chamber, where we knew that a company of singers for the evening had withdrew in the most private manner they could, to be rid of our insults; when it was demanded why we came there? we replied, to hear and be civil. We had no sooner obtain'd leave to stay, on condition of being civil, but we soon began, by jocund behaviour and merry airs, to stir up mirth and levity, among the young ones. We also endeavoured some of us, to get behind in the dankest part of the room, and would frequently whisper some thing in the ears of the ladies, which would have proved very disagreeable to them, had they been endow'd with the least spark of modesty. but instead of their being affronted with us, it would often produce a loud peal of laughter.

Rather than descending to the level of author, the singing master, "in very civil terms, beg'd us to act like men, and be mindful of our promise of being civil." In this way, the author lay in the throes of ignorance, immorality, and sin in attempting to disrupt the secular-devotional recreation of psalm singing.

However, these disturbances were not enough for our protagonist. Exceeding the mischief of his compatriots, he described his personal affront to the singing master:

I steps softly behind him, and began to practice all the apish tricks of a merry Andrew. One while I would be mocking of him by twisting my mouth half round my head, and fixing it directly under one of my ears, another while I would stretch it open to an unusual width. But all this while I endeavoured to keep conceal'd from all but those whom I knew were well pleased at the fun.

Thinking that none but his friends could see his actions, the singing master was also aware of what was actually occurring:

the master look'd about to see what it was that diverted his scholars so much; I took care to have my face dress'd up in so somber a hue, that I tho't it impossible he should mistrust my roguery: but his too watchful eye caught me in one of my tricks, which provoked him to that degree, (although commonly a good natur'd man) as that he caught hold of a quarter-staff, & with one blow of it, laid me level on the floor.

Paralleling the conversion of Saul on the road to Damascus as described in Acts 9:3–9, the author

was taken up for dead by two of the company, and carried home, where after the surgeon was sent for, and being let blood, I was brought so much to my senses, as to hear one of the company say, 'twas a wonder my brains were not beat out, I replied, no by no means, for if I ever had any, I should never have gone to have acted as I did. My surgeon encouraged me my wound was not mortal.

After receiving a near death experience, he began to experience the call of the divine and spiritual light.

He started to follow the path to salvation as outlined by Jonathan Edwards in *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton*:

[p]ersons are first awakened with a sense of their miserable condition by nature, the danger they are in of perishing eternally, and that it is of great importance to them that they speedily escape and get into a better state. Those who before were secure and senseless, are made sensible how much they were in the way to ruin, in their former courses. Some are more suddenly seized with convictions—it may be, by the news of others' conversion, or some thing they hear in public, or in private conference—their consciences are smitten, as if their hearts were pierced through with a dart.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, our protagonist felt the pangs of his immorality tugging at his soul. Realizing his wickedness, he described his plight:

I was greatly terrified, however for that night, with the thought's of death, being no ways prepared, as I believ'd for that change, I was made to reflect severely on myself for many miscarriages of the like nature, and could not but upbraid my afflicted parents, for indulging me so much in such wicked habits, who had several complaints brought to them before, but they always took my part, in such wise, as rather encouraged me, than detected me.

Not only realizing his personal and moral conflicts with his family, he came to terms with his attacker, the singing master. The author began to experience what Edwards termed "converting grace," and was awakened to the act of forgiveness inherent in the Christian

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<sup>8</sup> Jonathan Edwards, "Section II. The Manner of Conversion Various, Yet Bearing a Great Analogy," *Edwards on Revivals: containing A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton, Massachusetts, A.D. 1735* (New York: Dunning & Spalding, 1832), 49.



belief of Christ's atoning blood following his death on the cross.<sup>9</sup> The author described his recovery:

[t]he gentleman who gave me the blow, came early next morning to inquire after my health, was exceeding sorry he had been so passionate, beg'd my pardon, offered to pay the surgeon and to pay the damage I should sustain. I was touch'd with his generosity, that I frankly forgave him, and confess'd I was much more to blame than he was, and ask'd his forgiveness, and promised that for the future I would behave in another manner.

He received grace and sought to lead others through his newfound conversion. Experiencing the divine light of psalmody, he now became convinced of the power and saving grace of regular singing:

After I recovered, which was about a month first, I went to the gentleman to desire his instruction in the art of singing, which he freely granted, and in about two month's close application, I have attained to a considerable degree of skill in the art of music in which I have experienced so much pleasure and satisfaction, as I do not now wonder at those who practice the art, that they cannot better bear with those who despise it. I am constrain'd to confess, it has had a most improving influence over me; I am at length prevailed upon to relinquish my clownish actions, and have become a considerable civil fellow, and I sincerely wish that hundreds, yea thousands, would be induced by my example, to turn and become men The which if they will once do, I am persuaded they will never repent it. There is certainly a satisfaction to be enjoy'd in it, that none can conceive of till experience makes it plain to them. I can now see the propriety of beating time in singing, which many

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 55-56.

make a ridicule of, and I know from experience that it is best for those who lead in the singing part of worship, that they should sit pretty much together, and it much grieves me to see people from a malignant spirit, strive so much to oppose it.

Like Saul, the Connecticut author encountered a revelatory experience that completely changed and improved his life. Through it, he received musical salvation.

This extraordinary testimonial, whether a literary conceit or an actual event, demonstrated most strikingly the influence of the First Great Awakening in public discourse within the print culture of the Late Colonial Period. As a common regional metaphor for moral improvement, psalm singing could occupy as relevant a place within the conversion experience as the actual repentance of a sinner who strayed from the path of God's righteousness. In this sense, the author came dangerously close to blasphemy, equating the power of music with the power of God. Nevertheless, as an agent of God, music also served the purposes of the Divine, expressing the beauty of God's creation. This spirit of evangelicalism throughout southern New England and the Connecticut River Valley distinguished this region most pronouncedly from Massachusetts Bay. Conversely, it established a greater connection to the Middle Atlantic through a common history of evangelical Calvinist influence, extending both to religious sentiment and musical practice.

## **12.2 Imported tunebooks and regional attempts at sacred music publication 1766-1775**

Reflecting its location as situated between northern coastal New England and the Middle Atlantic, southern and western New England experienced similar initiatives in popular ancient-style psalmody. However, alongside these developments, source compilations and original tune collections reflected the unique history and theological

climate of Connecticut, the Long Island Sound, and the Connecticut River Valley. As with the northern area, musicians in southern and western New England acquired copies of popular works and developed a social and ecclesiastical atmosphere for their performance by area choristers. In many ways, the sources that influenced southern New England mirrored those tune compilations that circulated among Anglican and Congregationalist musicians in the northeast. However, English Presbyterian activity in the south and along the Long Island Sound also fostered an environment that resembled but did not replicate activities in other British colonies.

To understand these various waves of influences involves a study of those tunebooks circulating around southern New England, imported by various merchants throughout Connecticut. In addition, a discussion of proposed tunebooks that failed to garner enough public support for publication reveals southern New England and New York City trends in compilation throughout the Late Colonial Period. Unlike the northeast, Anglican musicians in southern New England and New York City did not dominate the publishing market, nor were ancient-style popular tunebooks necessarily introduced to regional Calvinists via Anglican overtures. In fact, surviving source material reveals the situation to be reversed. Tunebooks by regional Anglican and Anglican-influenced musicians all failed to appeal to the general public. Though these musicians attempted unsuccessfully to publish their collections by subscription, the descriptions of their contents mostly parallel the types of sources brought into the region. Together, these compilations testify to the distinct musical climate of southern and western New England and New York City.

### 12.2.1 Southern New England advertisements for singing books

Between 1766 and 1774 a number of merchants placed advertisements in newspapers listing books available for sale at their place of business. Although many of the volumes listed in Connecticut and Rhode Island sources also appeared in Boston advertisements, others do not. Some of the contents of a few books are found in other colonial manuscript source material. However, documentary source material indicating their known existence throughout colonial British North America is lacking. Thus, the Connecticut advertisements offer concrete evidence that these sources circulated more broadly throughout British North America than previously thought. The appearance of tunes in regional source material did not consist necessarily of copies of copies of pieces taken from these collections.

As expected, Connecticut advertisements listed Anglican and Calvinist tunebooks. From among the European Anglicans, compilations by John Arnold enjoyed popularity with various editions of *The Compleat Psalmodist*, *Church Music Reformed*, and *The Leicestershire Harmony*.<sup>10</sup> The printing office for the *New-London Gazette* offered either an edition of *A Sett of New Psalm-Tunes and Anthems* or the *New Church Melody* by William Knapp of Poole.<sup>11</sup> One edition of *A Book of Psalmody*, a venerable tunebook by Yorkshire psalmodist James Green, was available for mail order by John Mein, the proprietor of the London Book-Store in Boston in 1767.<sup>12</sup> Also, several European editions of works by William Tans'ur were listed in Connecticut and Rhode Island advertisements, including his *Royal Melody Compleat*, *A New*

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<sup>10</sup> *New-London Gazette*, September 25 (1767); *New-London Gazette*, July 22 (1768); *Connecticut Courant*, November 20 (1769); *Connecticut Courant*, July 21 (1772).

<sup>11</sup> *New-London Gazette*, July 22 (1768).

<sup>12</sup> *New-London Gazette*, September 25 (1767).

*Musical Grammar, and Dictionary: or, A General Introduction to the Whole Art of Musick*, and possibly *The Melody of the Heart*.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to these European Anglican publications, unauthorized reprints by colonial Anglican Daniel Bayley of Newburyport, Massachusetts proved influential among Connecticut singers too. *A New and Compleat Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Musick* (1764),<sup>14</sup> Bayley's pirated edition of Thomas Walter's *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, and Tans'ur's *Royal Melody Complete* (1767-74) and Aaron Williams' *The Universal Psalmist* (1769-74) were advertised in Connecticut newspapers, beginning in 1772.<sup>15</sup> As the preeminent sacred music publisher in New England, Bayley had a number of agents selling his books throughout the region. Possibly through the firm of Smith and Colt, his agent in Hartford, Bayley extended his publishing enterprise throughout Connecticut.<sup>16</sup>

Collections listed in contemporary newspapers originated from many branches of English-language Calvinism popular in the colonies in the Late Colonial Period. The earliest notice featured a Congregationalist work, reflecting earlier trends of the 1750s. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* by Thomas Walter remained popular into the 1760s, being advertised in Hartford in 1766.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the European edition of *The Universal Psalmist*

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<sup>13</sup> *Newport Mercury*, January 19, January 26 (1767); *New-London Gazette*, September 25 (1767); *New-London Gazette*, July 22 (1768); *Connecticut Courant*, November 20 (1769); *Connecticut Journal*, May 22 (New Haven, 1772); *Connecticut Courant*, July 21 (1772).

<sup>14</sup> *New-London Gazette*, September 25 (1767); *New-London Gazette*, July 22 (1768).

<sup>15</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, July 21 (1772); *Connecticut Journal*, May 13, May 29 (1774); *The Norwich Packet and the Connecticut, Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Rhode-Island Weekly Advertiser*, November 10 (1774).

<sup>16</sup> *Boston Post-Boy*, November 11 (1774).

<sup>17</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, September 8 (1766).

by Aaron Williams was imported directly from London and sold throughout coastal Connecticut and Rhode Island.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, some Nonconformist and Nonconformist-influenced Calvinist repertory circulated throughout the region in collections such as that by Aaron Williams, and also the London singing master, Thomas Knibb with *The Psalm Singers Help, being a Collection of Tunes in three parts, that are now us'd in the several dissenting congregations in London.*<sup>19</sup> A collection available throughout northern New England and the Middle Atlantic,<sup>20</sup> it included some pieces with texts taken from *A Collection of Hymns for Social Worship* (London, 1753) by Calvinist-Anglican George Whitefield. Native-born New Light missionary Eleazar Wheelock (1711-1779), before founding Dartmouth College, used Knibb's tunebook at his Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut in the 1760s.<sup>21</sup>

Together, these advertisements testify to a burgeoning popular movement for recreational psalmody and extended sacred choral works throughout southern and western New England. Although the merchants listed in contemporary newspapers imported a similar range of source material as found in Boston and to some degree Philadelphia, Connecticut and Rhode Island merchants emphasized more the English Presbyterian and Nonconformist repertory than its northern neighbor. Related to this phenomenon, books were imported from northern New England just as frequently as London, demonstrating the independence of the various colonies of New England to each other. Though the repertory might closely resemble its northern neighbors, musicians in southern New England

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<sup>18</sup> *Newport Mercury*, January 19, January 26 (1767); *New-London Gazette*, September 25 (1767); *Connecticut Courant*, November 20 (1769); *Connecticut Journal*, May 22 (New Haven, 1772); *Connecticut Courant*, July 21 (1772).

<sup>19</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, November 20 (1769); *Connecticut Courant*, July 21 (1772).

<sup>20</sup> Temperley, "The Lock Hospital Chapel and Its Music" (1993): 58.

<sup>21</sup> Ruth Mack Wilson, *Connecticut's Music in the Revolutionary Era*, Connecticut Bicentennial Series, 31 (Hartford: s.n., 1979), 60.

developed it independent of Massachusetts Bay and Cape Ann publishers, using northern New England as but one influence towards the shaping of local trends. This phenomenon demonstrated that ancient-style psalmody could also flourish as a popular form of music making in addition to its own regional traditions of performance.

#### *12.2.2 Unsuccessful Attempts at Musical Publication*

Despite the richness of the repertory of surviving manuscripts along the Long Island Sound and the breadth of sources listed in newspaper advertisements, regional musicians suffered a continual series of setbacks in having their collections brought to publication. For this reason, the colonial publications of Bayley, Flagg, and Billings have assumed prominence within the historical canon because the musical climate of northern coastal Massachusetts engendered a tradition of music publishing that extended back to the final decade of the seventeenth century. Significantly, despite a shared Calvinist heritage among the majority of congregants in the British North American colonies, residents of southern and western New England and New York City failed to publish any sacred music collections until the end of the colonial era. In this respect, the area distinguished itself from both northern coastal New England and Philadelphia, the centers for music publication of the Late Colonial Period.

Although the dearth of resident musical engravers possibly contributed to the lack of publications, significantly, all of the failed tune collections consisted of works intended for community choral groups and choristers. None of the proposed works were either congregational tune supplements to metrical psalters and hymnals that resembled the Johnston and Barnard publications in Boston, or pedagogical works designed to introduce the basic rudiments of musical notation and part singing, such as *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* by William Dawson in Philadelphia, or *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* by Thomas Walter from Massachusetts Bay. Further, these collections did not embrace the

English Presbyterian model used by James Lyon with his *Urania*. From their descriptions, none seemed to be organized by genre and performance setting, nor intended for all of the various social, domestic, and ecclesiastical venues for sacred music.

Although the collections do not survive, much can be inferred about their contents and their compilers' connections to each other from surviving advertisements. All attempted to secure publishing costs through subscription, a method adopted by James Lyon for *Urania* and William Billings for *The New-England Psalm-Singer*. Notably, the earliest tunebooks were either compiled by Anglican musicians, or bore traits closely linked to Anglican expression. The fact that none of these collections managed to gain enough public support to raise funds for their publication suggests that much of the public was not interested in denominationally specific publications as typified northern coastal New England and Philadelphia during the Late Colonial Period. Of note, most of these northern New England and Middle Atlantic collections emanated from Anglican and Anglican-influenced initiatives, illustrating again a marked difference in musical climate. From 1774 until 1795, the only tunebooks published in Connecticut and western Massachusetts were those by Calvinists.

Amos Bull (1744-1825), an Anglican singing master and composer, advertised the earliest of these proposed publications. Possibly studying with William Tuckey, he also composed both tenor-led and treble-led psalmody, though his pieces first appeared in collections by regional psalmodists between 1778 and 1809, post-dating Tuckey's residence in New York City.<sup>22</sup> Active in his native Connecticut, Bull taught in New Haven in 1766,

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<sup>22</sup> See: Andrew Law, *Select Harmony* (Cheshire, Ct.: s.n., December 10, 1778); Law, *Select Harmony* (Farmington, Ct.: s.n., 1779); Law, *The Rudiments of Music*, ed.3 ([Cheshire]: [William Law], [1791]); Amos Bull, *The Responsary* (Worcester: Isaiah Thomas; and sold by the editor, 1795); Elijah Griswold, Stephen Jenks, and John C. Frisbie, *The Hartford Collection of Sacred Harmony* (Hartford, Ct.: Lincoln and Gleason, 1807); William Little and William Smith, *The*



and Farmington and New London in 1772, as well as New York City from 1774 through 1775 before finally settling in Hartford sometime before 1790.<sup>23</sup> Also like Tuckey, Bull's professional activities did not remain confined to a single denomination. Even though he belonged to the Anglican Church, the Calvinist meetinghouse in Middletown, Connecticut attempted to employ him as chorister in 1771.

He advertised his proposed tunebook in the *Connecticut Gazette* in New Haven during the fall of 1766. As printed in the September 19 issue, the book was to be titled:

The New Universal Psalmodist, or Beautiful Harmony of Zion, containing,  
First, a new and correct introduction to the rules of music, rudimental, practical, and technical.

Second, a number of the most celebrated psalm tunes, collected from Arnold, Tansur, Lyon, Williams, &c. with some entirely new.

Third, a number of services, chants, hymns, anthems and canons, suited to several occasions, never before printed.

The whole are composed in two, three, four, five, six, seven and eight musical parts, according to the nicest rules, correctly set in score for voice or organ; and peculiarly adapted to publick and private use.

By A. Bull, Philo Musicae.

Bull stated that the work was ready for the press and that its cost would "not exceed ten shillings." Subscriptions were taken both by individuals throughout the colony as well as the places where the *Connecticut Gazette* was sold.

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*Easy Instructor; or, A New Method of Teaching Sacred Harmony* (Albany: Websters & Skinner and Daniel Steele, [c.1809]), Lowens edition, F.

<sup>23</sup> Britton, Lowens, and Crawford (1990): 209-10; Ruth Mack Wilson (1979): 52-55.

Though Britton and Lowens considered the work a "projected edition of William Tans'ur's *The Royal Melody Complete, or New Harmony of Zion* [*The Royal Melody Compleat: or The New Harmony of Zion*] and Aaron Williams' *Universal Psalmist*,"<sup>24</sup> the source compilations that shaped this collection originated from among a wider array of source material. As a result, this work did not foreshadow Daniel Bayley's *American Harmony*, an unauthorized reprint of Tans'ur and Williams beginning in 1769. Instead, it drew from the most popular tunebooks by Anglicans and English Presbyterians circulating around southern and western New England, colonial and European.<sup>25</sup> Bull apparently drew equally from English Presbyterian collections by Williams and Lyon, and Anglican source material from Arnold and Tans'ur, at least for the psalm tunes.

In addition to the metrical tune repertory, Bull's tunebook would have featured a wide selection of distinctly Anglican music including liturgical pieces such as services, Anglican chant, and anthems, as well as Nonconformist or English Presbyterian hymns. However, he did not systematically organize these pieces by their intended use, instead dividing his selections by genre: psalm tunes, and other elaborate and extended choral works. As an Anglican, Bull's advertisement echoed that of William Tuckey, who announced that he taught all of the branches of church music, "viz. services, anthems, chaunts, responses and psalms,"<sup>26</sup> the wording of which corresponds almost exactly to the types of pieces featured in the third section of Bull's proposed tunebook. Further, Tuckey also proclaimed that he composed pieces for "a single voice; two, three, four, or more voices, and for any sort of instruments, with or without a thorough base, for the organ, harpsicord, or spinnet."

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<sup>24</sup> Allen P. Britton and Irving Lowens, "Unlocated Titles in Early Sacred American Music," *Notes* 22 (1953): 37.

<sup>25</sup> In particular, Lyon's *Urania* did not influence Bayley's publications and was the source for only a few tunes in Josiah Flagg's *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* (1764). Likewise, *The Compleat Psalmist* by John Arnold heavily influenced Flagg, but not Bayley until the 1770s.

<sup>26</sup> *New York Mercury*, March 11 (1754).

In this sense, Bull demonstrated his knowledge and mastery of recreational psalm tunes and Anglican service music, perhaps with a nod to his possible mentor, or at the very least, to the preeminent Anglican psalmodist along the Long Island Sound. Although belonging to the Church of England, Bull attempted to appeal to his Calvinist brethren in the psalm repertory. He also indicated that his collection, though containing liturgical music, was not designed specifically for ecclesiastical performance as it was "adapted to publick and private use." Unfortunately, the public did not respond enthusiastically to his endeavors. However, he did publish a gamut in 1774, undocumented in current scholarly bibliographies.<sup>27</sup>

Five years later, Tuckey himself attempted to publish a small collection of Anglican service music. Distinct from the other collections, this work featured music composed for special occasions. Unlike his ancient-style psalmody, these pieces probably resembled more the set piece, AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF THE 97 PSALM printed in *Urania*. Embracing the prevailing popular styles of Middle Atlantic and Southern Anglican church music, the work was to consist of two large-scale pieces. Tuckey composed the first piece for a charity choir, most likely the three-part SSB scoring procedure common to that genre:

An Hymn, (by way of an Anthem) consisting of Solos, Duets, or; Trio, and Chorus; together with a Psalm Tune, adapted for any charitable Church Collection, and first design'd for the Benefit of the Dark-School belonging to Trinity Church, in New-York, to be perform'd in the Churches at the annual Collection; the School being

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<sup>27</sup> *The New-London Gazette*, September 9 (1774). This publication does not appear in Britton, Lowens, and Crawford (1990), or in Britton and Lowens (1953). However, Wilson (1980) mentions the work in her discussion of Bull (54).

chiefly supported by Charity; the Words of the Hymn, by a Gentleman of King's College.<sup>28</sup>

Although written for a specific event, Tuckey proclaimed the work as suitable for any charity choir on any particular occasion, such as the annual benefits concerts offered by the church to the community. Also typical for the time, the advertisement bespoke to a combined effort by the city's college and its flagship Anglican church, a phenomenon encountered also in Philadelphia.

Tuckey apparently modeled the second piece on choral works performed in the Anglican cathedral tradition, describing it as:

[a] Performance adapted for a Funeral; consisting of three Dirges, (or Chorus) the Words Part of the Burial Service; Together with an Anthem, and a Psalm Tune suitable on the Solemnity of a Funeral or Interment of any Person of Note, &c. The whole never yet perform'd being very lately set to Music, by William Tuckey, for some Years a Professor of the Theory and Practice of Vocal Music, Vicar Choral of the Cathedral Church in Bristol, and Clerk at the Parish of St. Mary Port in said City, now Resident in New York.

Rather than a single work with multiple contrasting sections, this service consisted of several extended independent pieces, including funerary choruses composed as Anglican liturgical music, a separate anthem, and an independent psalm tune. Like the previous work, it too was written for a specific occasion, but suitable for any similar event. Further emphasizing its cathedral-style characteristics, Tuckey advertised his previous experience in Bristol as Vicar Choral of The Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. Significantly, both pieces were most likely treble-led pieces, but composed according to the stylistic

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<sup>28</sup> *New York Mercury*, March 11 (1771).

qualities predetermined by their venue and ensemble. Because of its direct appeal only to Anglicans, and the rising vogue for popular, ancient-style psalmody in New York City and southern New England, this work also failed to resonate among a broad spectrum of the public.

In 1774, an unknown psalmodist advertised the printing of proposals for a new Anglican-influenced compilation. Titled *The New-England Harmony*, it was described as "an elegant Collection of the grandest and most approved ANTHEMS, selected from the Works of the most eminent Professors of Music in *Europe*."<sup>29</sup> Not to be confused with a metrical tune supplement published in Boston in 1771 with the same title,<sup>30</sup> this work only consisted of anthems, possibly resembling Josiah Flagg's publication, *Sixteen Anthems, collected from Tans'ur, Williams, Knapp, Ashworth & Stephenson* (Boston, 1766). Although *Sixteen Anthems* proved popular enough to garner a second edition, the musical climate of southern New England differed enough from its northern neighbor that a similar publication could not find general public support. Without knowing the specific contents of this Connecticut tunebook or its composers and sources, *The New-England Harmony* most likely was designed either for use by choristers in an Anglican church or a social or domestic, secular-sacred venue for the performance of extended choral pieces.

The final unsuccessful collection proposed before the southern New England public was a work by Oliver King (1748-1818), a lifelong resident of Bolton, Connecticut,<sup>31</sup> titled:

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<sup>29</sup> *The Norwich Packet and the Connecticut, Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Rhode-Island Weekly Advertiser*, April 7-14 (1774). This proposed tunebook also does not appear in any of the scholarly bibliographies of early American sacred music.

<sup>30</sup> *The New-England Harmony, containing a set of excellent psalm tunes, in three and four parts, suited to the several measures in either version. Being the largest collection of this kind ever yet published.* Boston: John Fleeming, 1771.

<sup>31</sup> *Vital Records of Bolton to 1854 and Vernon to 1852* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1909): 1, 11, 35, 93-94, and 178.

The Universal Harmony A Collection of the most choice and valuable Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems and Canons, with proper Words adapted to the greatest Part, from the most approved Authors, and especially such as have obtained the Approbation of the best Masters in Music: To which will be added, some Pieces which have not yet been published; set by some of the greatest Masters of Music. - Also, a plain and easy Explanation of the Rules of Music, fitted for all Teachers, Learners; and musical Societies.<sup>32</sup>

Apparently aware of the problems that had plagued earlier compilers, King spoke directly to the public about their failures:

[w]hereas the Subscriber has for several Years past been employed in teaching Psalmody, and hath found by long Experience that Complaints have generally subsisted amongst the ablest Masters and best Teachers of Music, with regard to the Collections of Music that have as yet been made public. In almost every Collection we find a very considerable Part both of Tunes and Anthems, which have not been generally approved of, nor thought worth while to be learned; so that in order to purchase those Tunes that are had in the highest Esteem at the present, and probably will continue so, we are put to a great Expence for the Purchase of those Tunes and Anthems with them, that are entirely and, altogether useless...

This tunebook was modeled on contemporary English Presbyterian initiatives. Further, King envisioned that the tunebook would "contain 150 Pages of the same Dimensions as Lyon's *Urania*." In this sense, King aligned himself more with Middle Atlantic than northern New England performance practice and influence, demonstrating a common English Presbyterian heritage.

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<sup>32</sup> *Normich Packet*, February 9-16 (1775).

Unlike his predecessors, King's advertisement also bespoke to a concentrated effort towards uniting various singing masters active throughout the region. He created a network of musicians centered mostly within the Hartford area who could take subscriptions, including:

Mr. Ingersol, Singing-Master, at Lebanon [Connecticut]; Mr. Oliver Brunsen, Singing-Master, Litchfield [Ct.]; Mr. Ilisha Bather, Simsbury [Ct.]; Mor Jonathan Benjamin, Singing-Master, Andover [Ct.]; Mr. Bull, Singing-Master, New-York; Mr. Charles Deaolph, Singing-Master, Brookline [Massachusetts]; Mr. Deaolph, Singing-Master, Preston [Ct.]; Mr. Andrew Law, Singing-Master, and Mr. Philip Paine, Bookseller, Providence [Rhode Island]; Mr. William McAlbine, Printer, and Mr. Andrew Barclay, Bookseller, Boston; at the Printing-Office, Norwich [Ct.]; and by the Subscriber at Bolton [Ct.].

In this sense, King modelled his enterprise on the principle of the presbytery. Though he acted as the compiler of the collection, the list of singing masters included both regional teachers of psalmody as well as the first generation of area composers, including Oliver Brownson [Brunsen], Jonathan Benjamin, Amos Bull, one of the Deaolph brothers, Andrew Law, and King himself. Presumably, these musicians would have supplied the "Pieces which have not yet been published." Pooling their resources together, the tunebook became a manifestation of a community of like-minded individuals, united by ancient-style popular expression. Its lack of success is probably explained more by its proposed date of appearance when residents were more concerned about politics than psalmody.

In particular, King's plan for *The Universal Harmony* would ultimately serve as the model for compilation method of most subsequent tunebooks throughout the region. Compiled by one or two individuals, the author(s) would scout out local composers and

singing masters and enlist their support for the collection. In exchange, the compiler would include a selection of the composers' tunes in the tunebook. Using this model, a compiler would be provided with a ready-made means of tunebook distribution to help promote the sales and dissemination of his compilation. Other potential buyers might also have purchased the work through recognition of tunes by esteemed local musicians. The concept of a tunebook mirroring the organization of a presbytery by featuring a community of likeminded equals seems to have originated in Connecticut. Subsequently, this method of compilation would come to define tunebook production throughout western and southern New England and New York City.

### **12.3 The commingling of traditional and popular ancient-style expression in southern and western New England**

An investigation into the tunebooks imported into southern and western New England, as well as unsuccessful regional attempts at musical publication, indicated the proliferation of the ancient style as practiced by European and Colonial, Anglican and Presbyterian musicians. Paralleling the spread of the ancient style in other colonies and regions, musicians throughout Connecticut, Rhode Island, and western Massachusetts embraced many of the same venues and institutions for the performance of ancient-style psalmody. However, unlike their northern and southern neighbors, area musicians did not remain beholden strictly either to what became a popular style of ancient psalmody in Massachusetts Bay, or the traditional English Presbyterian practice as it flourished in the Middle Atlantic and along the Long Island Sound.

Instead, the two co-existed. The traditional practice continued to remain denominationally specific, appearing in Presbyterian and evangelical Calvinist-associated



manuscript source material into the nineteenth century. Before 1800, no published sources included traditional ancient-style tunes in New England. As a result, the continuation of this practice into the Early Nationalist Period has remained largely undocumented and unknown because scholarly efforts have concentrated primarily on printed sources. Only with early nineteenth-century efforts by Vermont singing masters Elisha West (1756-c.1808) and Jeremiah Ingalls (1764-1838) did the traditional repertory begin to be published by resident psalmists within New England.<sup>33</sup>

Traditional ancient-style pieces in two and three-part settings continued to appear in Presbyterian compilations from Long Island Sound through its manuscript repertory, the Middle Atlantic with *Tunes in Three Parts* (1763), and Europe with *A Set of Tunes in 3 Parts (mostly new) fitted to the following hymns* (London, [1720]) that was bound with *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (London, 1720) by Simon Brown. This three-part ancient style remained independent of the three-part style cultivated by Nonconformists and evangelical Anglicans. The tunes did not attempt to appropriate typically galante features such as a more static bass, treble and tenor parts that moved by parallel thirds and sixths, and numerous graceful melismas. Instead, they followed the same modally inflected non-functional harmonic practice characteristic of the ancient style. As spiritual songs, these pieces invariably were set to hymn texts instead of metrical psalms.

Conversely, the popular form appeared mostly in four-part settings modeled on the precedent established by William Billings. Southern and western New Englanders drew

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<sup>33</sup> For instance, West set the military field march, "Roslin Castle" to a meditation on the Song of Solomon in *The Musical Concert* (Northampton, Mass., 1802). Further, *The Christian Harmony; or Songster's Companion* by Jeremiah Ingalls (Exeter, N.H., 1805) included an unprecedented number of traditional-style settings of hymns and spiritual songs popular among New Light Presbyterians, Separate Baptists, and other enthusiastic evangelical Protestants. See: David Grover Klocko, "Jeremiah Ingalls's *The Christian Harmony; Or, Songster's Companion* (1805)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1978).

inspiration from European, Anglican and Calvinist psalmodists such as William Tans'ur, John Arnold, William Knapp, Aaron Williams, and Joseph Stephenson, as well as colonial musicians Daniel Bayley and Billings. Regional musicians picked and chose from among the various collections and composed works influenced by the prevailing denominational traditions of ancient-style psalmody, irrespective of their original identity and its denominational-cultural association. The popular style transcended strict denominational identity, serving a more secular-minded place within society as a social, morally correct amusement.

Some manuscript source material included both forms of ancient-style psalmody, demonstrating a commingling of expression and influence. Late Colonial and Early Nationalist Connecticut River Valley copybooks were used more often for social occasions than church functions. However, the presence of traditional English Presbyterian pieces alongside popular works by Billings and other local musicians attests to these pieces' acceptance and use by evangelical Calvinists and other protestant denominations. Earlier Presbyterian expression had incorporated various denominational styles while still preserving its fundamental identity. Similarly, popular-style psalmody could function as yet another influence in New Light practice. Popular initiatives did not simply absorb the traditional style; both remained distinct from each other, maintaining individual identities.

### ***12.3.1 The George Newberry copybook***

The adoption of popular trends within traditional ancient-style practice began to appear in southern and western New England source material in the 1760s. This commingling of repertories occurs in surviving Connecticut manuscript commonplace books

and copybooks from places such as North Haven, East and West Hartford, and Durham.<sup>34</sup> For instance, the George Newberry manuscript, described in part in chapter six, was copied in three distinct stages, the earliest of which dated from c. 1755. This section consisted of textless psalm and hymn tunes, and spiritual songs. Sources for this material appeared mostly before 1730 with pieces originating in Anglican London collections such as *The Divine Companion* (1707) by Henry Playford, as well as those by English Presbyterians associated with the Eastcheap Meetinghouse including *A Collection of Tunes* (1719) by William Laurence, and *Harmonia Perfecta* (1730) by Nathaniel Gawthorn. A few tunes were taken from early Boston didactic imprints such as *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* by Thomas Walter and *An Introduction to the Art of Singing Psalm-Tunes* by John Tufts. Only a few pieces were more contemporary to the date of the manuscript's compilation, including BANGOR and QUERCY by William Tans'ur, the latter being an adaptation of Tans'ur's original tune from the 1752 Barnard supplement printed in Boston by James Turner. Newberry also included Thomas Johnston's 1755 arrangement of PSALM 136 by John Arnold.

The second section reflects trends in popular and traditional ancient-style psalmody of the 1760s and earlier. For instance, Newberry included the English Presbyterian colonial variant of THE GLIDEING STREAMS. As before, tunes like this appear in tenor and bass settings. Many also employ the tenor clef for the melody. Adapting the Anglican ancient-

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<sup>34</sup> See: Enodias Bidwell, commonplace book (East Hartford, Ct., 1772): Manuscript Collection, The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford; Susannah Miles, "Sussana Miles, Her Singing Book, Anno Domini 1759" (Ct., 1759): Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven; Jesse Rogers, manuscript copybook (Ct., c. 1710-1795): Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford; Deacon Story, "Rules for tuning ye voice" (Durham, Ct., c. 1760): Newberry Library, VAULT Case MS minus VM 2116 .S88r 1740; [Benjamin Trumbull], "Rules for Singing," musical copybook (North Haven, Ct., c. 1760): The Huntington Library, San Marino, Ca., HM 13717; Samuel Whitman, "Samuel Whitman, His Book, 1768" (West Hartford, Ct., 1768): The Connecticut Historical Society, Whitman Papers, Box 2. These sources are discussed in Wilson, *Connecticut's Music in the Revolutionary Era*, 46-47, 56-59; Steel, "Sacred Music in Early Winchester," 35.

style repertory to the Presbyterian form of ancient-style psalmody along the Long Island Sound, Newberry continued to adhere to traditional conventions of tune setting. In this way, he further maintained his ties to earlier traditional practice. Instead of commingling, the Anglican pieces were modified to reflect English Presbyterian conventions.

Newberry also copied a number of pieces from European editions of tunebooks by William Tans'ur, such as the *Royal Melody Compleat* and *The Melody of the Heart*.<sup>35</sup> Regional merchants listed these books for sale between 1767 and 1772, thus explaining their direct influence in Newberry's manuscript copybook. A number of tunes from the London edition of *The Universal Psalmist* by Aaron Williams are found in this section too.<sup>36</sup> He also entered THE 56TH PSALM from *Urania* by James Lyon, and BUCKLAND possibly from *The Compleat Psalmist* by John Arnold. These types of sources remained identical to those that Billings drew from in the creation of his American brand of popular ancient-style psalmody.

The final section consists of tenor and counter parts to tunes taken from the publications of Daniel Bayley, including his unauthorized edition of Tans'ur's *The Royal Melody Compleat* and Williams' *The Universal Psalmist* published collectively as *The American Harmony*; and *A New and Compleat Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Musick*, a pirated edition of Thomas Walter's collection.<sup>37</sup> According to colonial newspapers, Bayley's imprints were available locally from Connecticut merchants beginning c. 1772, explaining the chronological difference between the copies of pieces taken directly from Tans'ur and

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<sup>35</sup> George Newberry copied MANSFIELD, RICHMAND, UTOXETER, and THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIK from Tans'ur.

<sup>36</sup> These works include A FUNERAL THOUGHT HYMN, ORANGE, and WEELLS [WELLS].

<sup>37</sup> Anglican pieces include ST. MARTINS and GUDFORD taken from Tans'ur, and ALL SAINTS from William Knapp. English Presbyterian pieces from Williams include: KINGSBRI[D]G[E], WARIWCK, ST. HELLENS, LITTLE MARLBOROUGH, WANTAGE, and BURNHAM.

Williams, and those from Bayley. Significantly, Newberry also included some of the pieces sung by Nonconformists and embraced by English Presbyterians in London.<sup>38</sup>

Although the tunes found in this last section continued the same general trends initiated in the second portion of the manuscript, this section deviates from the middle portion regarding denominational influence and ancient-style performance practice. Most prominently, Newberry featured English Presbyterian works more than Anglican, indicating the compiler's continued identity as a Calvinist. However, Newberry did not choose to adapt mid-century Anglican and English Presbyterian tune setting procedures to traditional Long Island Sound Presbyterian conventions. Instead, he printed them as they appeared in the original source. He copied only the counter and tenor parts, instead of the tenor and bass. Over a twenty-year period, scoring procedure had shifted from a two-part tenor and bass setting typical of traditional English Presbyterian practice, to a four-part SATB setting employing the popular form of the Anglican-inspired northern New England ancient style. Although expression did not change as fundamentally among Calvinists in southern and western New England as Congregationalists in the northeast, the manuscripts testified to a changing performance atmosphere that allowed for the presence of traditional and popular forms of expression within the same compilation. The two repertories had started to commingle.

### *12.3.2 The Henry Wells, Jr. copybook*

Late Colonial sources revealed how traditional musicians within southern and western New England started to incorporate popular trends of ancient-style psalmody into the traditional repertory. These sources drew from tunebooks circulating throughout the region, evidenced with merchant advertisements, descriptions of native efforts in tune

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<sup>38</sup> These pieces include EASTER DAY HYMN and EAGLE STREET.

compilation, and the contents of surviving manuscript source material. At the onset of the Early Nationalist Period, this pattern had grown to include popular ancient-style tunebooks featuring European-composed tunes, American popular ancient-style pieces by musicians like William Billings of Boston, and a host of works by regional psalmodists from Connecticut, Rhode Island, and central and western Massachusetts. A burgeoning trend in the last few years of the Late Colonial Period quickly blossomed into a distinctly southern and western New England compositional movement.

One of the most significant collections documenting this abrupt shift is a previously unknown manuscript copybook from Montague, Massachusetts in the northern part of the state, situated within the Connecticut River Valley.<sup>39</sup> Though imperfect, the manuscript bespeaks to a flourishing environment for the performance of popular ancient-style psalmody for various social occasions. However, it also contains traditional English Presbyterian colonial folk hymns and secular songs. Copied mostly between 1781 and 1782, it testifies to the continuation of traditional ancient-style psalmody alongside its new popular-style cousin. In particular, the compiler, Henry Wells, himself a Presbyterian, provides a direct link to the popular ancient-style publications appearing throughout New England, and the traditional repertory that began to be published in New England and the Middle Atlantic around the beginning of the nineteenth century. Wells' manuscript parallels later efforts by Jeremiah Ingalls, Elisha West, and Amos Pilsbury (1772-1812), among others.

On his paternal side, Henry Wells, son of the physician, Henry Wells, was descended from one of the oldest English families that settled in New York. Henry's three-times great

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<sup>39</sup> Henry Wells, Jr., manuscript copybook of sacred music (Montague, MA, 1782): M 1495 .T89 1782 Case, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

grandfather, William Wells (1604-1671), a lawyer, was born in Norwich, England.<sup>40</sup> By 1640, he had settled in New Haven Colony. Recently, the government of this colony had negotiated for land on northeastern Long Island from the resident Corchaug tribe. Serving as lawyer, Wells and a number of other colonists established the town of Southold in 1640, the first English settlement in what would become New York. The town fathers also founded a Presbyterian church to serve their spiritual needs. Wells became a member and is buried in its churchyard. The family would remain in Southold for the next three generations.

Henry's father, Henry Sr. (1742-1814) appears to have inherited his ancestor's sense of ambition. He graduated from the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1757 and earned a medical degree from Yale in 1760.<sup>41</sup> He moved to New York City shortly thereafter and married Hannah Stout in 1764. Their son Henry, the compiler of the manuscript, was christened at First Presbyterian Church of this city on April 21, 1765.<sup>42</sup> In the spirit of his great-great grandfather, Henry the elder purchased one thousand acres of land in what is now West Brattleboro, then part of Massachusetts before becoming incorporated into Vermont, an independent republic from 1777-1791. In the 1768 meeting that established the town of Brattleboro, he was appointed Town Clerk, Overseer of Highways, and Overseer of the Poor in addition to his duties as the village's physician. Henry, his wife and family, and his father and mother, remained in Brattleboro for the next thirteen years. In 1781, the year following his mother's death, Henry Sr. moved his family to Montague, Massachusetts.

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<sup>40</sup> Charles Wells Hayes, *William Wells of Southold and His Descendants A.D. 1638 to 1878* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Baker, Jones & Co., 1878), 42-49. All genealogical information will be taken from this source.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 90-102.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 113.

Immediately after their relocation, sixteen-year-old Henry Jr. began to compile his manuscript copybook (**Table 12.1**). Originally a sizeable manuscript of approximately 170 pages, the Wells copybook survives in an imperfect state. A number of pages are missing at the beginning, middle, and end, comprising a third of the total original contents. Fortunately, enough survives to document the widespread cultivation of psalmody in western Massachusetts. Not surprisingly, the copybook provides concrete evidence to demonstrate that Connecticut trends predominantly shaped or at least paralleled the musical culture of central and western Massachusetts rather than Boston. It is one of the last compilations to include the traditional English Presbyterian repertory of the Long Island Sound, explained by the compilers' family history and denominational affiliation. Alongside its traditional ancient-style repertory, the manuscript offers a rare glimpse into regional popular ancient-style psalmody and its association with young persons as a social recreation.

Indicative of the changing atmosphere of New England sacred music culture, Wells included only a few pieces with a strict denominational identity. Of this group, most descend from English Presbyterian and Nonconformist source material. Following previous trends in the Late Colonial Period, these denominations' repertories descended from the expected three regions of influence: the Long Island Sound, the Middle Atlantic, and Europe. Regarding the Long Island Sound repertory, many of the pieces in this section remain traditional to Wells' family and place of birth such as 'THE CHIMES, 'THE CRADLE HYMN, 'THE GLIDING STREAMS, and 'POMPEYS GHOST. He copied a few traditionally Presbyterian and Nonconformist pieces from the Philadelphia tunebook *Urania* by James Lyon including 'PUBLIC WORSHIP, 'JUDGMENT, and 'WHITEFIELD'S HYMN. Significantly, Wells chose not to include any of Lyon's congregational repertory, only hymns and spiritual songs. Finally, paralleling the Nonconformist pieces taken from



*Urania*, he also copied the contrafactum tune READING from the *Psalm Singer's Help* by Thomas Knibb (1760). This final gathering of tunes, though imperfect, demonstrates specific denominational and traditional ancient-style trends, forming a unified collection of extra-ecclesiastical hymns and spiritual songs.

Conversely, Wells sprinkled among the various popular pieces a number psalm and hymn tunes associated originally with Anglicans and colonial Anglican-influenced initiatives from England, Boston, and Newburyport. Most of these pieces became subsumed into the general popular repertory of New England through the publications of Daniel Bayley. Some were taken from the 'Tans'ur volume in the *American Harmony*, others from the volume adapted from Aaron Williams. Reflecting the tunebooks known to have been circulating throughout western and southern New England, Wells copied a few tunes possibly from William Knapp of Poole, Dorsetshire, as well as his Independent-Unitarian neighbor Joseph Stephenson. Tune types ranged from textless psalm tunes to more decorated extra-ecclesiastical pieces (for a Presbyterian), including fugal tunes and anthems.

Only a fourth of the pieces had identifiable denominational affiliations. Instead, the copybook consisted principally of popular ancient-style tunes intended more for social-secular recreational singing. As encountered in the Anglican and colonial Anglican-influenced repertory, the American popular tunes found throughout the manuscript originated from a variety of individuals with varying theological backgrounds. Inspired by the compositional process of Billings, regional American composers also drew from popular tunes irrespective of their intended original purpose or denominational expression. In Boston, Billings worked as a dedicated and influential, but solitary composer. From the evidence of the Wells' copybook, Billings' tunebooks circulated throughout the region, exerting an enormous influence on regional musicians. However, no single individual

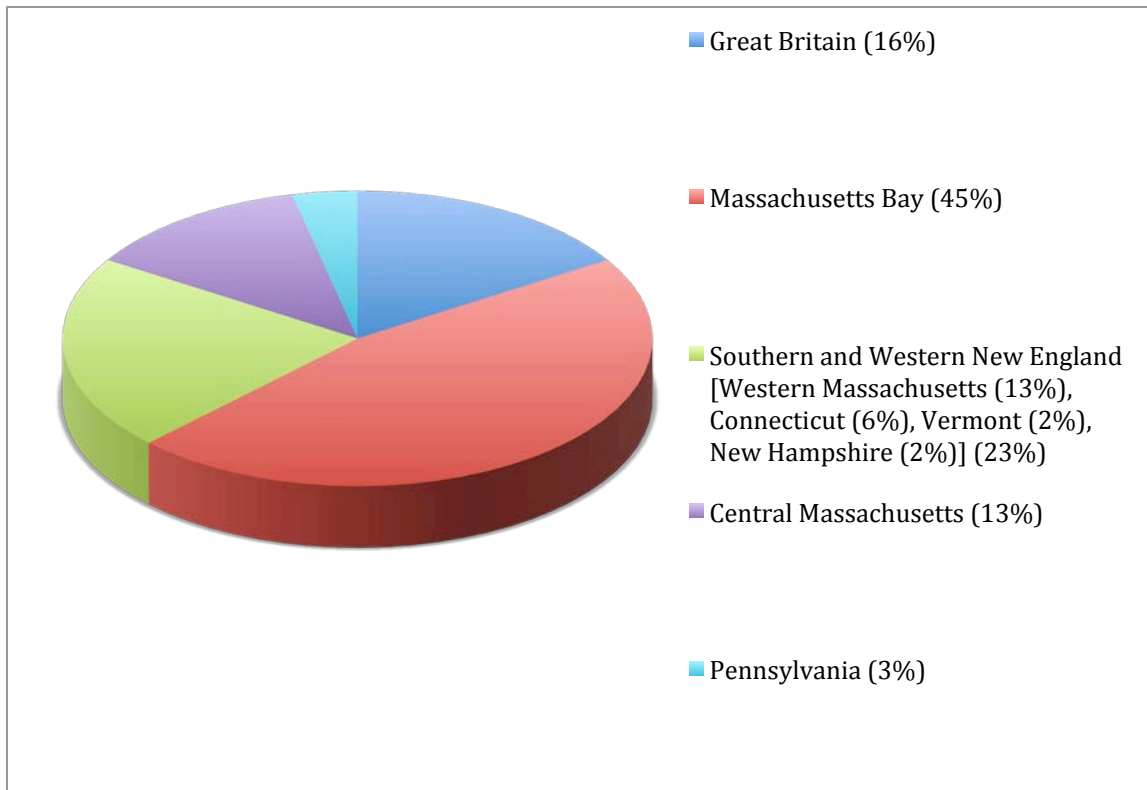
dominated the art of composition in Wells' area of residence, as encountered in northern coastal New England. Instead, the sources features a variety of pieces by regional psalmists active in the Connecticut River Valley and western Massachusetts, central Massachusetts, and southern Connecticut. Clearly, compositional activity existed as a more commonplace avocation outside of Massachusetts Bay.

Wells favored American works over European. Four out of five pieces in the copybook originated from a geographic area extending from Boston to Philadelphia. Although it is tempting to ascribe this emphasis on American-composed pieces as a statement of nationalism resulting from the recent political and military struggles of the Revolutionary War, there is a more likely factor to explain the bias towards American tunes. The copybook does not include any pieces intended specifically for congregational performance. As a collection consisting of works written mostly for social-secular performance, the older predominantly European-composed congregational tunes had no place in this repertory. Singing schools and other social venues for sacred music performance drew primarily from a more current body of tunes, which by nature extended to American composers active as singing teachers throughout the area.

Broken down into their regions of origin, the compositions parallel the compilation method employed by Oliver King for his unsuccessfully proposed tunebook, *The Universal Harmony* (**Chart 12.1**). Although assembled by a single individual, this western New England compilation presented a varied repertory shaped indirectly by composers from print sources, and directly by a variety of area musicians active around the compiler's area of residence. Rather than reflecting the primary influence of Connecticut musicians, the Wells copybook maintained a link tied more to central and western Massachusetts because of its origin in

Montague. In contrast, King, a resident of Connecticut, drew primarily from psalmodists in his colony of residence.

**Chart 12.1. Geographic origin of tunes in the Wells copybook with a known composer**



Possibly through either a local singing master or chorister, Wells obtained access to a number of tunebooks from which he copied many pieces. Indirectly, his compilation was shaped mostly by pieces from outside his region, in American publications from eastern, coastal Massachusetts and Connecticut (**Table 12.2**). Much of the European repertory was copied from one of the editions of Daniel Bayley's *The American Harmony*. Further, almost half of the entire surviving manuscript consisted of pieces by William Billings from his first two tunebooks: *The New-England Psalm-Singer* (1770) and *The Singing Master's Assistant* (1778). Rather than copying only Billings's revised settings of earlier compositions as found in *The*

*Singing Master's Assistant*, Wells took many compositions and tune settings from Billings' first tunebook, including a few that only appeared in this source.

Although the ratio of pieces by Billings exceeds that of other composers in the manuscript, comprising all of the pieces emanating from Massachusetts Bay, the influence of the Boston musician served in the same capacity as Daniel Bayley. No evidence exists to suggest Billings' direct interaction with young Henry Wells. Further, all of the pieces were taken from print sources, unlike contemporary manuscripts from eastern Massachusetts.<sup>43</sup> Billings' publications, though a particularly strong influence on the repertory of the Wells copybook, remained only one of a number of other sources to contain the newly popular ancient-style repertory. In the process of making popular social ancient-style music fashionable throughout New England, Billings set a precedent for other American musicians to emulate.

Besides the pieces taken from coastal Massachusetts imprints and the small gathering of European and Middle Atlantic sources, Wells also copied a few tunes from the first Connecticut tunebook to successfully appear in print, the *Select Harmony* by Andrew Law (Farmington, 1779).<sup>44</sup> This collection, besides including a number of European works that entered into the American popular repertory, was the first published collection to feature pieces by regional psalmodists from Connecticut, Rhode Island, and central Massachusetts. Significantly, Wells did not transcribe any of the pieces by regional musicians. However, he

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<sup>43</sup> Richard Crawford and David P. McKay, "Music in Manuscript: A Massachusetts Tunebook of 1782," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 84 (1974): 43-64; Karl Kroeger, "William Billings's Music in Manuscript Copy and Some Notes on Variant Versions of His Pieces," *Notes*, 39, 2 (December, 1982): 316-345.

<sup>44</sup> Richard Crawford, *Andrew Law, American Psalmodist* (Evanston: Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1968), 11. Law published an abbreviated version of this collection the previous year.

might have copied some of the European repertory from this volume, along with the unique arrangement of Billings' CHESTER and arranged presumably by Law.

Beyond its wealth of information detailing print sources that circulated throughout the Connecticut River Valley during the last years of the Revolutionary War, the manuscript also attests to a thriving local musical culture fostering modern popular ancient-style composition. Most important, the Wells copybook contains fourteen pieces that predate their initial date of publication. Further, six other works in the manuscript were never printed and are not known to exist. Most of these tunes constitute newly discovered works by well-known New England composers, including most prominently Timothy Swan (1757-1842) and Abraham Wood (1752-1804). Of these musicians, Timothy Swan lived in neighboring Northfield and had been active in Montague, as his earliest documented tune is named for this village.<sup>45</sup>

Regarding the geographic area of origin for the composers within this group, almost all hailed from two main regions of New England: central Massachusetts and the Connecticut River Valley. A community of psalmodists dispersed over much of southern and western New England, they shared and promoted each other's works, which helped to disseminate the regional repertory. Unlike Billings, whose influence outside of northern coastal Massachusetts and Providence, Rhode Island rested primarily on his publications, these musicians directly interacted with each other. Conversely, although pieces by Billings appear in southern and western New England source material, only five tunes by composers

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<sup>45</sup> Frank J. Metcalf, *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music* (New York; Cincinnati: The Abingdon Press, 1925), 104.

outside of Massachusetts Bay appeared first in printed coastal Massachusetts' tunebooks before 1785.<sup>46</sup>

The oldest of the central Massachusetts psalmodists and the only one with direct ties to Massachusetts Bay is Lemuel Babcock (1748-1835). Babcock was born in Milton, southeast of Boston.<sup>47</sup> Involved in various choral activities in nearby Quincy and Braintree, he was listed as a resident of Dorchester in 1774 at the time of his marriage to Sarah Savil of Braintree. Shortly thereafter, the couple moved outside of the Massachusetts Bay area to Wrentham, Massachusetts, which bordered the northeast corner of Rhode Island. Serving in the Massachusetts Militia during the Revolutionary War, he maintained his residence in Wrentham until 1795, when he moved his family back to Milton.

His most active period of compositional pursuit was between 1780 and 1790, coinciding with his greatest days of musical itinerancy. Besides central Massachusetts, Babcock was active in the Connecticut River Valley, evidenced by the tunes found in the Wells manuscript. Also, his earliest presumed composition, SPRINGFIELD, named after the Connecticut River Valley town in Massachusetts, appeared in Law's *Select Harmony*. Although new compositions by Babcock trickled into print into the early nineteenth century, publication dates have no significant correlation to their date of composition. Of the four tunes by Lemuel Babcock found in the Wells manuscript, the two that were published only appeared once, one in 1793 the other in 1804. Wells also entered a previously undocumented

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<sup>46</sup> ROYALSTON, ANDOVER, and A HYMN ON PEACE by Abraham Wood, and MONTAGUE and RAINBOW by Timothy Swan, appeared first in publications printed by Daniel Bayley and William Billings, including: William Billings, *Music in Miniature* (Boston: The author, 1779); John Stickney, *The Gentleman and Lady's Musical Companion* (Newburyport: Daniel Bayley, [1783]); *A Hymn on Peace* (Northboro, Mass.: Am. Wood Author; Boston: John Norman eng., [1784]); Daniel Bayley, *The Essex Harmony, or Musical Miscellany* (Newburyport: The author and son, 1785).

<sup>47</sup> Laurie J. Sampsel, "Samuel Babcock (1760-1813), Archetypal Psalmodist of the First New England School of Composers" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 2009): 65-70. All biographical information on Lemuel Babcock is taken from this source.

tune by Amariah Hall (1758-1827), a farmer in Raynham, southeast of Wrentham. He might have obtained it directly from Hall or through his contact with Babcock.

The final central Massachusetts psalmodist with pieces in the Wells copybook is Abraham Wood, a fuller of cloth and town official of Northboro [Northborough], outside of Worcester.<sup>48</sup> Wood served as chorister in the village's Congregationalist church, never becoming active as an itinerant singing master. Though his pieces circulated throughout western and southern New England, he remained a lifelong resident of his birthplace. The manuscript contains two tunes by Wood. One was never published, the other in revised form in *The Columbian Harmony* (Worcester, 1793), co-authored by Wood and Joseph Stone, a singing master in neighboring Ward [Auburn]. More pieces by this individual were possibly copied into the manuscript, as the setting of GLOCESTER remains imperfect as a result of missing pages in the source compilation.

Establishing somewhat a continuum between regions, composers represented in the copybook who resided along the northern part of the Connecticut River and in the western part of Massachusetts, were born in or had resided in the central part of the colony and later state. Lewis Edson moved to Lennox, in the far northwestern corner of the commonwealth from Bridgewater, near Raynham. Timothy Swan was born in Worcester and lived in Marlborough and Groton before joining the army in Cambridge. After his service, Swan became an apprentice to his brother-in-law, a hatter in Northfield. Most of the pieces by Swan and Edson appeared in later print sources, but not in the versions found in the Wells copybook.

The same remained true for the tunes by northwestern New England composers represented in the manuscript. For instance, BUNKER HILL, published in 1781 by Law,

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<sup>48</sup> Metcalf, *American Writers*, 85-87

demonstrates Wells' connection to the northern Connecticut River Valley. Ascribed to Sylvanus Ripley (1749-1787) in the Wells copybook, the text to this tune recounted the experience of the patriots during the battle of Bunker Hill, becoming popular through its dissemination in broadsheet form. Ripley, born in Halifax, Massachusetts, near Plymouth, served as a tutor, trustee, pastor, and a professor of theology at Dartmouth College from 1772 until his death in 1787. Significantly, Dartmouth College is also situated along the Connecticut River in New Hampshire, upriver from Brattleboro.

Although present, the contributions by musicians from Connecticut remains quite small, especially considering Wells' access to Law's tunebook. Perhaps more Connecticut pieces appeared in the missing sections. As with the tunes by western Massachusetts' musicians in the Wells copybook, those by Connecticut singing masters predate their appearance in print. However, Connecticut psalmodists differed from their northern neighbors in one important aspect. Western New England musicians arrived to the area largely from central Massachusetts; Connecticut musicians were mostly native to their area of residence. Despite variations in settlement and residency patterns, Connecticut compilers promoted the efforts of composers throughout the entire region, being the ones to publish almost all of the early southern and western New England repertory. Also similar in terms of geographic dispersal, two of the three Connecticut psalmodists resided within the Connecticut River watershed, including Solomon Chandler (1756-c. 1804) of Enfield and Oliver Brownson (1746-1815) of New Hartford or Bolton. Only Daniel Read (1757-1836) lived along the coast in New Haven.

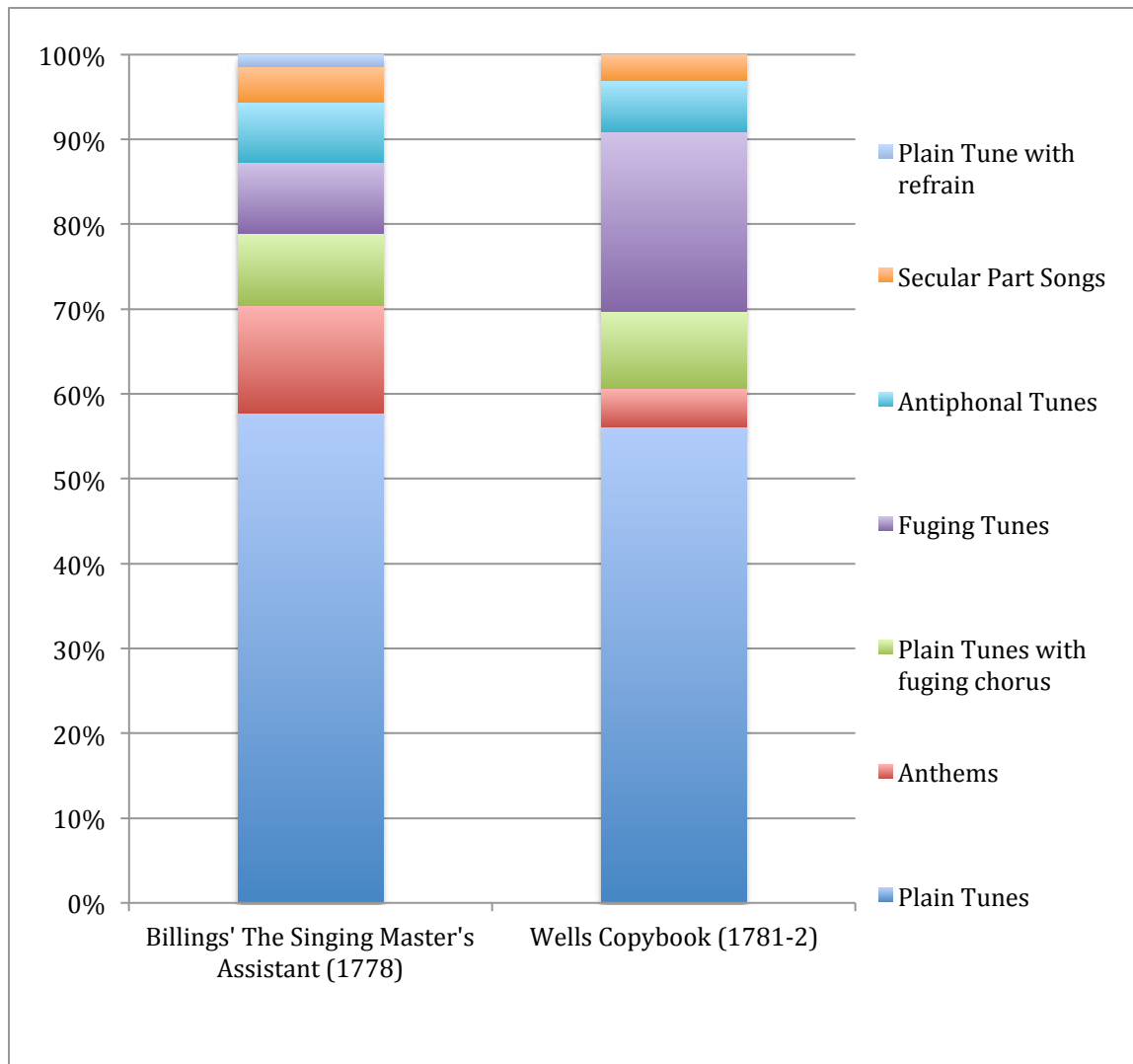
Taken as a whole, the Wells copybook reveals the continuation of trends in tunebook compilation first encountered in Connecticut during the Late Colonial Period. Most compilations of psalmody from New England were not intended for use in the church,



but rather secular-social performance. Although the process of compilation remains the same, repertory differs significantly by the location of the compiler. Tune selection is based on two types influence by contemporary psalmody: indirectly through printed tunebooks, and directly through musicians active in a compiler's area of residence and/or musical activity. These spheres of influence demonstrate that much of the practice of psalmody operated primarily at the local level, but were determined by the general trends common to the region. Because of this, the Wells manuscript shows the strong influence of central and Western Massachusetts more than Connecticut itself, reflecting Wells' place as a resident of Montague, Massachusetts along the Connecticut River. Most importantly, the copybook demonstrates that musical trends did not remain beholden to geo-political boundaries, but instead were shaped by more regional factors, such as transportation and trade routes, and natural geography.

Containing sixty-six pieces, the surviving contents of the manuscript offer a telling comparison with *The Singing Master's Assistant* by William Billings (1778), in regards to popular trends in compositional genres and their instances of appearance (**Chart 12.2**). In particular, a more even balance of pieces is maintained between plain tunes and those with more extended techniques. Earlier southern and western New England compilations featured almost exclusively plain tunes with the occasional antiphonal tune or anthem. Further, a number of plain tunes in the Wells manuscript such as VIRGINIA include extensions or repetitions of text, setting them apart from the traditional syllabic congregational psalm tunes performed during the divine service. As such, the tune choices reflect more the secular-social nature of popular ancient-style psalmody of New England during the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Chart 12.2 Compositional genres and their ratios compared between *The Singing Master's Assistant* by William Billings and the Wells copybook



Besides plain tunes, the ratio of compositions in the Henry Wells, Jr. manuscript differ somewhat from the Billings model, especially concerning the relationship between anthems and fuging tunes. In this respect, the two volumes display exactly opposite trends in aesthetic and compositional choice. Billings featured three times as many anthems as

Wells. However, Wells included more than twice as many fugging tunes as Billings. In fact, Wells devoted almost one third of the entire contents of his collection to metrical tunes with fugging passages. Alongside these differences, the proportion of antiphonal tunes and plain tunes with fugging choruses, and secular part songs remains approximately the same between the two volumes.

The ratio of compositional genres in the Wells copybook anticipates later trends in tunebook compilation in southern and western New England. Though intended for social-sacred amusement, the manuscript demonstrated that religious sentiment still determined somewhat southern and western New England trends in the popular ancient style. Reserved for performance only on the most special of occasions, anthems and anthem composition were not cultivated as much among southern and western New England psalmodists as Billings. Instead, a limited number of anthems would become established favorites, being reprinted numerous times. Composers from this region cultivated instead fugging techniques more rigorously than Billings. Over the next decade, Connecticut and central and western Massachusetts musicians devoted much of their energy to these most social-secular compositional genres.

Turning to the compositions and tune settings found in the Wells manuscript, several pieces provide new insights into the sacred musical culture of western New England. In addition to the gathering of traditional English Presbyterian and Nonconformist hymns and spiritual songs found at the end of the copybook, Wells included a new setting of PSALM 104 composed by James Lyon and printed in *Urania* (**Anth**). Lyon's original setting was modeled on a Nonconformist-style hymn with the verse set for two solo voices or a solo voice with instrumental accompaniment, employing typically galante techniques such as a static bass line and graceful melismas. At the conclusion of the verse, Lyon appended an

ejaculatory-style refrain for SATB chorus with the melody in the treble part. He created an antiphonal shift between the verse and chorus and provided a mostly functional harmonic scheme that imitated pieces found in Thomas Butts' *Harmonia Sacra*. In addition, he followed the scoring conventions of colonial musicians such as William Tuckey and his ecclesiastical tunes that imitated Anglican cathedral music. In effect, he united evangelical Nonconformist expression with colonial Anglican stylistic techniques. The placement of THE 104TH PSALM BY DR. WATTS at the end of the tunebook indicated its intended performance outside of the divine service.

The version copied in the Wells manuscript is a significant revision of Lyon's original setting. The unknown arranger not only excised the refrain, but also added a treble voice in the verse. Though the top two voices through numerous voice crossings and graceful melodic lines mimic part-writing procedures found in Nonconformist texts, the harmonic language follows the nonfunctional system typical of traditional English Presbyterian practice and some of the works in the Congregationalist manuscript supplements. Pieces by the mature Billings might not have been harmonized according to the rules of common practice tonality, but the harmony almost always had some sense of direction, whether modally or tonally conceived. Instead, the newly composed voice imparted a non-functional aspect to the harmony not seen in Lyon's original.

The anonymous arranger, in attempting to imitate the galante style, imbued the piece with earlier uses of nonfunctional harmony similar to that of the English Presbyterians from southern New England and the Middle Atlantic. Most noteworthy, the arranger shifted the tune-carrying voice from the treble to the tenor. They also made free use of inverted chords that remain outside their function in common practice harmony. For example, the treble and tenor parts in the opening two measures employ almost the same interchangeable lines.

The melodic contour in the first measure indicates an arrival to the dominant chord in the second beat with an immediate return to the tonic. However, rather than continue this figure into the second measure, the arranger deviated from the conventions of functional common practice harmony. Instead of presenting a secondary dominant implied by the bass voice, the treble line comes to rest on the tonic in the second beat, creating a  $I^4$  chord.

Similarly, the shape of the treble line in the second measure creates instances of nonfunctional passing tone dissonance and other strange chord inversions. The arranger, not understanding functional harmony, crafted the treble line according to the conventions of consonantal counterpoint and its horizontal orientation. These devices often result in some unusual sonorities. For instance, in the second measure, the arranger stacked an E in the treble against a D in the bass in the anacrusis to the second beat. Having no basis in vertical harmony, the sonority comprises two independent perfect consonances based upon the cantus tenor: the E-A shared between the treble and tenor, and A-D between the tenor and bass. In their individual relationships to the tenor, both follow the conventions that typify consonantal counterpoint. Together, they form a strange dissonance when viewed from a vertical orientation.

Similar dissonant and free inversions of chords occur throughout the piece (mm. 6, 8, 10, 11-12), displaying both the nonfunctional nature of the harmony and the independence of voices united only by their connection to the cantus. Although a popular-style composer like Billings used some nonfunctional dissonance, he remained more orthodox in his treatment of passing tones and dissonance between all voices within his command of the ancient style. These conventions in PSALM 104 resemble more the efforts by musicians from the 1760s, either as a result of deliberate intent or inexperience at harmonization.

PSALM 104 not only reveals further the influence of Lyon's *Urania* in western New England, it also demonstrates how tunes from this tunebook continued to influence northern evangelical Calvinist musicians decades after the compilation's initial appearance in Philadelphia. Because so few examples of American-composed New England Calvinist spiritual songs survive from the beginning of the Early Nationalist Period, scholars have tended to see the late eighteenth-century efforts by Connecticut musicians in the Southern Backcountry such as Lucius and Amzi Chapin, and the early nineteenth-century efforts by western and northern New England psalmodists such as Jeremiah Ingalls and Elisha West as initiating new trends in evangelical composition. Instead, the presence of arranged settings of tunes like PSALM 104 establishes a continuum between the Late Colonial and the Early Nationalist Periods.

Almost every regional popular-style tune in the Wells collection predates its first instance in print. Somewhat surprisingly, the settings often differ from their published counterparts. Although it would be expected that the occasional note might deviate between sources, in some cases the differences are quite drastic, extending not only to the shape of the various lines, but also to the number of parts, time signature, and rhythmic elements. Because of the fragmentary nature of surviving source material, it remains impossible sometimes to know which version is the one created by the composer, and which setting constitutes intentional modifications by a later arranger. In some cases, a number of variant settings exist between printed sources, rendering it difficult to determine the original version of the tune. Two pieces from the Wells copybook illustrate these trends.

BRIDGEWATER by Lewis Edson became one of the most well known American-composed fusing tunes in the entire popular ancient-style repertory. Presumably written while Edson was living in Bridgewater before his removal to Lennox, it was first published

in *The Chorister's Companion: or Church Music Revised* (New Haven, 1782) by Simeon Jocelin and Amos Doolittle of New Haven, Connecticut, only a few months after Wells copied his setting of the tune (**Anth**). The version in the Wells copybook is set for treble, tenor, and bass. Cast in the first mood of triple time, the notation of the melody resembles tune settings in *The Universal Psalmist* by Aaron Williams. Rhythmically, the tune maintains its triple meter pulse into the fusing section until all voices have entered. Then, it features a metric shift to the third mood of duple time (2/2), which picks up rhythmic momentum to drive it forward to the final cadence.

Although this setting employed a sophisticated sense of drama in setting up the climax of the piece, the harmonic language of the tune seems much more crude. For instance, the first section features many instances of parallel perfect consecutions among the various voices. With the exception of one note, the first two measures of the treble and tenor parts are written in parallel octaves. Likewise, besides the occasional parallel octave between the tenor and the bass in measures one and two, the fourth measure also consists entirely of parallel octaves. Combined with the parallel sevenths between the treble, and tenor and bass, this measure presents a striking dissonance somewhat necessitated by a descending treble line that arrives at the fifth scale degree at the cadence. Although short, BRIDGEWATER combines three distinct compositional and harmonic influences: Aaron Williams and his approach to melodic settings, Anglicans through the piece's compositional genre, and Late Colonial Period Calvinists through the nonfunctional consonantal counterpoint. This particular commingling of denominational sources, and popular and traditional styles distinguishes it as the product of its region.

The printed setting of BRIDGEWATER (**Anth**) presents a contrasting set of features that illustrate the difference between the traditional and popular ancient-style

idioms. This version is set for four voices and more closely resembles the type of revisions Billings made to tunes such as AMHERST that he reprinted in *The Singing Master's Assistant*. The piece is cast almost entirely in the third mood of common time. Although outwardly mimicking the mature style of Billings, this presentation forces the tune to adopt the same independence of musical and poetic meter as found in *The Universal Psalmist* by Williams and *The New-England Psalm-Singer* by Billings. Despite the lack of a meter change in the fudging section, the notation conveys a similar dramatic effect through a sudden alignment of textual and musical accentuation that propels the tune to its conclusion. However, the overall sense of drama is diminished visually through this presentation style.

In contrast, the harmonic language is more sophisticated in this setting. The voices agree not only with the tenor, but also each other. Harmonic practice more closely resembles the Billings model in that the overall style emphasizes consonance over dissonance. Dissonance use is restricted to unprepared dissonant intervals occurring on strong beats, passing tones, and upper neighbors, seen in measure seven. Only through these passages does the independence of each line become immediately visible. Each harmony part is pulled to the fifth scale degree: the treble descending stepwise, the alto maintaining a pedal G, and the bass ascending mostly by stepwise motion. Though still relatively dissonant, this setting is without the jarring parallel sevenths. Whereas the Wells setting featured numerous parallel octaves, the printed version contains no perfect consecutions, either at the octave or the fifth.

Because both versions of BRIDGEWATER survive from the same year, several questions remain. Which of these two versions is original to Lewis Edson? Did Edson prepare both versions of the tune? If so, does the setting in the Wells copybook constitute the original version that Edson revised for publication? If not, did Simeon Jocelin or some



other Connecticut psalmodist involved in the production of *The Chorister's Companion* revise Edson's piece? Most likely, the same individual did not create both versions of the tune. The setting in the Wells manuscript follows a more modern sense of barring that aligns textual and musical accentuation; the Jocelin printing does not until the final part of the fusing section. These differences cast doubt on Edson's hand in both settings. Conversely, both the added counter voice and the revised harmony that dispensed with much of the awkward part writing appear to improve on the setting found in the Wells copybook.

This phenomenon raises an important point. The versions found in printed sources can represent more the taste and aesthetic of the compiler than the composer. The compiler, in shaping his compilation, could alter other composers' contributions to suit his taste and/or create a uniform presentation of tunes. With BRIDGEWATER, the setting appearing in Jocelin's tunebook displays few of the idiosyncrasies of the Wells setting that ties the piece to its region of origin. Instead, the setting in Jocelin follows more the general stylistic techniques of the popular ancient style developed by Billings. While it remains impossible to determine which setting is authentic to Edson and which is the revision, it does reveal that a tune was not necessarily a fixed composition in the tradition of Western art music. Rather, a later musician could rework or improve a composition according to their aesthetic criteria without taking credit for these changes. BRIDGEWATER perfectly reflects this ambiguity.

A similar situation is encountered regarding the printed variant versions of a social-secular hymn tune. Generally, the earliest version is considered the closest to the composer's original intent. However, this is not necessarily the case, as seen with the version of MONTAGUE, a fusing tune by Timothy Swan copied in the Wells manuscript. The setting in the Wells copybook predates the earliest published version by one or two years. Between

1783 and 1789, five distinct settings of the tune appeared in various printed tunebooks: two in Massachusetts, two in Connecticut, and one in Philadelphia. Of them, only the version printed by Daniel Read in the supplement to the third edition of *The American Singing Book* (New Haven, 1787) suggests Read's direct hand in its revision.<sup>49</sup> The others remain anonymous.

Similar in scope to Billings' elaborate fusing tune WASHINGTON, MONTAGUE consists of a two-stanza setting of text, the first of which occupies the opening homophonic section and the second the fusing section proper. According to family tradition, it was Swan's first piece and composed in 1779 during his apprenticeship with his brother-in-law in Northfield. Reflecting his somewhat fledgling status as a composer Swan apportioned most of the melodic interest to the cantus tenor, encompassing its vocal range and most of the melismas. All versions preserve the same basic tenor and bass parts.

One of the few western Massachusetts tunes to receive its initial publication in the eastern coastal part of the state, MONTAGUE was first printed by Daniel Bayley in the second edition of *The Gentleman and Lady's Musical Companion* by John Stickney (Newburyport, 1783) (**Anth**). In this instance, this setting resembles more the version of BRIDGEWATER in the Wells copybook. It is set for three voices and the treble part appears to be a new harmonization to a preexistent tenor and bass for two reasons. As a fusing tune with an antiphonal grouping of entries, MONTAGUE features a pairing of the tenor and treble without any textual overlap between these voices in the fusing section. Further, the entire fusing section dissolves halfway through the second part of the piece

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<sup>49</sup> In particular, Read's setting is based on the one printed in Chauncey Langdon's *Beauties of Psalmody* ([New Haven], [1786]). Read's modifications consist principally of a different set of choosing notes in the counter voice. Because of it being an intentional arrangement of one of the other versions, Read's arrangement will not be included in the discussion of the versions of MONTAGUE.

without a typical sense of drive towards the final phrase. The more common ending to a fugal tune involves textual overlap to the end of the verse with a final homophonic phrase reiterating the last line of the stanza.

Displaying the same harmonic techniques of tunes such as PSALM 104 and BRIDGEWATER in the Wells copybook, the Bayley or Stickney setting of MONTAGUE presents numerous instances of unprepared dissonances as a result of the independence of the vocal lines. However, instead of being based on the cantus tenor, the treble part is harmonized off of the bass. Thus, the dissonances found throughout the work occur mostly between the treble and tenor parts and not the treble and bass. For instance, the melisma on the word "pow'r" in measure eight presents a string of three consecutive sevenths that can only be explained as independent harmonizations of the bass. Other times, dissonance occurs as a result of the upward or downward shape of the individual line (m. 2, 19, 23). In sum, the piece closely resembles the system of nonfunctional tonality characteristic of some ancient-style pieces encountered in central Massachusetts and the Connecticut River Valley.

Three years later, two other versions of MONTAGUE were printed in 1786: one in the central Massachusetts tunebook *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* (Worcester, 1786), which became one of the most sought after compilations of popular ancient-style psalmody in New England, the other in a small Connecticut collection from New Haven: *Beauties of Psalmody* by Chauncey Langdon, a student at Yale. Both appear in standard four-part settings for SATB chorus. Further, they contain almost the same tenor and bass parts as the Bayley printing. Although the treble parts in the 1786 settings do not resemble those in Bayley, both are basically identical. At the same time, their counter parts remain quite distinct.

The setting of MONTAGUE found in *The Worcester Collection* (**Anth**) contains a few noteworthy features. Regarding part writing, the counter part presents an alternating blend of melodic styles. Although it contains an entire phrase on a static A (mm. 7-11), the counter voice remains the most florid of any of the other harmony parts, featuring numerous decorative passing tones. This setting also reveals the influence of Joseph Stephenson. The construction of the fusing section employs a similar simple declamatory melodic motive as the basis for the fusing passage, seen with PSALM 34TH by Joseph Stephenson. The fuge itself is set as a double fuge, a somewhat unsuccessful imitation of an orthodox point of imitation. The bass and counter, and tenor and treble parts engage in canonic points of imitation sustained over the first measure of each other's entry. At the same time, they appear out of order, beginning with bass, then tenor, treble, and counter. Finally, the frequent unprepared dissonances and consecutions of perfect consonants found in the Bayley setting have largely disappeared from that in *The Worcester Collection*, paralleling the differences between the settings of BRIDGEWATER in the Wells copybook and *The Chorister's Companion*.

In contrast, the counter part in the setting from Langdon's *Beauties of Psalmody* (**Anth**) shares few similarities with *The Worcester Collection* version except for the same basic melodic content and order of the various entries in the fusing section. However, the Langdon setting does include a series of choosing notes for the counter's entry, presenting both fusing motives simultaneously (mm. 17-18). The part is also not as florid as *The Worcester Collection* setting, matching more the style of the other harmony parts. Langdon's setting, like that in *The Worcester Collection*, uses a similar consonantal approach to harmony, having all of the voices agree not only with the cantus tenor, but also each other.

Besides the counter line, the treatment of text differs between the fusing passages. Because the textual overlap between the tenor and bass dissolves in the middle of the second half of the piece, it becomes necessary to sustain the effect of polyphony in the upper voices. Both versions treat this passage differently. In *The Worcester Collection*, the treble and counter maintain textual overlap for most of the second section, uniting with the other voices only in the reiteration of the final line of text. However, the counter part does unite with the tenor and bass for the last three syllables of the text, "Planets roll," emphasizing both the word "roll" and the tenor's madrigalistic melodic motive (mm. 23-24). In the Langdon setting, the treble and counter voices unite two measures before the tunes' final statement (m. 23). Although employing the same basic style, the pairing of the treble and counter, and tenor and bass creates a different effect in terms of text legibility. It also lessens somewhat the emphasis on the word "roll."

In addition to the Read arrangement of the Langdon setting, one other version of MONTAGUE appeared before 1790, this time in an anonymous Middle Atlantic imprint, *A Selection of Sacred Harmony*, ed. 2 (Philadelphia, 1789). This particular setting closely resembles all four parts of the Langdon version, though the counter parts deviate from each other in a few places. Most pronouncedly, the opening passage of the fusing section presents a different series of entries. In this instance, the fusing passage no longer mimics an orthodox point of imitation. Following the bass's entrance, the other voices present the opening portion of the melodic figure canonically at the octave and unison. Despite these differences, both versions are clearly variants of the same basic SATB setting.

From this survey of versions, it would seem that the Bayley printing would be either the original version or an arrangement of a tenor and bass setting that circulated in manuscript around eastern coastal Massachusetts. Contemporary to the Bayley setting, a

three-part version with a more or less standardized treble voice would have disseminated throughout southern and western New England, including central Massachusetts, evidenced by the settings found in the two tunebooks printed in 1786: *The Worcester Collection* and *Beauties of Psalmody*. Both versions followed a more standardized popular form of tune presentation emphasizing both a four-part SATB ensemble and harmonic agreement among all voices. Finally, the versions in Read's supplement to *The American Singing Book* and in *A Selection of Sacred Harmony* seem to constitute arrangements of the Langdon version, which became the more influential of the two 1786 settings.

Though this progression appears sound, it is not accurate. In fact, the version that appeared in the Wells copybook, predating any of the others, is identical to the Philadelphia setting. Copied by Wells, a resident of Montague, Massachusetts two years after Swan had written the tune, this version is almost certainly the original. Most likely, the version published by Swan in his *New England Harmony* (Northampton, Massachusetts, 1801) is a later revision of his original setting. This phenomenon reveals several important issues surrounding the nature of sacred music print culture in eighteenth-century New England. Chronological printings of tunes can have no basis for determining a piece's date of composition or its representation of the composer's intent. Further, geographic locality of an imprint is not necessarily a determining factor in establishing its authenticity. As seen with MONTAGUE, the version from Philadelphia that appeared last is the one most likely prepared by the composer. As such, the anonymous compiler was probably connected either to Swan or at least southern and western New England. Despite their scholarly pedigree and bibliographic attention, printed compilations are not the most accurate sources to gauge a composer's intent and expression. Rather, print sources display more the trends of their intended consumer: the general public.

Alongside the settings of variant and newly arranged compositions, the Wells copybook presents a number of tunes that never appeared in print and do not survive in other known sources. Because of this phenomenon, these tunes perhaps follow more closely regional compositional trends. Likewise, printing modifications from published tunebooks did not influence these settings. The tunes provide further detail about regional performance practice and aesthetic choice, as the Wells copybook is the earliest compilation to survive from the Connecticut River Valley in Massachusetts. Three tunes illustrate compositional trends and their aesthetic from composers in western and central Massachusetts: SCOTCH AIR, a plain tune by Timothy Swan, MORNING HYMN, a plain tune with fusing chorus by Lemuel Babcock, and FALMOUTH, an antiphonal fusing tune by Amariah Hall.

Though cast as a plain tune, SCOTCH AIR (**Anth**) was not intended for congregational use. Besides it having a fixed text, the opening triadic phrase (mm. 1-5) ascends a tenth before coming to rest down on the fifth scale degree. Instead, Timothy Swan created an affective setting that used compositional devices typical of the popular ancient style in New England. The tune contains a series of effects that heighten the drama and sentiment of its text, a hymn by Isaac Watts. Closely resembling an Anglican ancient-style verse and reiterative chorus typical of composers Tans'ur and Arnold, SCOTCH AIR is apportioned into two parts: a statement of the verse, and a reiteration of the last two lines of the verse stanza enclosed within a repeat bracket. Although Swan did not repeat any melodic material throughout the piece, he did create a framework centered on text declamation.

The initial section (mm. 1-13) was framed around the individual lines of verse, alternating between slower and quicker melodic movement. Forming an implied ABB'A'

form in terms of rhythmic declamation, Swan employed melodic rhythmic movement by the half note for the first and fourth lines of verse, and by quarter note for the inner two phrases. Following this section, Swan restated the last two lines of the verse, reiterating the stanza's climax: the need to follow the ninth commandment (Exodus 20). He also re-introduced the quicker pulse to not only reinforce the importance of the text, but also to drive the piece musically to its conclusion. This fusion of music and words displays a sense of drama that uses music to highlight the sentiment of the text. Rather than the tune serving only as a vehicle for the delivery of words, the two become inseparable. Like Billings, Swan cultivated the popular style of ancient psalmody employing a sense of drama and *Affekt*.

Other pieces unique to the Wells copybook follow techniques characteristic of the older English Anglican ancient style that served as the model for the New England popular style. MORNING HYMN (**Anth**) by Lemuel Babcock incorporates several stylistic traits typical of English Anglicans and English Presbyterians, as well as William Billings. Regarding British influences, the piece is cast in the conformist Anglican style. Not a fusing tune, the piece was composed as a plain tune with fusing chorus, restating the second half of the stanza of verse over a point of free counterpoint. This form of construction remained characteristic of Anglican ancient-style composers in England. However, in New England, these European musicians served as one of many influences and techniques from which to draw for the composition of new tunes. In this sense, Babcock demonstrated also a typically New England aesthetic through his selecting from among many denominational influences for this piece.

The construction of the melody presents an alternating pattern of independence and alignment of musical and poetic meter. Besides beginning on a strong beat instead of an anacrusis, the melodic construction does not fit into a duple meter pulse. Instead, Babcock



stretched the melody in the initial phrase an extra beat (mm. 3-5) so that the second phrase begins with an aligned accentuation of music and poetry. However, this alignment appears to be coincidental as the same stretching of the melody occurs in the end of the second phrase too, re-offsetting the music and poetry. The fusing passage presents a similar independence not only of music and poetry, but also rhythmic accentuation between voices. With each voice entering on an implied anacrusis created by the poetic meter but set on the initial strong beat of the measure, each melodic line presents a similar melodic extension as found in the opening homophonic section. At times the meter and poetry align and remain independent of each other not only within a phrase in an individual voice, but also between parts.

This rhythmic independence among the voices in fusing passages is similar to that in some of the pieces in *The New-England Psalm-Singer* by Billings. The pseudo-imitative entries in Tans'ur and Arnold's pieces always remain brief, dissolving into homophony within four measures and often before each voice has entered. Even those by Joseph Stephenson remain quite short. He favored a number of successive pseudo-imitative entries occurring at any place within the composition. In contrast, Babcock's fusing passage is sustained over twelve measures, dissolving into homophony only before the final reiteration of the last line of the stanza. This attention to a single instance of free counterpoint remains characteristic of New England popular-style compositions such as WASHINGTON by William Billings, and MONTAGUE by Timothy Swan.

While MORNING HYMN incorporates the same techniques associated with the New England adaptation of the European conformist ancient Anglican style, FALMOUTH (**Anth**) by Amariah Hall closely resembles earlier English Presbyterian pieces. Set in three parts, the tune uses the same nonfunctional consonantal approach to harmony as

encountered in other tune settings in the Wells copybook, such as BRIDGEWATER by Lewis Edson and PSALM 104 arranged from James Lyon. Further, the fusing techniques in FALMOUTH resemble that of other English Presbyterian fusing tunes such as WHITCHURCH from *Tunes in Three Parts* (Philadelphia, 1763). Rather than provide a series of entrances for the various voices, Hall introduced textual overlap through free contrapuntal treatments of the word "rejoice" (mm. 13-14, 17-19).

Although cast in two basic parts, FALMOUTH does not follow the typical conventions of metrical tunes with fusing passages encountered in the works of contemporary New England psalmists such as William Billings, Lewis Edson, and Timothy Swan. Further, Hall's use of textual repetition deviates from what was becoming standard New England practice. Instead of introducing the fusing passage at the beginning of the second section, Hall reserved it for the two statements of the final line of text. By structuring his tune this way, he created a tightly organized piece that continued to build and develop into the final phrase. The opening homophonic section presents a single statement of the first two lines of verse with the melody constructed in a characteristic sweep, ascending a tenth before descending to the fifth scale degree at the conclusion of the first phrase.

The second section expands upon the first through each line being stated twice. Creating a sense of drama, Hall constructed this section by first quickening the rhythmic movement and composing another similar arched melodic line. This phrase leads into the climax of the tune: a series of two statements of the final line of verse emphasizing the word "rejoice." This word receives more extensive melismatic treatment than any other in the stanza and is followed by a madigralistic descending melodic line on the text "to see me sunk so low." Hall then repeated the line and expanded further the treatment of "rejoice,"

extending it for twice its original length. He then concludes the piece with a final descending phrase that continues the madrigalistic treatment of the final line of text.

Regarding contrapuntal treatment, Hall engaged in two different voice pairings for his brief fusing passages. The first statement of "rejoice" couples the treble and bass against the tenor; the second pits the tenor and bass against the treble. This pairing of more than one voice against another, combined with reserving the fusing section for the final line of text closely resembles the construction of the concluding section of WHITCHURCH. Both were composed as antiphonal fusing tunes with pairs of voices set against the third. However, the fusing passage in WHITCHURCH functions more as an extension appended to the hymn tune that helps to emphasize the climax of the text concerning the majesty of God. FALMOUTH's fusing passages seem more intrinsic to the overall piece, evidenced with the use of textual repetition throughout the entire second section, as well as the expansive treatment of the word "rejoice" between its first and second statements. As written, FALMOUTH demonstrates a careful handling of *Affekt* and drama through a manipulation of rhythm and melody to follow the sense of the words.

Taken as a whole, the Henry Wells, Jr. copybook provides a wealth of information concerning musical practice and compositional trends in western Massachusetts and the Connecticut River Valley. As one of the earliest compilations to survive from this area of the commonwealth it testifies not only to a flourishing environment for psalmody, but also the continuation of the traditional English Presbyterian ancient-style repertory alongside the widespread adoption of the new popular social-secular ancient style shaped by William Billings. Bridging the two traditions of ancient-style expression, it forms a link between the folk hymns and contrafacta of southern and western New England from the 1750s and those of the Early Nationalist Period. Although musicians in coastal northern New England

severed their ties to traditional practice through the adoption of the ancient style, two traditions simultaneously existed in the southern and western part of the region. Traditional practice remained tied to a specific denominational identity; the other transcended it.

Trends in tunebook compilation in the Wells copybook most closely parallel those in Connecticut sources, beginning with Oliver King's unsuccessful proposed tunebook, "The Universal Harmony." Rather than drawing almost exclusively from one composer, as seen with Tans'ur and Billings, compilers culled from a variety of printed tunebooks as well as local and regional psalmodists active in the Connecticut River Valley. Although the composers represented in the Wells copybook differ somewhat from those in Connecticut sources, the method of compilation remains the same. Psalmodists in western and southern New England followed a general regional trend that was subject to local variation, depending on the musicians active within a given area. Similarly, the emphasis given to specific compositional genres such as the anthem and fugging tune distinguished northern coastal New England from the west and south. Billings favored anthem composition over fugging tunes. The exact opposite remained true for musicians in Connecticut, central and western Massachusetts, and Vermont and western New Hampshire.

Finally, the copybook also revealed many of the problematic issues surrounding tunebooks published during the Early Nationalist Period. Whereas a manuscript is more personal and reflective of local trends within a region, the published source most often denotes the aesthetic of its intended consumers. Pieces found within a published source do not necessarily reflect their date of composition, nor do they incontrovertibly reveal a composer's aesthetic and compositional intent. As seen with a number of pieces such as MONTAGUE and BRIDGEWATER in the Wells copybook, printed versions can deviate significantly from the manuscript source. Thus, a printed source's musical setting, location,

and date of appearance may not reflect the version prepared by the composer. Psalm and hymn tunes, though composed and preserved via scribal and print culture, are not fixed compositions in the Western classical sense. Each compiler and musician could reshape and arrange a tune to suit his needs and aesthetic considerations. Though published sources have enjoyed the attention of many scholars, these compilations are not intrinsically nuanced for understanding the culture and practice of psalmody. Wells' copybook illustrates most clearly all of these trends.

#### **12.4 Published tunebooks and tunebook culture in southern and western New England and New York City (1774-1790)**

Following several unsuccessful attempts at tunebook publication, southern and western New England compilers began to have their works published by regional engravers and printers. Between 1774 and 1790, nine residents of southern and western New England published twenty-three sacred music collections. The earliest of these, *The Gentleman and Lady's Musical Companion* by John Stickney of South Hadley, Massachusetts along the Connecticut River near Northampton, was not printed in the region. Instead, Stickney had Daniel Bayley print the tunebook in Newburyport. He originally had planned to have the work published locally, issuing a proposal for subscription in the Hartford *Connecticut Courant*, March 1, 1774. Resembling the effort by Oliver King, Stickney described his new collection:

The subscriber has found that complaints have generally subsisted among the best teachers of music, with regard to the usefulness of a considerable part of the best collections of musick that have as yet been made public. In almost every collection we find a very considerable proportion both of tunes and anthems, which have never been so lucky as to obtain a general approbation, and probably never will; so that in

order to purchase those that are generally approved and probably will continue so, we are put to an equal expence for those that are entirely useless. In order to remedy the above inconvenience, 'tis proposed that this collection shall consist of pieces taken from the most approved authors, and especially such as have obtained the approbation of the best masters. To which will be added some pieces which have not yet been published, together with a considerable number which have been but little known; to which will be prefixed a short but plain and easy explanation of the rules of musick. The work to be executed on a good paper, the plates prepared by a good engraver, the whole carefully corrected, and the books well bound. The above collection will contain about 150 pages, of the same dimension as Bayley's emendation of Tans'ur and Williams.

This collection drew heavily from Bayley's *American Harmony*, excising those pieces that were not popular among the singing public. From this Anglican and English Presbyterian core, Stickney's proposed tunebook would also have featured works by area psalmodists in the same manner as King. Stickney also had established a network of regional printers and other individuals to collect subscriptions in a geographic area extending from Northampton south throughout Connecticut.

Ultimately, the work was published, but not in the format proposed by Stickney. Stickney's publisher reused older plates from his earlier publications and had an unknown person re-engage a number of tunes from these older collections. In addition, he added a few new pieces, none of which show any indebtedness to southern or western New England.<sup>50</sup> Half of the new compositions were arrangements of tunes by William Billings, together with a couple of works by James Lyon who had moved to Mechias, Maine from

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<sup>50</sup> Britton, Lowens, and Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 564-566.

Philadelphia, as well as two anonymous psalm tunes. The only other American piece, PSALM 122 by Amos Bull, an Anglican from Connecticut and New York City, had appeared first in Bayley's *A New Royal Harmony; or, Beauties of Church Music* in 1773. In sum, *The Gentleman and Lady's Musical Companion*, displays all the hallmarks of Bayley, not Stickney.

When Connecticut compilers did enter the published tunebook market, all conformed to a different set of trends than that displayed by Stickney. Instead of having their collections published outside of southern and western New England, regional compilers produced their works locally, often for a local market. Between 1778 and 1790, four cities became regional centers for tunebook publication: New Haven, Hartford, and Cheshire in Connecticut, and New York City. Of these places, only those collections printed in New Haven testify to a community of compilers. For instance, Cheshire was the home of William Law, brother of the compiler Andrew Law, who engraved and published exclusively his brother's publications into the 1790s. The engravers of *Amphion, or the Chorister's Delight*, the one compilation published in New York City, also served as the tunebook's compilers. Finally, the residence of Isaac Sanford, the engraver of Oliver Brownson's *Select Harmony* from New Hartford, remains unknown though he is listed in the nineteenth century as living in Philadelphia. He was most likely residing in Hartford when performing the engraving work for Brownson.<sup>51</sup>

New Haven was the only city to boast several area compilers including Simeon Jocelin, Daniel Read, Chauncey Langdon, and Asahel Benham. Further, many of these men included each other's tunes in the various compilations. More importantly, this phenomenon demonstrates that music publishing trends were determined largely by the residence of an engraver, not the printer. Amos Doolittle engraved all of the collections

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 205-206, 696

issued in New Haven throughout the eighteenth century. Although a number of New Haven compilers lived in the city, Doolittle's presence served as the catalyst for the number and variety of New Haven imprints in comparison to the other places for tunebook production. In this sense, trends in New Haven paralleled contemporary activities in Boston through the efforts of John Norman, and Philadelphia through John McCullough.

In contrast to the location of the engravers and printers, the residences of the compilers varied between larger urban centers in Connecticut and smaller villages. Some also led peripatetic lives for much of their professional careers. Simeon Jocelin, Chauncey Langdon, and Daniel Read all lived in New Haven at the time of their works' publication dates, though they themselves were not native to the city. Similarly, John Burger and Cornelius Tiebout resided in New York City. Oliver Brownson was active in New Hartford and Simsbury, Connecticut, villages within the Connecticut River Valley watershed. Andrew Law of Milford and Asahel Benham of New Hartford led peripatetic lives that involved travelling over wide swaths of the country extending from Vermont to the Middle Atlantic.

Two striking trends further characterize these men regarding their religious life and education. Most of the compilers of Connecticut tunebooks had no strict denominational identity. Of this group, only two have a known church affiliation and both were Calvinists. Oliver Brownson belonged to the Regular Baptist church. Andrew Law became a Presbyterian minister, first in Connecticut through his ordination by the consociated Calvinist churches of the state, and later Philadelphia. Second, only two had a college education. Andrew Law graduated from the College in the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (Brown University) in 1775, a Regular Baptist institution founded in 1764. Chauncey Langdon compiled his tunebook while a student at Yale in 1786. Together, these trends suggest that as a whole, psalmodists were neither particularly



religious nor well educated, demonstrating how the lives of these musicians largely paralleled the environment for the performance of sacred social popular music.

The occupations of these individuals indicate that most compilers engaged in professional trades typical of urban life. Two thirds of these men belonged to the working middle class. John Burger and Cornelius Tiebout were goldsmiths in New York City. Simeon Jocelin and Daniel Read were merchants who also engaged in manufacturing. Jocelin built clocks; Read made combs. In addition, Chauncey Langdon became a lawyer after graduating from Yale in 1787. Only three of the compilers were actively employed as singing masters: Oliver Brownson, Asahel Benham, and Andrew Law. This occupational trend shows that most of the southern and western New England compilers, as members of the urban middle class, acquired enough disposable income to be able to realize their projects to fruition. The subscription system would not prove a viable means of securing funding for publication in Connecticut. The compiler would have to fund the project themselves if not actively engaged in the engraving of the text.

Connecticut and New York compilers had two basic models for tunebook compilation. Corresponding with the more traditional model associated with Lyon and Williams, the work could consist of an anthology of established favorite and popular pieces, along with a selection of new compositions. Conversely, the volume could represent a unified compositional statement, conceived and executed by a single individual, paralleling conformist European Anglican trends associated with Tans'ur, and the popular ancient style advocated by Billings. With only one exception, every collection published in Connecticut before 1800 employed the anthology approach to compilation (**Table 12.3**). These collections mirror the effort employed by Oliver King for his proposed tunebook, "The

Universal Harmony" and the initial description of John Stickney's collection advertised in the *Connecticut Courant* in Hartford.

Only Daniel Read's first collection, *The American Singing Book* (New Haven, 1785) consisted entirely of his own works. Outside of Connecticut, only two other single author collections appeared before the southern and western New England public in the same time period: a small collection by Abraham Wood of central Massachusetts titled *Divine Songs, extracted from Mr. J. Hart's Hymns* (Boston, 1789), and the *Worshipper's Assistant* (Northampton, 1799), a tunebook by Solomon Howe in Greenwich, Massachusetts near the Connecticut River. In contrast, ten compilers of seventeen different single-author tune collections appeared before 1800 from northern coastal New England. Many of these northern compilers were part of two successive waves of tunebook production. The first group consisted of William Billings, and psalmodists who had enrolled in his singing schools, Supply Belcher and Jacob French. The second was a circle of musicians associated with the common practice reform of the ancient style led by Danish immigrant Hans Gram, which included Oliver Holden, Samuel Holyoke, and Jacob Kimball, besides Gram himself. To this group could be added William Selby, the English-born Episcopalian musician active in Boston.

This general trend continued into the nineteenth century too. Although the number of compilers remains evenly balanced between the two areas, a similar disproportion in compilations exists between the north, and the south and west. Psalmodists living in coastal Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and the district of Maine compiled approximately two thirds of American single-author tune collections. Significantly, no single-author compilations appeared anywhere outside of New England. This pattern, sustained over a forty-year period from the Late Colonial into the Early Nationalist Periods, reveals not only

that single-author compilations remained unique to New England, but that they also were associated primarily with northern coastal New England and tied most closely to William Billings and William Tans'ur. Although initiated in Boston, single author collections were compiled just as frequently in rural villages as urban centers over the entire period of time under consideration.

As a grouping of mostly anthology compilations, the tune collections reveal how popular ancient-style psalmody flourished throughout southern and western New England. Many followed European conventions of tunebook naming and the author's statements of intent. Connecticut and New York City compilers often proclaimed how their collection was to be used and who their target audience was. Of the twenty-three collections, only two were designated for use in church. Somewhat generic, Asahel Benham proclaimed on the title page of his *Federal Harmony* (New Haven, 1790) that the work was "a collection of church music; (most of which is entirely new)." However, it consisted principally of tunes found in earlier social-secular tunebooks along with a selection of new pieces. More specific to ecclesiastical use, Andrew Law's *Select Number of Plain Tunes Adapted to Congregational Worship* (Cheshire, 1781) was the only collection resembling earlier congregational tune supplements. Although containing a few new pieces, almost all were printed without texts, allowing for any verse of a like meter to be set to a particular psalm or hymn tune in the collection. Indicative of the general separation of church music from popular ancient-style psalmody, Law's congregational collection did not enjoy wide popularity, or a second edition or printing.

Instead, the remaining twenty-one collections were intended mostly for social-secular use, demonstrating their popular nature as a morally correct amusement. Three titles were intended for choirs or musical societies: Simeon Jocelin and Amos Doolittle's *Chorister's*

*Companion*, John Burger and Cornelius Tiebout's *Amphion or The Chorister's Delight*, and Chauncey Langdon's *Beauties of Psalmody* compiled for the Musical Society at Yale. Although the use of the term "chorister" could denote a member of a church choir, it could just as easily pertain to that of an informal group of singers meeting in a social-secular venue for the performance of sacred music, as depicted in the engraved frontispiece to *The New-England Psalm-Singer or, American Chorister* by William Billings. Three titles were intended for singing schools including Andrew Law's *Select Harmony* and *Rudiments of Music*, and Daniel Read's *American Singing Book*. Two others were compiled explicitly for social use: Oliver Brownson's *Select Harmony* and the first music periodical in the United States, the *American Musical Magazine*.

Despite the fact that the engraved title page of Brownson's collection depicts a choir led presumably by Brownson with his pitch pipe in the upper gallery of a church, the image is not one of a church service or a church choir. Instead, it portrays a choral concert, illustrated with a small grouping of audience members standing and sitting in a few pews facing the gallery (**Example 1**). The reader is viewing the concert from the pulpit. The canon surrounding the cartouche testifies further to the secular nature of the event illustrated in the engraving. Composed by John Blow, the text to the canon reads: "Welcome, welcome ev'ry guest, || Welcome to our Music feast. || Music is our only cheer, || Fills both Soul and ravish'd Ear, || Sacred nine teach us the mood. || Sweetest notes be now explor'd, || Softly move the trembling Air. || To compleat our concert fair." Even in a church setting, the performance of sacred music occupied mostly a social-secular function intended for communal recreation by a group of singers. Though sacred in content, popular ancient-style psalmody had become an amusement distinct from the traditional devotional and congregational tune repertory.

Example 12.1 Title page of *The Select Harmony* by Oliver Brownson



Regional psalmodists, in crafting their collections, followed a uniform method of compilation procedure. One of the most important features of a tunebook is the selection of composers represented in the volume. Scholar Nym Cooke has focused on the lives of individual composers throughout New England and created a stencil for the average New England psalmodist:

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 inordinate level of popularity. (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.) 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 Washington; no musical jokes; perhaps one piece on the Nativity.<sup>52</sup>

However, this pattern does not characterize the composers found in Connecticut tunebooks between 1778 and 1790. In fact, the denominational pluralism among the various composers in all of the tunebooks serves perhaps as its most salient feature. Further, the mixing of Calvinist and Anglican-Episcopalian repertoires demonstrates how the modern ancient style functioned as a popular-based as opposed to a denominationally specific form of music making.

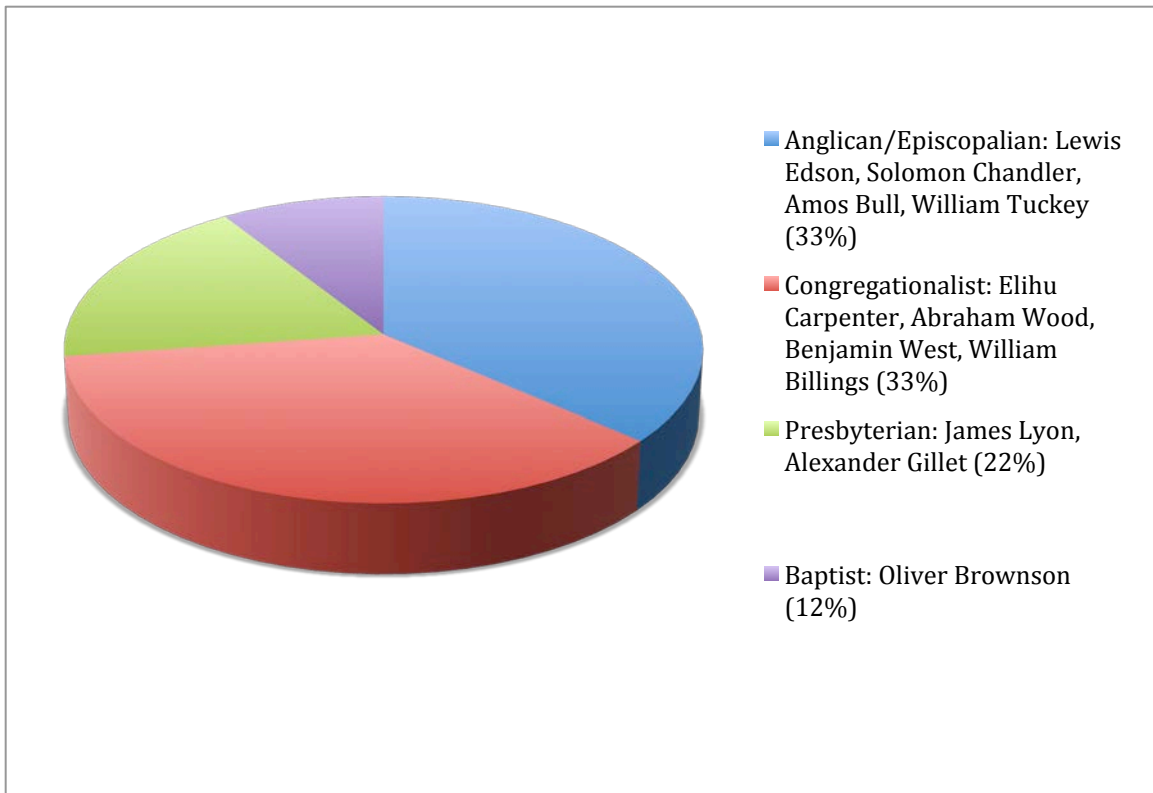
As with the compilers, the composers themselves were not distinguished for their religiosity. Only eleven of the thirty-six composers represented in the collection are known to have been members of a church, including Anglicans/Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and a Baptist (**Chart 12.3**). Most surprisingly, the number of Anglican/Episcopalian composers equaled the number of Congregationalist musicians that appear in the books. Though Calvinist contributions overall outweigh those by Anglicans/Episcopalians, the strong presence of these musicians in the collections shows the

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<sup>52</sup> Nym Cooke, "William Billings: Representative American Psalmodist?" in *The Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning*, 7, 1 (Spring, 1996): 61.

strong musical interconnectivity among denominations. This denominational pluralism within a single collection distinguished Connecticut from coastal Massachusetts. Billings might have combined multi-denominational influences within a piece of music and Daniel Bayley might have reprinted Anglican and Calvinist tunebooks, but the inclusion of new pieces by members of all of the common denominations in a region was a phenomenon found earlier only in North America with Late Colonial Presbyterian collections from the Middle Atlantic.

**Chart 12.3 Known denominational affiliations of American composers in Connecticut and New York City imprints (1778-1790)**



Paralleling the range of composers and their area of residence as found in the Wells copybook, American composers appearing in Connecticut imprints originated from a wide geographic swath of southern New England, central Massachusetts, the Connecticut River Valley, and New York City. Compared to denominational affiliation, much more is known about the place of residence of the various composers. More than half of them have known domiciles at the time that they were compositionally active (**Chart 12.4**).<sup>53</sup> Not unexpectedly, the majority of these individuals lived in Connecticut. As with the Wells copybook, composers in the immediate area around a compiler's residence most strongly influenced the contents of a tune collection. For Wells, this influence was western and central Massachusetts. Although the pattern of compilation remained the same throughout southern and western New England, it was subject to local variation.

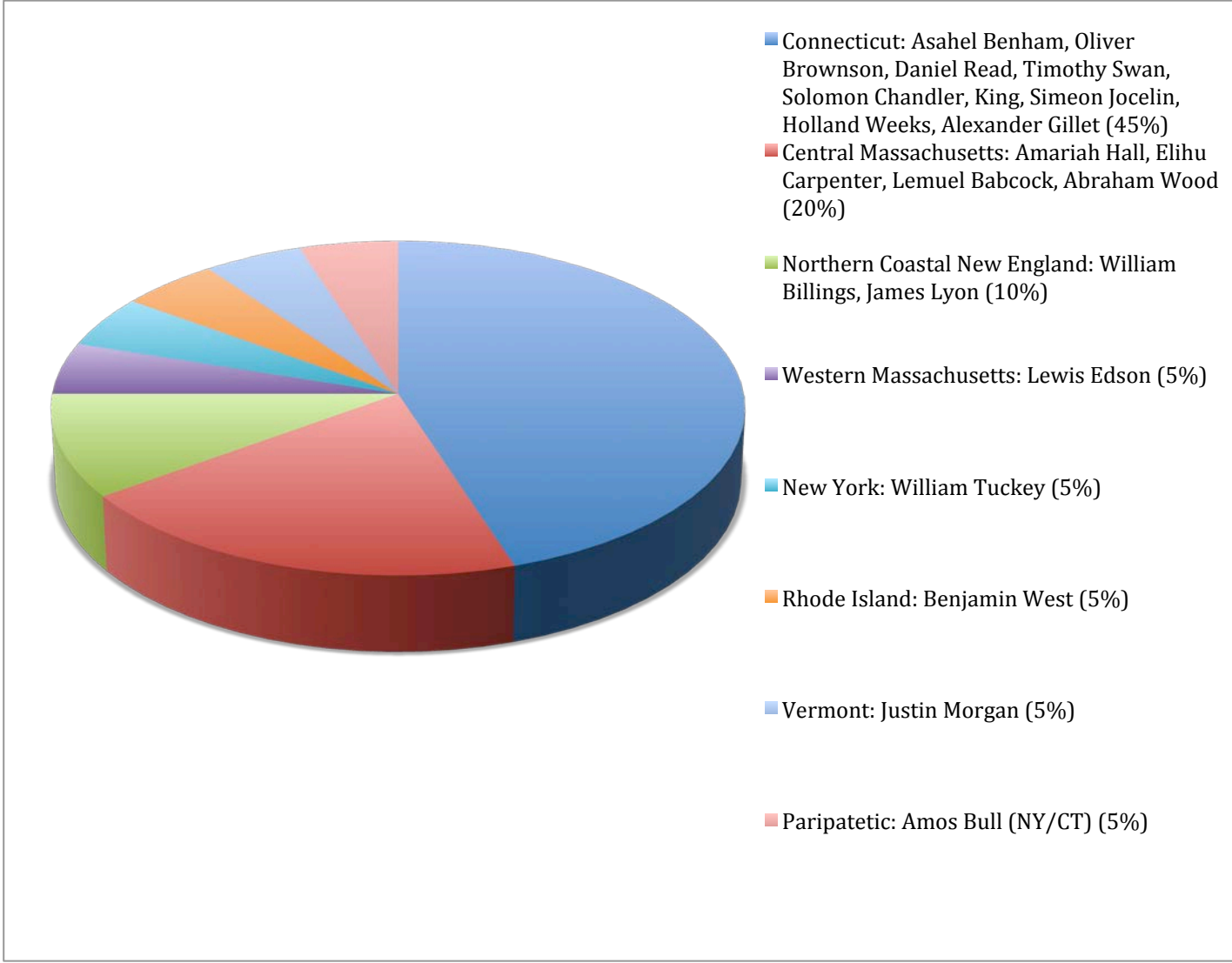
Much of the connections between composers followed the same line of direct and indirect influence as was seen in the Wells copybook. As expected, William Billings' pieces enjoyed wide popularity throughout southern and western New England. However, his influence was manifest through his tunebooks and not directly from professional activity in the area. Conversely, not only did the compilers draw directly from local composers, but some of these musicians such as Asahel Benham, Oliver Brownson, and Daniel Read would later compile their own tunebooks and tune collections for publication in Connecticut. As a result, much musical exchange occurred among compilations and compilers. In this sense a tunebook documents the network of a particular compiler and the composers represented in his collection.

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<sup>53</sup> Out of the thirty-six individuals, sixteen remain unknown or unidentified including: Fasset, M.Kyes, Strong, Brown, Bunnel, Johnson, Crane, Hawley, Deolph, Hitchcock, G. Adams, A. Canfield, Fisher, Harris, William Read, and Seaver.



Chart 12.4 American Composers represented in Connecticut imprints (1778-1790)  
listed by state or area of New England



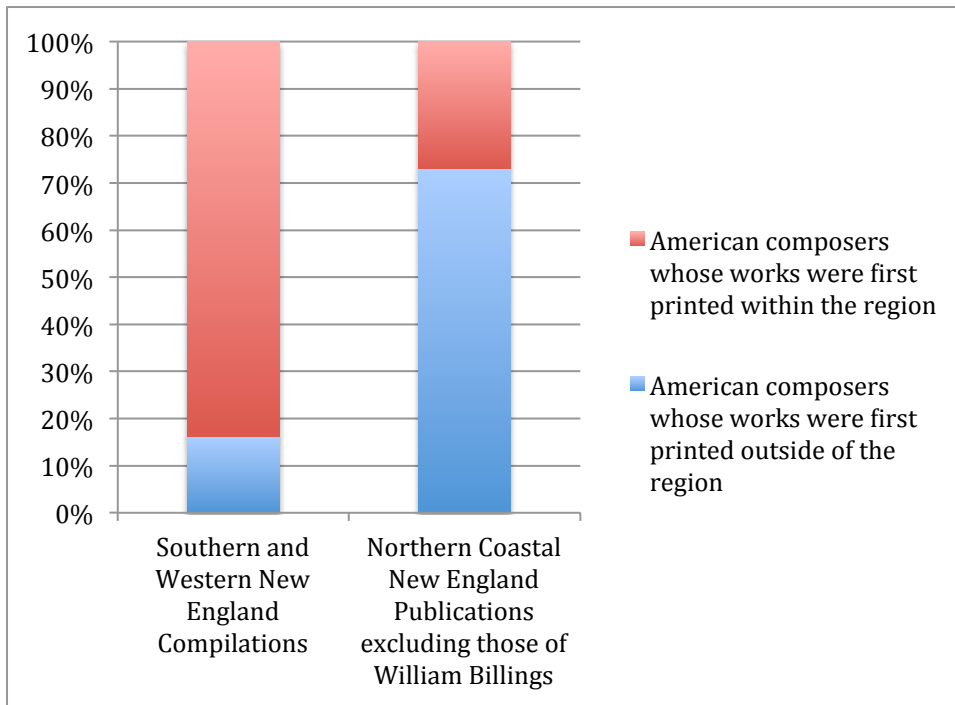
Besides Connecticut composers, southern and western New England compilers drew from almost the same range of central and western Massachusetts' musicians found in the Wells copybook. Unlike William Billings, some Connecticut compilers extended their direct connections to regional composers through their professional activity. For instance, Andrew Law met Benjamin West during the time that he attended the College in the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Law also included a few new tunes by William Tuckey, whose psalm settings became popular through the dissemination of James Lyon's *Urania* to southern New England. As late as 1797, Law still carried a copy of this tunebook with him on his travels throughout New England and the Middle Atlantic.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Asahel Benham most likely became familiar with the pieces of Justin Morgan during his itinerant career throughout the Connecticut River Valley. In all cases, these connections helped market their collections towards residents of the entire region.

One of the most striking differences between the northern coastal, and southern and western subregions of New England is how American compositions from the various regions of the United States were included in a compilation. In particular, the proportion between American pieces included in regional tunebooks that were first published outside of the area in which a tune collection appeared, and those that originated from within the region form an inverse relationship between the two broad areas of New England (**Chart 12.5**). For instance, Connecticut and New York City compilers devoted only sixteen percent of the American repertory to works first published outside of this subregion (**Table 12.4**).

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Crawford, *Andrew Law, American Psalmist* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1968), 136.

**Chart 12.5 Proportion of American-composed pieces first printed within the two main sub-regions of New England**



As with the Wells copybook, Billings' tunes predominate that of any other composer, occupying four-fifths of this repertory (**Figure 12.1**). Not unexpectedly, much of these pieces were taken from Billings' most popular compilation, *The Singing Master's Assistant* (Boston, 1778), which influenced every compiler of a Connecticut and New York tunebook in this time period. His other compilations exerted only a nominal influence on Connecticut imprints. Besides Billings, the few remaining contributions by the other composers originated in four other compilations, evenly divided between the northern coastal subregion and the Middle Atlantic. Few pieces entered the Connecticut repertory from outside southern and western New England besides the works of William Billings.

**Figure 12.1 Proportion of American composers whose works were first printed outside of southern and western New England**

William Billings	33
William Tuckey	2
Abraham Wood	2
Amos Bull	1
Jacob French	1
Anonymous	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>

Instead, more than four-fifths of the American-composed pieces that appeared for the first time in Connecticut tune collections originated from within the southern and western subregion (**Table 12.5**). Significantly, Daniel Read composed one fourth of this metrical tune repertory. However, the substantive number of tunes appearing in Read's first tunebook, *The American Singing Book*, helps to explain this phenomenon, as it was the only single author publication issued during this period. In contrast, though Oliver Brownson follows Read in the number of printed compositions found in tunebooks compiled both by his associates and himself, he was more popular in Connecticut (**Figure 12.2**). Brownson's tunes appeared in two-thirds of all tune collections printed in Connecticut, with new pieces appearing in most of the individual titles. From this viewpoint, Brownson surpassed even Daniel Read in popularity during the period, rivaling only William Billings for the number of pieces and their instances of publication within the various imprints.

**Figure 12.2 Proportion of American composers whose works were first printed in Connecticut and New York**

<b>More than 10</b>		Benjamin West	2
Daniel Read	57		
Oliver Brownson	30	<b>1</b>	
Alexander Gillet	11	G. Adams	1
		Babcock	1
<b>5 through 10</b>		Billings	1
Timothy Swan	9	Brown	1
Asahel Benham	8	A. Canfield	1
Lewis Edson	8	Fasset	1
Justin Morgan	7	Fisher	1
Strong	7	Amariah Hall	1
Elihu Carpenter	5	Harris	1
		Hitchcock	1
<b>2 through 5</b>		A. King	1
Solomon Chandler	4	Lee	1
Johnson	4	James Lyon	1
Amos Bull	3	M. Kyes	1
Crane	3	William Read	1
William Tuckey	3	Seaver	1
Bunnell	2	Abraham Wood	1
Deaolph	2		
Hawley	2	Anonymous	28
Simeon Jocelin	2		
King	2	<b>Total</b>	<b>218</b>
Holland Weeks	2		

After Brownson, the contribution of the other psalmodists appears more evenly distributed. Further, the geographic range of composers begins to expand to include musicians from all areas of southern and western New England. This aspect demonstrates the presence of a community of composers connected via a network of teachers, singers, and compilers whose works circulated in scribal and print culture. Despite this inclusive approach to compilation, the compilers did not necessarily strive to preserve the composer's original intent. As seen with the Wells copybook, printed settings frequently deviated from manuscript sources, and often each other. In this sense, the compiler impressed his personality upon a collection, seen not only through tune selection, but also tune setting.

Almost inevitably, once one published source became the most popular one for later compilers to draw from, this particular setting became either more or less fixed, or subject to further elaboration as seen with the various versions of MONTAGUE. Though representing its community, a tunebook was not the property of this social group. Rather, the compiler proclaimed his personal statement of aesthetic and compositional taste reflected in his composer and repertory selection, and tune settings.

Comparing Connecticut with northern coastal New England, the exact opposite trend occurs when excluding the publications of William Billings, the most atypical of New England psalmodyists.<sup>2</sup> Despite the fact that all of these northern coastal publications are anthology compilations, far fewer original tunes appeared in these collections than American compositions first published outside the region. Overall, northern coastal compilers included less American works than their southern and western New England peers. Though not quite as stark as encountered in Connecticut, this relationship between American pieces originating in the two subregions is striking (**Table 12.6**). Fully three-fourths of the American compositions found in these tunebooks first appeared in collections either outside of northern coastal New England or from the publications of William Billings (**Figure 12.3**). Not unexpectedly, northern coastal New England compilers drew from a much broader range of sources outside the region than compilers in Connecticut.

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<sup>2</sup> Because Billings compiled almost exclusively collections consisting entirely of his own compositions, his publications will not be taken into consideration.

**Figure 12.3 Proportion of American composers whose works were first printed outside of northern coastal New England or the publications of William Billings**

<b>More than 10</b>		Deaolph	2
William Billings	27	Johnson	2
Daniel Read	26	Joseph Stone	2
<b>5-9</b>		<b>1</b>	
Oliver Brownson	8	Francis Hopkinson	1
Abraham Wood	6	Benjamin West	1
Alexander Gillet	5	Babcock	1
Timothy Swan	5	King	1
		Solomon Chandler	1
<b>2-4</b>		Lee	1
Asahel Benham	4	Harris	1
Lewis Edson	4	A. Canfield	1
Amos Bull	3	Ezra Goff	1
Elihu Carpenter	3		
Elias Mann	3	Anonymous	7
Strong	3		
William Tuckey	3	<b>Total</b>	<b>122</b>

This grouping of composers drew from two predominant spheres of influence: the publications of William Billings and Connecticut imprints, besides a few taken from Philadelphia source material. As before, Billings was the most popular composer of the time. However, after 1780, his pieces were not taken from coastal Massachusetts' tunebooks, but rather Connecticut imprints and *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* (Worcester, 1786),<sup>3</sup> most likely as a result of Billings' attempts to secure copyright protection for *The New-England Psalm-Singer* and *The Singing Master's Assistant*.<sup>4</sup> Before a federal enactment in 1790, copyright protection was restricted to the state in which a piece

<sup>3</sup> This collection, compiled by Isaiah Thomas took its settings of Billings' tunes from Simeon Jocelin's *The Chorister's Companion* (1782). The preface to *The Worcester Collection* elaborated: "Many tunes of his [Billings] composing are inserted in this work, and are extracted from the Chorister's Companion, printed in Connecticut, from Copper-plates."

<sup>4</sup> David P. McKay, "William Billings and the Colonial Music 'Patent,'" *Old-Time New England* 63, 232 (Spring, 1973): 100-107.

of intellectual property appeared. Though unsuccessful in his efforts until the printing of *The Suffolk Harmony* (Boston, 1786), Billings' persistent initiatives might have caused other area publishers to avoid taking their settings from his publications.

Somewhat surprising, the number of tunes by Daniel Read found in these compilations almost equaled those by the Boston psalmodist. Read's pieces also were preferred over tunes by Oliver Brownson. As a result, Read would become the most popular American composer of ancient-style popular psalmody largely because of the taste of northern coastal New England compilers and publishers. Overall, almost half of all tunes appearing for the first time in Connecticut tunebooks were reprinted in northern coastal New England. Clearly, compositional activity in southern and western New England dominated that of the northern coastal area when excluding Billings' publications. Though the most prolific composer in New England and the single-most influential musician within the social-secular ancient popular style, Billings only contributed one-fourth of the metrical psalm and hymn tune repertory in northern coastal New England anthology-style tune collections. Of Billings' approximately three-hundred-and-forty pieces, only twenty-seven entered into the general coastal Massachusetts repertory. Clearly, southern and western New England trends far outstripped those of any other region.

The relatively few American pieces appearing for the first time in northern coastal New England tunebooks during this same time period reveal Billings' almost complete compositional dominance within the print culture of this subregion (**Table 12.7**). Even taking into account that the number of tunebooks issued in northern coastal New England, excluding those of William Billings, only comprised three-fourths of those from Connecticut, the paltry figures suggest that compositional activity was less a community endeavor, and more that of an isolated individual (**Figure 12.4**). Though compositions by



northern coastal New England compilers would explode beginning in the 1790s, Billings seems to have retarded the confidence of northern psalmodists. Only after Billings' influence waned did other regional musicians begin to flourish.

**Figure 12.4 Proportion of American composers whose works were first printed within northern coastal New England excluding the publications of William Billings**

<b>More than 1</b>		Jacob Kimball	1
Oliver Holden	3	Elias Mann	1
William Cooper	2	Nolen	1
James Lyon	2	Parmenter	1
		Timothy Swan	1
		Abraham Wood	1
<b>1</b>		Anonymous	29
Supply Belcher	1		
William Billings	1		
Amos Bull	1	<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>

Indicative of this change, many of the composers represented in northern coastal New England publications would compile their own collections in the 1790s and early 1800s, including Supply Belcher, William Cooper, Oliver Holden, Jacob Kimball, Elias Mann, Timothy Swan, and Abraham Wood. Except for Mann, all of these individuals also published single-author compilations too. Paralleling trends among single-author compilers of tune collections and tunebooks, a number of the composers who contributed to these works moved in the same professional circles. Supply Belcher attended a singing school by Billings. Unique to his entire output, Billings published one tune by another American composer: Abraham Wood in his *Music in Miniature* (1779). Both Oliver Holden and Jacob Kimball were associated with the reform of the ancient style, led by Hans Gram and William Selby in Boston. Finally, a few of these composers had works first printed in both subregions of New England, including William Billings, Amos Bull, James Lyon, Timothy

Swan, and Abraham Wood. The sources for American compositions found in these imprints reveal most vividly the difference between tunebook compilation methods of the northern coastal, and southern and western parts of New England.

Over the course of the next two decades, Connecticut trends in compilation method remained similar to those published between 1778 and 1790. A new generation of compilers would appear on the scene and contribute many new works in published tunebooks. Connecticut musicians such as Elijah Griswold, Stephen Jenks, Daniel Peck, and Walter Janes would begin to publish their own tunebooks beginning in 1796, imbuing them with the same traits that distinguished southern and western New England tune collections from the northern coastal area. Emphasizing new compositions as much as established favorite pieces, these compilers would devote almost half of their contents to new pieces by area composers, forming a second generation of shared compositional activity. A number of works from these compilations would become favorite pieces outside of their region too, in this case throughout the Middle Atlantic, northeastern New York, and the area of northern New England encompassing Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine.

### **12.5 Southern and western New England compositions**

As members of a larger community of singers, compilers, and teachers, the composers of popular ancient-style psalmody provided new pieces for their peers that drew from a wide range of denominational and cultural influences. Without a longstanding tradition for mostly four-part tenor-led ancient-style works, these pieces entered the popular realm largely because of the social-secular nature of choral singing throughout New England and the identification of it both with the youth and the singing school. Although established by William Billings, this movement flourished throughout southern and western New

England with many of the most popular pieces emanating from central Massachusetts and Connecticut. Southern and western New England composers not only drew from the same sources that influenced William Billings, but Billings' music became a model for emulation. The denominational associations of many compositional and stylistic traits, such as fusing techniques and reiterative choruses, became lost over the course of the 1760s and 1770s.

### *12.5.1 Parody tunes and parody techniques*

Just as Billings incorporated the techniques of William Tans'ur, Aaron Williams, and Joseph Stephenson into his own pieces, the same remained true for musicians in Connecticut. Instead of Tans'ur however, two musicians from Poole, England proved more influential: the Anglican William Knapp and his colleague Joseph Stephenson, a Unitarian. As with Billings, techniques lifted from Stephenson become particularly noticeable in fusing tunes. For instance, Daniel Read borrowed from Stephenson for his fusing tune STAFFORD. Stephenson's fusing tune, known in Connecticut as MILFORD, appeared first in his *Church Harmony Sacred to Devotion* (London, c. 1760). Though not a particularly well-known tune in Great Britain, Law's printing established its popularity in the United States.

MILFORD (**Anth**) deviates somewhat from his other fusing tunes. Resembling earlier pieces such as THE 12TH PSALM TUNE printed in James Lyon's *Urania*, MILFORD introduces a series of fusing passages throughout the piece, instead of the more typical bipartite form in which the fusing passage is reserved for the second half of a composition. Stephenson begins the piece with a fusing section that imitates an orthodox point of imitation, presumably to depict the choir of the heavenly host. As with many of Stephenson's pieces, it dissolves into a homophonic texture for the second line of the verse, leading to the strong cadence that concludes the first half of the piece. The second half

commences with two points of imitation that again employ a sense of pictorial imitation. Beginning with the text "we well may imitate their mirth," this fugal section references the singing of the heavenly host, and plays with the word "imitate." Stephenson continues with free counterpoint all the way to the penultimate measure of the tune. Rather than restate the final line of text, he chose to have the final fugal passage drive the piece to its conclusion. Displaying compositional resourcefulness, Stephenson changed the order of entries for each point of imitation, providing a sensual delight of sound, harmony, and word play in text setting.

In crafting the tune STAFFORD (**Anth**), Daniel Read borrowed heavily from MILFORD, though without Billings' obvious sense of direct parody. Instead, the elements that Read took from Stephenson lie buried within the piece. Read set his tune in the more standard fugal tune format among New England popular ancient-style psalmists. The first section is completely homophonic. The second includes a brief six-measure fugal passage devoted to the third line of the verse. The piece concludes with a final homophonic statement of the final line of the verse that borrows its cadential material from the opening melodic line, creating an ABCA' form.

Upon closer inspection however, STAFFORD takes two main elements from MILFORD. Read's fugal passage (mm. 9-13) closely resembles the final point of imitation in Stephenson's tune (mm. 18-22), except for the introduction of a passing tone in the melodic motive and the order of entries for the various voices. Instead of Stephenson's alto-soprano-bass-tenor order, Read follows the more conventional bass-tenor-alto-soprano format in order to preserve the same harmonic relationship among the voices. Further, Read's opening melody (mm. 1-5) corresponds closely to the concluding homophonic passage of the first half of Stephenson's MILFORD (mm. 7-12). Though not as obvious as

Billings, Read clearly lifted much of the contrapuntal and melodic content of STAFFORD from MILFORD.

Other pieces, rather than composed as direct parodies of older ancient-style tunes, employ distinctive techniques lifted from earlier English pieces. For instance, the tune WORTHINGTON by Strong presents similar antiphonal fusing devices as POOL, a tune by William Knapp. POOL (**Anth**). However, it does not have any points of free or direct imitation, resembling later fusing tunes by New England popular ancient-style psalmody. Constructed in two sections, Knapp separated them with a time signature change, a technique encountered also in the works of William Billings. The opening section is homophonic with the fusing passage reserved until the second half of the piece. Though the second section begins with a homophonic texture, it quickly dissolves into free counterpoint with the tenor and soprano paired against the alto and bass. Extending this antiphonal form of fusing technique into the final line of the verse, the fusing section introduces more complex textual overlap, breaking down the strict pairing of voices. Alongside this gradual shift towards textual independence among most of the voices, Knapp elongated the statements of the word "wonders" (mm. 19-24) and introduced two varied statements of this melodic material to drive the piece to its conclusion. Through melodic repetition and contrapuntal whimsy, he employed an AA'BCDD' form for the piece.

WORTHINGTON by Strong (**Anth**) shares many similar features with POOL. Though the composer did not provide a time signature change to demarcate sections, he did present a similar pairing of voices in the antiphonal fusing passage, and employed similar varied melodic restatements in the second half of the piece. As with POOL, Strong reserved textual repetition for the second half of the piece, using it for its dramatic capabilities. As a result, the form of WORTHINGTON is even more unified than POOL, being cast in an

AA'BB'CC' form through melodic repetition between the voices. The opening section features repeated melodic material in the tenor (mm. 1, 3-4) and soprano voices (mm. 1-3 in soprano, 3-5 in tenor). This borrowing from one voice to another characterizes the second section too. Unlike Knapp's piece, WORTHINGTON only introduced a fusing passage in the final section of the tune. Strong stated "how feeble is our mortal frame" twice, repeating the tenor's melodic line in the soprano voice. Then, the soprano and alto split from the tenor and bass, creating a similar antiphonal fusing effect as encountered in POOL. Strong even repeated the melodic material of the fusing passage. This time however, he restated the soprano's melodic material in the tenor voice, maintaining paired textual overlap to the end of the piece. Though not overt parody, the similarity between the two pieces is striking.

Just as English psalmists influenced musicians in both subregions of New England, pieces by William Billings helped shape compositional trends throughout the entire area. Sometimes, southern and western New England composers borrowed a few of his compositional quirks; other times they parodied pieces found in *The Singing Master's Assistant*. Outside of the northern coastal area, the influence of Billings, like that of his European contemporaries, rested on his publications as opposed to his direct contact with regional musicians. For many southern and western New Englanders, Billings, though an American composer, remained only nominally connected to traditional regional practice. He established the precedent for what an American psalmist could accomplish, but he did not shape the way in which popular ancient-style music flourished.

Some composers in southern and western New England adopted the metric-poetic rhythmic independence typical of Billings' early works found in *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, which in turn were lifted from European psalmists such as Aaron Williams. As with the early works of Billings, later compilers often revised these pieces, removing this

independence between text and music. For instance, the version of the tune WINTER (**Anth**) by Daniel Read that first appeared in *The American Singing Book* (New Haven, 1785) closely resembles Billings' early compositional mannerisms. Although Read aligned musical and textual rhythms in most of his works, this tune apparently follows the Billings model in that the second line of verse, though set on the downbeat of a measure, should begin on an anacrusis. However, because of the role of the time signature in determining tempo, Read had to employ a uniform meter to reflect the piece's intended speed, in this case the second mood of common time. As a result, the musical-poetic accentuation temporarily assumes a level of independence for the second line of text (mm. 4-5), only to realign in the second half of the tune.

In other instances, later composers apparently parodied specific pieces by Billings, all of which had appeared in *The Singing Master's Assistant*. These works used the same referential techniques as those parodying Joseph Stephenson's fugal tunes. Regarding melodic construction, a plain tune like DORCHESTER by Billings directly influenced several later tunes such as AMANDA by Justin Morgan of Randolph, Vermont, the original breeder of the Morgan horse. DORCHESTER (**Anth**) appeared first in *The New-England Psalm-Singer* but was one of the works revised and reprinted in *The Singing Master's Assistant*. In its later incarnation, the tune, though cast in an ABCB' form, is not divided structurally into two parts corresponding to the two halves of the verse stanza. Instead, Billings apportioned it according to the sense conveyed by the poetry.

The first line begins slowly in the first mood of triple time. The opening melody presents a characteristically Billings-style melodic sweep, being highly melismatic and rising an octave before coming to rest on the fifth scale degree. Illustrating his delight in musical and textual word play, Billings inserted a time signature change at the beginning of the

second line of verse to the third mood of common time. Although the basic pulse is unchanged between the two sections, the movement seems to quicken, corresponding with the text, "And days how swift they are." This conceit of time and rhythmic quickness extends throughout the verse. As a result, Billings constructed his tune to match this specific text, thus explaining why the musical structural demarcations do not follow traditional compositional practice.

Twelve years later, AMANDA (**Anth**), Justin Morgan's parody of Billings' tune, appeared in Asahel Benham's *Federal Harmony* (New-Haven, 1790). Not only did Morgan employ the same textual and musical rhythmic conceit, he also featured the same time signature change. Both texts use the same metaphor of life as a fleeting time before death. Not surprisingly, Morgan constructed his melody to portray the liquescent nature of death, injecting a similar melismatic contour as DORCHESTER, though without the same sense of sweep. Morgan, like Billings, included a time signature shift to reflect the sentiment of the text, in this case corresponding with the line, "Sweeps us away our life's a dream," a metaphor of the oncoming torrent of death. Morgan did not present another time signature change. Instead, he inserted a few extended melismas to call attention to specific words in the text such as "morning" and "wither'd." Billings and Morgan had different conceptions of melodic conception and harmony. However, these pieces remain so similar to each other that AMANDA appears to be a parody tune of DORCHESTER.

Other tunes feature similar musical effects, seen in pieces with extended fugging and antiphonal techniques. STOCKBRIDGE (**Anth**), another piece from *The Singing Master's Assistant* by Billings, inspired a number of parody tunes. As with the majority of Billings' pieces, STOCKBRIDGE makes extensive use of repeated melodic motives, cast in an AA'A"BA""B' CB"DB"" C'C"EB"" form. Though the subsequent parody tunes did not



incorporate this amount of melodic repetition, they remain connected to STOCKBRIDGE through the opening series of antiphonal exchanges. Resembling an older Anglican conversational-style antiphonal tune, the piece begins with a series of antiphonal exchanges, starting with a bass solo, and continuing with a series of duets by the other voices with the bass. After this section, the full ensemble enters with a modified tutti restatement of both melodic motives introduced during the antiphonal exchanges.

Up to this point, the tune mirrors a typical ancient-style antiphonal tune with reiterative chorus. However, Billings did not conclude the piece here. The chorus was not a chorus but merely the concluding passage of the first part of the composition. He continued with a plain tune setting of two additional stanzas of poetry. He connected the second half of STOCKBRIDGE to the first section through modified statements of the earlier cadential material. Billings also included repeated melodic material in this section to provide a sense of musical unity between the second and third verses.

That same year, Abraham Wood contributed WORCESTER (**Anth**), a parody of Billings' tune, in Andrew Law's *Select Harmony*. STOCKBRIDGE had most likely circulated throughout the region in manuscript copies that predated *The Singing Master's Assistant*. The opening section of WORCESTER corresponds to that of STOCKBRIDGE. Because of the difference in poetic meter between the two pieces, Wood modified somewhat the melodic content of the two motives. However, Wood's motives closely resemble those by Billings, the first concluding with an ascending tetrachord beginning on a strong beat (mm. 3-4 in STOCKBRIDGE, m. 3 in WORCESTER), and the second a descending tetrachord beginning on an anacrusis (mm. 11-13 in STOCKBRIDGE, mm. 4-5 in WORCESTER). Both motives preserve the same pitch content, are set in the same key, and feature the same combination of voices throughout the entire series of antiphonal exchanges. Further, Wood

even provided a pseudo-chorus that reiterated the melodic content and text of the last two lines of the verse.

Although Wood repeats the second melodic motive for the conclusion of WORCESTER, the similarities between the two pieces stop after this first section. Wood seemed to have been dissatisfied with the lengthy plain tune fashioned by Billings for the second half of STOCKBRIDGE. Reducing the number of verses set to music to two, Wood constructed his second section as a fusing tune. Beginning with a homophonic section for the first half of this verse, Wood introduced his fusing section in the second half of this verse, maintaining strict canonic imitation over the course of two complete measures, a technique not encountered in earlier British or American popular ancient-style compositions. In a sense, Wood seems to have improved upon Billings' original by creating a more varied composition that featured not only antiphonal exchange, but also fusing techniques within the same work. Not surprisingly, WORCESTER became the more popular tune, having remained in print continuously since 1778; STOCKBRIDGE only enjoyed a few printings and disappeared from the printed repertory by 1804.<sup>5</sup>

Fourteen years after the publication of STOCKBRIDGE and WORCESTER, DOVER (**Anth**), an antiphonal tune by Timothy Swan was included in Alexander Ely's *Baltimore Collection of Church Music* (Baltimore, 1792). Ely was a Connecticut psalmodist living in Maryland during the 1790s. Swan appears to have based his tune on Wood's WORCESTER, thus constituting a parody of a parody tune. As with STOCKBRIDGE and WORCESTER, the first part of DOVER presents a series of antiphonal exchanges, beginning with a bass solo and continuing with the same order of paired voices. Swan even constructed his opening motive as a transposed version of the bass solo of WORCESTER.

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<sup>5</sup> The final printing of the tune occurred in William Cooper's *The Beauties of Church Music* (Boston: Manning & Loring, [1804]).

Wood's tune begins with the following pitch set: 132(1)d56(7)u1, Swan: 132(1)556(u1)d7(6)5. Modified statements of this motive appear in the alto and bass duet (mm. 8-10), as well as the opening tutti choral response (mm. 14-15). The second motive, an ascending tetrachord (mm. 6-7, 12-13), is also based upon the first motive used by Wood and Billings.

The concluding portion of DOVER, an even more abbreviated setting than WORCESTER, constitutes two statements of the last two lines of a single verse, functioning more as a reiterative chorus without either an appended fusing tune as with Wood or an additional two-stanza plain tune as occurred in Billings. At the same time, Swan did introduce a brief non-imitative antiphonal fusing section (mm. 16-17) in the first choral statement, in which the alto is set against the soprano, tenor, and bass. Although not based upon the fusing passage in WORCESTER, that in DOVER provides a brief nod to Wood's composition. These three tunes illustrate how a specific Anglican-derived antiphonal device could be parodied by a number of popular ancient-style musicians. All demonstrate a connection to each other through the different levels of parody manifest in these pieces.

### *12.5.2 Original contributions to popular ancient-style psalmody: new forms and new expression*

Besides composing parody tunes and tunes that make use of older techniques, southern and western New England musicians did not remain beholden to only produce imitations of the older English repertory and compositions of William Billings. Instead, their pieces testify to a breadth compositional creativity and innovation not seen in earlier areas of the North American colonies and later United States. In particular, musicians from this subregion invented at least one unique type of psalm tune: the repeated fusing tune. Rather than having all voices repeat an entire section together, a repeated fusing tune extends the length of a fusing passage through independent repetitions of melodic material among all the

voices. Perhaps the creation of a single individual, the earliest example was composed by Asahel Benham and published in Oliver Brownson's *Select Harmony* (Hartford (?), 1783).

TRUMBULL (**Anth**) outwardly resembles a typical bipartite fugal tune. The opening section is homophonic. Benham includes two extended melismas to lend a sense of gracefulness to the music and avoids dissonance among the voices except for the occasional passing tone. This section concludes with a strong cadence on the tonic. Though he did not employ musical pictorialism in this section, he demonstrated his command of the popular ancient style through his successful handling of consonantal counterpoint and general harmonic agreement among all the voices.

The fugal section commences with a series of canonic entries at the octave established between the bass and the soprano voices, and between the tenor and the alto, though at the unorthodox distance of a minor sixth. After five notes however, the imitation dissolves into free counterpoint among the voices. More important, Benham has constructed his fugal tune in four-measure units in all of the voices to be repeated based upon their point of entry. Through this process, Benham sustained the fugal passage over eleven full measures by composing only four measures of music for each voice. Further interest is sustained through the individual repeats staggered by one measure. Though each voice presents their melodic material twice, the different combinations of melodic material at the beginning and end of the four-measure blocks creates a seamless varying texture that avoids tedium despite the repetition.

Benham also inserted two other typically southern and western New England harmonic devices to conclude the fugal passage: a pedal tone sustained in the bass, and a reverse fugal ending where the voices each drop out one measure at a time leaving only the alto to finish the passage over the sustained pedal. These two techniques remain fairly

common in fusing tunes composed by psalmists in Connecticut and the Connecticut River Valley, though rarely seen if at all in northern coastal New England compositions, particularly those by William Billings. Thus, within a short nineteen-measure piece, Benham included an array of compositional devices that stimulated both eye and ear. The visual presentation of the repeated fusing tune is both striking and conveys a sense of learnedness and contrapuntal mastery despite its relatively simple construction. The composer also experimented with the sonic possibilities of the fusing the tune, through staggered entrances and exits. This piece was clearly intended for sensual pleasure as opposed to instilling a sense of devotion and piety.

Never a widespread compositional phenomenon, the repeated fusing tune did enjoy some measure of popularity by a few composers connected to the Connecticut River Valley such as Benham's colleague, Justin Morgan and his neighbor Elijah Griswold of Simsbury, Connecticut. Morgan's repeated fusing tune, HUNTINGTON (**Anth**) became the most popular repeated fusing tune. Published by Benham, it is tempting to speculate that this tune was a compositional response to Benham's TRUMBULL published a few years earlier. In outward form, it resembles a typical fusing tune composed by regional psalmists such as Lewis Edson or Daniel Read. A double-stanza setting, the two halves of the tune are united by the common technique of restating the same final phrase or cadential material at the end of each section.

Despite the differences in mode between TRUMBULL and HUNTINGTON, Morgan employed many of the same devices as Benham, including each voice's pitch content at the beginning of the fusing section, the melodic motive for each part's exit, a pedal tone bass sustained through the end of the fusing passage, and the reverse fusing ending with the parts gradually dropping out. Morgan, despite the lengthier double-stanza

setting of HUNTINGTON, also confined his futing section to four-measure blocks. At the same time, he seemed less sure of this type of futing tune than his colleague.

In the opening homophonic section, Morgan maintained harmonic agreement between all voices with the exception of the occasional passing tone. However, he seemed to have been in less control of the harmony during the futing passage. Each part assumes a level of harmonic independence united only by their relationship to the cantus tenor. As a result, the futing section is fraught with numerous dissonances that have no connection to the popular ancient style cultivated by William Billings. For instance, the first three beats in measure seventeen (after the alto has entered) all present unprepared dissonances that occur as a result of the shape of each line. The first beat spells the following sonority: B-D-A-B, the second: G $\sharp$ -B-A-E, the third: E-A-G $\sharp$ -E. Only on the weak fourth beat of the measure does this chain of dissonances resolve to a second inversion A-major chord. Once the homophonic section is re-introduced at the end of the piece, these unexplained dissonances disappear from the harmonic texture of the piece. Their appearance in the futing passage can only be attributed to either Morgan's lack of command of his compositional medium, or a tendency to endow much independence among the voices in contrapuntal passages.

Besides the use of several distinct compositional traits, such as a sustained pedal tone in the bass and the occasional gradual exit of voices at the end of a futing passage, a number of pictorial devices appear in southern and western New England pieces that reveal how this repertory came to serve as an art or amusement, depending on the perspective of the singer and/or composer. The earlier repertory before the Late Colonial Period included few pieces with set texts. Instead, a psalm tune was composed merely as a vehicle for the delivery of poetry, and printed or copied without any underlying verses. Even during the Late Colonial Period, the only pieces that had fixed texts were either anthems and set pieces, or spiritual

songs. For all of its distinctiveness, *The New-England Psalm-Singer* by William Billings followed these same trends in that more than two-thirds of the entire repertory remained either textless or without any suggested text listed above a particular psalm or hymn tune. By 1778, this trend moved in the opposite direction, illustrating a shift in sacred music from a devotional tool to a social-secular art.

Two pieces from southern and western New England illustrate the new marriage of text and music: VIRGINIA by Oliver Brownson and SPRINGFIELD by Lemuel (?) Babcock. Though identified most often with Billings, many other musicians began to incorporate musical pictorialism into their tunes. Sometimes composers employed this device through melodic contour, other times with more-subtle rhythmic devices. For instance, the tune VIRGINIA (**Anth**) sacrifices melodic repetition for tone painting. Many composers within the genre used melodic repetition as a means to unite larger sections over the course of the entire piece. Brownson accomplished this same sense of unity through his attention to certain words within the chosen text.

VIRGINIA consists mostly of a straightforward setting of a single stanza by Isaac Watts. Significantly, Brownson did not choose to set the first verse of Watts' poem, but rather an interior verse that presented the composer with a phrase to fuel his imagination: "The rolling billows sleep." The only instance of text repetition in the entire piece occurs in the final line of the verse. In this passage, Brownson composed a melodic figure descriptive of the word "rolling" in the tenor line (mm. 12, 15), first moving by the half note, then by the quarter note. He subtly drew attention to the first statement of "rolling" through a sudden break in melodic-rhythmic movement. The previous phrase (mm. 9-11) quickened the rhythmic pace from the first half of the piece, setting up a drive into the final line of text, a common technique used by many New England psalmists. Defying expectations,

Brownson temporarily suspended this momentum to add emphasis to the word "rolling." This simple but unexpected device, combined with the minor mode creates an effective and affective setting for this particular text.

VIRGINIA displayed Brownson's penchant for manipulating melodic figures for emphasis of important words, as well as playing with rhythmic movement to emphasize these melodic motives. In contrast, SPRINGFIELD (**Anth**) reveals how time signature shifts can facilitate the musical representation of a text, independent of the melodic content. For this tune, Lemuel Babcock set his piece to a text by Charles Wesley concerning the death of Christ as described in Matthew 27:33-54. Because of the sentiment of the poetry, Babcock wrote the tune in the minor mode. However, its melodic content does not serve as the base for pictorial representation. As with many composers of popular ancient-style psalmody, Babcock repeated modified versions of a few basic motives throughout the entire piece, casting SPRINGFIELD in an ABCA' C'B'B"A" form. Instead of manipulating melody and mode, Babcock used time signature to convey the action described in Wesley's poetry.

The first section of the tune concerns the actual death of Christ from the drinking of wine mixed with gall to his final breath after exclaiming "Eli, eli lama sabachthani." For this portion, Babcock used the second mood of triple time, a moderate paced time signature that conveys a sense of grace and refinement echoed by the delicate melismas found in all the parts. The second half of SPRINGFIELD portrays the earthquake that occurred after Jesus' death in which the dead left their tombs and the sun turned to darkness. Reflecting this upheaval, the composer changed the meter to the second mood of compound time, usually reserved for more light and airy tunes. Rather than brightening the texture, this quickening of tempo and shift from simple triple to compound duple portrays the shaking of the earth,



giving the repeated melodic material a fresh sound. In a sense, Babcock transformed the melody of sadness and death into one of confusion, reflecting the bewilderment of the witnesses of Jesus' execution and driving home the horrors that followed his death.

Though reflective of the popular ancient style of psalmody as cultivated by William Billings and earlier European Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Unitarian musicians, southern and western New England musicians developed their own approach to sacred music. Not unexpectedly, some tunes demonstrate a direct connection to the older repertory, while others do not. Psalmody in central Massachusetts, Connecticut, and the Connecticut River Valley forged their own compositional path that involved a mixture of replication and innovation. Alongside tunes that parodied earlier English and northern coastal compositions, area musicians invented new forms of established tune types, and found original approaches to convey the meaning of a text.

### *12.5.3 Nonconformist influences in southern and western New England psalmody*

One way in which southern and western musicians differed from northern coastal musicians before 1790 was through their early incorporation of Nonconformist techniques into the popular ancient style, something seen in earlier European and British colonial Presbyterian initiatives. Paralleling the presentation of Nonconformist tunes in *The Universal Psalmody* by Aaron Williams, Connecticut imprints featured this repertory both in its original three-part as well as newer four-part arrangements that adopted the conventions of the popular ancient style. These musicians not only included the older Nonconformist repertory associated with *The Divine Musical Miscellany* and *Harmonia Sacra*, they also incorporated into their idiom more recent developments in Nonconformist hymnody.

For instance, Connecticut psalmody Andrew Law was the first musician in the United States to publish pieces from *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* associated with

Martin Madan and the Lock Hospital.<sup>6</sup> In addition to the earlier Nonconformist repertory, compositions by Madan and his colleagues were associated with the galante style of the middle of the eighteenth century. Original works composed in southern and western New England conformed to both styles of Nonconformist tune presentation in varying degrees of success. Psalmists in this region almost always did not understand the function of common practice harmony. As a result, they could only attempt to emulate the modern fashionable repertory by adopting some of its outward characteristics.

A number of compositions from southern and western New England adopted the form used by Presbyterian Aaron Williams, adding additional parts to an original solo or two-part setting taken from a Nonconformist publication. One of the more popular Nonconformist tunes to enter the popular ancient-style repertory was AMSTERDAM, adapted from an earlier German song by Johann Georg Hille. This tune first appeared in *A Collection of Tunes, set to music, as they are commonly sung at the Foundery* (London, 1742), the earliest musical collection associated with John Wesley. However, the two-part setting printed in *The Divine Musical Miscellany* was the version that Aaron Williams used for creating his four-part arrangement in *The Universal Psalmist*.

Originating as a piece of popular music, AMSTERDAM (**Anth**) is cast in a typical ABAB CB'AB" song form of the time. In its original version, the anonymous musician responsible for *The Divine Musical Miscellany* arranged all of the tunes for solo voice with continuo, intending them for informal religious devotion. Williams took this version, dispensed with the figured bass, and added alto and soprano parts. In so doing, his arrangement presents numerous instances of parallel octaves and fifths between various voices (mm. 3, 6, 10, 13, 25-27). Further, the common practice functional harmony of the

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<sup>6</sup> Andrew Law, *A Collection of Hymn Tunes from the most Modern and Approv'd Authors* (Cheshire, Ct.: Wm. Law, [1783]).

original two-part setting became lost, resembling somewhat the ancient-style arrangements of older psalm tunes by James Lyon such as ISLE OF WIGHT and ST. ANNE'S TUNE. Harmonic motion is based on the independence of each line, creating a meandering series of chords. Paralleling many modern ancient-style composers, Williams did not understand the function of common practice harmony, evidenced with the incorrectly prepared secondary dominant at the end of the third phrase (mm. 21-22). In this respect, Williams' technique also resembles the four-part stencil tunes created by Congregationalist musicians throughout coastal Massachusetts.

Tunes like AMSTERDAM influenced later southern and western New England composers. American musicians created tunes that not only embraced popular song form, but they also attempted to assimilate some of the harmonic techniques of these ancient-style arrangements of the Nonconformist repertory. One of the more popular tunes in this vein was ENFIELD (**Anth**), composed by Solomon Chandler of Enfield, Connecticut. In addition to appropriating the musical features associated with this progressive repertory, Chandler also chose a text that bespoke to the more personal relationship espoused by Nonconformists between God and His creation. The hymn is written from a first person point of view, describing the act of private informal devotion taking place in nature and reflecting a distinctly Enlightenment aesthetic of nature and spirituality espoused by Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Besides its text, ENFIELD features several other techniques lifted from the Nonconformist repertory and its later ancient-style adaptation. Chandler constructed the tune to follow an ABA'B' DEB"B'" form that resembled a popular song, particularly in the first half. Each phrase is constructed in conventional four-measure units. The bass line outwardly adopts a few galante characteristics. It remains fairly static compared to other

pieces by regional American ancient-style psalmody. This voice, rather than moving by stepwise motion that creates numerous unprepared inversions, was set mostly in root position outlining the tonic, dominant, subdominant, and submediant chords. As a result, the harmonic formula implies a functional approach to harmony. Chandler even disregarded the older concept of the time signature determining tempo. Though cast in the second mood of duple time, he indicated that the tempo be "brisk."

However, these features constitute ornaments appended to the ancient-style nonfunctional concept of harmony. Chandler did not understand the use of accidentals and leading tones. As with many of his peers, he failed to introduce a proper secondary dominant at the end of the third phrase (mm. 12-13). Other times, the harmony remains nonfunctional, not fulfilling the expectations outlined in the tenor and bass (m. 15). Overall, Chandler's technique demonstrates his progressiveness in terms of musical style and composition, even though it continues to reflect the compositional environment of his region.

One other feature not commonly associated with popular ancient-style New England psalmody concerns the use of organ accompaniment. Largely considered an a capella art by later scholars, ancient-style psalmody did make use of instruments in regional Anglican/Episcopalian and Calvinist churches, and not only the church bass that became popular in many meetinghouses throughout New England and the Middle Atlantic. Beginning with *The Select Harmony* (Cheshire, 1778), Calvinist author Andrew Law specifically indicated organ accompaniment in a few pieces in this collection, including LITTLETON and AMSTERDAM from Aaron Williams, ANTHEM ISAAH 44 by Joseph Stephenson, and two works by American Anglican musicians, PSALM 33 by the New York singing

master William Tuckey and MIDDLETOWN by the peripatetic Amos Bull.<sup>7</sup> Law also included two pieces by Benjamin West, a Congregationalist organist in Rhode Island.<sup>8</sup> The Nonconformist repertory distinguished itself not only through its form, harmony, and style, but also occasionally instrumental accompaniment.

MIDDLETOWN (**Anth**) was one of the first pieces composed in New England that attempted to adopt features characteristic of the Nonconformist style and certainly the earliest to use a text by Charles Wesley. Unlike other composers, Bull did not parody or base his tune on a specific piece. The work was most likely composed for the Anglican Christ Church in Middletown, Connecticut, which had acquired an organ sometime around 1760. This instrument was one of only two organs found in Connecticut churches until 1785 when Trinity Church in New Haven purchased one from the London agent, Henry Holland.<sup>9</sup>

Beginning with an improvised organ prelude, MIDDLETOWN employs the more contemporary and fashionable technique of antiphonal exchange. Instead of the older conversational antiphonal style, Amos Bull featured two contrasting duets in the same manner as PSALM 33 by William Tuckey, with the ensemble divided by gender. The two duets offer a contrast in texture that enables the text "There the pompous triumph waits," heard in the choral return, to be dramatically accentuated. Alongside these sophisticated techniques, the same contest between functional harmony and consonantal counterpoint is fought between a galante-inspired bass line and an ancient-style four-part harmonization. Rather than compose his work using popular song form, Bull only repeated cadential

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<sup>7</sup> In the prefatory material, Law stated that pieces with initial "rests of two, four and eight bars, are designed for music set to the organ" (4).

<sup>8</sup> Barbara Owen, "Eighteenth-Century Organs and Organ Building in New England" in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts 1630-1820, II: Music in Homes and in Churches*, ed. Barbara Lambert (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985): 681-682.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 677-678.

material between the first and final phrases of the tune (mm. 8-10, 32-34). Tunes like ENFIELD and MIDDLETOWN demonstrate that southern and western New England musicians had been exposed to the fashionable Anglican and Nonconformist repertory, albeit mostly indirectly through ancient-style Presbyterian initiatives.

Other New England composers produced pieces that embraced the galante-infused style influenced directly from Nonconformist and progressive Anglican source material. Though employing an identical scoring procedure as the older three-part Presbyterian repertory associated with the Long Island Sound and the Middle Atlantic, these pieces constitute a distinctly different style of music. As a result, two three-part styles appeared throughout southern and western New England: one descended from the older English Presbyterian practice, and another from modern Nonconformists. For instance, SORROW'S TEAR by Stephen Jenks, an early nineteenth-century spiritual song from Connecticut composed as a memorial for a dead child, offers a comparison between the functional harmony and compositional techniques of the Nonconformist popular style and those of the nonfunctional ancient style.

Though not explicitly religious, the text to SORROW'S TEAR (**Anth**) by Thomas Moore fits within the spiritual song category of traditional Presbyterian hymnody, conveying a sense of gravitas from the perspective of surviving family and friends of a deceased love one. The last verse also includes a common trope on youth, repentance, and oncoming death. Jenks' setting captures the mood of the text, conveying a sense of sadness and longing reflective of the tone of the poetry. In this piece, the composer made no attempt to imitate the Nonconformist style. With the possible exception of some portions of the bass line, the piece does not make use of any galante-inspired techniques. The soprano and tenor

lines do not resemble a *canzonetta á due* or *duetto notturno* in that these voices were not scored mostly in parallel thirds and sixths, with the exception of the last three measures of the tune.

Instead, Jenks' use of harmony follows the consonantal approach typical of the ancient style. The meandering harmonic progressions, though expressive, are mostly accidental sonorities resulting from the horizontal orientation of each part's relationship to the cantus. Further, the use of accidentals does not resemble common practice approaches. Occasionally, it does however bring out the more modal or nonfunctional characteristics of much of the harmony. For instance, the second phrase (mm. 5-9) abruptly shifts from the minor mode to the major without any preparation. Similarly, an equally unanticipated return to D minor appears at the beginning of the third phrase. Within the second phrase Jenks introduced a G major chord through a raised fourth scale degree in the soprano voice (m. 7). As a result, Jenks presented a chord progression of III-III<sup>6</sup>- IV-VII-i<sup>6</sup>-III-VII for this phrase, lying somewhere between F and C major. As seen in the part writing, the raised fourth does not function as a leading tone, but rather a chromatic embellishment without any particular function. Besides its ambiguous tonality with modal and chromatic inflections, Jenks's tune also included a false relation between the soprano and tenor voices (m. 13). None of these harmonic devices resemble any of the techniques associated with the Nonconformist style.

Wholly different in concept and execution, Nonconformist works of the latter part of the eighteenth century emphasized a directness of expression, a melodious and uncluttered texture, and dynamic contrast and melodic repetition for dramatic emphasis. Paralleling Early Nationalist Episcopalian music, much of this repertory drew from the conventions of popular song and the theater. While Late Colonial musicians drew from collections such as *The Divine Musical Miscellany* and *Harmonia Sacra*, Early Nationalist musicians were inspired by the compositions of Martin Madan and his associates at the Lock

Hospital Chapel. One set piece in particular became one of the most well known compositions within this genre in the United States: DENMARK by Madan (**Anth**).

Taking its text from Charles Wesley's adaptation of "Psalm 100" by Isaac Watts, the hymn concerns the nature and majesty of God. Set wholly in D major, Madan's piece, reflective of the conventions of the Nonconformist style, does not introduce tonal shifts to maintain variety and interest. Instead, he employed tempo changes, chromatic inflection, and expressive dissonance to achieve the same effect. Comprising four sections, DENMARK is framed almost as a miniature cantata of four stand-alone short choral movements. Maintaining a consistently three-part texture, the work is scored for two unspecified voices with a continuo part that could be doubled by voice and instruments. Cast in an AA'A"BB' CDECC' FF'GHH'B" IJKLML' form, melodic repetition figures prominently throughout the work. However, almost all of this repetition is confined to the section in which a melodic motive is introduced, reinforcing the independence of the four sections. Instead of an overarching form that frames the entire piece, melodic repetition is used to build tension and drama, and reinforce key lines of text. Madan also featured a number of dynamic shifts throughout the work as a contrast in mood between sections, creating striking changes within individual sections.

A number of other features of DENMARK are typical of the popular-theatrical Nonconformist style, including harmony, part writing conventions, melodic characteristics, and tempo indications. The texture remains homophonic throughout the entire piece without any textual overlay. The upper two parts consistently move by parallel thirds and sixths with little independence between the two parts. The harmony is confined mostly to the tonic, subdominant, and dominant chords, with a few secondary dominants sprinkled throughout the piece. This somewhat limited harmonic vocabulary is strengthened through



a few instances of expressive dissonance occurring on the strong beats of a measure, these consisting of the standard accented passing tones and suspensions. The upper two voices feature the graceful melismas and ornaments typical of the galante style and are sustained by a nonintrusive bass line. The bass voice stays in root position throughout much of the piece. Rather than remaining static, Madan preferred to structure his phrases in regularly occurring blocks of four-measure units. As a result, the harmonic scheme becomes extremely repetitive through an almost constant series of reiterations of a I-IV-V-I chord progression. Most of the interest sustained throughout DENMARK occurs through melodic shape instead of harmony. The harmony seems to serve more as a foundation for the graceful melodic lines with their appoggiaturas, melismas, and other grace notes. Finally, for common practice musicians such as Madan, time signature was not equated with tempo or the various moods of time, at least in the vocal repertory. Despite his employment of a 2/4 time signature, the quickest mood of duple time, Madan marked the piece "Andante Maestoso," a convention seen also in ENFIELD by Solomon Chandler. All of these features represent the epitome of fashionableness for the progressive Anglican and Nonconformist repertory during the last part of the eighteenth century.

Within six years of Andrew Law first publishing DENMARK in Connecticut, central Massachusetts resident Abraham Wood composed and published ASCENSION, his own Nonconformist-style set piece that attempted to imitate the music composed for the Lock Hospital chapel in London. As with other Calvinists who composed Nonconformist-style metrical tunes and extended choral works, Wood chose a text by a Nonconformist, in this case the Reverend Joseph Hart who was associated with John Wesley. Unlike Bull and Chandler, Wood did not adapt the three-part Nonconformist and progressive Anglican style

to four-part ancient-style expression. Instead, he endeavored to produce an authentic three-part set piece in the original style.

ASCENSION (**Anth**) reveals both Wood's detailed study of the Nonconformist style and his limited access to and understanding of common-practice music. It also demonstrates that regional Calvinists also strove to adopt the most progressive trends in sacred music composition, an aesthetic cultivated by other southern and western New England musicians such as Andrew Law and later by a younger generation of coastal Massachusetts musicians including Oliver Holden and Samuel Holyoke. In outward appearance, ASCENSION presents many of the features that characterized DENMARK. However, Wood could not completely escape his ancient-style rhetoric despite his meticulous study of Madan's compositions.

With the exception of two instances of repeated cadential material, no melodic repetition occurs throughout the piece. Though Wood created a similar melodic shape through his introduction of melismas and grace notes, he did not employ melodic repetition. Avoiding the Nonconformist use of repetition either for dramatic effect or for accentuating important words within the poetry, Wood resorted to some of the standard popular ancient-style techniques, including most notably fusing and textual overlap. For instance, the composer introduced a fusing passage to emphasize the nature of praising the ascending Christ (mm. 30-44). In particular, Wood featured numerous repetitions of the words "Hail him" to impart the sacredness of Christ's passing. In other places, the composer inserted some of the pictorial devices common to popular ancient-style music such as the panting on the word "ring" (mm. 69-70, 76-77), or the triadic melismas on the word "roll'd" (m. 53). All of these devices accomplish the same effect, though their expression differs markedly between them.

In contrast, Wood presented a number of features associated specifically with the Nonconformist style. Although not present throughout the entire piece, he introduced a significant amount of parallel thirds and sixths between the upper two voices. He occasionally introduced a unison passage between the upper parts (m. 45), a technique encountered also in DENMARK. The bass line closely resembles common practice pieces through their imitation of the same implied reiterations of a I-IV-V-I chord progression, though the harmony does not function according to common-practice conventions. Instead, the composer imitated what he saw without completely understanding its intricacies. Wood occasionally introduced correct secondary dominants in a few places. Phrasing occurs largely in blocks of four-measure units. Finally, the composer provided the same type of dynamic contrast as seen in the works of Martin Madan. With its three-part texture, melodic characteristics, and adoption of some of the part writing conventions, ASCENSION clearly reflects its indebtedness to the Nonconformist style. As such, it is the first published composition by a native New Englander to embrace all of these Nonconformist techniques.

Compositions by southern and western New Englanders spanned all of the genres and techniques associated with the popular ancient and Nonconformist styles. A number of pieces reflect the compositional influences that entered the region through ancient-style tunebooks imported by area booksellers and merchants, including those by Europeans and Americans. Some composers parodied these pieces while others introduced a number of features from specific compositions. Alongside these referential or parody works, other original tunes by regional composers embraced the popular ancient-style manner of musical-pictorial representation. Also, southern and western New Englanders created new types of tunes, such as the repeated fugging tune. No other area of the country proved as innovative as this subregion of New England. Other parts of the United States cultivated both ancient-

style and progressive Anglican and Nonconformist composition, but these musicians did not pioneer or develop new styles or new types of composition. Musicians from southern and western New England set the trends for popular ancient-style psalmody and its performative environment, exerting the most influence on subsequent developments over the course of the Early Nationalist Period.

## **12.6 Postscript: reshaping the popular ancient-style repertory through compilation method**

Connecticut compilers, and western and southern New England composers proved to be the most influential force behind the cultivation of ancient-style popular psalmody in the Early Nationalist United States. However, in a sense of irony, southern and western New England's distinct form of music compilation and compositional activity would not also serve in this capacity. Their tunes would become among the most geographically dispersed and most frequently printed pieces in the entire repertory. Yet for all of their contributions, southern and western New England compilers and composers did not shape how the popular ancient-style repertory would be presented and distributed. Instead, a slightly different form of compilation method for popular ancient-style psalmody became the most widespread over the course of the Early Nationalist Period, extending into the 1820s. Consisting predominantly of older material, it drew from the most popular sources circulating throughout a region, and introduced far fewer new pieces to the repertory.

Instead of occupying on average, half of the entire contents of a compilation, new pieces formed a smaller fraction of the overall tune content. Based upon the method used by Aaron Williams for *The Universal Psalmody*, the tunebooks consisted primarily of older pieces with about twenty to thirty percent of the repertory devoted to new works. Within

the range of older tunes, the unique compositional environment of New England superseded compositional trends found in European sources. In particular, the method encountered in northern coastal compilations such as *The Massachusetts Harmony* (1784, 1785) and *The Federal Harmony* (1788-1794) became the most popular for anthology-style collections of popular ancient-style psalmody beginning in the 1790s.

Regarding American works, pieces taken from Connecticut imprints formed the central repertory; those from northern coastal imprints averaged only ten percent of the overall contents. However, northern taste and aesthetic established the popularity of specific pieces. As seen with the works of Daniel Read, his place as the most popular composer within the genre occurred as a result of publishing trends in northern coastal publications, not those of Connecticut. In this sense, Connecticut publications, though the most influential in shaping the core repertory, did not ensure a tune's popularity within the broader publishing market.

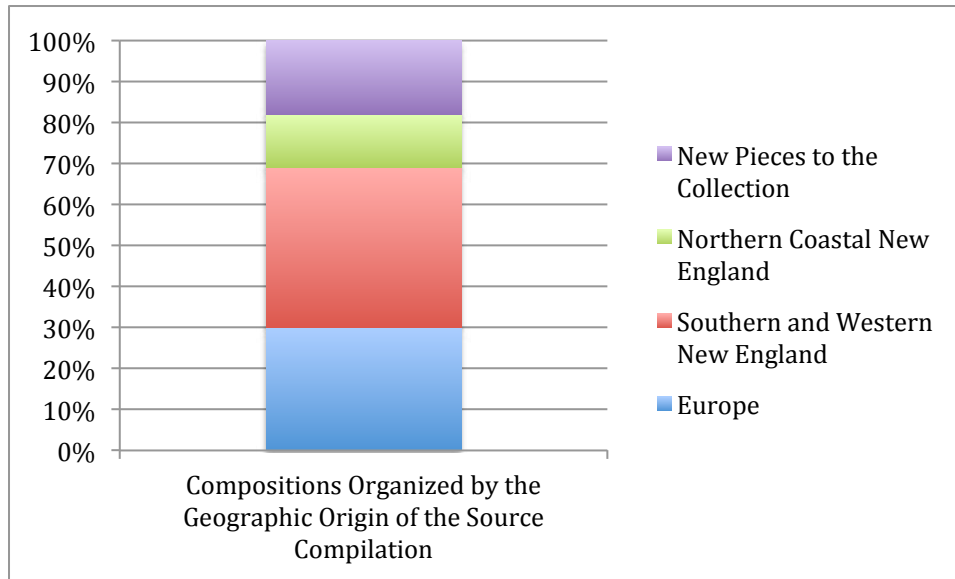
One popular northern-style anthology illustrates this phenomenon: the first five editions of *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* (1788-1794), a tunebook compiled by Isaiah Thomas of Worcester, Massachusetts in the central part of the commonwealth. Rather than generically comparing American works against European, the measure used by Lowens, Britton, and most notably Richard Crawford, a different demarcation of compositional influences reveals a more influential role that coastal Massachusetts played in shaping the form and content of ancient-style popular tunebooks.<sup>10</sup> Typical for the time, American pieces outweigh those by European composers by more than two to one (**Chart 12.6**). However, within the American repertory, the source material used

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<sup>10</sup> Britton, Lowens, Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints 1698-1810*, 6-8.

by the compiler followed a uniform set of traits, based upon trends found in published tunebook compilations from the northern coastal area between 1770 and 1790.

**Chart 12.6 Proportion of the tune repertory of *The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* divided by the geographic origin of the source compilation (1786-1794)**



As expected, the European pieces found in the tunebook conform to the pattern established during the 1760s, descended from ancient-style tunebooks by Anglicans and Calvinists, and common practice collections by Nonconformist compilers (**Figure 12.5**). Ancient-style pieces outnumber common-practice style tunes. Within the ancient-style Anglican repertory, the various works were taken from the popular sources that circulated throughout New England, including collections by William Tans'ur, John Arnold, William Knapp, and Thomas Shoel. All of the older traditional psalm tunes such as PSALM 100 are Tans'ur's settings of these pieces. From among the ancient-style repertory composed by Calvinists and Unitarians, most of the pieces were taken from Aaron Williams, followed by

Baptist Caleb Ashworth, Unitarian Joseph Stephenson, and John Valentine. Isaiah Thomas took some of the settings of the ancient-style European repertory from Connecticut musician Andrew Law, demonstrating again the strong influence of Connecticut compilers in central Massachusetts.

**Figure 12.5 Denominational origin for the European tunes printed in *The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* (1786-1794)**

<b>Ancient-style Psalms: Anglican</b>	<b>Ancient-style Psalms: Presbyterian, Baptist, Unitarian</b>	<b>Nonconformist Psalm and Hymn Tunes</b>
ALL-SAINTS BANGOR COLCHESTER GARENTON INFANT SAVIOUR LANDAFF MORETON MORRISTOWN (via Law) PLYMOUTH POOL PSALM 100 SALEM (via Law) SHOEL ST. MARTIN'S ST. MICHAEL'S WELLS WINDSOR YEOVIL	AYLESBURY BATH BUCKINGHAM DALSTON FUNERAL THOUGHT HARLEM IRISH LITTLE MARLBOROUGH MILFORD NEWBURY (via Law) PARINDON PSALM 3 PSALM 11 PSALM 17 PSALM 18 PSALM 34 PUTNEY RICKMANSWORTH ROCHESTER ST. ANNE'S ST. HELLEN'S ST. THOMAS'S (via Law)	AFFINGTON ALCESTER (via Williams) AMSTERDAM BREMEN BRITANNIA COOKHAM DARTMOUTH DENBIGH DENMARK DUNSTAN (via Knibb) FALMOUTH FUNERAL ODE HABAKKUK HALIFAX HOTHAM KINGSBRIDGE (via Williams) LEBANON LYRA SACRA MANSFIELD MITCHAM NEW-PLYMOUTH PALMIS PSALM 23 SURREY SUTTON (via Williams) TURNIN WAKEFIELD

Finally, Thomas included a substantial number of common-practice Nonconformist tunes taken from several popular older collections, including *Harmonia Sacra* by Thomas Butts and the *Divine Musical Miscellany* via *The Universal Psalmist* by Aaron Williams. Further,

a few more recent works were taken from *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (London, 1762) associated with the Lock Hospital. The pieces from this collection that were included in *The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* represented the vanguard of modern popular religious music, being cast for a three-part SSB/STB choral ensemble typical of progressive Episcopalians in the Middle Atlantic.

Paralleling contemporary northern coastal New England tunebooks, only a few tunes were taken from Boston imprints (**Table 12.8**). Though more pieces printed in *The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* originated from northern coastal New England, particularly those by William Billings, almost all of these tunes were taken from Connecticut sources, particularly *The Chorister's Companion* by Jocelin and Doolittle. Besides Billings, Thomas selected a few tunes from popular anthology-style compilations from Boston, including *The Massachusetts Harmony* and *The Federal Harmony*. Only the fourth and fifth editions began to expand on this repertory through a number of pieces taken from contemporary compilations by musicians from eastern and central Massachusetts: Abraham Wood, Oliver Holden, and Jacob Kimball. Significantly, Oliver Holden assumed the responsibility of compiling subsequent editions of *The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* after 1794.

By far, the largest portion of the tunebook was devoted to tunes found in Connecticut imprints, including two-thirds of the pieces by William Billings (**Table 12.9**). Paralleling northern coastal New England published tune collections these sources formed the new core repertory of Boston and Newburyport imprints, including those by Andrew Law, Simeon Jocelin and Amos Doolittle, Oliver Brownson, and Daniel Read. Further, more pieces by Daniel Read were included than those by any other composer with the exception of William Billings. As with compilers in the coastal part of the state, Isaiah



Thomas favored tunes by Read over Brownson, further establishing him as the preeminent Connecticut psalmist.

The final portion of the American repertory of *The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* consists of new pieces original to the collection (**Table 12.10**). These works help to explain the success of the tunebook. Composers in central Massachusetts, because of their geographic location, contributed new pieces to both southern and western, and northern coastal compilations. Thomas' collection, as the first published tunebook from central Massachusetts, appealed to all singers in New England through its inclusion of new pieces almost exclusively by composers active around Worcester. Although the Connecticut repertory circulated freely throughout the entire region, pieces from northern coastal New England did not travel south and west outside those by William Billings. Thomas proved that a compiler, situated between the two main areas of tunebook production in New England, could influence and draw from as wide a market as Connecticut compilers. However, he also demonstrated that the northern and central repertory could travel south and west, thereby extending his work to a burgeoning market in the recent settlements of northern New England.

Although not a large portion of the overall repertory, the pieces originated from two main areas: central Massachusetts and Boston, paralleling Thomas' move to Boston. The first two editions, printed and compiled in Worcester, included new pieces almost exclusively by local composers Abraham Wood, Jacob French, Ezra Goff, and Elias Mann of Worcester, and Joseph Stone in neighboring Ward [Auburn]. Besides having included two extended works by William Selby, the Episcopalian composer in Boston, Thomas introduced pieces by composers from coastal Massachusetts, beginning with the third edition. Including works by William Cooper, Samuel Holyoke, and Hans Gram, he began to embrace

American-composed works that adopted the Nonconformist and progressive Anglican style. The final two editions compiled by Isaiah Thomas followed this same trend, with new pieces contributed by other progressive coastal musicians such as Oliver Holden and Robert Rogerson, alongside newly popular ancient-style composers Bartholomew Brown and Daniel Belknap. As with the European repertory, Thomas' taste encompassed the ancient and Nonconformist styles of psalmody.

Compilations that followed the format used by Isaiah Thomas would ultimately become the most successful and influential for future trends in the popular ancient style, particularly in the genre's dissemination to the Middle Atlantic and coastal South. Though the practice of popular ancient-style New England psalmody was shaped primarily by southern and western New England trends, the repertory became fixed by compilers in coastal and central Massachusetts.

What did endure was the idea of a community of musicians united by a compiler, modeled on the Presbytery or consociation of churches. The tunebooks continued to reflect the religious pluralism of an area. The music, though sacred in content, served much more the social-secular aspect of American life. Tunebooks were designed for singing schools, recreational and social performance, and amusement and leisure. Fuging tunes became more prominent than anthems. Tunebook production and compilation remained distinct from composition. Perhaps most important, the art of composition became more accessible. Not only becoming more widespread, tunes by a composer could become extremely popular independent of their author's initiatives. Western and southern New Englanders, though not the creators of the genre, served as the architects of New England's popular ancient-style music and its performance practice. Because of their efforts the art of ancient-style

composition in New England grew from a pursuit identified with a lone, solitary individual, to a widespread movement that transcended denominational specificity.

Key: Boldface type = American-composed, arranged, or adapted  
 ( ) = alternate titles  
 [ ] = most common title of a particular psalm tune, or a referential title in the absence of one in the source

Tune Name	Page #	Melody Incipit line 1	Melody Incipit line 2	Key	Parts	Music Attribution	Text Attribution	Text Incipit	Text Meter	Tune Type	Chorus Type	Form
<b>[MONTAGUE - imperfect]</b>	7	[5u11d75u32(1)2]	[232(1)2d7u1d75]	D minor	4	—	—	—	L.M. double	Fuging Tune	—	—
34TH, THE	8	1332d7u1(23)21	231432	C major	4	by Stephenson	—	—	C.M.	Fuging Tune	—	—
POOLE TUNE	21	555(4)321(3)2(1)d7	u23(23)455(4)323	G minor	4	by Knapp	—	—	L.M.	Fuging Tune	—	—
COLCHESTER - NEW	24	11(d7)6543(2)15	56(7)u12d7u1	C major	4	by Williams	—	—	C.M.	Plain Tune	—	ABCB'
<b>POMFRET</b>	25	11(23)23(45)65(43)21	56(5)43(4)32	G major	4	by W. B.	—	—	C.M.	Plain Tune	—	—
<b>EXETER</b>	26	15565447	654345	F-sharp minor	4	by W. B.	—	my thoughts on awful subjects roll,	C.M. double	Plain Tune	—	ABCDEB'FG
<b>QUEEN STREET</b>	28	155331(2)3(4)5	5u1d7665	F major	4	by W. B.	—	—	C.M. double	Plain Tune	—	ABCB'EB''FB''
<b>DAVID'S LAMENTATION</b>	30	112323234(2)d7	—	A minor	4	by W. B.	—	—	—	Anthem	—	—
<b>NORTH PROVIDENCE</b>	32	13332(1)222	3(4)51432	G major	4	by W. B.	D. W.	Come let us join our chearful	C.M.	Fuging Tune	—	ABCB'
<b>DARTMOURTH</b> <b>[DUXBOROUGH]</b>	34	55u1d75545	5u1d7u1d5435	E minor	4	Unknown	D. W.	in vain ye wealthy mortals toil	L.M.	Plain Tune	—	ABCA'
LITTLETON	35	1354(3)2(3)43(2)1	22311(d7)7u1	A major	3	by Williams	A hymn. Page 164 G. W.	Lo he cometh countless trumpets blow	8.7.8.7. 4.7.	Plain Tune	—	ABB'
TRINITY	37	11(232)15(4)34(56)7u1	d7u1(d7)56(5)45	D major	4	by Williams	—	—	C.M.	Plain Tune	—	ABCB'
<b>CHESTER</b>	38	567u1d56(u1d7)65	5555(654)34(32)12	F major	4	by W. B.	—	—	L.M.	Plain Tune	—	—
<b>WORCESTER</b>	[40] 39	13235432	1(2)35432	G minor	4	by W. Billings	—	—	C.M. double	Plain Tune	—	AA'BCDEE'C'
EGHAM TUNE	[45] 44	1d543215u1	32d5645	C major	1	—	—	—	C.M.	Plain Tune	—	—
<b>AMHERST</b>	[46] 45	135421	5u1d56(54)32	G major	4	by W. B.	—	—	H.M.	Plain Tune	—	ABCB'B''B''
<b>WESTFIELD</b>	[47] 46	11(5)43(7)u1d5(67)65	55(67)u1d7(6)54(3)21	F-sharp minor	4	by W. Billings	—	—	L.M.	Plain Tune	—	ABCB'
<b>NEW HINGHAM</b>	[49] 48	1d7u1232	2312d7u1	B minor	4	by W. B.	—	Death o ye awfull sound what	S.M.	Plain Tune	—	ABCB'
<b>AMERICA</b>	[50] 49	11(5)43(u1)d7u1(d7)65	5543(6)5u1(d7)65	D major	4	by W. B.	—	—	8.8.8.8.8.8.	Plain Tune	—	ABCDEC'
<b>HEBRON</b>	[52] 51	5u1(d7u1)23(23)21	13(2)1d7(65)45	D minor	4	by W. Billings	—	—	S.M.	Plain Tune	—	ABA'B'
<b>NEWPORT</b>	[53] 52	156545(43)21	3575(4)3215	B minor	4	by W. Billings	—	—	L.M.	Plain Tune	—	—
LANGTON TUNE	[54] 53	11d7u11223	14433221	A major	1	—	—	—	L.M.	Plain Tune	—	ABB'B''
<b>BROOKFIELD</b>	[55] 54	5u1323(2)1(d7)u12	23(21)d7u1(23)23(21)d 7u1	D minor	4	by Wm Billings	—	—	L.M.	Plain Tune	—	ABCB'
WAREHAM TUNE OR ALL SAINTS	[57] 56	11(d7)65u12(1)d7u1	23(2)1d7(u1)21(d7)65	C major	4	—	—	—	L.M.	Plain Tune	—	ABCA'
<b>PSALM 104</b>	[58] 57	5u1(2)3231(d7)65	7u12312d7u1	C major	3	by Lyon	—	My soul thy great Creator praise,	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	Plain Tune	—	—
WARWICK	[60] 59	11315421	354231d7u1	A minor	3	—	Dr. W.	—	L.M.	Plain Tune	—	—
<b>WORKSOP</b>	[61] 60	1325434(3)2	23(4)54(3)21	A minor	4	—	Dr. W.	—	C.M.	Plain Tune	—	ABA'B'
<b>LENNOX</b>	[62] 61	111d565	5u12321	C major	4	—	—	—	H.M.	Fuging Tune	—	ABCC'DC''
<b>SHREWSBURY</b>	[64] 63	13215432	22235345	G minor	4	by A. Wood	—	Death like an Overflowing stream, Sweeps	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	Plain Tune	—	ABA'A''
<b>BUNKER HILL</b>	[65] 64	321d7u1d5u1d7u122	32345312d7u11	A minor	4	by Mr Ripley	—	Why should vain mortals tremble at	11.11.11.5.	Secular Part Song	—	—
<b>BETHLEHEM</b>	[66] 65	[5u1d7u1(d7)5(4)3(45)62	23(4)5u1(d7)65	E major	1	—	—	While Shepherds watch their flocks by	C.M. with 8.6. chorus	Plain Tune	extended fuging chorus with text from verse - single	—
<b>SCOTCH AIR</b>	[70] 69	135u1d7u32(1)d5	u13213d7	E minor	4	by Timothy Swan	—	Thus I resolv'd before the L'd	C.M.	Plain Tune	—	—
<b>VIRGINIA</b>	[72] 71	155u1d76(47)65	55(7)657u1	E minor	4	Author <del>unknown</del> Brownson	—	With rev'rence let the saints appear;	C.M.	Plain Tune	—	—
<b>SHERBURNE</b>	[74] 73	15567u1	11d7u1(d7)65	F major	4	—	D. W.	how pleasant tis to see kindred	6.6.8. 6.6.8.	Plain Tune	—	ABCC'A'B'
<b>WASHINGTON</b>	[76] 75	555u1d7u123	21d765u1(21)d7u1	E major	4	by Wm B.	D. W.	Lord when thou didst ascend on	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	Fuging Tune	—	—
<b>SUFFOLK</b>	[79] 78	15(u1)d7(6)5(4)51(23)45	56(5)45(4)34(3)21	G minor	4	—	D. W.	Bright king of Glory Dreadful God,	L.M.	—	—	—
<b>CHOCKSETT</b>	[80] 79	112345	432(3)4(3)2(1)2	G major	4	—	D. W.	—	H.M.	Plain Tune	—	ABA'B'CD
<b>VERMONT</b>	[82] 81	5315u1d7(u1)d7(6)5	4345(4)32	E minor	4	—	D. W.	—	C.M. double	Plain Tune	—	ABCB'CDC'E

Tune Name	Page #	Melody Incipit line 1	Melody Incipit line 2	Key	Parts	Music Attribution	Text Attribution	Text Incipit	Text Meter	Tune Type	Chorus Type	Form
<b>PUMPILY</b>	[84] 83	1312d7u1	1d65u132	C major	4	—	T & b	Ye boundless realms of joy exalt	H.M.	Plain Tune	—	ABCA'DC'
<b>PHŒBUS</b>	[86] 85	155(4)3455(6)7	7(6)545(6)7u1	F-sharp minor	4	—	D W.	Lord in ye Morning thou shalt	C.M. double	Fuging Tune	—	—
[ANTHEM FROM PSALM 47 - imperfect]	[101] 100	—	—	C major	4	—	—	Great is ye Ld and Greatly	—	Anthem	—	—
AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF [imperfect, text only]	[102] 101	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Anthem	—	—
<b>[IMPERFECT - setting of Psalm 47 by John Hopkins (1562)] (?)</b>	[105] 104	—	—	F major	4	—	—	[Ye people all, with one accord]	C.M.	Antiphonal Tune	—	—
<b>WALES</b>	[106] 105	5u11d5u1(2)31(3)2(1)d7(6)5	5u1(d5)6(54)5u3(2)1d7u1	C minor	4	by Babcock	—	Mourn mourn ye saints as if	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	Fuging Tune	—	ABCDB'
<b>WRENTHAM</b>	[108] 107	155665(6)7(5)u1	1(d7)665567u1	F major	4	by L. Babcock	—	Methinks I hear ye Heav'nly band,	L.M. with 8.8. chorus	Plain Tune	extended fuging chorus with text from verse - single	—
<b>MORNING HYMN, A</b>	[110] 109	133(4)5567u1	d7(6)543134(6)5	F major	4	by L. Babcock	—	God of the Morning at whose	L.M. with 8.8. chorus	Plain Tune	extended fuging chorus with text from verse - single	—
<b>EUPHRATES</b>	[112] 111	55(u1)d75(43)45(67)65(43)	43(21)5u1(23)2(1)d7(u1)d7)65	D minor	4	by L. Babcock	—	When we our weary limbs to	L.M.	Antiphonal Tune	—	AA'BA''
<b>MAJESTY</b>	[114] 113	5u1(d7u1)d65(3)143(1)u1	d765(4)56(7)u1	F major	4	by W. Billings	—	The Lord descended from above, &	C.M. double	Antiphonal Tune	—	ABCDEFGD'HD''
<b>CONNECTION</b>	[117] 116	15567u1	1d7(6)56(5)45	E major	4	by W. Billings	—	Great is the Lord our God	S.M.	Plain Tune	—	ABB'C
<b>MARYLAND</b>	[118] 117	135432	2354(3)21	A minor	4	by W. Billings	—	and Must this body Die, this	S.M. with 8.6. chorus	Plain Tune	extended fuging chorus with text from verse - single	AA'A''A''BA'''
<b>GLOCESTER [imperfect]</b>	[120] 119	1321d7u1	233212	B-flat major	4	by A. Wood	—	To spend one sacred Day, where	S.M.	Plain Tune	—	AA'BC
<b>[IMPERFECT]</b>	[123] 122	—	—	D major	4	—	—	—	C.M. with 8.6.	Plain Tune (?)	extended fuging chorus with text from verse - single	—
<b>WILLIAMSTOWN [imperfect]</b>	[124] 123	11d7u12345	3454321(3)2	G minor	4	—	—	Rejoice ye shining worlds on high,	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	Fuging Tune	—	ABA'C
<b>[BRISTOL - imperfect]</b>	[127] 126	[15(65)3u1(d53)16(56)7u1]	[d566643(2343)21]	F major	4	by Timothy Swan	—	[Rejoice ye shining worlds on high]	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.) with 8.8. chorus	Plain Tune	extended fuging chorus with text from verse - single	—
<b>LEICESTER</b>	[129] 128	53155u1d7u1	d577u1d55	E minor	4	By E. Church	—	Time what an Empty Vapour 'tis,	C.M.	Fuging Tune	—	—
<b>RAINBOW</b>	[130] 129	5u1112312	111223	C major	4	By Timothy Swan	—	'Tis by thy strength the Mountains	C.M.	Fuging Tune	—	—
<b>BRIDGWATER</b>	[132] 131	131221d7u1	3214321(3)2	C major	3	By Edson	—	—	L.M.	Fuging Tune	—	ABA'C
<b>FALMOUTH</b>	[134] 133	15366u123	21121(d7)6(7u1d7)65	E-flat major	3	By Amariah Hall of Raynham	—	—	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	Fuging Tune	—	ABCDD'E
READING	[136] 135	11(23)2(d7)6(5)6u4(d6)5u3(d5)	4u2(d4)3(5)u1(d5)4(3)2(1)5	C major	3	By Nibb	—	Lo! He cometh countless Trumpets Blow,	8.7.8.7. 4.6.	Plain Tune	—	AAB
<b>JUSTICE</b>	[138] 137	1d5435u111132	2331d7u1322(1)1	C major	2	—	—	—	10.10. 10.10. 11.11.	Plain Tune	—	—
<b>SHERBURNE</b>	[140] 139	53166656	d1ud5(3)1432	D major	3	By Reed	—	—	C.M.	Fuging Tune	—	—
PUBLICK WORSHIP	[142] 141	5u1(23)2321(23)2(1)d7	5u1(23)23(2)1(23)2(1)d7u1	A minor	3	—	—	Lo god is here, let us	8.8.8.8. 8.8.	Plain Tune	—	AA'AA''BC or ABAB'CB''
<b>JUDGMENT</b>	[144] 143	1121d5u123455	2232(3)4321(2)32d5	G major	2	—	—	When the fierce north wind, with	11.11.11.5.	Plain Tune	—	—
WHITEFIELD'S HYMN	[146] 145	1121(d7)u12	334321	G major	2	—	—	Come thou almighty king Help us	6.6.4. 6.6.6.4.	Plain Tune	—	AA'BCC'A''D
<b>SUTTON</b>	[148] 147	[577u1d5(4)316	45u1d765	F-sharp minor	2	—	—	Save me O God the swelling	C.M.	Fuging Tune	—	—
<b>CHIMES, THE</b>	158	233232(3)45	345233(4)23	A minor	2	—	—	Hark hark how Swift the Moments	8.8. 8.8. (L.M.)	Plain Tune	—	ABCB'
<b>CRADLE HYMN, THE</b>	161	3322112d7	u33221d7u1	A minor	3	—	—	—	8.7.8.7. double	Plain Tune	—	AA'AA''BB'CA''
<b>GLIDING STREAMS, THE</b> [text only]	162	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sitting by the Streams that Glide	7.7. 7.7.7.	—	—	—
<b>POMPEYS GHOST</b>	171	55434233 - S	77656455 - S	E minor	3	—	—	—	8.8.8.8. 7.8.	Secular Part Song	—	AA'BB'CC'

Table 12.1 (continued)

Table 12.2 Tune repertory of the Henry Wells, Jr. copybook and relevant printed sources

Tune Name	Page Number	Composer	Date entered in Score	Source for previously composed Tunes	Subsequent First Printing
34TH, THE	8	Joseph Stephenson	—	LawA SH 1779	—
<b>AMERICA</b>	[50] 49	William Billings	—	BillW NEPS 1770	—
<b>AMHERST</b>	[46] 45	William Billings	—	BillW NEPS 1770	—
AN ANTHEM TAKEN OUT OF [imperfect, text only]	[102] 101	—	—	—	—
[ANTHEM FROM PSALM 47 - imperfect]	[101] 100	—	—	—	—
<b>BETHLEHEM</b>	[66] 65	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—
<b>BRIDGWATER</b>	[132] 131	Lewis Edson	—	—	JoceSDoolA CC 1782: different setting
<b>[BRISTOL - imperfect]</b>	[127] 126	Timothy Swan	—	—	BrowO SH 1783 [1785]
<b>BROOKFIELD</b>	[55] 54	William Billings	—	BillW NEPS 1770	—
<b>BUNKER HILL</b>	[65] 64	[Sylvanus] Ripley	—	—	LawA SNPT: published without composer attribution and text
<b>CHESTER</b>	38	William Billings	—	arr. by Law in LawA SH 1779; from BillW NEPS 1770	—
<b>CHIMES, THE</b>	158	—	—	LISR	—
<b>CHOCKSETT</b>	[80] 79	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—
COLCHESTER - NEW	24	William Tans'ur	—	LawA SH 1779	—
<b>CONNECTION</b>	[117] 116	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—
<b>CRADLE HYMN, THE</b>	161	—	—	LISR	—
<b>DARTMOUTH</b> <b>[DUXBOROUGH]</b>	34	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—

Table 12.2 (continued)

Tune Name	Page Number	Composer	Date entered in Score	Source for previously composed Tunes	Subsequent First Printing
<b>DAVID'S LAMENTATION</b>	30	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—
EGHAM TUNE	[45] 44	—	—	BayID AH 5 1769	—
<b>EUPHRATES</b>	[112] 111	Lemuel Babcock	—	—	PSA c. 1804
<b>EXETER</b>	26	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—
<b>FALMOUTH</b>	[134] 133	Amariah Hall	Novbr. 11th 1782	—	—
<b>GLIDING STREAMS, THE</b> [text only]	162	—	—	LISR	—
<b>GLOCESTER</b> [imperfect]	[120] 119	Abraham Wood	—	—	—
<b>HEBRON</b>	[52] 51	William Billings	—	BillW NEPS 1770	—
<b>[IMPERFECT - setting of Psalm 47 by John Hopkins (1562)]</b> (?)	[105] 104	—	—	—	—
<b>[IMPERFECT]</b>	[123] 122	—	—	—	—
<b>JUDGMENT</b>	[144] 143	James Lyon (?)	—	LyonJ U 1761	—
<b>JUSTICE</b>	[138] 137	Solomon Chandler	—	—	LangC BP 1786
LANGTON TUNE	[54] 53	arr. from Thomas Tallis	—	KnapW NCM 1753	—
<b>LEICESTER</b>	[129] 128	E. Church	Dec. 29th 1782	—	—
<b>LENNOX</b>	[62] 61	Lewis Edson	—	—	JoceSDoolA CC 1782: different setting
LITTLETON	35	—	—	BayID AH 5 1769	—
<b>MAJESTY</b>	[114] 113	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—
<b>MARYLAND</b>	[118] 117	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—

Tune Name	Page Number	Composer	Date Entered in Score	Source for Previously composed Tunes	Subsequent First Printing
[MONTAGUE - imperfect]	7	Timothy Swan	—	—	SticJ GLMC 1783; earliest identical version to this manuscript: SSH 2 1789
<b>MORNING HYMN, A</b>	[110] 109	Lemuel Babcock	—	—	—
<b>NEW HINGHAM</b>	[49] 48	William Billings	—	BillW NEPS 1770	—
<b>NEWPORT</b>	[53] 52	William Billings	—	BillW NEPS 1770	—
<b>NORTH PROVIDENCE</b>	32	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—
<b>PHÆBUS</b>	[86] 85	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—
<b>POMFRET</b>	25	William Billings	—	BillW NEPS 1770	—
<b>POMPEYS GHOST</b>	171	—	—	LISR	—
POOLE TUNE	21	William Knapp (?)	—	LawA SH 1779 (?) or KnapW NCM 1753 (?)	—
<b>PSALM 104</b>	[58] 57	arr. from James Lyon	—	new arr. from LyonJ U 1761	—
PUBLICK WORSHIP	[142] 141	arr. from " <i>Wer nur den lieben Gott</i> " (Zahn 2778)	—	LyonJ U 1761	—
<b>PUMPILY</b>	[84] 83	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—
<b>QUEEN STREET</b>	28	William Billings	—	BillW NEPS 1770	—
<b>RAINBOW</b>	[130] 129	Timothy Swan	—	—	BaylD EHMM 1785
READING	[136] 135	arr. from John Humphries	Feby. 10th 1783	KnibT PSH 1760	—
<b>SCOTCH AIR</b>	[70] 69	Timothy Swan	March 30th 1782	—	—
<b>SHERBURNE</b>	[74] 73	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—
<b>SHERBURNE</b>	[140] 139	Daniel Read	—	—	ReadD ASB 1785

Table 12.2 (continued)



Table 12.2 (continued)

<b>Tune Name</b>	<b>Page Number</b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Date Entered in Score</b>	<b>Source for Previously composed Tunes</b>	<b>Subsequent First Printing</b>
<b>SHREWSBURY</b>	[64] 63	Abraham Wood	—	—	BelkD EH 1800: titled HOPKINTON
<b>SUFFOLK</b>	[79] 78	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—
<b>SUTTON</b>	[148] 147	Ezra Goff (?)	1792 June 7	—	FrenJ PC 1793
TRINITY	37	William Tans'ur	—	BaylD AH 5 1769	—
<b>VERMONT</b>	[82] 81	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—
<b>VIRGINIA</b>	[72] 71	Oliver Brownson	August 16th 1782	—	JoceSDoolA CC 1782: preface dated 16 Dec. 1782
<b>WALES</b>	[106] 105	[Lemuel] Babcock	—	—	—
WAREHAM TUNE OR ALL SAINTS	[57] 56	William Knapp	—	BaylD AH 5 1769	—
WARWICK	[60] 59	William Rogers	—	BaylD PSA 1765 or BaylD EH 1771 (?)	—
<b>WASHINGTON</b>	[76] 75	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—
<b>WESTFIELD</b>	[47] 46	William Billings	—	BillW NEPS 1770	—
WHITEFIELD'S HYMN	[146] 145	—	—	LyonJ U 1761	—
<b>WILLIAMSTOWN</b> [imperfect]	[124] 123	—	—	—	LangC BP 1786
<b>WORCESTER</b>	[40] 39	William Billings	—	BillW SMA 1778	—
<b>WORKSOP</b>	[61] 60	James Green	—	unique variant adapted from BaylD AH 5 1769 (?)	—
<b>WRENTHAM</b>	[108] 107	Lemuel Babcock	—	—	StonJWoodA CH 1793

## Source Abbreviations

- BaylD AH 5:** Bayley, Daniel. *The American Harmony*. ed. 5 Newburyport: Daniel Bayley, 1769.
- BaylD EH:** Bayley, Daniel. *The Essex Harmony*. Newburyport: The author, 1770.
- BaylD EHMM:** Bayley, Daniel. *The Essex Harmony, or Musical Miscellany*. Newburyport: The author and son, 1785.
- BaylD PSA:** Bayley, Daniel. *The Psalm-Singer's Assistant*. Newburyport: The author, [1764–6].
- BelkD EH:** Belknap, Daniel. *The Evangelical Harmony*. Boston: For the author, by Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, Sept. 1800.
- BillW NEPS:** Billings, William. *The New-England Psalm-Singer*. Boston: Edes and Gill, 1770.
- BillW SMA:** Billings, William. *The Singing Master's Assistant*. Boston: Draper and Folsom, 1778.
- BrowO SH:** Brownson, Oliver. *Select Harmony*. s.l.: s.n., 1783 [1785].
- FrenJ PC:** Jacob French. *The Psalmist's Companion*. Worcester: Leonard Worcester, for Isaiah Thomas, 1793.
- JocceSDoolA CC:** Jocelin, Simeon, and Amos Doolittle. *The Chorister's Companion: or Church Music Revised*. New Haven: Simeon Jocelin and Amos Doolittle, 1782.
- KnapW NCM:** Knapp, William. *New Church Melody*. London: R. Baldwin, the author at Poole, [1753].
- KnibT PSH:** [Knibb, Thomas]. *The Psalm Singers Help, being a Collection of Tunes in three parts, that are now us'd in the several dissenting congregations in London*. London: Thos. Knibb, [c.1760].
- LangC BP:** [Langdon, Chauncey]. *Beauties of Psalmody*. s.l.: s.n., [1786].
- LawA SH:** Law, Andrew. *Select Harmony*. Farmington: s.n., 1779.
- LawA SNPT:** Law, Andrew. *A Select Number of Plain Tunes*. s.l.: s.n., [1781].
- LISR:** Long Island Sound Repertory [See: Table 6.1]
- LyonJ U:** Lyon, James. *Urania, or A Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems, and Hymns*. Philadelphia: Henry Dawkins, 1761.
- PSA:** *The Psalm-Singer's Amusement*. Howe, Solomon, ed. [Greenwich?, Ct.]: [John Howe], [c.1804].
- ReadD ASB:** Read, Daniel. *The American Singing Book*. New Haven: For the author, 1785.
- SSH 2:** *A Selection of Sacred Harmony*. Ed.2. Philadelphia: For W. Young by John M'Culloch, 1789.
- SticJ GLMC:** Stickney, John. *The Gentleman and Lady's Musical Companion*. Newburyport: Daniel Bayley, [1783].
- StonJWoodA CH:** Stone, Joseph, and Abraham Wood. *The Columbian Harmony*. s.l.: [Joseph Stone and Abraham Wood], [1793].

Table 12.3 Geographical distribution of single-author sacred music compilations

1. 1770-1800

Region	Colony, State	Compiler	Residence	Collection
<b>Northern Coastal New England</b> (16 collections)	District of Maine	Supply Belcher	Farmington	<i>The Harmony of Maine</i> (1794)
	Coastal Massachusetts	Samuel Babcock	Watertown	<i>The Middlesex Harmony</i> (1795)
		Daniel Belknap	Framingham	<i>The Harmonist's Companion</i> (1797)
		William Billings	Boston	<i>The New-England Psalm-Singer</i> (1770); <i>The Singing-Master's Assistant</i> (1778); <i>The Psalm Singer's Amusement</i> (1781); <i>The Suffolk Harmony</i> (1786); <i>The Continental Harmony</i> (1794)
		Jacob French	Medway	<i>The New American Melody</i> (1789)
		Hans Gram	Boston	<i>Sacred Lines, for Thanksgiving Day</i> (1793)
		Oliver Holden	Charlestown	<i>American Harmony</i> (1792) <i>Sacred Dirges, Hymns and Anthems</i> (1800)
		Samuel Holyoke	Essex	<i>Harmonia Americana</i> (1791); <i>Hark! from the Tombs, &amp;c. and Beneath the Honors, &amp;c.</i> (1800)
		Jacob Kimball	Topsfield	<i>The Rural Harmony</i> (1793)
		William Selby	Boston	<i>Two Anthems</i> (1782)
<b>Southern and Western New England</b> (3 collections)	Connecticut	Daniel Read	New Haven	<i>The American Singing Book</i> (1785)
	Central Massachusetts	Abraham Wood	Northboro(ugh)	<i>Divine Songs, extracted from Mr. J. Hart's Hymns</i> (1789)
	Western Massachusetts	Solomon Howe	Greenwich	<i>Worshipper's Assistant</i> (1799)

2. 1800-1810

Region	State	Compiler	Residence	Collection
Northern Coastal New England (14 collections)	District of Maine Coastal Massachusetts	Abraham Maxim	Turner	<i>The Oriental Harmony</i> (1802)
		Samuel Babcock	Watertown	<i>The Middlesex Harmony</i> , ed. 2 (1803)
		Samuel Capen	Stoughton	<i>The Norfolk Harmony</i> (1805)
		William Cooper	Boston	<i>Original Sacred Music</i> (1803); <i>Sacred Musick</i> (1810)
	New Hampshire	Ezra Goff	Dorchester	<i>Dedication Anthem</i> (c. 1807)
		Samuel Holyoke	Essex	<i>A Dedication Service</i> (1801); <i>Occasional Music</i> (1802); <i>Two Anthems</i> (c. 1804); <i>A Dedication Service</i> (1804); <i>The Occasional Companion</i> (1806)
		Warwick Palfray	Salem	<i>The Evangelical Psalmist</i> (1802)
		Samuel Thomson	Dedham	<i>The Columbian Harmony</i> (1810)
		George Hough	Concord	<i>Modern Harmony: or, The Scholar's Task Made Easy</i> (1808)
		Southern and Western New England (11 collections)	Connecticut	Eliakim Doolittle
Timothy Swan	Suffield			<i>New England Harmony</i> (1801)
Israel Terril, Jr.	New Haven			<i>The Musical Melodise</i> (1803); <i>Vocal Harmony. No 1</i> (1805)
Central Massachusetts Western Massachusetts	Merit N. Woodruff		Watertown	<i>Devotional Harmony</i> (1801)
	Abijah Forbush		Upton	<i>The Psalmist's Assistant</i> (1803)
	Solomon Howe		Greenwich	<i>Worshipper's Assistant</i> , ed. 2 (1804); <i>The Farmer's Evening Entertainment</i> (1804)
	James Newhall		Bernardston	<i>The Vocal Harmony</i> (1803)
	Joel Harmon, Jr.		Pawlet	<i>The Columbian Sacred Minstrel</i> (1809)
Vermont	Hezekiah Moors	Mount Holly	<i>The Province Harmony</i> (1809)	

Table 12.3 (continued)

Table 12.4 Sources for strophic American tunes appearing in southern New England and New York City tunebooks first published outside the region (1778-1790)

				Connecticut																			New York City			
				Cheshire						Hartford				New Haven									BurgJ TiebC			
Source	Tune Name	Composer	Temperley Number	LawA SH 1 1778	LawA SH 2 1779	LawA SNPT 1781	LawA SH 3 1782, c.	LawA SH 4 1782, c.	LawA CHT 1783	LawA RM 1 1783	LawA SH 5 1785, c.	LawA RM 2 1786, c.	BrowO SH 1a 1783	BrowO SH 1b 1783	BrowO SH 2 1785	BrowO SH 3 1790	JoceS DoolA CC 1 1782	ReadD ASB 1 1785	LangC BP 1786	AMM 1786-7	ReadD ASB 3 1787	ReadD SASB 1787	JoceS CC 2 1788	BenhA FH 1790	A 1789, c.	
LyonJ U 1761	PSALM 9	William Tuckey	2764	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	PSALM 33	Tuckey	2766	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	WATERTOWN [JUDGMENT]	—	2760a	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	WILLINGTON	—	2770	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
BillW NEPS 1770	AMHERST	William Billings	3360a	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	BROOKFIELD	Billings	3370	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
BaylD NRH 1773	PSALM 122	Amos Bull (?)	3578	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
BillW SMA 1778	MARYLAND	Billings	2242c	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—	x	x	x	—	—	—
	AMHERST	Billings	3360a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	BOSTON	Billings	3366	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—	x	x	x	—	—	—
	BROOKFIELD	Billings	3370	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—
	CHESTER	Billings	3374	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	HEBRON	Billings	3400	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	NEW NORTH	Billings	3425	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	NEW SOUTH	Billings	3426	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	PRINCETOWN	Billings	3445	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	AMERICA	Billings	3997	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	AURORA	Billings	3999a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	BETHLEHEM	Billings	4002a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	COLUMBIA	Billings	4006	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	MAJESTY	Billings	4014	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	—	—
	PHILADELPHIA	Billings	4018a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	PHOEBUS	Billings	4019	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	RICHMOND	Billings	4020	—	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SHERBURNE	Billings	4024	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
STOCKBRIDGE	Billings	4026a	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
WARREN	Billings	4030	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
WASHINGTON	Billings	4031	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
WORCESTER	Billings	4032	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
WRENTHAM	Billings	4033	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
BillW MM 1779	MADRID	Billings	4112	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	PARIS	Billings	4121	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
BillW PSA 1781	FRAMINGHAM	Billings	4107b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	MANCHESTER	Billings	4113b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
	BERLIN	Billings	4212	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
	GOLGOTHA	Billings	4214	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
	HARTFORD	Billings	4215a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WCSH 1786	MENDOM	Billings	4216a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
	ANDOVER	Abraham Wood	4430	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
	BERWICK	Jacob French	4650	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
SSH 1789	WALPOLE	Wood	4663	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
	OCEAN	—	5013a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

#### Source Abbreviations

- AMM 1786-87:** *The American Musical Magazine. Vol. I.* New Haven: Amos Doolittle & Daniel Read, [1786–7].
- BenhA FH 1790:** Benham, Asahel. *Federal Harmony.* New Haven: A. Morse, 1790.
- BrowO SH 1a 1783:** Brownson, Oliver. *Select Harmony.* [Hartford (?), Ct.]: 1783.
- BrowO SH 1b 1783:** Brownson, Oliver. *Select Harmony.* [Hartford (?), Ct.]: 1783.
- BrowO SH 2 1785:** Brownson, Oliver. *Select Harmony.* [Hartford (?), Ct.]: 1783 [1785].
- BrowO SH 3 1790, c.:** Brownson, Oliver. *Select Harmony.* [Hartford (?), Ct.]: 1783 [c. 1790].
- Burg]TiebC A 1789, c.:** [Burger, John Jr., and Cornelius Tiebout]. *Amphion or The Chorister's Delight.* New York: John Burger jun. and Cornelius Tiebout, [c. 1789].
- JoceS CC 2 1788:** [Jocelin, Simeon]. *The Chorister's Companion.* Ed.2. New Haven: Simeon Jocelin, 1788.
- JoceSDoolA CC 1 1782:** [Jocelin, Simeon, and Amos Doolittle]. *The Chorister's Companion: or Church Music Revised.* New Haven: Simeon Jocelin and Amos Doolittle, 1782.
- LangC BP 1786:** [Langdon, Chauncey]. *Beauties of Psalmody.* [New Haven?]: [1786].
- LawA CHT 1783:** Law, Andrew. *A Collection of Hymn Tunes.* Cheshire, Ct.: Wm. Law, [1783].
- LawA RM 1 1783:** Law, Andrew. *The Rudiments of Music.* [Cheshire, Ct.]: [William Law], 1783.
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- LawA SH 1 1778:** Law, Andrew. *Select Harmony.* Cheshire, Ct.: [William Law], 1778.
- LawA SH 2 1779:** Law, Andrew. *Select Harmony.* Farmington, Ct.: [William Law (?)], 1779.
- LawA SH 3 1782, c.:** Law, Andrew. *Select Harmony.* Farmington, Ct.: [William Law], 1779 [c. 1782].
- LawA SH 4 1782, c.:** Law, Andrew. *Select Harmony.* [Cheshire, Ct. (?): [William Law], [c. 1782].
- LawA SH 5, 1785, c.:** Law, Andrew. *Select Harmony.* [Cheshire, Ct. (?): [William Law], [c. 1785].
- LawA SNPT 1781:** Law, Andrew. *A Select Number of Plain Tunes.* [Cheshire, Ct. (?): [William Law], [1781].
- ReadD ASB 1 1785:** Read, Daniel. *The American Singing Book.* New Haven, Ct.: For the author, 1785.
- ReadD ASB 3 1787:** Read, Daniel, of New Haven. *The American Singing Book.* Ed.3. New Haven, Ct.: For the author, 1787.
- ReadD SASB 1787:** Read, Daniel. *Supplement to the American Singing Book.* New Haven, Ct.: Daniel Read, [1787].

Table 12.5 Source material for strophic American compositions first appearing in southern New England and New York City tunebooks (1778-1790)

				Connecticut																			New York City				
				Cheshire								Hartford				New Haven							BurgJ TiebC				
Source	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	LawA SH 1 1778	LawA SH 2 1779	LawA SNPT 1781	LawA SH 3 1782, c.	LawA SH 4 1782, c.	LawA CHT 1783	LawA RM 1 1783	LawA SH 5 1785, c.	LawA RM 2 1786, c.	BrowO SH 1a 1783	BrowO SH 1b 1783	BrowO SH 2 1785	BrowO SH 3 1790, c.	JoceS DoolA CC 1 1782	ReadD ASB 1 1785	LangC BP 1786	AMM 1786-7	Read D ASB 3 1787	Read D SASB 1787	JoceS CC 2 1788	BenhA FH 1790	A 1789, c.		
LawA SH 1 1778	MIDDLETOWN	Amos Bull	4074	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
	PSALM 46	arr. Bull	148e	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	
	PSALM 115	Deaolph	4075	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	PSALM 136	Deaolph	4076	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
	WORCESTER	Abraham Wood	4077a	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
LawA SH 2 1779	FARMINGTON	Alexander Gillet	4129	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	FREEDOM	Gillet	4130	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	HARTFORD	Elihu Carpenter	4131	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	
	JUBILEE	Oliver Brownson	4132a	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	
	JUDGMENT	Gillet	4133	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	ODE ON SPRING	arr. Benjamin West	4135a	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	PROVIDENCE	West	4136	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	PSALM 21	Bull	4137	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	PSALM 24, OR NORWICH	Brownson	4138a	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	x	
	PSALM 25	Gillet	4139	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	SPRINGFIELD	Babcock	4140a	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	SUFFIELD	King	4141	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
WORTHINGTON	Strong	4142a	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
LawA SNPT 1781	BUNKER HILL	—	4256	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
	MORNING HYMN	—	4257	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	NEW ENGLAND	Gillet	4258	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	TURKEY HILLS	Gillet	4259	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	UNION	Gillet	4260	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	WALLINGFORD	—	4261	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
JoceSDoolA CC 1 1782	BETHENY	Bunnel	4273	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	BRIDG(E)-WATER	Lewis Edson	4274	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—	x	x	x	—	—	x	
	CHILD'S REQUEST	Edson	4275	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	CHRISTIANA	Johnson	4276	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	FAME	Johnson	4277	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	
	GREENFIELD	Edson	4278a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—	x	x	x	—	—	x	
	INVITATION	Carpenter	4279	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	
	LENOX	Edson	4280	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—	x - PSALM 148	x	x	—	—	x	
	NEW-HAVEN	Johnson	4281	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	
	NEW HINGHAM	arr. from W. Billings	3401b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	NEW SUFFIELD	Edson	4282	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	NORFOLK	Brownson	4283	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	—	

				Connecticut																			New York City			
				Cheshire								Hartford				New Haven							BurgJ TiebC			
Source	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	LawA SH 1 1778	LawA SH 2 1779	LawA SNPT 1781	LawA SH 3 1782, c.	LawA SH 4 1782, c.	LawA CHT 1783	LawA RM 1 1783	LawA SH 5 1785, c.	LawA RM 2 1786, c.	BrowO SH 1a 1783	BrowO SH 1b 1783	BrowO SH 2 1785	BrowO SH 3 1790, c.	JoceS DoolA CC 1 1782	ReadD ASB 1 1785	LangC BP 1786	AMM 1786-7	Read D ASB 3 1787	Read D SASB 1787	JoceS CC 2 1788	BenhA FH 1790	A 1789, c.	
JoceSDoolA CC 1 1782 (cont.)	PSALM 24	Brown	4284	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
	PSALM 89	Simeon Jocelin	4285	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
	SALISBURY	Brownson	4286	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
	SINAI	Carpenter	4287	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	STAFFORD	Daniel Read	4288a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	x	—	x	—	x	
	STRATFORD	Read	4289	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	
	VIRGINIA	Brownson	4290	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	x	—	x	x	x	—	x	
	WHITE HAVEN	—	4291	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	WILLIAMSBURG	Johnson	4292	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
BrowO SH 1a 1783	AMERICA	Strong	4387	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	ANDOVER	Strong	4388	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	BEDFORD	Brownson	4389	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	BOLTON	Brownson	4390	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	BRANDFORD	Asahel Benham	4391	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x - BRANFORD	x	x	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	BUCKLAND	Brownson	4392	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	BYFORD	Brownson	4393	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	CAMBRIDGE	Brownson	4394	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	CHATHAM	Benham	4395	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	COLCHESTER	Brownson	4396	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	DEATH'S ALARM	Benham	4397	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	DRESDEN	Brownson	4398	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	DURHAM	Brownson	4399	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	GUILDFORD	Brownson	4400	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	HEBRON	King	4401	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	INVITATION	Brownson	4402	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	KETTERY	Billings	4403	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	LITCHFIELD	Brownson	4404	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
	NEWPORT	Brownson	4405	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	PSALM 19	Solomon	4406	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	PSALM 46	Chandler	4407	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	PSALM 90	Strong	4408	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	PSALM 95	Brownson	4409	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	REPENTANCE	Benham	4410	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	ROXBURY	Strong	4411	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
	ROYALTON	Strong	4412	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	STAFFORD	Brownson	4413	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	SUNDAY	Brownson	4414	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	SUNDERLAND	Strong	4415	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	SUTTON	Brownson	4416	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TRUMBULL	Benham	4417	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
WAKEFIELD	Benham	4418	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
WESTFIELD	Brownson	4419	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
YARMOUTH	Benham	4420	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
YORK	Brownson	4421	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
BrowO SH 1b 1783	PITSFIELD	—	4440a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	WINDHAM	Brownson	4441	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

Table 12.5 (continued)



				Connecticut																			New York City			
				Cheshire								Hartford				New Haven							BurgJ TiebC			
Source	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	LawA SH 1 1778	LawA SH 2 1779	LawA SNPT 1781	LawA SH 3 1782, c.	LawA SH 4 1782, c.	LawA CHT 1783	LawA RM 1 1783	LawA SH 5 1785, c.	LawA RM 2 1786, c.	BrowO SH 1a 1783	BrowO SH 1b 1783	BrowO SH 2 1785	BrowO SH 3 1790, c.	JoceS DoolA CC 1 1782	ReadD ASB 1 1785	LangC BP 1786	AMM 1786-7	Read D ASB 3 1787	Read D SASB 1787	JoceS CC 2 1788	BenhA FH 1790	A 1789, c.	
LawA CHT 1783	SOPHRONIA	A. King	4426a	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	STRATFORD	—	4427	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LawA RM 1783	PSALM 47	William Tuckey	4428	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	PSALM 98	Tuckey	4429	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
BrowO SH 2 1785	BABYLON	Benham	4524	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	BALLOON	Timothy Swan	4525	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	BRISTOL	Swan	4526	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	x	x	x	—	—	—
	ENFIELD	Chandler	4527	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	FLANDERS	Swan	4528	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	GEORGIA	Lee	4529	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	LISBON	Swan	4530	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	MAJESTY	Swan	4531	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	POLAND	Swan	4532	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	RAIN-BOW	Swan	4523	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ReadD ASB 1 1785	ALBANY	Read	4586	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	AMBOY	Read	4587	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	AMITY	Read	4588	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	ANNAPOLIS	Read	4589	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	ASIA	Read	4590	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	BARNSTABLE	Read	4591	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	BARRINGTON	Read	4592	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	BENINGTON	Read	975d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	BURLINGTON	Read	4593	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	CALVARY	Read	4594	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	CHARLESTOWN	Read	4595	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	COMPLAINT	Read	4596	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	DERBY	Read	4597a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	DOVER	Read	4598	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	DOXOLOGY	Read	4599	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	EASTHAM	Read	4600	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	ENFIELD	Read	4601	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	FIDELITY	Read	4602	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	FREETOWN	Read	4603	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	HAPPY CITY	Read	4604	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	HOLLAND	Read	4605	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	HUMAN FRAILTY	Read	4606	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	JUDGMENT	Read	4607a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	KINGSTON	Read	4608	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	LISBON	Read	4609a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	LYME	Read	4610	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	MORTALITY	Read	4611	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	NAPLES	Read	4612	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	NEW-ENGLAND	Read	4613	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	NEWARK	Read	4614	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
NEWPORT	Read	4615	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
NORTON	Read	4616	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
NORWALK	Read	4617	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
PEMBROOK	Read	4618	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	

Table 12.5 (continued)

				Connecticut																			New York City		
				Cheshire					Hartford				New Haven						BurgJ TiebC						
Source	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	LawA SH 1 1778	LawA SH 2 1779	LawA SNPT 1781	LawA SH 3 1782, c.	LawA SH 4 1782, c.	LawA CHT 1783	LawA RM 1 1783	LawA SH 5 1785, c.	LawA RM 2 1786, c.	BrowO SH 1a 1783	BrowO SH 1b 1783	BrowO SH 2 1785	BrowO SH 3 1790, c.	JoceS DoolA CC 1 1782	ReadD ASB 1 1785	LangC BP 1786	AMM 1786-7	Read D ASB 3 1787	Read D SASB 1787	JoceS CC 2 1788	BenhA FH 1790	A 1789, c.
ReadD ASB 1 1785 (cont.)	RESURRECTION	Read	4619a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
	RIPTON	Read	4620	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
	SABBATH	Read	4621	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
	SHERBURNE	Read	4622a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
	SUDBURY	Read	4623	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
	VICTORY	Read	4624	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
	VIENNA	Read	4625	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
	WARREN	Read	4626	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
	WESTFORD	Read	4627	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
	WINDHAM	Read	4628	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
	WINTER	Read	4629	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
ZOAR	Read	4630a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	
LangC BP 1786	MONTAGUE	arr. from Swan	4431	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
	JUSTICE	Chandler	4644a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
	PSALM 89	—	4645	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
	PSALM 145	Carpenter	4646	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
	WILLIAMSTOWN	—	4647a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x
LawA RM 2 1786, c.	MONTAGUE	arr. from Swan	4431	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	PSALM 99	—	4573	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	SHERBURNE	arr. from Read	4622b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	ARCHANGEL	Gillet	4737	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	ARCHDALE-STREET	—	4738	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	BABYLON	Gillet	4739	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	GEORGIA	—	4740	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	GREENWICH	Read	4741	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—
	LITCHFIELD	—	4742	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	OXFORD	Gillet	4743	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WILTON	Hitchcock	4744	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
AMM1 1786-87	AUTUMN	Fisher	4778	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	CONDESCENSION	Read	4779	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	CONTEMPLATION	William Read	4780	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	CRUSIFIXION	Harris	4781	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	DANBURY	A. Canfield	4782a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	DEVOTION	Read	4783	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	HOPEWELL	Seaver	4784	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	JERUSALEM	—	4785a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	MEDFIELD	G. Adams	4786	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	NEW-MILFORD	Bunnel	4787	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	NEW-STRATFORD	Gillet	4788	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	RUSSIA	Read	4789	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—
	SOUTHWELL	Carpenter	4790	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
	STONINGTON	Read	4791	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
UNITY	Read	4792	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
WINSOR	Read	4793	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	
ReadD ASB 3 1787	MONTAGUE	arr. from Swan	4431	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—
	PROVIDENCE	Read	4905	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—

Table 12.5 (continued)

				Connecticut																			New York City			
				Cheshire								Hartford				New Haven							BurgJ TiebC			
Source	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	LawA SH 1 1778	LawA SH 2 1779	LawA SNPT 1781	LawA SH 3 1782, c.	LawA SH 4 1782, c.	LawA CHT 1783	LawA RM 1 1783	LawA SH 5 1785, c.	LawA RM 2 1786, c.	BrowO SH 1a 1783	BrowO SH 1b 1783	BrowO SH 2 1785	BrowO SH 3 1790, c.	JoceS DoolA CC 1 1782	ReadD ASB 1 1785	LangC BP 1786	AMM 1786-7	Read D ASB 3 1787	Read D SASB 1787	JoceS CC 2 1788	BenhA FH 1790	New York City BurgJ TiebC A 1789, c.	
JoceS CC 2 1788	BAPTIST'S	Crane	4910	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
	FEW HAPPY MATCHES	Crane	4911	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
	MILTON	Hawley	4912	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
	PSALM 17	James Lyon	4913	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
	PSALM 67	Tuckey	4914	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
	PSALM 146	Jocelin	4915	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
	STRATFIELD	Hawley	4916	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
	SUNBURY	Holland Weeks	4917	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
	WILMINGTON	Weeks	4918	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
ZION'S TRAVELLERS	Crane	4919	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—		
BurgJ TiebC A 1789, c.	MONTAGUE	arr. from Swan	4431	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
BenhA FH 1790	ADMONITION	Read	5359	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
	ADORATION	—	5360	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
	ALBANY	Edson	5361	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
	AMANDA	Justin Morgan	5362	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
	ATTENTION	—	5363	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
	CANTON	Swan	5364	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
	COMPLAINT	—	5365	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
	CUMBERLAND	—	5366	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
	EGYPT	Swan	5367a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
	EMANUEL	Fasset	5368	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
	FAIRFIELD	—	5369	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
	FELICITY	—	5370	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
	GRAVE/ PSALM 49	—	5371	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
	HUNTINGTON	Morgan	5372a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	JOYFUL-SOUND	—	5373	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	LAINSBOROUGH	Edson	5374	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	MONTGOMERY	Morgan	5375	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	PLESANT VALLEY	Morgan	5376	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	RECOVERY	Brownson	5377	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	REQUEST	M Kyes	5378	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	SAINTS REPOSE	Amariah Hall	5379a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	SILVER SPRING	—	5380	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	SOUNDING-JOY	Morgan	5381	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	SYMPHONY	Morgan	5382	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	TRUMPET	Brownson	5383	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	VICTORY	Brownson	5384	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
WALLINGSFORD	—	5385a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
WATERFORD	Edson	5386	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
WETHERSFIELD	Morgan	5387	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	

Table 12.5 (continued)

				Connecticut																			New York City			
				Cheshire						Hartford				New Haven									BurgJ TiebC			
Source	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	LawA SH 1 1778	LawA SH 2 1779	LawA SNPT 1781	LawA SH 3 1782, c.	LawA SH 4 1782, c.	LawA CHT 1783	LawA RM 1 1783	LawA SH 5 1785, c.	LawA RM 2 1786, c.	BrowO SH 1a 1783	BrowO SH 1b 1783	BrowO SH 2 1785	BrowO SH 3 1790, c.	JoceS DoolA CC 1 1782	ReadD ASB 1 1785	LangC BP 1786	AMM 1786-7	Read D ASB 3 1787	Read D SASB 1787	JoceS CC 2 1788	BenhA FH 1790	A 1789, c.	
BrowO SH 3 1790, c.	JUDGMENT	Brownson	5388	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	LARK	Brownson	5389	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	SHARON	Brownson	5390	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Source Abbreviations

- AMM: *The American Musical Magazine. Vol. I.* New Haven: Amos Doolittle & Daniel Read, [1786–7].  
 BenhA FH: Benham, Asahel. *Federal Harmony.* New Haven: A. Morse, 1790.  
 BrowO SH 1a: Brownson, Oliver. *Select Harmony.* [s.l.]: [s.n.], 1783.  
 BrowO SH 1b: Brownson, Oliver. *Select Harmony.* [s.l.]: [s.n.], 1783.  
 BrowO SH 2: Brownson, Oliver. *Select Harmony.* [s.l.]: [s.n.], 1783 [1785].  
 BrowO SH 3: Brownson, Oliver. *Select Harmony.* [s.l.]: [s.n.], 1783 [c. 1790].  
 BurgJTiebC A: [Burger, John Jr., and Cornelius Tiebout]. *Amphion or The Chorister's Delight.* New York: John Burger jun. and Cornelius Tiebout, [c. 1789].  
 JoceS CC 2: [Jocelin, Simeon]. *The Chorister's Companion.* Ed. 2. New Haven: Simeon Jocelin, 1788.  
 JoceSDoolA CC 1: [Jocelin, Simeon, and Amos Doolittle]. *The Chorister's Companion: or Church Music Revised.* New Haven: Simeon Jocelin and Amos Doolittle, 1782.  
 LangC BP: [Langdon, Chauncey]. *Beauties of Psalmody.* [New Haven?]: [1786].  
 LawA CHT: Law, Andrew. *A Collection of Hymn Tunes.* Cheshire, Ct.: Wm. Law, [1783].  
 LawA RM 1: Law, Andrew. *The Rudiments of Music.* [Cheshire, Ct.]: [William Law], 1783.  
 LawA RM 2: Law, Andrew. *The Rudiments of Music.* Ed.2. [Cheshire, Ct.]: [William Law], [c. 1786].  
 LawA SH 1: Law, Andrew. *Select Harmony.* Cheshire, Ct.: [William Law], 1778.  
 LawA SH 2: Law, Andrew. *Select Harmony.* Farmington, Ct.: [William Law], 1779.  
 LawA SH 3: Law, Andrew. *Select Harmony.* Farmington, Ct.: [William Law], 1779 [c. 1782].  
 LawA SH 4: Law, Andrew. *Select Harmony.* [Cheshire, Ct.]: [William Law], [c. 1782].  
 LawA SH 5: Law, Andrew. *Select Harmony.* [Cheshire, Ct.]: [William Law], [c. 1785].  
 LawA SNPT: Law, Andrew. *A Select Number of Plain Tunes.* [Cheshire, Ct.]: [William Law], [1781].  
 ReadD ASB 1: Read, Daniel. *The American Singing Book.* New Haven, Ct.: For the author, 1785.  
 ReadD ASB 3: Read, Daniel, of New Haven. *The American Singing Book.* Ed.3. New Haven, Ct.: For the author, 1787.  
 ReadD SASB: Read, Daniel. *Supplement to the American Singing Book.* New Haven, Ct.: Daniel Read, [1787].

Table 12.6 Source material for American psalm and hymn tunes appearing in coastal Massachusetts tunebooks first published either outside of the region or in the publications of William Billings

Source Compilation	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	Late Colonial Imprints				Early Nationalist Imprints												
				Newburyport				Newburyport					Boston							
				BayID NRH 1773	BayID NUH 1773	SticJ GLMC 1 1774	SticJ GLMC 2 1777	SticJ GLMC 3 1783	BayID SH 1784	BayID EHb 1 1785	BayID EHb 2 1785, c.	BayID NHZ 1a 1788	BayID NHZ 1b 1788	NCPTC W 1784, c.	MH 1 1784	MH 2 1785	FH 1 1788	SH 1788	FH 2 1790	
LyonJ U 1761	MORNING HYMN	—	2761	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	x	—		
	Ps. 23	Francis Hopkinson	2765a	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
	Ps. 33	William Tuckey	2766	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x	x		
	WILLINGTON	—	3770	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
BillW MM 1779	AMHERST	William Billings	3360a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—		
	BETHLEHEM	William Billings	4002b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—		
	BROOKFIELD	William Billings	3370	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—		
	COULCHESTER NEW [NEW COLCHESTER]	William Billings	4118	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—		
	PHILADELPHIA	William Billings	4018b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—		
LawA SH 2 1779	PSALM 46	arr. Amos Bull	148e	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	
	AMHERST	William Billings, arr. Law (?)	3360a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	
	BROOKFIELD	William Billings, arr. Law (?)	3370	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	
	CHESTER	William Billings	3374	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
	PSALM 122	Stephenson or Bull	3578	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	
	BETHLEHEM	William Billings	4002a	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	—	
	PHILADELPHIA	William Billings	4018a	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	
	RICHMOND	William Billings	4020	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	
	MIDDLETOWN	Amos Bull	4074	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	
	Ps. 115	Deaolph	4075	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Ps. 136	Deaolph	4076	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	
	WORCESTER	Abraham Wood	4077a	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	x (?)	—	x	
	FARMINGTON	Alexander Gillet	4129	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	FREEDOM	Alexander Gillet	4130	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	HARTFORD	Elihu Carpenter	4131	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	
	JUBILEE	Oliver Brownson	4132a	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	—	x	x	x	
	JUDGMENT	Alexander Gillet	4133	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	[ODE ON] SPRING	Benjamin West	4135a	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	[Ps. 24, OR] NORWICH	Oliver Brownson	4138a	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	
	Ps. 25	Alexander Gillet	4139	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	
SPRINGFIELD	Babcock	4140a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x	—	x	x	x	x		
SUFFIELD	King	4141	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
LawA SNPT 1781 (?)	BUNKER HILL	—	4256	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	
JocSDoolA CC 1 1782	MARYLAND	William Billings	2342c	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	BRIDG[E]WATER	Lewis Edson	4274	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	x	x	x	
	FAME	Johnson	4277	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
	GREENFIELD	Lewis Edson	4278a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	x	x	x	
	INVITATION	Elihu Carpenter	4279	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	LENOX	Lewis Edson	4280	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	x	x	
	NEW SUFFIELD	Lewis Edson	4282	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	SINAI	Elihu Carpenter	4287	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x -SANAI	x - SANAI	—	—	—	—	—	x
	STAFFORD	Daniel Read	4288a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
	STRATFORD	Daniel Read	4289	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	x	x	—
	VIRGINIA	Oliver Brownson	4290	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	x	x
	WILLIAMSBURG	Johnson	4292	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	x	x	—

Source Compilation	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	Late Colonial Imprints				Early Nationalist Imprints												
				Newburyport				Newburyport						Boston						
				BaylD NRH 1773	BaylD NUH 1773	SticJ GLMC 1 1774	SticJ GLMC 2 1777	SticJ GLMC 3 1783	BaylD SH 1784	BaylD EHb 1 1785	BaylD EHb 2 1785, c.	BaylD NHZ 1a 1788	BaylD NHZ 1b 1788	NCPTCW 1784, c.	MH 1 1784	MH 2 1785	FH 1 1788	SH 1788	FH 2 1790	
<b>BrowO SH 2 1785</b>	WORTHINGTON	Strong	4142a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
	BRANDFORD	Asahel Benham	4391	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
	DEATH'S ALARM	Asahel Benham	4397	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	
	DURHAM	Oliver Brownson	4399	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	
	INVITATION	Oliver Brownson	4402	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	
	LITCHFIELD	Oliver Brownson	4404	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	
	PSALM 46	Solomon Chandler	4407	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
	PSALM 90	Strong	4408	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
	PSALM 95	Oliver Brownson	4409	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
	ROYALSTON	Strong	4412	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
	TRUMBULL	Asahel Benham	4417	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
	WESTFIELD	Oliver Brownson	4419	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	PITTSFIELD	—	4440a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
	RAINBOW	Timothy Swan	4523	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
	BABYLON	Asahel Benham	4524	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	BRISTOL	Timothy Swan	4526	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	—	x
	GEORGIA	Lee	4529	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
	LISBON	Timothy Swan	4530	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
	MAJESTY	Timothy Swan	4531	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
	POLAND	Timothy Swan	4532a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
<b>ReadD ASB 1785</b>	AMBOY	Daniel Read	4587	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
	AMITY	Daniel Read	4588	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	ANNAPOLIS	Daniel Read	4589	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
	ASIA	Daniel Read	4590	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	CALVARY	Daniel Read	4594	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
	CHARLESTOWN	Daniel Read	4595	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
	COMPLAINT	Daniel Read	4596	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
	DERBY	Daniel Read	4597a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	DOXOLOGY	Daniel Read	4599	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	EASTHAM	Daniel Read	4600	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
	FIDELITY	Daniel Read	4602	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	JUDGMENT	Daniel Read	4607a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	KINGSTON	Daniel Read	4608	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
	MORTALITY	Daniel Read	4611	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	NAPLES	Daniel Read	4612	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	x	x	x
	NEWPORT	Daniel Read	4615	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
	SHERBURNE	Daniel Read	4622a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
	VICTORY	Daniel Read	4624	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	WARREN	Daniel Read	4626	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
	WINDHAM	Daniel Read	4628	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	—	x
WINTER	Daniel Read	4629	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	x	x	x	
<b>BillW SH 1786</b>	JORDAN	William Billings	4690a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	PETERSBURGH	William Billings	4695	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
<b>LawA RM 2 1786</b>	PSALM 47	William Tuckey	4428	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	PSALM 98	William Tuckey	4429	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	ARCHANGEL	Alexander Gillet	4737	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—

Source Compilation	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	Late Colonial Imprints				Early Nationalist Imprints						Boston					
				Newburyport				Newburyport						Boston					
				BayID NRH 1773	BayID NUH 1773	SticJ GLMC 1 1774	SticJ GLMC 2 1777	SticJ GLMC 3 1783	BayID SH 1784	BayID EHb 1 1785	BayID EHb 2 1785, c.	BayID NHZ 1a 1788	BayID NHZ 1b 1788	NCPTCW 1784, c.	MH 1 1784	MH 2 1785	FH 1 1788	SH 1788	FH 2 1790
WCSH 1786	MARYLAND	William Billings	2342a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	x	—
	AMHERST	William Billings	3360a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
	BROOKFIELD	William Billings	3370	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
	CHESTER	William Billings	3374	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
	HEBRON	William Billings	3400	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
	NEW-HINGHAM	arr. from William Billings	3401b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
	LEBANON	William Billings	3408	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
	SUFFOLK	William Billings	3458	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
	AMERICA	William Billings	3997	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	x
	AURORA/MORNING HYMN	William Billings	3999a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	x
	BETHLEHEM	William Billings	4002a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	x	x
	COLUMBIA	William Billings	4006	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	x	x
	PHILADELPHIA	William Billings	4018a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	x	x
	STOCKBRIDGE	William Billings	4026a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	WASHINGTON	William Billings	4031	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	x
	WORCESTER	Abraham Wood	4077	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x (?)
	FRAMINGHAM	William Billings	4107b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	PARIS	William Billings	4121	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	BERLIN	William Billings	4212	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	x
	HARTFORD	William Billings	4215a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	MENDON	William Billings	4216a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	ANDOVER	Abraham Wood (?)	4430	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	MOUNTAGUE	arr. from Timothy Swan	4431	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	HADLEY	Joseph Stone	4652	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	HUMILIATION	Elias Mann	4653	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	LANCASTER	Elias Mann	4654a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	x
	PALMER	Joseph Stone	4656	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	PEPPERRELL	Abraham Wood	4657	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	SOLITUDE	Elias Mann	4660	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	STRATFIELD	Ezra Goff	4661	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TEWKSBURY [TUKESBURY]	Abraham Wood	4662	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
WALPOLE	Abraham Wood	4663	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	x	
AMM 1787	GREENWICH	Daniel Read	4741	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x (?)	—	—	—	—	—	x
	CRUCIFIXION	Harris	4781	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	DANBURY	A. Canfield	4782a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
	DEVOTION	Daniel Read	4783	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
	RUSSIA	Daniel Read	4789	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	

## Source Abbreviations

### Source Compilations

- AMM:** *The American Musical Magazine. Vol. I.* New Haven: Amos Doolittle & Daniel Read, [1786–7].
- BillW MM:** Billings, William. *Music in Miniature.* Boston: The author, 1779.
- BillW SH:** Billings, William. *The Suffolk Harmony.* Boston: J. Norman, for the author, 1786.
- BrowO SH 2:** Brownson, Oliver. *Select Harmony.* [s.l.]: [s.n.], 1783 [1785].
- JoceCDoolA CC:** [Jocelin, Simeon, and Amos Doolittle]. *The Chorister's Companion: or Church Music Revised.* New Haven: Simeon Jocelin and Amos Doolittle, 1782.
- LawA RM 2:** Law, Andrew. *The Rudiments of Music.* Ed.2. [Cheshire]: [William Law], [1786].
- LawA SH 2:** Law, Andrew. *Select Harmony.* Farmington: 1779.
- LawA SNPT:** Law, Andrew. *A Select Number of Plain Tunes* [s.l.]: [s.n.], [1781].
- LyonJ U:** Lyon, James. *Urania, or A Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems, and Hymns.* Philadelphia: [s.n.], 1761.
- ReadD ASB:** Read, Daniel. *The American Singing Book.* New Haven: For the author, 1785.
- WCSH:** *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony.* Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, 1786.

### Northern Coastal Imprints

- BayID EHMM 1:** Bayley, Daniel [sen.]. *The Essex Harmony, or Musical Miscellany.* Newburyport, Mass.: The author and son, 1785.
- BayID EHMM 2:** Bayley, Daniel [sen.]. *The Essex Harmony, or Musical Miscellany.* [Newburyport], Mass.: The author and son, 1785, c.
- BayID NHZ 1a:** Bayley, Daniel, sen.. *The New Harmony of Zion; or Complete Melody.* Newburyport, Mass.: The publisher (Daniel Bayley), 1788.
- BayID NHZ 1b:** Bayley, Daniel, sen.. *The New Harmony of Zion; or Complete Melody.* Newburyport, Mass.: The publisher (Daniel Bayley), [c. 1788].
- BayID NRH:** Bayley, Daniel [sen.]. *A New Royal Harmony: or, Beauties of Church Music.* [Newburyport, Mass.]: [Daniel Bayley], [1773].
- BayID NUH:** Bayley, Daniel [sen.]. *The New Universal Harmony.* Newburyport, Mass.: The author, 1773.
- BayID SH:** Bayley, Daniel [sen.]. *Select Harmony.* Newburyport, Mass.: Daniel Bayley, [1784].
- FH 1:** *The Federal Harmony.* Boston: For the editor, and sold by John Norman, [1788].
- FH 2:** *The Federal Harmony.* Boston: John Norman, 1790.
- MH 1:** *The Massachusetts Harmony.* Boston: John Norman, [1784].
- MH 2:** *The Massachusetts Harmony.* Boston: John Norman, [1785].
- NCPTCW:** *A New Collection of Psalm Tunes adapted to Congregational Worship.* [Boston]: [1784].
- SH:** *Sacred Harmony or A Collection of Psalm Tunes.* Boston: C. Cambridge, [1788].
- SticJ GLMC 1:** Stickney, John. *The Gentleman and Lady's Musical Companion.* Newburyport, Mass.: Daniel Bayley, 1774.
- SticJ GLMC 2:** Stickney, John. *The Gentleman and Lady's Musical Companion.* Newburyport, Mass.: Daniel Bayley, [1774–80].
- SticJ GLMC 3:** Stickney, John, of South Hadley. *The Gentleman and Lady's Musical Companion.* Newburyport, Mass.: Daniel Bayley, [1783].



Table 12.7 Original psalm and hymn tunes first appearing in publications from coastal Massachusetts excluding those of William Billings

Source Compilation	Tune Name	Composer	Temperley Index Number	Late Colonial Imprints				Early Nationalist Imprints											
				Newburyport				Newburyport					Boston						
				BaylD NRH 1773	BaylD NUH 1773	SticJ GLMC 1 1774	SticJ GLMC 2 c. 1777	SticJ GLMC 3 1783	BaylD SH 1784	BaylD EHb 1 1785	BaylD EHb 2 1785, c.	BaylD NHZ 1a 1788	BaylD NHZ 1b 1788	MH 1 1784	MH 2 1785	FH 1 1788	SH 1788	FH 2 1790	
BaylD NRH 1773	Ps. 122	Stephenson or Amos Bull (?)	3578	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—
BaylD NUH 1773	COUNSELS OF GRACE	arr. from William Knapp's <i>New Church Melody</i>	2091b	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	MARRIAGE HYMN	James Lyon	3579	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SticJ GLMC 1 1774	AMERICA	arr. from W. Billings	3359	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	BROOKFIELD	arr. from William Billings	3370	—	—	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
	CHESTER	arr. from William Billings	3374	—	—	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	EXETER	William Billings	3678	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	LANESBOROUGH	—	3679	—	—	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	MECHIAS	James Lyon	3680	—	—	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	PILESGROVE	—	3681a	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	SAPPHICK ODE	arr. from William Billings	3453a	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SticJ GLMC 3 1783	ANDOVER	Abraham Wood (?)	4430	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	MONTAGUE	arr. from Timothy Swan	4431	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MH 1 1784	STOCKBRIDGE	arr. from William Billings	4026b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	—
	EFFINGHAM	—	4433	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—
	LEXINGTON	—	4434	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	—
	NORTH STREET	—	4435	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	—
	PARIA	—	4436	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—
	SHEFFIELD	—	4437	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—
	WASHINGTON	—	4438	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x - BENNINGTON	x - BENNINGTON	x	x	x - BENNINGTON	x	—
BaylD SH 1784	INVITATION	Jacob Kimball	4439a	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
BaylD EHb 1 1785	OXFORD	—	4522	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	RAINBOW	Timothy Swan	4523	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
FH 1 1788	ALSTEAD	Oliver Holden	4920	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	—	x
	APPEARANCE	Supply Belcher	4921	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	CHRISTMAS HYMN	Elias Mann	4922	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	FEDERAL STREET	—	4923	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	FRIENDSHIP	—	4924	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	GETHSEMANE	—	4925	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
	HOLLIS	Oliver Holden	4926	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x
	NEW CANAAN	Oliver Holden	4927a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	—
	PORTSMOUTH	—	4928	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x
	STODDARD	—	4929	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
SURRY	—	4930	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	

Source Compilation	Tune Name	Composer	Temperley Index Number	Late Colonial Imprints				Early Nationalist Imprints										
				Newburyport				Newburyport					Boston					
				BaylD NRH 1773	BaylD NUH 1773	SticJ GLMC 1 1774	SticJ GLMC 2 c. 1777	SticJ GLMC 3 1783	BaylD SH 1784	BaylD EHb 1 1785	BaylD EHb 2 1785, c.	BaylD NHZ 1a 1788	BaylD NHZ 1b 1788	MH 1 1784	MH 2 1785	FH 1 1788	SH 1788	FH 2 1790
FH 1 1788 (cont.)	UNION	—	4931	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x
	WESTFIELD	—	4932	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
	WORSHIP	—	4933	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
SH 1788	BEDFORD	—	4934	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
	ST. VINCENTS	—	4935	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
FH 2 1790	BETHFIELD	Charles (?) Nolen	5347	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	COMPLAINT	Ezra (?) Parmenter	5348	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	CONSOLATION	William Cooper	5349	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	CRUCIFIXION	William Cooper	5350a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	GREENSBOROUGH		5351	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	MARIETTA		5352	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
	UXBRIDGE		5353	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x

Source Abbreviations

- BaylD EHMM 1:** Bayley, Daniel [sen.]. *The Essex Harmony, or Musical Miscellany*. Newburyport, Mass.: The author and son, 1785.  
**BaylD EHMM 2:** Bayley, Daniel [sen.]. *The Essex Harmony, or Musical Miscellany*. [Newburyport], Mass.: The author and son, [c. 1785].  
**BaylD NHZ 1a:** Bayley, Daniel, sen.. *The New Harmony of Zion; or Complete Melody*. Newburyport, Mass.: The publisher (Daniel Bayley), 1788.  
**BaylD NHZ 1b:** Bayley, Daniel, sen.. *The New Harmony of Zion; or Complete Melody*. Newburyport, Mass.: The publisher (Daniel Bayley), [c. 1788].  
**BaylD NRH:** Bayley, Daniel [sen.]. *A New Royal Harmony: or, Beauties of Church Music*. [Newburyport, Mass.]: [Daniel Bayley], [1773].  
**BaylD NUH:** Bayley, Daniel [sen.]. *The New Universal Harmony*. Newburyport, Mass.: The author, 1773.  
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**FH 1:** *The Federal Harmony*. Boston: For the editor, and sold by John Norman, [1788].  
**FH 2:** *The Federal Harmony*. Boston: John Norman, 1790.  
**MH 1:** *The Massachusetts Harmony*. Boston: John Norman, [1784].  
**MH 2:** *The Massachusetts Harmony*. Boston: John Norman, [1785].  
**SH:** *Sacred Harmony or A Collection of Psalm Tunes*. Boston: C. Cambridge, [1788].  
**SticJ GLMC 1:** Stickney, John. *The Gentleman and Lady's Musical Companion*. Newburyport, Mass.: Daniel Bayley, 1774.  
**SticJ GLMC 2:** Stickney, John. *The Gentleman and Lady's Musical Companion*. Newburyport, Mass.: Daniel Bayley, [1774–80].  
**SticJ GLMC 3:** Stickney, John, of South Hadley. *The Gentleman and Lady's Musical Companion*. Newburyport, Mass.: Daniel Bayley, [1783].

Table 12.8 American compositions in The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony (1786-1794) taken from northern coastal New England imprints

Source Compilation	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	WCSH 1 1786	WCSH 2 1788	WCSH 3 1791	WCSH 4 1793	WCSH 5 1794
<b>BillW SMA 1778</b>	LEBANON	William Billings	3408	x	x	x	x	x
	SUFFOLK	William Billings	3458	x	x	x	x	x
<b>BillW PSA 1781</b>	MANCHESTER	William Billings	4113b	—	x	x	x	x
	ASSURANCE	William Billings	4211	—	—	—	x	x
<b>MH 2 1785</b>	BENNINGTON/ WASHINGTON	Mass. Har.	4438	x	x	x	x	—
<b>BillW SH 1786</b>	JORDAN	William Billings	4690a	—	x	x	x	x
	PETERSBURGH	William Billings	4694	—	x	x	—	x
<b>FH 1 1788</b>	ALSTEAD	Oliver Holden	4920	—	—	—	x	—
	APPEARANCE	Supply Belcher	4921	—	x	—	—	—
	CHRISTMAS HYMN	Elias Mann	4922	—	x	—	—	—
	HOLLIS	Oliver Holden	4926	—	—	—	x	—
	PORTSMOUTH	—	4928	—	x	—	—	—
	UNION	—	4931	—	x	x	—	—
	WORSHIP	—	4933	—	x	x	x	—
<b>WoodA DS 1789</b>	DOOMSDAY	Abraham Wood	5333	—	—	—	—	x
	GETHEMANE	Abraham Wood	5335	—	—	—	—	x
<b>HoldO UH 1 1793</b>	AFRICA	William Billings	3357	—	—	—	—	x
	MADRID	William Billings	4112	—	—	—	—	x
	KITTERY	William Billings	4403	—	—	—	—	x
	INVITATON	Jacob Kimball	4439a	—	—	—	—	x
	OCEAN	—	5013a	—	—	—	x	x
	FUNERAL HYMN	Oliver Holden	6035	—	—	—	x	x
	LAMENTATION	Oliver Holden	6036	—	—	—	x	—
	LEVERETT STREET	Isaac Lane	6297	—	—	—	—	x
<b>KimBJ RH 1793</b>	ASHBURNHAM	Jacob Kimball	6319	—	—	—	—	x
	BERKELEY	Jacob Kimball	6323	—	—	—	—	x
	BOXFORD	Jacob Kimball	6325	—	—	—	—	x
	KINGSTON	Jacob Kimball	6346	—	—	—	—	x
	TUNBRIDGE	Jacob Kimball	6371	—	—	—	—	x

### Source Abbreviations

- BillW PSA:** Billings, William. *The Psalm-Singer's Amusement*. Boston: The author, 1781.
- BillW SH:** Billings, William. *The Suffolk Harmony*. Boston: J. Norman, for the author, 1786.
- BillW SMA:** Billings, William. *The Singing Master's Assistant*. Boston: Draper and Folsom, 1778.
- FH:** *The Federal Harmony*. Boston: For the editor, and sold by John Norman, [1788].
- HoldO UH:** Holden, Oliver. *The Union Harmony*. Vol. I. Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1793.
- KimbJ RH:** Kimball, Jacob, Jr. *The Rural Harmony*. Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1793.
- MH 2:** *The Massachusetts Harmony*. Boston: John Norman, [1785].
- WCSH 1:** *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony*. Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, 1786.
- WCSH 2:** *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony*. Ed.2. Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, 1788.
- WCSH 3:** *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony*. Ed.3. Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1791.
- WCSH 4:** *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony*. Ed.4. Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1792 [1793].
- WCSH 5:** *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony*. Ed.5. Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1794.
- WoodA DS:** Wood, Abraham. *Divine Songs extracted from Mr. J. Hart's Hymns, and set to musick*. Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Company, 1789.

Table 12.9 American compositions in The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony (1786-1794) taken from southern and western New England imprints

Source Compilation	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	WCSH 1 1786	WCSH 2 1788	WCSH 3 1791	WCSH 4 1793	WCSH 5 1794
<b>LawA SH 2 1779 (?)</b>	PSALM 46	arr. Amos Bull	148e	x	x	—	—	—
	PSALM 122	Bull (?)	3578	x	x	x	—	x
	MIDDLETON	Bull	4074	x	x	x	x	—
	PSALM 136	Deaolph	4076	x	x	x	—	x
	WORCESTER	Abraham Wood	4077a	x	x	x	x	x
	FARMINGTON	Alexander Gillet	4129	—	x	x	x	x
	HARTFORD	Elihu Carpenter	4131	x	x	—	—	—
	JUBILEE	Oliver Brownson	4132a	x	x	x	x	—
	NORWICH	—	4138	x	x	x	x	x
	PSALM 25	Gillet	4139	—	—	—	—	x
SUFFIELD	King	4141	x	x	x	x	x	
<b>JocseDoolA CC 1782</b>	MARYLAND	William Billings	2342c	x	x	x	x	x
	AMHERST	Billings	3360a	x	x	x	x	x
	BROOKFIELD	Billings	3370	x	x	x	x	—
	CHESTER	Billings	3374	x	x	x	x	x
	HEBRON	Billings	3400	x	—	—	—	—
	NEW-HINGAM	arr. from Billings	3401b	x	—	—	—	—
	AMERICA	Billings	3997	x	x	x	x	—
	AURORA	Billings	3999a	x	x	—	—	—
	BETHLEHEM: OR, CHRISTMAS HYMN	Billings	4002a	x	x	x	x	x
	COLUMBIA	Billings	4006	x	x	x	x	x
	PHILADELPHIA	Billings	4018a	x	x	x	x	x
	WASHINGTON	Billings	4031	x	x	x	x	—
	WRENTHAM	Billings	4033		x	—	—	—
	FRAMINGHAM	Billings	4107b	x	x	—	—	—
	PARIS	Billings	4121	x	x	x	x	—
	BERLIN	Billings	4212	x	x	x	x	x
	HARTFORD	Billings	4215a	x	—	—	—	—
	MENDOM	Billings	4216a	x	—	—	—	—
	BRIDGEWATER	Lewis Edson	4274	x	x	x	—	x
	FAME	Johnson	4277	x	—	—	—	—
	GREENFIELD	Edson	4278a	x	x	x	x	x
	LENOX	Edson	4280	x	x	x	x	x
	STAFFORD	Daniel Read	4288a	x	x	x	x	x
	STRATFORD	Read	4289	x	—	—	—	—
VIRGINIA	Brownson	4290	x	x	x	x	x	
WILLIAMSBURGH	Johnson	4292	x	x	x	—	—	
<b>BrowO SH 2 1785</b>	DEATH'S ALARM	Asahel Benham	4397	x	—	—	—	—
	DURHAM	Brownson	4399	x	x	x	x	—
	INVITATION	Brownson	4402	x	—	—	—	—
	LITCHFIELD	Brownson	4404	x	—	—	—	—
	PSALM 46	Solomon Chandler	4407	x	x	x	x	x

Source Compilation	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	WCSH 1 1786	WCSH 2 1788	WCSH 3 1791	WCSH 4 1793	WCSH 5 1794
<b>BrowO SH 2 1785 (cont.)</b>	PSALM 90	Strong	4408	x	x	—	—	—
	PSALM 95	Brownson	4409	x	—	—	—	—
	ROYALSTON	Strong	4412	x	x	x	—	—
	TRUMBULL	Benham	4417	x	—	—	—	—
	PITTSFIELD	Select Harmony	4440a	x	x	x	—	—
	RAINBOW	Timothy Swan	4523	x	x	x	x	x
	BABYLON	Benham	4524	—	x	—	—	—
	BALLOON	Swan	4525	—	—	—	x	x
	BRISTOL	Swan	4526	x	x	x	x	x
	GEORGIA	Lee	4529	x	—	—	—	—
	LISBON	Swan	4530	x	x	x	x	—
	MAJESTY	Swan	4531	x	x	—	—	—
	POLAND	Swan	4532a	x	x	x	x	x
<b>ReadD ASB 1785</b>	AMBOY	Read	4587	x	x	x	—	—
	AMITY	Read	4588	—	x	—	—	—
	ANNAPOLIS	Read	4589	x	x	x	x	x
	CALVARY	Read	4594	x	x	x	x	x
	CHARLESTOWN	Read	4595	x	x	x	x	x
	COMPLAINT	Read	4596	x	—	—	—	—
	DERBY	Read	4597a	—	x	—	—	x
	EASTHAM	Read	4600	x	x	x	x	—
	JUDGMENT	Read	4607a	—	x	—	—	—
	KINGSTON	Read	4608	x	—	—	—	—
	LISBON	Read	4609a	—	—	—	x	x
	MORTALITY	Read	4611	—	x	x	x	x
	NAPLES	Read	4612	x	x	x	x	x
	NEWPORT	Read	4615	x	x	—	—	x
	SHERBURNE	Read	4622a	x	x	x	x	x
	VICTORY	Read	4624	—	—	—	x	x
	WARREN	Read	4626	x	x	—	—	—
	WINDHAM	Read	4628	—	—	—	x	x
	WINTER	Read	4629	x	x	x	x	x
	<b>LawA RM 2 1786</b>	BRANFORD	Benham	4391	—	x	—	x
PSALM 47		William Tuckey	4428	—	x	x	—	—
PSALM 98		Tuckey	4429	—	x	x	x	x
ARCHANGEL		Gillet	4737	—	x	—	—	—
GREENWICH		Read	4741	—	x	—	x	x

Table 12.9 (continued)

Source Compilation	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	WCSH 1 1786	WCSH 2 1788	WCSH 3 1791	WCSH 4 1793	WCSH 5 1794
AMM 1787	CONTEMPLATION	William Read	4780	—	—	—	x	—
	CRUCIFIXION	Harris	4781	—	—	—	x	—
	HOPEWELL	Seaver	4784	—	—	—	x	—
	JERUSALEM	—	4785a	—	—	—	x	—
	RUSSIA	D. Read	4789	—	—	—	x	x
Unknown	PSALM 33	William Tuckey	2766	x	x	x	x	x

**Source Abbreviations**

**AMM:** *The American Musical Magazine. Vol. I.* New Haven: Amos Doolittle & Daniel Read, [1786–7].

**Brow O SH 2:** Brownson, Oliver. *Select Harmony.* [s.l.]: [s.n.], 1783 [1785].

**JocSDoolA CC:** [Jocelin, Simeon, and Amos Doolittle]. *The Chorister's Companion: or Church Music Revised.* New Haven: Simeon Jocelin and Amos Doolittle, 1782.

**LawA RM 2:** Law, Andrew. *The Rudiments of Music.* Ed.2. [Cheshire]: [William Law], [1786].

**LawA SH 2:** Law, Andrew. *Select Harmony.* Farmington: 1779.

**ReadD ASB:** Read, Daniel. *The American Singing Book.* New Haven: For the author, 1785.

Table 12.10 American compositions first appearing in The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony (1786-1794)

Compilation	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	WCSH 1 1786	WCSH 2 1788	WCSH 3 1791	WCSH 4 1794	WCSH 5 1794
<b>WCSH 1 1786</b>	ANDOVER	Abraham Wood (new arr.)	4430	x	x	x	x	—
	MONTAGUE	Timothy Swan (new arr.)	4431	x	x	x	x	x
	ANTHEM TO FUNERAL THOUGHT	Frost	4649	x	x	x	—	—
	BERWICK	Jacob French	4650	x	x	—	—	—
	DANBURY	Joseph Stone	4651	x	x	—	—	—
	HADLEY	Stone	4652	x	—	—	—	—
	HUMILIATION	Elias Mann	4653	x	x	x	x	—
	LANCASTER	Mann	4654a	x	x	x	x	—
	LEOMINSTER	Stone	4655	x	x	—	—	—
	PALMER	Stone	4656	x	x	—	—	—
	PEPPERRELL	Wood	4657	x	—	—	—	—
	PSALM 8	Stone	4658a	x	x	—	—	—
	SCITUATE	Stone	4659	x	x	—	—	—
	SOLITUDE	Mann	4660	x	x	x	—	—
	STRATFIELD	Ezra Goff	4661	x	x	—	—	—
TEWKSBURY	Wood	4662	x	x	x	—	—	
WALPOLE	Wood	4663	x	x	x	x	x	
WESTFIELD	Stone	4664	x	x	—	—	—	
<b>WCSH 2 1788</b>	COOKHAM	arr.	2211c	—	x	—	—	—
	MANSFIELD	—	4936	—	x	x	—	—
	SURRY	Nolan	4937a	—	x	x	—	—
	VICTORY	Elias Mann	4938	—	x	x	x	x



Table 12.10 (continued)

Source Compilation	Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	WCSH 1 1786	WCSH 2 1788	WCSH 3 1791	WCSH 4 1794	WCSH 5 1794
<b>WCSH 3 1791</b>	CRUCIFIXION	arr. from William Cooper	5350a	—	—	x	x	—
	ALL SAINTS NEW	Amariah Hall	5587a	—	—	x	x	x
	CARDIGAN	Samuel Holyoke	5588a	—	—	x	x	—
	LINCOLN	Mann	5589	—	—	x	x	—
	PILGRIM	Hans Gram	5590	—	—	x	x	x
	WESTFORD	Samuel Holyoke	5591	—	—	x	x	x
<b>WCSH 4 1793</b>	NEW CANAAN	arr. by Oliver Holden (?)	4927b	—	—	—	x	—
	ALPHA	Holden	6105	—	—	—	x	—
	ATONEMENT	Allen	6106	—	—	—	x	—
	CREATION	W. Read	6107	—	—	—	x	—
	MOUNT SION	Bartholomew Brown	6108	—	—	—	x	—
	MOUNT TABOR	Holden	6109	—	—	—	x	—
NEW-SALEM	Holden	6110	—	—	—	x	—	
<b>WCSH 5 1794</b>	BRANDYWINE	Robert Rogerson	6632	—	—	—	—	x
	LENA	Daniel Belknap	6633a	—	—	—	—	x
	PETERSHAM	Mann	6635	—	—	—	—	x
	SARATOGA	Robert Rogerson	6636a	—	—	—	—	x
	UNITY	—	6638	—	—	—	—	x

### Chapter 13. Ancient-style expression in the Middle Atlantic and its influence in the South and West

1816 was a remarkable and turbulent year for the United States. On the one hand, president James Monroe implemented tariff and infrastructure acts to strengthen the national economy and allow the interior of the country to gain access to the greater national market. From another perspective, although the victors of the War of 1812, the country was still recovering from a largely disastrous and humiliating conflict with Great Britain. Known as the year without a summer, the year 1816 was marked by the occurrence of frosts in every month of the year, ruining the harvest for the entire country. Over the past twelve months, New England had threatened secession from the union because of their lack of political representation as members of a declining Federalist Party.<sup>1</sup> In this environment of a contradictory mixture of uncertainty and cautious optimism, Ananias Davisson, an unknown psalmodist living near Cross Keys, Virginia published and printed the first tunebook by a resident of the Shenandoah Valley: the *Kentucky Harmony*.

Reflecting the spirit of the time, Davisson selected the repertory, established a network of musicians active throughout the Middle Atlantic and the early West, obtained copyright protection for his compilation, purchased musical type, and printed the work himself. As a relatively unknown musician, Davisson remained optimistic of *Kentucky Harmony*, but uncertain as to its success. The models for his collection were tunebooks by his regional competitors. Compiled by ancient-style musicians in the Middle Atlantic and burgeoning Trans-Appalachian West, these books reflected the range of their authors'

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<sup>1</sup> C. Edward Skeen, *1816: America Rising* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003), 19-21.

denominational affiliations, as well as their geographic and regional provenance, from Unitarian John Wyeth of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to Presbyterians Elkanah Kelsey Dare of Wilmington, Delaware and Oxford, Pennsylvania, and Freeman Lewis and Robert Patterson of the Pittsburgh area.

All of the collections by these men shared two features: they appeared in a notational modification called shape-note notation where the note heads were given different shapes corresponding to their pitch within the solfege, and they contained much the same repertory. However, Davisson's collection distinguished itself from among his peers. With the exception of Patterson's collection, *Patterson's Church Music* (Pittsburgh, 1813), all of the other tunebooks were modeled on the format of *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* (Worcester, 1786) by Isaiah Thomas. Intended more for social and extra-ecclesiastical use, these collections presented a mostly haphazard arrangement of metrical psalm and hymn tunes, and anthems. Only *The Beauties of Harmony* (Pittsburgh, 1814) by Freeman Lewis attempted some sort of systematic organization by placing the tunes in alphabetical order. *Patterson's Church Music*, rather than a social-secular compilation, consisted of a selection of pieces intended for congregational performance during the divine service.

In contrast, the structure of the *Kentucky Harmony* was based on earlier English Presbyterian initiatives, such as that by James Lyon for his collection *Urania* (Philadelphia, 1761), Davisson's volume being "well adapted to Christian churches, singing schools, or private societies" as proclaimed on its title page. *Kentucky Harmony* comprised four parts: an initial section of rudiments that presented the basic mechanics of musical notation and expression, a selection of tunes for worshipping assemblies, a grouping of social-secular popular ancient-style psalm and hymn tunes, and a collection of extended anthems, set pieces, and odes. Though the final two sections appear in opposite order of appearance

between the Lyon and Davisson tunebooks, the similarities between the two works remain striking, springing from earlier English Presbyterian compilations associated with London's Little Eastcheap Meetinghouse, such as Nathaniel Gawthorn's *Harmonia Perfecta* (London, 1730).

As a Presbyterian, Davisson took a traditional denominationally specific approach to tunebook compiling that neatly divided repertory by function, separating the ecclesiastical tunes from their popular social-secular counterparts. By separating tunes by their intended use, he was able to present a collection suitable for any performance venue popular among Middle Atlantic Calvinists. Davisson's approach would become the most prevalent compilation method for Early Nationalist and Antebellum Era compilers of ancient-style music in the Middle Atlantic, West, and South. Through it, he singlehandedly standardized compilation procedure among the more enthusiastic denominations in the interior of the United States for the next half-century.

### **13.1 *Kentucky Harmony* by Ananias Davisson and its compilation procedure and repertory**

Each of the three musical sections of *Kentucky Harmony* displays different trends of source influence, reflective of their performative histories, denominational expression, and geographic origin. Earlier scholars have viewed the burgeoning evangelical ancient style of the Middle Atlantic, West, and South either as part of a larger New England diaspora, or a Southern inheritance of Northern initiatives. However, pieces of popular ancient-style sacred music, though found in every part of Davisson's tunebook, only served as the dominant influence in the section devoted to social-secular popular ancient-style psalm and hymn tunes, or as he termed it, "the more lengthy and elegant pieces, commonly used in

concert."<sup>2</sup> Not surprisingly, because New Englanders made famous popular ancient-style psalmody in the United States, this repertory throughout the Early Nationalist and Antebellum Periods consisted largely of pieces composed by regional musicians. In contrast, different stylistic and geographic parameters defined the other sections of *Kentucky Harmony*.

The repertory intended for congregational ecclesiastical performance constitutes fifty-four old and new tunes, European and American. All of the works are plain tunes with the exception of three fusing pieces. Most are quite simple, being composed without any textual repetition. He also excluded any antiphonal tunes from the congregational section. Within this limited compositional range however, Davisson featured a wide variety of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs pieces. In general, his tune choices in this section followed English Presbyterian trends as they developed in the Middle Atlantic over the course of the Late Colonial and Early Nationalist Periods.

The pieces in this section originate from three main regions of influence: England, New England, and the Middle Atlantic with its extension into the former backcountry of the South and West, and connected to Philadelphia through a series of roads. Chief among these was the Great Wagon Road, which followed the older Cherokee Warriors' Path, an important hunting and trading route before white settlement.<sup>3</sup> It extended west from Philadelphia and south through Maryland, paralleling the Appalachian Mountains through the upper piedmont areas of Virginia, and North and South Carolina until its terminus in Augusta, Georgia. In southern Virginia, the Wilderness Road split off from the Great Wagon Road and extended southwest into Tennessee and north into Kentucky. Most of the

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<sup>2</sup> Ananias Davisson, *Kentucky Harmony or A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems* ([Harrisonburg: Ananias Davisson,] 1816), 36.

<sup>3</sup> Parke Rouse, Jr. *The Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia to the South* (Richmond, Dietz Press, [1973] 2004), 11-17, 53-64, 105-117.

early settlers travelled these roads in the settling of the eighteenth-century Southern backcountry and the early Southwest between 1740 and 1820. Not only contributing new tunes and arrangements by himself, Davisson also included a number of pieces by Robert Boyd and Reubin Munday of eastern Tennessee, near Knoxville.<sup>4</sup>

European works originated from the expected three main strains of denominational influence: Anglicans, Calvinists, and Nonconformists/Methodists (**Fig 13.1**).

**Figure 13.1 English Congregational Repertory of *Kentucky Harmony* (1816)**

**Anglican**

AYLESBURY	John Chetham from Aaron Williams
ST. MARTINS	William Tans'ur
WELLS	Israel Holdroyd

**Calvinist**

BRAY	from Williams
DUBLIN	—
FUNERAL THOUGHT	arr. Smith from Williams
LITTLE MARLBOROUGH	from Williams
MEAR	Simon Brown
NEWBURY	from Williams
OLD HUNDRED	from the French Calvinist psalter
ROCHESTER	from Williams
ST. THOMAS	from Williams via Andrew Law (?)
WALSAL	from Williams or James Lyon

**Nonconformist**

ARLINGTON	arr. from Thomas Augustine Arne
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Most of this repertory first appeared in English Presbyterian collections, namely *The Universal Psalmist* (London, 1763) by Aaron Williams. This compilation was among the most popular and influential tunebooks imported to British North America during the Late

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<sup>4</sup> David W. Music, "Ananias Davisson, Robert Boyd, Reubin Monday, John Martin, and Archibald Rhea in East Tennessee, 1816-26," in *American Music*, 1, 3 (Autumn, 1983): 72-84.

Colonial period. Works taken from it were present in other songbooks by Davisson's competitors, having become part of the standard congregational repertory for area Presbyterians. Davisson possibly lifted many of these settings from regional publications such as *The Beauties of Harmony* by Freeman Lewis and *Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music* by John Wyeth (Harrisburg, Pa., 1810).

Pieces by New England popular ancient-style musicians formed the second largest body of tunes within the congregational repertory (**Fig. 13.2**).

**Figure 13.2 New England Congregational Repertory of *Kentucky Harmony* (1816)**

**Northern Coastal New England (MA, NH)**

CONCORD	Oliver Holden
HIDING PLACE	Smith

**Connecticut**

BRAN(D)FORD	Asahel Benham
CHINA	Timothy Swan
ENFIELD	Solomon Chandler
FLANDERS	Swan
GEORGIA	from Andrew Law via John Wyeth
POLAND	Swan
SUFFIELD	King
TWENTY-FIFTH	Alexander Gillet
UNION	Gillet
VIRGINIA	Oliver Brownson
WINDHAM	Daniel Read

**Northern Connecticut River Valley and Western Massachusetts**

AMANDA	Justin Morgan
LENOX	Lewis Edson
SILVER SPRING	Morgan
SUTTON	Goff

Though intended originally as much for social-secular performance as within the church, a few of these pieces entered into general ecclesiastical use. As such, some popular ancient-style psalm and hymn tunes became accepted as suitably devotional in character over the

course of forty years. Paralleling earlier New England trends, few of these pieces originated from northern coastal New England. Instead, musicians from Connecticut, the northern Connecticut River Valley, and Western Massachusetts composed the bulk of this repertory, and all of their tunes appeared first in Connecticut imprints. Significantly, none of Billings' tunes in his original settings are found in this section. By the early nineteenth century, neither Billings' pieces nor his tunebooks continued to influence Middle Atlantic congregational trends. This phenomenon reveals further his role in shaping a type of social-secular ancient-style psalmody that broke away from earlier devotional-congregational ideals.

More pieces in the congregational repertory originated from the Middle Atlantic area and its extension into the Appalachian backcountry than any other region (**Fig 13.3**). Davisson drew from two main spheres of influence: tune collections by his peers and competitors including those by Andrew Law and John Wyeth, and original tunes and arrangements from within Davisson's personal network of regional psalmodists. Of the older Middle Atlantic repertory, Davisson selected works from Pennsylvania and Delaware tunebooks by his competitors. Further, he also included four-part settings of arrangements of folk hymns set by the Chapin brothers, singing masters who had been active in the Shenandoah Valley and the Southern backcountry in the 1790s before settling in Kentucky and western Pennsylvania. In this respect, Davisson catered his collection to a local audience, capitalizing on the eminence of the Chapins that continued for several decades after they left the Shenandoah Valley.



### Figure 13.3 Middle Atlantic Congregational Repertory of *Kentucky Harmony* (1816)

#### New England Diaspora

LITCHFIELD from Andrew Law, *The Musical Primer* (Cheshire, 1793)

#### Middle Atlantic

BETHEL (?)  
FIDUCIA Robertson  
KEDRON set by Elkanah Kelsey Dare  
LIBERTY HALL set by Lucius (?) Chapin, arr. Ananias Davisson via Wyeth  
NINETY-THIRD set by Lucius (?) Chapin, arr. Davisson via Wyeth  
PRIMROSE set by Amzi (?) Chapin, arr. Davisson via Wyeth  
ROCKBRIDGE set by Amzi (?) Chapin, arr. Davisson via Wyeth

#### New Tunes and New Arrangements (VA, TN)

ALBION Robert Boyd  
CONSOLATION arr. by Davisson from Dean  
GLASGOW arr. from Wyeth  
IDUMEA Davisson  
JUDGEMENT Boyd  
LEBANON arr. by Davisson from William Billings  
MILINDA Boyd  
NEW ORLEANS Boyd  
NEW-JERSEY Frisby  
SALVATION Boyd  
SUPPLICATION arr. from Chapin  
TENDER THOUGHT Davisson  
TRANQUILITY Reubin Munday  
TRIBULATION arr. by Davisson  
ZION'S HILL arr. by Davisson from Abraham Wood

However, the single largest portion of the congregational repertory consisted of new pieces and new arrangements of older works appearing for the first time in the *Kentucky Harmony*. Davisson composed, set, or arranged a number of these tunes. Though he only claimed two pieces as original compositions, the anonymous arrangements, most likely completed by Davisson, spanned a range of compositional origins, encompassing arrangements of older psalm and hymn tunes by earlier New Englanders to revised settings of anonymous folk hymns. In some cases these modifications entailed rewriting the melody to allow for matching textual and musical accentuation, as with his arrangement of

LEBANON by William Billings. Other times Davisson changed antiphonal tune settings to plain tunes as occurred in ZION'S HILL, an abbreviated version of WORCESTER by Abraham Wood.

Though the identification of the composer Frisby remains unknown, the other original tunes were taken from singing masters residing in eastern Tennessee near Knoxville. In particular, all of Robert Boyd's compositions and folk hymn settings proved especially popular among Presbyterians and other evangelical Calvinists and Methodists. All five of his compositions and settings in *Kentucky Harmony* entered the general shape-note repertory, with ALBION, NEW ORLEANS, and SALVATION featured in many tunebooks by Middle Atlantic, Western, and Southern compilers. Although the contributions by Europeans and New Englanders remained strong, neither of these regions dominated the overall repertory. Instead, congregational tune selection centered on local and regional trends, reflecting the unique environment of the Middle Atlantic.

In the popular ancient-style repertory designed for social-secular performance, Davisson's tune choices reflected a different set of parameters for compositional influence. Although the selected tunes originated from the same three geographic regions encountered in the congregational section, those from New England formed the bulk of this repertory. Significantly, he only included one English composition, Joseph Stephenson's popular fusing tune MILFORD. In contrast, Davisson included sixty-three pieces from New England. Despite the differences in compositional and regional influence, his selections of New England pieces followed the same trends of New England compositional activity as encountered both in the congregational section as well as earlier New England imprints of the Early Nationalist Period.

Pieces from northern coastal New England made up only twelve percent of the overall social-secular New England repertory (**Fig. 13.4**). Among this group of composers, William Billings figured prominently. However, even though the Billings pieces were originally printed in his tunebook, *The Singing Master's Assistant*, they were disseminated mostly through popular anthology-style collections such as *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony*. Similarly, other pieces from this subregion such as MORTALITY entered into the Middle Atlantic repertory initially through other popular anthology collections such as *The Village Harmony, or Youth's Assistant to Sacred Music* (Exeter, N.H., 1795). However, Davisson probably learned of these works from Middle Atlantic anthology-style tunebooks compiled by New England musicians active in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. As with Billings, the influence of these composers remained indirect, occurring through printed collections and manuscript copybooks, as opposed to direct interaction with the composer in a singing school or other related musical event. Davisson most likely became familiar with the tune MORTALITY not through *The Village Harmony*, but rather an early edition of the first shape-note tunebook, *The Easy Instructor, or a New Method of Teaching Sacred Harmony* by William Little of New York and William Smith of New Jersey.

**Figure 13.4 Northern Coastal New England (MA, NH) Social-Secular Pieces in**

***Kentucky Harmony* (1816)**

COMPLAINT	Ezra Parmeter
INVITATION	Jacob Kimball
MAJESTY	William Billings
MARYLAND	Billings
MORTALITY	Smith via William Little and William Smith
MOUNT SION	Bartholomew Brown
SAVANNAH	Billings
VERGENNES	Oliver Holden

A number of pieces originated from central and western Massachusetts, as well as the northern Connecticut River Valley (**Fig. 13.5**). Continuing earlier trends, most of these pieces originally appeared in Connecticut imprints, though a few such as GRAFTON, LIVONIA, and BERNE were published locally as music publishers such as Andrew Wright in Northampton, Massachusetts started to become active in the 1790s. Although the number of western Massachusetts and northern Connecticut River Valley area composers grew over the past twenty years, those from central Massachusetts remained the same as in the pre-1790 period. In particular, Vermont composers figured prominently among this group, led by Justin Morgan and the pieces printed in Asahel Benham's *Federal Harmony* (1790), and followed by Elisha West, Jeremiah Ingalls, Ezra Goff, and Uri K. Hill.

**Figure 13.5 Central and Western Massachusetts, and Northern Connecticut River Valley Social-Secular Pieces in *Kentucky Harmony* (1816)**

**Central Massachusetts**

ALL-SAINTS NEW	Amariah Hall
GRAFTON	Joseph Stone
SUTTON	Stone
WALPOLE	Abraham Wood

**Northern Connecticut River Valley and Western Massachusetts**

BERNE	Uri K. Hill
BRIDGEWATER	Lewis Edson
GREENFIELD	Edson
HUNTINGTON	Justin Morgan
LIVONIA	—
MONTGOMERY	Morgan
NEW JERUSALEM	Jeremiah Ingalls
SOLITUDE-NEW	Elisha West
SOUNDING JOY	Morgan
STRATFIELD	Ezra Goff
SYMPHONY	Morgan

These composers' tunes entered the repertory most likely through the shape-note compilations of Davisson's competitors such as Wyeth, or Little and Smith. Alternatively, he also might have acquired these tunes from earlier social-secular popular ancient-style publications by New England musicians active in the Middle Atlantic including *The Philadelphia Harmony* (Philadelphia, 1788) by Andrew Adgate or *The American Harmony* (Philadelphia, 1793) by Nehemiah Shumway. Regardless of the exact sources from which he drew, the repertory follows specific patterns found in Middle Atlantic popular ancient-style tunebooks and tune collections throughout the Early Nationalist Period.

In contrast to the other pieces in the social-secular repertory, tunes from one area completely dominated the compositional representation of other subregions of New England: Connecticut (**Fig 13.6**). This phenomenon reflects not only the widespread popularity of Connecticut imprints in the pre-1790 era, but also the centrality of Connecticut psalm and hymn tunes within the repertory of anthology compilations of popular ancient-style psalmody issued between 1790 and 1810. Although many of the tunes in the northern coastal area of New England and some from Vermont appeared for the first time in these anthology compilations, all of the Connecticut pieces consisted solely of reprinted material published first from within the state.

**Figure 13.6 Connecticut Social-Secular Pieces in *Kentucky Harmony* (1816)**

AMERICA	Truman S. Wetmore
AMITY	Daniel Read
BALLOON	Timothy Swan
BRISTOL	Swan
CALVARY	Read
CREATION [VENUS]	Elijah Griswold via Little and Smith, <i>The Easy Instructor</i>
DELIGHT	Simeon Coan
DOMINION	Read
DOVER	Swan
EXHORTATION	Eliakim Doolittle
FLORIDA	Wetmore
FRIENDSHIP	via Little and Smith, <i>The Easy Instructor</i>
GARDEN	Newcomb
GREENWICH	Read
IMMENSITY	Doolittle
JERUSALEM	Lee (?) via N. Shumway, <i>The American Harmony</i> (1793)
JOYFUL SOUND	—
LIBERTY	Stephen Jenks
MIDDLETOWN	Amos Bull
NEW-DURHAM	B. Austin
NEWBURGH	Amos Munson
NEWPORT	Read
NORWICH	Oliver Brownson
OCEAN	Swan
RAINBOW	Swan
REPENTANCE	Rollo via Little and Smith, <i>The Easy Instructor</i>
RUSSIA	Read
SHERBURNE	Read
SOPHRONIA	King
STAFFORD	Read
SYLVIA	Wetmore
TRUMBLE [TRUMBULL]	Asahel Benham
WHITESTOWN	Howd via Little and Smith, <i>The Easy Instructor</i>
WILLIAMSTOWN	Brown
WORTHINGTON	Strong
ZION	Read

Also distinct from the other subregions, Connecticut compositions within this section of *Kentucky Harmony* originated as much in pre-1790 source material as from the 1790s into the early nineteenth century. Alongside older, established popular pieces by Daniel Read, Timothy Swan, Amos Bull, Asahel Benham, Strong, and Oliver Brownson,

Davisson featured pieces by the next generation of Connecticut psalmodists, including Truman S. Wetmore, Elijah Griswold, Stephen Jenks, Eliakim Doolittle, Simeon Coan, B. Austin, and Amos Munson, among others. Thus, Connecticut pieces represented a multigenerational group of composers, a phenomenon not encountered as strongly or widespread in any other subregion of New England. Further, it shows that despite the waning of social-secular, popular ancient-style psalmody in the northeast, this type of music continued to find resonance in southern and western New England through publications such as *Connecticut Harmony* by Griswold and Thomas Skinner ([s.l.: [1796]]), *The American Compiler of Sacred Harmony. No. 1* by Jenks and Griswold (Northampton, 1803), and *The New-England Harmonist* (Danbury, Ct., c. 1800) and *The Delights of Harmony* (New Haven, 1804) by Jenks.

Paralleling the way in which much of the New England compositions were made available to Ananias Davisson, a selection of social-secular ancient-style pieces entered the repertory through the initiatives of New England musicians active in the Middle Atlantic and the Hudson River Valley, representing a diaspora of the New England popular ancient style (**Fig. 13.7**). Many of these musicians not only composed a few pieces, they also compiled their own tunebooks for the Middle Atlantic and northern and western New York public, which helped to popularize this social-secular amusement outside its area of origin. The creation of a New England diaspora occurred largely because a number of the practitioners of popular ancient-style psalmody found it expedient to leave New England for various reasons whether personal or professional.

**Figure 13.7 New England Diaspora Social-Secular Pieces in *Kentucky Harmony***

**(1816)**

**Hudson River Valley**

BALLSTOWN	Nehemiah Shumway
FRIENDSHIP	Lewis Edson, Jun.
SARDINIA	Castle
SCHENECTADY	Shumway

**Middle Atlantic (NJ, PA)**

CARLISLE	Ishmail Spicer
LAMBERTON	Shumway
MEDITATION	N. Little
PENNSYLVANIA	Shumway
WESTMINSTER	Shumway

Some New England singing masters and psalmodists permanently moved west into New York such as Lewis Edson and his son Lewis Edson, Jr. Others became active musically in Middle Atlantic urban centers, including Lewis and Thaddeus Seymour of New York City, Andrew Adgate and Andrew Law in Philadelphia, and Ishmail Spicer and Alexander Ely in Baltimore. Still others became professionally active in the two main geographic areas of the New England diaspora, being engaged as professional musicians or involved in some other employment, such as Nehemiah Shumway, the principal of Freehold Academy in New Jersey who later moved to Schenectady and Albany, New York, Thomas Atwill in New York and Pennsylvania, and Jonathan Huntington, active as a singing master and flute teacher in Albany at the turn of the nineteenth century. Compositions in *Kentucky Harmony* also appeared in collections by all of these New England diaspora compilers. In this sense, Davisson revealed his place as a resident of the Middle Atlantic through the inclusion of these tunes, most of which only became well known outside of New England.



Significantly, more pieces from the New England diaspora were found in *Kentucky Harmony* than from northern coastal New England itself.

Davisson also featured a small selection of popular ancient-style pieces composed by musicians from the Middle Atlantic and its extension into the Appalachian backcountry (**Fig. 13.8**). Of the three pieces that had appeared in other tunebooks before *Kentucky Harmony*, all were among the most recent tunes found in the collection, the oldest of which had been in print for only six years. All were taken from the publications of John Wyeth. Similarly, the original contributions to the social-secular portion of Davisson's tunebook remained quite paltry, consisting of one folk hymn erroneously attributed to William Billings in the text, and an extended antiphonal tune by Tennessee resident Reubin Munday. Clearly, New England and its diaspora dominated this part of *Kentucky Harmony*, suggesting that Middle Atlantic musicians admired popular ancient-style psalmody, but devoted little time to its cultivation.

**Figure 13.8 Middle Atlantic and Southwestern Social-Secular Pieces in *Kentucky***

***Harmony* (1816)**

**Pennsylvania**

BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY	Elkanah Kelsey Dare
NINETY-FIFTH	—
WESLEY	—

**New Tunes and New Arrangements (VA, TN)**

NEW-MONMOUTH	—
NEWTOWNSHIP	Reubin Munday

One other feature deserves mention regarding the social-secular repertory of Davisson's tunebook. In the congregational section of the tunebook, Davisson devoted most of the repertory to plain tunes, characteristic of traditional English Presbyterian

practice. Few tunes included any textual repetition. Only three pieces employed any extended fusing techniques. The social-secular section of *Kentucky Harmony* displayed a completely opposite trend in that three-fourths of the tunes are either fusing tunes or tunes with fusing choruses. Another sixteen percent are antiphonal tunes. Of these fusing and antiphonal pieces, some incorporate both techniques in the same composition. Thus, over ninety percent of the tunes from this section use some sort of extended compositional technique, compared to five percent in the congregational section.

Davisson devoted the final portion of his text to extended choral works, which he titled "several anthems and odes of the first eminence." A mixture of anthems, set pieces, and two strophic tunes, this section contained the most egalitarian repertory regarding its compositional origin. As with the previous collection of popular ancient-style psalmody, these pieces were intended for social-secular performance in the same manner as the anthems and set pieces in James Lyon's *Urania*. As Presbyterians, Lyon's and Davisson's views on the use of these types of pieces during the divine service remained the same. Though Billings stands out as the most popular composer, the others, when categorized by region, indicate that none completely dominated the other (**Fig 13.9**).

Davisson selected two English pieces, one by the ever-popular Joseph Stephenson and another from the Nonconformist Anglican composer Martin Madan, associated with the Lock Hospital in London. DENMARK remained one of the most popular pieces in the American canon by both ancient and common-practice church musicians throughout the Early Nationalist and Antebellum periods. Nonconformist pieces, arranged to suit ancient-style performance practice, continued to flourish among Calvinist, Methodist, and evangelical congregations. From among Billings' works, all except for EASTER ANTHEM appeared in *The Singing Master's Assistant*. Other anthems and odes from southern and

western New England entered the Middle Atlantic repertory through some of the earliest anthology compilations by diaspora musicians, becoming some of the favorite pieces among a burgeoning regional audience for social-secular popular ancient-style psalmody. Many of these tunes had also appeared in some of the earliest English-language shape-note compilations including those by Little and Smith, Wyeth, and Lewis, thus establishing these pieces' place among the more enthusiastic practitioners of sacred music.

**Figure 13.9 Anthems, Set Pieces, and Odes in *Kentucky Harmony* (1816)**

**England: Unitarian**

ANTHEM FROM LUKE, 2D CHAP.

Joseph Stephenson

**England: Nonconformist**

DENMARK

arr. from Martin Madan

**Northern Coastal New England**

DAVID'S LAMENTATION

William Billings

EASTER ANTHEM

William Billings

FUNERAL ANTHEM

William Billings

ROSE OF SHARON

William Billings

**Central Massachusetts**

FAREWELL ANTHEM

Jacob French

HEAVENLY VISION

Jacob French

ODE ON SCIENCE

Jezaniah Sumner

**Northern Connecticut River Valley**

BUNKERS-HILL AN ODE

Sylvanus Ripley

JUDGMENT ANTHEM

Justin Morgan

**Connecticut**

REDEMPTION ANTHEM

Asahel Benham

**New Tunes and Arrangements**

THE LOVER'S LAMENTATION

arr. by Ananias Davisson

MOUNT-CALVARY

arr. by Ananias Davisson

PRODIGAL SON

Josiah Moore

Davisson also included a few new arrangements and an original set piece, PRODIGAL SON, by the unidentified Josiah Moore. THE LOVER'S LAMENTATION was arranged from the version in *The Beauties of Harmony* by Freeman Lewis, one of his Pennsylvania competitors, being re-harmonized by Davisson himself. Lewis' version presents the tune in C major, Davisson's in A minor. However, both present almost the same exact melody. MOUNT-CALVARY, also appearing in variant form in *Wyeth's Repository of Music. Part the Second* (Harrisburg, 1813), was one of the folk hymns circulating around the Middle Atlantic during the Early Nationalist Period. Together, these pieces illustrate Davisson's confidence as a Middle Atlantic compiler in presenting an equal number of new extended set pieces and odes prepared by himself and his colleague. No other later ancient-style compilers from the Middle Atlantic, West and South would feature as many original extended choral works until Benjamin Franklin White and E. J. King published *The Sacred Harp* in Hamilton, Georgia in 1844.

Taken as a whole, *Kentucky Harmony* demonstrates an intersection of all the prevailing trends in American sacred music descending from Late Colonial initiatives of the 1760s. As a Presbyterian residing in the Middle Atlantic, Davisson revealed his indebtedness to traditional English Presbyterian compilation procedure through the scope and intent of his collection. Containing a body of material divided specifically by purpose, he created a tunebook suitable for any performance venue of ancient-style sacred music whether for the divine service; social recreation, singing schools, or concerts; or domestic devotion or amusement. English Presbyterians first employed this compilation method in the early eighteenth century. Springing from the denomination's seventeenth-century hymn movement, it found expression in the tunebooks of William Laurence and Nathaniel Gawthorn at the Eastcheap Meetinghouse in London, and blossomed through the efforts of

Londoner Aaron Williams and Philadelphian James Lyon, among others. As a result, Davisson's volume constituted almost 150 years of tradition in its compilation method.

At the same time, his tune choices reflected the unique environment of the United States. Besides its denominational identity, *Kentucky Harmony* also represents its geographic origin through its tune selection and compositional aesthetic. The congregational section maintained a distinctly Middle Atlantic aesthetic for this repertory with most of the tunes arranged or composed by regional musicians past and present. He also demonstrated a penchant for the more complex social-secular popular ancient-style New England fusing and antiphonal tunes composed largely in Connecticut between 1778 and 1810. Davisson even included a few choice pieces characteristic of Nonconformist expression. Though compositional divisions follow the older concept of performance categories related to sacred music type, the repertory itself was largely American and composed within the last forty years. Thus, Davisson did not remain completely beholden to tradition. Instead, he adapted his denomination's tradition to suit the unique musical climate of the Calvinist Middle Atlantic during the early part of the nineteenth century.

*Kentucky Harmony* also serves as a model for understanding how Middle Atlantic psalmody codified and transformed ancient-style sacred music. Though based on English precedent, and drawn largely from New England trends for the social-secular repertory, he did not replicate precisely any previous English Calvinist tunebooks, nor any New England social-secular tune compilation and its musical culture. An investigation into compositional trends in the Middle Atlantic over the course of the Early Nationalist Period demonstrates this transformation of the ancient style and its repertory. Discussion will follow the divisions of Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony*, focusing first on congregational and devotional patterns, and continuing with social-secular composition. It will also include an examination

of the influence and expression of Nonconformist and Methodist trends in sacred music during this time period.

### **13.2 Congregational Trends of the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, southern Backcountry, and West (1755-1816)**

Between 1755 and 1816, congregational singing flourished not only in the urban centers of the Middle Atlantic and the coastal South, but also in the rural areas of the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, and the Trans-Appalachian West, encompassing an area that extended from New Jersey south into the Carolinas, and west to Ohio and Kentucky. Urban practice of the regions in the Late Colonial Period consisted of two main divisions: ancient-style Calvinist expression, and common-practice pieces and the use of the organ by Anglicans. Notable musicians included Presbyterians William Dawson and James Lyon, Regular Baptist Morgan Edwards, and Anglicans/Episcopalians Francis Hopkinson, William Tuckey, Peter Pelham, Benjamin Carr, Rayner Taylor, and Jacob Eckhard. Surviving sources revealed a divide among the various musicians that was based on musical style and its relationship to specific denominations and their performance practice within the region.

Within the Middle Atlantic, South, and West, ancient-style congregational repertoires are found in a number of manuscript and printed sources intended for congregational use. These texts illustrate English-language musical trends unique to this vast and predominantly rural area. Many compilations chronicle not only traditional performance modes and repertory related to the folk culture of these regions, but also the influence of popular musical trends by English and Scottish North American Presbyterians, English Nonconformists, and the cultivators of social-secular ancient-style psalmody from New England. Together, they demonstrate the interconnectivity of musical practices and

repertory within this vast area, united by printed and manuscript source material emanating from and imported to regional urban centers (**Table 13.1**).

Source compilations originate from many areas within these regions, including New Jersey, Delaware, and eastern Pennsylvania within the Middle Atlantic, Virginia and Maryland from the Chesapeake Bay, coastal South Carolina, the piedmont area of North Carolina and the Shenandoah Valley within the older Southern backcountry, and western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky in the Trans-Appalachian West. The types of sources for congregational use range from manuscript copybooks to printed compilations. Together they reveal the complex and multivalent layers of expression and influence within ancient-style congregational sacred music.

Of all the surviving source material intended for congregational use within this vast area, the most important and extensive body of material is a collection of manuscripts that employ a modified form of the letteral notation introduced by the Reverend John Tufts (1689-1750), active in coastal Massachusetts in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Instead of standard musical notation, the compilers of these manuscripts presented the letters F, S, L, and M in place of note heads to correspond to the English four-syllable method of solfege documented first by Thomas Morley. However, none of the manuscript sources included the rhythmic markings found in Tufts' text. In fact, no rhythmic or durational symbols are found other than the occasional time signature in a few tunes. However, Tufts' text and his form of notation influenced later printed sources. Some regional compilers such as William Dawson did not have their collections printed in letteral notation, though they most likely drew some of their repertory from Tufts' textbook. Conversely, by 1760, his letteral notation attained somewhat a renewed popularity through two colonial publications: a letteral edition of the Thomas Johnston 1755 supplement in

Boston,<sup>5</sup> and a Philadelphia reprint of Tufts' work bound with *The Psalms of David, Imitated in the Language of the New-Testament, and applied to the Christian State and Worship* (Philadelphia, 1760) by Isaac Watts.

Surviving letteral manuscripts were compiled in three main areas: the Middle Atlantic colonies and states of southeastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, northern Delaware, and western Virginia near the mouth of the Shenandoah River, the Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay in Maryland, and the early Trans-Appalachian West that includes western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky. The earliest sources originate from the Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake Bay regions beginning in 1755.<sup>6</sup> These manuscripts served both as a textbook

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<sup>5</sup> Britton, Lowens, Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints (1698-1810)* (Worcester, 1990), 376.

<sup>6</sup> This author was able to personally consult thirteen of these manuscript sources, many of which had not been discovered. Conversely, a few other manuscripts not examined by this author have been discussed by other scholars including Nym Cook in "American Psalmists in Contact and Collaboration, 1770-1820" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1990); David W. Music in "The John Beatty Manuscript: An Eighteenth-Century American Tunebook," *Hymn* 63, 2 (Spring, 2012): 27-38; Nancy F. Vogan in "The Musical Traditions of the Planters and 'Mary Miller Her Book'," in *Making Adjustments: Change and Continuity in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800*, ed. Margaret Conrad (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, 1991): 247-252, "The Robert Moor Tunebook and Musical Culture in Eighteenth-Century Nova Scotia" in *Planter Links: Community and Culture in Colonial Nova Scotia*, ed. Margaret Conrad and Barry Moody (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, 2001): 154-164, "Eighteenth-Century Fasola Tunebooks," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 22, 2 (April 2001): 134-145; and Edward C. Wolf in "The Convivial Side of Scottish Psalm Tunes," *American Music* 14 (Summer, 1996): 141-160. These sources include three manuscripts of unknown provenance found in Canada, including "Mary Miller Her Book" (1766) at the Colchester Historical Museum in Truro, Nova Scotia, the Robert Moor copybook dated 1769 at the Ralph Pickard Bell Library at Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick, and the Judith Humphrey copybook prepared by Francis Hughes dated 1813 in the Eva Brook Donly Museum in Simcoe, Ontario. Three others are held at the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan including the James Trindle manuscript discussed by Wolf, and the John Hutchinson copybook at Franklin and Marshall College Library in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Two other manuscripts are held by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, bringing the total of known surviving letteral manuscripts to twenty-three sources. Discussion of the Trindle and Hutchinson manuscripts is taken from their description in Wolf. Thanks are extended to David Music for making the Beatty manuscript available to the author.



for the schoolroom or singing school as well as a selection of psalm and hymn tunes for congregational performance. These compilers were mostly teenagers or young adults.

In addition to the letteral manuscripts scattered across much of the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, and the early West, a few standard notation congregational manuscripts originating from the Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay and the Carolina backcountry include a number of tunes from the Dawson repertory. Unlike their letteral counterparts, they show little connection to each other. They instead demonstrate a stronger tie to the letteral sources, indicating a larger pan-regional trend connected by denominational association rather than notational style.<sup>7</sup>

Published tunebooks and tune collections reflect the quirks and limitations of print culture in the United States during the Late Colonial and Early Nationalist Periods. In this respect, publishing trends in these regions set themselves apart from those in New England. Besides a greater emphasis on congregational tune collections, music publishing in the Middle Atlantic, West, and South does not represent as fully sacred musical activity within these regions. Prior to the year 1812, all published congregational tune collections were compiled by residents of Philadelphia with the exception of *The Cumberland Melodist* (Philadelphia, 1804) by John McCarrell of Shippensburg, Pennsylvania. As the only city in the Middle Atlantic and South to have enjoyed a longstanding tradition of music publishing

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<sup>7</sup> Only four of the thirty-seven tunes from the Chesapeake Bay are shared between the two sources; only one third of the Carolina Backcountry repertory overlaps. However, both Carolina backcountry sources maintain a somewhat stronger connection to each other than their Chesapeake Bay counterparts in that their date of compilation is more contemporary to each other, both employ the same notation style, and both include a spiritual song found only in these manuscripts, THE LAST ASSIZE. Perhaps this connection reflects the activities of an itinerant singing master active in this area, or that of a more regional Calvinist and Nonconformist-influenced Calvinist trend. Both sources include a few pieces from *The Universal Psalmody* by Aaron Williams and the Robert Wilson manuscript features the set piece DENMARK printed in the Lock Hospital collection compiled by the Reverend Martin Madan.

extending back to the 1750s, it also boasted a significant population of established residents and churches to which area music publishers and compilers could cater their collections.

Somewhat inexplicably, no musicians or compilers in the Chesapeake Bay and Carolina Low Country issued collections for devotional use. Instead, the few compilations that did appear were intended for social-secular venues characteristic either of the New England practitioners of popular ancient-style psalmody, or Episcopalians and other liturgical churches that embraced the genteel and dramatic style of the theater and the pleasure garden. Printed ancient-style social-secular collections did not appear until the 1790s and were compiled presumably by New England-born psalmodists, including *The Baltimore Collection of Church Music* (Baltimore, 1792) by Alexander Ely when he was living in Baltimore, Maryland, the *Columbian Harmony* (Baltimore, 1793) by E. Sanford and John Rhea of Alexandria, Virginia, and *The United States' Sacred Harmony* (Boston, 1799) by Amos Pilsbury when he was a resident of Charleston, South Carolina.

Beginning around 1800, Anglican and Catholic publications from Baltimore and Charleston appeared before the singing public, most of which were compiled by European immigrant professional musicians such as Benjamin Carr, John and Samuel Cole, and Jacob Eckhard. Alongside these individuals, some regional Methodist musicians who ascribed to a common practice revision or reform of the ancient style produced a few tunebooks including *The Maryland Selection* (Baltimore, 1809) by Wheeler Gillet and *Sacred Musick* (Boston, 1810) by Virginia resident James Tomlin. These collections contained a mixture of common-practice reformed ancient-style and ancient-style pieces, representing a compromise between the two popular styles found throughout the United States. Of note, none were intended for congregational performance.

In the second decade of the nineteenth century, new collections began to be printed outside of Philadelphia, the principal urban center of the United States. In particular, the publication history of the Shenandoah Valley and the West began in the same year, 1813, only three years before Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony*. As a result, much of the same repertory is shared between these sources. Further, notable psalmodists such as brothers Amzi and Lucius Chapin, Connecticut Valley-born singing masters from Springfield, Massachusetts were active in the Shenandoah Valley during the 1780s and 90s before their move to Washington, Kentucky in the last five years of the eighteenth century. Amzi subsequently moved to western Pennsylvania at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was enlisted by Robert Patterson to aid him in compiling *Patterson's Church Music*,<sup>8</sup> both the first musical publication and congregational tunebook by a resident of the Trans-Appalachian West. As a result, Chapin's influence extended both to the Shenandoah Valley and the West, explaining the strong connections between the two areas.

The development of congregational psalmody and hymnody throughout the Middle Atlantic, West, coastal South, and the Southern backcountry occurred in a series of waves of influence and expression that were established both by the print sources circulating throughout the regions and itinerant singing masters from outside the area. Over the course of a sixty-five year period (1750-1815), six identifiable sources of influence shaped ancient-style congregational repertory and performance practice, particularly that among Presbyterians. Independent of the social-secular popular ancient-style psalmody cultivated by New Englanders active in this same area, congregational trends maintained a distinctly

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<sup>8</sup> James Scholten, "The Chapins: A Study of Men and Sacred Music West of the Alleghenies, 1795-1842," Ed.D. diss., University of Michigan (1972): 63-64.

Middle Atlantic, Southern, and Western identity, paralleling the origins of the congregational repertory encountered in Ananias Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony*.

### *13.2.1 The Influence of The Youths Entertaining Amusement (1754) by William Dawson*

The largest single influence on the congregational repertory of the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, southern Backcountry, and West descends from *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* (Philadelphia, 1754) by William Dawson, a schoolmaster active in Philadelphia during the 1750s. This book served as a pedagogical tool for use within the classroom and also as a collection of psalm and hymn tunes suitable for every English-language Protestant denomination in the Middle Atlantic. It was not compiled by a member of one particular denomination and intended for that specific group. It instead featured a number of tunes that were common to all Protestant denominations along with a few that were specific to individual groups such as the Scottish Presbyterian tune ELGIN. Dawson's collection represented the cultural pluralism unique to the Middle Atlantic. Though it only went through one edition, its influence far outstripped its limited bibliographical history. Tunes from Dawson's collection appear in scribal and printed tunes throughout the Middle Atlantic, coastal South, Southern backcountry, and the Trans-Appalachian West from the Late Colonial into the Early Nationalist Period.

Tunes from Dawson's collection first influenced letteral manuscript copybooks (**Table 13.2**). Although all sources demonstrate a direct connection to *The Youths Entertaining Amusement*, the Chesapeake Bay in particular displays a particularly close association with this tunebook. The reasons for this close tie most likely result from these manuscripts' early date of compilation, being more contemporary to the Dawson text. Letteral manuscripts fell out of fashion in the Chesapeake Bay area first, with surviving sources disappearing after 1770.

Further, the Richard Ellis manuscript from Cecil County, Maryland is larger than any of the other letteral sources, allowing for more repertory overlap between *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* and this source.<sup>9</sup> Chesapeake Bay manuscripts are also the only ones to contain Dawson's unique melodic variant of the older tune, PSALM 148. Given these factors, it seems that the letteral sources originated in the northern Chesapeake Bay region, and quickly spread north to Pennsylvania and the rest of the Middle Atlantic, followed by the Trans-Appalachian West.

Out of the fifty tunes in *The Youths Entertaining Amusement*, forty appear in the various letteral manuscripts, demonstrating a strong repertory connection among the sources despite their differences in musical notation. Of the forty tunes shared between Dawson and the letteral sources, thirty-nine are found in manuscripts from the Chesapeake Bay region, with thirteen unique to sources from this region. In contrast, no tunes were unique to Western or Middle Atlantic sources. Comparing the contents of all manuscripts, twenty-three tunes formed a core repertory found in all three regions (**Figure 13.10**).

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<sup>9</sup> This manuscript is further distinguished from the others in that it shows a direct connection to an unknown edition of *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes* by John Tufts, possibly one of the reprints issued in Philadelphia or that advertised in the *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy* in 1745. It includes five tunes lifted directly from Tufts, NORTHAMPTON, PENITENTIAL HYMN, VENI CREATOR, 18 PSALM, and 148 PSALM. Although all of the letteral manuscripts feature the same modified form of Tufts' notation, only this source demonstrates a connection to both Dawson and Tufts.

### Figure 13.10. Core Repertory Tunes from Dawson in Letteral Manuscripts

ABBY  
ANGEL'S SONG  
BELLA  
BRUNSWICK  
DUBLIN [COLESHILL]  
ELGIN  
ISLE OF WIGHT  
LONDON  
LONDON NEW [NEWTOWN]  
MARTYR'S  
MEAR  
NORWICH OR FRENCH  
ST. ANN'S  
ST. DAVID'S  
ST. HUMPHREY'S  
ST. MARY'S  
STANDISH  
WINDSOR [DUNDEE]  
YORK

#### **Psalm Tunes**

C PSALM/SAVOY  
NEW C. PSALM  
OLD CXII PSALM  
CXLIX PSALM

Significantly, only half of these tunes belonged to Richard Crawford's core repertory of the 101 most popular pieces of sacred music found in Colonial and Early Nationalist published source material.<sup>10</sup> While this phenomenon might be partly explained by Crawford's selection based on published source material, it also reveals a regional bias towards New England through this region's dominance in music publishing. It demonstrates that tunes used in congregational performance differ markedly from the

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<sup>10</sup> *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalms*, Richard Crawford, ed. (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1984). Those tunes found in Crawford include CANTERBURY, DUBLIN [COLESHILL], ISLE OF WIGHT, LONDON NEW, ST. ANN'S, ST. DAVID'S, ST. MARY'S, SOUTHWELL, WINDSOR, YORK, C PSALM, and NEW C. PSALM.

popular pieces sacred-secular ancient-style psalmody that flourished throughout New England during this same time period. Presenting psalmody in British North America as a unified statement of musical nationalism overlooks the essentially regional nature of the country during the Colonial and Early Nationalist periods, as well as the different venues and environment for the performance of sacred music. The tunes found within the letteral manuscripts testify both to this problematic understanding of repertory as a nationalistic expression, as well as the regional bias that occurs when only taking into account published sources to describe sacred music activity.

Much of the tunes found in this core repertory form part of a distinctively Presbyterian repertory, deriving from both the English and Scottish branches of this denomination. Of the Scottish repertory, all of the manuscripts feature fourteen of the fifteen tunes connected to this denomination that are found in Dawson's tunebook (**Figure 7.1**).<sup>11</sup> Sixteen of these pieces also formed the core of the traditionally English Presbyterian congregational repertory in Dawson's text.<sup>12</sup>

Not only do the sources reveal much compositional overlap among the regions, many also present the tunes in almost the exact same order as those in *The Youths Entertaining Amusement*, at least for the first eleven pieces (**Table 13.3**). All of the Middle Atlantic and

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<sup>11</sup> These Scottish Presbyterian tunes include ABBY, ELGIN, LONDON, LONDON NEW, MARTYR'S, NORWICH, OR FRENCH, PSALM 100, PSALM 112, PSALM 149, SOUTHWELL, ST. DAVID'S, ST. MARY'S, WINDSOR, and YORK. Also, PSALM 113 appears in both the Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake Bay sources. This tune apparently fell out of fashion by 1790 when the Western sources first began to appear.

<sup>12</sup> These English Presbyterian tunes include ABBY, BRUNSWICK, ISLE OF WIGHT, LONDON NEW, LONDON OLD, MARTYR'S, ST. DAVID'S, ST. HUMPHREY'S, ST. MARY'S, SOUTHWELL, STANDISH, WINDSOR, YORK, PSALM 100, PSALM 100 NEW, and PSALM 149.

Western manuscripts consulted in this study follow this trend.<sup>13</sup> Of the initial grouping of tunes, many betray a Scottish Presbyterian influence through the inclusion of ELGIN and WINDSOR, consistently titled DUNDEE in the manuscripts, reflecting the geopolitical leanings of the Scottish and English people. Besides this collection, a number of the manuscripts continue with another set of tunes that appear in a similar grouping that reflect English Presbyterian repertory trends, including BRUNSWICK, LONDON OLD, STANDISH, and ST. HUMPHREY'S. Though the manuscripts contain tunes common to all branches of English-language mainstream Protestantism, these sources show a particularly strong connection to Presbyterianism's cultural pluralism as it existed in the Middle Atlantic in British North America.

One third of the tunes from *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* are also found in the standard notation manuscripts (**Table 13.4**). As with the letteral sources, the greatest amount of compositional overlap between Dawson's collection and the standard notation copybooks occurs in the Chesapeake Bay sources, demonstrating again the strong influence of Dawson's work on the Eastern Shore and Virginia Tidewater. Further, with the exception of OLD 50TH PSALM, all of the tunes from Dawson appearing in the standard notation manuscripts are also found in letteral manuscripts from all three regions. As a result, three-fourths of the core repertory tunes from the letteral sources are present in standard notation manuscripts from Chesapeake Bay.

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<sup>13</sup> The same is most likely true of the James Trindle manuscript though the author was not able to examine it personally. Instead, its contents have been gleaned from Wolf (1996) and included only in Table 13.2. In addition, two of the three sources found in Canadian institutions also follow this trend as described in Vogan (2001): 135. However, their provenance remains unknown at present and these sources have not been included in Table 13.3.



With the exception of LONDON OLD, none of the Scottish Presbyterian core repertory tunes is found in any standard notation manuscripts. Though these sources contain a fair amount of the Dawson repertory, they instead parallel more closely printed Middle Atlantic compilations intended for congregational use that were subsequent to *The Youths Entertaining Amusement*. Both the manuscript and printed sources featured both Calvinist and Nonconformist tune repertories. As with the letteral manuscripts, the majority of the Dawson repertory in the standard notation manuscripts is common to all regions from which source material emanates.

Besides its connection to manuscript source material circulating throughout the Middle Atlantic, West, and South, Dawson's tunebook also influenced printed collections emanating from within this area too (**Table 13.5**). Approximately two-thirds of the tunes in Dawson appear in printed congregational collections. The largest portion of the repertory remains confined to its area of origin: the Middle Atlantic and the burgeoning West. Almost two-thirds of the Dawson repertory found in regional printed collections was common to these two areas, reflecting the settlement pattern of residents moving from the Eastern Seaboard to the interior of the country. Paralleling the contents of the letteral manuscripts, many Scottish Presbyterian tunes are found in both Middle Atlantic and Western sources.

Only three pieces from the Dawson repertory appeared in Shenandoah Valley publications. Somewhat surprising for a regional Presbyterian, *Kentucky Harmony* author Ananias Davisson chose not to include any of the traditional Scottish Presbyterian repertory, and the majority of psalm and hymn tunes common to its English cousin. In this sense, Davisson's congregational compilation procedure remained closer to that of the earlier Carolina backcountry standard notation manuscripts than the letteral manuscripts or

congregational collections published in the Middle Atlantic. He displayed a preference for a more contemporary body of material for his devotional psalm and hymn tune repertory.

Generally speaking however, published repertory trends remained somewhat distinct from those of scribal culture, at least in terms of the inclusion of the older traditional Middle Atlantic congregational repertory descended from Dawson's publication. Although it is tempting to ascribe the lack of Dawson tunes found in Shenandoah Valley compilations to the sixty-two year gap between Dawson and Davisson, the same was not true of the West, which preserved much of this older repertory. More likely, Scottish Presbyterianism and its congregational repertory did not enjoy a widespread diffusion to the Southern backcountry. Instead, English Presbyterian clergy and the denomination's performance practice proved more influential on Early Nationalist congregations. Rather than an implicit difference in geography and mainstream culture between Pennsylvania and Virginia, the contrast in contents between letteral and standard notation manuscripts, and printed collections seems to be related to ethnic or cultural differences.

Comparing printed sources with contemporary regional manuscripts reveals that the core repertory of pieces from Dawson was the same in letteral manuscripts and printed sources too. Although the core repertory of tunes from *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* found in Shenandoah Valley publications remains quite paltry, almost ninety percent or twenty of the twenty-three tunes are common to both Middle Atlantic and Western published sources. Only two tunes shared between Middle Atlantic and Western printed sources remain outside this core repertory. Not only establishing a strong link to Dawson's tunebook, these printed sources establish the commonality of devotional congregational repertory among all types of Calvinist source material from these two regions that was sustained over a sixty-year time period.

Some compilers acknowledged the intentionality of including this common core repertory among the various types of source material, in effect offering a summary of aesthetic and repertory choice among earlier regional compilers and musicians. For instance, in the preface to *The Pittsburgh Selection of Psalm Tunes: or Ancient Church Music Revived* (Pittsburgh, 1816), author John Armstrong stated: "[a]ll the tunes known by the name of *Old Tunes*, will be found in this collection; they have been, I believe, generally written with the pen, in an imperfect manner, in Europe and America, by letters representing the notes, for the use of singing schools; but I have succeeded in procuring copies of these tunes in all their parts, perfect as they were originally composed, and have taken great pains to have this edition correct." Clearly, Armstrong, like many Middle Atlantic and Western compilers was concerned with presenting tunes used and admired universally by his intended audience.

Similarly, a comparison of tunes found in regional standard notation and letteral manuscripts, and printed sources follows precisely these same trends. Approximately forty percent of the letteral core repertory appear in all regions, all notation types, and all forms of source material whether printed or manuscript.<sup>14</sup> As seen in the shared pieces between letteral and standard notation sources, these tunes form the bulk of the culturally English repertory. Southern sources, particularly those from the eighteenth-century Southern backcountry, uniformly did not include traditional Scottish Presbyterian psalm tunes. Their Western counterparts did, demonstrating that the perceived scholarly division of notions of Northern-ness and Southern-ness based upon Southern Nationalism and the Civil War was in fact rooted in cultural and denominational differences. Scottish Presbyterian taste exerted hardly any influence on the South compared to the Ohio River Valley. Presbyterians in the

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<sup>14</sup> These tunes included ABBY, BRUNSWICK, DUBLIN, ISLE OF WIGHT, LONDON, ST. DAVID'S, ST. HUMPHREY'S, PSALM 100, and PSALM 100 NEW.

South and the southern extension of the Middle Atlantic maintained much closer cultural ties to England than Scotland.

Viewing Ananias Davisson's congregational tune selection in relation to the core traditional Middle Atlantic repertory reveals much about denominational trends in the Shenandoah Valley. This area's distinctiveness lies in its lack of devotion to the most traditional repertory of these regions. Davisson, rather than looking backwards, used a traditional English Presbyterian and Middle Atlantic approach to compilation to carry progressive ancient-style Presbyterian practice forward. Rather than cater to popular taste as it had evolved over the past few decades, he brought out a collection that proclaimed his own aesthetic ideal for the congregational repertory. Like William Billings before him, he seems to have taken into account what the public had enjoyed in the past and what they should like from among the more modern pieces in the repertory. Rather than reflecting specifically Southern taste and sentiment, as argued by earlier scholars such as Rachel Brett Harley, the congregational section of *Kentucky Harmony* reflects its author's personal preferences. As such, he used tradition as a base for innovation.

### ***13.2.2 The Influence of Urania (1761) by James Lyon***

Beginning in the Late Colonial Period, two important English Presbyterian tunebooks exerted an enormous influence on the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Southern backcountry, and West: *Urania* by James Lyon (Philadelphia, 1761) and *The Universal Psalmody* by Aaron Williams (London, 1763). Although compiled within two years of each other, these two volumes employed vastly different compilation methods despite the fact that both include a similar repertory and display a likeminded compositional aesthetic reflective of their denomination. Lyon compiled his volume for practical use in the church, the singing school, for social situations, and in the home with tune selection divided by style

and function. Building upon the format employed by William Laurence and Nathaniel Gawthorn for the tunebooks associated with London's Eastcheap Meetinghouse, Lyon partitioned his volume into three sections: a selection of textless congregational tunes suitable to the poetic meters found in various metrical psalters and hymnals popular at the time, a section of anthems and extended choral pieces, and a final grouping of hymns and spiritual songs, many of which were taken from the newly fashionable Nonconformist repertory.

Subsequent Middle Atlantic, Southern, and Western compilers apparently lifted a number of tunes from *Urania* and included them in printed and manuscript sources from throughout this vast region of Late Colonial British North America and the Early Nationalist United States.<sup>15</sup> Although Lyon's tunebook influenced somewhat the social-secular popular ancient-style compilers and psalmodists active in New England, particularly in the southern and western part of this region, its effect was greater in its area of origin. In addition to his employing a traditional mode of English Presbyterian tunebook compilation, Lyon also drew from earlier Middle Atlantic source material.

In particular, one third of the contents of *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* by William Dawson are found in *Urania* and many of these tune settings consisted of arrangements most likely executed by Lyon himself through the addition of treble and counter parts to older two-part tenor and bass versions. From this evidence, Lyon either took some settings directly from Dawson or used Dawson's text as a source of influence for his own tune choices. Further, almost half of these pieces belonged to the Dawson tune repertory common to source material from all regions, in all notation types, and in all source

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<sup>15</sup> References to pieces and their instances of appearance in the various sources refer to the tables introduced in the discussion of the Dawson repertory (13.1-13.5).

forms whether printed or in manuscript.<sup>16</sup> Reflecting his English Presbyterian identity, Lyon did not feature any of the Scottish Presbyterian psalm tunes. Perhaps through the influence of *Urania* in its dissemination south, the Scottish repertory did not enter into the Southern backcountry sources. Conversely, the absence of the Scottish repertory perhaps may illustrate a common trend among Presbyterians throughout the coastal South and Southern backcountry with Lyon attempting to cater to this broad swath of British North America.

Besides the Dawson tunes, twenty-four other pieces found in this collection appear in later manuscript and print sources from this vast area of the Middle Atlantic, West, and South. Consisting not only of the congregational psalm tune repertory found in the first section of Lyon's text, a number of sources also include Nonconformist hymns, English Presbyterian spiritual songs, and an extended choral work appearing in the extra-ecclesiastical portions of the text. Besides their compositional variety and their implicit differences in performance function based upon these tune types as designated by Lyon, the pieces follow three general trends of source influence.

Only a few tunes are part of a common heritage shared by many English Protestants.<sup>17</sup> Though composed or printed initially by Anglicans or Calvinists in Europe, these pieces entered into the general congregational repertory of the British Colonies. In contrast, more works descend from specific denominational repertories, including those of Anglicans, Calvinists, and Nonconformists.<sup>18</sup> Conversely, a number of these pieces are

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<sup>16</sup> These tunes include BRUNSWICK, DUBLIN, ISLE OF WIGHT, ST. DAVID'S, ST. HUMPHREY'S, PSALM 100, and PSALM 100 NEW. Only ABBY and LONDON are not among them.

<sup>17</sup> Common repertory pieces found among this list of pieces include BEDFORD, WALSAL, WELLS, 119 PSALM, and 148TH PSALM.

<sup>18</sup> Anglican tunes include DAGENHAM, 15TH PSALM, 40TH PSALM, 56TH PSALM, and 90TH PSALM. Tunes from Independent, Presbyterian, and Particular Baptist sources

original to Lyon's source, establishing the direct influence of *Urania* on later tunebooks, copybooks, and other tune compilations from these three regions. For example, the unique variant to DAGENHAM is found in the standard notation repertory of Chesapeake Bay. Further, a selection of pieces original to *Urania*, including English Presbyterian psalms and spiritual songs, and a set piece, appear among the various sources including the anonymous tunes WILLINGTON, MORNING HYMN, and PSALM 4, as well as JUDGMENT HYMN, PSALM 8, and TWO CELEBRATED VERSES BY STERNHOLD & HOPKINS attributed to James Lyon. Significantly, none of the tunes and set piece by New York City Anglican composer William Tuckey is found in any congregational sources from these regions, their circulation being confined to social-secular popular ancient-style collections from New England and the Middle Atlantic. In this sense, the absence of Tuckey's pieces in the congregational repertory parallels his apparent intent of composing ancient-style works for performance outside of the church. Together the forty-one tunes found in regional compilations constitute almost half the contents of the metrical psalm and hymn tune repertory of *Urania*, demonstrating the strong influence of this source in subsequent regional source material.

Though a sizeable portion of Lyon's *Urania* is found in letteral and standard notation manuscripts, as well as printed sources throughout the Middle Atlantic and its extension into the Southern backcountry, Chesapeake Bay, and the West, none of the pieces from this tunebook individually came to form a core repertory within these regions. Almost evenly distributed by collection type and notational form, these tunes testify to the widespread popularity and influence of Lyon's collection. However, none of the subsequent compilers

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include ANGELS HYMN, BATH, CROWLE, MEAR, NEWCASTLE, and ORANGE. Nonconformist pieces include BOSTON OR HALLELUJAH, and ITALIAN.

of these sources utilized *Urania* and its contents in a uniform manner as encountered in the core repertory of *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* by William Dawson. Pieces from *Urania* instead were subject to a variety of uses, reflecting the personal taste of each individual compiler. Finally, *Urania* was the last published tunebook to significantly influence the contents of the letteral manuscripts, despite the fact that these scribal sources continued to be compiled at least forty years after the appearance of Lyon's text before the singing public. As such, *Urania* proved to be the only native Late Colonial publication to exert a direct and lasting impact on ancient-style performance practice and repertory into the Early Nationalist Period.

### *13.2.3 The Influence of The Universal Psalmist (1763) by Aaron Williams*

In contrast to the contents of *Urania* by James Lyon, that of *The Universal Psalmist* (London, 1763) by Londoner Aaron Williams was presented in a haphazard manner typical of tunebooks intended for choirs. As a result, it was less strictly aligned with traditional English Presbyterian congregational trends exemplified in the tunebooks associated with London's Eastcheap Meetinghouse. Unlike Lyon, who stated on the title page of *Urania* that it was "Peculiarly adapted to the Use of Churches, and Private Families," Williams described his tunebook as "Calculated to promote and improve this most excellent Part of Social Worship, and thereby render it both useful and delightful in all Country Choirs, as well as in the Congregations and other Religious Societies in London and Westminster." The fact that *The Universal Psalmist* could be used for congregational performance during the divine service was more of an afterthought than one of the primary reasons that motivated Williams to bring his collection before the public.

However, both tunebooks shared much the same range of compositional types regarding their stylistic and denominational origins. Both men drew from a similar Calvinist



congregational repertory, shaped in large part by their contemporaries such as English Presbyterian Thomas Moore and Particular Baptist Caleb Ashworth. Besides a few Anglican works, Lyon and Williams also included a number of popular Nonconformist pieces taken from collections by Thomas Knibb and Thomas Butts, as well as the anonymous author of *The Divine Musical Miscellany* (London, 1754). Eight of the tunes found in Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Southern backcountry, and Western sources are common to tunebooks by Lyon and Williams.<sup>19</sup> Thus, it remains unknown as to the exact source that influenced the contents of later American compilations in regards to these works. They instead demonstrate a common congregational repertory among European and British North American, English Presbyterians during the 1760s.

These pieces may have circulated throughout the colonies via Daniel Bayley's unauthorized editions of *The Universal Psalmodist*, printed between 1769 and 1774, or from later sources that drew from this publication. However, it is more likely that the manuscript and eighteenth-century printed collections by Middle Atlantic and Carolina backcountry compilers drew from one of the authentic European editions. Outside of New England, no surviving newspapers or broadsheets advertised Bayley's work for sale in various regional shops or places of business. Of note, local retailers and itinerant merchants throughout British North America played a significant role in the dissemination of tunebooks and *The Universal Psalmodist* was no exception. Further, few pieces found in *The Royal Melody Compleat, or New Harmony of Zion* by William Tans'ur, the companion volume printed by Bayley and bound with *The Universal Psalmodist* to form *The American Harmony*, appear in any manuscript or printed sources throughout the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Southern backcountry,

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<sup>19</sup> The eight tunes are BATH, BEDFORD, BOSTON OR HALLELUJAH, CROWLE, NEWCASTLE, ORANGE, WALSAL, and PSALM 148.

and the West, casting doubt on the widespread circulation of Bayley's edition outside New England. Together, these factors suggest that Bayley's publications had little impact south of Connecticut.

Although a greater amount of tunes from Williams' tunebook are found in regional source material than those of Lyon's, the proportion of tunes that entered into circulation was less than that of *Urania*, occupying approximately one third of the overall contents of *The Universal Psalmist*. However, those pieces that became part of the American repertory mirror the same range of compositional types and denominational influence as encountered in *Urania*, though the proportion of denominational influence differs significantly. Relatively few older Anglican and English Presbyterian tunes, besides those also found in *Urania* are shared between Williams' tunebook and the American source material outside of New England.<sup>20</sup> Instead of the approximately even ratio of tunes found among the various denominational source influences in *Urania*, twice as many tunes in *The Universal Psalmist* were taken from the common repertory of all English-language denominations, as well as that of Nonconformists.<sup>21</sup> Although a couple Nonconformist tunes were common to *Urania* and subsequent regional printed and manuscript sources, the sizeable number of Nonconformist tunes shared between *The Universal Psalmist* and Middle Atlantic, Southern

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<sup>20</sup> Tunes taken from Anglican tradition include COLCHESTER, NEWBURY, WALLINGSFORD, and WAREHAM; tunes from English Presbyterian sources, BATH, BRAY, CROWLE, NEWCASTLE, ORANGE, ST. GEORGE'S, and WANTAGE.

<sup>21</sup> Tunes common to all denominations by 1760 include BEDFORD, FARNHAM, EVENING HYMN, NAMURE, NORWICH, ROCHESTER, ST. HELENS, ST. JAMES, TRUMPET, WALSAL, WALNEY, [WINCHESTER], PSALM 100, GREENS HUNDRED, and 148 PSALM; those from Nonconformists include AMSTERDAM, ARMLEY BETHESDA, [OLD] EAGLE SGREET, GRANTHAM, HALLELUJAH/BOSTON, ISLINGTON, KINGSBRIDGE, NEW EAGLE STREET, SUTTON, and WESTON FAVEL.

backcountry, and Western source material distinguishes the American reception of Williams' tunebook from that of his North American contemporary.

As with Lyon's *Urania*, tunes new to Williams' text are also found in regional American source material, demonstrating its direct influence on the various congregational printed compilations and manuscript copybooks. The number of tunes is comparable to the Nonconformist and common repertory contributions to American regional source material, and demonstrate a wide variety of denominational influence, including traditional-style psalm tunes common to Anglicans and Calvinists, English Presbyterian spiritual songs, Anglican fusing tunes, and Nonconformist-style hymns.<sup>22</sup> In this sense, the tunes new to Williams' tunebook represent in miniature the prevailing trends typical of English Presbyterians in the 1760s, again paralleling the original contributions to *Urania*. Because of the similarities shared between these two tunebooks, it is easy to understand how *The Universal Psalmist* became so popular throughout the Middle Atlantic, Southern backcountry, and the West.

Despite the fact that Williams' tunebook was published only two years after Lyon's collection, *The Universal Psalmist* did not influence sacred tune repertoires outside of New England until the 1780s and many of the printings of the Williams repertory are found in popular social-secular ancient-style tunebooks, not congregational collections. As a result, it had little to no impact on letteral manuscripts and sources from the Chesapeake Bay. Further, none of the tunes original to Williams' source appeared in these North American collections. Instead, this repertory is found first in standard notation manuscripts from the Carolinas, and printed sources from the Middle Atlantic, followed by those from the West and finally the Shenandoah Valley. Unlike the Scottish Presbyterian repertory that circulated

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<sup>22</sup> The tunes new to *The Universal Psalmist* include CANON OF 4 IN ONE (1, 2), CHESHUNT, DALSTON, FUNERAL THOUGHT, LITTLE MARLBOROUGH, LITTLETON, PUTNEY, RICKMANSWORTH, ST. CLEMENTS, and STANES.

almost exclusively throughout the Middle Atlantic and West through the influence of *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* by Dawson, the English Presbyterian tunes from *The Universal Psalmist*, like that of *Urania* transcended any one region's congregational tune selection. These pieces instead became part of the common stock of psalm and hymn tunes typical among Presbyterians throughout these regions, being united more by their denomination of origin than cultural and geographic divisions of the North and South associated with the Civil War.

Pieces from *The Universal Psalmist* entered the repertory outside of New England in two stages, coinciding with the general compilation dates of the sources. Eighteenth-century printed and manuscript tune collections drew directly from Williams' text, preserving many of the idiosyncrasies that characterized his use of the ancient style. Chief among these was the concept of poetic and rhythmic metric independence that influenced the early compositions of William Billings such as the spiritual song FUNERAL THOUGHT. These sources also contain more of the Nonconformist and Nonconformist-inspired repertory, possibly a reflection of eighteenth rather than nineteenth-century taste and the popular and theatrical associations of its galante characteristics. Finally, tunes found in Williams' tunebook occupy a relatively high proportion of the overall contents of the source ranging from more than 50% in *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (1794) by Philadelphia Presbyterian schoolmaster John Poor, to approximately 25% in the Archibald Woodside manuscript copybook from Mecklinburg, North Carolina.

The second stage begins with the early nineteenth-century sources, which contain a similar repertory though without as many Nonconformist-style pieces. More important, many of the pieces do not appear in the same melodic or harmonic setting as printed in *The Universal Psalmist*, extending also to the compositions original to this tunebook. Certain

techniques such as poetic and rhythmic metric independence have been smoothed out in the same manner as Billings' revisions to early tunes such as AMHERST. In addition, the arrangements resemble those by Lyon, whose settings of ISLE OF WIGHT and ST. ANN'S TUNE in *Urania* consist of newly arranged or composed treble and counter parts to an original tenor and bass setting. In particular, the Western version of FUNERAL THOUGHT was most likely prepared by Amzi Chapin then living in western Pennsylvania, and that of the Shenandoah Valley by Ananias Davisson of Cross Keys. Because Williams' tunebook most likely did not directly influence these later sources, the proportion of the Williams repertory reveals a sharp decline from the eighteenth-century sources, with each selection occupying about 10% of the overall contents.

In spite of the different ways in which tunes from *The Universal Psalmist* entered the American repertory outside of New England, certain pieces remained popular throughout the entire Early Nationalist Period, becoming central to the repertories of the burgeoning West, Shenandoah Valley, and the Southern piedmont and Appalachian region. Though the settings might have changed, the tunes remained as popular in the eighteenth as in the early nineteenth centuries. Comprising six pieces—DALSTON, FUNERAL THOUGHT, LITTLE MARLBOROUGH, LITTLETON, [ST. GEORGE'S] BRAY, and WANTAGE—these works consist mostly of tunes with an unspecified text, and one traditionally Calvinist-style spiritual song. Significantly half of these works were printed for the first time in Williams' tunebook.

More so than the tunes in *Urania*, pieces printed in *The Universal Psalmist* became a central part of the later Early Nationalist repertory. Their widespread acceptance documents both the generally English Presbyterian character of many Calvinist publications in the United States outside New England, and also the importance and influence that *The Universal*

*Psalmody* exerted on later American Calvinist musicians and congregations. The later arrangements of some of these pieces testify to their ability both to meet the devotional aesthetic of regional congregants, and to serve the needs of at least three generations of singers throughout the Middle Atlantic and its extension into the Shenandoah Valley, the Carolina backcountry, and the West.

#### *13.2.4 The Influence of Popular Social-Secular Ancient-Style Psalmody from New England*

Up to this point, discussion of source and tune influence has focused on the contributions by English and Scottish Presbyterians, and supplemented by those of regional Regular Baptists, as well as Anglicans and Episcopalians. Further, these influences emanated either from the Middle Atlantic or London. Their contents formed a repertory common to all surviving ancient-style congregational collections throughout the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Carolina backcountry, and the Shenandoah Valley and Trans-Appalachian West. Though initiated and set during the 1750s and 60s, the direct effects of their contents in subsequent sources extended into the second decade of the nineteenth century, demonstrating their central position in setting devotional trends among regional congregants. However, Middle Atlantic and London, Presbyterian and Nonconformist compositional trends and genres were not the only ones to shape surviving source material, particularly during the latter part of the Early Nationalist Period.

Beginning with the Robert Wilson manuscript compiled in Indiantown, South Carolina between 1770 and 1790, and continuing with regional printed sources, a number of popular social-secular ancient-style tunes entered the devotional congregational repertory. As seen with the pieces selected by Ananias Davisson for inclusion in the congregational portion of *Kentucky Harmony*, most were relatively simple plain tunes, ideally suited for

congregational performance. A few fusing and extended plain tunes were adopted by congregations, but these pieces only consisted of a tiny fraction of the New England repertory. Also, the compositions emanated from the four primary areas of popular social-secular ancient-style activity: coastal northern New England, Connecticut, Central Massachusetts and the northern Connecticut River Valley, and the New England diaspora of New York. A few pieces by New England musicians active in the Middle Atlantic were also brought into this new repertory. Together, they demonstrate a changing preference for American-composed tunes even though the same aesthetic ideals for their congregational and devotional use persisted unchanged throughout the period. In effect, tune choice evolved but the types of tunes and their compositional genres did not.

Of all the regions for popular social-secular ancient-style activity, that of coastal Massachusetts and New Hampshire exerted little influence on congregational sources from outside of New England except for the West. Even within the West a strong influence by these New England psalmody is seen only in *The Pittsburgh Selection of Psalm Tunes: or Ancient Church Music Revived* by John Armstrong. Seventeen tunes by composers from this New England subregion are found in congregational collections outside of New England. William Billings, though a central figure to the initial flowering of popular ancient-style psalmody in New England, did not have much of an influence on trends in congregational performance outside his area of residence. However, four of the five tunes by northern coastal New England musicians that did appear in both Western publications were by Billings.<sup>23</sup> Most were found in *The Singing Master's Assistant* (Boston, 1778), his most popular and influential tunebook. PARIS, though appearing first in Billings' *Music in Miniature*

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<sup>23</sup> The tunes shared among Western sources include AFRICA, AMHERST, BROOKFIELD, and PARIS by William Billings, and CONCORD by Oliver Holden.

(Boston, 1779), became popular through its inclusion in *The Chorister's Companion* (New Haven, 1782) by Connecticut musicians Simeon Jocelin and Amos Doolittle.

In contrast, thirty-two pieces by Connecticut musicians proved the most influential on later congregational trends outside of New England. Not only contributing twice as many tunes to the repertory as the northern coastal region, pieces by Connecticut musicians are found in congregational source material from the Early Nationalist Middle Atlantic, Shenandoah Valley, Carolina backcountry, and the West. With one exception, all of the popular social-secular New England ancient-style pieces in the Carolina backcountry sources emanated from Connecticut musicians and publishers. Just as Connecticut musicians and music publishers were instrumental in shaping the bulk of the repertory among the practitioners of popular social-secular ancient-style psalmody, so did their tunes come to form the core of the American-composed congregational repertory outside New England. As seen in the discussion of Connecticut trends in Early Nationalist sacred music, no one composer dominated the repertory. These musicians formed more a community of likeminded musicians and composers. Similarly, their denominational and theological backgrounds were more diverse, ranging from Episcopalians to Presbyterians and Regular Baptists.

Second only to Connecticut in terms of influence were the contributions by musicians from central and western New England centered around Worcester, Massachusetts and the northern Connecticut River. Though only one tune from this area appears in the Carolina backcountry source by Robert Wilson, the distribution of twelve tunes throughout the other regions follows much the same pattern as those by composers in Connecticut. Significantly, despite the smaller number of compositions from central and western New England than those of the northern coastal area that are found in



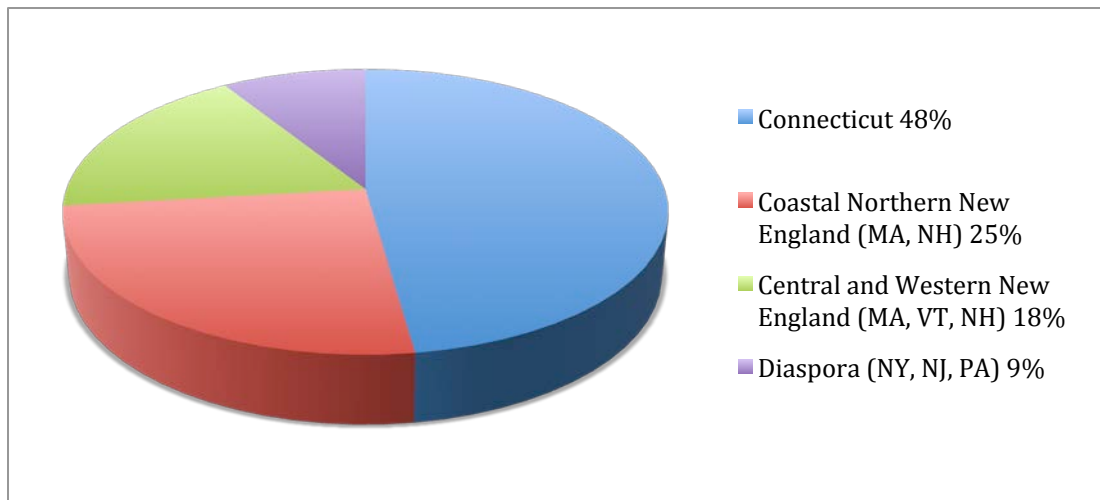
congregational sources, the former exerted a much greater influence on subsequent trends. Not surprisingly, the publication history of pieces by western New England musicians explains the connection between these subregions. Almost all of the works by western New England composers were first published in Connecticut tunebooks. A few other pieces became popular through *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* by central Massachusetts resident Isaiah Thomas of Worcester. As encountered with Connecticut musicians, no one composer dominated the repertory, it consisting of the same community-oriented approach to sacred music composition as characterized activity in Connecticut.

Finally, six pieces by New England diaspora composers living in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey are found in a few regional sources. However, their appearance in congregational collections is limited mostly to Middle Atlantic publications. Despite their small numbers and limited circulation, they do establish that the transmission of popular social-secular ancient-style psalmody throughout the Middle Atlantic, West, and Shenandoah Valley was not determined solely by New England publications. These tunes reveal that Middle Atlantic popular ancient-style collections could prove just as instrumental in disseminating the New England repertory to the rest of the country. Further, the relatively low incidence of New England diaspora compositions found in congregational collections is explained by the fact that composers of popular ancient-style psalmody outside of New England produced fewer compositions.

Proportions of tune contribution by region reveal two trends. The first documents tunebook production and source influence by compilations produced in New England. The second indicates tune popularity in social-secular ancient-style tunebooks published within the Middle Atlantic and the Trans-Appalachian West (**Chart 13.1**). Many of the compilers outside New England were themselves born in Connecticut, including Andrew Law (1749-

1821) of Cheshire, Andrew Adgate (1762-1793) and Ishmail Spicer (1760-1832) of Norwich, and Daniel L. Peck (c. 1783-1828) of Derby. A number of others were from central and southern Massachusetts and the Connecticut River Valley such as Alexander Ely (1762-1848) and Nathan Chapin (1766-1826) of Springfield, Nehemiah Shumway (1761-1843) of Oxford, and Azariah Fobes (1770-1824) of Bridgewater. Only two compilers of social-secular tunebooks in the Middle Atlantic and Southern coastal areas were from northern coastal Massachusetts including John Wyeth (1770-1858) of Cambridge and Amos Pilsbury (1772-1812) of Newbury.

**Chart 13.1 Popular ancient-style tune contributions to ancient-style congregational collections outside of New England (1780-1816)**



Further, a number of Connecticut and Connecticut River Valley musicians are known to have been active as singing masters in the Middle Atlantic, Southern backcountry, and the West including Justin Morgan (1747-1798) of West Springfield and Amzi and Lucius Chapin of Springfield, Massachusetts, and Asahel Benham of New Hartford and Joel Harmon, Jr. (1773-1833) of Suffield, Connecticut. Not only were southern and western

New England psalmodists the most prodigious producers of popular tunes and tunebooks, they also were responsible for much of the social-secular activity for popular ancient-style sacred music throughout the Middle Atlantic, Shenandoah Valley, and the Trans-Appalachian West.

Unlike the previous waves of influence, popular social-secular American-composed ancient-style psalmody did not enter into source material outside of New England by any one musician nor did it descend from a specific tunebook. Although musicians in northern coastal New England did not publish many influential tunebooks and tune collections compared to Connecticut, New England compilers as a whole began to adopt a somewhat standard form of tune collection. Many compilers consistently started to draw from an ever-increasing number of sources and reprinted many of the most popular tunes from earlier collections in their tunebooks. Following the model established by Isaiah Thomas through his *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony*, a typical American tunebook by 1800 would consist mostly of earlier popular pieces along with a select body of new works original to the source. Some musicians in New England continued to produce single-author compilations, and others followed the older Connecticut model of introducing mostly new pieces alongside a small selection of established favorite pieces. However, the compilers of social-secular tunebooks in the Middle Atlantic, coastal South, and the Trans-Appalachian West adopted the Thomas model and produced a number of collections that would prove extremely popular among regional consumers.

Because of numerous instances of tune duplication in the various publications throughout much of the United States, it often remains unknown as to which specific sources Middle Atlantic, Western, and Shenandoah Valley compilers consulted in selecting popular ancient-style social-secular psalmody. Instead, this repertory should be viewed as a

compositional movement that transcends any one particular compilation. Although the sources of influence for these tunebooks might follow patterns of compositional activity and regional production established by 1790, evidenced by the geographic origin of this repertory in regional collections outside of New England, tunebook compilation method had become fairly uniform by the first decade of the nineteenth century. Some compilers like Ananias Davisson might have listed some of their sources in the preface from which they selected their pieces, thereby providing valuable information for gleaning the exact influences that shaped his collection. Arguably however, the method of selection remains more important in understanding changing taste and aesthetic among congregants than the exact source from which compilers drew. Rather than a reflection of a single influential source, these pieces demonstrate an influential and prevailing trend.

### *13.2.5 Tunes shared between Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Southern backcountry, and Western manuscript source material*

Although a number of tunes from *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* by William Dawson formed a core repertory common to most source material from the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, the Southern backcountry, and the West, these pieces were not the only ones to be shared amongst the letteral and standard notation manuscript sources. A selection of folk hymns and variant forms of popular psalm tunes limited mostly to manuscript sources circulated between regions. Of these, the Middle Atlantic served as the linchpin to connect this grouping of tunes, with one circle consisting of works shared between the Middle Atlantic and the southern coastal areas of Chesapeake Bay and the South Carolina Pee Dee watershed, and the other between the Middle Atlantic, Carolina backcountry, and the trans-Appalachian West. In this sense, patterns of transmission differ from the Dawson repertory. Rather than centered in the Chesapeake Bay as encountered in

letteral sources, these repertories reveal not only a different set of geographic parameters, but they also demonstrate how tune variants were often divided by denomination, specifically between Calvinist groups such as Presbyterians and Regular Baptists, and Anglicans.

A few pieces were tied to the first regional circle of musical copybooks. As encountered in the discussion of Anglican activity before 1760, naming practice and variant settings followed denominational and notational divisions in the Middle Atlantic and Southern coastal areas. The tune PSALM 132 was unique to Anglicans, being found only in source material from the Southern coastal areas including the Joseph Holloday manuscript of Spotsylvania County, Virginia and the "Cashaway Psalmody" compiled by Durham Hills. Hills, an Anglican clerk at St. David's Parish in Cheraw, South Carolina, was hired as a singing master to a group of Regular Baptists at the nearby Cashaway Church along the Pee Dee River. PSALM 106 occurred in two variant forms, the first unique to the aforementioned standard notation manuscripts by Southern Anglicans, and the second to Presbyterian letteral manuscripts from the Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake Bay. Paralleling the history and dissemination of this tune, five closely related variants of the tune WALSAL, known as DRO(I)TW(R)ICH or PSALM 143 appear in Middle Atlantic letteral manuscripts and in the Virginia Tidewater copybook by Joseph Holloday. Again, divisions occurred across denominational lines. The Calvinist compilers consistently titled their variants DROITWICH (under various spelling derivatives), possibly for the town in Worcestershire, England, the Anglican Holloday source for a specific psalm.

Perhaps because of the greater number of surviving manuscript sources, more folk hymns and regional variant settings shared among the second regional group of compilations survive. Like their Middle Atlantic and Southern coastal area counterparts, these tunes

appear in both letteral and standard notation manuscripts. Their transmission occurred differently, being disseminated from Pennsylvania to the Trans-Appalachian West of the Ohio River Valley, and the Southern backcountry along the Great Wagon Road, extending from Philadelphia to the Shenandoah Valley and continuing south through the Carolinas. However, more of these pieces appear in sources from the Middle Atlantic and the West than the Southern backcountry. In this respect, the transmission of Late Colonial and Early Nationalist English Presbyterian folk hymns and melodic variants found only in regional manuscripts resembles somewhat the dissemination of the Dawson core repertory tunes to the Shenandoah Valley.

Five works fall into two broad categories: psalm tunes without a specific text that are intended for use with various metrical psalters and hymnals used by regional congregations, and spiritual songs with fixed texts descending from English Presbyterian tradition. Of the former, two are melodic variants of earlier English psalm tunes unique to Colonial sources. Significantly, the variant of 98TH PSALM appeared in a printed source: *Customs of Primitive Churches* (Philadelphia, c. 1768). According to its author Morgan Edwards, he transcribed his tunes from live performances that he witnessed at religious services throughout the Middle Atlantic. Besides its one instance of publication, this tune is found in two letteral manuscripts from Delaware and Ohio. As such, the presence of this tune in these manuscripts is most likely not the result of its being copied from Edwards' text, but instead reflects the popularity of this tune in the Middle Atlantic and the West.

CALVARY, a variant of the tune STROUDWATER, appeared first in Anglican source material. Its parent tune enjoyed a number of printings in mostly Anglican tunebooks in England beginning with *The Divine Musick Scholars Guide* by Francis Timbrell ([s.l.], [1714]) before being set by William Tans'ur in *The Royal Psalmodist Compleat* (Rugby,

1742). From 'Tans'ur, the tune entered into the New England repertory in the 1760s by Daniel Bayley, the Anglican chorister and music publisher of Newburyport, Massachusetts. Though Timbrell's collection enjoyed some measure of popularity among English Presbyterians along the Long Island Sound, its circulation descending from this source seems to have been confined to New England. In contrast, the colonial variant, CALVARY, became part of the Middle Atlantic, Western, and Southern backcountry repertory independent of this line of descent. It first appears in the Anglican copybook by Joseph Holloday, compiled around the year 1755. By 1768, it entered into the Presbyterian congregational repertory, appearing in the Robert Barns letteral manuscript compiled in Montgomery and Lancaster Counties in Pennsylvania. It subsequently became one of the most popular tunes in Middle Atlantic and Western letteral sources. CALVARY was further disseminated to Mecklinburg County, North Carolina in the standard notation copybook compiled by Presbyterian Archibald Woodside (1756-1844) sometime between 1772 and 1785. This tune variant reveals the transformational denominational identity of some Anglican psalm tunes for use by Calvinists.

Besides the two variant settings of previously composed psalm tunes, three spiritual songs are also found in the manuscript sources. These hymns all seem to have originated as folk hymns as they are found in a number of variant settings too. A HYMN FOR THE GOOD concerns the final judgment, following a tradition of English Presbyterian spiritual songs such as A MEDITATION ON DEATH from the London Eastcheap tunebooks and popular along the Long Island Sound during the 1750s and 60s. The two variants are confined to letteral manuscripts and appear to have originated outside of southeastern Pennsylvania. The three variants of DAVID'S ELEGY circulated throughout the Middle Atlantic and the Carolina Piedmont, and are found in both letteral and standard notation

sources. CONVERSE HYMN became more popular than either of these tunes and appeared in most of the Middle Atlantic and Western letteral sources before the nineteenth century. After disappearing from the manuscript repertory for two decades, Ananias Davisson included a four-part variant melodic setting by the Virginia and Kentucky singing master James C. Lowry in his *Supplement to The Kentucky Harmony* (Harrisonburg, VA, 1820). Alone of all of these tunes, it is a contrafactum of an older English country dance tune, "The Black Joke," popular throughout much of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. CONVERSE HYMN also demonstrates how a tune that did not appear in print until the second decade of the nineteenth century could in fact be much older than what its published history suggests, occurring in source material a half century prior to its initial instance of publication.

Finally, one tune remained common to sources from all regions of letteral activity, as well as all areas for standard notation activity throughout the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Southern backcountry, and early West. LUNENBURGH, presumably named either for the town and county in south central Virginia, or possibly the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg in the Holy Roman Empire, is neither a unique variant to an older psalm tune nor a folk hymn. Found in unvarying form, it appears to be a colonial-composed psalm or hymn tune with an unfixed text, resembling many older tunes common to Calvinist and Anglican denominations in colonial America. Although a few pieces unique to individual manuscripts are sprinkled amongst the various sources, this tune alone became a common and popular psalm or hymn tune that transcended any one region and notational style, and yet never appeared in print.

This small grouping of folk hymns, folk variants, and other hymn tunes constitutes the earliest collections of these types of pieces from evangelical Calvinist musicians



throughout the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Southern backcountry, and early West. With one exception, these pieces are not found in earlier or contemporary eighteenth-century printed sources. The one publication of PSALM 98 most likely did not serve as the source that the manuscript compilers drew from in assembling their copybooks, it being a small collection of tunes transcribed from oral performance. Together, they demonstrate not only the pattern for the dissemination of Calvinist tunes within this large geographic area, but also the settlement pattern of individuals, denominations, and churches from Philadelphia to the interior of the country. Like the Dawson and Lyon repertory, these pieces establish eastern Pennsylvania as the primary catalyst for this core body of congregational repertory, not Boston or New York.

#### *13.2.6 Tunes shared between Shenandoah Valley and Western source material*

The final wave of influence manifested in ancient-style congregational source material was one particular to the Trans-Appalachian West and the Shenandoah Valley, at least regarding congregational source material. Although related in part to the earlier folk hymns and melodic variant settings of older psalm tunes shared between eighteenth-century letteral and standard notation manuscripts, their development occurred through differing trends. The earlier tunes do not represent the work of one specific individual, but instead appear to be the general product of two regional trends of compositional activity, encompassing the Middle Atlantic and coastal South for the first, and the Middle Atlantic, Carolina Piedmont, and Trans-Appalachian West for the second. In contrast, this later wave of influence seems closely related to two individuals active in both the Shenandoah Valley and the West during the latter part of the eighteenth century: Lucius Chapin (1760-1842) and his brother Amzi (1768-1835). Even though a number of other folk hymns were printed

and copied contemporary to the Chapin settings, their name is attached to the most popular of these types of tunes issued before 1820.

Both Chapins were born in Springfield, Massachusetts, along the Connecticut River. Lucius, the elder of the two brothers, had served in the Revolutionary War as a fifer during the New England and northern New York campaigns at the time when other young men his age were learning trades as apprentices to area craftsmen.<sup>24</sup> Although the family had a reputation for music and psalmody, Lucius, during the early 1780s, was without steady employment, having only a background as a singer and fifer. During this decade he developed a reputation as a singing master throughout southern and western New England in Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont. By 1789, he found employment around Lexington, Virginia through his connections to William Graham, the principal of Liberty Hall Academy and the minister of Lexington's Presbyterian Church.<sup>25</sup> During this time, a number of Connecticut singing masters travelled throughout the Middle Atlantic and Southern backcountry, attempting to peddle tunebooks and teach the rudiments of singing. Connecticut-born Andrew Law even attempted to put in place a national network of singing teachers engaged in selling his collections and his modish performance style.<sup>26</sup>

Amzi Chapin, the youngest son in the family, learned a trade as a carpenter and furniture maker from his brother Aaron.<sup>27</sup> In addition, he learned or taught himself luthiership, being engaged in making church basses. Like his brother before him, he also became a singing master. In 1791, Amzi set out for the Shenandoah Valley as one of

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<sup>24</sup> Scholten, "The Chapins," 14-17.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid 25.

<sup>26</sup> Richard Crawford, *Andrew Law, American Psalmist* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1968), 74-85.

<sup>27</sup> Aaron Chapin to Amzi Chapin (June 25, 1800). Sherrill Papers, private collection of David Thomas, Peninsula, Ohio.

Andrew Law's agents, and also to ply his cabinetry skills. Passing through Cheshire, Connecticut he purchased from Law twelve copies of his *The Select Harmony* and thirty of *The Rudiments of Music*, fifty of *The American Singing Book* by Daniel Read, thirty-nine copies of a *Collection of Favorite Psalm Tunes* by Simeon Jocelin, thirty unbound copies of *The Chorister's Companion* by Simeon Jocelin, six psalm books, and thirty gamuts, a popular and inexpensive pamphlet explaining the rudiments of musical notation and often accompanied with a series of blank pages for copying favorite psalm tunes.<sup>28</sup> For the next few years, he was active throughout western Virginia and the Carolina Piedmont before relocating to Washington, Kentucky in 1795 near present-day Maysville, the original port of entry along the Ohio River into the Bluegrass Region. At this time, he purchased property and started a cabinet shop, operated a small farm, began construction on a mill, and taught singing schools along the old Kentucky Road that ran from the mouth of Limestone Creek to Lexington. In 1797, Lucius and his family joined Amzi in Washington. After only a few years, Amzi deeded his property to his brother and moved to western Pennsylvania in Mount Pleasant, living there for the next thirty years of his life.

Many of the folk hymns and spiritual songs produced in the Southern backcountry and West before 1812 were set either by Amzi or Lucius Chapin. Though introduced in the singing school and other similar social-secular institutions such as the Liberty Hall Academy, these pieces were intended for congregational performance. Most of the tunes prepared by the Chapins were not original, but constituted harmonized settings of folk hymns and spiritual songs with variants found in the northern Connecticut River Valley, the Middle

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<sup>28</sup> In his diary, Chapin describes these sources as "12 of Laws large ones, 30 of his small ones, 50 of Reads, 39 Jocelins pamphlets, 30 of his sheets, 6 psalm books and 30 gamuts." These sources have been reconstructed based upon the date in which Chapin purchased the items.

Atlantic, and Southern coastal areas. These folk hymn settings demonstrate a connection in traditional practice and repertory among the regions of Presbyterian influence in the United States in the latter part of the Early Nationalist Period. Just as Presbyterians in the 1760s drew from the Nonconformist repertory, a number of Methodists in the early nineteenth century drew from Calvinist tunebooks. Thus, tune variants of related melodies are shared among Presbyterians, Methodists, and Regular Baptists, as well as other enthusiastic denominations.

Two tunes arranged by Lucius Chapin illustrate this phenomenon. 93D, as titled by Amzi Chapin, was probably set by Lucius when he lived in the Shenandoah Valley before his remove to Kentucky. During the latter part of the Early Nationalist Period, seven versions of this tune appeared in various manuscript and printed sources compiled for Presbyterians, Methodists, and other enthusiastic denominations such as Baptists and Christians (**Figure 13.10**). Testifying to the Chapin brothers' influence on regional source material, four of the seven versions are either attributed to Lucius or survive in a manuscript copybook compiled by his brother Amzi. Varying somewhat in melodic contour, none of these tunes appear to be contrafacta of an earlier secular song. Further, their dissemination resembles that of earlier English Presbyterian folk hymns like THE GLIDING STREAMS or A MEDITATION ON DEATH/THE CHIMES with no particular source serving as the original from which all the others sprang. In addition to the four "Chapin" variants, three other sources demonstrate the pan-denominational transmission of this folk melody. A northern Connecticut River Valley version from Newbury, Vermont appears in *The Christian Harmony* (Exeter, N.H., 1805) by Jeremiah Ingalls, compiled for the use of area Calvinists and Primitive Christians. The other two versions are found in Methodist publications from Baltimore, Maryland and Norfolk, Virginia in the Chesapeake Bay.

**Figure 13.11 Sources for Variants of Ninety-Third in Early Nationalist Compilations**

- Tune Variant 1:** 5(6)u1d6(7u1)21(d6)5      5(6)u1d6(7u1)23(2)1  
 NINETY-THIRD, attr. Chapin: Alexander Johnson, *Johnson's Tennessee Harmony* (Cincinnati, 1818). Origin: Maury County, Tennessee
- Tune Variant 2:** 5(6)u1d6(u1)21(d6)5      5(6)u1d6(7u1)23(2)1  
 NINETY-THIRD, attr. L. Chapin: Samuel Metcalf, *The Kentucky Harmonist* (Cincinnati, 1818). Origin: Lexington, Kentucky
- Tune Variant 3:** 5(6)u1d6u21(d6)5      5(6)u1d6(7u1)23(2)1  
 93D: Amzi Chapin, manuscript copybook of sacred music, c. 1800. Origin: Washington, Kentucky
- Tune Variant 4:** 5(67)u1d6(7u1)21(d6)5      5(67)u1d6(7u1)23(2)1  
 KENTUCKY: *David's Harp; containing a selection of tunes adapted to the Methodist Pocket Hymn Book* (Baltimore, 1813). Origin: Baltimore, Maryland
- Tune Variant 5:** 5u1d6(u1)21(d6)5      5u1d6(u1)23(2)1  
 DELAY: Jeremiah Ingalls, *The Christian Harmony; or, Songster's Companion* (Exeter, N.H., 1805). Origin: Newbury, Vermont
- Tune Variant 6:** 5u1d6(u1)21(d6)5      5(6)u1d6(u1)2(34)3(2)1  
 BRENTFORD attr. L. Chapin: [John Logan], A collection of 16 tune settings printed by Andrew Law ([Philadelphia], c. 1812). Origin: Little River, Virginia
- Tune Variant 7:** 5u1d6u21(d6)5      5u1d6u23(2)1  
 KENTUCKY: Ezekiel Maynard, *A New Selection of Sacred Music* (Baltimore, 1823). Origin: Norfolk, Virginia

The second tune, titled 121ST OR THE SEASONS by Lucius Chapin, is a spiritual song dating from his Kentucky period. A holograph score by Lucius survives in a letter to his brother Amzi from Washington, Kentucky in 1802. Unlike 93D, this tune does not remain as closely tied to the Chapin brothers, its various versions existing under an equal number of variant titles. Further, a number of these variants originate within a localized area of the same region, with only the one setting in *Patterson's Church Music* demonstrating a direct connection to either of the Chapins. Seven melodic variants appear in Middle Atlantic and Western sources, representing a somewhat more localized transmission of this tune than that of 93D (**Fig 13.11**). Although it is found first in a Kentucky source, this folk hymn enjoyed as much popularity in the West as the Shenandoah Valley, demonstrating that tune dissemination did not necessarily flow westward and southward from the Eastern Seaboard. Instead, pieces often moved freely between regions in the Middle Atlantic and Western

states, particularly after 1820. As with 93D, 121ST OR THE SEASONS became part of the denominational pluralism that characterized the Middle Atlantic and West. Not only embraced by Presbyterians such as Ananias Davisson, Robert Patterson, and Amzi and Lucius Chapin, it also found resonance among other musicians with varied denominational backgrounds, including Unitarian John Wyeth, Episcopalian Samuel Metcalf, Methodist James M. Boyd, and even Mennonite Joseph Funk.

**Figure 13.11 Sources for Variants of THE SEASONS or SUPPLICATION in Early Nationalist Compilations**

- Tune Variant 1:** 5u11(d7)u1d7u21(d7)5 575(4)5u1345  
 SUPPLICATION: John Wyeth, *Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music* (Harrisburgh, Pa., 1810). Origin: Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
- Tune Variant 2:** 5u1d7u1d7(u1)2(1)d7(6)5 575(4)5u1345  
 ACH GOTT WEI MANCHES HERTZELEID: Joseph Funk: *Die allgemein nützliche Choral=Music* (Harrisonburg, Va., 1816). Origin: Mountain Valley, Virginia
- Tune Variant 3:** 5u1d7u1d7(u1)2(d7)6(4)5 575(4)5u1345  
 SUPPLICATION, attr. Chapin: Ananias Davisson, *Kentucky Harmony* (Harrisonburg, Va., 1816). Origin: Harrisonburg, Virginia
- Tune Variant 4:** 5u1d7u1d7(u1)2d75 5745u1345  
 THE SEASONS: Robert Patterson, *Patterson's Church Music* (Pittsburgh, 1813). Origin: Vernon, Pennsylvania
- Tune Variant 5:** 5u1d7u1d7(u1)2d75 575(4)5u1345  
 INVITATION: Samuel Metcalf, *The Kentucky Harmonist* (Cincinnati, 1818). Origin: Lexington, Kentucky
- Tune Variant 6:** 5u1d7u1d7u2(1)d7(6)5 575(4)5u1345  
 INVITATION: James M. Boyd, *The Virginia Sacred Musical Repository* (Winchester, Va., 1818). Origin: Winchester, Virginia
- Tune Variant 7:** 5u1d7u1d7u2(1)d7(6)5 5745u1345  
 121ST OR THE SEASONS by Lucius Chapin: Lucius Chapin to Amzi Chapin (November 15, 1802). Origin: Washington, Kentucky

These two tunes also demonstrate the two main divisions of the Chapins' musical careers, reflected in repertory trends among the various sources. Most of their tunes prepared before 1797 appear in both Western and Shenandoah Valley sources,

encompassing manuscript copybooks and later printed collections. A large holograph manuscript by Amzi, survives from his Kentucky period.<sup>29</sup> Besides including a broad selection of pieces from popular social-secular tunebooks he acquired or sold, it featured many of the tunes commonly ascribed to Amzi and Lucius Chapin including, BETHEL, LIBERTY HALL, ROCKBRIDGE, UNITIA, TWENTY-FOURTH, TRIBULATION, NINETY-THIRD, and THIRTIETH. However, TRIBUTLATION and THIRTIETH are not found in Shenandoah Valley sources.

Only two English-language sources predate *Kentucky Harmony* by Ananias Davisson and both reveal a direct connection to the Chapin brothers. The earliest one consists of a small collection of treble parts to mostly Chapin tunes copied by Isabella Christian on the endpaper of the seventh edition of *The Philadelphia Harmony* (1801), a popular social-secular ancient-style tunebook by Andrew Adgate that circulated throughout the Middle Atlantic, the Southern piedmont and the Trans-Appalachian West.<sup>30</sup> Amzi's diary includes detailed accounts of all of his singing schools conducted throughout his life and Isabella Christian's name is documented in one of them. She attended one of his first singing schools held at Cross Keys, Augusta County, Virginia in January of 1792, and paid for her tuition and purchased a copy of *The Rudiments of Music* by Andrew Law.<sup>31</sup>

The other source predating *Kentucky Harmony* is a small collection of tunes printed by Andrew Law at the bequest of John Logan. Logan had long been an active singing master in the area. He had known Amzi Chapin since the early 1790s. In the Chapin account books,

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<sup>29</sup> Amzi Chapin, manuscript copybook of sacred music (Washington County, KY (?), c. 1800). Sherrill Papers, private collection of David Thomas, Peninsula, Ohio.

<sup>30</sup> Isabella Christian, manuscript supplement to Andrew Adgate, *The Philadelphia Harmony* (Philadelphia, 1801), (Augusta County, Virginia, c. 1805). American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

<sup>31</sup> Amzi Chapin, manuscript diary and account book (Virginia, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania, c. 1790-1810).

Logan did not attend Chapin's singing schools, but instead purchased a relatively large number of Law's tunebooks at Little River, Virginia that Amzi peddled at the time, including seven copies of one of the editions of *Select Harmony* and eleven copies of *The Rudiments of Music*.<sup>32</sup> Logan was also acquainted with Lucius who mentioned Logan's singing schools in Augusta, Virginia in a letter to Amzi in 1797.<sup>33</sup> Twenty years later, Logan wrote to Andrew Law requesting that a number of tunes popular in the Shenandoah Valley be cast in Law's patented form of shape-note notation. Much to Logan's consternation, Law reharmonized the tunes according to his notion of ancient-style reform standards of quality. As such, this gathering of reharmonized congregational psalm tunes and spiritual songs proved futile to Logan's purpose, which was to help popularize Law's largely unsuccessful endeavors at notational reform. It was quickly forgotten and most likely never circulated throughout the area.

However, these two sources preserve six Chapin folk hymns created in the Shenandoah Valley that became popular in printed collections, including BETHEL, LIBERTY HALL, ROCKBRIDGE, UNITIA, TWENTY-FOURTH, and NINETY-THIRD.<sup>34</sup> Not surprisingly, these pieces are the only ones to appear in both Virginia and Western sources with the exception of the 121ST OR THE SEASONS/INVITATION/SUPPLICATION tune family. The setting of SUPPLICATION bears little resemblance to Lucius Chapin's 121ST OR THE SEASONS and indicates that the two remain independent of each other despite Davisson's attribution. Further, although two other tunes unique to

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Lucius Chapin to Amzi Chapin (April 1797). Sherrill Papers, private collection of David Thomas, Peninsula, Ohio.

<sup>34</sup> The Amzi Chapin holograph copybook contains some other tunes with Piedmont-related titles such as ORANGE that never appeared in other printed or manuscript sources. Chapin was most likely dissatisfied with these pieces.



Shenandoah Valley sources bear Chapin attributions, these demonstrate little connection to authentic Chapin settings: BRENTFORD is a variant version of 93D in Logan's supplement, and NEW MONMOUTH is found first in *Kentucky Harmony* by Davisson. Their absence in other sources suggests that these tune settings are not those of either of the Chapins, but were attempts to capitalize on their reputation.

As demonstrated by 121ST OR THE SEASONS, the Chapins continued to compose and arrange their own settings of tunes after their move to the West. A number of pieces during the Early Nationalist Period are found initially in Amzi's Kentucky copybook and *Patterson's Church Music* (Pittsburgh, 1816). Unfortunately these tunes are unattributed in either source. However, with Amzi's role as a consultant for Patterson's tunebook, the evidence leans strongly toward his hand in their creation. As a result, nine pieces that appeared in print date from Amzi and Lucius' Western period, including other folk hymns and melodic variant settings of older pieces such as INDIAN PHILOSOPHER, JUDGMENT, JUSTICE (arranged from Solomon Chandler), ROCKINGHAM, 121ST OR THE SEASONS, TRIBULATION, VERNON, THIRTIETH, and a new harmonization of NEW HUNDRED, also known as PSALM 100 NEW. One other tune, LEXINGTON, found in the Chapin copybook was not printed until 1825 in *Columbian Harmony, or A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems, in Three Parts* by William Moore of Wilson County, Tennessee. As a whole, these tunes demonstrate how much of an influence the Chapins exerted on Southern backcountry and Western congregational trends despite their relatively short period of compositional activity in either of these two places. Though not the creators of these types of folk hymns and revised versions of older psalm tunes, they should be credited with codifying a melding of traditional English Presbyterian practice with

changing trends among Early Nationalist congregants in the Shenandoah Valley, North Carolina, and the Trans-Appalachian West.

Other folk hymns and pieces incorporating the melodic characteristics of these tunes entered the repertory of Shenandoah Valley and Western printed tunebooks. Some were drawn from popular social-secular ancient-style collections compiled in the Middle Atlantic such as *Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music. Part second* by John Wyeth with the assistance of Presbyterian Elkanah Kelsey Dare, and *The Beauties of Harmony* by Freeman Lewis of Pittsburgh. However, with the exception of the tune FIDUCIA, none of the material found in congregational collections were shared between the Shenandoah Valley and the West before 1816. Each region preserved its own unique body of distinctive pieces for congregational performance.

Individual repertoires were often confined to subregions of this larger area, illustrating how this phenomenon is common to the Middle Atlantic and Early Nationalist Shenandoah Valley, Southern backcountry, and the Trans-Appalachian West. For instance, one early spiritual song, CRAVEN OR LAST ASSIZE is found only in the two Carolina standard notation manuscripts of the 1770s and 1780s. Second, despite the appearance of Chapin tunes in both the Trans-Appalachian West and the Shenandoah Valley, those settings printed east of the mountains were not identical to the authentic Chapin arrangements published in the West. The Shenandoah Valley versions instead descended from those in Wyeth's second tunebook, with alterations prepared most likely by Davisson himself. Western Pennsylvania and Kentucky-composed pieces featured in Patterson's and Armstrong's tunebooks were not included in *Kentucky Harmony* by Davisson. Rather, he drew his repertory from Robert Boyd and Reubin Munday of eastern Tennessee, besides including his own settings and arrangements. Only after this period did the two regions start

to feature shared repertoires, mostly because of the popularity of Davisson's publications. In this sense, *Kentucky Harmony* again represents both a summary of earlier practice, and the beginning of a new period of tunebook compilation.

Between 1755 and 1816, congregational trends in sacred music remained independent of those for both popular social-secular ancient-style psalmody of New England, and also the galante and theatrical style associated with musicians employed in liturgical churches of the Middle Atlantic and the coastal South. Although some tunes from these repertoires are found in the various printed and manuscript sources from the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Southern backcountry, and the late Early Nationalist West and Shenandoah Valley, these trends followed their own line of succession and influence. Occurring in a series of waves of influence, almost all were connected directly to Presbyterian source material. Some pertained to tunebooks by prominent compilers, others to repertory trends and spiritual songs circulating in scribal sources by area Calvinists. Still others were connected to specific individuals active throughout the various regions.

The earliest of these were based on a few specific sources from the Middle Atlantic in British North America and the British Isles. Inarguably, *The Youths Entertaining Amusement* by schoolmaster William Dawson exerted the greatest influence on Late Colonial and Early Nationalist source material. Designed for use by every English-language denomination, its author chose from among the tune repertoires of Anglicans and colonial Calvinists including Congregationalists and English and Scottish Presbyterians, reflecting the cultural pluralism distinctive of the Middle Atlantic colonies. Despite his pan-denominational approach to compilation, its reception was seen mostly among Presbyterians throughout the colonies and states outside of New England. The repertory, and often the specific order of some of the tunes, is shared among the sources, particularly regarding the letteral manuscripts. A goodly

number of tunes from this tunebook came to form a core repertory for regional sources over the next fifty years, encompassing printed and manuscript sources. Though the Scottish Presbyterian repertory did not circulate as broadly, it being confined to the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, and the West, this phenomenon demonstrated that English Presbyterian trends had much more of an impact on future developments among evangelical Calvinists who embraced ancient-style psalmody. Pieces from the Dawson book, combined with a wide selection of congregational pieces from *Urania* by Philadelphia resident James Lyon, as well as *The Universal Psalmist* by Londoner Aaron Williams reveal the centrality of this denomination regarding musical trends, compositional genres, and performance style and practice in later Western and Southern tunebooks in the Antebellum Period. It also established that even though these sources were produced during the 1760s, they could continually offer new successions of influence into the nineteenth century.

Another way in which these waves influenced congregational trends was through pieces associated less with specific sources and more with the reigning popular and traditional trends among regional Calvinists and, to some degree, other enthusiastic denominations. Beginning in the 1790s, popular social-secular ancient-style psalmody from New England began to influence congregational currents outside New England. Reflecting the popularity of extra-ecclesiastical arenas for performing sacred music such as the singing school or singing society, some of the simpler tunes entered into the devotional repertory, reflecting a popular influence separate from that by Middle Atlantic Episcopalians, Catholics, Lutherans, and to some degree, the *Unitas Fratrum* or Moravians. These pieces, though not created specifically for use within the divine service, gradually won acceptance by church congregants and became some of the most prevalent and often-performed pieces in the latter part of the Early Nationalist Period.

Alongside this popular movement, a number of folk hymns and spiritual songs appear in manuscript and later printed sources that are connected to traditional English Presbyterian expression. A handful of these pieces were shared among the denominations of the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Southern backcountry, and early West and transcended any one notational source type. Reflecting the initiatives of the late seventeenth-century English Presbyterian hymn movement, these pieces followed traditional poetic conceits including ruminations on death and mortality, renouncing worldly pleasures and material objects, and the second coming of Christ and the final judgment. Unlike their popular cousins, these tunes circulated within more localized geographic parameters with tunes and tune variants divided often by denomination or broader theological perspective such as Calvinism. Although similar pieces are found in earlier Presbyterian repertories from along the Long Island Sound, those outside southern and western New England operated on a much larger pan-regional sphere reflecting not only the widespread diffusion of English Presbyterians throughout much of British North America, but also a greater degree of repertory uniformity among these congregants.

Finally, beginning in the 1790s, traditional English Presbyterian practice began to change somewhat, influenced by the social-secular popular ancient-style psalmody introduced into the area through New England publications and singing masters. Building upon the precedent established by James Lyon during the Late Colonial Period, Presbyterians gradually shifted from two and three-part settings to four-part harmonizations typical of social-secular ancient-style practice. Associated most closely with Amzi and Lucius Chapin, as well as other regional psalmodists such as Elkanah Kelsey Dare of Delaware, Amos Pilsbury of Charleston, South Carolina, and perhaps Freeman Lewis of Pittsburgh and later Uniontown, Pennsylvania, the newer folk hymns and congregational source material

fused recent popular ancient-style developments in psalmody with that traditional to English Presbyterian practice, encompassing textual and compositional genres, as well as the distinctive nonfunctional tonal system of harmony that employed free use of inverted chords and a preponderance of dyads found in earlier American-composed works such as AN HYMN ON YE BIRTH OF CHRIST from the Long Island Sound tradition, as well as CHINTING published in *Tunes in Three Parts* (Philadelphia, 1763). Though rooted in earlier tradition, this melding of New England popular practice with English Presbyterian tradition was identified most closely with a few specific innovative tunesmiths.

Despite this rich tradition of congregational performance, Middle Atlantic ancient-style sacred music practice has received little scholarly attention outside of shape-note publications and some of the letteral sources. However, it proved the most decisive in establishing ancient-style evangelical trends into the Civil War. Though the proportions of psalm, hymns, and spiritual songs, the compositional genres outlined by the apostle Paul, might have varied from source to source and by compiler, all conformed to a core ideology of psalmody and its expression and aesthetic among Presbyterians, Methodists, and Regular and Separate Baptists, and other enthusiastic denominations. Distinct from New England practice where psalmody was largely a secular amusement not intended specifically for the church or meetinghouse, congregational singing outside this area formed the backbone of most religious musical expression that embraced the ancient style. As such, understanding the developments in congregational practice throughout the Middle Atlantic, Southern backcountry, Chesapeake Bay, and the Trans-Appalachian West is crucial to understanding the course of sacred music performance into the latter part of the nineteenth century.

### 13.3 Ancient-style compositional trends of the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Southern backcountry, and West of the Late Colonial and Early Nationalist Periods

From 1755 to 1820, ancient-style psalmody and musicians outside of New England cultivated all the types of sacred music embraced by their northern neighbors, ranging from simple plain tunes to extended set pieces and anthems. However, the practice of sacred music was neither simply a duplication of New England popular ancient-style practice, nor a continuation of the model provided by James Lyon through his tunebook *Urania*. Instead, it formed several streams of development that drew from both of these compositional and artistic movements while maintaining its own distinct character. Paralleling the discussion of influences manifest in the congregational repertory, it consisted of multivalent layers of expression tied to tunebooks, denominational trends, and noteworthy individuals active throughout the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Southern backcountry, and the West. As opposed to northern coastal New England, sacred music in these areas did not abandon traditional practice. Rather, as in previous eras, it fused traditional and popular techniques, resulting from a unique conglomeration of styles, influences, and expression. It in many ways resembled the contents of *Kentucky Harmony* through its inclusion of many different tune types and genres, and their denominational and geographic associations.

The practice of musical composition also reflected this same range of diversity. In this respect, ancient-style practice of the Middle Atlantic, South, and West differed from that of New England. New England musicians between 1770 and 1800 produced few printed congregational collections and most of these found little resonance among regional congregants, as witnessed by the icy reception of *Music in Miniature* (Boston, 1779) by William Billings and *A Select Number of Plain Tunes* (Cheshire, 1781) by Andrew Law. In contrast, ancient-style musicians outside of New England devoted more attention to

congregational psalmody, as encountered in printed and manuscript sources. Despite the prevalence of congregational tune collections, social-secular popular ancient-style psalmody became popular through two streams of influence. It was first introduced by regional musicians such as James Lyon during the Late Colonial Period, and second by New England singing masters active outside throughout the Middle Atlantic, South, and West beginning in the 1780s. By the 1810, these areas could boast of a number of native purveyors of the new social-secular popular ancient-style psalmody traditions.

Initially, New England musicians formed singing schools and amateur choral societies in the Middle Atlantic. They also helped popularize concerts for the secular display of this sacred art, beginning fittingly enough with the Uranian Society as led by Connecticut-born singing master Andrew Adgate in Philadelphia.<sup>35</sup> This ensemble and social organization represented a synthesis of Middle Atlantic and New England trends in social-secular ancient-style performance practice. Early Anglicans had also directed public performances of sacred music, but these musicians had employed ecclesiastical ensembles, namely the charity children's choir. In contrast, amateur choral societies were modeled on choral festivals in England such as the Three Choirs Festival. American concerts featured relatively large choral forces with orchestral accompaniment. Selections ranged from choruses and anthems, solo songs and arias, and instrumental works offered as overtures and finales. The finished pastiche of pieces was designed to imitate large-scale anthems and oratorios. Works by Billings and Lyon could appear alongside those of Handel.

However, these trends only take into account the environment for social-secular ancient-style psalmody. Although it does represent a larger part of a New England popular

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<sup>35</sup> For a full account of this ensemble and society, see: Oscar G. Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 102-20.



ancient-style psalmody diaspora, it does not account for other distinctly Middle Atlantic developments. Not surprisingly, many of the most widespread initiatives in ancient-style psalmody emanated from the Middle Atlantic. Chief among these was the interest in alternative forms of musical notation. Though letteral notation first appears in *The Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes* (1719) by New Englander John Tufts, a modified form of it remained unique to the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, and West. In this form it achieved its greatest area of influence and dissemination throughout British North America. Middle Atlantic musicians expanded on this early aid through the invention of shape-note notation by Philadelphia shopkeeper and member of the Uranian Society, John Connelly. Three Middle Atlantic psalmodyists saw the possibilities with Connelly's invention and were involved in the production of *The Easy Instructor* (1798 [1801]), the first shape-note tunebook: Edward Stammers of Philadelphia, a local baker, Presbyterian,<sup>36</sup> and member of the Uranian Society; William Little, a doctor and singing master from Connecticut then living in New York City;<sup>37</sup> and William Smith, a singing master in New York City who later moved to Hopewell, New Jersey.<sup>38</sup> When this tunebook was published in Philadelphia, it carried a lengthy endorsement by the Uranian Society.

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<sup>36</sup> Edward Stammers married Sarah Brown in this church on September 6, 1800. Source: <http://files.usgwarchives.net/pa/philadelphia/church/1stpresby02.txt>.

<sup>37</sup> The identity of William Little, M.D. is confirmed as that of the author of *The Easy Instructor* through his poetic composition. The verse, "'Tis from the heart oppress'd with grief, | Where pity may be found, | Here is the balm that gives relief, | The balm that heals the wound," appears in only two sources: set to the tune SOLITUDE in *The Easy Instructor*, and in a letter written by Little to his wife Jane, an African American woman, while incarcerated for beating her. The court case and letters were published in a pamphlet describing the trial: *A Faithful Report of the Trial of Doctor William Little, on an indictment for an assault and battery, committed upon the body of his lawful wife, Mrs. Jane Little, a black lady* (New-York: for the purchasers, 1808), 21.

<sup>38</sup> Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), 124.

Other aspects of sacred music culture in the Middle Atlantic remain distinct to this region as well as the Southern backcountry and Trans-Appalachian West. For instance, Middle Atlantic Presbyterians employed a traditional form of compilation procedure that separated pieces by their intended performance venue, a method never used in New England. Beginning with the Little Eastcheap tunebooks from London issued between 1719 and 1730, this method was introduced to many British North American singers through *Urania* by James Lyon. However, not until Ananias Davisson's tunebook would this organization procedure become the predominant method of tunebook compilation among evangelical ancient-style musicians of many different denominations throughout the Middle Atlantic, South, and West up to the time of the Civil War. In addition, Middle Atlantic ancient-style musicians preserved a distinctive form of nonfunctional harmony also traditional to English Presbyterian practice that was different from the harmonic procedures of New England popular ancient-style psalmody.

These variant traits of social-secular compilation, harmony, notation method, and performance venue all demonstrate that the Middle Atlantic did not represent a larger manifestation of New England hegemony for sacred music culture. Though ancient-style tunebook compilers in the Middle Atlantic were not as prolific as those in New England, the ancient-style collections in both published and manuscript form testify to a unified compositional aesthetic. The following discussion will examine compositional trends among ancient-style musicians outside of New England, focusing on popular and traditional techniques influenced by Calvinist and Nonconformist trends throughout these areas.

### ***13.3.1 Traditional English Presbyterian Repertory Trends***

During the Early Nationalist Period, English Presbyterians continued to exert the dominant influence in ancient-style psalmody throughout the Middle Atlantic, South, and

West. English Presbyterian tunebooks and tune collections proved to be the most popular among members of regional churches and their congregational repertory was in large part shaped by this denomination. Though Scottish Presbyterian congregational tunes were prevalent throughout the Middle Atlantic and West, the influence of the denomination paled in comparison to its English cousin. One measure of the dominance of this denomination's performance practice lies in its flexibility to incorporate newer trends while maintaining its core identity. As such, new English Presbyterian-style tunes that fit within traditional genres and harmonic practice continued throughout the period even though some of the most famous pieces within this repertory were neither set by musicians native to this area, nor were their composers raised in a Presbyterian church, such as Lucius and Amzi Chapin. Alongside these newer waves of influence however, some ancient-style musicians chose to continue earlier Late Colonial Middle Atlantic trends.

The older three-part ancient style found along the Long Island Sound and in the Middle Atlantic retained its popularity throughout the period. It would become the style embraced by many Calvinist Methodists who were influenced by George Whitefield and would characterize ancient-style collections designed for camp meetings and revivals such as *The Methodist Camp-Meeting Song Book* (Dayton, OH, 1841) by George Miller of Dayton, Ohio or *The Manual of the Sacred Choir: a selection of tunes and hymns, from the most approved authors, adapted to public worship, to revivals, to prayer meetings, and to family worship* (Richmond and Philadelphia, 1849) by Eli Ball of Richmond, Virginia. However, its ultimate expression would be manifest in Southern shape-note collections by Calvinist Baptists such as *The Southern Harmony* (New Haven, 1835) by William Walker of Spartanburg, North Carolina, and *The Sacred Harp* (Philadelphia, 1844) by Benjamin Franklin White and Elisha J. King of Hamilton, Georgia. In this way, the three-part ancient style would be found not only in

tunebooks intended for the divine service, but those for secular-social use too. The traditional English Presbyterian three-part ancient style served as the foundation for these composers' compositional rhetoric. Only later would compilers such as Walker turn to four-part settings influenced more by the conventions of popular ancient-style psalmody from New England.

Before the Methodist and Baptist appropriations of this style however, the same transition occurred among Presbyterians in central Pennsylvania, the Shenandoah Valley, and the Trans-Appalachian West between 1790 and 1810. Some musicians, such as Daniel Russ, a singing master active throughout central Pennsylvania and based in Carlisle in the 1790s, composed a few tunes that closely resemble works original to the Late Colonial publication, *Tunes in Three Parts* (Philadelphia, 1763) associated with the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. For instance, HANOVER (**Anth**), a hymn tune printed in Russ' tunebook, *The Urania Harmony* (Philadelphia, 1791), preserves many of these same techniques. It features a similar rhythmic approach to text declamation as WHITCHURCH from *Tunes in Three Parts*. It also employs the same wide melodic range of at least an octave for each voice. Further, Russ' command of his harmonic idiom displays the same basic use of tetrachord and hexachord mutation based upon the shape of a line in its approach to the seventh scale degree. This pitch is raised both during an ascending vocal line and in a lower neighbor relationship to the first scale degree. In contrast, a descending tetrachord, hexachord, or similar melodic line beginning on the third scale degree will feature a natural seventh scale degree (mm. 2-3 tenor, 4-6 and 13-14 treble). Occasionally, Russ will modify this procedure to avoid dissonance between parts (mm. 11-12). HANOVER also resembles [CHORUS] to AMARTY. TO PSALM CXXXIX from the same earlier collection in that the treble and bass maintain a high degree of melodic independence and are given the more ornate and

melismatic vocal lines compared to the tenor cantus. All of these traits document the continuation of Late Colonial, Middle Atlantic, English Presbyterian trends into the Early Nationalist Period.

At the time that Russ published his tunebook, psalmodist Lucius Chapin had been active in the Shenandoah Valley for two years. Building upon these techniques as well as those of James Lyon in his arrangements of congregational tune settings in *Urania*, Chapin was able to fuse the English Presbyterian tradition with the popular ancient style associated with New England. This combination of elements extended to form, part writing techniques, scoring procedure, and harmony. From his Connecticut River Valley heritage, Lucius came of age during the initial flowering of secular-social ancient-style psalmody, and was only five years older than the musician Henry Wells, Jr., a resident of Montague, thirty-five miles to the north of Chapin's hometown of Springfield, Massachusetts. Wells' important manuscript copybook was compiled in 1781, just one year after Chapin's discharge from military service.<sup>39</sup> Thus, the tunes found in the Wells manuscript most likely constituted the pieces circulating throughout the northern Connecticut River Valley, and western and central Massachusetts and were those familiar to Chapin. According to family tradition, Lucius was active as a singing school teacher in Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont, eventually residing in Williamstown near the New York-Vermont state line before moving south.<sup>40</sup>

During the Early Nationalist Period, much of the sacred music culture of New England existed within the secular-social realm of the singing school. Two tunes illustrate typically southern and western New England compositional and harmonic traits that appear

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<sup>39</sup> Scholten, "The Chapins," 17.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 18.

in later settings by Chapin. SUFFIELD (**Anth**) by King demonstrates the connections between the sixteenth and eighteenth-century ancient style in terms of tune construction. One of the main characteristics of much of the older repertory was the use of repeated melodic and cadential material. Similarly, many works by William Billings employ an identical form of repeated melodic material between sections. Occasionally, melodic repetition did not occur in the same part of a corresponding phrase. SUFFIELD preserves this technique through the repetition of the second half of the first melodic phrase (mm. 3-4) as the first part of the third (mm. 8-9). King maintained fairly close control over the harmony, avoiding dissonance and introducing a somewhat more conventional harmonic scheme revolving around the tonic and dominant.

UNION (**Anth**) by the Reverend Alexander Gillet of Torrington, Connecticut reveals a wholly different approach to melodic construction, harmonization, and part writing. Closely resembling many tunes by Timothy Swan, Gillet did not repeat any melodic material, instead constructing the melody to generally rise from the fifth scale degree to the second, only to undergo a series of descending figures that find their way back to the tonic. Though its melody is hexatonic, UNION seems more like a decorated pentatonic melody, especially in the first and final phrases with its emphasis on the pitches G-A-C-D-E. Unlike the more controlled use of harmony in SUFFIELD, that in UNION displays little intent. The harmonic scheme instead appears to be entirely coincidental resulting from the shape of the individual parts. This meandering sense of harmony however maintains mostly root position sonorities in the bass and does not include any of the typically English Presbyterian use of free inversions such as open fourth dyads and second inversion triads on strong beats. In general, all parts maintain a great degree of independence and all strive for inherent

tunefulness, which also contributes to the coincidental resulting sonorities in the harmonization.

The use of a sharply defined formal construction combined with a meandering sense of harmony and extreme independence among the voices does not remain characteristic of much New England psalmody of the time. Rather, these elements appear to be mostly disparate compositional approaches to American-composed pieces of popular ancient-style psalmody from 1770 to 1790. Though the harmony does not follow a sense of European functional orthodoxy, many tunes bear witness to their author's attempts at some form of tonal control as seen in the works of William Billings and many of his central and southern New England contemporaries. In effect, SUFFIELD and UNION represent opposing aesthetic and compositional trends.

From this heritage, Lucius Chapin took both of these elements and fused them with the traditional English Presbyterian method of nonfunctional harmony witnessed in earlier pieces such as AN HYMN ON YE BIRTH OF CHRIST from the older Long Island Sound repertory, CHINTING from the Late Colonial Middle Atlantic, and the arrangement of PSALM 104 by James Lyon from the Henry Wells, Jr. copybook. Not only employing a meandering sense of harmony, these pieces placed more emphasis on strong beat open fourth dyads and second inversion triads, greater instances of parallel fourths and fifths, as well as false relations created by the independence of the individual lines. Almost all of these characteristics are found in one of Lucius' earliest tunes, 93D, a folk hymn set during his time in the Shenandoah Valley during the 1780s and 90s.

The melody of 93D (**Anth**) closely resembles UNION by Gillet with its emphasis on the fifth scale degree and its pentatonic construction on the pitches G-A-C-D-E. 93D also shares two other characteristics with the Gillet tune: a similar meandering chord structure

based upon the tunefulness of each part, and the same degree of melodic independence among the voices. Conversely, it employs a high degree of melodic repetition, being cast in an AA'A"A" form. With the exception of the third phrase (mm. 7-11), all start with the same basic melodic figure. Like SUFFIELD, a different form of repetition occurs between the first and third phrases. Only this time, the two phrases share the same cadential material (mm. 3-4 and 10-11) lending some variety to an unusually repetitive tune. In this sense, Chapin fused the two basic approaches to New England popular ancient-style psalmody.

However, this combination is not the only one found in this piece. He also brought a traditional English Presbyterian approach to harmony as seen through the accented open fourth dyad in the second measure, a high incidence of dyads throughout the work, and strings of parallel fifths and octaves among the parts (mm. 4-5 between treble and counter, mm. 10-11 between tenor and counter, and m. 13 between counter and bass, and bass and tenor). Chapin appears to treat parallels in the same way as dissonance, allowing two or three consecutions before resolving them to other perfect and imperfect consonant intervals. This approach seems based upon earlier precedents described by English modern ancient-style psalmodyists such as Anglican William Tans'ur in his theoretical writings, though Chapin's method far exceeds that of his European models. The resulting conglomeration of popular New England and traditional English Presbyterian influences remains unique to the Middle Atlantic in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It also demonstrates how traditional English Presbyterian identity and style continued into the Early Nationalist Period despite the increasing influence of popular ancient-style psalmody from New England in the congregational repertory. Rather than representing New England hegemony, 93D preserves as much earlier Middle Atlantic ancient-style expression.



Lucius Chapin's brand of popular New England and traditional Middle Atlantic English Presbyterian-infused ancient-style settings proved popular among regional musicians, eventually becoming the standard stylistic model for later evangelical practitioners of ancient-style psalmody in the Middle Atlantic, South, and most importantly, the Trans-Appalachian West. Lucius' brother Amzi at times employed a similar approach to tune setting and introduced it to many musicians in Kentucky through his numerous singing schools in the Bluegrass Region of the state. In addition to teaching a number of singing schools, Amzi continued to compose and arrange tunes, and set folk hymns after relocating to Kentucky and western Pennsylvania. One tune, appropriately named LEXINGTON, demonstrates the perpetuation of these trends and their influence among Early Nationalist Western psalmodists.

LEXINGTON (**Anth.**), unlike 93D, appears to be an original composition by Amzi, and is not found in variant forms in other sources throughout the United States. However, it contains many of the same techniques as found in settings by his elder brother, despite the fact that the melody is heptatonic and Amzi apparently did not favor the dyad as much as Lucius. The opening three notes of the first phrase also begin the second, though it is not enough to say that these are A and A' parts because less than half of the phrase is repeated. In somewhat a similar fashion, the fourth phrase begins with the concluding material of the first phrase (mm. 3-4 and 12). Finally, the third and fourth phrases contain the same cadential material. Together, this form of melodic construction closely resembles that of older Protestant psalm tunes and Middle Atlantic folk hymns.

More important, the amount of parallel octaves and fifths exceeds that of 93D, lending an even more primitive quality to the harmony. Instead of groupings of two or three parallel perfect intervals or consecutions, Amzi sustains them more often in groupings of

three to six before their resolution to other consonant intervals (mm. 2-3 between tenor and bass and counter and tenor, 5-6 between tenor and bass, 8-11 between treble and counter, and 12-13 between bass and counter). Amzi is also freer in his use of inverted chords. For instance, the first phrase concludes with a cadence on a second inversion tonic chord and this sonority continues into the beginning of the second phrase. This technique is found throughout the piece with the second phrase coming to rest on a first inversion of the tonic and other second inversion chords appearing on various strong beats in the third and fourth phrases (mm. 9, 11). Though the individual parts do not attain the same degree of independence as encountered in UNION and 93D, the overall impression conveyed by LEXINGTON is remarkably similar in terms of harmony and style.

As the Chapin tunes became part of the standard Middle Atlantic and Trans-Appalachian repertory, other works employing these techniques started to appear in greater frequency, becoming distinct to these regions. This style of psalm and hymn tune also became part of the repertory of popular secular-social tunebooks compiled throughout these regions. Musicians such as Ananias Davisson would draw from these types of sources for the congregational portion of their own tunebooks. *The Beauties of Harmony* (Pittsburgh, 1814) by Freeman Lewis contains a few original Western folk hymn settings such as the tune BOURBON. Variants of this tune family appear in other regional shape-note collections including the tunes BOURBON in *The Kentucky Harmonist* (Cincinnati, 1818) by Lexington college student Samuel Metcalf, DISMISSION in *The Missouri Harmony* (Cincinnati, 1820) by Virginia-born Western singing master Allen Carden, and SUPPLICATION in *The Sunday School Music Book* (Philadelphia, 1826) by E. Osborn.

As found in Lewis' tunebook, BOURBON (**Anth.**), though set in the minor mode, is cast within the same form of pentatonic scale as UNION and 93D, beginning on the fifth

scale degree. The anonymous arranger employed free use of inverted chords (mm. 2, 5, 10), numerous parallel fifths and octaves between the parts, even pairing sets of parallels between voices (m. 8 between treble and counter, and tenor and bass), and imbued the parts with a great degree of melodic independence. In addition to these by now standard regional ancient-style techniques, the arranger also included false relations resulting from the shape of the individual lines (mm. 3, 13), as well as number instances of coincidental dissonance created by the independent parts. These strident chords even occur on accented beats with the arranger favoring various forms of seventh-chord sonorities (mm. 3, 9). This distinctly English Presbyterian traditional nonfunctional harmonization method has become the predominant mode of expression in ancient-style Middle Atlantic, Western, and Southern evangelical ancient-style collections, setting harmonic method for the next half century.

Besides the continuation of traditional English Presbyterian harmonic and stylistic trends into the Early Nationalist Period, other typically Middle Atlantic pieces and compositional genres did too, particularly regarding notational dissemination, regionally specific contrafacta and tune variants, and spiritual songs. Earlier discussions of letteral notation manuscripts, demonstrated their origin on the Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay and southeastern Pennsylvania. Tunes original to these collections are found in many manuscripts, beginning with the earliest known source, compiled by Captain Richard Ellis of Charleston in Cecil County, Maryland between c. 1755 and 1760. The compilers of these letteral manuscripts set their tunes either for melody alone, or in two parts, tenor and bass. Two pieces unique to the Ellis copybook remain typical to the general style: HUNTERDON TUNE, and A NEW TUNE ADAPTED TO THE 12TH VEACRE OF YS 22D CHAP. OF REVELATIONS (**Anth**).

Though they contain rhythmic markings, atypical of letteral sources, both tunes remain representative of mid-eighteenth-century ancient-style psalm tunes intended for congregational performance. Both encompass an octave in their melodic construction and employ a basically syllabic manner of text setting with few melismas and no text repetition. Characteristic of letteral manuscripts, these tunes remain textless though the second piece indicates a specific text to accompany it. Based upon the tune presentation, A NEW TUNE appears to be suitable to any poetry in 7.7.7.7. meter. Both works include some form of melodic construction with HUNTERDON cast in an AA'BB' form, and A NEW TUNE in ABB'C form with repeated cadential between the second and fourth phrases. As in other pieces of this ilk, A NEW TUNE uses melodic repetition in the second and third phrases through a shared descending fourth though the actual pitches are different between the phrases. Together, they testify a similar general aesthetic for plain tune composition that is suitable for any voice through their relatively low tessitura and somewhat limited melodic compass.

Other tunes found in letteral manuscripts entered into the general popular ancient-style repertory of the Middle Atlantic, Southern backcountry, and Trans-Appalachian West. However, their appearance in letteral sources often predates by a few decades their appearance in popular social-secular ancient-style tunebooks. Perhaps the most notable tune within the letteral repertory to experience this transformation is a spiritual song known as CONVERSE (**Anth**), on account of its text by Isaac Watts titled "Converse with Christ" in *Horæ Lyricæ* (London, 1709). This work is actually a contrafactum of a popular country dance tune, "The Black Joke," found in most instrumental dance tune collections in published and manuscript sources from England and North America during the eighteenth

and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>41</sup> The earliest source to contain its sacred appropriation is the Robert Barnes manuscript copybook compiled in southeastern Pennsylvania in 1768. It became popular among the letteral copybooks, appearing in seven sources from the Middle Atlantic and the West. In all of these sources, the solfege was copied incorrectly implying that the tune was set in C major. However, rather than beginning on the Mi, this pitch should be read as Fa, which then places it squarely in B-flat major. As a typical dance tune it features a cadential tag in both sections. Although found in a number of manuscript sources, the tune never appeared in print in this form.

A half-century later, a variant setting of CONVERSE was included by Ananias Davisson in his second tunebook, *A Supplement to The Kentucky Harmony* (Harrisonburg, 1820), and arranged by Virginia psalmodist James C. Lowry (**Anth**). This version of the tune is set in the four-voice ancient style and presents a closely-related melody as the older letteral version. Lowry's version did however share the same text and title of the earlier setting, establishing a direct connection between musical practice of southeastern Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley during the Late Colonial and Early Nationalist Periods. In its transformation from a single-voice setting in the letteral manuscript to the popular secular-social version from Virginia, the tune includes all of the characteristics of the distinctive Middle Atlantic and Western ancient style, associated most strongly with Amzi and Lucius Chapin. This tune further demonstrates two problematic issues in American ancient-style psalmody: printed versions of tunes do not necessarily correlate to their date of creation, and the bibliographic history of the rural Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Southern backcountry, and West does not explicate fully the repertory and denominational trends of

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<sup>41</sup> Scholar George Pullen Jackson first identified this contrafactum in his book *Another Sheaf of White Spirituals* (Gainesville, FL, 1952) (127).

sacred music. The fifty-two year gap between manuscript and printed sources most clearly explicates both of these phenomena.

Other tune settings evolved more gradually over time, and are found in sources compiled over a wide swath of the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Southern backcountry, and the Trans-Appalachian West. CALVARY, the variant setting of the older tune STROUDWATER illustrates a denominational shift in identity, as well as its dissemination in a variety of forms across much of British North America and the United States. The tune is found first in the Joseph Holloday manuscript from Spotsylvania County, Virginia, a standard notation Anglican copybook compiled circa 1755 (**Anth**). Following typical Anglican practice, Holloday designated this single-voice tune a paraphrase of Psalm 23 as versified by Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady from *A New Version of the Psalms of David* (London, 1698). After its initial appearance in an Anglican copybook, it appears only in Presbyterian sources.

This tune variant's name changed from PSALM 23TH to CALVARY and is first found under this title in the Robert Barnes letteral manuscript copybook compiled mostly in 1768 (**Anth**). Unlike CONVERSE, Barnes and subsequent letteral notation sources employed the correct solfege letters as noteheads for this tune. In this manner CALVARY appeared in both Middle Atlantic and Western letteral manuscripts into the early nineteenth century. However, alongside these single-voice letteral notation compilations, it was copied into a late-colonial standard-notation copybook by Archibald Woodside of Mecklinburg County, North Carolina, and begun in 1772 (**Anth**). In this manuscript it is set for two voices, cantus and bass. As with the letteral manuscripts, it remains textless demonstrating its suitability for any common-meter poetry (8.6.8.6.).

Twenty-five years later, CALVARY appears in a four-part setting most likely prepared by Amzi Chapin. Found in his holograph manuscript, Chapin retitled the work WASHINGTON (**Anth**), presumably for the town near his home in Kentucky. Amzi apparently became familiar with the two-part setting through his professional activity in the piedmont area of North Carolina before moving West. The bass of WASHINGTON is almost identical to that in the Woodside manuscript, it differing in only a couple of places (mm. 4, 10) and these resulting from a greater attention given to melodic independence among the voices. To this two-part North Carolina setting, Chapin added treble and counter parts, employing melodic ornamentation that resembles older Lyon four-part settings, as well as those typical of other tunes arranged by Lucius and Amzi. Over the course of fifty years, the tune had maintained its regional identity, but had been dressed up a number of times to suit popular trends in ancient-style expression, first in a characteristically 1750s-style two-part cantus and bass, and second in the four-part form favored by Early Nationalist New Englanders. However, alongside the northern-style scoring procedure, Amzi did preserve a typically English Presbyterian Middle Atlantic free use of parallel octaves and fifths, and inverted triads on strong beats.

Finally, some folk hymns first appear in social-secular collections by both New England-born musicians and native psalmists to the Middle Atlantic and West. Similar to the surviving variants of 93D, a number of versions of these tune settings are found in printed and scribal sources. However, no earlier or contemporary versions emanate from tune collections from New England. As a result, these works appear to originate from the Middle Atlantic, coastal South, and Trans-Appalachian West and exist in similar tune families. Their existence in sources from these areas demonstrates that the folk hymn does

not constitute a New England diaspora for this tune type, but instead reflects a general denominational or theological trend among English Presbyterians and Calvinists.

One tune family remains characteristic of this phenomenon: the three DOVER/FIDUCIA settings from the Middle Atlantic, West, and coastal South. DOVER (**Anth**), the earliest of these versions, appeared in *The United States' Sacred Harmony* (Boston, 1799) by Amos Pilsbury, the only ancient-style tunebook published by a resident of Charleston, South Carolina. In fact, besides the *Collection of the best Psalm and Hymn Tunes*, the lost tunebook compiled by Jonathan Badger in 1752, no other collection was compiled or published by residents of this city before Jacob Eckhard's *Choral Book* (Boston, [1816]) intended for use among the Episcopalians and Lutherans of Charleston. Of note, Amos Pilsbury, the compiler of *The United States' Sacred Harmony* was one of the few northern coastal New England musicians active in either the Middle Atlantic or coastal South, having moved from New Hampshire. Unlike other social-secular compilations by his peers, Pilsbury's work incorporates two distinctly Middle Atlantic and Southern elements into an otherwise New England-style social-secular collection: the presence of a number of folk hymns, and a strong emphasis on Nonconformist hymnody, though couched in the popular ancient style typical of his northern heritage.

DOVER incorporates both of these traits. As a folk hymn, Pilsbury chose to set the tune to a popular text by Charles Wesley, "And let this feeble body fail, | | And let it faint or die." Following the conventions of many popular songs of the period, the tune is cast in an AABA' form. Despite these typically Middle Atlantic evangelical English Presbyterian traits, Pilsbury's use of harmony follows more the style associated with New England psalmodists. The bass is confined mostly to root position movement and the setting features hardly any freely inverted chords distinct to traditional English Presbyterian practice. The setting itself



presents mostly a syllabic harmonization of the cantus with little independence among the voices. Although he employs a number of parallel fifths and octaves, dissonance remains notably absent. He instead favored consonance where all voices generally agree not just with the cantus, but also with each other. The lack of melismas and independence among the voices also obviates the dissonances characteristic of the traditional English Presbyterian style.

The first setting of FIDUCIA (**Anth**) did not appear until almost fifteen years after Pilsbury's variant. It was printed in *Wyeth's Repository of Music. Part second* by the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania compiler and publisher, John Wyeth. The author enlisted the aid of Elkanah Kelsey Dare (1782-1827), a New Jersey-born schoolteacher and musician who was principal of the male department at the short-lived College of Wilmington in Delaware from 1803 to c. 1813.<sup>42</sup> Though scholar Irving Lowens identified Dare as a Methodist,<sup>43</sup> he in fact belonged to the Presbyterian Church, having become a member in 1805.<sup>44</sup> Following the death of his son Reubin Phillips by drowning in August 1813,<sup>45</sup> Dare quit his post at the college and became a Presbyterian minister, being ordained by the Presbytery of New Castle in 1816.<sup>46</sup> From 1817 until his death in 1826, he served as minister to Union and Doe Run Presbyterian churches concurrently, both in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Before quitting his position at the College of Wilmington however, Dare published a proposal for a

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<sup>42</sup> J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware 1609-1888*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: L. J. Richards & Co., 1888), 686.

<sup>43</sup> Irving Lowens, "John Wyeth's 'Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second': A Northern Precursor of Southern Folk Hymnody" in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 5, 2 (Summer, 1952): 122.

<sup>44</sup> *The Union: a history of Union United Presbyterian Church 1816-1980*, Union History Committee, compilers (Oxford, Pa.: Union United Presbyterian Church, 1980), 15

<sup>45</sup> Reubin Phillips Dare's obituary notice appeared in the *American Watchman and Delaware Republican*, V, 421 (August 18, 1813).

<sup>46</sup> *The Union*, 9.

new tunebook he had compiled in the June 24, 1812 issue of the *Delaware Statesman*. Though it never appeared in print, John Wyeth's *Wyeth's Repository of Music. Part second* was published in 1813 through Dare's assistance.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the contents of Dare's proposed tunebook most likely resembled those of Wyeth's publication.

FIDUCIA, set for two voices, employs a related melody that uses identical cadential material in the first, second, and final phrases. However, the melodic content differs significantly from DOVER in that the arranger Robison limited the number of leaps, preferring to confine the melody to stepwise motion. Harmonically, FIDUCIA embraces more the typical harmonic features of the English Presbyterian style. In particular, the use of parallel fifths and octaves, though allowed in four-part harmonizations by ancient-style English psalmists such as John Arnold and William Tans'ur where they would be covered up by the other parts, were forbidden in two-part settings. The arranger employed them as freely as any three and four-part ancient style setting. Further, the setting includes a few instances of free inversion on strong beats without their being introduced by more orthodox procedures such as through passing tones or upper and lower neighbor relationships.

A different setting of the same melodic variant appeared a year later in the first social-secular collection published in the West: *The Beauties of Harmony* (Pittsburgh, 1813 [1814]) by Pittsburgh or Uniontown, Pennsylvania resident Freeman Lewis. Unlike Chapin's treatment of CALVARY, the arranger J. Robertson did not preserve the older two-part setting and compose a new treble and counter part. Instead, he reset the entire piece. In so doing, he imparted to the tune a similar approach to dissonance and free inversion that remained characteristic not only of traditional English Presbyterian practice, but more

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<sup>47</sup> Wyeth acknowledged Dare's contributions to this tunebook in the prefatory material of this tunebook. See: John Wyeth, *Wyeth's Repository of Music. Part second* (Harrisburgh, Pa.: John Wyeth, 1813), 3.

specifically the influence of the popular ancient style associated with the Chapin brothers and other musicians active in western Pennsylvania. Though Robertson did not introduce as much melodic independence among the voices, he did feature an unprepared, accented dissonant sonority where the notes A-G-E are sounded among the various voices (m. 4). Of more significance, the arranger used numerous instances of unprepared free inversions on strong beats (mm. 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13). The overall effect conveyed by this setting closely resembles that of LEXINGTON by Amzi Chapin. As such, traditionally English Presbyterian folk hymns and nonfunctional harmonic procedure would be found in social-secular compilations as well as congregational collections too, testifying to an identical aesthetic among many Middle Atlantic, Southern, and Western psalmodists.

Alongside these folk hymns and regional variants, area Calvinists continued the English Presbyterian tradition of spiritual songs, with a number of examples circulating over a large part of the Southern backcountry, Middle Atlantic, and the Trans-Appalachian West. Further, some works moved freely among various denominations and churches, operating not only in a pan-regional, but also a pan-denominational arena for circulation. The earliest of these tunes is CRAVEN OR LAST ASSISE (**Anth**). Although it appears only in the two Carolina sources, the text accompanying it is identified with Presbyterians in the Southern backcountry, Baptists in the Middle Atlantic and West, and Christians in northern New England. In particular, the earliest instance of the text's publication was an appendix to a printed edition of a journal kept by Baptist minister the Reverend David Jones (1736-1820) of Freehold, New Jersey during his journey among the Delaware people in Ohio in 1772. It apparently was popular around Pittsburgh, the author "hearing them frequently used on the

banks of the Ohio."<sup>48</sup> One-time Baptist minister Elias Smith (1769-1846) of the Connecticut River Valley popularized the text in Vermont and New Hampshire following his conversion to the Christian Church connected to the Restoration Movement that promoted primitive Christianity in Northern New England.<sup>49</sup> Thus, although the tune's appearance in scribal sources is confined to the two surviving Carolina copybooks, its dissemination was most likely over a much wider swath of the country.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of CRAVEN OR LAST ASSISE involves its rhythmic notation, identical in both sources. Set in the first mood of triple time (3/2), the piece alternates between triple and duple meter, but without a change in time signature. Instead, the score alternates between sections of implied 3/2 and 6/4 time signature notation conventions, seen between the text "of glory" and "sends his awful," among other places. The effect conveys a change in tempo occasioned by this notational convention, demonstrating an independence of time signature and meter in its relationship to the moods of time. Similarly, poetic and musical accent also operate separately with the textual accent frequently at odds with that of the music, resembling earlier English Presbyterian tunes found in *The Universal Psalmist* by Aaron Williams. In this way, Williams' volume independently influenced compositions both by New England psalmists such as William Billings, and Southern piedmont and coastal English Presbyterians.

Western and Shenandoah Valley Presbyterian spiritual songs employed the four-voice ancient-style form popularized by regional psalmists and singing teachers such as Amzi and Lucius Chapin. Conversely, in the Chesapeake Bay, southeastern Pennsylvania,

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<sup>48</sup> David Jones, *A journal of two visits made to some Nations of Indians on the west side of the river Ohio, In the Years 1772 and 1773* (Burlington, N.J.: Isaac Collins, 1774), 91.

<sup>49</sup> The text is found in at least one Christian hymnal. Source: Elias Smith and others, *A collection of divine hymns, or spiritual songs* (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: Paraclete Potter, 1810), 174.

and Delaware, tune settings for spiritual songs comprised mostly two and three parts. This trend suggests that New England part writing conventions were most keenly felt in the areas both where New England musicians were professionally active and where local singing culture embraced the social-secular atmosphere for popular ancient-style psalmody. Three-part ancient-style tunes remained traditional to English Presbyterians and other regional Calvinist-influenced church bodies. Single-voice and two-part tunes, particularly spiritual songs, became characteristic more of revival and camp meeting practice, as evidenced by numerous surviving published collections printed in the latter part of the Early Nationalist and especially in the Antebellum Periods. However, texts and their poetic expression and ideology employed an identical rhetoric emphasizing an intimate relationship between a Christian and the divine, and a personal identification with biblical events and figures.

Though the Chapins are known more for their settings of psalm and hymn tunes sung by many evangelical Calvinists throughout the United States, they also produced a few spiritual songs. Lucius' version of 121ST OR THE SEASONS (**Anth**), found in a letter to his brother Amzi dated November 15, 1802, features a number of common devices and metaphors. As evidence of the personal relationship between the created and the Creator, the text begins with the word "I," stressing that the reader or singer is personally witnessing the events that transpire in the text. The first verse also uses two conceits that would have been understood by a largely rural American populace: the natural cycle of the year, and the placement of the text within a pastoral setting.

The poetry continues with a number of other lines emphasizing the personal nature of the text. For instance, instead of using the first person plural *us* or *our*, he chose the ambiguously singular or plural *you* and *your*. In this sense, the text does not speak to a collective group or congregation, but rather to each individual person reading the poetry.

Jesus spreads "for you his bleeding hands." He knocks "at your heart," and will make "you sons & heirs of God." These actions become personal events that were made possible through Jesus' atoning sacrifice. Reminding the reader of this demonstration of divine love, the text admonishes the wandering sinner to return to God by renouncing worldly pleasure, stating in typically progressive Calvinist fashion the futility of worldly matters and the importance of finding God's redeeming grace. This form of spiritual meditation would become extremely popular in the nineteenth-century evangelical repertory, arising from earlier British and American initiatives relating both to the First Great Awakening, as well as important religious figures such as Anglican George Whitefield.

A revision of 121ST OR THE SEASONS completed probably by Amzi Chapin appeared in a congregational tunebook by Robert Patterson of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in 1813. However, seven other versions of this folk hymn were included in a variety of Early Nationalist collections before 1820 (**Figure 13.12**). Compiled by Unitarians, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Presbyterians, the sources for these variants testify not only to the pan-denominational reception of the melody, but also the flexible nature of the types of sources that featured this tune family, encompassing congregational collections and social-secular tunebooks, some of which were intended for use by a specific denomination as well as theologically like-minded church bodies such as Calvinist-influenced churches. A few of these tunebooks unified their potential consumer through geography, such as *Patterson's Church Music, containing the plain tunes used in divine worship, by the churches of the Western Country*.

One example of a Western spiritual song outside the Chapin orb is the tune CHRISTIAN INQUIRY (**Anth**), set to a text by evangelical Anglican John Newton. Employing the same literary rhetoric as the text to 121ST OR THE SEASONS, this poem concerns a personal relationship between the reader or singer and the divine, only now the

subject is attempting to define his relationship with God. The piece is cast as a four-part ancient-style plain tune. Despite the characteristically English Presbyterian Western features of the tune as an evangelical spiritual song, the piece's setting displays more of a New England or popular ancient-style influence than other tunes from within the region. The melody, besides sharing the first three notes of the third and fourth phrases (mm. 5, 7) does not employ any repeated melodic content, a departure from every other Western and Shenandoah Valley tune and folk hymn setting, but characteristic of a number of New England pieces. Similarly, despite a few parallel fifths and a couple inverted chords on a strong beat, the use of harmony is more characteristic of New England practice, emphasizing consonance, more conventional use of passing tones, and little unexplained dissonant sonorities caused by the independence of the individual lines.

In contrast to the Shenandoah Valley and Western four-part spiritual songs, those from the Chesapeake Bay and Eastern Shore, and southeastern Pennsylvania appear more in three and two parts. Four-part tunes were common to this area, but these pieces are generally more the psalm and hymn tunes intended for the social-secular environment of the singing school or amateur choral society. Continuing the trend encountered in *Tunes in Three Parts* from Philadelphia and *The Uranian Harmony* by Daniel Russ, a selection of three and two-part spiritual songs was included in *Wyeth's Repository of Music. Part second* (Harrisburgh, 1813).

The spiritual songs in this tunebook encompass a range of genres and forms, ranging from literary-minded Christian parodies of Classical texts to camp meeting-style verse and hallelujah refrains influenced by older Nonconformist hymnody. These tunes all fit within the paradigms of English Presbyterian expression. TRIUMPH (**Anth**) concerns the beautiful and noble death of a Christian whose text was done in the style of the meditations

of Marcus Aurelius. In terms of literary style, the text caters to a genteel public, employing elegant language that contrasts with the stark imagery invoked in Calvinist meditations on death. It even references "The Dying Christian" by Alexander Pope through the paraphrase of 1 Corinthians 15:55 for its final line.

Conversely, the tune is cast in the traditionally English Presbyterian three-part ancient style. As encountered in other Middle Atlantic tunes, it employs an independence of musical and poetic meter reminiscent not only of older techniques of Aaron Williams, but also those of American tunesmiths from the Middle Atlantic, Southern backcountry, and the Trans-Appalachian West. Rather than being incorrectly barred as encountered in New England pieces like LEBANON by William Billings or WINTER by Daniel Read, the time signature does not always match that of the musical-textual setting, particularly at the ends of phrases (mm. 5-6, 10-12, 16-17, 21-23, 28-29, 33-35), and where an unstressed syllable does not always fall on a weak beat. Within these distinctive techniques, the anonymous composer constructed the tune in the form of an AABA' popular song.

Unlike CHRISTIAN INQUIRY, TRIUMPH employs the nonfunctional style characteristic of Middle Atlantic English Presbyterian psalmodists, with numerous instances of unprepared accented dissonance, parallel perfect fifths and octaves, and free use of inverted chords. For instance, measure fourteen begins with a C-D-B sonority and continues with two successive seventh chords before resolving to a series of two perfect-fourth dyads into the next measure, a progression that cannot be explained through the conventions of functional harmony. As a result, this type of harmonization remains independent of the Nonconformist three-part treble-led common practice style employed by Episcopalians, Catholics, and some Methodists. Paralleling earlier Middle Atlantic



Presbyterian hymns and spiritual songs it consists of an amalgamation of traditional denominational expression with a veneer of popular modish elegance.

Wholly different in style and intent, ANIMATION (**Anth**), set for two voices was intended for the social or camp meeting, or revival. A contrafactum of a style of Scottish fiddle tune that predates the initiatives of Neil Gow (1727-1807),<sup>50</sup> the tune has two clearly defined parts, termed the fine for the higher pitched section and the course for the lower by traditional musicians. Besides its sacred appropriation in this tunebook, variants of this tune are found in modern oral tradition, such as the instrumental version recorded by fiddler John Salyer of Magoffin County, Kentucky titled "Speed of the Plow."<sup>51</sup> In terms of form, the structure of the text and tune closely resembles Nonconformist practice through its inclusion of a verse and ejaculatory chorus that remains intrinsic to the overall piece. Anglican ancient-style choruses were optional appendages to psalm and hymn tunes. However, the melodic repetition and recurring chorus remain ideally suited to the enthusiastic and informal nature of the camp meet or revival.

Finally, other spiritual songs seem more suited to domestic performance, being composed as religious ballads similar to the tune JUDGMENT from *Urania* by James Lyon. Rather than a graphic description of the final judgment of man, the text of the tune MESSIAH (**Anth**) concerns the crucifixion of Christ. The text to MESSIAH parallels Watts' lugubrious description of the walking dead in JUDGMENT: "Stare thro' their eyelids, while the living worm lies | | Gnawing within them." Only now, author John Granade focused on

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<sup>50</sup> These types of pentatonic tunes found in standard and alternate cross tunings appear in published and manuscript sources from the United Kingdom. See, for instance: *A Collection of Original Scotch-Tunes, (Full of the Highland Humours) for the Violin: being the First of this Kind yet Printed: Most of them being in the Compass of the FLUTE* (London: William Pearson... for Henry Playford, 1700).

<sup>51</sup> A transcription of this tune appears in Jeff Todd Titon, *Old-Time Kentucky Fiddle Tunes* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 181.

the visually graphic elements such as the bleeding body of Christ: "Twas thus the glorious sufferer stood,|| With hands and feet nail'd to the wood;|| From ev'ry wound a stream of blood|| Came trickling down amain." Granade also emphasized other arresting elements, such as the cries and groans of Jesus Christ as he died, the bloodstained robe, and the Roman soldiers piercing his side. The author only reserved the grace and glory of Jesus' sacrifice for the final verse of this eight-stanza poem.

Musically, the tune and its setting resembles that of ANIMATION. Though probably not a Scottish fiddle tune, the work does suggest its origin as an instrumental piece and employs a form typical of popular and theatrical songs, as well as galante instrumental works. It too is set for two voices, though the bass maintains much more melodic independence than its camp meeting cousin. Of note, the setting does not include any accidentals, being set in the natural minor mode. In general, this tune, because of the number of verses, and its longer and more complex setting seems less designed for group participation and more for personal recreation, devotion, or performance. The lack of a first person perspective within the text also suggests its intended use outside of an informal social religious service or event.

Between 1755 and 1820, ancient-style sacred music practice in the Middle Atlantic, Southern backcountry, and the Trans-Appalachian West maintained a strong connection to traditional English Presbyterian practice. Some musicians preserved intact these Late Colonial ancient-style techniques into the Early Nationalist Period, including an adherence to three-part scoring procedure and the distinctive nonfunctional harmonic practice unique to earlier English Presbyterian sources from Philadelphia and the Long Island Sound. Others fused the popular ancient style of social-secular New England practice with that of the traditional English Presbyterian manner found in Middle Atlantic publications. In this

respect, the social-secular ancient style became transformed for devotional use, which allowed for other popular ancient-style tunes to enter into the congregational repertory. Conversely, some congregational-style tunes also appeared in social-secular collections, particularly in the Middle Atlantic and West.

Besides the continuation of earlier harmonic techniques and scoring procedure, English Presbyterians also preserved the compositional genres unique to their denomination, including folk hymns and regional variants of older psalm and hymn tunes, and spiritual songs. Regarding folk hymns, area musicians copied both sacred contrafacta and settings of melodies found only in variant form in ancient-style evangelical collections, known as tune families. Distinct from New England practice, manuscript sources often were more important for the dissemination of congregational repertories, and folk hymns and spiritual than their published counterparts. Often, a tune's appearance in manuscript predated its first instance of publication by a number of decades as seen with examples from the Southern backcountry, Middle Atlantic, Shenandoah Valley, and the Trans-Appalachian West. The presence of a varied repertory disseminated over a large portion of the United States bespeaks to a vibrant tradition embraced by many congregants over a wide range of denominational backgrounds. These pieces testify to the importance of evangelical ancient-style sacred music within traditional culture.

### *13.3.2 New England popular ancient-style psalmody brought west and south by New England psalmodists*

Alongside the continuation of traditional English Presbyterian characteristics and compositional genres such as harmonization method, folk hymns, and spiritual songs, popular ancient-style psalmody flourished throughout the Middle Atlantic, South and West during the Early Nationalist period. Tunebooks designed for social-secular use in singing

schools and amateur choral societies, were compiled by singing masters active in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Charleston, South Carolina; Baltimore, Maryland; and Alexandria, Virginia. Most of the compilers were not native to the Middle Atlantic, South, and West, but were born in New England. In this respect, the social-secular popular ancient-style psalmody found in their collections represents the New England hegemony. However, these composers were not prolific, and most of their pieces would not enter into the congregational repertory of regional churches. Instead, popular ancient-style singing culture of these areas reflected a largely social-secular milieu, paralleling contemporary developments in New England.

Though most of the transplanted composers originated from southern and western New England, their tunebooks followed the format established by Isaiah Thomas through his *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* (Worcester, Ma., 1786). As anthology compilations, they featured mostly previously composed popular works by southern and western New England psalmodists along with a small gathering of new tunes original to the compilation. All tunebooks from within this New England diaspora employed the same format; none consisted of single-author collections, nor did they follow the typical southern and western New England compilation method that emphasized new tunes over previously composed popular works. Throughout the Early Nationalist Period the New England hegemony for social-secular ancient-style tunebooks extended from the Hudson River Valley south to the Middle Atlantic, coastal South, and finally the Trans-Appalachian West.

Besides the fact that none of these pieces appear in collections designed for congregational use, the compositions all use extended and complicated techniques outside the grasp of untrained singers. Almost all employ antiphonal and fusing techniques, forming a uniform aesthetic throughout the entire area outside of New England. In addition, some

of these musicians crafted their own settings of social-secular contrafacta and a few folk hymns, all of which are reflective of a separate New England heritage of evangelical composition. Although English Presbyterian traditions remained the most prevalent throughout the Middle Atlantic, South, and West, their tunes were not the only ones to contribute to the ancient-style repertory outside of New England. Discussion will focus first on social-secular compositions, and then on the folk hymns descended from the northern repertory.

After the initial flowering of four-part ancient-style popular psalmody throughout all of New England from 1760 to 1790, the art of composition was championed most vociferously by southern and western New Englanders. Although William Billings of Boston was the musician most closely identified with its creation, Connecticut musicians and compilers dominated the tunebook market for social-secular psalmody and their pieces proved more popular than those of their northern coastal compatriot. Musicians within Connecticut, central Massachusetts, and the northern Connecticut River Valley created a community of likeminded enthusiasts for the new music and cultivated a network of composers and compilers. Beginning in the 1780s, a number of musicians from New England began to leave the region for newly settled areas that either promised cheap land and prospective employment for their nonmusical careers, or could potentially further their professional standing as dedicated singing masters seeking to educate the musically illiterate. Much geographic overlap existed in their activities, demonstrating the flexible nature of their employment.

Leaving their area of origin, many southern and western New Englanders relocated either to New York and the Great Lakes, or to the Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake Bay. Some of these individuals were already well-known psalmodists with established reputations,

including Andrew Law of Cheshire, Connecticut and Lewis Edson of Bridgewater and Lennox, Massachusetts. Others established their reputations in their new area of residence. In upstate New York, tunebook compilation began in the 1790s through the efforts of psalmodists such as Nathaniel Billings, the compiler of *The Republican Harmony* (Lansingburgh, NY, 1795) who was active in Cooperstown and Troy. Other musicians such as Thomas Atwill travelled back and forth between New England, the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, and the Hudson River Valley, compiling tunebooks and engaging in singing schools throughout these regions.<sup>52</sup>

Other musicians settled in the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, Carolina Lowcountry and trans-Appalachian West, forming singing schools and becoming involved in amateur choral groups such as the Uranian Society in Philadelphia. Some plied their musical trade in urban and rural centers, peddling their tunebooks and services to various churches and communities throughout the region. Though not prolific composers, some of their tunes entered into the general social-secular repertory maintaining their popularity throughout the Antebellum Period. A few of these pieces expanded upon the techniques encountered in earlier New England pieces, reflecting a cultivated tradition of popular psalmody designed for social amusement. Of note, almost all of the musicians active in the Middle Atlantic and the southern coastal areas arrived from central, southern, and western New England, not the northern coastal area. As with the pieces by composers in New York, those from the Middle Atlantic, Southern coastal areas, and the West consisted primarily of tunes with decorated and extended techniques, mostly fusing and antiphonal tunes.

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<sup>52</sup> Atwill's activities are recorded in: Richard Crawford, *Andrew Law*, 65, 66, 74, 79, 80-81, 110.

Even the plain tunes by transplanted New Englanders often were not suitable for congregational performance. For instance, SARDINIA (**Anth**), by New York composer Castle, first appeared in the second edition of *The New York & Vermont Collection of Sacred Harmony* (Albany, 1804) by Thomas Atwill when he was active in the Albany area. The composer most likely lived in upstate New York, possibly within the Hudson River Valley. After this tune's initial appearance in this collection, it was reprinted in many of the Albany editions of William Little and William Smith's *The Easy Instructor*, the first and most influential shape-note tunebook issued before 1815. John Wyeth most likely took this tune from Little and Smith's edition and included it in his first tunebook, *Wyeth's Repository of Music* (Harrisburgh, 1810). At this point, Ananias Davisson lifted it from Wyeth and included it in his *Kentucky Harmony*, which became the main source from which later compilers drew for inclusion in subsequent Middle Atlantic, Southern, and Western tunebooks.

This tune follows the standard affective devices used for songs of mourning. Set in the minor mode, it is a plain tune setting of two verses of poetry by Isaac Watts. Even though it does not feature any textual repetition and includes no extended techniques, the piece is not suitable for congregational performance. It instead reflects a cultivated approach to psalmody that employs a number of madrigalisms among the voices. In particular, the composer included a number of melismatic passages to heighten the impact of important words during musical performance, such as the melodic embellishments on the words "flowing" (m. 2), "soul" (m. 9), "groan'd" (m. 14), "pleads" (m. 18), and most notably "mourns" (mm.19-20). The treatment of "mourns" also features melismatic imitation among the treble, counter, and tenor voices. These complex melodic lines were not suited to congregational performance, particularly in Calvinist churches throughout much of the Middle Atlantic and Shenandoah Valley, South, and Trans-Appalachian West. Also, despite

its nonfunctional tonality and harmony, SARDINIA does not feature any of the traditional English Presbyterian techniques found in its folk hymn and spiritual song repertory; the bass line most often maintains root movement with no instances of freely inverted chords on strong beats. Finally, this piece was conceived as a four-part part song, and not a tune suitable for heterophonic performance. The composer shared melodic material between the tenor and treble voices. The final phrase of the tenor part (mm. 23-5) repeats the melodic content of the treble voice in the fourth phrase (mm. 10-12). All of these features attest to the work's place within the social-secular ancient-style repertory.

Similar in plain tune treatment is the arrangement by Amzi Chapin of the tune JUSTICE (**Anth**) by Connecticut composer Solomon Chandler. Although Chapin is identified most often with the fusion of the traditional English Presbyterian harmonic practice with the popular ancient style of New England, he also did prepare a few tunes and tune settings in the New England popular style. Amzi took the tune from the publication of Andrew Law and reshaped somewhat the melodic content and the part setting of Chandler's original. In contrast to his more famous folk hymns, this tune employs all of the characteristics of the popular ancient style. Despite the presence of a few parallel fifths, the bass moves mostly by stepwise motion. As a result, inverted chordal sonorities occur almost exclusively as passing tones. Chapin also presented few unexplained dissonances; the parts agree not only on an individual basis in relationship to the cantus, but also each other. He also included a few madigralisms such as the use of horn calls between the tenor and bass for the text, "The trumpet sounds" (mm. 22-26). Further, Chapin preserved Chandler's madigralistic melismatic treatment of the word "trembles" (m. 27). As one of the earliest popular ancient-style pieces set in the Trans-Appalachian West, it demonstrates both Chapin's western New England upbringing as well as his competency in both styles. Amzi



could write comfortably in both prevalent approaches to ancient-style composition, illustrating the difference between traditional and popular techniques.

Fuging tunes composed by transplanted New Englanders employed the three basic approaches to fuging composition: staggered single-voice and paired-voice antiphonal entries, and passages with extensive textual overlap. CARLISLE (**Anth**), by Connecticut-born Ishmael Spicer active in Philadelphia follows the typical New England format. Divided into two parts, the tune features homophony for the first half of the stanza and a fuging passage for the second, and concludes with a final homophony reiteration of the final line of text. Further, the cadential material of the first half is repeated at the tune's conclusion with shared melodic material between the treble and counter for the second and final phrases. Spicer also employed characteristically affective treatments of text, including the use of the minor mode and madigralisms in the fuging passage on the word "roll" in the counter and treble parts (mm. 18-19). He also included some features associated with Connecticut composers such as Daniel Read with a sustained treble and bass voices after the counter and treble parts drop out at the end of the first phrase (mm. 5-6). All of these features connect Spicer to his place of origin.

Other pieces follow the same structural form of earlier fuging tunes though the harmonic techniques display a further remove from tonality than those pieces of the 1770s and 80s. One tune that exemplifies this phenomenon is the tune NEW JORDAN (**Anth**), originating from Cooperstown, New York, on Lake Otsego in the central part of the state. Although a printed version of the tune appeared in a later edition of *The Little Instructor* (Albany, c. 1815) and influenced all subsequent printings, an earlier setting of it is found in a

manuscript copybook that predates the printed version by almost ten years.<sup>53</sup> This source, a large manuscript of about 185 pages reveals what tunes became popular and were circulating throughout central New York at a time when few sources emanated from this part of the state. Apparently, Joseph Williams bought the manuscript off of Elihu Phin(n)ey, a musician and printer in Cooperstown. Phin(n)ey had lived in Cooperstown for at least a decade, as he printed H. Farnsworth's *An Oration on Music. Delivered at the Court-house in Cooperstown, in Otsego; April, 1794: at the Conclusion of a Singing School, Taught by Nathaniel Billings* in 1795. Phin(n)ey also printed, presumably with his brother, two editions of *The Gamut, or Scale of Music* in nearby Otsego, c. 1810-12. The copybook contains mostly Connecticut pieces and a few New York tunes like SARDINIA.

In outward form, NEW JORDAN follows a typical fusing tune format, consisting of a two stanza setting of text with homophony employed for the first verse and fusing passages the second. It also features a characteristically southern and western New England format with an extended pedal in the bass. It provides harmonic support as the various voices exit at the end of the first fusing passage and continues into the entrance of the top three voices at the beginning of the second point of imitation. The composer attempted to introduce some contrapuntal orthodoxy in the second section through shared imitative entries that imitate tonic and dominant subject and answers. The composer also repeated the last two lines of text, adding a concluding homophonic clarity to the contrapuntal textual overlap in the second fusing section.

However, besides these outward resemblances to standard procedure, the harmony

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<sup>53</sup> Phiney, Elihu and Joseph Williams, "Joseph Williams's Book. This Book in Cooperstown was bought | And for it, I a long time sought | I bought it of Elihu Phiney | And gave for it a half a Guinea. Dec. 1. 1806" (Cooperstown, NY, 1806): 83-4. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

presents little harmonic control or intent, lying somewhere between the typical nonfunctional modal harmonic vocabulary created by mostly stepwise bass movement in its harmonization off of the cantus tenor. Part of the strange effect conveyed by the harmony is explained by the composer's almost complete avoidance of the fifth scale degree in the melody. Beginning with the initial melodic note on the fifth scale degree set on a tonic dyad, none of the other instances of this note in the tenor really stress a dominant chord other than one instance near the end of the fusing section (m. 20). Thus, the melody and harmony do not function like popular music of the eighteenth century including that of typical New England ancient-style psalmody from that time period generally does, centering on the tonic, dominant, and subdominant chords. Billings and other composers of his ilk almost always provided a V-I cadence at some point in a piece. This tune does not. Instead, the melody places much greater emphasis on the seventh scale degree with two phrases coming to rest on this note in the melody (mm. 5, 25). The first time it spells out an E dyad, the second a B dyad. This tonal ambiguity of the melody and harmony does not give the listener or performer a sense of harmonic arrival at any point other than the conclusion of each of the two basic sections on the tonic. In any event, the concept of tonality does not resemble standard ancient-style practice from any region of the country, reflecting a further disconnection of popular New England ancient-style psalmody from functional common practice harmony. In many ways, NEW JORDAN parallels harmonic treatment of tunes found in contemporary Connecticut publications such as those by Stephen Jenks, such as his SORROW'S TEAR.

Other tunes expand upon techniques encountered in earlier New England pieces. For instance, the fusing tune PENNSYLVANIA by Nehemiah Shumway shows its indebtedness to earlier large-scale fusing tunes such as WASHINGTON by William Billings

and MONTAGUE by Timothy Swan. Shumway, born in western Massachusetts, was active in Freehold, New Jersey during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Despite his conforming to the popular New England ancient style, he expanded the scope of his fusing treatment more than the earlier tunes by his contemporaries. Of note, WASHINGTON and MONTAGUE themselves were expansions on earlier English models, particularly those of Joseph Stephenson. In outward form, PENNSYLVANIA follows the same structural format as other tunes such as CARLISLE.

Instead of devoting the complete second stanza to fusing passages, Shumway chose to reserve his extensive fusing treatment for the final two lines of the second stanza, using the format used by Abraham Wood in his antiphonal tune WORCESTER with a final fusing section. Like Billings, Shumway did not present any strict imitation between the voices, but instead employed free counterpoint among the parts that enter in succession, imitating a point of imitation. Similarly, the fusing passage is sustained for almost the same amount of time as WASHINGTON and includes a number of melismatic passages that imitate the text accompanying these figures. In contrast, Shumway's treatment of "roll" (mm. 29-35) among the various parts is longer and more extended, and hence more difficult in execution than anything Billings attempted in WASHINGTON. Shumway also included sustained pedal tones in the bass, tenor, and treble in a typically southern and western New England fashion. The expanded and more complicated techniques, lengthier homophonic introduction, and Shumway's use of compositional devices associated with his region of origin bespeak to an expansion of New England techniques, foreshadowing later pieces from New England as well as the Middle Atlantic.

Somewhat different in style, WILMOT (**Anth**) by Alexander Ely, another Connecticut-born psalmodist active throughout the Chesapeake Bay and Middle Atlantic,

uses an antiphonal fusing technique reminiscent of WORTHINGTON by Strong. In this piece, Ely reserved his fusing section for the final part of the tune after all of the text had been presented in the initial homophonic section. Rather than present staggered entries, the composer introduced textual overlap by setting the treble against the counter, tenor, and bass (mm. 15-18). Then Ely paired the treble and counter against the tenor and bass, and finally the tenor and bass against an independent treble and counter into the final measure. In the initial pairing of the lower three voices against the treble, Ely's fusing passage used free counterpoint for its rhythmic possibilities by having the treble move twice as fast as the lower voices. This technique obviates somewhat the criticisms voiced by reform-minded musicians regarding fusing tunes in that the listener cannot understand the text because all the voices present different text simultaneously. In WILMOT, the treble line is not obscured as much by the other voices. This solution to textual clarity while maintaining contrapuntal fancy represents a compromise of these perspectives regarding the use of text.

Other musicians paired voices together in fusing passages. MORNING (**Anth**) by Amos Pilsbury (1772-1812) demonstrates several features not only characteristic of popular style antiphonal fusing techniques, but also connections to earlier works by New England psalmists. Pilsbury, born in Newbury, Massachusetts, was one of the only northern coastal New England psalmists active in the Middle Atlantic and coastal South, being active as a clerk in the Presbyterian church of Charleston, South Carolina. MORNING utilizes standard popular ancient-style techniques such as the madrigalism on the word "trembling" in the treble (mm. 14-15) and the use of melodic repetition both in its AA'BC form and repeated cadential material placed within the fusing passage in the tenor voice (mm. 7-8 compared to mm. 13-14). Unlike WILMOT, Pilsbury staggered his entries with

direct imitation between the bass and treble, followed by a paired entrance by the counter and tenor in free counterpoint.

Rhythmically, Pilsbury appears to reference the fuging tune BRIDGEWATER by Lewis Edson. Both pieces employ an identical metrical displacement in that their settings imply the first mood of triple time (3/2) even though they were printed in the third mood of common time (2/2). Further, the setting of MORNING creates a polymeter conveyed by the independence of music and poetry in the final section between voices (mm. 14-16). The counter, tenor, and bass maintain an implied triple meter against the treble voice, which has shifted back to duple time. Not only maintaining an antiphonal approach to staggered fuging entries, Pilsbury maintains an additional antiphonal technique through his use of polymeter among the voices. In this sense, he showed his knowledge and mastery of earlier popular New England psalmody, and expanded on the stylistic techniques in regards to counterpoint, meter, and rhythm.

Finally, New England-born composers such as Amos Pilsbury also contributed a few antiphonal tunes to the social-secular repertory. Though not as prevalent as fuging tunes, antiphonal tunes by these composers further reflect their regional heritage. SALEM (**Anth**) is a typical example. As with earlier pieces by Late Colonial and Early Nationalist composers such as THE 33RD PSALM TUNE by William Tuckey, MAJESTY by William Billings, or MIDDLETOWN by Amos Bull, SALEM includes antiphonal exchange in place of fuging techniques. Pilsbury inserted a tenor and bass duet in the second half of the tune for a contrast in texture without sacrificing textual clarity. As with MORNING, the tune features extensive melodic repetition, being cast in an AA'BCC'D form, with further melodic repetition found between the A, A' and B, B and D, and C and D sections. One other technique remains common to New England psalmody: repeating melodic material between

the tutti and antiphonal sections. However, it more often is introduced in the antiphonal section and then in the choral response, not the form presented in this tune.

Alongside original pieces and original arrangements of previously composed works of popular ancient-style psalmody, a few New England-born compilers included a few contrafacta and folk hymns that originated from their region of origin. Significantly, none of these pieces appeared during the Late Colonial Period, but instead reflect a burgeoning secular music culture among ancient-style musicians in New England during the Early Nationalist period. Although secular, many of these pieces have some moralistic or at least polite theme to their text. Some New England psalmodists such as Timothy Swan and Chauncey Langdon published secular songsters, and a few secular pieces started to appear in sacred tunebooks. Similarly, Connecticut-born psalmodist Andrew Adgate published *The Philadelphia Songster* (Philadelphia, 1789) at the height of his professional career. The commingling of secular and sacred repertoires testifies further to the social-secular function of much psalmody during the Early Nationalist Period.

The contrafactum known as THE BRITISH MUSE or the ODE TO FRIENDSHIP, became popular throughout New England and the Middle Atlantic, and was known both as an instrumental and vocal piece. Composed by George Frederick Handel, the piece originally served as the choral finale “Viva la face, viva l’amour!” (**Anth**) to the opera *Atalanta* composed in 1736. Though the tune is structured in a simple ABA form with a cadential extension and the accompaniment merely doubles the vocal parts, the piece was intended for professional singers given the extremely high tessitura for the trebles. Set in D major, the melody would be beyond the range of most amateur musicians. Subsequent vocal settings from the United States transposed the tune down a fifth.

From its origin in an Italian opera, the tune was reset in two parts with a different bass part, and was known as the “Ode to Friendship” (**Anth**). The piece was given an English-language text by Bidwell that espoused the joys and strengths of friendship. Though a secular piece of poetry, the author did endow the text with a Calvinist sentiment, emphasizing in the third verse the transience of earthly pleasure and beauty. In a more Unitarian vein, Bidwell equated the combination of social powers with divine passion in support of the Creator in the last verse. Thus, even within texts used to accompany secular poetry and music, writers and composers often blurred the distinction between the sacred and the secular. The tune by this point in time was known as THE BRITISH MUSE and appeared in two publications in 1785: *The Philadelphia Songster* by Adgate and *The Social Songsters* by Chauncey Langdon.

Though printed simultaneously in New England and the Middle Atlantic, the tune was initially associated with musicians either active in or born in New England. Besides its appearance in secular songsters, the tune was found in instrumental collections too, such as the arrangement found in *The Instrumental Assistant* (Exeter, NH, 1800) by Samuel Holyoke, a graduate of Harvard (**Anth**). Holyoke’s collection was the first compilation of chamber music printed in New England and inspired a number of later instrumental musicians. However, Holyoke also compiled tunebooks and was the most prolific composer of psalmody in the United States. As a college-educated person who espoused a reform of the ancient style and wrote in a Nonconformist-influenced idiom, Holyoke represents the changing attitude of psalmodists in northern coastal New England after 1790, embracing the polite sacred and social-secular spheres of activity. The arrangement, though differing from Handel’s original setting, demonstrates how musicians brought up in the ancient style sought to master functional harmony. Alongside 4-3 suspensions, mostly parallel movement by



thirds in the two treble lines, and the functional use of diminished chords, the arranger, most likely Holyoke, could not escape inserting a parallel fifth (m. 12), slightly tarnishing an otherwise genteel setting of a popular tune.

Wholly different in approach, another setting of Bidwell's text to "The British Muse" tune appeared in *Wyeth's Repository of Music, Part second* (Harrisburg, 1813). Titled FRIENDSHIP (**Anth**), it appears as a secular part song in three-part harmony in an otherwise sacred tunebook. Not only suitable for social-secular performance, the piece like SORROW'S TEAR by Stephen Jenks reflects a changing attitude on the nature of the contents of a sacred tunebook. The anonymous arranger of this tune included a bass part derived from Adgate's setting in *The Philadelphia Songster*. Preserving much the same content, the bass in FRIENDSHIP is more an elaboration on the older setting, with emphasis given to tunefulness. The new treble presents many of these same qualities. Though the individual voices generally agree with the tenor, they often clash with each other. Demonstrating independence among the voices, the resulting harmony constitutes the older coincidental form of nonfunctional harmony with numerous parallel fifths and octaves and unexplained and unprepared dissonances, often on strong beats of a measure. Rather than attempting to follow the stylistic aspects of the Nonconformist style, the arranger of FRIENDSHIP adhered to the English Presbyterian three-part ancient-style harmonization method. The resulting setting clearly reflects its region of origin, distinct from New England practice.

Besides contrafacta, a few tunes of apparently New England origin are found in a number of melodic variants and variant settings, resembling their Middle Atlantic, Western, and Southern folk hymn cousins. In addition to the occasional publication that included folk hymns from New England such as *The Christian Harmony* (Exeter, N.H., 1805) by

Jeremiah Ingalls, a few tunes have sacred and secular texts, lying somewhere between folksongs and folk hymns. THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHER/RHODE ISLAND tune family exemplifies this social-secular ambiguity. One branch, originating in New England, began life as a secular song, the other, set by Amos Pilsbury in Charleston, South Carolina, a hymn with a text by Methodist Charles Wesley. Without knowing its exact origins, Pilsbury's variant could be a contrafactum of the New England secular tune. However, this compositional ambivalence extends also to the harmonic treatment of the tune: one version is cast in the major mode, the other in minor, even though both use the same basic melodic contour on the same pitches.

The earlier of the two versions of the tune first appears in a manuscript compiled by Lucius Chapin during his time in Springfield, before settling in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.<sup>54</sup> Copied into a small gathering of tunes, INDIAN PHILOSOPHER appeared alongside other popular secular songs of the time period such as the ELEGY ON SOPHRONIA set by King and printed first in Andrew Law's *Select Number of Plain Tunes* (Cheshire, 1781), as well as MUSICAL SOCIETY taken from William Tans'ur's publications. INDIAN PHILOSOPHER and ELEGY ON SOPHRONIA take their texts from Isaac Watts and his first collection of poetry, *Horæ Lyrica* (London, 1707), a publication that consisted of a mixture of hymns and secular poems. "The Indian Philosopher" is a meditation on love from the perspective of a Hindu priest in India. The exotic subject matter probably accounts for the texts' popularity in the Early Nationalist Period throughout New England and the Middle Atlantic.

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<sup>54</sup> Charles Hamm, "The Chapins and Sacred Music in the South and West" in *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 8, 2 (Autumn, 1960): 95. Unfortunately, the Cincinnati Historical Society that housed this item has misplaced it since Hamm's study. As a result, it was unavailable for study. Until further evidence comes to light, Lucius Chapin might be the composer or at least the original arranger of this tune.

Besides Chapin's manuscript setting, the earliest printed instance of this tune is found in *The American Musical Miscellany* (Northampton, Ma., 1798), a large songster published in western Massachusetts along the Connecticut River (**Anth**). Typical for these types of publications, the tune appears in two parts, melody and bass suitable for two voices a capella, or voice with instrumental bass accompaniment. As with many tunes of this ilk INDIAN PHILOSOPHER follows an ABCDB'C or AA' form. Only the initial phrase of each section differs in melodic content. If this version of the tune was set by Lucius Chapin, it demonstrates his command of the popular New England ancient-style idiom too. Concurrent to the Northampton publication, a four-part setting appears in Amzi Chapin's holograph copybook (**Anth**). Although set in E major the melody and bass are identical to the published source. It seems unlikely that Amzi had access to *The American Musical Miscellany* considering that he was living in Washington, Kentucky at the time and none of the other pieces in this copybook indicate that he owned or copied from any New England tunebook later than the 1780s. Presumably, he acquired his copy from his brother who had recently moved to Amzi's farm with his family. As with the setting of WASHINGTON, the unique variant to the older psalm tune STROUDWATER, that in the Amzi Chapin manuscript builds upon an older two-part setting with newly composed treble and counter parts. Rather than the fusion of traditional and popular ancient styles, this tune conforms strictly to the New England popular style. Though textless, it presumably would have been sung to the Watts text.

Beginning in the first decade of the nineteenth century, the original two-part setting appears to have circulated throughout much of the Middle Atlantic and West, particularly in Pennsylvania. Two other settings appear in shape-note publications from Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The earlier of the two settings, possibly by Nathan Chapin (no relation to Lucius

or Amzi) of Philadelphia was included in *The Musical Instructor* (Philadelphia, 1808) compiled by Chapin and Joseph L. Dickerson. An experiment in seven-shape shape-note notation that employed the Italian form of the solfeggio, this tunebook constituted a mixture of ancient-style and Nonconformist-influenced psalm and hymn tunes. THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHER setting found in this collection, though cast in C major, borrows heavily from the E major bass of the Chapin setting on the original E major notes. Possibly reflecting ineptness on the part of the arranger, the bass line vacillates between the original E major pitches and a transposition of the E major bass line into C major. The other voices present numerous unexplained and unprepared dissonances that not only disagree with each other, but more importantly clash with the tenor cantus. As typical for its region of origin, this version features free use of second inversions on accented beats and frequent parallel octaves and fifths. Perhaps the arranger was overzealous in wanting to maintain tunefulness among the various voices.

Reflecting more the three-part scoring procedure of the earlier English Presbyterian ancient style, a setting of this tune, titled GANGES, appeared in the Pittsburgh social-secular imprint, *The Beauties of Harmony* (Pittsburgh, 1813 [1814]). As with most of the other settings, the tenor and bass are identical to the version in *The American Musical Miscellany* and the treble constitutes a newly composed part by an anonymous arranger. More successful than the version in *The Musical Instructor*, this version presents few clashes among the voices. It also features no parallel fifths or octaves despite the nonfunctional use of harmony and an innate tunefulness in the treble. However, the presence of a three-part setting in this tunebook remains unusual in that almost every other tune in this source appears in four parts. Perhaps Lewis did not intend for its use in the singing school or other social venue for sacred music performance.

Finally, illustrative of the ambiguity of purpose of much of the New England repertory, a sacred variant of THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHER appeared in *The United States' Sacred Harmony* by Amos Pilsbury. Reflecting Pilsbury's professional activity as a clerk in a Presbyterian church, he included a number of pieces with texts by prominent Nonconformists and Methodists. RHODE ISLAND (**Anth**) features a text by Charles Wesley. Though the melody closely resembles the earlier variant of this tune family, the harmonization does not. In fact, the anonymous arranger, most likely Pilsbury himself, preserved the same basic pitches and melodic contour of the earlier tune, but harmonized it in the minor mode. This ambiguity of intent extends also to the concept of tonality and harmonization and is a phenomenon encountered occasionally in later pieces from the South and West. Not only do the harmonizations defy that of functional harmony, but the concept of mode does too.

Although not as prolific as their counterparts in their region of origin, New England musicians active throughout upstate New York, the Middle Atlantic, the coastal South, and the Trans-Appalachian West created a wide variety of pieces within the popular psalmody idiom. All of these pieces conformed the form of social-secular ancient-style psalmody identified with New England practice, particularly from the southern and western portion of this region. Found in tunebooks intended for singing schools, amateur choral societies, and the home, these pieces were ideally suited for the same venues as found in their creators' region of origin. In a sense, the composers and compilers of these tunes and compilations attempted to replicate in the Middle Atlantic, South, and West the social and performative milieu of New England. Distinct from congregational and ecclesiastical repertories and tune collections, these pieces required a level of competency only attained through dedication and practice of this sacred art. Never a distinctly sacred practice, the lines between the divine

and the secular remained conspicuously absent, especially concerning the use of contrafacta and secular songs in sacred collections.

Middle Atlantic musicians recognized the difference between the ecclesiastical and the social-secular repertoires. Beginning with Lyon and continuing with Davisson, separate divisions were allotted these repertoires in the tunebooks, or devotional collections did not contain the elaborate fusing, antiphonal, and extended and decorated plain tunes, much less the set pieces and anthems. Some collections such as *The Philadelphia Harmony*, *Wyeth's Repository of Music*, and *The Beauties of Harmony* became popular in their own right, but these collections never transcended their original purpose. Like their New England antecedents, a few tunes individually might have entered into the congregational repertory. As a whole, these collections remained compilations for social-secular use. What they do reveal is the attempt by a few dedicated psalmodyists of replicating in the Middle Atlantic, South, and West the environment for social-secular singing as a community endeavor and a morally correct amusement for the youth. A number of their practitioners like the Chapin brothers wrote in the traditional regional idiom for the congregational repertory, and the popular New England style for the singing school. Rather than the New England hegemony, this body of material remained within the purview of its creators. It was a popular, not a traditional art.

### *13.3.3 Original pieces of popular ancient-style psalmody by Middle Atlantic and Western composers*

Soon after the introduction of the popular ancient style to Middle Atlantic and Western singers by New England-born psalmodyists, a few musicians native to this region began to compose their own pieces of ancient-style psalmody that embraced the popular New England style. Like their teachers, these composers were not nearly as prolific as those in the north. However, their pieces and compositional methods were identical in spirit and

style to the works found in popular ancient-style tunebooks circulating around the Middle Atlantic and West. As with the popular ancient-style pieces by New England-born composers, a significant portion of those by Middle Atlantic and Western musicians consisted of works with extended techniques, such as fusing and antiphonal tunes. Further, most of the pieces displayed typically southern and western New England characteristics, reflecting the centrality of this region in setting popular compositional trends outside their region of origin.

For instance, some of the plain tunes original to Middle Atlantic tunebooks embraced the same independence of poetic and music rhythm as encountered in the fusing tunes BRIDGEWATER by Lewis Edson and MORNING HYMN by Lemuel Babcock. In particular, the tune MELODIA (**Anth**) by Merrick, appearing in *The American Harmony* (Philadelphia, 1793) by Nehemiah Shumway shifts between rhythmic alliance and independence of music and poetry. As with the earlier composers, this shift occurs because of the composer's insistence on maintaining the same time signature throughout the entire work. MELODIA uses a text by Isaac Watts set in 10.10. 10.10. 10.10. meter. Merrick, in beginning the tune on an anacrusis was able to correctly align music and poetry for the first four lines. Beginning in the fifth line of text, "No more shall atheists mock his long delay," this alignment slips and only readjust itself in the final phrase. The composer could have avoided the problem by casting the text "of the dead" (mm. 16-17) as a 3/2 measure. By offsetting the poetry from the time signature, the composer most likely felt compelled to drive the piece headlong to its conclusion without elongating the final three notes. The piece suddenly ends with a series of quarter notes followed by one long whole note with no aural conclusion for the listener.

Other pieces present the same type of independence of music and poetry encountered in early pieces by William Billings, and later Connecticut and Connecticut River Valley works such as WINTER by Daniel Read and SCOTCH AIR by Timothy Swan. SOLITUDE (**Anth**), printed first in *The Easy Instructor* (Philadelphia, 1801) by William Little and William Smith suggests that the composer did not understand the coordination of music and poetry, not only alternating between alignment and independence of text and music between phrases, but within phrases too. As in the previous tune, the anonymous composer shifted textual and musical accent between the first and second phrases (mm. 5-6). In contrast however, after realigning the accent in the third phrase, the piece relapses into the same misalignment on the text “that gives relief” (mm. 12-13), only to correctly reassert itself for the final line of text. In this respect, SOLITUDE closely resembles Billings’ early version of LEBANON.

Besides the occasional plain tune, Middle Atlantic and Western musicians devoted much of their efforts to the composition of fusing and antiphonal tunes. In a few instances, these composers built upon the models established by their teachers. For example, the fusing tune MORGAN (**Anth**) is a popular ancient-style tour de force. Not only exceeding the efforts of Billings’ WASHINGTON and Swan’s MONTAGUE, the anonymous composer seemingly sought to outdo the already expansive PENNSYLVANIA by Shumway. Like the Swan and Shumway tunes, this piece is set to two verses of text. Resembling MONTAGUE, the composer of MORGAN devoted the setting of the first verse to homophony, reserving the fusing passages for the second. Following standard procedure, the second section concludes with a homophonic reiteration of the final line of text and employs closely related cadential material to link the two sections together. Unlike his predecessors, this composer introduced three separate fusing passages sustained over 26



measures instead of the two in *NEW JORDAN* over 12, and one over 14 in *PENNSYLVANIA* and *WASHINGTON* respectively.

Within the second section, three different fusing techniques are presented. The first passage sustains a canonic two-measure point of imitation at the octave among all four voices (mm. 16-19) before progressing with free counterpoint. The second begins with a paired antiphonal entrance by the counter and bass followed by staggered individual entries by the tenor and treble (mm. 25-27), all of which introduce free counterpoint without any attempt at imitation. The third passage features an identical rhythmic motive that is presented twice in each voice (mm. 32-34, 35-37) and a third time in the bass, tenor, and treble parts to conclude the larger fusing section (mm. 37-39). Although none of the various entries share melodic material, the composer clearly intended this passage as an elaborate imitation among the various voices. In a typically southern and western New England fashion, pedal tones are sustained in the bass in the first two fusing passages. However, the composer introduced the various fusing techniques irrespective of the text. None of the passages employ a sense a madrigalism such as the depiction of the wheels of a chariot in Billings' *WASHINGTON*. Instead, the composer of *MORGAN* seems to have basked in the sonic pleasures of free and imitative counterpoint, reflecting the social-secular atmosphere of the singing school and amateur choral society.

Other composers eschewed the complexities of virtuosic explorations of polyphony, preferring more simple affective settings of text. These pieces also make use of compositional techniques common to southern and western New England, as well as New England-born composers in the Middle Atlantic and South. *BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY* (**Anth**) by Elkanah Kelsey Dare of Wilmington, Delaware presents a short, uncomplicated antiphonal fusing passage employing paired entries first by the counter and bass, and tenor

and treble. Set to a text reminiscent of Psalm 137, the piece concerns the lamentation of the Israelites following their enslavement by the Babylonians. Despite the many primitive techniques introduced by Dare including numerous parallel octaves between the bass and counter (mm. 6-10, 12-15) that extend to the initial antiphonal fugal entrance, the piece displays a sensitive understanding of text setting that conveys the appropriate mood of the text. It also resembles earlier tunes such as MORNING by Amos Pillsbury.

Similarly, OMEGA (**Anth**) by W. Jones included in *The Beauties of Harmony* by Freeman Lewis of western Pennsylvania portrays the joyous and ecstatic vision of the second coming of Christ through relatively simple compositional techniques. Despite the fact that Jones displayed little control or intent in his use of harmony, the piece does avoid dissonance mostly, presenting the nonfunctional tonal vocabulary of some of the more primitive New England musicians. Alongside this rudimentary understanding of tonality, Jones displayed a more sophisticated approach to the dramatic possibilities of rhythm and time signature. Beginning in the fourth mood of common time (2/4), the quickest time signature employed by popular ancient-style psalmists, the work commences with a madrigalistic portrayal of the Christian's delight in the arrival of second coming. A mere four measures later, the piece abruptly slows to the first mood of triple time, depicting the solemnness and grandeur of the sounding of the trumpets of the heavenly host. Not only presenting a change in time signature, the piece includes a built-in sonic decay of the text "blow" that is presented three times before progressing forward. At the end of this phrase, OMEGA returns to the fourth mood of common time, maintaining this time signature for the duration of the piece.

Alongside this sophisticated approach to time signature, Jones also introduced a number of extended techniques in each of the three sections of this tune. The piece begins

with a duet between the counter and bass. In contrast, the second and third sections present two different approaches to antiphonal fusing procedure. The melodic material of the first fusing passage closely resembles the opening antiphonal duet. Creating a false repeat of the melodic material of the initial antiphonal section, Jones instead continued with a paired antiphonal fusing answer by the tenor and treble. This relatively simple device, like the composer's play in rhythm, offsets the listener's expectations and leads into new melodic and contrapuntal material. This section concludes with a shared sustained pedal tone by the counter and bass mirroring the concluding material of a typical southern and western New England fusing tune. Finally, the third section begins again with a duet, this time set for the tenor and bass. Again destroying expectations, this exchange does not begin a new fusing section, but instead constitutes an introductory antiphonal exchange that leads into a final antiphonal fusing passage shared by the treble, counter, and bass. After their two-measure entrance, the tenor enters alone maintaining its independence through to the end of the piece. In sum, OMEGA displays its composer's finesse in the handling of rhythm, counterpoint, and compositional variety, despite a somewhat crude approach to harmony and tonality.

While these fusing tunes used the same techniques as earlier pieces by New England and New England-born psalmodists, other works suggest a direct referencing to specific pieces. Just as AMANDA by Justin Morgan recalled the 1778 revision of DORCHESTER by William Billings, so does HILSBOROUGH by J. E. Porter (**Anth**) appear to be based on Morgan's tune. Found in the first edition of *The Easy Instructor*, this tune is divided into two parts, separated by a change in time signature. Closely resembling Morgan's piece, HILSBOROUGH features a shift from the first mood of triple time (3/2) to the third of common (2/2). Further, Porter includes in the final phrase a series of extended melismas

that musically pictorialize the text “grieve” in much the same manner as “wither’d” in AMANDA. However, Porter expanded the scope of his melisma and the length of the opening triple simple section, at once referencing his predecessors but also seeking to outdo their these earlier techniques. Both tunes display a sensitive treatment of the text and reflect similar affective moods of sorrow and loneliness.

Finally, two Middle Atlantic fusing tunes do not melodically reference specific southern and western New England pieces. They instead employ a compositional technique termed the repeating fusing tune that originated from within the Connecticut River Valley, beginning with TRUMBULL by Asahel Benham and continuing with HUNTINGTON by Justin Morgan and VENUS/CREATION by Elijah Griswold. These fusing tunes employ the same individual repeats that double the length of a particular fusing passage. Repeated fusing tunes are found only in tunebooks from southern and western New England and the Middle Atlantic, demonstrating another direct connection between these two regions in regard to the practice of social-secular popular ancient-style psalmody. As with other pieces of popular ancient-style psalmody created by Middle Atlantic musicians, these works are not mere slavish imitations of earlier works. They instead expand upon the earlier pieces revealing a more organic and vibrant connection to southern and western New England psalmody.

SUNDAY by Davis (**Anth**) was included in *The Easy Instructor* and consists of two fusing passages in both sections of the tune. Though set in the minor mode, the opening section references an earlier antiphonal fusing tune JUBILEE by Oliver Brownson that appeared first in Andrew Law’s *Select Harmony* (Farmington, Ct., 1779). As with JUBILEE, the antiphonal fusing passage is confined to the first section. In contrast to the contrapuntal treatment of the Brownson tune, SUNDAY by Davis does not proceed in homophonic

fashion. The composer instead introduced the repeated fusing passage in the second section, expanding on the form introduced by Benham and continued by Morgan and Griswold. In this case, Davis attempted a double fuge with the melodic material introduced by the treble answered by the tenor, and that of the bass by the counter. Though the points of imitation are not exact in the second pairing, Davis did minimize the amount of dissonance among the parts, surpassing in contrapuntal technique the musical jargon created by Justin Morgan. The overall effect of the piece displays a great deal of sophistication and control, illustrating the deftness of its composer.

Twelve years later, BELLEVUE by Gore (**Anth**) appeared in *Wyeth's Repository of Music. Part second*. Cast in hallelujah meter, the piece is neatly divided into the two sections corresponding to the two main divisions in the text (e.g. 6.6.6.6. and 8.8.). More conventional in approach the composer maintained homophony in the first section, reserving contrapuntal whimsy for the second. He also featured the by now formulaic homophonic reiterative conclusion with shared cadential material between the first and second halves. However, by setting a hallelujah meter text, Gore was able to fashion an expanded setting that matches in scope Morgan's tune HUNTINGTON, which consists of a double stanza long meter setting of text. In contrast to this earlier work, BELLEVUE maintains a greater amount of control of the harmony, producing a less dissonant work that is somewhat simpler in style and delivery. This tune uses many of the stock techniques of southern and western New England psalmody but presents this in a greater sense of sonic clarity. Alongside these features, Gore could not escape the traditional practice of his region. In particular, the final homophonic section presents a series of arbitrary first and second inversion sonorities on the accented part of the measure (mm. 22-24) as well as in the fusing

passage proper. The resulting piece reflects the unique environment of a Middle Atlantic social-secular venue for performance.

Middle Atlantic and Western musicians quickly adopted all of the characteristics of the popular ancient style. Resembling the efforts of earlier psalmodyists such as the Chapin brothers Lucius and Amzi, pieces by native Middle Atlantic and Western musicians embraced both the popular social-secular medium as well as the traditional ancient style that fused English Presbyterian traditions with popular New England initiatives. From this perspective, Middle Atlantic and Western psalmodyists remained more musically diverse than their northern cousins. Not only could some adapt their own traditional English Presbyterian style to that of the New England popular tradition for the congregational repertory, a few produced the elaborate plain, fusing, and antiphonal tunes reflective of the social-secular world of the singing school and amateur choral society. Not just pedestrian examples imitative of New England practice, the popular ancient-style pieces by Middle Atlantic and Western musicians not only demonstrate their knowledge of the style, but also their ability to synthesize, expand, and reference specific pieces and compositional techniques. From these early examples, later Western and Southern musicians would start to contribute their own social-secular examples, placing them within the same performative strictures as their New England forbears.

#### *13.3.4 The influence of Nonconformist hymnody on Middle Atlantic and Southern popular-style psalmody*

Practitioners of ancient-style psalmody differed significantly from their scientific common-practice peers. By the early nineteenth century, English-language musicians who embraced the ancient style tended to be Calvinist, mostly belonging to Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Baptist churches. Others leaned towards the more radical sects such

as Separate Baptists, Christians, or other groups that ascribed to the Restoration Movement that sought to reinstate the church described in the Book of Acts. If they were members of older established churches, they often belonged to the more enthusiastic branches of a particular denomination. Some denominations allowed for musical accompaniment by a non-keyboard instrument, most often flutes, clarinets, perhaps the occasional violin, and most commonly the church bass. Musical activity was largely participatory with an emphasis on communal music making.

In contrast, members of liturgical churches, namely Episcopalians and Catholics, embraced the functional, scientific form of sacred music. Many of the composers were European by birth and engaged in genteel and social elite secular musical circles as much as sacred venues, being active in the theater, pleasure garden, ballroom, and other secular forums for musical performance. They received training as keyboardists and understood functional common-practice harmony. Many also were music teachers to the children of polite society. Regarding its ecclesiastical use, the scientific style of sacred music was intended more for performance by a trained choir, often made up of the city's poor who received a free education by the church. Not a participatory form of music making, this style acted in tandem with the aesthetic principles of the church that fostered an *Affekt* of religiosity using a set of musical conventions that had developed over the course of the past two hundred years. However, scientific religious music was also embraced by a few amateur choral societies, mostly associated with Episcopal churches in the urban centers of the Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake Bay. It emphasized grace and polish, and employed the same musical rhetoric as the music created for the concert stage and theater.

Lying somewhere between these two styles, a number of churches and denominations struggled over the aesthetic merits of both ideals of musical practice and

performance. Progressive Calvinists and Unitarians sought to reform the older ancient style by adopting some of the characteristics of the scientific, functional approach to music. Some maintained a tenor-led expression but adopted common practice functional harmony. A number of musicians maintained a four-part texture descended from the ancient style but shifted the voice part to the treble to have it conform somewhat to the preferred three-part scientific style performed in the United States. Others adopted the music of Nonconformists from the middle of the eighteenth century. Members of the new Methodist Church split over these two styles. This struggle between the ancient and scientific styles would in many ways dominate Nonconformist influences in popular psalmody for performance outside the church.

Two variant settings of hymn tune illustrate the divergent trends in popular psalmody. Both use the same text, but their settings could not be more diametrically opposed. 'TRUMPET' (**Anth**), as set by Baltimore Episcopalian John Cole in 1799, closely resembles a secular part song or glee as it had developed by the end of the eighteenth century. Cast in three parts, this tune presents a straightforward, common-practice homophonic setting of Charles Cole's hymn welcoming all people to Christ's redeeming grace. The two treble or treble and tenor parts move almost exclusively in parallel thirds and feature a few places where the voices cross, emphasizing tunefulness between these parts. The bass provides harmonic support. The overall harmonic plan avoids chromatic embellishment, maintaining a simple and predictable, functional diatonic plan. Easily performable by amateur singers or a children's charity choir, this style displayed a sense of politeness and gentility.

In contrast, a variant version of this tune, titled VERMONT (**Anth**), was set by Amos Pilsbury and appeared in his Charleston, South Carolina tunebook, *The United States'*



*Sacred Harmony* (Boston, 1799). Scored in the four-voice tenor-led popular ancient style, Pilsbury arranged the piece as an antiphonal fusing tune. His construction of the melody added melismatic embellishments to the tune, emphasizing a greater sense of tunefulness not only in the cantus, but also among the other voices too. Comparing the treble and tenor parts, these voices do not move in parallel motion, but rather one that crosses every measure. Pilsbury's setting follows the nonfunctional popular ancient style with several unprepared and unexplained dissonances on accented beats created by the independence of the parts in their relationship to the cantus tenor (mm. 8, 14), as well as other passing tone dissonances. Significantly, Pilsbury did employ an antiphonal fusing procedure for his contrapuntal passage that obviates some of the problems in textural clarity, a concern voiced by some opponents to the ancient style. However, the overall effect of Pilsbury's setting could not be any more opposite that of Cole's.

Other musicians took a scientific tune and simply added additional voices, much in the same way that ancient style tunes such as STROUDWATER developed over the course of fifty years. For instance, the tune HEPHZIBAH by John Jenkins Husband (c. 1753-1825), an Anglican and Episcopalian clerk, composer, singing master, and schoolteacher, illustrates this change over the course of twenty years. Husband was born in England and settled in Lancaster, Pennsylvania by the mid-1790s.<sup>55</sup> He later moved to Philadelphia and was active in St. Paul's Church. HEPHZIBAH (**Anth**) first appeared in *A Collection of Psalm Tunes* (London, c. 1790) by English compilers Isaac Smith and S. Major. Scored for three voices and continuo, the piece makes use of many fashionable elements associated with the progressive Anglican and Nonconformist styles. These features include a galante-inspired texture, expressive fermatas, the scoring of dynamic contrasts that coincide with antiphonal

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<sup>55</sup> Britton, Lowens, Crawford, *American Sacred Musical Imprints*, 345-46.

exchanges, chant-like repetition of important lines of text, and a brief nod to contrapuntal fancy with a brief fugal passage that concludes the piece. The inclusion of a figured bass all lends to the genteel and sophisticated aesthetic appropriate for informal or domestic devotional performance, besides its suitability for ecclesiastical use by a charity children's choir.

Sixteen years later, a four-part SATB version of this tune appeared in *Ecclesia Harmonia* (Philadelphia, 1806) by Charles Woodward and John Aitken, two prominent musicians in Philadelphia (**Anth**). An early shape-note publication, Woodward and Aitken's tunebook was designed to appeal to progressive evangelical musicians who embraced both the ancient and scientific approaches of sacred music composition. This revision of Husband's tune reflects this intent, not only through its scoring procedure and musical notation, but also its harmony and tune presentation. Gone are the fermata, figured bass, and Italian tempo markings. Instead, the arranger only included a marking "soft" above the duet passage without any other to signify the drama of the choral response. With only a few minor changes in the melody, this setting also features the same bass part as Husband's original. In contrast, the tune includes new treble and counter parts that preserve the functional tonality of the original, but maintain an ancient-style predilection for tunefulness among the voices together with a few unprepared passing tone dissonances. This setting can be said to represent a synthesis of the two general approaches to sacred music composition.

This blending of the ancient and scientific styles did not originate in the United States. It first appears in collections by evangelical musicians who embraced the scoring procedure and compositional genres from older ancient-style collections, but presented these tunes following orthodox harmonic procedures characteristic of the late eighteenth-century. These musicians often belonged to Calvinist and Nonconformist/Methodist churches and

their collections represent a reform of the older ancient style. These English musicians would exert a large influence on subsequent American trends, unintentionally initiating a fundamental change in American sacred music trends, particularly among progressive Calvinists, Unitarians, and Methodists in the Early Nationalist Period. Not only encompassing plain tunes intended for congregational performance, these pieces also incorporated antiphonal and fugal extended techniques.

One of the most important of these British tunebooks was the musical compilation designed to accompany *A Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors, Intended to Be an Appendix to Dr. Watts' Psalms and Hymns*, a hymnal by the Baptist minister John Rippon (1751-1836). Besides his work's association with Calvinist poets such as Isaac Watts, Rippon included a number of hymns by writers associated with Nonconformists and Methodists. MILES'S LANE (**Anth**), written by William Shrubsole with a text by Methodist Edward Perronet, became popular on both sides of the Atlantic. As arranged in *A Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes*, the tunebook that accompanied Rippon's hymnal, this piece reflects the reform spirit that guided these progressive religious figures. Though cast in four parts, the melody is placed in the treble voice and the piece includes a separate figured continuo line. Rather than emphasize tunefulness, the voices follow orthodox part writing procedures based upon the functional tonal scheme of the hymn tune. Further, the arrangement no longer employs the moods of time that characterized ancient-style conceptions of time signature and tempo. Instead, the arranger marked the piece "Maestoso" and furnished a concluding ritard to crown the climax of the composition. He also presented specific dynamic markings for the antiphonal exchanges and the choral response. Finally, MILES'S LANE makes use of dramatic conventions of text repetition and fermatas to highlight the majesty of the ascendant Christ.

This collection also presented a selection of fusing tunes, a genre typically not considered suitable for ecclesiastical performance. Though the piece is set to a hymn by Isaac Watts, the composer, Benjamin Milgrove was active as music master to the chapel of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon (1707-1791) in Bath, England. Selina was associated with the form of Calvinist Nonconformism identified with George Whitefield, not that of the Wesleys. Thus, the tune BATH CHAPEL represents its Calvinist Nonconformist heritage. As set in Rippon's compilation (**Anth**), the arranger presented many of the same features as MILES'S LANE, including scoring procedure, dynamic markings, fermatas, and continuo. In addition, the arranger preserved the same staggered entries of the fusing passage without resorting to antiphonal entrances, common to many progressive musicians. Significantly, the tenor entrance does coincide with a text repetition of the same phrase by the soprano voice, creating an identical effect that avoids the issue entirely. Tune settings such as these two pieces provided a model for later American musicians to emulate in reforming the ancient-style aesthetic and the older American popular ancient-style repertory.

The reception of Nonconformist and Methodist hymnody followed two general trends: its adaptation by ancient-style musicians, and its replication by scientific composers. These contrasting approaches to the Nonconformist style found equal reception in the Middle Atlantic, South, and West, and were not as strongly connected to prominent American musicians or institutions as encountered in New England, particularly after the founding of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston in 1815. Discussion will focus first on the ancient-style adaptation and imitation of this British initiative, looking at specific pieces based on British settings as well as original American compositions that attempt this style. These ancient-style Nonconformist pieces will then be contrasted with those by scientific musicians active in the Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake Bay.

Some American settings, like the second version of HEPHZIBAH, were adaptations of earlier British hymn tunes. However, their composers often displayed little understanding of functional tonality and orthodox part writing, preferring instead to impose a series of nonfunctional embellishments on an earlier setting. For instance, the tune SION (**Anth**) first appeared in a 1761 tune collection by John Wesley. Typical for his compilations, the piece appeared for single voice designed for informal performance, even though the harmonic scheme, complete with a secondary dominant, demands a continuo part. Also common to the Nonconformist style, the piece, like the solo sacred songs found in Thomas Butts' *Harmonia Sacra* closely resembles a pleasure garden or theatrical song as opposed to a traditional hymn. Cast in an ABA'CC'B'A''D form, SION presents ever increasing melodic elaboration of the initial phrase, imbuing the piece with the grace and lilt of a mid-century art song.

A four-part setting of this tune appeared in Rippon's *A Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* set for SATB choir and continuo (**Anth**). Although this arrangement dispenses with the fermatas found in Wesley's original version, the musician responsible for this setting kept all of the lithe melodic embellishments. As with MILES'S LANE and BATH CHAPEL, the setting, now titled NEW JERUSALM, designates the soprano as the tune-carrying voice. The accompanying harmonized voices correctly flesh out the harmony, but remain somewhat awkward in execution as a result of the voice leading. In particular, the arranger demanded the same range of a ninth from the alto as the soprano lead. Further, the alto has a few difficult leaps of a sixth and seventh and occasionally drops below the tenor. In contrast, the alto is most often relegated to harmonic filler, it being the last part to be written. In this setting it remains equal in range and complexity with the lead melodic voice.

Overall, the arranger attempted to instill a sense of tunefulness among the voices, though with varying degrees of success.

Rippon's hymnal and tunebook became popular in the United States and many of its tunes and tune settings appeared in American source material throughout the first part of the nineteenth century. However, not all psalmists seemed satisfied with these settings. As encountered in some earlier New England popular ancient-style pieces, individual musicians would craft their own versions of tunes, drawing inspiration from earlier settings. A revised version of the Rippon setting prepared by Amos Pilsbury is found in *The United States' Sacred Harmony*. Unlike his variant of VERMONT, Pilsbury's arrangement of NEW JERUSALEM consists of an embellishment of the British setting (**Anth**). In this case, Pilsbury's setting displays his failure to understand functional tonality and orthodox part writing. He intentionally rid the piece of all of its ancient-style reform characteristics, producing a decidedly unreformed variant version. Pilsbury moved the melody to the tenor voice and assigned the treble a modified version of the British tenor part. He changed some aspects of the bass, principally in adding a more tuneful and melodious part, as well as dispensing with the functional secondary dominant. The result closely resembles the early version of the tune MARBLEHEAD by William Billings. In particular, the original secondary dominant that concludes the first half of the tune is resolved in Pilsbury's version not to the dominant, but back to the tonic. Similarly, although avoiding dissonance among the voices, the arrangement sheds the functional aspect of its harmony and introduces a number of parallel octaves. The result demonstrates Pilsbury's deliberate attempt to void any of the features that distinguished the reformed ancient style. However, his deliberateness stems from ignorance.

Shifting to original compositions by ancient-style musicians in the Middle Atlantic, West, and South that attempted to follow the Nonconformist style, many display the same clumsiness that distinguished Pilsbury's revision of NEW JERUSALEM. In effect, these pieces assume some of the surface characteristics of the Nonconformist style, but all remain ornaments on an otherwise nonfunctional ancient-style grasp of harmony and voicing. For instance, the tune MONTMIRAIL by Daniel Russ of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, at first glance closely resembles a mid-century Nonconformist piece (**Anth**). It is set for three voices and appropriates typically galante techniques. The bass remains fairly static and presents the typical cadential formulaic aspects of functional harmony. The treble voice consists largely of parallel movement by thirds with the cantus tenor. However, a closer inspection of the harmony reveals the same non-understanding of tonality as that of Pilsbury. Russ, like Pilsbury failed to introduce a secondary dominant at the end of the second phrase (mm. 8-9). From this perspective Russ appropriated some of the part writing elements and scoring procedure of the Nonconformist style, but employed these as a veneer on top of his ancient-style orientation.

Similarly, the tune MONTREAL (**Anth**) by William Evans of Pittsburgh appropriates the dotted rhythms associated with Restoration-era Anglican sacred music and echoed in the mid-eighteenth century repertory with tunes such as THE 23D PSALM by Francis Hopkinson. This work presents the same basic techniques of a static bass, a three-part texture, and a combination of parallel and contrary movement between the tenor and treble. MONTREAL also features a number of parallel octaves and fifths characteristic of the ancient style. Hopkinson's tune represented something of an anomaly because of its late date of appearance to include a number of seventeenth-century techniques. MONTREAL

demonstrates the continued retention of a number of anachronistic compositional traits into the second decade of the nineteenth century.

HAYERHILL by Amos Pilsbury (**Anth**), does not attempt so much to emulate the Nonconformist repertory of earlier tunebooks such as *Harmonic Sacra* by Thomas Butts or the Lock Hospital collection by Martin Madan. Instead, its composer imitated the reformed ancient-style settings found in recent collections such *A Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* that accompanied the Rippon hymnal. HAYERHILL, set for four voices uses a text by Charles Wesley, already suggesting a Methodist and Nonconformist influence. Pilsbury appended two Nonconformist-associated ornaments onto his hymn tune: Italian tempo and dynamic markings. He also set the piece in the second mood of triple time (3/4), a favorite time signature among Nonconformist musicians. The tune features numerous graceful melismas in imitation of the galante style. Like all of his other pieces, the primitive aspects of his harmony outweigh the graceful ornaments that decorate the piece. The harmony parts feature numerous parallel fifths and octaves, nonfunctional cadential patterns, and unprepared dissonances that mirror the efforts of some New England psalmists. Not surprisingly, tunes such as HAYERHILL never entered the general repertory despite Pilsbury's progressive intentions.

Finally, other pieces not only demonstrated an ancient-style understanding of scientific music, but they also attempted to fuse the popular Nonconformist style with that traditional to English Presbyterians. GOSPEL TRUMP (**Anth**) by Elkanah Kelsey Dare is scored for a three-part STB ensemble, a procedure common to both earlier English Presbyterian collections such as *Tunes in Three Parts* (Philadelphia, 1763) and Nonconformist tunebooks. From the Nonconformists, Dare borrowed the instrumental symphonies for melody instrument and bass, an Italian tempo marking, a treble-led scoring procedure, and



dramatic use of dynamics. In particular, he included three statements of the text “The trumpet of the gospel sounds,” the first soft, the second as a crescendo, the third loud (mm. 20-30). The concept of repetition and dynamic contrast add a dramatic flair, a technique used again at the end of the piece in the antiphonal section and choral response after the second instrumental interlude. Alongside these sophisticated techniques, Dare could not escape his regional upbringing. Not only does the harmony not obey the conventions of functional tonality, it also differs from popular ancient-style practice associated with New England psalmody. Besides numerous parallel fifths and octaves, and open diads, Dare made free use of second inversion sonorities and presented entire phrases in various combinations of one basic chord (mm. 12-15, 24-26). The result is a curious mixture of sophistication and rudeness, paralleling in music the American Primitive style of painting. American Primitive painting visually featured the same type of sophisticated ornaments such as referential objects in portraiture suggestive of the sitters occupation, but these works lack the concept of perspective and shading, giving them a sense of charming naiveté. Dare’s piece could be said to mirror this tradition of the decorative arts.

Alongside the efforts of ancient-style musicians to incorporate Nonconformist stylistic features and produce original examples of Nonconformist hymnody, some scientific musicians incorporated ancient-style techniques into their pieces too. As with their ancient-style cousins, these tunes were intended mostly for social-secular use outside the church and would have been performed informally by informal choral groups or in the singing school. Just as ancient-style musicians produced three and four-part tunes illustrative of the various waves of Nonconformist and reformed ancient-style hymnody, scientific musicians composed fuging and antiphonal tunes, and religious popular songs that reflected musical and spiritual developments over the course of the last half of the eighteenth century. These

works demonstrate that Nonconformist and ancient-style reform influence extended to all levels of musical society, not just the practitioners of the ancient style.

For instance, John Cole, the Baltimore Episcopalian responsible for 'TRUMPET', also composed a few four-part pieces that bear a strong similarity to pieces in the Rippon tunebook. One of his most popular tunes, GENEVA (**Anth**), features an array of fugging techniques but couched with the harmonic idiom and scoring procedure espoused by the ancient-style reformers. In particular, though figured bass is found in most of his hymn tunes and service music, it remains conspicuously absent, suggesting a capella performance for this tune. Each line of verse introduces a new antiphonal fugging passage. The first begins with individual staggered entries by the soprano and alto, and answered by a paired entry of the tenor and bass. The second and fourth passages set three voices against the fourth, and the third passage pairs the soprano and alto against the tenor and bass. The amount of variety within such a short piece reflects the ingenuity of its composer and his attempt to keep the singers and listeners interested through these sonic explorations.

Other musicians employed a similar three-part scoring procedure and compositional style as the original version of HEPHZIBAH. HOWARD-STREET by Charles Woodard (**Anth**) presents many of the features, but is structured as a typical fugging tune. The first half of the tune is homophonic and comes to rest on the dominant and is followed by four brief points of antiphonal fugging imitation, divided into two closely related melodic motives. The first two passages pair the top two voices against the bass with the bass imitating the soprano (mm. 8-16). The final two passages pit two voices moving by half notes against a third voice moving by quarters, engaging in a rhythmic form of fugging as opposed to strict melodic imitation. These two pieces reveal how fugging tunes were preserved and adapted to the scientific aesthetic.

Cole, in addition to composing reformed ancient-style hymn tunes influenced by Nonconformist initiatives, also produced a few three-part works that closely resemble contemporary evangelical British pieces as well as genteel social tunes such as the glee and secular part songs. One example of this type of tune capitalized on the early Romantic sentiment of the pious orphan, the ORPHAN'S PRAYER (**Anth**). Unlike earlier charity odes for Anglican charity children's choir that took their text mostly from scripture, this tune offers a heartfelt utterance of an innocent child from a first person perspective, mirroring the change in hymn texts created by Nonconformists following the Great Awakening. Portraying God as a benevolent father, the pious orphan will find grace and comfort despite the challenges that beset their path in life. Couched within a genteel setting of parallel thirds, expressive chromatic embellishment, and affective sigh figures, Cole's piece strives to convey the sweetness of the orphan, using the music to set the mood of the piece as much as the text. These features combined with dramatic gestures such as fermatas, dynamic markings, and a change in time signature display the politeness of this work's expression and its purpose to appeal to the heartstrings of the social elite. Affective texts had finally become socially acceptable among progressive Anglicans.

Over the course of the Early Nationalist Period, ancient-style expression functioned as a multi-faceted and complex form of music making throughout the Middle Atlantic, coastal South, Southern backcountry, and Trans-Appalachian West. Regional Calvinists and members of other enthusiastic denominations drew from their tradition of ancient-style expression, creating a distinct congregational repertory that circulated in print and scribal culture. More than New England, congregants and singers in these areas maintained a distinctly ecclesiastical forum for the cultivation of ancient-style repertory and composition.

Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake Bay ancient-style musicians continued their tradition of expression into the Early Nationalist Period and established many subsequent trends that followed the settlers to the interior of the country. Not only preserving the ancient style, these musicians continued to produce and perform traditionally English Presbyterian compositional genres, most notably folk hymns and spiritual songs. Further, later Presbyterian musicians such as Ananias Davisson followed older traditional English Presbyterian methods of tunebook compilation descending from Late Colonial initiatives in Philadelphia, as well as those of early eighteenth-century London. Important Late Colonial musicians such as William Dawson and James Lyon influenced Early Nationalist trends of these areas into the second decade of the nineteenth century.

Alongside this tradition of ancient-style expression, popular social-secular practitioners of ancient-style psalmody from New England migrated west and south into these areas and introduced regional audiences to their cultivated form of ancient-style music. In particular, composers from southern and western New England exerted the most direct influence on subsequent Middle Atlantic, Southern, and Western trends. Recreating the social milieu for the performance of this type of music, New England-born musicians helped popularize the singing school, amateur choral society, and other social venues for the performance of sacred music. Some New England-born musicians created a hybrid form of ancient-style expression that combined the traditional English Presbyterian approach with that of the popular social-secular New England form of psalmody. Not only teaching regional singers this style of music, they also introduced their own compositions through their tunebooks that in turn served as a model for a new generation of native regional composers of popular ancient-style psalmody.

Tunebooks produced in the Middle Atlantic, South, and West reflected all of these layers of influence. Congregational collections included traditional English Presbyterian selections from London and Philadelphia, a few New England pieces, and tunes common to many English-language denominations throughout the English-speaking world. Social-secular collections featured tunes with extended compositional techniques favoring complicated plain tunes, and antiphonal and fusing pieces, besides the occasional anthem. A few collections fused both of these tunebook types, and designated certain pieces suitable for devotional use, and others for social performance. This type of tunebook created to suit both performance situations did not exist in New England.

Finally, Nonconformist pieces entered into the repertoires of the Middle Atlantic, Southern backcountry, and the coastal South by the 1770s, becoming standard favorites for many progressive Calvinist churches. A similar movement did not begin in New England until the 1780s beginning with Connecticut-born Andrew Law and subsequently in Boston during the 1790s. In contrast, this style of hymnody outside New England became as popular in urban centers as in rural backwaters, appealing to a wide spectrum of the Christian public. This combination of compositional styles, denominational expression, and sources of influences represents the cultural and religious pluralism that characterized much of the colonies and states outside of New England. New England composers might have printed more collections and produced more composers, but its richness and variety does not match that of the Middle Atlantic, Southern backcountry, and Trans-Appalachian West. The combination of traditional and popular expression, denominational pluralism, modish influences distinguish these regions from their northern neighbors.

Table 13.1 Congregational Calvinist and Calvinist-Influenced Source Material from the Middle Atlantic, South, Southern Backcountry, and West (1754-1816)

Key: **Boldface type** = American-composed, arranged, or adapted  
 ( ) = alternate titles  
 [ ] = most common title of a particular psalm tune, or a referential title in the absence of one in the source  
 \* = Original arrangement  
 + = Original Middle Atlantic, Western, Southern, and Southern Backcountry composition or folk hymn setting

Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	Middle Atlantic			Western		Southern		Carolina Piedmont and Pee Dee Region Standard Notation Manuscripts (1772-1785)
			Eastern PA, NJ, DE, VA		Backcountry: Shenandoah Valley Printed and Manuscript Source Material (1800-1816)	Western PA, OH, KY		Chesapeake Bay (MD, DE, VA)		
			Printed Congregational Collections (1754-1804)	Letteral Manuscripts (1763-1800)		Letteral Manuscripts (1790-1800)	Printed Congregational Collections (1813-1816)	Standard Notation Manuscripts (1755-1770)	Letteral Manuscripts (1767-1790)	
TEN COMMANDMENTS	—	111c	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
[TEN COMMANDMENTS]	—	673	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
MOUNTSINAI (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ABBY	—	325	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x
<b>AFRICA</b>	William Billings	3357	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+ALBION</b>	Robert Boyd	15424	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
<b>ALL SAINTS (1)</b>	Alexander Gillet	5859b	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
ALL SAINTS (2)	William Knapp	1511a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>AMANDA</b>	Justin Morgan	5362	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
<b>AMERICA</b>	Truman S. Wetmore	7473	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>AMHERST</b>	William Billings, arr. 1778	3360a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
AMSTERDAM	—	1648c	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ANGEL'S HYMN	arr. from Orlando Gibbons	387e	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	—
ANGEL'S SONG	John Green	824	—	x	—	x	—	—	x	x
ARLINGTON	arr. from Thomas Augustine Arne	4443	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
ARMLEY	arr. from Georg Christian Neumark	920c	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
ARUNDEL	—	5022a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
AYLESBURY [WIRKSWORTH]	—	848b	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	x
BABYLON STREAMS	—	304a	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
BANGOR	William Tans'ur	1390a	x	—	—	x	x	—	—	x
BATH/BUCKLAND	—	758	x	—	—	—	x	x	—	—
BEDFORD	William Wheal	930a	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	x
BELLA [DERBY]	—	577	x	x	—	x	—	—	x	—
[BENEDICITE] DURA	—	650a	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
<b>*+BETHEL</b>	arr. Chapin	14115	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
BETHESDA	—	2196a	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>BILLOW</b>	Bartholomew Brown	8407	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>NEW BOSTON TUNE</b>	William Billings	3366	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
<b>*+BOURBON</b>	—	14915a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>BRAN(D)FORD</b>	Asahel Benham	4391	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
<b>BRIDGEWATER</b>	Lewis Edson	4274	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
BRISTOL	—	547a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>BROOKFIELD</b>	William Billings	3370	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
BRUNSWICK	—	891a	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x
BUCKINGHAM	—	2924a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>BUNKER HILL</b>	Sylvanus Ripley	4256	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
CAMBRIDGE	—	249a	x	x	—	—	—	—	x	—
CAMBRIDGE NEW	—	4665a	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
CANON OF FOUR IN ONE (1)	John Blow	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
CANON OF 4 IN ONE (2)	Aaron Williams	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
CANON OF 4 IN ONE (3)	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x

Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	Middle Atlantic			Western		Southern		
			Eastern PA, NJ, DE, VA		Backcountry: Shenandoah Valley	Western PA, OH, KY		Chesapeake Bay (MD, DE, VA)		Carolina Piedmont and Pee Dee Region
			Printed Congregational Collections (1754-1804)	Letteral Manuscripts (1763-1800)	Printed and Manuscript Source Material (1800-1816)	Letteral Manuscripts (1790-1800)	Printed Congregational Collections (1813-1816)	Standard Notation Manuscripts (1755-1770)	Letteral Manuscripts (1767-1790)	Standard Notation Manuscripts (1772-1785)
CANON OF 4 IN ONE (4)	William Tans'ur	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
CANTERBURY (1a)	—	250h	x	—	—	x	—	x	x	x
*+CANTERBURY (1b)	—	9844b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
CANTERBURY NEW	—	1210	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CASTLE STREET	—	4941c	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
CHARLESTON	Frothingham	6285	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
CHESHUNT	—	2927	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
*CHESTER [var. of URIEL]	—	6162c	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+CHIDINGTON	—	2873	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
CHINA	Timothy Swan	8729a	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
+CHRISTIAN INQUIRY	—	14586	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
[CLIFFORD] PITTSBURGH	B. Clifford	9994	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
COLCHESTER-NEW	William Tans'ur	1393a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
*+COMMUNION	arr. J. Robertson	11037c	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
CONCORD	Oliver Holden	6287	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
*+CONSOLATION	—	14117	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
*+CONVERSE HYMN (1a)	—	17009: var. not in Temp.	—	x	—	x	—	—	—	—
*+CONVERSE HYMN (1b)	—	17009: var. not in Temp.	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
COOKFIELD	—	1875	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
COOKHAM	—	2211a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
CRANLEY	—	1851	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+CRAVEN OR LAST ASSISE	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
CROWLE [BROOMSGROVE]	—	1084a	x	—	—	—	x	—	x	x
[CUMBERLAND/PSALM 23/ CAREY/ YARMOUTH] BONNELS	Henry Carey	1034d	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
DALSTON	—	2928	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
*DAGENHAM	—	1952b	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
DARKING	—	1877	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+DAVIDS ELEGY (1a)	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
+DAVIDS ELEGY (1b)	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
DEAL	—	1584	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
DEPTFORD	—	1211	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
DORCHESTER	William Knapp	1504a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
[DORCHESTER] WESTON FAVEL (1b)	arr. from William Knapp	1504b	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
DOVER	—	3540a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
DUBLIN	—	271c	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x
DUKES (1a)	—	276b	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
[DUKES/ ST. PETERS/ WINCHESTER] FARNHAM (1b)	—	276d	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
[DUKES/ ST. PETERS/ WINCHESTER] SABBATH HYMN (1c)	—	276f	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
+DUNLAP'S CREEK	arr. S. M'Farland	14918	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
DUNSTAN	Martin Madan	3260b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
[OLD] EAGLE STREET	Isaac Smith	2379	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
ELGIN	—	400	x	x	—	x	x	—	x	—
EMMAUS	William Billings	4010	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
ENFIELD	Solomon Chandler	4527a	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—

Table 13.1 (continued)

Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	Middle Atlantic			Western		Southern		Carolina Piedmont and Pee Dee Region Standard Notation Manuscripts (1772-1785)
			Eastern PA, NJ, DE, VA		Backcountry: Shenandoah Valley	Western PA, OH, KY		Chesapeake Bay (MD, DE, VA)		
			Printed Congregational Collections (1754-1804)	Letteral Manuscripts (1763-1800)	Printed and Manuscript Source Material (1800-1816)	Letteral Manuscripts (1790-1800)	Printed Congregational Collections (1813-1816)	Standard Notation Manuscripts (1755-1770)	Letteral Manuscripts (1767-1790)	
EVENING HYMN (1)	Jeremiah Clark	598a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
EVENING HYMN (2)	William Tans'ur	1726	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
EXETER	—	397b	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>+EXETER</b>	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>FAIRFIELD</b>	Hitchcock	5861	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
FAIRHAM	—	485	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
FALMOUTH	William Tans'ur	1930	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>FELICITY</b>	—	5370	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>FEW HAPPY MATCHES</b>	Crane	4911	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+FIDUCIA</b>	arr. Chapin (?)	14587b	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
<b>FLANDERS</b>	Timothy Swan	4528	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
<b>FRIENDSHIP</b>	Lewis Edson, Jr.	8522	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
FUNERAL THOUGHT	Isaac Smith	2931	x	—	x	—	x	—	—	x
<b>GEORGIA</b>	from Andrew Law	4740	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
GERMANY	arr. from George Frederick Handel	5698a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>*GETHSEMANE</b>	arr. from Abraham Wood	5335	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+GLASGOW</b>	arr. from <i>Wyeth's Repository of Music. Part the Second</i> (1813)	14773b	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
GLO[U]CESTER	—	368a	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
GRANTHAM	—	2771a	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
<b>GREENFIELD</b>	Lewis Edson, Sr.	4278a	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
GREENWICH	—	1212	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
GUIL[D]FORD	William Tans'ur	1411a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x
[HALLELUJAH/ BOSTON] CHRISTMAS DAY HYMN	arr. from William Markham	8881	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
HAMPTON	James Leach	5186b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
HARLINGTON	William Tans'ur	1466	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x
<b>HERMIT</b>	—	8881	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>HIDING PLACE</b>	Smith	7204	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
HOTHAM	Martin Madan	2786a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+HUNTERDON</b>	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
<b>+HYMN FOR THE GOOD</b> (1a)	—	not in Temp.	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+HYMN FOR THE GOOD</b> [MINISTER'S DREAM] (1b)	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
<b>+HYMN TUNE ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC</b>	—	2271	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+IDUMEA</b>	arr. Ananias Davisson	15425	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
<b>*+INDIAN PHILOSOPHER</b>	arr. Amzi (?) Chapin	8879a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>INVITATION</b>	Oliver Brownson	4402	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
IRISH	—	1936a	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	x
<b>*ISLE OF WIGHT (?)</b>	—	733a	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x
ISLINGTON	—	1655a	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
ITALIAN	—	2217a	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
[JERSEY] PERSEA	Ralph Courteville	581	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>JUBILEE</b>	Oliver Brownson	4132a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>*+JUDGMENT</b> (1)	arr. from "Nun freut euch"	994j	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+JUDGMENT HYMN</b> (2a)	James Lyon (?)	2760a	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
<b>*+[JUDGMENT] NORWAY</b> (2b)	arr. from James Lyon	2760b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+JUDGMENT</b> (3a)	arr. Chapin	14588a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—

Table 13.1 (continued)



Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	Middle Atlantic			Western		Southern		Carolina Piedmont and Pee Dee Region Standard Notation Manuscripts (1772-1785)
			Eastern PA, NJ, DE, VA		Backcountry: Shenandoah Valley	Western PA, OH, KY		Chesapeake Bay (MD, DE, VA)		
			Printed Congregational Collections (1754-1804)	Letteral Manuscripts (1763-1800)	Printed and Manuscript Source Material (1800-1816)	Letteral Manuscripts (1790-1800)	Printed Congregational Collections (1813-1816)	Standard Notation Manuscripts (1755-1770)	Letteral Manuscripts (1767-1790)	
+JUDGMENT (3b)	arr. Robert Boyd	14588b	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
+JUSTICE	arr. from Solomon Chandler by Amzi (?) Chapin	4644b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
+KEDRON	arr. Elkanah Kelsey Dare	7888a	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
+KING WILLIAMS	—	not in Temp.	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
KINGSBRIDGE	—	2213a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x
KINGSWOOD	James Peck	7840	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
KINSON	—	2095	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
LEATHERHEAD	—	1879	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LEBANON (1a)	William Billings	3408	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
*LEBANON (1b)	arr. by Ananias Davisson from William Billings	3408	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
LENOX	Lewis Edson, Sr.	4280	x	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
+LIBERTY HALL	arr. Chapin	13551c	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
LITCHFIELD	from Andrew Law	6387	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
LITTLE MARLBOROUGH	—	2934	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	x
LITTLETON	—	2935a	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	x
LONDON	—	249d	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x
LONDON NEW	—	497b	x	x	—	x	x	—	x	—
LONDON OLD	—	536a	x	x	—	x	x	—	x	—
+LUNENBURGH	—	not in Temp.	—	x	—	x	—	—	x	x
LYDD [CHRIST'S CHURCH]	—	2490	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
MADRID	William Billings	4112	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
MANCHESTER	—	374a	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
MARTYRS	—	330a	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x
MEAR [MIDDLESEX]	Simon Brown	909b	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	x
*[MEAR] NEW MEER	—	909c	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+MERCER	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
MIDDLETO(W)N	Amos Bull	4074	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MILES LANE	William Shrubsole	4093a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MILFORD	John Stephenson	2606	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
+MILINDA	Robert Boyd	15426	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
MONTROSE	—	4703	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
+MORELAND	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
MORETON	John Arnold	2436	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
+MORNING HYMN	—	2761	x	—	—	x	x	x	—	—
MORTALITY	Daniel Read	4611	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MUNICH	—	4982c	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
NAMURE [PORTSMOUTH] (1a)	—	750b	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—
NAMUR (2a)	—	750c	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
+NEW TUNE ADAPTED TO THE 12TH VEACRE OF YS 22D CHAP. OF REVELATIONS	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
NEWBURY	—	1946a	—	—	x	—	x	x	—	x
NEWCASTLE	—	1983	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	x
NEW COURT	—	3697b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
NEW EAGLE-STREET	Isaac Smith	2381a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+NEW GRANGE	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
+NEW-JERSEY	Frisby	15427	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
NEW MARK	Amos Bull	7063	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—

Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	Middle Atlantic			Western		Southern		Carolina Piedmont and Pee Dee Region Standard Notation Manuscripts (1772-1785)
			Eastern PA, NJ, DE, VA		Backcountry: Shenandoah Valley	Western PA, OH, KY		Chesapeake Bay (MD, DE, VA)		
			Printed	Letteral	Printed and	Letteral	Printed	Standard	Letteral	
			Congregational Collections (1754-1804)	Manuscripts (1763-1800)	Manuscript Source Material (1800-1816)	Manuscripts (1790-1800)	Congregational Collections (1813-1816)	Notation Manuscripts (1755-1770)	Manuscripts (1767-1790)	
+NEWRY	—	not in Temp.	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
+NEW MONMOUTH	Chapin (?)	14120	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	
+NEW ORLEANS	Robert Boyd	15428	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	
NEW SABBATH	—	4946a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
NORTHAMPTON	John Bishop	712a	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	
[NORWICH] FRENCH (1a)	—	327a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
NORWICH/ FRENCH (1b)	—	327b	x	x	—	x	—	x	—	
NORWICH (2)	—	846a	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	
NORWICH [PSALM 148] (3)	—	1197a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
+NORWICH NEW	—	2270	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
NORWICH (4)	Oliver Brownson	4138a	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	
+OCEAN	—	5013a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
ORANGE	—	863	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	
OXFORD	—	201e	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	
PARIS	William Billings	4121	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
PASTORAL ELEGY	—	13553	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
PECKHAM	Isaac Smith	4158a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
+PENITENCE	arr. T. Smith	13554	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
PENITENTIAL HYMN	Thomas Tallis (?)	184a	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	
PETERBOROUGH	—	539b	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
PILGRIM'S FAREWELL	—	6178a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
+PISGAH	—	14589	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
PLEYEL'S HYMN	arr. from Ignaz Pleyel	5356c	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
PLYMOUTH	William Tans'ur	1431	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	
PLYMPTON	Samuel Arnold	5639b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
POLAND	Timothy Swan	4532a	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	
PORTUGAL	Thomas Thorley	3965a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
PROVIDENCE	—	12950	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
+PRUTIEN [PURITAN (?)] HYMN	—	not in Temp.	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	
PUTNEY	Isaac Smith	2940a	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	
QUERCY	—	1434b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
RAINBOW	Timothy Swan	4523	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
RICKMANSWORTH [ZION'S HARMONY]	—	2941	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	
RIPPON	John Barrow	1261	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
ROCHESTER [ST. MICHAEL'S]	Israel Holdroyd	967a	x	—	x	—	x	—	—	
+ROCKBRIDGE	arr. Chapin	14121	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	
+ROCKINGHAM	arr. Chapin	14593	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
RUSSIA	Daniel Read	4789	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
RYGATE	—	1882b	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
ST. ANDREWS	—	663a	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
ST. ANNS	William Croft	664a	x	x	—	—	x	x	—	
+ST. ARTHUR'S	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	
ST. CLEMENTS	—	2942	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
ST. DAVIDS	—	379c	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	
[ST. EDMUND'S] 22D PSALM TUNE	William Tans'ur	1408	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
ST. GEORGE'S (1a)	—	995d	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	
ST. GEORGE'S/ BRAY (1b)	—	995k	x	—	x	—	—	—	x	
ST. GILES'S	—	665	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
ST. HELENS	J. Jennings	1985	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
*ST. HUMPHREY'S [PSALM 108]	—	2035b	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	
ST. IVES	arr. from Jeremiah Clarke	627b	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	

Table 13.1 (continued)

Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	Middle Atlantic			Western		Southern		Carolina Piedmont and Pee Dee Region Standard Notation Manuscripts (1772-1785)
			Eastern PA, NJ, DE, VA		Backcountry: Shenandoah Valley Printed and Manuscript Source Material (1800-1816)	Western PA, OH, KY		Chesapeake Bay (MD, DE, VA)		
			Printed Congregational Collections (1754-1804)	Letteral Manuscripts (1763-1800)		Letteral Manuscripts (1790-1800)	Printed Congregational Collections (1813-1816)	Standard Notation Manuscripts (1755-1770)	Letteral Manuscripts (1767-1790)	
			x	—	—	—	—	—	x	
ST. JAMES'S	Raphael Courteville	582a	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
ST. JOHN'S (1)	—	666	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—
[ST. JOHNS] ST. JEANS (2)	William Tans'ur	1439	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. LUKES	—	667a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
ST. MARK'S	arr. from Henry Lawes	509c	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
ST. MARTIN'S	William Tans'ur	1929	x	—	x	—	x	—	x	—
ST. MARYS	—	542a	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	—
ST. MATTHEW'S	—	669a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. NEOTS [/WORKSOP] ST. GEORGE'S]	James Green	751a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. PAUL'S (1)	—	670	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
ST. PAULS (2)	—	2043a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. THOMAS'S (1)	—	671	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
ST. THOMAS'S (2)	—	2933b	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
SALISBURY	arr. from Richard Allison	279c	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>+SALVATION</b>	Robert Boyd	15430	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
[SANCTA MARIA GRATIA PLINA]	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
SARUM	William Tans'ur	1462	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—
SAVANNAH	William Billings	4022	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+SCOTLAND</b>	Nehemiah Shumway	6461	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+SEA= BROOK</b>	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>+SEASONS</b>	Lucius Chapin	13555b	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
SHERBURNE	Daniel Read	4622a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>+SHIPHAM</b>	—	4643	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SILVER SPRING	Justin Morgan	5380	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
SILVER STREET	Isaac Smith	4091a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
SION[/ BENEDICITE]/ DURA	—	672a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>+SOLITUDE</b>	—	8605	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SOPHRONIA	King	4426a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
SOUTHWELL	—	269h	x	x	—	x	—	x	x	—
<b>SOUTHWELL NEW</b>	—	956	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SPRINGFIELD	Babcock	4140b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x
STANDISH	—	586	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	—
STANES	—	2946a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>*+[STROUDWATER] PSALM 26/ CALVARY (1b)</b>	—	794: var. not in Temp.	—	x	—	x	—	x	—	x
STROUDWATER (2)	—	1062a	x	—	—	—	x	x	—	x
SUFFIELD	A. King	4141	x	—	x	—	x	—	—	x
<b>+SUPPLICATION</b>	arr. from Chapin	13555c	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
SUTTON (1)	—	2223a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
SUTTON (2)	Goff	6186	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
SUTTON (3)	Joseph Stone	6534	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
[TALLIS EVENING HYMN] YARMOUTH	—	246e	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
[TE DEUM] SCARBOROUGH	—	166a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>+TENDER THOUGHT</b>	Ananias Davisson	15431a	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+TRANQUILITY</b>	Reubin Munday	15432	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+TRIBULATION (1a)</b>	arr. Chapin	14594	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+TRIBULATION (1b)</b>	arr. Ananias Davisson	14594	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
TRINITY (1)	Felice Giardini	2792	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
[TRINITY] (2a)	William Tans'ur	2042a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—

Table 13.1 (continued)

Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	Middle Atlantic			Western		Southern		Carolina Piedmont and Pee Dee Region Standard Notation Manuscripts (1772-1785)
			Eastern PA, NJ, DE, VA		Backcountry: Shenandoah Valley	Western PA, OH, KY		Chesapeake Bay (MD, DE, VA)		
			Printed Congregational Collections (1754-1804)	Letteral Manuscripts (1763-1800)	Printed and Manuscript Source Material (1800-1816)	Letteral Manuscripts (1790-1800)	Printed Congregational Collections (1813-1816)	Standard Notation Manuscripts (1755-1770)	Letteral Manuscripts (1767-1790)	
[TRINITY] NEW YORK (2b)	arr. from William Tans'ur	2042b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>TRIUMPH</b>	A. Hamilton	8063	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
TROWBRIDGE	arr. from G. F. Handel	3675f	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+TRUE RICHES</b>	—	not in Temp.	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
TRUMPET [WHITE CHURCH]	Ely Stansfield	1318	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	x
TRURO	—	3991a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
TURIN (1)	Felice Giardini	3294a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>TURIN (2)</b>	Joseph Herrick	11336	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>UNION</b>	Alexander Gillet	4260	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+UNITIA</b>	arr. Chapin	14118	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+VERNON</b>	arr. Chapin	10998b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
VENI CREATOR	—	168a	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>VIRGINIA</b>	Oliver Brownson	4290	x	—	x	—	x	—	—	x
WALLINGSFORD	—	844a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
WALNEY [ST. THOMAS]	—	1934	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
WALSAL (1a)	—	1065a	x	—	x	—	x	—	x	—
<b>*[WALSAL] DROTWICH (1a)</b>	—	1065: var. not in Temp.	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>*[WALSAL] DROTWICH (1b)</b>	—	1065: var. not in Temp.	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>*[WALSAL] DROTWICH (1c)</b>	—	1065: var. not in Temp.	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>*[WALSAL] DROTWICH (1d)</b>	—	1065: var. not in Temp.	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>*[WALSAL] PSALM 143</b>	—	1065: var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
WANTAGE	—	901a	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	x
WAREHAM (1)	William Knapp	1511a	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
WAREHAM (2)	Samuel Arnold	5611a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
WARWICK	William Rogers	911	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
WAYBRIDGE	Martin Madan	2984a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
WELLS	Israel Holdroyd	975a	x	—	x	—	x	—	—	x
WELSH	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WESTMINSTER	—	387d	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
WHITEFIELDS HYMN	—	1687b	—	x	—	—	—	x	—	—
WILDERNESS	James Leach	6813	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>WILLIAMSTOWN</b>	—	4647a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+WILLINGTON</b>	—	2770	x	x	—	x	—	x	—	—
WINCHESTER	—	1664d	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—
<b>WINDHAM</b>	Daniel Read	4628	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
WINDSOR/DUNDEE	—	271a	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	—
<b>*WIN[D]SOR OLD PSAL 102ME</b>	—	271: var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
<b>WINTER</b>	Daniel Read	4629	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
WORCESTER	—	382a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>WORTHINGTON</b>	Strong	4142a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
YORK	—	331a	x	x	—	x	x	—	x	—
<b>+ZION'S HILL</b>	arr. Ananias Davisson from Abraham Wood	4077b	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—

Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	Middle Atlantic			Western		Southern		Carolina Piedmont and Pee Dee Region Standard Notation Manuscripts (1772-1785)
			Eastern PA, NJ, DE, VA		Backcountry: Shenandoah Valley Printed and Manuscript Source Material (1800-1816)	Western PA, OH, KY		Chesapeake Bay (MD, DE, VA)		
			Printed Congregational Collections (1754-1804)	Letteral Manuscripts (1763-1800)		Letteral Manuscripts (1790-1800)	Printed Congregational Collections (1813-1816)	Standard Notation Manuscripts (1755-1770)	Letteral Manuscripts (1767-1790)	
<b>NUMBERED PSALMS</b>										
[PSALM 1] PROPER TUNE	—	158a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>+4 PSALM</b>	—	2762	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
V PSALM	—	1946a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+VIII PSALM</b>	James Lyon	2763	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>+9TH PSALM</b>	William Tuckey	2764	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>*+12TH PSALM</b>	—	1950b	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
[PSALM 14] KING FREDERICK'S	—	113b	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
15TH PSALM	John Arnold	2561	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	x
18 PSALM	—	159a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
[PSALM 21] PHILADELPHIA	—	160a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>+23D PSALM</b>	Francis Hopkinson	2765a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+33D PSALM</b>	William Tuckey	2766	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
40TH PSALM	John Smith	1858	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
43D PSALM	John Smith	1859	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
46TH PSALM	—	171	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
OLD FIFTIETH	—	116a	x	—	—	—	x	—	x	x
[PSALM 50 NEW] EAST CHESTER AN ANTHEM	—	656	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
NEW 50TH PSALM	J. W.	1986a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OLD 51ST PSALM	—	93b	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
56TH PSALM	—	2080	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	x
57TH PSALM	—	1193b	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OLD 68 PSALM PROPER	—	117a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
81 PSALM	—	175a	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
90TH PSALM	John Arnold	2542	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—
<b>+91ST PSALM</b>	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>+95TH PSALM</b>	—	2767	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+PSALM 96</b>	Francis Hopkinson	4642	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
98TH PSALM (1a)	—	1195a	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	x
<b>*+98TH PSALM (1b)</b>	—	1195b	—	x	—	x	—	—	—	—
[PSALM 98] SHIPPENSBURG (1c)	—	1195c	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OLD HUNDRED	—	143a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
FRENCH C. PSALM [VENI CREATOR]	—	288c	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
GREEN'S HUNDRED	—	824	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>*NEW HUNDRED</b>	—	1054	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
102 PSALM	Uriah Davenport	2342a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+PSALM 106 (1a)</b>	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
<b>+PSALM 106 (1b)</b>	—	not in Temp.	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—
[PSALM 111] NEW TUNE PROPPER TO THE 11TH... 121ST... 122D & 131ST PSALMS	—	658	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
OLD CXII PSALM	—	130c	x	x	—	x	—	—	x	—
OLD 113TH PSALM	—	146a	x	x	—	—	x	—	x	—
NEW 113TH PSALM	—	1194b	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CXIX PSALM	—	120c	x	x	—	—	—	—	x	—
NEW 119TH PSALM	Uriah Davenport	2364b	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OLD CXXTH PSALM	—	175b	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
[PSALM 121] NORWALK	—	659	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
[PSALM 122 OLD] IPSWICH	—	147a	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
122D PSALM	J. W.	1987a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
124TH PSALM	—	123a	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—

Tune Name	Composer	HTI#	Middle Atlantic			Western		Southern		Carolina Piedmont and Pee Dee Region Standard Notation Manuscripts (1772-1785)
			Eastern PA, NJ, DE, VA		Backcountry: Shenandoah Valley	Western PA, OH, KY		Chesapeake Bay (MD, DE, VA)		
			Printed Congregational Collections (1754-1804)	Letteral Manuscripts (1763-1800)	Printed and Manuscript Source Material (1800-1816)	Letteral Manuscripts (1790-1800)	Printed Congregational Collections (1813-1816)	Standard Notation Manuscripts (1755-1770)	Letteral Manuscripts (1767-1790)	
[PSALM 126] DARBURROW	—	660a	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
[128 PSALM] KINDERHOOK	Samuel Arnold	5691b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
[PSALM 130] SALEM	—	107a	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
<b>PSALM 132</b>	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
136TH PSALM	—	1613a	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
<b>*+OLD 137TH PSALM</b>	—	109: var. not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
143D PSALM	—	206	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
145TH PSALM [KENT]	Johann Friedrich Lampe	1830a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
145TH PSALM	John Arnold	2540	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
148TH PSALM (1a)	—	126a	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	
<b>*CXLVIII PSALM (1b)</b>	—	126: var. not in Temp.	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	
<b>+148TH PSALM (2)</b>	—	2769	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
[PSALM 149] ST. MICHAELS	—	657a	x	x	—	x	x	—	x	
150TH PSALM	—	1855	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	
<b>NUMBERED HYMNS</b>										
<b>+TWENTY-FOURTH [PRIMROSE] [Hymn]</b>	arr. Amzi (?) Chapin	14122	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
<b>TWENTY-FIFTH [Hymn]</b>	Alexander Gillet	4139	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+THIRTIETH [Hymn]</b>	arr. Chapin	14590	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
PSALM 34 [Hymn]	Joseph Stephenson	2623	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>FORTY-SIXTH [Hymn]</b>	Amos Bull	148e	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+NINETY-THIRD (1a)</b>	—	10990b	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+ [NINETY THIRD] BRENTFORD [Hymn] (1b)</b>	arr. Chapin	10990b	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+NINETY-FIFTH [Hymn]</b>	—	14592	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+PSALM 104 [Hymn] (1)</b>	James Lyon	2768	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
[HYMN 104] RAPTURE (2)	—	3638a	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+PSALM 136 [133] [Hymn]</b>	Amariah Horton	4519	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>EXTENDED CHORAL WORKS</b>										
<b>+TWO CELEBRATED VERSES BY STERNHOLD &amp; HOPKINS</b>	James Lyon	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
DENMARK	Martin Madan	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x
<b>FUNERAL ANTHEM</b>	William Billings	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
NEW YORK ANTHEM	—	not in Temp.	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—

Sources Consulted:

Middle Atlantic

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Key: \* = Original arrangement  
 + = Original Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay, and Western composition or folk hymn setting

Table 13.2 Printed Congregational Source Material from Philadelphia and its influence on Letteral Manuscripts from the Middle Atlantic and Trans-Appalachian West (1755-1800)

Tune Name	Printed Sources		Middle Atlantic									Chesapeake Bay			West		
	DawsW	SP	HutcJ	BarnR	StarJ	TrinJ	BeatJ	JohnR	KillG	EnglJ	WeldFam	ElliR	MansS	RumsN Ms.	GrayR	KerrJ	JohnA
	1754	1760	Ms. 1763	Ms. 1768	Ms. 1778	Ms. 1780	Ms. 1782	Ms. 1783	Ms. 1790, c.	Ms. 1790	Ms. 1800, c.	Ms. 1755-60	Ms. 1767	Ms. 1770	Ms. 1790	Ms. 1792	Ms. 1800, c.
PA	PA	PA (?)	PA	PA	PA (?)	PA	PA	NJ	PA (?)	VA (WV)	DE	MD	MD	MD	PA	OH	KY
<b>+TWO CELEBRATED</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
<b>VERSES BY STERNHOLD &amp; HOPKINS</b> by James Lyon																	
TEN COMMANDMENT (1)	x	x: COMMAND-MENT	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: OLD TEN COMMANDMENTS TUNE	x: COMMAND-MENT	—	—	—	—
[TEN COMMANDMENT (2)] MOUNTSINAI	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
ABBY	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	x: ABBEYS	x	—	—	x	x	x	x: ABBEY	x
ANGEL'S HYMN	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
ANGEL'S SONG [AYLESBURY]	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	x	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	x
WIRKSWORTH	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—
BABYLON STREAMS	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: BABYLONS STREAMS	—	—	—	—
BANGER [BANGOR] by William Tans'ur	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
BEDFORD	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
BELLA	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x: BELLA OR 25TH PSALM	x	—	—	x: DERBY	—
BRISTOL	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
BRUNSWICK	x	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x: BRUNSWIC	x	x	x	x	x
CAMBRIDGE	x	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—
CANTERBURY	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	—
CANTERBURY NEW	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+CHIDDINGSTON</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
<b>*+CONVERSE HYMN (1a)</b>	—	—	—	x	x	—	x: CONVERSE	—	—	x: CONVERSE	—	—	—	—	x: CONVERSE	x: CANVERSE	x: CONVERSE
<b>*+CONVERSE HYMN (1b)</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CROWLE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
<b>+DAVIDS ELEGY (1a)</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+DAVIDS ELEGY (1b)</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
DEAL	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
DEPTFORD	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
DUBLIN	x: COLSHILL OR DUBLIN	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	—	x: 1) DUBLIN, 2) COLESHILL	x	x	x: 1) DUBLIN, 2) COLESHILL	x
DUKES [DUKES/ ST. PETERS/ WINCHESTER] SABBATH HYMN	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—
ELGIN	x	—	x	x: ELGINE	x	x	x	x: ELGAN	x	x	—	x	—	x	x	x	x
EXETER	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: EXETER SHORT	—	—	—	—
<b>+EXETER</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
FAIRHAM	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
GLO(U)CESTER	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: GLOUCESTER	x	—	—	—	—
GREENWICH	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+HUNTERDON</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—



Tune Name	Printed Sources		Middle Atlantic									Chesapeake Bay			West		
	DawsW	SP	HutcJ	BarnR	StarJ	TrinJ	BeatJ	JohnR	KillG	EnglJ	WeldFam	ElliR	MansS	RumsN Ms.	GrayR	KerrJ	JohnA
	YEA 1754 PA	PhilW 1760 PA	Ms. 1763 PA (?)	Ms. 1768 PA	Ms. 1778 PA	Ms. 1780 PA (?)	Ms. 1782 PA	Ms. 1783 NJ	Ms. 1790, c. PA (?)	Ms. 1790 VA (WV)	Ms. 1 1800, c. DE	Ms. 1755-60 MD	Ms. 1767 MD	Ms. 1770 MD	Ms. 1790 PA	Ms. 1792 OH	Ms. 1800, c. KY
+HYMN FOR THE GOOD (1a)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+HYMN FOR THE GOOD [MINISTER'S DREAM] (1b)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
+HYMN TUNE ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
*ISLE OF WIGHT (?) [JERSEY] PERSEA	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	x
+JUDGMENT HYMN	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
+KING WILLIAMS LONDON	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LONDON NEW	x	x	x: NEWTOWN	x: 1) NEWTON, 2) LONDON NEW	x: 1) NEWTOWN, 2) LONDON NEW	x: 1) NEWTOWN, 2) LONDON NEW	x: NEWTON	x: 1) NEWTON, 2) LONDON NEW	x: NEW TOWN	x: NEWTOWN	x	—	x	x	x: 1) LONDON NEW, 2) NEWTOWN	x: NEWTOWN	x: 1) NEWTOWN, 2) LONDON NEW
LONDON OLD	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	x
+LUNENBURGH	—	—	—	x	x: LUNENBURG	—	x	x: LUNINBURG	—	x	—	—	—	x: LUNENBURG	—	x	x: LUNENBURG
MANCHESTER MARTYR'S	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	x: MARTIRES	x	x	x	x	x
MEAR (1a)	—	—	—	x: MIDDLESEX	x	x: MEAR	x: MIDDLESEX	x	—	x: MIDDLESEX	x: M	—	—	—	x: MIDDLESEX	x: MIDDLESEX	x: MEARS
*+[MEAR] NEW MEER (1b)	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+MORELAND	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
+MORNING HYMN	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
NAMURE (1a)	x	x: PORTS- MOUTH	—	x: PORTSMOUTH	—	—	x	—	—	x: PORTSMOUTH	—	—	—	—	—	x: PORTSMOUTH	—
+NEW TUNE ADAPTED TO THE 12TH VEACRE OF YS 22D CHAP. OF REVELATIONS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
+NEWRY NORTHAMPTON	—	— x	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
NORWICH, OR FRENCH	x	x: NORWICH	x: FRENCH	x: FRENCH	x: FRENCH	x: FRENCH	x: FRENCH	x: FRENCH	x: FRENCH	x: FRENCH	—	x	—	[x: FRENCH]	x: FRENCH	x: FRENCH	[x: FRENCH]
+NORWICH NEW	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ORANGE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
OXFORD	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—
PENITENTIAL HYMN	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: PENITENTS	—	—	—	—	—
PETERBOROUGH	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+PRUTEN [PURITAN (?) ] HYMN	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. ANDREWS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
ST. ANN'S	x	—	—	x	x	—	x	x	—	x	—	—	x	x	—	x	x
+ST. ARTHUR'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
ST. DAVID'S	x	x	x: DAVIDS	x: DAVIDS	x: DAVID'S	x: DAVIDS	x	x	x: DAVIDS	x: DAVID'S	—	x	x	x	x: DAVID'S	x: DAVID'S	x: DAVIDS
ST. GILES'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
*+ [ST. HUMPHREY'S] CVIII PSALM	x	—	—	x: ST. HUMPHRES	x: ST. HUMPHREY'S	x: ST. HUMPHREY'S	x: ST. HUMPHREYS	x: 1) ST UMPHRYS, 2) 108 PSALM	—	x: ST. HUMPHREY'S	x: ST HU[MPH- REY'S]	x: ST. HUMPHREY'S'S	—	x: ST. HUMPHREY'S	x: ST. HUMPHREY'S	x: ST. HUMPHREY'S	x: ST. HUMPHREY'S
ST. JAMES'S	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—

Table 13.2 (continued)

Tune Name	Printed Sources		Middle Atlantic									Chesapeake Bay			West		
	DawsW	SP	HutcJ	BarnR	StarJ	TrinJ	BeatJ	JohnR	KillG	EnglJ	WeldFam	ElliR	MansS	RumsN Ms.	GrayR	KerrJ	JohnA
	YEA	PhilW	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.	Ms. 1	Ms.	Ms.	1770	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.
	1754	1760	1763	1768	1778	1780	1782	1783	1790, c.	1790	1800, c.	1755-60	1767	MD	1790	1792	1800, c.
	PA	PA	PA (?)	PA	PA	PA (?)	PA	NJ	PA (?)	VA (WV)	DE	MD	MD	PA	OH	KY	
ST. JEANS [ST. JOHNS] by William Tans'ur	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. JOHN'S	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
ST. LUKES	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
ST. MARK'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
ST. MARTIN'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
[ST.] MARY'S	x: ST. MARY'S	x: HACNY OR S. MARYS	x	x	x: MARYS	x	x: ST. MARY'S	x	x: ST. MARY'S	x	x	—	x: HACKNY	x: ST. MARY'S	x	x	x
[ST. NEOT'S/ WORKSOP] ST. GEORGE'S OR XLII PSALM	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. PAUL'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
ST. THOMAS'S	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
SALISBURY	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
SARUM by William Tans'ur	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
<b>+SEA=BROOK</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
SION	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
[BENEDICTE] DURA	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
SOUTHWELL	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	—	—	x	—
<b>SOUTHWELL NEW</b>	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
STANDISH	x	x	—	x	x	x	x: 1) STANDISH, 2) 71ST NEW x	x: 1) STANDISH, 2) 71 PSALM x: CALVERY	—	x	—	x	x	x	x	—	x
<b>*+[STROUDWATER] PSALM 26/ CALVARY (1)</b>	—	—	—	x: CALVORY	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: CALVERY	x	x
[TE DEUM] SCARBOROUGH	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+TRUE RICHES</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
[TRUMPET] WHITE CHURCH [WHITCHURCH]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
VENI CREATOR	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
WALNEY	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
WALSAL	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
<b>*+[WALSAL] DROITWICH (1a)</b>	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
<b>*+[WALSAL] DROTWICH (1b)</b>	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x: DROTWICK	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>*+[WALSAL] DROTWRICH (1c)</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: DRATWICH	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>*+[WALSAL] DROTWICH (1d)</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WESTMINSTER	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
WHITEFIELDS HYMN	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+WILLINGTON</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	x: WELLINGTON	x	—
WINCESTER	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
WINDSOR [DUNDEE]	x	x	x: DUNDEE	x: DUNDEE	x: DUNDEE	x: DUNDEE	x: DUNDEE	x: 1) DUNDEE, 2) WINDSOR	x: DUNDEE	x: DUNDEE	—	x: 1) DUNDEE, 2) WINDOSR	—	[x]	x: DUNDEE	x: DUNDEE	x: DUNDEE
WORCESTER	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—
YORK	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	[x]	x	x	x

Table 13.2 (continued)

Tune Name	Printed Sources		Middle Atlantic								Chesapeake Bay			West			
	DawsW YEA 1754 PA	SP PhilW 1760 PA	HutcJ Ms. 1763 PA (?)	BarnR Ms. 1768 PA	StarJ Ms. 1778 PA	TrinJ Ms. 1780 PA (?)	BeatJ Ms. 1782 PA	JohnR Ms. 1783 NJ	KillG Ms. 1790, c. PA (?)	EnglJ Ms. 1790 VA (WV)	WeldFam Ms. 1 1800, c. DE	ElliR Ms. 1755-60 MD	MansS Ms. 1767 MD	RumsN Ms. 1770 MD	GrayR Ms. 1790 PA	KerrJ Ms. 1792 OH	JohnA Ms. 1800, c. KY
<b>NUMBERED PSALM TUNES</b>																	
[PSALM 1] PROPER TUNE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
[PSALM 14] KING FREDERICK'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
18 PSALM	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: OLD 18TH PSALM	—	—	—	—	—
[PSALM 21] PHILADELPHIA TUNE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
40TH PSALM by John Smith	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
46TH PSALM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
OLD 50TH PSALM	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—
PSALM 50 NEW [EAST CHESTER AN ANTHEM]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
OLD 51ST PSALM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
56TH PSALM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
OLD 68 PSALM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
PROPER	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
81 PSALM	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: GLASGOW TUNE	—	—	—	—	—
90TH PSALM TUNE by John Arnold	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x: 90 PSALM	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>*+98TH PSALM</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x	—
C PSALM	x	x	x: SAVOY	x: SAVOY	x: SAVOY	—	x: SAVOY, OR, OLD 100 PSALM TUNE	x: SAVOY	x	x: OLD 100 PSALM	—	—	x: OLD 100TH	x: SAVOY	x: SAVOY	x: SAVOY	x: SAVOY
FRENCH, C. PSALM	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: VENI CREATOR	x	—	—	—	—
GREENS 100TH by John Green	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	x	—	—
<b>NEW C. PSALM</b>	x	x: 100 PSALM TUNE NEW	—	x	x: CTH PSALM NEW	x	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x: 100 PSALM NEW	x	x	—
<b>+106 PSALM</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: Nausah	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
[PSALM 111] NEW TUNE PROPPER TO THE 11TH... 121ST... 122D & 131ST PSALM'S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
OLD CXII PSALM	x	x: 85 PSALM	—	—	—	—	x: 85 PSALM	—	—	x	—	x: CHICHESTER	—	—	x	x: LUTHAR	—
CXIII PSALM	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: S[TEPNEY]	x: JOPPA	x	—	—	—	—
CXIX PSALM	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
OLD CXXTH PSALM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
[PSALM 121] NORWALK	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
[PSALM 122 OLD] IPSWICH	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
[PSALM 124] KINGSTON	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
[PSALM 126] DARBURROW	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
[PSALM 130] SALEM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
<b>*+OLD 137TH PSALM</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—

Tune Name	Printed Sources		Middle Atlantic									Chesapeake Bay			West		
	DawsW YEA 1754 PA	SP PhilW 1760 PA	HutcJ Ms. 1763 PA (?)	BarnR Ms. 1768 PA	StarJ Ms. 1778 PA	TrinJ Ms. 1780 PA (?)	BeatJ Ms. 1782 PA	JohnR Ms. 1783 NJ	KillG Ms. 1790, c. PA (?)	EnglJ Ms. 1790 VA (WV)	WeldFam Ms. 1 1800, c. DE	ElliR Ms. 1755-60 MD	MansS Ms. 1767 MD	RumsN Ms. 1770 MD	GrayR Ms. 1790 PA	KerrJ Ms. 1792 OH	JohnA Ms. 1800, c. KY
148 PSALM	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: NEWBERRY TUNE} 148TH PSALM	—	—	—	—	—
*+CXLVIII PSALM (var. not in Temp.)	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: OLD 148 PSALM	—	—	—	—	—
CXLIX PSALM	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	x: ST. MICHAELS	x	x: STANFORD	x: OLD 149 PSALM	—	—	x: ST. MICHAEL'S	—	—

Source Abbreviations

- BarnR Ms.:** Barns, Robert. "Robert Barns, His Book Jany: 20<sup>th</sup>: 1768. Price 5 8\00." Montgomery and Lancaster County, PA, 1768-71. Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.
- BeatJ Ms.:** Beatty, John. "John Beatty his Musick Book March 13th. 1782." Cumberland [Mifflin] County, PA, 1782. Private Collection, Marilyn Beatty Anderson, California.
- DawsW YEA:** Dawson, W. *The Youth's Entertaining Amusement, or A Plain Guide to Psalmody. Being a collection of the most usual, and necessary tunes sung in the English Protestant congregations in Philadelphia, &c. In two parts, viz. treble and bass, with all proper and necessary rules, adapted to the meanest capacities.* Philadelphia: German printing-office, sold by the author, 1754.
- ElliR Ms.:** Ellis, Richard, Capt. For Richard Hodgson. Manuscript copybook of sacred vocal music. MD, 1787. Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington.
- EnglJ Ms.:** English, James. "A Musick Song. James English, His Musick Book Made by Him In The Year Of Our Lord, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety." Charles Town, [West] Virginia, 1790. Ross County Historical Society, Chillicothe, OH.
- GrayR Ms.:** Gray, Robert. "Robert Gray His Vocal Musick Book," manuscript copybook of sacred music. Pittsburgh, 1790. MFF 0883, Archives Collection. Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh.
- HutcJ Ms.:** Hutchinson, John. Manuscript copybook of sacred music. PA, 1763. Archives and Special Collections Department. Franklin and Marshall College Library, Lancaster, PA.
- JohnA Ms.:** Johnson, Abraham. Manuscript copybook of psalmody. Mason (?), KY, c. 1800. SC 8, manuscript collection, Kentucky Library and Museum. Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green.
- JohnR Ms.:** Johnson, Robert (?). Manuscript copybook of sacred music. Burlington, N.J., 1783. Salem County Historical Society, Salem, N.J.
- KerrJ Ms.:** Kerr, John. Manuscript commonplace book. Franklinton (Columbus), OH, 1788-92. Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.
- KillG Ms.:** Killgore, George. Music book. PA, [c. 1780-1820]. Doc. 707, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera. The Winterthur Library, Winterthur, DE.
- MansS Ms.:** Mansfield, Samuel. Manuscript copybook of sacred vocal music. Chestertown, MD, 1767. Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington.
- RumsN Ms.:** Rumsey, Nathan. Manuscript copybook of sacred music. MD (?), c. 1770. Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington.
- SP PhilW:** Tune Supplement to Isaac Watts, *The Psalms of David, Imitated in the Language of the New-Testament* (Philadelphia: W. Dunlap, for G. Noel, Book-Seller, in New-York, 1760).
- StarJ Ms.:** Starrett, James. Hymnal [photographs]. Rapho Township, Lancaster County, PA, 1770. Doc. 1805. Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera. The Winterthur Library, Winterthur, DE.
- TrinJ Ms.:** Trindle, James. "Mary Nichols Her Vocal/Music Book Made By Me James Trindle This 22d of Augt 1780." Manuscript copybook of sacred music. Pennsylvania, 1780. Clements Library. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- WeldFam Ms. 1:** Weldin Family. Manuscript copybook of sacred music. Wilmington, DE, c. 1800. Delaware Historical Society, Wilmington, DE.

Note: Matching superscripts denote alternate tune title.

\* Boldface titles denote tunes that are shared between Dawson and manuscript sources

DawsW	HutcJ	BarnJ	RumsN	StarJ	BeatJ	JohnR	KillG	EnglJ	GrayR	KerrJ	JohnA
YEA	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.	Ms.
1754	1763	1768	1770	1778	1782	1783	c. 1790	1790	1790	1792	c. 1800
PA	PA (?)	PA	MD	PA	PA	NJ	PA (?)	VA (WV)	PA	OH	KY
FRENCH	FRENCH	FRENCH	[FRENCH]	FRENCH	FRENCH	FRENCH	FRENCH	FRENCH	FRENCH	FRENCH	[FRENCH]
YORK	YORK	LONDON	[YORK]	LONDON	LONDON	YORK	YORK	YORK	YORK	LONDON	YORK
LONDON	LONDON	YORK	[LONDON]	YORK	YORK	LONDON	LONDON	LONDON	LONDON	YORK	LONDON
WINDSOR <sup>A</sup>	DUNDEE <sup>A</sup>	ELGINE	[DUNDEE] <sup>A</sup>	DUNDEE <sup>A</sup>	DUNDEE <sup>A</sup>	DUNDEE <sup>A</sup>	DUNDEE <sup>A</sup>	DUNDEE <sup>A</sup>	DUNDEE <sup>A</sup>	DUNDEE <sup>A</sup>	DUNDEE <sup>A</sup>
ELGIN	ELGIN	DUNDEE <sup>A</sup>	ELGIN	ELGIN	ELGIN	ELGAN	ELGIN	ELGIN	ELGIN	ELGIN	ELGIN
MARTYR'S	MARTYR'S	MARTYRS	MARTYRS	MARTYR'S	MARTYRS	MARTYRS	MARTYRS	MARTYRS	MARTYR'S	MARTYR'S	MARTYRS
ABBY	ABBY	DUBLIN	ABBY	ABBY	ABBY	DUBLIN	DUBLIN	ABBY	ABBY	DUBLIN	DUBLIN
COLSHILL OR DUBLIN	DUBLIN	ABBY	DUBLIN	DUBLIN	DUBLIN	ABBY	ABBEYS	DUBLIN	DUBLIN	ABBEY	ABBY
ST. DAVID'S	NEWTON <sup>B</sup>	DAVIDS	BRUNSWICK	DAVID'S	ST. DAVIDS	NEWTON <sup>B</sup>	DAVIDS	NEWTOWN <sup>B</sup>	DAVID'S	DAVID'S	DAVIDS
LONDON NEW <sup>B</sup>	ST. DAVIDS	NEWTON <sup>B</sup>	LONDON NEW	NEWTOWN <sup>B</sup>	NEWTON <sup>B</sup>	ST. DAVIDS	NEW TOWN <sup>B</sup>	DAVID'S	MARY'S	NEWTOWN <sup>B</sup>	NEWTOWN <sup>B</sup>
ST. MARY'S	MARY'S	MARYS	ST. DAVID'S	MARY'S	ST. MARY'S	MARYS	MARYS	MARY'S	BRUNSWICK	MARY'S	MARY'S
LONDON OLD	OLD 100TH <sup>C</sup>	SAVOY <sup>C</sup>	ST. MARY'S	SAVOY <sup>C</sup>	BRUNSWICK	BRUNSWICK	THE C, PSALM	BRUNSWICK	ISLE OF WHIGHT	SAVOY <sup>C</sup>	SAVOY <sup>C</sup>
ISLE OF WIGHT		NEW 100 Ps	SAVOY <sup>C</sup>	BRUNSWICK	ISLE OF WIGHT	LONDON NEW	SOUTHWELL	ISLE OF WIGHT	SAVOY <sup>C</sup>	NEW HUND'D	BRUNSWICK
ST. JAMES'S		BRUNSWICK	ST. HUMPHREY'S <sup>F</sup>	ISLE OF WIGHT	LONDON OLD	SAVOY <sup>C</sup>		OLD 100 PSALM	NEW HUNDRED	BRUNSWICK	ISLE OF WIGHT
BRUNSWICK		ISLE OF WIGHT	100 PSALM NEW	LONDON NEW	STANDISH	LONDON OLD		LONDON OLD	LONDON NEW	ISLE OF WIGHT	LONDON OLD
ST. ANN'S		LONDON NEW	ISLE OF WHITE	LONDON OLD	MIDDLESEX <sup>E</sup>	NEW 100 PSALM		LUNENBURGH	LONDON OLD	HUMPHREY'S <sup>F</sup>	LONDON NEW
WESTMINSTER		LONDON OLD	ANGELS SONG	MEAR <sup>E</sup>	ANGELS SONG	ANGELS SONG		NEW 100 PSALM	ANGEL	MIDDLESEX <sup>E</sup>	MEARS <sup>E</sup>
CANTERBURY		LUNENBURGH	LONDON OLD	STANDISH	LUNENBURGH	ISLE OF WIGHT		ST. HUMPHREYS <sup>F</sup>	WELLINGTON	LONDON OLD	STANDISH
STANDISH		STANDISH	LUNENBURG	CALVARY	SAVOY <sup>C</sup>	ST ANNS		MIDDLESEX <sup>E</sup>	STANDISH	LUNENBURGH	ST. HUMPHREY'S <sup>F</sup>
EXETER		CALVORY	STANDISH	ST. HUMPHREY'S <sup>F</sup>	NEW 100 PSALM	STANDISH		ST. ANNS	LUNINBURGH	CALVARY	CALVARY
GLOCESTER		MIDDLESEX <sup>E</sup>	106 PSALM <sup>H</sup>	KING WILLIAMS	ST. ANNS	BELLA		PORTSMOUTH	MIDDLESEX <sup>E</sup>	CANVERSE	LUNENBURG
ST. GEORGE'S		CONVERSE	DROTWICH	LUNENBURG	ST. HUMPYREYS <sup>F</sup>	NEW MEER		GREENS HUNDRED	ST. HUMPHREY'S <sup>F</sup>	ANGELS SONG	BEDFORD
MANCHESTER		ST. HUMPHRES <sup>F</sup>	CHIDDINGSTON	CTH PSALM NEW	NAUSAH <sup>H</sup>	LUNINBURG		STANDISH	CALVERY	LUTHAR	ST. ANNS
NAMURE		NEWRY	ST. ANNS	NEWRY	CALVARY	ST UMPHRYS <sup>F</sup>		WILLINGTON	BEDFORD	MORELAND	ANGELS SONG
CAMBRIDGE		CAMBRIDGE	WIRKSWORTH	BEDFORD	71ST NEW	CALVERY		SOUTHWELL	GREENS HUNDRED	BEDFORD	CONVERSE
WORCESTER		FAIRHAM		ST ANNS	NAMURE	CONVERSE HYMN		112 PSALM	NEWTOWN	BANGER	
OXFORD		PRUTIEN HYMN		ANGELS SONG	CONVERSE	71 PSALM		DROTWICK	DAVIDS ELEGY	STANDISH	
DEAL		ST. ANNS		CONVERSE	85 PSALM	WINDSOR		BEDFORD	112 PSALM	ST. ARTHUR'S	
NORWICH NEW		90TH PSALM		JUDGMENT HYMN	DRATWICH	DROTWICH		ST. MICHAELS <sup>G</sup>	CONVERSE	COLESHILL	
C PSALM TUNE <sup>C</sup>		PORTSMOUTH		WHITEFIELDS HYMN		FAIRHAM		119 PSALM		WALSALL	
NEW C. PSALM		ANGELS-SONG		DROTWRITCH		EXETER		HYMN FOR THE GOOD <sup>I</sup>		MORNING HYMN	
CANTERBURY NEW				FAIRHAM		106 PSALM				WILLINGTON	
FRENCH, C. PSALM						108 PSALM				WIRKSWORTH	
10 COMMANDMENT										ORANGE	
BABYLON STREAMS										90TH PSALM	
SOUTHWELL										40TH PSALM	
SOUTHWELL NEW										ST. MICHAEL'S <sup>G</sup>	
BELLA <sup>D</sup>										ST. ANNS	
NEW MEER <sup>E</sup>										PORTSMOUTH	
ST. THOMAS'S										SOUTHWELL	
108 PSALM <sup>F</sup>										JUDGMENT HYMN	
OLD CXII PSALM										MINISTER'S DREAM <sup>I</sup>	
CXIII PSALM										ANGEL'S HYMN	
CXIX PSALM										CANTERBURY	
CXLVIII PSALM										DERBY <sup>D</sup>	
CXLIX PSALM <sup>G</sup>										98TH PSALM	
HYMN TUNE ON THE DIVINE USE											
OF MUSIC											
OLD 50TH PSALM											
DEPTFORD											
GREENWICH											

Table 13.3 Tune Order of the Youths Entertaining A musement by William Dawson (1754) and their connection to letteral manuscripts.

\* = Original arrangement; + = Original Chesapeake Bay, Southern, or Southern Backcountry composition or folk hymn setting

Table 13.4 Standard Notation Congregational Repertory Manuscripts from Chesapeake Bay and the Southern Backcountry (1750-1800)

		Chesapeake Bay		Carolina Piedmont and Pee Dee Region		Shenandoah Valley
		HollJ Ms. 1755, c. VA	BrinJ Ms. 1770, c. DE	WoodA Ms. 1772-85 NC	WilsR Ms. 1775-90 SC	SM ChriI PH Ms. 1801, c. VA
ABBY	—	—	x	x	—	—
ANGELS SONG	—	—	—	—	x	—
AYLESBURY	—	—	x: WORKSWORTH	x	x	—
BANGOR	William Tans'ur	—	—	x	x	—
BATH [BUCKLAND]	—	x	x	—	—	—
BEDFORD	William Wheal	—	—	x	—	—
BOSTON OR HALLELUJAH	—	—	—	x: BOSTON	x	—
<b>NEW BOSTON TUNE</b>	William Billings	—	x	—	—	—
<b>BRANFORD</b>	Asahel Benham	—	—	—	—	x
BRUNSWICK	—	x: DORCHESTER PSALM 86TH	x	x: BRUNSWIC	x	—
CANON OF 4 IN ONE (1)	Aaron Williams	—	—	—	x	—
CANON OF 4 IN ONE (2)	—	—	—	—	x	—
CANON OF 4 IN ONE (3)	William Tans'ur	—	—	—	x	—
CANTERBURY	—	x	—	x	—	—
<b>+CRAVEN OR LAST ASSISE</b>	—	—	—	x: LAST ASSIZE	x	—
CROWLE	—	—	—	x	x	—
<b>*+DAGENHAM</b>	—	—	x	—	—	—
DALSTON	—	—	—	x	x	—
<b>+DAVID'S ELEGY</b>	—	—	—	x	—	—
DUBLIN	—	—	x: COLESHILL	x	x	—
[OLD] EAGLE STREET	—	—	—	—	x	—
FALMOUTH	William Tans'ur	—	—	—	x	—
FUNERAL THOUGHT	—	—	—	x	—	—
GRANTHAM	—	—	—	x	x	—
GUILFORD	William Tans'ur	—	—	—	x	—
HARLINGTON OR 19TH PSALM	William Tans'ur	—	—	—	x	—
IRISH	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>* ISLE OF WIGHT (?)</b>	—	x: ST PETERS PSALM 135	x	x	x	—
ITALIAN	—	—	x	—	—	—
KINGSBRIDGE	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>+LIBERTY HALL</b>	arr. Chapin	—	—	—	—	x
LITTLE MARLBOROUGH	—	—	—	x	x	—
LITTLETON	—	—	—	x	x	—

		Chesapeake Bay		Carolina Piedmont and Pee Dee Region		Shenandoah Valley
		HollJ Ms. 1755, c. VA	BrinJ Ms. 1770, c. DE	WoodA Ms. 1772-85 NC	WilsR Ms. 1775-90 SC	SM ChriI PH Ms. 1801, c. VA
LONDON	—	—	x	x	—	—
<b>+LUNENBURG</b>	—	—	—	x	x	—
MARTYRS	—	x: MARTYRS PSALM 11TH	—	x	—	—
MEAR	—	—	x	x: MAYOR	x	—
<b>+MERCER</b>	—	—	—	—	—	x
MILFORD	Joseph Stephenson	—	—	—	x	—
<b>+MORNING HYMN</b>	—	—	—	x	—	—
<b>+NEW GRANGE</b>	—	—	—	x	—	—
NEWBURY	—	—	x: 5 PSALM TUNE	—	x: NEWBURY OR 5TH PSALM	—
NEWCASTLE	—	—	x	x: NEW CASTLE	—	—
<b>NORWICH</b>	Oliver Brownson	—	—	—	x	—
PUTNEY	Isaac Smith	—	—	—	x	—
<b>RAINBOW</b>	Timothy Swan	—	—	—	x	—
[RICKMANSWORTH] ZIONS HARMONY	—	—	—	—	x	—
[ROCHESTER] ST. MICHAELS TUNE	—	—	x	—	—	—
<b>+ROCKBRIDGE</b>	arr.Chapin	—	—	—	—	x
ST. ANNS	—	—	x	—	—	—
ST. DAVIDS	—	x: ST DAVIDS PSALM 117TH	—	x: DAVIDS	x	—
[ST. EDMUND'S] 22D PSALM TUNE	William Tans'ur	—	—	x	—	—
ST. GEORGE'S (1a)	—	—	—	x	—	—
ST. GEORGE'S OR BRAY (1b)	—	—	—	—	x	—
ST. HELENS	J. Jennings	—	—	—	x	—
<b>ST. HUMPHRIES</b>	—	—	x: ST. HUMPHRY'S	x: ST. HUMPHRY'S	x	—
ST. MARYS	—	x: ST. MARYS PSAL 8TH	—	—	—	—
[SANCTA MARIA GRATIA PLINA]	—	—	—	x	—	—
<b>+ [THE SEASONS]</b>	Lucius Chapin	—	—	—	—	x
<b>SHERBURNE</b>	Daniel Read	—	—	—	x	—
[SOUTHWELL] PSAL 25TH	—	x	—	—	—	—
<b>SPRINGFIELD</b>	Babcock	—	—	—	x	—
STANDISH	—	x	—	—	—	—
<b>* [STROUDWATER] PSALM 26/ CALVARY</b>	—	x: PSALM 23TH	—	x	—	—
STROUDWATER (Temp. 1062a)	—	x	—	x	x	—

Table 13.4 continued)

		Chesapeake Bay		Carolina Piedmont and Pee-Dee Region		Shenandoah Valley
		HollJ Ms. 1755, c. VA	BrinJ Ms. 1770, c. DE	WoodA Ms. 1772-85 NC	WilsR Ms. 1775-90 SC	SM ChriI PH Ms. 1801, c. VA
SUFFIELD	A. King	—	—	x	—	—
TRUMPET	Ely Stansfield	—	—	x	—	—
VIRGINIA	Oliver Brownson	—	—	x	x	—
*[WALSAL] PSAL 143D	—	x	—	—	—	—
WANTAGE OR LABANON	—	—	—	x	x	x
WELLS	Israel Holdroyd	—	—	—	x	—
[WESTON FAVELL]	—	—	—	x: CORNISH	x: CORNISH OR WESTON FAVELL	—
[WH]ITEFIELD'S	—	—	x	—	—	—
WILLIAMS TOWN	—	—	—	—	—	x
WILLINGTON	—	—	x	—	—	—
WINDSOR PSAL 13TH	—	x	—	—	—	—
*WINSOR OLD PSAL 102ME	—	x	—	—	—	—
WORTHINGTON	Strong	—	—	—	x	—
<b>NUMBERED PSALMS</b>						
+4 PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—
+VIII PSALM	James Lyon	—	—	—	x	—
15TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	x	—
LANDAFF OR OLD FIFTIETH	—	—	—	—	x	—
56TH PSALM	—	—	—	x	—	—
+91ST PSALM	—	—	—	x	—	—
98TH PSALM (1a)	—	—	x	x	—	—
OLD HUNDRED	—	x	x	x	x: OLD 100 OR SAVOY	—
NEW 100	—	—	x	x	x	—
+PSAL 106TH	—	x	—	—	—	—
+PSALM 132D	—	x	—	—	—	—
<b>NUMBERED HYMNS</b>						
+24TH [Hymn]	—	—	—	—	—	x
34TH PSALM	Joseph Stephenson	—	—	—	x	—
<b>EXTENDED CHORAL PIECES</b>						
DENMARK	Martin Madan	—	—	—	x	—
FUNERAL ANTHEM	William Billings	—	—	—	—	x



### Source Abbreviations

**BrinJ Ms.:** Brinckle, John. Manuscript hymnal. n.p., c. 1770. Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington.

**HollJ Ms.:** Holladay, Joseph. Manuscript copybook of sacred vocal music. Spotsylvania County, VA, 1769. Mss 1 H7185a .325. Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

**SM ChriI PH Ms.:** Christian, Isabella. Manuscript supplement to Andrew Adgate, *The Philadelphia Harmony* (Philadelphia, 1801). Augusta County, VA, ca. 1805. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

**WilsR Ms.:** Little, Mr. Manuscript copybook of sacred music prepared for Robert Wilson. Indiantown, Williamsburg District, S.C., 1775. Tennessee State Library and Archives. Nashville.

**WoodA Ms.:** Woodside, Archible. "Archible Woodside his Musick Book made in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy tow." 3396 – Z. Miscellaneous Music Books, vol. 1 (1785). University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Manuscripts Department. Southern Historical Collection. Wilson Library. Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

\* = Original arrangement; + = Original Middle Atlantic and Western composition or folk hymn setting

Tune Name	Middle Atlantic						Shenandoah Valley		West	
	Philadelphia				PoorJ		SP Logaj	DaviA	PattR	ArmsJ
	DawsW YEA 1754	SP PhilW 1760	LyonJ U 1761	CCM 1787	CPH 1794	CM 1804	1812	KH 1816	PCM 1813	PSPT 1816
TEN COMMANDMENT (1)	x	x: COMMAND- MENT	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ABBY	x	—	—	—	—	x: ABBEY	—	—	x	x
AFRICA	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
+ALBION	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
ALL SAINTS (1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
ALL SAINTS (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
AMANDA	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	x
AMERICA	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
AMHERST	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
AMSTERDAM	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
ANGEL'S HYMN	—	—	x	x	—	x	—	—	x	x
ARLINGTON	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
ARMLEY	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
ARUNDEL	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
AYLESBURY	—	—	x: WIRKSWORTH	x: ALESBURY/ WORKSWORTH	x	x: 1) AYLESBURY, 2) WIRKSWORTH	—	x	x	x
BABYLON STREAMS	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
BANGOR	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
BATH	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
BEDFORD	—	—	x	x	—	x	—	—	x	x
BELLA [DERBY]	x	x	x: DERBY	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+BETHEL	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x
BETHESDA	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x
BILLOW	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
+BOURBON	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
BRAN(D)FORD	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
BRIDGEWATER	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
BROOKFIELD	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
BRUNSWICK	x	—	x	x	—	x	—	—	x: BRUNSWIC	x
BUCKINGHAM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
BUNKER HILL	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
CAMBRIDGE	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 13.5 Repertory of Middle Atlantic and Western Printed Sources intended for Congregational Performance (1754-1816)

Tune Name	Middle Atlantic						Shenandoah Valley		West	
	Philadelphia				Poor]		SP LogaJ	DaviA	Pittsburgh	
	DawsW YEA 1754	SP PhilW 1760	LyonJ U 1761	CCM 1787	CPH 1794	CM 1804			PCM 1813	ArmsJ PSPT 1816
CAMBRIDGE NEW	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x: CAMBRIDGE
CANON OF FOUR IN ONE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
CANTERBURY	x	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>*CANTERBURY</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
CANTERBURY NEW	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CASTLE STREET	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>CHARLESTON</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
CHESHUNT	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
<b>*CHESTER</b> [var. of URIEL]	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
<b>+CHIDINGTON</b>	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>CHINA</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
<b>+CHRISTIAN INQUIRY</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
[CLIFFORD] PITTSBURGH	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
COLCHESTER-NEW	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x: COLCHESTER
<b>+COMMUNION</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>CONCORD</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
<b>+CONSOLATION</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—
COOKFIELD	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
COOKHAM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
CRANLEY	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CROWLE	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x: BROOMSGROVE
[CUMBERLAND/Psalm 23/ CAREY/ YARMOUTH] BONNELS	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x
<b>*DAGENHAM</b>	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
DALSTON	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x	x
DEAL	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
DEPTFORD	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
DORCHESTER (1a)	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
[DORCHESTER] WESTON FAVEL (1b)	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—
DOVER	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
DUBLIN	x: COLSHILL OR DUBLIN	—	x	x	—	x	—	x	x	x
[DUKES/ ST. PETERS/ WINCHESTER] FARNHAM	—	—	x: ST. PETERS	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
[DUKES/ ST. PETERS/ WINCHESTER] SABBATH HYMN	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 13.5 (continued)

Tune Name	Middle Atlantic						Shenandoah Valley		West	
	Philadelphia				PoorJ		SP LogaJ	DaviA	PattR	ArmsJ
	DawsW YEA 1754	SP PhilW 1760	LyonJ U 1761	CCM 1787	CPH 1794	CM 1804	1812	KH 1816	PCM 1813	PSPT 1816
<b>+DUNLAP'S CREEK</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
DUNSTAN	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
ELGIN	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
<b>EMMAUS</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>ENFIELD</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
EVENING HYMN (1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: WORSHIP
EVENING HYMN (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
EXETER	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>FAIRFIELD</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>FELICITY</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
<b>FEW HAPPY MATCHES</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
<b>*+FIDUCIA</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
<b>FLANDERS</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
FRENCH [NORWICH]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
<b>FRIENDSHIP</b>	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
FUNERAL THOUGHT	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x	x
GERMANY	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>GEORGIA</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
<b>GETHSEMANE</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>+GLASGOW</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
GLO(U)CESTER	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>GREENFIELD</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
GREENWICH	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
GUILDFORD	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
[HALLELUJAH/ BOSTON] CHRISTMAS DAY HYMN	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
HAMPTON	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
HARLINGTON	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>HERMIT</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>HIDING PLACE</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
HOTHAM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>+HYMN TUNE ON THE DIVINE USE OF MUSIC</b>	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+IDUMEA</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
<b>+INDIAN PHILOSOPHER</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
<b>INVITATION</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
IRISH	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
<b>*ISLE OF WIGHT (?)</b>	x	x	x	x	—	x	—	—	x	x
ISLINGTON	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x
<b>JUBILEE</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x

Table 13.5 (continued)

Tune Name	Middle Atlantic						Shenandoah Valley		West	
	Philadelphia				PoorJ		SP LogaJ	DaviA	Pittsburgh	
	DawsW YEA 1754	SP PhilW 1760	LyonJ U 1761	CCM 1787	CPH 1794	CM 1804	1812	KH 1816	PattR PCM 1813	ArmsJ PSPT 1816
*JUDGMENT (1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
*+[JUDGEMENT] NORWAY (2b)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
+JUDGMENT (3a)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
+JUDGMENT (3b)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
+JUSTICE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
+KEDRON	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
KINGSBRIDGE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
KINGSWOOD	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
KINSON	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
LEATHERHEAD	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LEBANON	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x
LENOX	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	x	x
+LIBERTY HALL	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x
LITCHFIELD	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
LITTLE MARLBOROUGH	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x	x
LITTLETON	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	x
LONDON	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
LONDON NEW	x	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
LONDON OLD	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LYDD [CHRIST'S CHURCH]	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x
MADRID	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
MANCHESTER	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MARTYRS	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
MEAR (1a)	—	—	x	x	—	x	—	x	x	x
*+[MEAR] NEW MEER (1b)	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MIDDLETO[w]N	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
MILES LANE	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
+MILINDA	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
MONTROSE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
MORETON	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
+MORNING HYMN	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
MORTALITY	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
MUNICH	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
NAMURE (1a)	x	x: PORTSMOUTH	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
NAMUR (1b)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
NEWBURY	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	x
NEWCASTLE	—	—	x	x	x: NEW CASTLE	—	—	—	—	—

Table 13.5 (continued)

Tune Name	Middle Atlantic						Shenandoah Valley		West	
	Philadelphia				PoorJ		SP LogaJ	DaviA	Pittsburgh	
	DawsW YEA 1754	SP PhilW 1760	LyonJ U 1761	CCM 1787	CPH 1794	CM 1804	1812	KH 1816	PattR PCM 1813	ArmsJ PSPT 1816
NEW COURT	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
NEW EAGLE-STREET	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	
<b>+NEW-JERSEY</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
<b>NEW MARK</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
<b>+NEW MONMOUTH</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	
<b>+NEW ORLEANS</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	
NEW SABBATH	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	
NORTHAMPTON	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
NORWICH/ FRENCH (1b)	x	x	—	—	—	x: 1) NORWICH, 2) UXBRIDGE	—	—	x	x
<b>NORWICH (2)</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
NORWICH [PSALM 148] (3)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>+NORWICH NEW</b>	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>+OCEAN</b>	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
ORANGE	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OXFORD	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>PARIS</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
<b>PASTORAL ELEGY</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
PECKHAM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>+PENITENCE</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
PENITENTIAL HYMN	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PETERBOROUGH	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>PILGRIM'S FAREWELL</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>+PISGAH</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
PLEYEL'S HYMN	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
PLYMOUTH	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
PLYMPTON	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>POLAND</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
PORTUGAL	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>PROVIDENCE</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
PUTNEY	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
QUERCY	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
RICKMANSWORTH	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
RIPPON	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ROCHESTER [ST. MICHAEL'S]	—	—	x	x: ROCHESTER/St. MICHAEL'S	x	—	x	x	x	x
<b>+ROCKBRIDGE</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x
<b>+ROCKINGHAM</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
<b>RUSSIA</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x

Table 13.5 (continued)

Tune Name	Middle Atlantic						Shenandoah Valley		West	
	Philadelphia				PoorJ		SP LogaJ	DaviA	Pittsburgh	
	DawsW YEA 1754	SP PhilW 1760	LyonJ U 1761	CCM 1787	CPH 1794	CM 1804	1812	KH 1816	PattR PCM 1813	ArmsJ PSPT 1816
RYGATE	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. ANNS	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
ST. CLEMENTS	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
ST. DAVIDS	x	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
ST. GEORGE'S (1a)	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
ST. GEORGES OR BRAY (1b)	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	x
<b>*ST. HUMPHREY'S [PSALM 108]</b>	x	—	x	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
ST. IVES	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
ST. JAMES'S	x	x	—	x	x	x	—	—	—	—
ST. MARTIN'S	—	—	—	—	—	x:	—	x	x	x
						GAINSBOROUGH				
ST. MARYS	x	x: HACNY OR S. MARYS	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
ST. MATTHEW'S	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. NEOTS [/WORKSOP] ST. GEORGE'S	x	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
ST. PAULS	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
ST. THOMAS'S (1)	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ST. THOMAS'S (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
<b>+SALVATION</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
<b>SAVANNAH</b>	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
<b>+SCOTLAND</b>	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
<b>+SEASONS</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
<b>SHERBURNE</b>	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
<b>+SHIPHAM</b>	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>SILVER SPRING</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
SILVER STREET	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x: with chorus
<b>SOLITUDE</b>	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
<b>SOPHRONIA</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
SOUTHWELL	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>SOUTHWELL NEW</b>	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>SPRINGFIELD</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
STANDISH	x	x	x	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
STANES	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
STROUDWATER	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
<b>SUFFIELD</b>	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x	x	x
<b>+SUPPLICATION</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
SUTTON (1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
<b>SUTTON (2)</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—

Table 13.5 (continued)

Tune Name	Middle Atlantic						Shenandoah Valley		West	
	Philadelphia				PoorJ		SP LogaJ	DaviA	Pittsburgh	
	DawsW YEA 1754	SP PhilW 1760	LyonJ U 1761	CCM 1787	CPH 1794	CM 1804	1812	KH 1816	PattR PCM 1813	ArmsJ PSPT 1816
SUTTON (3)	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	x: SUTTON NEW
[TALLIS EVENING HYMN]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
YARMOUTH	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+TENDER THOUGHT	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
+TRANQUILITY	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
+TRIBULATION (1a)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
+TRIBULATION (1b)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
TRINITY (1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
[TRINITY ] (2a)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
[TRINITY ] NEW YORK (2b)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
TRIUMPH	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
TROWBRIDGE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
TRUMPET	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
TRURO	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
TURIN (1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
TURIN (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
UNION	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x	x
+UNITIA	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: EUNITIA	—	x	x
VENI CREATOR	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+VERNON	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
VIRGINIA	—	—	—	—	x	x	—	x	x	x
WALLINGSFORD	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
WALNEY [ST. THOMAS]	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
WALSAL	—	—	x	—	—	x	—	x	—	x
WANTAGE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
WAREHAM (1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—
WAREHAM (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
WARWICK	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
WAYBRIDGE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
WELLS	—	—	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	x
WELSH	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
WESTMINSTER	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WILDERNESS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
WILLIAMSTOWN	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
+WILLINGTON	—	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
WINCHESTER	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
WINDHAM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
WINDSOR [DUNDEE]	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	x: DUNDEE	x: DUNDEE
WINTER	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
WORCESTER	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 13.5 (continued)



Tune Name	Middle Atlantic							West		
	Philadelphia				Shenandoah Valley			Pittsburgh		
	DawsW	SP	LyonJ U	CCM	PoorJ	CM	SP LogaJ	DaviA	PattR	ArmsJ
	YEA	PhilW			CPH			KH	PCM	PSPT
1754	1760	1761	1787	1794	1804	1812	1816	1813	1816	
WORTHINGTON	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
YORK	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x: STILT/YORK	x
*+ZION'S HILL	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—
<b>NUMBERED PSALMS</b>										
+4 PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
V PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+VIII PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+9TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
*+12TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18 PSALM	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+23D PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+33D PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
40TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
43D PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OLD FIFTIETH	x	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	x: LANDAFF	x
NEW 50TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
56TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
57TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
81 PSALM	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
90TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+95TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+PSALM 96	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
98TH PSALM (1a)	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
[PSALM 98] SHIPPENSBURG (1c)	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—
OLD HUNDRED	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	x	x	x
GREEN'S HUNDRED	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	x	x
NEW HUNDRED	x	x: 100 PSALM TUNE NEW	x	—	—	x	x	—	x: harm. Amzi Chapin	x
102 PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OLD CXII PSALM	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OLD 113TH PSALM	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
NEW 113TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CXIX PSALM	x	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
NEW 119TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
122D PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
124TH PSALM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
[128 PSALM] KINDERHOOK	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x

Table 13.5 (continued)

Tune Name	Middle Atlantic						Shenandoah Valley		West	
	Philadelphia				Poorj		SP Logaj	DaviA	Pittsburgh	
	DawsW YEA 1754	SP PhilW 1760	LyonJ U 1761	CCM 1787	CPH 1794	CM 1804	1812	KH 1816	PattR PCM 1813	ArmsJ PSPT 1816
136TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
143D PSALM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
145TH PSALM [KENT]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
145TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
148TH PSALM (1a)	—	x	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
*CXLVIII PSALM (1b)	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
+148TH PSALM (2)	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
[PSALM 149] ST. MICHAELS	x	x	—	x	—	x	—	—	—	x
150TH PSALM	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>NUMBERED HYMNS</b>										
*+TWENTY-FOURTH [Hymn]	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x: PRIMROSE	x	x
TWENTY-FIFTH [Hymn]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	—
+THIRTIETH [Hymn]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
PSALM 34 [Hymn]	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
FORTY-SIXTH [Hymn]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
*+NINETY-THIRD (1a)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
+ [NINETY THIRD] BRENTFORD [Hymn] (1b)	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
+NINETY-FIFTH [Hymn]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
+PSALM 104 [Hymn] (1)	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
[HYMN 104] RAPTURE (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
+PSALM 136 [133] [Hymn]	—	—	—	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
<b>EXTENDED CHORAL WORKS</b>										
DENMARK	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
NEW YORK ANTHEM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x

## Source Abbreviations

- ArmsJ PSPT:** Armstrong, John. *The Pittsburgh Selection of Psalm Tunes: or Ancient Church Music Revived. Containing a variety of plain psalm tunes, the most suitable to be used in divine service.* Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear, & Eichbaum, 1816.
- CCM:** *A Collection of Church Music. 1787. Number II.* Philadelphia: Young & McCulloch, 1787.
- CM:** *The Cumberland Melodist; or, A Choice Selection of Plain Tunes.* Philadelphia: For John M'Carrell, Shippensburg, by William M'Culloch, 1804.
- DaviA KH:** Davisson, Ananias. *Kentucky Harmony or A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems* [Harrisonburg, VA: Ananias Davisson,] 1816.
- DawsW YEA:** Dawson, W. *The Youth's Entertaining Amusement, or A Plain Guide to Psalmody. Being a collection of the most usual, and necessary tunes sung in the English Protestant congregations in Philadelphia, &c. In two parts, viz. treble and bass, with all proper and necessary rules, adapted to the meanest capacities.* Philadelphia: German printing-office, sold by the author, 1754.
- LyonJ U:** Lyon, James. *Urania, or A Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems, and Hymns.* Philadelphia: 1761.
- PattR PCM:** Patterson, (Robert). *Patterson's Church Music, containing the plain tunes used in divine worship, by the churches of the Western Country.* Cincinnati: Browne and Looker, for R. and J. Patterson[, 1813].
- PoorJ CPH:** Poor, John. *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, with tunes affixed; for the use of the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: John M'Culloch, 1794.
- SP LogaJ:** Logan, John and Andrew Law. Supplement: sixteen tune settings printed by Andrew Law at the request of John Logan. [Philadelphia]: [Andrew Law], [c.1812].
- SP PhilW:** Tune Supplement to Isaac Watts, *The Psalms of David, Imitated in the Language of the New-Testament* (Philadelphia: W. Dunlap, for G. Noel, Book-Seller, in New-York, 1760).

## 14. Conclusion

This study traced the development of English-language sacred music from the 1720s to the latter part of the Early Nationalist Period. Instead of being constructed as a macro-history of all American sacred music, it focused specifically on those trends that influenced the practice of ancient-style and scientific-style sacred music as it flourished in the South and West, using denominational repertoires and performance practice, original composition, and cultural connections among the various groups and practitioners of psalmody. Divided into three main chronological periods, it focused first on trends that had matured by the 1750s, second on new initiatives in the Late Colonial Period, and finally on the continuation of these trends into Early Nationalist Period. For the earliest material, discussion focused on musical practice among four specific denominations: Anglicans, Congregationalists, and English and Scottish Presbyterians. These denominations served as cultural and musical hearths for subsequent developments in sacred music practice.

Beginning in the Late Colonial Period, the study, although continuing to center on denominational identity, began to concentrate on geographic distinctions between New England, the Middle Atlantic, and the coastal South. In New England, northern coastal Congregationalist musicians abruptly abandoned their traditional practice in favor of that of ancient-style Anglicans, a movement led by prominent Anglican musicians in coastal Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In the Middle Atlantic, English Presbyterians continued to cultivate their traditional practice, but allowed for new influences by English Anglicans and Nonconformists, besides other Calvinist groups such as Baptists. Under the direction of James Lyon, ancient-style sacred music flourished and his tunebook *Urania* (Philadelphia, 1761) became the most influential compilation in British North America into the early nineteenth century. Anglican musicians in the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake Bay,

and Carolina Lowcountry embraced the theatrical, affective style associated with the genteel social elite of Great Britain. Instituting charity children's choirs and employing European-born organists and other church musicians, Anglicans cultivated a style of music that attempted to replicate the standards of urban parish churches throughout Great Britain. Most Anglican musicians were as involved in secular musical affairs as well as those within the church.

The study of Early Nationalist trends in sacred music composition focused on musical style, tradition, and society as a means to demarcate the place of sacred music within these three main geographic regions of the new United States. By this time, musical style became the principal indicator of cultural and regional identity. Musical practice in southern and western New England, concentrated in Connecticut and along the Connecticut River Valley, was the most influential area for the cultivation of popular ancient-style psalmody, not the northern coastal region centered in Boston. Southern and western New England composers compiled the most important tunebooks, were the most prolific and important composers, and set the trends for later popular ancient-style composition in its dissemination west and south. Episcopalians in the Middle Atlantic and coastal South continued their distinctly genteel form of music making into the nineteenth century. Their practice came to represent that of the upper classes through their employment of European-born choir directors and organists, their cultivation of the oratorio, and their appropriation of secular parlor music for domestic devotion and entertainment.

Finally, ancient-style practice in the Middle Atlantic, coastal South, Southern backcountry, and the Trans-Appalachian West during the Early Nationalist Period revealed the presence of both traditional and popular forms of psalmody. Traditional practice reflected a largely congregational approach to ecclesiastical music and embraced a variety of

source forms for dissemination, including printed and scribal compilations. These musicians produced a distinctive body of folk hymns and contrafacta, and spiritual songs that varied by region, but were united in expression and sentiment. Rather than abandon their traditional practice, as occurred in northern coastal New England, practitioners of the established Middle Atlantic form of psalmody remained flexible enough to incorporate some change into their music, but they still could preserve its core identity into the mid-nineteenth century. Alongside a tradition of ancient-style expression, popular initiatives and singing masters from New England also arrived to the Middle Atlantic, influencing the social-secular atmosphere for sacred music. Some New England-born composers wrote in both ancient styles; others attempted to replicate the social-secular milieu that governed the practice of psalmody in New England. As a result, ancient-style expression in the Middle Atlantic, coastal South, Southern backcountry, and the Trans-Appalachian West remained much more multivalent than that of New England, and exerted the most influence on subsequent evangelical trends in the Antebellum Period.

Although this study draws from a wealth of sources not consulted by earlier scholars of sacred music, other inquiries might have created a more nuanced understanding of sacred music practice in British North America. Chief among these would have been an investigation into German-language sources and denominations. Although a wealth of study has been devoted to the *Unitas Fratrum* or Moravian church, comparatively few studies have focused on other German denominations. This study examined musical style and its place among the various types of denominations, whether liturgical-based, Calvinist, Pietist, or enthusiastic. This same division occurs in German groups. Lutherans were considered German-speaking Episcopalians by many Americans of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The German Reformed church was one of the largest Calvinist groups in the

United States. The United Brethren under the leadership of Philip William Otterbein (1726-1813) appropriated the teachings of John and Charles Wesley for German-speaking Americans. Mennonites, Schwenkfelders, and other Pietist groups underwent nineteenth-century musical transformations not unlike enthusiastic English-language denominations and churches.

Some aspects of sacred music in the United States continue to defy scholarly inquiry as a result of the lack of documentary source material describing and preserving musical practice and repertory. Descriptions of African American performance appear in historical sources; words-only hymnals were published beginning in the early nineteenth century. However, the descriptions of performance are often clouded by personal prejudice and a lack of understanding of African American culture, much like early descriptions of musical practice in West Africa from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Similarly, printed hymnals were prepared by freedmen and were organs of parent churches that sought to elevate and change traditional African American practice. Although replete with good intention, these sources reflect more the general atmosphere of evangelical practice than specifically African American tradition. Musical sources do not appear until the mid-nineteenth century.

Continuing this study into the Antebellum Period would also have revealed a similar continuum that existed between some aspects of Late Colonial practice into the Early Nationalist Period. Given the scope of this study, an extension of time parameters, while invaluable in presenting the greater history of sacred music to the South and West, was beyond the resources of the author. It does however provide a foundation for expanding the scope of the study to include later developments. Although popular taste changed, most

of the principal developments in the Antebellum Period were established by the end of the Early Nationalist Period.

Despite the large amount of scholarly attention given to sacred music in the United States beginning in the 1840s, much of the current scholarly literature continues to promote the New England hegemony model. This study places the Middle Atlantic as the main catalyst for popular and traditional trends in sacred music, consisting not only of ancient-style expression, but also that of the cultivated, scientific approach. Social-secular ancient-style psalmody was most closely identified with New England, but proportionally speaking, few pieces from within this region circulated outside its area of origin. Although Boston was the principal center for music publishing, published sources are not necessarily the most important nor accurate for understanding popular and traditional currents, as well as the manner in which sacred music disseminated throughout the country. The printed bibliographic history of sacred music only reveals a portion of larger compositional and performative trends. Extensive study of manuscript sources has uncovered a wealth of information that has not been considered much by previous scholars. Understanding the difference between traditional and popular expression, and its relationship to culture, denomination, and identity offers the most compelling account of this country's sacred music, not just the dates and locations of various imprints. It is this concept that has guided the construction and framework of this study and summarizes its motivation.



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## 1.2.1 Relative New England and Northern New York Precedents: Ancient-Style

### Tunebooks

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Bayley, Daniel. *The Essex Harmony containing a new and concise introduction to musick. To which is added a choice and valuable collection of psalm tunes suited to the different measures of either version composed in three and four parts carefully set in score – by Daniel Bailey Philo Musico.* Newbury Port, MA: by the author, 1770.

Bayley, Daniel. *The Essex Harmony containing a collection of psalm tunes, composed in three & four parts, suited to the several measures of either version set in score by Daniel Bayley Philo Musico.* Newbury Port, MA: by the author, 1771.

Bayley, Daniel. *A New and Complete Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Music. In two books. Book I. Containing The Grounds and Rules of Music; or an Introduction to the Art of Singing by Note, taken from Thomas Walter, M. A. Book II. Containing a new and correct Introduction to the Grounds of Music, rudimental and practical; from William Tans'ur's Royal Melody. The whole*

- being a collection of a variety of the choicest tunes from the most approved masters.* Newbury, MA: Daniel Bayley, 1764.
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- Bayley, Daniel. *The Psalm-Singer's Assistant; containing, first, an introduction, with such directions for singing, as are necessary for learners. Secondly, a collection of choice psalm-tunes, suited to the several measures both of the old and new version: - All being composed in three parts, collected from the best masters; engraved in a correct manner, and is designed for the improvement of psalmody, in the congregations, both in town and country.* Newbury-Port, MA: by the Auther, [1764].
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- The Child's Pictorial Music Book*. Hartford, CT and Berea, OH: E. B. & E. C. Kellogg, 1841.
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- A Collection of Sacred Music Designed Principally for the Use of Churches which Sing without a Choir*. Albany: E. F. Backus: Printed by William Williams, Utica, 1817.
- A Collection of Sacred Vocal Music. Containing the rules of psalmody, and the following tunes*. Northampton, MA: Andrew Wright, 1804.
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*the notes are familiarized to the weakest capacity with a choice collection of psalm tunes and anthems from the most celebrated Authors, with a number composed in Europe and America, entirely new; suited to all the metres sung in the different churches in the United States. Published for the use of singing societies in general, but more particularly for those who have not the advantage of an instructor.* Ed. 13. Albany: Websters & Skinner and Daniel Steele, [1813].

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- Little, William and Smith, William. *The Easy Instructor, or A New Method of Teaching Sacred Harmony. Containing the rudiments of music on an improved plan, wherein the naming and timing the notes are familiarized to the weakest capacity with a choice collection of psalm tunes and anthems from the most celebrated Authors, with a number composed in Europe and America, entirely new; suited to all the metres sung in the different churches in the United States. Published for the use of singing societies in general, but more particularly for those who have not the advantage of an instructor.* Utica: William Williams, 1818.
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- Maxim, Abraham. *The Northern Harmony; being a collection from the works of many approved authors of sacred music; contain, I. The rudiments of music, laid down in a plain and comprehensive manner. II. Psalm and hymn tunes, adapted to the various metres, in common use, together with several anthems. Calculated for the use of singing schools, and religious societies.* Ed. 4. Hallowell, ME: E. Goodale, A. Maxim, Turner, and J. C. Washburn, Harlem, 1816.
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- The Middlesex Collection of Church Music: or, Ancient Psalmody Revived.* Ed. 2. Boston: Manning & Loring, 1808.
- A New Collection of Psalm Tunes adapted to Congregational Worship.* Bound with Brady and Tate. *A New Version of the Psalms of David: fitted to the tunes used in churches.* Boston: Nicholas Bowes, 1774.
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- A New Version of the Psalms of David, fitted to the tunes used in churches.* By N. Brady, D.D. Chaplain in ordinary. And N. Tate, esq; Poet-Laureat to his Majesty. Boston: A. Ellison, 1773.

- Old Hundred Collection of Sacred Music, or, A Compilation of the Most Approved Psalmody, selected from various authors, for the use of public and social worship. By individuals of different religious societies in Boston.* Boston: Ezra Lingoln, 1824.
- Peck, Daniel L., of Bridgeport, Connecticut. *The Musical Medley.* Dedham, MA: for the author, by H. Mann, 1808.
- Read, Daniel. *The American Singing Book; or A New and Easy Guide to the Art of Psalmody. Designed for the use of singing schools in America. Containing in a plain and familiar manner, the rules of psalmody, together with a number of psalm tunes, &c. Composed by Daniel Read, Philo Musico.* New Haven: for the author, 1785.
- Read, Joel. *The New-England Selection: of Plain Psalmody; containing a short introduction to psalmody, for the use of schools; and a variety of tunes suited to public worship, original and selected.* Boston: J. T. Buckingham, for the author, 1808.
- Read, Joel. *The New-England Selection; or, Plain Psalmody. Containing a short introduction to psalmody, for the use of schools; and a variety of tunes suited to public worship. Original and selected.* Ed. 2. Boston: Manning and Loring, for the author, 1812.
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- Sacred Harmony: being a selection of tunes of approved excellence. Suited to the Psalms and Hymns of Dr. Watts, and the supplement attached to them, by the Rev. Mr. Winchell.* Boston: James Loring, 1819.
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- Seymour, Lewis and Thaddeus Seymour. *The Musical Instructor.* New York: John C. Totten, 1803.
- Seymour, Lewis and Thaddeus Seymour. *The New-York Selection of Sacred Music.* Ed. 2. New York: the compilers and J. C. Totten, 1816.
- The Village Harmony; or, Youth's Assistant to Sacred Music. Containing, a concise introduction to the ground of musick, with such a collection of the most approved psalm tunes, anthems, and other pieces, in three and four parts, as are most suitable for divine worship. Designed for the use of schools and singing societies.* Exeter, N.H.: Henry Ranlet, 1795.
- The Village Harmony; or, Youth's Assistant to Sacred Music. Containing, a concise introduction to the ground of musick, with such a collection of the most approved psalm tunes, anthems, and other pieces, in three and four parts, as are most suitable for divine worship. Designed for the use of schools and singing societies.* Ed. 2. Exeter, N.H.: Henry Ranlet, 1796.
- The Village Harmony; or, Youth's Assistant to Sacred Music. Containing, a concise introduction to the ground of musick, with such a collection of the most approved psalm tunes, anthems, and other pieces, in three and four parts, as are most suitable for divine worship. Designed for the use of schools and singing societies.* Ed. 3. Exeter, N.H.: Henry Ranlet, 1797.
- The Village Harmony; or, Youth's Assistant to Sacred Music. Containing, a concise introduction to the ground of musick, with such a collection of the most approved psalm tunes, anthems, and other pieces, in three and four parts, as are most suitable for divine worship. Designed for the use of schools and singing societies.* Ed. 4. Exeter, N.H.: Henry Ranlet, 1798.
- The Village Harmony; or, Youth's Assistant to Sacred Music. Containing, a concise introduction to the ground of musick, with such a collection of the most approved psalm tunes, anthems, and other*

- pieces, in three and four parts, as are most suitable for divine worship. Designed for the use of schools and singing societies.* Ed. 5. Exeter, N.H.: Henry Ranlet, 1800.
- The Village Harmony; or, Youth's Assistant to Sacred Music. Containing, a concise introduction to the ground sof musick, with such a collection of the most approved psalm tunes, anthems, and other pieces, in three and four parts, as are most suitable for divine worship. Designed for the use of schools and singing societies.* Ed. 6. Exeter, N.H.: Henry Ranlet, 1803.
- Walter, Thomas. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained: Or, An Introduction to the Art of Singing by Note. Fitted to the meanest capacities.* Boston: Benjamin Mecom for Thomas Johnston, [1760].
- Washburn, Japheth Coombs. *The Parish Harmony, or Fairfax Collection of Sacred Musick.* Exeter, N.H.: C. Norris & Co. for the author, (1813).
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- West, Elisha. *The Musical Concert.* Ed. 2. Northampton, MA: Andrew Wright, for the compiler, 1807.
- White, James. *Hymns for Those Who Keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus.* Rochester, N.Y.: Advent Review Office, 1855.
- The Young Man's Instructive Companion.* Northampton, MA: Andrew Wright, for the compiler, [ca. 1820]

## 1.2.2 Relative New England and Northern New York Precedents: Scientific-Style

### Tunebooks

- Adams, Benoni. *The Evening Star. In three parts: I. The rules of vocal music, in a short and concise manner, which scholars ought to commit to memory before they begin to sing. II. A few tunes in the different moods, suitable for young scholars. III. A supplement, which a teacher may explain or a scholar study, as need requires.* Ed. 2. Utica: William Williams, for Benoni Adams and L. & B. Todd, 1820.
- Allen, F. D. *The New York Selection of Sacred Music, containing a great number of plain tunes, carefully arranged, and particularly designed for church worship, and generally suited to the several metres in the psalms and hymns used in the Dutch Church. To which is added an appendix, containing both plain and repeating tunes, intended for the various metres in Watts, Dnight, Dobell, Rippon, and others. The whole of the work has been carefully compiled from the best American and European Authors.* [New York: for the author] 1818.
- Barrett, E. and E. Colman. *Christian Harmony: a collection of sacred music, comprising a variety of standard psalm and hymn tunes, together with a few set pieces: to which is prefixed a concise system of rudiment son the plan of induction; with an appendix, containing elements of musical elocution, and principles of classification and practical adaptation.* Ed. 2. Concord, N.H.: Horatio Hill and Co., 1831, 1833.
- Blanchard, Amos. *The American Musical Primer; containing a correct introduction to the grounds of music, rudimental, practical, and technical. Together with a collection of tunes, of the various metres*

- now in use in religious societies; and calculated for the improvement of youth, and the ownership of God. The whole carefully selected from some of the most celebrated European writers, both ancient and modern.* Exeter, N.H.: Norris & Sawyer, 1808.
- [Blanchard, Amos]. *The Newburyport Collection of Sacred, European Musick; consisting of psalm tunes and occasional pieces, selected from the most eminent European publications: adapted to all the metres in general use. To which is prefixed. A concise introduction to the grounds of musick.* Exeter, N.H.: Ranlet & Norris, 1807.
- The Boston Academy's Collection of Church Music: consisting of the most popular psalm and hymn tunes, anthems, sentences, chants, &c., old and new; together with many beautiful pieces, tunes and anthems, selected from the masses and other works of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Pergolesi, Righini, Cherubini, Romberg, Winter, Weber, Nägeli, Kübler, and other distinguished composers, arranged and adapted to English words expressly for this work: including, also, original compositions by German, English and American Authors.* Ed. 6. Boston: J. H. Wilkins, and R. B. Carter, 1838.
- The Boston Collection of Sacred and Devotional Hymns: intended to accommodate Christians on special and stated occasions.* Boston: Manning and Loring, 1808.
- Bradbury, William Batchelder, *The Jubilee: an extensive collection of churchmusic for the choir, the congregation, and the singing-school. New edition, containing additional anthems, opening and closing pieces, etc.* New York: Mason Brothers, 1858.
- Bradbury, William B[atchelder]. *The Key-Note. A collection of church and singing school music, consisting of new tunes and anthems, for public and private worship: with a variety of light glee choruses for the singing school, and for social use.* New York: Mason Brothers; Boston: Mason & Hamlin; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.; Cincinnati: Sargent, Wilson & Hinkle; Chicago: Root & Cady, 1863.
- Bradbury, William Batchelder and George Frederick Root; assisted by Thomas Hastings and Timothy Battelle Mason. *The Shawm: a library of church music, embracing about one thousand pieces, consisting of psalm and hymn tunes adapted to every meter in use, anthems, chants and set pieces; to which is added an original cantata, entitled Daniel, or, The Captivity and Restoration. Including, also, The Singing Class; an entirely new and practical arrangement of the elements of music, interspersed with social part-songs for practice.* New York: Mason Brothers, 1853.
- Brown, Bartholomew, [Benjamin Holt, and Nahum Mitchell]. *Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Musick*, ed. 3. Boston: Thomas & Andrews and J. West & Co., 1810.
- Brown, Bartholomew, [Benjamin Holt, and Nahum Mitchell]. *Columbian and European Harmony: or, Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music.* Boston: Isaiah Thomas, Ebenezer T. Andrews and John West, Dec. 1802.
- Brown, Bartholomew, [Benjamin Holt, and Nahum Mitchell]. *Columbian and European Harmony: or, Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music.* Ed. 2. Boston: Isaiah Thomas, Ebenezer T. Andrews and John West, Feb. 1804.
- [Brown, Bartholomew, et al.]. *Templi Carmina*, ed. 4. Boston: West and Richardson: T. W. White, printer, 1816.
- [Brown, Bartholomew, et al.]. *Templi Carmina*, ed. 5. Boston: West and Richardson: T. W. White, printer, 1817.
- [Brown, Bartholomew, et al.]. *Templi Carmina*, ed. 8. Boston: West and Richardson: T. W. White, printer, 1820.
- Carmina Sacra; or Northern Collection of Church Musick.* Fairhaven, VT: Colton, Warren, & Sproat, printed by Smith & Shute, Poultney, (Vt.), 1823.

- Cole, I[saac] P. *Cole's Pocket Edition of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, containing most of the standard music used in the different churches throughout the country; to which is prefixed a brief introduction to vocal music*. Ed. 3. Albany: Hoffman & White for I. P. Cole, New York, 1834.
- [Collection of Psalm-Tunes, with an introduction "To learn to sing."] Boston: James A. Turner, 1752.
- [Collection of Psalm Tunes, with an introduction "To learn to sing."] Bound with Tate and Brady. *A New Version of the Psalms* (E7442). Boston: Thomas Johnston, 1755.
- [Collection of Psalm Tunes, with an introduction "To learn to sing."] Bound with Tate and Brady. *A new Version of the Psalms*. Boston: Thomas Johnston, 1755 [ca. 1760-65].
- A Collection of Sacred Musick: more particularly designed for the use of the West Church in Boston*. Boston: Buckingham & Titcomb, 1810.
- A Collection of Sacred Musick: more particularly designed for the use of the West Church in Boston*. Ed. 2. Boston: Buckingham & Ticomb, 1810.
- Gram, Hans, Jacob Kimball, and Samuel Holyoke. *The Massachusetts Compiler of Theoretical and Practical Elements of Sacred Vocal Music*. Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1795.
- Harmon, Joel, Jun. *The Columbian Sacred Minstrel. Containing an introduction to psalmody, and a set of tunes suited to the various metres sung in the different churches in the United States. Likewise several anthems, odes and set pieces. Designed for the use of worshiping assemblies and singing societies. Being an original composition of airs, consisting of three, four, five and six parts*. Northampton, MA: for the author by A. Wright, 1809.
- Hartwell, Edward. *The Chorister's Companion containing a concise introduction to the grounds of music; a variety of plainpsalm tunes and occasional pieces, original and selected: in two parts: I. An introduction to the grounds of music, and a variety of tunes suited to all the metres now used in the American churches: II. A variety of anthems, odes and occasional pieces*. Exeter, N.H.: C. Norris & Co. for the author, 1815.
- Hastings, Thomas and William B. Bradbury. *The Mendelssohn Collection, or Hastings and Bradbury's Third Book of Psalmody: containing original music and selections from the best European and American composers; consisting of tunes, anthems, motets, introits, sentences, and chants; with an appendix of the most approved standard church tunes, for congregational singing*. New York: Mark H. Newman & Co., 1849.
- [Hastings, Thomas]. *The Musical Reader... compiled principally for the use of schools, by one of the editors of the 'Musica Sacra.'* Utica: William Williams, 1817.
- [Hastings, Thomas]. *The Musical Reader*, ed. 2. Utica: William Williams, 1819.
- [Hastings, Thomas]. *Musica Sacra: A Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Set Pieces. Composed at the request, and published under the patronage of the Oneida Musical Society*. Utica: Seward & Williams, 1815.
- [Hastings, Thomas]. *Musica Sacra: A Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Set Pieces. Composed at the request, and published under the patronage of the Oneida Musical Society*. Ed. 2. Utica: Seward & Williams, 1816.
- Hastings, Thomas. *Palmista, or, Choir Melodies: an extensive collection of new and available church music; together with some of the choicest selections from the former publications of the authors, for choir and congregational use*. Cincinnati: Moore and Anderson, 1851.
- Hastings, Thomas and Solomon Warriner. *Musica Sacra: or Springfield and Utica Collections United: consisting of psalm and hymn tunes, anthems and chants: arranged for two, three or four voices, with a figured bass for the organ or piano forte*. Utica: William Williams, 1818.
- Hastings, Thomas and Solomon Warriner. *Musica Sacra: or Springfield and Utica Collections United: consisting of psalm and hymn tunes, anthems and chants: arranged for two, three or four*

- voices, with a figured bass for the organ or piano forte. Ed. 2, rev. Utica: William Williams, 1819.
- Hill, Uri K. *The Sacred Minstrel. No. 1. Containing an introduction to psalmody, a practical essay on modulation, and a collection of sacred music, suitable for religious worship, selected and composed by Uri K. Hill.* Boston: Manning & Loring, 1806.
- Hill, Uri K. *The Vermont Harmony. Volume I. Containing, a collection of sacred vocal music. Part of which is original.* Northampton, MA: Andrew Wright, 1801.
- Hymns, selected from the most approved authors, for the use of Trinity Church, Boston.* Boston: Munroe, Francis, & Parker, 1808.
- Law, Andrew. *The Art of Singing; in three parts: viz. I. The Musical Primer, II. The Christian Harmony, III. The Musical Magazine.* [2d t-p.] *The Musical Primer; or The First Part of the Art of Singing: containing the rules of psalmody, newly revised and improved; together with a number of practical lessons and plain tunes: designed expressly for the use of learners.* Ed. 2. Cheshire, CT: n.p., 1794.
- Law, Andrew. *The Art of Singing; in three parts: viz. I. The Musical Primer, II. The Christian Harmony, III. The Musical Magazine.* [2d t-p.] *The Musical Primer; or The First Part of the Art of Singing: containing the rules of psalmody, newly revised and improved; together with a number of practical lessons and plain tunes: designed expressly for the use of learners.* Ed. 2. Cheshire, CT: n.p., [1798-1800].
- Law, Andrew. *The Art of Singing; in three Parts: viz. I. The Musical Primer, II. The Christian Harmony, III. The Musical Magazine.* [2d t-p.] *The Christian Harmony; or The Second Part of the Art of Singing: comprising a select variety of psalm and hymn tunes; together with a number of airs and anthems: calculated for schools and churches.* By Andrew Law, A.M. In two volumes. Vol. II. Cheshire, CT: n.p., 1794.
- Law, Andrew. *The Art of Singing; in three Parts: viz. I. The Musical Primer, II. The Christian Harmony, III. The Musical Magazine.* [2d t-p.] *The Christian Harmony; or The Second Part of the Art of Singing: comprising a select variety of psalm and hymn tunes; together with a number of airs and anthems: calculated for schools and churches.* Cheshire, CT: William Law, 1796.
- Law, Andrew. *The Art of Singing; in three Parts: viz. I. The Musical Primer, II. The Christian Harmony, III. The Musical Magazine.* Cheshire, CT: n.p. 1800.
- Law, Andrew. *The Musical Magazine; being the Third Part of the Art of Singing: containing a variety of favorite pieces. A periodical publication.* Cheshire, CT: n.p., 1794.
- Law, Andrew. *Select Harmony. Containing in a plain and concise manner, the rules of singing; together with, a collection of psalm tunes, hymns and anthems.* Farmington, CT: J. Allen, 1779.
- Little, Henry. *The Wesleyan Harmony, or A Compilation of Choice Tunes for Public Worship; adapted to the various metres in the Methodist Hymn Book now in use: with a table of the particular metre hymns, and names of the tunes annexed in which they may be sung. Designed for the Methodist Societies, but proper for all denominations.* Hallowell, ME: E. Goodale, 1820.
- Little, Henry. *The Wesleyan Harmony, or A Compilation of Choice Tunes for Public Worship; adapted to the various metres in the Methodist Hymn Book now in use: with a table of the particular metre hymns, and names of the tunes annexed in which they may be sung. Designed for the Methodist Societies, but proper for all denominations.* Ed. 2, enl. and imp. Hallowell, ME: Goodale, Glazier & Co., 1821.
- Mann, Elias. *The Massachusetts Collection of Sacred Harmony Containing a plain and concise introduction to the grounds of music: also, a large number of psalm tunes, selected from the most approved and eminent authors; adapted to the different metres and keys generally used in churches. Together with a number of select pieces and anthems, suitable for various occasions.* Boston: Manning and Loring, for the author, 1807.

- Mann, Elias. *The Northampton Collection of Sacred Harmony. In three parts. Containing, I. A plain and concise introduction to the grounds of music. II. A large number of psalm tunes, selected from the most approved and eminent authors. Adapted to all the different metres and keys used in churches. III. A number of lengthy pieces of several verses each, many of which are compositions never before published, and calculated for the use of churches and other occasions; - with a number of universally approved anthems.* Northampton, MA: Daniel Wright & Co., 1797.
- Mann, Elias. *The Northampton Collection of Sacred Harmony. In three parts. Containing, I. A plain and concise introduction to the grounds of music. II. A large number of psalm tunes, selected from the most approved and eminent authors. Adapted to all the different metres and keys used in churches. III. A number of lengthy pieces of several verses each, many of which are compositions never before published, and calculated for the use of churches and other occasions; - with a number of universally approved anthems.* Ed. 2. Northampton, MA: Andrew Wright, for Daniel Wright, 1802.
- Mason, Lowell. *Carmina Sacra: or Boston Collection of Church Music, comprising the most popular psalm and hymn tunes in general use, together with a great variety of new tunes, chants, sentences, motets, and anthems, principally by distinguished European composers: the whole constituting one of the most complete collections of music for choirs, congregations, singing schools and societies, extant.* Boston: Wilkins, Carter, & Co., 1845.
- Mason, Lowell and George James Webb. *The Psalter, a new collection of church music, consisting of psalm and hymn tunes, chants, and anthems; being one of the most complete music books for church choirs, congregations, singing schools, and societies, ever published.* Boston: Wilkins, Carter, and Company, 1846.
- The Monitor, or Celestial Melody.* Boston: G. Graupner, [1806].
- Muenschler, Joseph. *The Harmonic Collection of Anthems. Selected from the works of Handel, Haydn, Mozart, and other distinguished European authors.* Providence: Miller and Hutchens, Printers, 1819.
- Musical Monitor, or New-York Collection of Church Musick: being a selection of psalm and hymn tunes of the most approved character. Also, set pieces, anthems and chants, embracing a great variety of style, selected from the works of eminent composers. Together with the elementary class-book, introductory to the science of musick.* By William J. Edson. Ed. 6, cor., enl., and impr. Ithaca: Mack & Andrus, 1830.
- Olmstead, T[imothy]. *The Musical Olio. Containing, I. A concise introduction to the art of singing by note. II. A variety of psalm tunes, hymns and set-pieces, selected principally from European authors, viz. Dr. Croft, Dr. Green, Handel, Purcell, Dr. Wainwright, Dr. Randal, Dr. Burney, Dr. Alcock, Is. Smith, Milgrove, Dr. Madan, Holdroyd, Williams, Baidon, Oswald, Jenning, Harrison, Grigg, Coombs, Tucker, Walker, Breillat, Husband, Dr. Worgan, Cuzens, March, Boxwel, Dr. Arne, Lockhart, and Hepstinstall; - together with a number of original pieces, never before published.* Northampton, MA: Andrew Wright, 1805.
- Packard, J. B., and J. S. Loveland. *The Spirit Minstrel; a collection of hymns and music, for the use of Spiritualists, in their circles and public meetings.* Ed. 6. Boston: Bela Marsh, 1853, 1860.
- Phœbus, John H. *Chants, adapted to the service of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States.* New-Haven: Durrrie and Peck, Baldwin and Treadway, printers, 1830.
- Pool, David, and Josiah Holbrook. *The American and European Harmony, or Abington Collection of Sacred Musick.* Providence: H. Mann & Co., 1813.
- Reed, Ephraim. *Musical Monitor, or New-York Collection of Devotional Church Music. "House of our God, with sacred anthems ring." Compiled for the promotion and improvement of devotional church music.* Utica: William Williams, 1817.
- Reed, Ephraim. *Musical Monitor, or New-York Collection of Devotional Church Music.* Ithaca: Mack & Searing, 1820.



- Reed, Ephraim. *Musical Monitor, or, New-York Collection of Devotional Church Music; united with the Elementary Class-Book, being an introduction to the science of music, arranged and systematized on a new plan of classification, by William J. Edson. Containing a choice collection of psalm and hymn tunes, set pieces, and anthems.* Ed. 2, rev. Ithaca: A. P. Searing & Co., 1822.
- Reed, Ephraim. *Musical Monitor, or New-York Collection of Church Music: to which is prefixed, the elementary class-book, being an introduction to the science of music, arranged and systematized by William J. Edson. Together with a choice collection of psalm and hymn tunes, set pieces, and anthems, adapted to public worship.* Ed. 3, rev. and enl. Ithaca: A. P. Searing & Co., 1824.
- Reed, Ephraim. *Musical Monitor, or New-York Collection of Church Musick: to which is prefixed, the elementary class-book, being an introduction to the science of music, arranged and systematized by William J. Edson. Together with a choice collection of psalm and hymn tunes, set pieces, and anthems, adapted to publick worship.* Ed. 4, rev., enl., and impr. Ithaca: Mack & Andrus, 1825.
- Reed, Ephraim. *Musical Monitor, or New-York Collection of Church Musick: to which is prefixed, the elementary class-book, being an introduction to the science of musick, arranged and systematized by William J. Edson. Together with a choice collection of psalm and hymn tunes, set pieces, and anthems, harmonized for two, three, and four voices, and adapted to publick worship.* Ed. 5, rev., enl., and impr. Ithaca: Mack & Andrus, 1827.
- Roberts, Eli. *The Hartford Collection of Classical Church Music.* New London, CT: for the compiler by Samuel Green, 1812.
- Root George F. *The Diapason: a collection of church music. To which are prefixed a new and comprehensive view of "music and its notation;" exercises for reading music, and vocal training: songs, part-songs, rounds, etc. The whole arranged and adapted for choirs, singing schools, musical conventions and social gatherings.* New York: Mason Brothers; Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co.; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., and E. H. Butler & Co.; Cincinnati: W. B. Smith & Co.; Chicago: Root & Cady, 1860.
- Sacred Psalmody, selected for the church in Federal-Street.* [Boston]: [c. 1810].
- Songs of Zion, or Maine Collection of Sacred Music.* Charleston, ME: Hinkley & Norcross, Glazier, Masters & Co., printers, 1830.
- Taylor, Virgil Corydon. *The Celestina: or, Taylor's New Sacred Minstrel. A repository of church music, adapted to every variety of taste and grade of capacity, from the million to the amateur and professor.* Boston: Oliver Ditson and Company, 1856.
- Taylor, Virgil Corydon. *The Chime: an extensive collection of new and old tunes, consisting of arrangements from the old masters, and modern european writers; gems from the Continental school, with valuable selections (kindly permitted) from living American composers: also, a variety of new pieces by the author, with some of the choicest productions from his former publications. Including also, a melodeon instructor; by the use of which, a knowledge of all instruments of the organ kind may be easily acquired.* Ed. 2. New York: Daniel Burgess & Co., 1854.
- Taylor, Virgil Corydon. *The Golden Lyre: a new collection of church music, adapted to the various metres now in use; together with a new and extensive variety of anthems, sentences, and chants, for choirs, singing classes, musical associations, and social sacred music circles.* Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co.; New York: S. T. Gordon; Philadelphia: Beck & Lawton; Cincinnati: Truax & Baldwin, 1850.
- Taylor, Virgil Corydon. *The Song Festival: A select library of psalmody, songs, ballads, duetts, trios, quartets, glees, sacred and opera choruses: for choirs, musical conventions, elementary singing classes, glee clubs, chorus societies and the drawing room.* Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1858.

- Taylor, Virgil Corydon. *Taylor's Choral Anthems: no. I. A new collection of choruses, anthems, quartetts, trios, duets and solos: original and selected, for singing societies, choirs and social musical circles.* Hartford: J. H. Mather and Co.: Utica: H. H. Hawley and Co., 1848.
- Taylor, Virgil Corydon. *Taylor's Choral Anthems: a new collection of choruses, anthems, quartetts, trios, duets, and solos, original and selected, for singing societies, choirs, and social musical circles.* Boston: Oliver Ditson and Company, 1849.
- Taylor, Virgil Corydon. *Taylor's Sacred Minstrel, or, American Church Music Book: a collection of psalm and hymn tunes adapted to the various metres now in use: together with anthems, sentences, chants and other pieces: for the use of choirs, congregations, singing schools, musical societies, social sacred music circles, and private devotion.* Hartford: J.H. Mather, 1846.
- Taylor, Virgil Corydon. *The Venite: a new collection of chants; for the Episcopal service, for opening and closing voluntaries, musical societies, classes, and for the social circle.* n.p., 1865.
- [Tenney, Samuel]. *The Hallowell Collection of Sacred Music; adapted to the different subjects and metres, commonly used in churches.* Hallowell, ME: E. Goodale, 1817.
- [Tenney, Samuel]. *The Hallowell Collection of Sacred Music; adapted to the different subjects and metres, commonly used in churches.* Ed. 2. Hallowell, ME: E. Goodale, 1819.
- Warriner, Solomon. *The Springfield Collection of Sacred Music. Containing a variety of psalm tunes and occasional pieces, selected from the works of the most approved European authors, to which is prefixed a concise system of rudiments.* Springfield, MA: Warriner and Bontecou, Manning and Loring, printers, 1813.
- Willard, Rev. Samuel. *Deerfield Collection of Sacred Music.* Greenfield, MA: R. Dickinson's office for Simeon Butler, Northampton, 1814.
- Willard, Rev. Samuel, of Deerfield. *Deerfield Collection of Sacred Music*, ed. 2. Greenfield, MA: Denio and Phelps, 1818.
- Woodbury, Isaac B., *The Cythara: a collection of sacred music.* New York: F. J. Huntington, 434 Broome Street, 1854.
- Woodbury, Isaac B. *Harp of the South.* New York: Mason Brothers, 1853.
- Worcester, Rev. Samuel. *Select Harmony. The fourth part of Christian Psalmody.* Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong. Norris & Co., printers, 1813.
- Worcester, Rev. Samuel. *Select Harmony. The fourth part of Christian Psalmody*, ed. 2. Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong. Printed by James Loring, 1817.

### 1.2.3 Relative New England and Northern New York Precedents: Revival and Camp Meeting Books

- Dadmun, J. W., Rev. *The Melodeon: a collection of hymns and tunes, with original and selected music, adapted to all occasions of social worship.* Boston: s.n., 1860.
- Dadmun, J. W., Rev. *The Melodeon: a collection of hymns and tunes, original and selected, adapted to all occasions of social worship.* Ed. 2. Boston: s.n., 1862.
- Hastings, Thomas and Lowell Mason. *Spiritual Songs, for Social Worship: adapted to the use of families and private circles in seasons of revival, to missionary meetings, to the monthly concert, and other occasions of special interest.* Ed. 5. Utica: Gardiner Tract; New-York: Robinson, Pratt & Co, F. J. Huntington & Co., Leavitt, Lord & Co. and E. Collier, 1831, 1837.
- Henry, G[eorge]. W[ashington]. *The Golden Harp; or, Camp-Meeting Hymns, old and new. Set to music.* Auburn, N.Y.: William J. Moses, 1855.
- Henry, G[eorge]. W[ashington]. *The Golden Harp; A Supplement.* Auburn, N.Y.: William J. Moses, 1855.

- Hillman, Joseph. *The Revivalist: a collection of choice revival hymns and tunes, original and selected*. Rev. and enl. ed. Rev. L. Hartsough, musical ed. Troy, N.Y.: Joseph Hillman, 1869.
- Leavitt, Joshua. *The Christian Lyre: a collection of hymns and tunes adapted for social worship, prayer meetings, and revivals of religion. The work complete, two volumes in one, with a supplement*. New York: by the Author, 1830.
- Little, J.C. and Gardner, G.B., *A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the use of the Latter Day Saints*. Bellows Falls, VT: J.C. Little and G.B. Smith, printed by Blake and Bailey, 1844.
- McDonald, W. *Camp-Meeting Music: as published in The Advocate of Christian Holiness, and sung at national and other camp-meetings*. Boston: John Bent, 1870.
- Merrill, Abraham D., and William C. Brown. *The Wesleyan Harp: a collection of hymns and tunes, suitable for social worship*. Boston: The compilers, 1834.
- Neale, R. H., Rev. and H. W. Day. *Revival Hymns, principally selected by the Rev. R. H. Neale, set to some of the most popular revival tunes. by H. W. Day, A.M., editor of the Musical Visitor*. Boston: Hartley Wood, 1843.
- Putnam, John. *Revival Melodies, or, Songs of Zion. Dedicated to Elder Jacob Knapp*. Boston: John Putnam, 1842.
- Scudder, M. L. *The Wesleyan Psalmist, or, Songs of Canaan: a collection of hymns and tunes: designed to be used at camp-meetings, and at class and prayer meetings, and other occasions of social devotion*. Boston: Waite and Peirce, 1842.
- The Young Convert's Pocket Companion: being a collection of hymns for the use of conference meetings*. Boston: E. Lincoln, 1806.
- The Young Convert's Pocket Companion. Being a collection of hymns, with tunes, adapted to each hymn*. C. C. Abbott, comp. Boston: James Loring, for the compiler, 1822.

### 1.3.1 Middle Atlantic and Backcountry Sources: Ancient-Style Tunebooks

- Addington, Stephen. *A Valuable Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes: from the most esteemed English authors. Adapted to public worship, and which are now used by the congregation at the Independent Tabernacle, in Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1808.
- Adgate, Andrew and Ishmael Spicer. *Philadelphia Harmony, or, A Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems, selected by A. Adgate: together with the rudiments of music on a new and improved plan*. Ed. 3. Philadelphia: Westcott & Adgate, 1789.
- Adgate, Andrew. *Philadelphia Harmony, or, A Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems, selected by A. Adgate: together with the rudiments of music on a new and improved plan*. Ed. 4. Philadelphia: Westcott & Adgate, 1791.
- Adgate, Andrew. *Philadelphia Harmony, or, A Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems, selected by A. Adgate: together with the rudiments of music on a new and improved plan*. Ed. 4. Philadelphia: John M'Culloch, 1791.
- Adgate, Andrew. *Philadelphia Harmony, or, A Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems, Part II*. Ed. 4. Philadelphia: John M'Culloch, 1791.
- Adgate, Andrew. *Philadelphia Harmony, or, A Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems, selected by A. Adgate: together with the rudiments of music on a new and improved plan*. Ed. 7. Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1801.
- Arnold, Adam. *Geistliche Ton-Kunst, enthaltend die vornehmsten Kirchen-Melodien, die bey allen Religions-Verfassungen gebräuchlich, - auf vier Stimmen gesetzt; und mit den vornehmsten musicalischen Stücken, sammt hinreichendem Unterricht versehen; zur Uebung der Jugend*. Elisabeth-(Hägers-)Taun, MD: Johann Gruber, 1803.

- Blake, G[eorge] E. *Vocal Harmony; being a collection of psalms, hymns, anthems & chants, compiled from the compositions of the most approved authors ancient & modern*. Philadelphia: G. E. Blake, [c. 1808].
- Blake, G[eorge] E. *Vocal Harmony; being a collection of psalms, hymns, anthems & chants, compiled from the compositions of the most approved authors ancient & modern*. Philadelphia: G. E. Blake, [c. 1810].
- Boyd, James M. *The Virginia Sacred Musical Repository, being a complete collection of psalm and hymn tunes, original and carefully selected from the most celebrated modern authors, both European and American, and designed for the use of different religious denominations, musical societies and schools in the United States*. Winchester, VA: J. Foster, 1818.
- Burger, John, Jr. *Amphion or The Chorister's Delight, containing a select number of psalm tunes hymns and anthems from the most approv'd authors, in three and four parts. Fitted to the psalms used in the churches in general; besides the necessary rules of psalmody*. New York: John Burger Jnr and Cornelius Tiebout, c. 1789.
- Chapin, Nathan and Joseph L. Dickerson. *The Musical Instructor: containing a choice collection of psalm tunes, hymns and anthems; together with the rudiments of music on an improved plan, wherein each sound, and its distance from the key, is always known by its name and character all reduced to one uniform plan, and made familiar to the weakest capacity. For the use of singing schools and societies in the United States*. Ed. 2. Philadelphia: W. McCulloch, 1810.
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*ingerichtet zur Uebung der Jugend, sowohl als zum Gebrauche beim öffentlichen Gottesdienste, Familien, Sing-Schulen und musikalischen Gesellschaften. The Pennsylvania Choral Harmony, containing the principal church melodies; provided with German and English text; adapted to the use of Christian churches of every denomination; comprising a number of the most popular pieces of eminent composers – composed for three and four voices. Together with a concise introduction to the art of singing; designed for the use of scholars, as well as for public worship, families, singing-schools, and musical societies.* Ed. 7. Allentown, PA: E. D. Leisenring & Co., 1869.

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### 1.3.2 Middle Atlantic and Backcountry Sources: Scientific-Style Tunebooks

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- Linden, Lilla. *Linden Harp: a rare collection of popular melodies, adapted to sacred and moral songs, original and selected. Illustrated. Also, a manual of music instruction.* New York: Daniel Burgess & Co.; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.; Cincinnati: Applegate & Co., 1856.
- M'Cauley, E. D. *The Harmonia Unio: being a collection of psalm and hymn tunes, anthems, &c. &c. with an appendix of the most approved standard german church tunes. Designed for singing-schools, choirs, congregations, &c.* Philadelphia: Henry B. Ashmead, 1858.
- The Methodist Harmonist, containing a great variety of tunes collected from the best authors, adapted to all the various metres in the Methodist Hymn-Book, and designed for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. To which is added a choice selection of anthems and pieces for particular occasions.* New York: N. Bangs and T. Mason, 1822.

- The Methodist Harmonist, containing a great variety of tunes collected from the best authors, adapted to all the various metres in the Methodist Hymn-Book, and designed for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. To which is added a choice selection of anthems and pieces for particular occasions.* Rev. by George Coles. New York: B. Waugh and T. Mason: J. Collord, printer, 1833.
- Nevius, John W., Cornelius van Deventer, and John Fazez. *The New-Brunswick Collection of Sacred Music, being a selection of tunes from the most approved authors. Designed for the use of churches and singing societies.* Ed. 3. New York: R. & W. A. Bartow: William Myer, printer, 1822.
- The New-Brunswick Collection of Sacred Music: being a choice selection of tunes, for the use of churches, from the most celebrated authors, in Europe and America.* New Brunswick, N.J.: J. W. Nevius & W. Myer, 1817.
- The New-Brunswick Collection of Sacred Music: being a choice selection of tunes, for the use of churches, from the most celebrated authors, in Europe and America.* Ed. 2. Brunswick and Trenton, N.J.: William Myer, Brunswick, and D. & E. Fenton, Trenton, 1818.
- The New-Brunswick Collection of Sacred Music, being a selection of tunes from the most approved authors. Designed for the use of churches and singing societies.* Enl. ed. New-Brunswick, N.J.: William Myer, 1822.
- Professor of Music. *The Norristown New and Much Improved Musical Teacher, or Repository of Sacred Harmony: Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, containing a number of new tunes never before published. Together with a large selection from the most eminent and admired composers. For the use of schools and Christian devotion. On a new system.* Norristown, PA: D. Sower, Jr., 1832.
- The Psalms of David, with The Ten Commandments, Creed, Lord's Prayer, &c. in metre. Also, the catechism, confession of faith, liturgy, &c. Translated from the Dutch. For the use of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the city of New-York.* New-York: James Parker, 1767.
- Van Deventer, Cornelius. *The New-Brunswick Collection of Sacred Music, being a selection of tunes from the most approved authors in Europe and America. Designed principally for the use of churches.* Ed. 4, enl. and imp. New Brunswick, N.J.: Terhune & Letson, 1827.
- Van Deventer, Cornelius. *The New-Brunswick Collection of Sacred Music. A selection of tunes from the most approved authors in Europe and America. Designed principally for the use of churches.* Ed. 5, enl. and imp. New Brunswick, N.J.: Terhune & Letson, 1829.
- Van Deventer, Cornelius. *The New-Brunswick Collection of Sacred Music; a selection of tunes from the most approved authors in Europe and America. Designed principally for the use of churches.* Ed. 6, enl. and imp. New Brunswick, N.J.: Terhune & Letson, 1832.
- Van Deventer, Cornelius. *The New-Brunswick Collection of Sacred Music; a selection of tunes from the most approved authors in Europe and America. Designed principally for the use of churches.* Ed. 7, enl. and imp. New Brunswick, N.J.: Terhune & Letson, 1835.
- Van Deventer, Cornelius. *The New-Brunswick Collection of Sacred Music, a selection of tunes from the most approved authors in Europe and America. Designed principally for the use of churches.* Ed. 8, enl. and imp. New Brunswick, N.J.: J. Terhune, 1838.
- Wesleyan Selection, being a supplement to David's Companion; used by the Wesleyan Sacred Music Society, belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church in John-Street, New-York.* New York: Abraham Paul, 1820.
- Winnebrenner, John and Leopold Meigen. *The Seraphina.* Harrisburg, PA: By the compiler, 1854.
- Wolle, Peter. *Hymn Tunes, used in the church of the United Brethren, arranged for four voices and the organ or piano-forte; to which are added chants for the litany of that church, and a number of approved anthems for various occasions.* Boston: Shepley and Wright, 1836.

- Woodward, Charles. *Ecclesiae Harmonia. A selection of sacred music by Woodward & Aitken, of Philadelphia*. [Philadelphia]: s.n., [1806].
- Woodward, Charles. *Ecclesiae Harmonia. A selection of sacred music; by Charles Woodward. The second edition improved & enlarged by the addition of upwards of 40 tunes including anthems & pieces*. Ed. 2. Philadelphia: W. W. Woodward and the editor, (1809).
- Woodward, Charles. *Sacred Music, in Miniature: containing a choice selection of nearly one hundred and fifty psalm and hymn tunes, set in three parts, - chiefly new: adapted to public and family worship, and including a great variety of metres, from Dr. Watts's, Rippon's, the Methodist, and other hymn books: a great proportion of which are the production of a celebrated composer in England, where they are highly esteemed together with others composed expressly for the work*. Philadelphia: W. W. Woodward, M. Carey, and C. Woodward, 1812.

#### 1.4.1 Southern Chesapeake Bay and Lowcountry Sources: Ancient-Style Tunebooks

- The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments: and other rites and ceremonies, as revised and proposed to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church, at a convention of said church in the states of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South-Carolina, held in Philadelphia, from September 27th to October 7th, 1785*. Philadelphia: Printed by Hall and Sellers, and sold for the benefit of sundry corporations and societies, instituted for the support of the widows and children of deceased clergymen, 1786.
- Ely, Alexander. *The Baltimore Collection of Church Music; containing besides the necessary rules of singing; a variety of the most approved psalm and hymn tunes, both ancient and modern; some of which are entirely new, and never before published*. Baltimore: John Hagerty, 1792.
- Gillet, Wheeler, and Co. *The Maryland Selection of Sacred Music; from the best authors, ancient and modern; in three and four parts*. Baltimore: Henry S. Keatinge, 1809.
- Pilsbury, Amos. *The United States' Sacred Harmony. Containing the rudiments of vocal music, in a concise and comprehensive manner; and a large and valuable collection of psalm tunes and anthems. Selected from the most celebrated authors in the United States and Great-Britain. For the use of schools, singing societies, and churches. Also, - a large number of tunes never before published*. Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1799.
- Sandford, E. and J. Rhea. *Columbian Harmony, containing, together with the necessary rules of music, a collection of psalm and hymn tunes, adapted to a great variety of metres: selected, from the most celebrated authors, by E. Sandford and J. Rhea*. Baltimore: Samuel & John Adams, [1793].

#### 1.4.2 Southern Chesapeake Bay and Lowcountry Sources: Scientific-Style Tunebooks

- [Badger, Jonathan, of Charleston, S.C. *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes*. Charles Town: For the author(?), 1752.]
- The Baltimore Collection of Sacred Musick. Selected and compiled under the direction of a committee of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church of Baltimore*. Baltimore: Cushing and Jewett: Thomas Murphy, printer, 1819.
- The Beauties of Psalmody adapted to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns*. Baltimore: Sower and Cole, 1803.
- Clifton, Arthur [Philip Antony Corri], Organist of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore. *An Original Collection of Psalm Tunes, extracted from the beautiful works, (chiefly sacred) of the most celebrated ancient and modern composers, to which are added several tunes*

- composed expressly for this work. The whole arranged for three voices, and adapted to the Metres of Dr. Watt's Psalms and Hymns.* Baltimore: for the Author by T. Murphy, 1819.
- Cole, John. *The Beauties of Psalmody. Containing a selection of sacred music, in three and four parts: adapted to Dr. Dwight's Psalms and Hymns, and the psalms and hymns of the Episcopal Prayer-Book.* Ed. 2, enl. Baltimore: Cole & Hewes, 1805.
- Cole, John. *A Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems.* Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1803.
- Cole, John. *A Collection of Anthems, Choruses, Psalms and Hymns, from celebrated authors, intended for the use of musical societies.* Baltimore: Edward J. Coale, Murphy & Milless, printers, n.d.
- Cole, John. *Cole's Collection of Original and Popular Anthems, Odes, Hymns and Choruses: calculated for the use of choirs and music societies.* Baltimore: J. Cole, [ca. 1821-3].
- Cole, John. *The Devotional Harmony, containing a variety of psalm tunes.* Baltimore: for the author by G. Dobbin and Murphy, 1814.
- Cole, John. *The Divine Harmonist. Containing a variety of psalm-tunes, chants and anthems, selected from the works of the most celebrated authors, by John Cole.* [Baltimore]: [John Cole], 1808.
- Cole, John. *Ecclesiastical Harmony: a collection of ancient and modern tunes, particularly adapted to Dr. Dwight's collection of psalms and hymns; including a number never before published in this country.* Baltimore: for the author by Dobbin & Murphy, [ca. 1810].
- Cole, John. *Episcopalian Harmony; containing the hymns set forth by the general conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with appropriate music to each hymn: together with a few additional tunes, embracing all the peculiar metres in The Book Of Psalms. To which are added; Chants, Doxologies, Responses, &c. for Morning and Evening Prayer and the Communion Office.* Baltimore: for the author and sold by Edward J. Coale. G. Dobbin & Murphy, 1811.
- Cole, John. *Episcopalian Harmony; containing the hymns set forth by the general conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with appropriate music to each hymn: together with a few additional tunes, embracing all the peculiar metres in The Book Of Psalms. To which are added; Chants, Doxologies, Responses, &c. for Morning and Evening Prayer and the Communion Office.* Baltimore: for the Author, by Murphy and Milless, [1817-18].
- Cole, John. *Sacred Harmony; containing a variety of plain and simple airs, adapted to all the metres in Dr. Watt's Psalms, improved by Mr. Barlow; and, a Choice Collection of the Most Approved Hymn Tunes, adapted to all the metres in The Methodist Pocket Hymn Book.* ed. 2. Baltimore: J. Carr, B. Carr, and J. Hewitt, [ca. 1799].
- Cole, John. *Sacred Harmony; Part The Second, containing a variety of plain and simple airs, and, A Choice Collection of the Most Approved Hymn Tunes, adapted to all the metres in The Methodist Pocket Hymn Book.* Baltimore: J. Carr, B. Carr, and J. Hewitt, 1799.
- Cole, John. *Sacred Melodies, selected from the works of the most celebrated composers, and arranged for one or more voices; with the proper harmony added for the piano forte or organ.* Baltimore: John Cole, 1828.
- Cole, John. *Sacred Music; published for the use of the Cecilian Society established under the patronage of the clergy and vestry of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore.* Baltimore: n.p. [1803].
- Cole, John. *The Seraph; a new selection of psalm tunes, hymns, and anthems, from favorite and celebrated authors; containing many which have never before been published in this country, and several entirely new composed for this work: including also, the rudiments of music in a concise and comprehensive manner, for the use of schools or private instruction; and the chants and doxologies, as performed by the choir of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore.* Baltimore: Francis M. Wills, J. Robinson, printer, 1821.
- Cole, John. *The Seraph; a collection of sacred music: consisting of the most celebrated psalm and hymn tunes, arranged generally in four vocal parts: including many which have never before been published in this*

- country, and several entirely new, composed for this work; embracing all the variety of metres in general use, with a particular reference to the classification of the hymns of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Also, - the rudiments of music, and a few practical lessons for the use of schools.* Ed. 2. Baltimore: by the editor, J. Robinson, printer, 1827.
- Cole, John. *Thirty Four Psalm Tunes, chiefly of German origin: to which are added the hymns and doxologies in the liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church.* Baltimore: for the author, T. Murphy, printer, 1820.
- Cole, John. *Union Harmony; or, Music Made Easy: a new and pleasing selection of psalm and hymn tunes intended for the use of such teachers as are in the habit of using what are called the patent notes.* Baltimore: William and Joseph Neal, 1829.
- David's Harp; containing a selection of tunes adapted to the Methodist Pocket Hymn Book.* Baltimore: Newl, Wills and Cole: G. Dobbin and Murphy, print, 1813.
- Dyer, Samuel. *A New Selection of Sacred Music.* Baltimore: for the author, Murphy and Milless, printers, [1817].
- Dyer, Samuel. *A New Selection of Sacred Music*, ed. 2. Baltimore: for the author by Joseph Robinson, [1819].
- Eckhard, Jacob. *Choral Book, containing psalms, hymns, anthems and chants, used in the Episcopal Church of Charleston, South Carolina; and a collection of tunes, adapted to the metres in the Hymn-Book, published by order of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the State of New York. The whole a selection for the service of all protestant churches in America.* Boston: James Loring, for the Author [1816].
- Kent, Emanuel. *David's Harp, A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes adapted to the metres of the Methodist Hymn Book.* ed. 2. Baltimore: Armstrong & Polaskitt, [1817-21].
- Robinson, Joseph (?). *Songs of Zion: containing a selection of approved psalm tunes in four parts: with a concise introduction to music and an appendix containing the chants of the Protestant Episcopal Church as sung at St. Paul's and other churches.* Baltimore: Joseph Robinson, 1818.
- A Selection of Chants, adapted to the morning and evening service, of the Protestant Episcopal Church.* [Baltimore]: [Dobbin & Murphy (?)], ca. 1810.
- Southgate, Charles. *Harmonia Sacra. A collection of original & choice psalms and hymn tunes, odes, anthems, Gloria Patris, and a Te Deum. Composed and harmonized by the late Chas. Southgate, of Richmond, Virg.<sup>a</sup>* New York: for the Widow, [1818].
- Tomlins, James, of Virginia. *Sacred Musick; selected principally from Rippon's collections, and from various other authors of merit. With a brief introduction to psalmody.* Boston: For the compiler by J. T. Buckingham, 1810.

### 1.5.1 Southern and Western Sources: Western Sources. Ancient-Style Tunebooks

- Anthony, Joseph, Jr. *The Western Minstrel, or Ohio Melodist; containing a choice collection of moral, patriotic and sentimental songs, with the appropriate music for each piece in patent notes, carefully selected and affixed thereto; together with instructions for learners. Being well calculated to give a correct knowledge of vocal music: and also designed to assist learners of the instrumental branch of that science.* Cincinnati: E. H. Flint, printed at the Cincinnati Journal Office, 1831.
- Armstrong, John, *The Pittsburgh Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes.* Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear and Eichbaum, 1816.
- Auld, Alexander. *Farmers' and Mechanics Minstrel of Sacred Music, containing a choice selection of tunes, anthems, etc., from the best American and foreign authors of church music; also a few appropriate*

- moral songs, for the use of temperance societies, schools, academies, orchestras, etc.* Cincinnati: Moore, Wiltstach, Keys and Company, 1863.
- Auld, Alexander. *The Key of the West: or The Ohio Collection of Sacred Music. Containing a choice selection of tunes, chants, and anthems, &c. from the best American and foreign authors of church music. Also a few appropriate moral songs, for the use of temperance societies, schools, academies, orchestras, &c.* Columbus, OH: J. H. Riley and Company, 1856.
- Auld, Alexander. *The Ohio Harmonist; a collection of psalm and hymn tunes, from the best authors: to which is added A Supplement of Temperance Songs; for the use of congregations, singing schools, temperance meetings, and musical associations; consisting of three parts: Parts I. and III. Contain the seven syllables, in patent notes. Part II. Contains the four syllables, in patent notes. Also, containing the rudiments of music, on a plain and concise plan.* Washington, OH: A. Auld and Joshua Martin, 1847.
- Auld, Alexander. *The Ohio Harmonist: a collection of psalm and hymn tunes from the best authors: to which is added a supplement of temperance songs: also containing the rudiments of music on a plain and concise plan.* Enl. and rev. ed. Columbus: J. H. Riley and Company, 1852.
- Benefiel, G.W. and Howe, J. D. *The Indiana Harmony, in which is a choice collection of tunes, selected from the most eminent authors and well adapted to all Christian churches, singing schools and private societies. Together with the plainest rules for beginners.* Madison, IN: [for the author], Morgan and Lodge, [printers], 1823.
- Bingham, Hiram. *Foreign Missions.* [Oahu, HI: Na na Misionari, 1838.]
- Bingham, Hiram. *O Ke Kumu Leomele, no na himeni a me na halelu e hoolea aku ai i ke akua.* Oahu, HI: Na na Misionari, 1834.
- Caldwell, William. *Union Harmony: Or Family Musician. Being a choice selection of tunes; selected from the works of the most eminent authors, ancient and modern. Together with a large number of original tunes, composed and harmonized by the author, to which is prefixed a comprehensive view of the rudiments of music, abridged and adapted to the capacity of the young.* Maryville, TN: F. A. Parham, [1834] 1837.
- Carden, Allen D. *The Missouri Harmony, or A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems, selected from the most eminent authors, and well adapted to all Christian churches, singing schools, and private societies; Together with an introduction to the grounds of music, the rudiments of music, and plain rules for beginners.* St. Louis; Published by the compiler; Cincinnati: Morgan and Lodge and Company, printers, 1820.
- Carden, Allen D. *The Missouri Harmony, or A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, and Anthems, from Eminent Authors: with an introduction to the grounds and rudiments of music. To which is added A Supplement, containing a number of admired tunes of the various metres, and several choice pieces, selected from some of the most approved collections of sacred music.* Cincinnati: E. Morgan, 1838.
- Carden, Allen D. *United States Harmony, containing a plain and easy introduction to the grounds of music, and a choice selection of tunes for church service, some of them entirely new, suited to the various metres in Watts' Psalms and Hymns, and the Methodist and Baptist Hymn Books. To which are added a few of the most approved anthems.* Nashville: John S. Simpson, 1829.
- Carden, Allen D., Samuel J. Rogers, F. Moore, and J. Green. *The Western Harmony, or, The Learner's Task Made Easy: containing a plain and easy introduction to the grounds of music, and a choice collection of tunes for church service, some of them entirely new, suited to the various metres in Watts' Hymns & Psalms, & The Methodist & Baptist Hymn Books. To which is added a few of the most approved anthems.* Nashville: Allen D. Carden and Samuel J. Rogers, 1824.
- Carty, B. W. D. *A Collection of Sacred Music, in which is a great variety of tunes, intended for, and well adapted to the use of the different churches, singing schools, private families, and denominations of*

- Christians*. Hardensburgh, KY: [for the author], Morgan, Lodge & Co. Printers, Cincinnati, 1821.
- The Centenary Singer: a collection of hymns and tunes popular during the last one hundred years*. New York: Carlton & Porter; Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock, 1867.
- The Church*. Cincinnati: R.F. Beal, 1860.
- Dutton, D. M.D. *The Numerical Lyre: a choice collection of psalm and hymn tunes, (original and selected) adapted to the numerous metres now in use, together with a select variety of secular music, for the use of choirs, congregations, singing schools, &c.* Cincinnati: Morgan and Overend, Printers, 1849.
- Dutton, D., M.D. *The Sacred Psalmist: of the Psalms of David*. Cincinnati: E. Morgan & Co., 1850.
- Dutton, D., M.D. *The Sacred Psalmist, or, The Psalms of David in the Version Generally Known as that of Rouse: set to music in which there is a selection of the very best music now in use, accented and specially adapted to the psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs of divine inspiration*. Cincinnati: S. Findley, 1855.
- Dyer, Sidney. *The Psalmist: a collection of hymns and sacred songs for the use of Baptist churches*. Louisville: Morton, 1851.
- Evangelisches Gesangbuch*. St. Louis: Zu beziehen durch den Vereins-Secretair, Pastor L. Nollau, 1862.
- Fast, J. J. *The Cantica Sacra: a collection of church music, embracing, besides some new pieces, a choice selection of German and English chorals, set pieces, chants, etc., from the best European and American authors: adapted to the various meters in use, with the text in German and English*. Hudson, OH: Hudson Book, Co., 1854.
- Fillmore, A[ugustus] D[amon]. *Fillmore's Christian Choralist: a collection of tunes, anthems, sentences, chants, choruses, psalms, hymns, and songs of diverse sentiment, both old and new: designed for the use of all good people everywhere in promoting Christianity and education: on a mathematically constructed plan of notation*. Philadelphia: J. Challen, 1864.
- Fillmore, Augustus Damon. *Fillmore's Harp of Zion: a book of church music, containing also a concise course of instruction for schools and private learners, on a mathematically constructed plan of notation*. Cincinnati: R.W. Carroll, 1867.
- Fillmore, Augustus Damon. *The New Christian Choralist: a collection of tunes, anthems, sentences, chants, choruses, psalms, hymns, and songs of diverse sentiment, both old and new: designed for the use of all good people everywhere in promoting Christianity and education: on a mathematically constructed plan of notation*. Cincinnati: R. W. Carroll, 1870.
- Fillmore, Augustus Damon. *The Polyphonic: or Juvenile Choralist, a great variety of music and hymns, both new and old designed for schools and youth generally, also adapted to use in religious meetings and in the home circle, in three parts*. Cincinnati: R. W. Carroll and Co., 1863.
- Fillmore, Augustus Damon. *The Universal Musician: a new collection of secular and sacred music designed for musical associations and social parties: with a new and comprehensive plan of instruction, embracing the various systems of notation*. Cincinnati: H. S. and J. Applegate, 1849.
- Fillmore, Augustus Damon and Robert Skene. *Fillmore's Christian Psalter: a collection of new and old sacred music*. Cincinnati: R.W. Carroll and Co., 1867.
- Flint, Timothy. *The Columbian Harmonist: in two parts; to which is prefixed A Dissertation upon the True Taste in Church Music*. Cincinnati: Coleman and Phillips: Looker, Palmer and Reynolds, printers, 1816.
- Gordon, A. M. S., and T. W. Haynes. *Sweets of Music*. Pittsburgh: Cramer and Spear, 1832.



- Hall, Benjamin Franklin, Augustus Daman Fillmore, and Lewis Letig Pinkerton. *Christian Songs: adapted to individual and family worship*. Louisville: Morton and Griswold, 1852.
- Hayden, Amos Sutton. *Introduction to Sacred Music; comprising the necessary rudiments, with a choice collection of tunes, original and selected*. Pittsburgh: Johnston & Stockton, 1835.
- Hayden, Amos Sutton. *Introduction to Sacred Music; comprising the necessary rudiments, with a choice collection of tunes, original and selected*. Ed. 2. Pittsburgh: Johnston & Stockton, 1838.
- Hayden, Amos Sutton. *The Sacred Melodeon, containing a great variety of the most approved church music, selected chiefly from the old standard authors, with many original compositions. On a new system of notation. Designed for the use of churches, singing societies, and academies*. Pittsburgh: Wm. Overend & Co., 1848.
- Na Himeni Kamalii: na mea e ao ai, a e hoolea aku ai na kamalii i ke Akua*. Honolulu: mea pai palapala a na misionari, 1842.
- Hutson, John P. *The Pennsylvania Harmonist: containing a choice collection of tunes, grave and sprightly, for divine service and musical refinement, set to poetry suited to their acquisition, to which is prefixed, a Dissertation Upon the True Taste in Church Music, together with a concise introduction to the rules of music, prepared for the use of schools*. Pittsburgh: Cramer and Spear, 1827.
- Jackson, John B. *The Knoxville Harmony of Music Made Easy, which is an interesting selection of hymns and psalms, usually sung in churches: selected from the best authors in general use. Also, a variety of anthems; to which is added, a number of original tunes; being entirely new, and well adapted for the use of schools and churches*. Madisonville, TN: for D. & M. Shields & Co. and John B. Jackson, by A. W. Elder, 1838.
- Jackson, John B. *The Knoxville Harmony of Music Made Easy, which is an interesting selection of Hymns And Psalms, usually sung in churches: selected from the best authors in general use. Also, a variety of anthems; to which is added, a number of original tunes; being entirely new, and well adapted for the use of schools and churches*. [Ed. 2]. Pumpkintown, TN: D. and M. Shields and Co., and John B. Jackson, Proprietors: Johnson and Edwards, printers, 1840.
- Johnson, Alexander, *Johnson's Tennessee Harmony, containing, I. A copious introduction to the grounds of music. II. The rudiments of music. III. A collection of the most approved psalm tunes and anthems, published principally for the use of singing schools*. Cincinnati: By the author, 1818.
- Johnson, Alexander. *Johnson's Tennessee Harmony, containing, I. A copious introduction to the grounds of music. II. The rudiments of music. III. A collection of the most approved psalm tunes and anthems, published principally for the use of singing schools*. Ed. 2, rev. and enl. Cincinnati: By the author, 1821.
- Johnson, Alexander. *Johnson's Tennessee Harmony, containing, I. A copious introduction to the grounds of musick. II. The rudiments of musick, and plain rules for beginners, exhibited in the form of questions and answers. III. A collection of the most approved psalm tunes and anthems, selected with care, from the best publications extant, with a few that are original; suited to a variety of meters. Published principally for the use of singing schools*. Ed. 3, rev. Nashville: by the Author, and Robertson and Elliot, Cincinnati: Morgan and Lodge, printers, 1824.
- Johnson, Andrew W. *The American Harmony: containing a plain and easy introduction to the grounds of music, in as short a manner as would be expedient. And a choice collection of tunes in two parts; the first part containing altogether church music. The second part containing the more lengthy and elegant pieces, suitable for concerts or singing societies together with a few pieces never before published*. Ed. 2. Nashville: for the auther by W. H. Dunn, 1839.
- Johnson, Andrew W. *The Eclectic Harmony, containing a plain and easy introduction to the grounds of music, in as short a manner as would be expedient, in tow parts; and a choice collection of such tunes as are in use in congregations, concerts, or singing societies. And among revivalists, together*

- with several pieces never before published.* Ed. 2, rev. and imp. Shelbyville, TN: N.O. Wallace & Co., Printers, 1847.
- Johnson, Andrew W. *The Western Psalmodist: a new system of notation; a collection of church music, consisting of a great variety of psalms and hymns, tunes, anthems and sacred songs, original and selected, including many new and beautiful tunes never before published. Well adapted to Christian churches, singing schools, private societies. Also, an easy introduction to the grounds of music.* Nashville: Nashville Union Office for A. W. Johnson, 1853.
- Knight, W[illiam] C. *The Juvenile Harmony, or A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems, selected from the most eminent authors, and well adapted to all Christian churches, singing schools, and private societies. Together with the rules of singing, and an explanation of the rules and principles of the ground work of music.* Lost Creek, OH: [for the author]; Cincinnati: Morgan, Lodge and Fisher, printers, 1825.
- Knight, W[illiam] C. *The Juvenile Harmony, or, A Choice Collection Of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems, selected from the most eminent authors, and well adapted to all Christian churches, singing schools and private societies. Together with the rules of singing. And an explanation of the rules and principles of the ground work of music.* Ed. 2, enl. and impr. Cincinnati: Morgan & Sanxay, 1829.
- Knight, W[illiam] C. *The Juvenile Harmony, or, A Choice Collection Of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems, selected from the most eminent authors, and well adapted to all Christian churches, singing schools and private societies. Together with the rules of singing. And an explanation of the rules and principles of the ground work of music.* Ed. 5, rev. and cor. Cincinnati: Morgan & Sanxay, 1831.
- Knight, W[illiam] C. *The Juvenile Harmony, or, A Choice Collection Of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems, selected from the most eminent authors, and well adapted to all Christian churches, singing schools and private societies. Together with the rules of singing. And an explanation of the rules and principles of the ground work of music.* Ed. 15, rev. and cor. Cincinnati: Morgan & Sanxay, 1833.
- Leonard, Silas W[hite] and Fillmore, A[ugustus] D[amon], *The Christian Psalmist, a collection of tunes and hymns, of various metres, original and selected: for the use of the church of God, Bible classes, and singing societies, embracing the round note, the numeral, and the patent note systems of notation.* Cincinnati: E. Shepard, 1847.
- Leonard, Silas W[hite] and A[ugustus] D[amon] Fillmore, *The Christian Psalmist, a collection of tunes and hymns, original and selected, for the use of worshipping assemblies, singing and Sunday schools. Compiled from many authors.* Rev. and enl. by S. W. Leonard. New Albany, IN: S. W. Leonard; Louisville: stereotyped and printed by Morton & Griswold, 1850.
- Leonard, Silas White. *The Vocalist, a collection of songs and hymns, with appropriate music, original and selected. Also: Lessons in Numeral Music, forming a numeral manual, designed for teachers and students of numeral music. Also for the parlor, common schools, singing schools, and singing societies.* Louisville: Morton A. Griswold, 1850.
- Lewis, Freeman. *The Beauties of Harmony: containing the rudiments of music on a new and improved plan, including, with the rules of singing, and explanation of the rules and principles of composition: together with an extensive collection of sacred music, consisting of plain tunes, fuges, anthems, &c. Original and selected.* Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear and Eichbaum, and F. Lewis, 1813.
- Lewis, Freeman. *The Beauties of Harmony; containing the rudiments of music on an improved plan, a musical dictionary, or glossary of musical terms, with their explanations, and an extensive collection of sacred music, consisting of short tunes, fuges, and anthems.* Ed. 6, enl. and imp. Pittsburgh: Johnston & Stockton, 1831.

- Lewis, Freeman. *Songs of Zion, containing a choice collection of psalm and hymn tunes, of the various metres, used by Christians of every denomination. To which is prefixed, a concise introduction to the rules of music. Prepared for the use of schools.* Pittsburgh: Eichbaum and Johnston, 1824.
- Little, William and Smith, William. *The Easy Instructor, or A New Method of Teaching Sacred Harmony. Containing the rudiments of music on an improved plan, wherein the naming and timing the notes are familiarized to the weakest capacity with a choice collection of psalm tunes and anthems from the most celebrated Authors, with a number composed in Europe and America, entirely new; suited to all the metres sung in the different churches in the United States. Published for the use of singing societies in general, but more particularly for those who have not the advantage of an instructor.* Cincinnati: J. Pace, 1819.
- M'Collum, J. D. and Rev. J. P. Campbell. *The Cumberland Harmony; or, A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, Songs and Anthems, selected from a number of eminent authors, and well adapted to all Christian churches, singing schools and private societies, together with an introduction to the grounds of music; the rudiments of music, and plain rules for beginners.* Ed. 2. Nashville: Robertson & Barnard, printed by W. Hasell Hunt & Co., 1834.
- McIntosh, Matthew. *Hierophant; or, Good Teacher, and Miscellaneous Poems, Social, Moral, and Religious, set to appropriate music.* Pittsburgh: Anderson, 1853.
- Metcalf, Samuel Lytler. *The Kentucky Harmonist, being a choice selection of sacred music, from the most eminent and approved authors in that Science, for the use of Christian Churches, of every denomination, singing schools, and private societies; together with an explanation of the rules and principles of compositions, and rules for learners.* Cincinnati: Published for the author: Morgan, Lodge, and co., printers, 1818.
- Metcalf, Samuel Lytler. *The Kentucky Harmonist, being a choice selection of sacred music, from the most eminent and approved authors in that Science, for the use of Christian Churches, of every denomination, singing schools, and private societies; together with an explanation of the rules and principles of compositions, and rules for learners.* Ed. 2. Cincinnati: Published for the author: Morgan, Lodge, and co., printers, 1820.
- Metcalf, Samuel Lytler. *The Kentucky Harmonist, being a choice selection of sacred music, from the most eminent and approved authors in that Science, for the use of Christian Churches, of every denomination, singing schools, and private societies; together with an explanation of the rules and principles of compositions, and rules for learners.* Ed. 2. Cincinnati: Published for the author: Morgan, Lodge, and co., printers, 1824.
- Moore, William. *Columbian Harmony, or A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems, in Three Parts; the first containing all the plain and easy tunes commonly used in time of divine service; the second, the more elegant pieces suitable for singing societies; and lastly the anthems; selected from the most eminent authors in America.* Cincinnati: Morgan, Lodge, and Fisher, 1825.
- Neustes gemeinschaftliches Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch der lutherischen und reformirten Gemeinden in Nord-Amerika: eine Sammlung von 652 Liedern mit dem dazu gehörigen Anhang, einhaltend die Urmelodien zu allen Gesängen mit genauen Registern für Kirche, Schule, und Haus.* Cincinnati: Jennings and Rye, 1866.
- Palmer, James W. *The Western Harmonic Companion; containing most of the tunes used in divine worship in the western country, selected from eminent composers.* Ed. 2, enl. Louisville: J. W. Palmer, and Morton and Smith, 1833.
- Patterson, Robert. *Patterson's Church Music, containing the plain tunes used in divine worship, by the churches of the western country.* Cincinnati: Browne and Looker, for R. and J. Patterson, Pittsburg, 1813.

- Wenger, Martin D. *The Philharmonia, a collection of tunes, adapted to public and private worship. Containing tunes for all the hymns in the English Mennonite Hymn Book, the Gemeinschaftliche. Unparteiische and Allgemeine Liedersammlung, the Unparteiische Gesangbuch, and the Mennonitische Gesangbuch, with instructions and explanations in English and German. All English and German texts to most of the tunes, metrical indexes, &c., including a greater variety of metres of church music than any other work of the kind now published.* Elkhart, IN: Mennonite Publishing Co., Successor to J. F. Funk & Bro., 1875.
- Rhinehart, W[illiam] R. *The American Church Harp: containing a choice selection of hymns and tunes, comprising a variety of metres, well adapted to all Christian churches, singing schools, and private families.* Germantown, OH: W. R. Rhinehart, stereotyped by J. A. James, Cincinnati, 1848.
- Rhinehart, W[illiam] R. *The American Church Harp: containing a choice selection of hymns and tunes, comprising a variety of metres, well adapted to all Christian churches, singing schools, and private families.* Dayton, OH: for the author at the printing establishment of the United Brethren in Christ, Cincinnati, 1856.
- Scott, Allen M. *The Western District Harmony, or A Selection of Such Tunes as Are in Use in Congregations and among Revivalists. To which is added an essay on vocal music, with rules for beginners.* Nashville: S. Nye & Co., 1838.
- Seat, John B[unyan]. *The St. Louis Harmony: containing the rudiments of music, made easy, and carefully arranged, to suit the capacity of the young learner: together with a choice collection of tunes, suited to the various metres in the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian hymn books, with a few of the most approved odes and anthems.* Cincinnati: Lodge & L'Hommedieu, 1831.
- Shaw, Benjamin and Spilman, Charles H. *Columbian Harmony, Or Pilgrim's Musical Companion; being a choice selection of tunes, selected from the works of the most eminent authors, ancient and modern. To which is added a succinct and comprehensive view of the rudiments of music.* Cincinnati: Lodge, L'Hommedieu and Hammond, 1829.
- Swan, M[arcus] L[afayette]. *The Harp Of Columbia: a new system of sacred music; with notes for every sound, and shapes for every note. The science made easy, rules abbreviated and old characters abandoned for new principles. The seven letters variously representing nine lines and spaces, and the four flats and four sharps transposing the notes to different letters, lines, and spaces, are all dispensed with, for the easy name and shape of two notes, etc. Containing anthems, odes, and church music, Original and selected.* Philadelphia and Knoxville: for the author, by L. Johnson and Co., 1849.
- Swan, Marcus Lafayette. *The New Harp of Columbia: a system of musical notation, with a note for each sound, and a shape for each note containing a variety of most excellent psalm and hymn tunes, odes and anthems, happily adapted to church service, singing-schools and societies. Original and selected.* Nashville: W. T. Barry, 1867.
- Wakefield, Samuel, Rev. *The American Repository of Sacred Music, containing a great variety of psalm and hymn tunes, original and selected.* Pittsburgh: Cramer and Spencer, 1830.
- Wakefield, Samuel, Rev. *The American Repository of Sacred Music, containing a great variety of psalm and hymn tunes, original and selected.* Ed. 2. Pittsburgh: Cook and Schoyer, 1835.
- Wakefield, Samuel, Rev. *Appendix to The Christian's Harp.* Pittsburgh: Johnston & Stockton, 1832.
- Wakefield, Samuel, Rev. *The Christian's Harp, containing a choice selection of psalm and hymn tunes, suited to the various metres now in use among the different religious denominations in the United States: designed for the use of public and family worship.* Pittsburgh: Johnston & Stockton, 1832.

- Wakefield, Samuel, Rev. and Lazarus B. M'Clain. *Appendix to The Christian's Harp*, ed. 2. Pittsburgh: D. M. Hogan, 1836.
- Wakefield, Samuel, Rev. and Lazarus B. M'Clain. *Appendix to The Christian's Harp*, ed. 3. Pittsburgh: D. M. Hogan, 1837.
- Wakefield, Samuel, Rev. and Lazarus B. M'Clain. *The Christian's Harp, containing a choice selection of psalm and hymn tunes, suited to the various metres now in use among the different religious denominations in the United States: designed for the use of public and family worship*. Ed. 2, corr., enl., and imp. Pittsburgh: D. M. Hogan, 1836.
- Wakefield, Samuel, Rev. *The Western Harp. Containing a collection of sacred music, original and selected; and adapted to the use of worshipping assemblies in general, together with a concise introduction to the art of singing*. Mount Pleasant, PA: Published by the Author, 1843.
- Wakefield, Samuel, Rev. *The Western Harp. Containing a collection of sacred music, original and selected; and adapted to the use of worshipping assemblies in general, together with a concise introduction to the art of singing*. Ed. 3, with valuable and large additions. Pittsburgh: Charles H. Kay, 1846.
- Warren, James Sullivan, Jr. *Warren's Minstrel: containing a plain and concise Introduction to Sacred Music: Comprising The Necessary Rudiments, With A Choice Collection Of Tunes, Original And Selected*, Ed. 2. Columbus, OH: J.H. Riley & Company, for the Author, 1857.
- Watson, Lindsey. *The Singer's Choice: a collection of tunes, hymns and anthems, original and selected, designed for church and school purposes*. Louisville: J. P. Morton and Co., 1854.
- White, James. *Hymns and Tunes: The Sabbath Lute*. Battle Creek, MI: Review & Herald Publication Association, 1863.
- White, James. *Supplement*. Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Office, 1860.
- Willis, Robert. *The Lexington Cabinet and Repository of Sacred Music: containing a great variety of psalm and hymn tunes, anthems, odes, chants, choruses, also, a complete introduction to the art of practicing sacred music*. Louisville: Norwood and Palmer, 1831.
- Willis, Robert. *The Lexington Cabinet and Repository of Sacred Music: containing a great variety of psalm and hymn tunes, anthems, odes, chants, choruses, also, a complete introduction to the art of practicing sacred music*. Imp. ed. Louisville: Norwood and Palmer, 1836.

### 1.5.2 Southern and Western Sources: Southern Sources. Ancient-Style Tunebooks

- Allen, William Francis, Charles Pickard Ware, Lucy McKim Garrison. *Slave Songs of the United States*. n.p., 1867.
- Daily, Elder John R. *Primitive Baptist Hymn & Tune Book: a collection of sacred hymn and tunes arranged to suit all occasions of public or private worship*, repr. Carthage, IL: Primitive Baptist Library, n.d.
- The Good Old Songs: a choice collection of the good old hymns and tunes as they were sung by our fathers and mothers. The cream of the old music. Selection suitable for class practice and all occasions of family worship, social, church or congregational singing*, Elder C. H. Cayce, comp. Thornton, Ar: Cayce Publishing Company, 1913, 1914.
- Houser, William. *Hesperian Harp: a collection of psalm and hymn tunes, odes and anthems; and Sunday-school, infant, revival, temperance, patriotic, and moral pieces: containing also a number of Scotch, German, Irish, and other fine compositions. Much new music never before published, and an exposition of the principles of music and of musical composition*. Philadelphia: for the Author, 1848.
- Jones, L[azarus]. J. *Southern Minstrel: a collection of psalm and hymn tunes, odes, and anthems: in three parts, selected from eminent authors, together with a number of new tunes, never before published*,

- suited to nearly every metre, and well adapted to churches of every denomination, singing schools, and private societies, with plain rules for learners.* Philadelphia: Grigg, Elliot and Co., 1849.
- McCurry, John G. *The Social Harp, a collection of tunes, odes, anthems, and set pieces, selected from various authors: together with much new music never before published; suited to all metres, and well adapted to all denominations, singing-schools, and private societies. With a full exposition of the rudiments of music. And the art of musical composition so simplified that the most unlearned person can comprehend it with the utmost facility.* Philadelphia: T.K. Collins, Jr., 1855.
- Walker, William. *The Christian Harmony: in the seven-syllable character note system of music; being the most successful, natural, and easy method of acquiring a knowledge of this art; saving to the learner an immense amount of time and labor, thus placing the science of music within the reach of every person; containing the choicest collection of hymn and psalm tunes, odes and anthems, selected from the best authors in Europe and America; together with a large number of new tunes, from eminent composers, never before published, Embracing a Great Variety of Metres suited to the various hymn and psalm book used by the different denominations of Christians; adapted to the use of singing schools, choirs, social and private singing societies: also a copious elucidation of the science of vocal music, and plain rules for beginners.* Ed. 2. Philadelphia: Miller's Bible and Publishing House, 1873.
- Walker, William. *Fruits and Flowers: a collection of tunes and songs for common and Sunday-Schools.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1870.
- Walker, William. *The Southern Harmony, And Musical Companion: containing a choice collection of tunes, hymns, psalms, odes, and anthems: selected from the most eminent authors in the United States: together with nearly one hundred new tunes, which have never before been published; suited to most of the metres contained in Watts's Hymns And Psalms, Mercer's Cluster, Dossey's Choice, Dover Selection, Methodist Hymn Book, and Baptist Harmony; and well adapted to Christian churches of every denomination, singing schools, And private societies: Also, an easy introduction to the grounds of music, the rudiments of music, and plain rules for beginners.* New Haven, CT: Nathan Whiting for the Author, 1835.
- Walker, William. *The Southern Harmony, And Musical Companion: containing a choice collection of tunes, hymns, psalms, odes, and anthems: selected from the most eminent authors in the United States: together with nearly one hundred new tunes, which have never before been published; suited to most of the metres contained in Watts's Hymns And Psalms, Mercer's Cluster, Dossey's Choice, Dover Selection, Methodist Hymn Book, and Baptist Harmony; and well adapted to Christian churches of every denomination, singing schools, And private societies: Also, an easy introduction to the grounds of music, the rudiments of music, and plain rules for beginners.* Spartanburg, S.C.: for the Author, printed by T. K. and P. G. Collins, stereotyped by L. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1838.
- Walker, William. *The Southern Harmony, And Musical Companion: containing a choice collection of tunes, hymns, psalms, odes, and anthems: selected from the most eminent authors in the United States: together with nearly one hundred new tunes, which have never before been published; suited to most of the metres contained in Watts's Hymns And Psalms, Mercer's Cluster, Dossey's Choice, Dover Selection, Methodist Hymn Book, and Baptist Harmony; and well adapted to Christian churches of every denomination, singing schools, And private societies: Also, an easy introduction to the grounds of music, the rudiments of music, and plain rules for beginners.* New ed., imp. and enl. Philadelphia: Cowperthwait, 1847.
- Walker, William. *The Southern Harmony, And Musical Companion: containing a choice collection of tunes, hymns, psalms, odes, and anthems: selected from the most eminent authors in the United States: together with nearly one hundred new tunes, which have never before been published; suited to most of the metres contained in Watts's Hymns And Psalms, Mercer's Cluster, Dossey's Choice,*

- Dover Selection, Methodist Hymn Book, and Baptist Harmony; and well adapted to Christian churches of every denomination, singing schools, and private societies: also, an easy introduction to the grounds of music, the rudiments of music, and plain rules for beginners.* New ed., rev. and imp. Philadelphia: E.W. Miller, 1854.
- White, B.F. and E.J. King. *The Sacred Harp, a collection of psalm and hymn tunes, odes, and anthems, selected from the most eminent authors: together with nearly one hundred pieces never before published; suited to most metres, and well adapted to churches of every denomination, singing schools, and private societies. With plain rules for learners.* Philadelphia: B. F. White and Joel King, 1844.
- White, B.F. and E.J. King. *The Sacred Harp, a collection of psalm and hymn tunes, odes, and anthems, selected from the most eminent authors: together with nearly one hundred pieces never before published; suited to most metres, and well adapted to churches of every denomination, singing schools, and private societies. With plain rules for learners.* By B. F. White & E. J. King. To which is added Appendix I., Containing a variety of standard and favorite tunes not comprised in the body of the work, compiled by a committee appointed by "The Southern Musical Convention." Ed. 2. Philadelphia: S.C. Collins, Jr., 1850.
- White, B.F. and E.J. King. *The Sacred Harp, a collection of psalm and hymn tunes, odes, and anthems, selected from the most eminent authors: together with nearly one hundred pieces never before published; suited to most metres, and well adapted to churches of every denomination, singing schools, and private societies. With plain rules for learners.* By B. F. White & E. J. King. To which is added Appendix I., Containing a variety of standard and favorite tunes not comprised in the body of the work, compiled by a committee appointed by "The Southern Musical Convention." Also, Appendix II., Containing 77 pieces of new composition by distinguished writers never before published. Ed. 3. Philadelphia: S.C. Collins, 1860.
- White, B.F. and E.J. King. *The Sacred Harp, a collection of psalm and hymn tunes, odes, and anthems, selected from the most eminent authors: together with nearly one hundred pieces never before published; suited to most metres, and well adapted to churches of every denomination, singing schools, and private societies. With plain rules for learners.* By B. F. White & E. J. King. Fourth edition entirely remodeled containing one hundred and thirty new and select pieces, expressly arranged and prepared for this book, compiled by a committee appointed by "The Southern Musical Convention." Ed. 4. Atlanta, GA: Chas. P. Byrd, Phillips & Crew, S. P. Richards & Son; Savannah, GA: Ludden & Bates; Mobile, AL: J. K. Randall; Little Rock, AR: Wilson & Webb; Louisville: J. P. Morton & Co.; Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz; St. Louis: Jno. L. Roland, 1870.

### 1.5.3 Southern and Western Sources: Scientific-Style Tunebooks

- Amateur. *Supplement To The Missouri Harmony; containing twenty-three choice tunes of the various metres, one anthem, two set pieces, one duett, one song and one short chorus. (The duett and sacred song are arranged for the organ or piano forte.) Selected from some of the most approved collections of sacred music.* Cincinnati: Morgan and Sanxay, 1836.
- Barnes, L. B. *The Congregational Harp. A collection of hymn tunes, sentences and chants, of both ancient and modern composers, carefully selected from various publications (by permission), and designed more particularly for congregational uses, and social religious meetings; together with a variety of tunes for Sabbath schools.* Bost: Oliver Ditson; New York: S. T. Gordon; Philadelphia: John E. Gould; Cincinnati: D. A. Truax; New Orleans: H. D. Hewitt, 1856.
- Bradbury, William B. *Oriola: a new and complete humn and tune book. For Sabbath schools.* Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach, Keys & Company; New York: Ivison & Phinney, 1860.

- Calkin, Milo; Marshall, J. F. B.; and Johnson, F. *Hawaiian Collection of Church Music: consisting of psalm and hymn tunes, anthems, chants, &c., Compiled for the use of the foreign communities, at the Sandwich Islands.* Honolulu: s.n., 1840.
- Cohen, Gustav M. *The Orpheus: or, Musical Recreations: for the family circle and public worship, with piano and organ accompaniment: an entire new collection of songs, duets, choruses, hymns and psalms.* Cleveland: S. Brainard's Sons, 1878.
- Cohen, Gustav M. *The Sacred Harp of Judah: a choice collection of music for the use of synagogues, schools, and home: Part 1, Sabbath Liturgy: the result of 25 years' experience and gleanings.* Cleveland: S. Brainard, H. Beyer, 1864.
- Commuck, Thomas. *Indian Melodies by Thomas Commuck, a Narragansett Indian; Harmonized by T. Hastings.* New York: G. Lane and C. B. Tippet for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845.
- Converse, Charles C. and S. J. Goodenough. *The Church Singer: a collection of sacred music.* New York: Carlton & Porter; Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock, 1866.
- Dana, Mary S. B. *The Northern Harp; consisting of original sacred and moral songs, adapted to the most popular melodies, for the piano-forte and guitar.* New-York: Dayton and Saxton; Boston: Saxton & Peirce, 1842.
- Dana, Mary S. B. *The Southern Harp, consisting of original sacred and moral songs adapted to the most popular melodies; for the piano-forte and harp.* Boston: Parker & Ditson, 1841.
- David, John Baptist Maria. *The Catholic Melodist: a collection of masses, vespers, anthems, and sacred hymns, chiefly from the manuscripts of the late Right Rev. John B. David, Coadjutor Bishop of Bardstonn: designed principally for the use of country congregations, small choirs, and schools.,* comp. James William Elliot. Louisville: Webb, Gill and Levering, 1855.
- Ely, Seth. *Sacred Music, containing a great variety of psalm and hymn tunes; selected principally, from the most eminent European authors; the greater part of which were never published in the patent notes. To which is prefixed, A Musical Grammar, a Musical Dictionary, &c.* Cincinnati: Morgan, Lodge and Co. for the Proprietors, 1822.
- Everett, A. Brooks, Dr. and Prof. Benjamin Holden Everett. *The Sceptre: a superior collection of church music, mostly new.* New York and Chicago: Biglow & Main, 1871.
- Gibson, John and Fessenden, L. G. *The Prairie Vocalist: A Collection of Church Music, comprising a choice variety of psalm and hymn tunes, anthems, choruses, sentences, chants, &c., from the best American and European composers; together with a concise and progressive elementary course of instruction, the whole adapted to the use of choirs, singing Schools and musical associations.* Cincinnati: Moore, Anderson, Wilstach and Keys. New York: Newman and Ivison, 1853.
- Gould, N[athaniel] D[uren]. *National Church Harmony, designed for public and private devotion, in two parts. Music arranged for the organ and piano forte, by introducing small notes.* Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, and Crocker & Brewster: Cincinnati: Hubbard and Edmands, 1832.
- Gould, N[athaniel] D[uren]. *Supplement to the National Church Harmony.* Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, and Crocker & Brewster: Cincinnati: Hubbard and Edmands, 1832.
- LaHache, Theodore. *The New Collection of Sacred Chorus, Quatuors, Trios, Duos & Solos, selected from the works of Adam, Rossini, Winter, Mozart, Haydn, Cimarose, Hummel, Gluck, Spobr, etc. And carefully adapted to English words for the use of sacred music societies, church choirs, and the parlor.* New York: for the author by Wm. Hall & Son; New Orleans: H. D. Hewitt, 1853.



- Ka Hae Hoonani. Ouia na Mele a pau i Pai pu ia me na Leo maloko o "Ke Alaula," mail ka hoomaka ana a hiki i keia wa.* Honolulu: Papa Euanelio Hawaii, Kuokoa: Hale Pai, printers, 1870.
- Hamilton, Edward. *The Voice of Praise: a collection of music for the choir, singing school, musical convention, and the social circle.* San Francisco: A Kohler; Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1862.
- Harrison, Thomas. *Appendix to Music Simplified, or, A New System of Music.* [Springfield, OH: Office of "The Republic,"] 1839.
- Harrison, Thomas. *Appendix No. 2 to Music Simplified, or, A New System of Music.* [Springfield, OH: Office of "The Republic,"] 1840.
- Harrison, Thomas. *Appendix No. 3 to Music Simplified, or, A New System of Music.* [Springfield, OH: Office of "The Republic,"] 1840.
- Harrison, Thomas. *Harrison's Numeral System of Musical Notation. Facts and Opinions.* [Cincinnati: by the author, ster. J. A. James, ca. 1849].
- Harrison, Thomas. *The Juvenile Numeral Singer: a collection of music for educational and social purposes.* Cincinnati: by the author, ster. J. A. James, 1849.
- Harrison, Thomas. *Music Simplified, or, A New System of Music, founded on natural principles; designed either for separate use, or as an introduction to the old system, and intended chiefly for educational and religious purposes: to which is added a collection of Christian melodies.* Springfield, OH: Office of "The Republic," 1839.
- Harrison, Thomas. *The Sacred Harmonicon: a collection of music for educational and religious purposes.* Ed. 2. Cincinnati: published by the author, Kendall and Barnard, printers, stereotyped by J. A. James, 1843.
- Harrison, Thomas. *The Sacred Melodeon: a collection of music for educational and religious purposes.* Cincinnati: T. Harrison, 1849.
- Hayden, Amos Sutton. *Christian Hymn and Tune Book: for use in churches, and for social and family devotions.* Chicago: Root and Cady, 1870.
- Hayden, Amos Sutton. *The Hymnist: heart hymns and home melodies.* Ed. 3, rev. and enl. Cincinnati: H. S. Bosworth, 1860.
- Hayden, Amos Sutton. *The Hymnist: prepared for prayer meetings, Sunday Schools, and social occasions.* Cincinnati: H. S. Bosworth, 1860.
- Heinrich, Anthony Phillip. *The Darning of Music in Kentucky, or The Pleasures of Harmony in the Solitudes of Nature.* Philadelphia: Bacon & Hart, 1820.
- Heinrich, Anthony Phillip. *The Western Minstrel, a collection of original moral, patriotic, & sentimental songs. For the voice & piano forte, interspersed with airs, waltzes, &c.* Philadelphia: for the Author, by Bacon & Co., (1820).
- Holliday, C. *The Methodist Harmonist: containing a great variety of tunes adapted to various metres designed for the Methodist Episcopal Church, a choice collection of anthems for particular occasions.* [Cincinnati]: Morgan and Sanxay, 1831.
- Jones, Darius E. *Temple Melodies: a collection of about two hundred popular tunes, adapted to nearly five hundred favorite hymns: selected with special reference to public, social and private worship.* New York: Mason & Law: Boston: John P. Jewett & Co.: Cincinnati: Moore & Anderson. 1852.
- Leonard, Silas W. *New Christian Psalmist: a collections of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, with appropriate music, original and selected, suitable for family and congregational worship, singing classes and Sunday-schools.* Cincinnati: R. W. Carroll & Co., 1870.
- Ka Lira Hawaii: he mau leomele no na ekalesia o Hawaii nei.* Honolulu: mea paipalapala a na misionari, 1844.

- Ka Lira Hawaii: he mau leomele no na ekalesia o Hawaii nei.* Honolulu: mea paipalapala a na misionari, 1848.
- Ka Lira Hawaii: he mau mele himeni a me na melo oli halelu: no na ekalesia o Hawaii nei.* Honolulu: pai hou ia a mahuahua, 1855.
- Lira Kamalii. Oia na himeni haipule me na himeni walea pai pu ia me na mele, no na kamalii Hawaii,* Rev. George Rowell and Rev. Elias Bond, comps. New York: Ahahui Taraka Amerika, [1862].
- Mason, Timothy and G. Lane. *The Harmonist.* New York: T. Mason and G. Lane, 1840.
- Mason, Timothy Batelle. *Mason's Juvenile Harp: containing a large number of new and beautiful melodies and hymns, selected and translated from the German, a great variety of original and selected hymns and melodies, rounds and sentences, and a simplified system of elementary principles.* Cincinnati: William N. Truman, 1844.
- Mason, Timothy Batelle. *Mason's Young Minstrel: a new collection of juvenile songs, with appropriate music.* [Boston]: Published and sold at Boston by the American Stationers' Company, 1838.
- Mason, Timothy Batelle. *The Sacred Harp: or, Beauties of Church Music. a new collection of psalm and hymn tunes, anthems, motetts, sentences and chants; derived from the highest sources of the musical talent of Europe and America, many of which were composed or arranged expressly for this work, constituting a work probably combining as much beauty and utility as was ever published.* Vol. II. Boston: Kidder and Wright, 1840.
- Mason, Timothy Batelle and Lowell Mason. *The Sacred Harp; or, Beauties of Church Music; a new collection of psalm and hymn tunes, anthems, sentences and chants, derived from the compositions of about one hundred eminent German, Swiss, Italian, French, English, and other European musicians; also, original tunes by German, English and American Authors; many of them having been arranged or composed expressly for this work.* Boston: Shepley and Wright, 1841.
- Mason, Timothy Batelle and Lowell Mason. *The Sacred Harp: or, Eclectic Harmony: a collection of church music consisting of a great variety of psalm and hymn tunes, anthems, and sacred songs and chants, original and selected: including many new and beautiful subjects from the most eminent composers, harmonized and arranged expressly for this work.* Cincinnati: Truman and Smith, 1840.
- Mason, Timothy Batelle and Lowell Mason. *The Sacred Harp, or Eclectic Harmony: a new collection of church music: in patent notes.* Cincinnati: Truman and Smith, 1834.
- McIntosh, E. W. Maj. E. W. *McIntosh's Selection of Songs: old soldiers', temperance, religious and funeral songs and many spicy readings and poems appropriate for any kind of entertainments. Nothing immoral.* Omaha, NE: 1865 (?).
- McIntosh, R. M. *Tabor: or, The Richmond Collection of Sacred Music, designed for the various religious societies of the southern and south-western states.* New York: F. J. Huntington and Co., 1867.
- Morton, Joseph Washington. *The Book of Psalms: a new and literal translation from the original Hebrew, Adapted to music.* New York: Baker and Scribner, 1850.
- Morton, Joseph Washington. *Inspired Psalms, selected and literally translated, (from the Hebrew) on an original plan of versification, with explanations and appropriate music.* Freedom, PA: for the author by J. Grant, 1844.
- Morton, Joseph Washington. *The Psalter: a collection of sacred music on a new and original plan of notation.* Cincinnati: Robinson & Jones, 1847.
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- North, James M. "With Christ We'll Walk the Wayside." St. Louis: J. M. North, 1867.
- Ogden, William Augustine. *The Anthem Choir: consisting of anthems, choruses, opening and closing pieces, adapted to dedication, ordination, installation, Christmas, funeral, missionary, and other occasions.* Toledo, Ohio: W. W. Whitney, 1872.
- Peters, William Cumming. *Gregorian Mass For The Dead. Arranged for one Voice with Chorus, ad lib.* Cincinnati: A.C. Peters & Bro., 1861.
- Peters, William Cumming. *The Mass of the Anunciation, In D Minor.* Cincinnati: A.C. Peters & Bro., 1861.
- Peters, William Cumming. *Peters' Catholic Harmonist: a collection of sacred music appropriate for morning and evening service; consisting of motetts, masses, hymns, chants, etc. Suitable to the principal festivals throughout the year: composed, selected, and arranged for the use of small choirs, with a separate accompaniment for the organ and piano-forte.* Saint Louis: J.L. Peters and Bro. Cincinnati: A.C. Peters and Bro., 1850.
- Peters, William Cumming. *Peters' Catholic Harp: containing morning and evening services; embracing mass, motets, offertories, litanies, hymns for benediction, vespers for Sundays, and vespers for the various feasts of The Blessed Virgin. Composed, selected and arranged by W.C. Peters, with valuable and important additions by A. H. Rosenig.* Cincinnati: A.C. Peters, 1863.
- Phillips, Philip. *Appendix to the Offering of Praise.* Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden, and New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1867.
- Phillips, Philip. *Musical Leaves for Sabbath Schools: composed of Musical Leaves nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, with an addition of one hundred popular hymns.* Cincinnati: Philip Phillips & Co., 1865.
- Phillips, Philip. *New Hymn and Tune Book: an offering of praise for the Methodist Episcopal Church.* Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden, and New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1867.
- Phillips, Philip. *The New Complete Standard Singer, for Sabbath schools, public worship, and special services.* New York: Philip Phillips; Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis: Hitchcock & Walden, 1869.
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- Sacred Music: for the use of the Presbyterian Congregation of Natchez.* Natchez: F. Beaumont; New-York: James Conner, printer, 1831.
- Shindler, S. B. M. Dana. *The Western Harp: a collection of Sunday music: consisting of sacred words adapted to classic and popular airs, and arranged for the piano-forte.* Boston: Oliver Ditson & Company, 1860.
- Skene, Robert. *The Concordia: a collection of sacred music, selected and arranged for Congregational worship: consisting of new tunes, anthems, doxologies, Sanctuses, and chants: together with a variety of selections from the most distinguished composers: also, a concise elementary course, simplified and adapted to the capacities of beginners.* Louisville: L. A. Civil and Wood, 1861.

- Snyder, William B. and W. L. Chappell. *The Western Lyre; a new selection of sacred music, from the best authors; including a number of new and original tunes, with a concise introduction to the art of singing*. Cincinnati: J. W. Wood, stereotyped by J. A. James, Cincinnati, 1831.
- St. John, Thomas Eliot. *Melodies of Heaven: a collection of hymns and tunes for social worship: for the use of Universalist and other liberal Christian churches*. Cincinnati: Williamson and Cantwell, 1868.
- Suffern, J. William. *The Excelsior: a collection of sacred and secular music, adapted to singing classes, choirs, musical conventions, and other musical gatherings; to which is prefixed a new and comprehensive method of vocal training, designed for the aid of teachers*. Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach, Keys & Co., 1861.
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- Tillinghast, W. *Hymns of Praise; a collection of sixty hymns with appropriate tunes, for devotional use in schools*. Boston: Russel & Tolman; Chicago: Root & Cady, 1859.
- Tracy, J[oshua] L. *The Western School Manual, and Juvenile Harp*. Ed. 5, rev. and enl. Boonville, Mo: Allen Hammond, 1849.
- Tracy, J[oshua] L. *The American School Manual and Juvenile Harp: Designed for schools, academies, music classes and the home circle*. Ed. 6, rev. and enl. St. Louis: Lynde Bushnell, 1860.
- Wakefield, Samuel, Rev. *Deutsches Choralbuch: eine Sammlung von deutschen und englischen Kirchenmelodien, nebst einer Anweisung zur erlernung der Vokalmusic*. Cincinnati: L. Swarmstedt and A. Poe, 1858.
- Wakefield, Samuel, Rev. *The Sacred Choral: a choice collection of sacred music, derived from the highest sources of musical talent, both of Europe and America, and adapted to the use of worshipping assemblies in general; together with a concise introduction to the art of singing*. Cincinnati: Swarmstedt and Poe, 1854.
- Webster, F.J. and Sharpe, A.T. *The Harp of the West: a collection of sacred music, arranged for the organ and piano forte: consisting of selections from the most distinguished composers, and a number of original pieces from the editors*. Louisville: Morton and Griswold, 1848.

#### 1.5.4 Southern and Western Sources: Revival and Camp Meeting Books

- Ball, Eli. *The Manual of the Sacred Choir: a selection of tunes and hymns, from the most approved authors, adapted to public worship, to revivals, to prayer meetings, and to family worship*. Richmond, VA: Harrold & Murray; Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., 1849.
- The Christian Harp and Sabbath School Songster. designed for the use of the social, religious circle, revivals and the sabbath school*. Singers' Glen, VA: Joseph Funk's Songs, 1867.
- Diddle, W. H. *West Virginia Gems, songs for the revival and social prayer meeting*. Pennsboro, W.V.: Parkersburg Pub. Society, U. B. C., 1870.
- Diddle, W. H. *The West Virginia Lute. Designed for social, revival, Sunday-School and miscellaneous meetings*. Ed. 2. Parkersburg, W.V.: The Parkersburg Publishing Society of the United Brethren in Christ; Singer's Glen, VA: Joseph Funk's Sons, printers, 1868.
- Diddle, W. H. *The West Virginia Lute. Designed for social, revival, Sunday-School and miscellaneous meetings*. Ed. 3. Parkersburg, W.V.: The Parkersburg Publishing Society of the United Brethren in Christ; Singer's Glen, VA: Joseph Funk's Sons, printers, 1870.
- McDowell, L. L. *Songs of the Old Campground: genuine religious folk songs of the Tennessee Hill Country*. Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1937.
- Miller, George. *The Methodist Camp-Meeting Hymn Book: containing a variety of almost entire new tunes, the most of which have been set in order by the compiler, and are confidently recommended to*

- Christians of every denomination, as calculated to be used either in times of public worship, private societies, or camp meeting; and especially in times of revivals, &c.* Dayton, OH: B.F. Ellis, [1833], 1841.
- Phillips, Philip, Theodore E. Perkins, and Sylvester Main. *“Hallowed Songs”: a collection of the most popular hymns and tunes, both old and new\_ designed for prayer and social meetings, revivals, family worship, and Sabbath schools.* New York: Carleton & Porter; Cincinnati and Chicago: Poe & Hitchcock, 1865.
- Robinson, George Chester. *Hymns and Tunes for Prayer and Social Meetings.* Ed. 2. Cincinnati: Poe and Hitchcock, 1863.
- Walker, William. *The Southern and Western Pocket Harmonist, intended as an appendix to The Southern Harmony; embracing the principal hymns, songs, choruses, and revival tunes, usually sung at protracted and campmeetings of different denominations of Christians throughout the Southern and Western states; also, a number of choice pieces for the church and social singing societies, to which is prefixed, a concise introductory to the grounds of music.* Philadelphia: Cowperthwait & Co., 1846.

## 1.6 Selected Relevant Hymnals

- Ausbund das ist: etliche schöne christliche Lieder, Wie sie in dem Gesängnis zu Passau in dem Schloß von den Schweizer-Briidern und von anderen rechtgläubigen Christen hin und her gedichtet worden.* Lancaster Co., Pa: Verlag von den Amischen Gemeinden, 1992.
- Bennington, John C. *The Christian Hymn-Book.* Columbus, IN: Henry C. Child, 1846.
- Betker, John P. *Miriam's Timbrel; or, Sacred Songs, suited to revival occasions; and also for anti-slavery, peace, temperance, and reform meetings.* Pittsburgh: Kennedys Publication Office, 1849.
- Betker, John P. *Miriam's Timbrel; or, Sacred Songs, suited to revival occasions; and also for anti-slavery, peace, temperance, and reform meetings.* Ed. 2, rev. and enl., with a supplement compiled by the publisher. Mansfield, OH: published by E. Smith, for the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, 1853.
- Biddle, William P. and William J. Newborn. *The Baptist Hymn Book: in two parts. Part I. – Containing psalms and hymns designed for public worship. Part II. – Containing spiritual songs: principally designed for social and private worship.* Washington City, D.C.: John S. Meehan, 1825.
- The Book of Common-Prayer, And Administration of the Sacraments. And other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England. Together with the Psalter, or Psalm of David, Pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches.* New-York: William Bradford, 1710.
- The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States of America: together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David.* Charleston: Printed for W.P. Young, 1799.
- Boylan, William and James Jackson. *The Most Useful and Pleasing Hymns and Spiritual Songs.* Raleigh, N.C.: printed by Wm. Boylan, 1809.
- Brunson, Alfred and Charles Pitman. *The Sweet Singer of Israel: a collection of hymns and spiritual songs, usually sung at camp, prayer, and social meetings; and in revivals of religion.* Pittsburgh: John I. Kay & Co., 1834.
- Brunson, Alfred and Charles Pitman. *The Sweet Singer of Israel: a collection of hymns and spiritual songs, usually sung at camp, prayer, and social meetings; and in revivals of religion.* New and enl. ed. Pittsburgh: John I. Kay & Co., 1840.

- Buck, W(illiam). C. *The Baptist Hymn Book: Original and Selected. In Two Parts*, rev. and enl. Louisville: William C. Buck, by J. A. James, 1844.
- Buist, George. *A Collection of Hymns for Public and Private Worship, approved of by the Presbytery of Charleston*. Charleston: Printed by J. M'Iver, no. 47, Bay, 1796.
- Burkitt, Lemuel. *A Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs: intended for public and social worship, some of which are entirely new*. Ed. 2, rev. and cor. Halifax, N.C.: A. Hodge for Lemuel Burkitt, 1802.
- Campbell, Alexander. *Psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, original and selected; adapted to the Christian religion: compiled by A. Campbell, W. Scott, B.W. Stone, and J.T. Johnson*. Bethany, [W.]V.: For the Author, 1834.
- A Choice Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs: designed for the use of the pious of all Denominations: being a selection from the following pamphlets, to-wit: Mintz's first and second, John A. Granade's ditto, Meads' ditto, Jones' ditto: and some original hymns*. Newbern, N.C.: Printed by Watson & Hall, 1807.
- The Christian Hymn-Book*. Ed. 3, cor. and enl. Cincinnati : Looker and Wallace, 1815.
- The Christian Hymn Book, being a collection of Psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs*. Ed. 7. Dayton, OH: Printed at the Office of the Gospel Herald, by John Ellis, 1844, 1860.
- Clarke, David. *A Hymn Book: containing a copious selection of hymns, and spiritual songs, from the best authors, including many songs never before in print, and a psalmody, adapted to tunes commonly used in Kentucky*. Harrodsburg, KY: Printed for the author by H. Miller, 1825.
- Cleland, Thomas. *Evangelical Hymns: for Private, Family, Social, and Public Worship selected from various authors by Thomas Cleland*. Lexington, KY: T.T. Skillman, 1828.
- Cobb, Enoch. *The Free Will Baptist Hymn Book: containing hymns and spiritual songs, selected for the use of the United Churches of Christ, commonly called Free Will Baptist, and for saints of all denominations*. Newbern, N.C.: William G. Hall, 1846.
- A Collection of Hymns and Prayers for Public and Private Worship*. Zanesville, OH: Lutheran Standard Office, 1854.
- Collection of Hymns for Public and Private Worship*. Ed. 3. Columbus, OH: Evan. Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio, 1858.
- A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the Delaware Christian Indians, of the Missions of the United Brethren, in North America*. Ed. 2, rev. and abr., A. Luckenbach. Bethlehem, PA: J. and W. Held, 1847.
- A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints*, selected by Emma Smith. Kirtland, OH: F.G. Williams and Co., 1835.
- David, John Baptist Maria. *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Use of Catholic Churches in Kentucky intended as a supplement to the prayer-book entitled True Piety*. Bardstown, KY: Bard and Edrington, 1815.
- Deems, Charles F. *Devotional Melodies*. Raleigh, N.C.: Th. Jefferson Lemay, 1841.
- Downs, William. *A New Kentucky Composition of Hymns and Spiritual Songs, together with a few odes, poems, elegies, &c.* Frankfort, KY: Gerard & Berry, printers, 1816.
- Downs, William. *Poems, Hymns, &c. and, A New Composition of Spiritual Songs: second book*. s.l.: s.n., 1814.
- Dromgoole, Edward. *A Short Collection of Hymns*. Ed. 3. Brooklyn, N.C.: printed by Thomas Kirk, 1800.
- Dupuy, Starke. *Hymns and Spiritual Songs, original and selected*. Ed. 3. Frankfort, KY: Printed for Butler and Wood by Kendall and Russells, 1818.
- Ellis, John. *A Choice Selection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs: for the use of Christians*. Zanesville, OH: Peters & Pelham, 1828.

- Gallaher, James. *Gallaher's Watts and Select Hymns. The Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs of Isaac Watts, D.D. to which is added A New Section of between two and three hundred hymns from the best authors.* Cincinnati: Truman & Smith, 1834.
- Gardner, Matthew. *The Christian Hymn-Book: corrected and enlarged.* Ed. 6. Levana, OH: David Ammen, 1824.
- Geistliche Viole: oder Eine Kleine Sammlung geistreicher Lieder zum Gebrauch der Evangelischen Gemeinschaft und heilsuchender Seelen überhaupt.* Ed. 2. Cleveland: Verlegt von Carl Hammer, für die Evangelische Gemeinschaft, 1855.
- Gillmore, Calvin, a preacher of the Reformed Methodist Church. *The Camp-meeting Hymn Book. Selected from various authors, for the use of those who worship God in the spirit..* Geneva, N.Y.: for the compiler, by J. Bogert, 1830.
- Gilmore, H. S. *A Collection of Miscellaneous Songs from the Liberty minstrel, and Mason's Juvenile harp, for the use of the Cincinnati High School.* Cincinnati: Sparhawk and Lytle, 1845.
- The Gospel Trumpet.* Charleston: s.n., 1792.
- He mau Himeni Hawaii: ne mea boolea'i. i ke akua mau, ia Iehova.* Oahu, HI: paha I ka mea pai palapala a ka poe misionari, 1828.
- He mau Himeni Hawaii: he mea boolea'I i ke akua mau, ia Iehova.* Oahu, HI: na na misionari i pai, 1830.
- Hearn, Rufus K., Joseph S. Bell, and Jesse Randolph. *Zion's Hymns, for the use of the original Free-Will Baptist Church of North Carolina: and for the saints of all denominations.* Falkland, Pitt County, N.C.: s.n., 1854.
- Heath, Jesse and Elias Hutchins. *Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs: selected for the use of the United Churches of Christ, commonly called Free Will Baptists, in North Carolina; and for saints of all denominations.* Newbern, N.C.: Printed by Thomas Watson, 1832.
- Heath, Jesse and Elias Hutchins. *Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, selected for the use of the United Churches of Christ, commonly called Free Will Baptist, in North Carolina: and for saints of all denominations.* Ed. 2. S.l. : s.n., 1856.
- Herbert, Thomas. *The Republican Hymn Book, containing a new and original set of hymns and spiritual songs, suited to be sung at society meetings, family worship, public and social prayer meetings, etc.* Cincinnati: For the Author, 1831.
- Herbert, Thomas. *The Republican Hymn Book, containing a new and original set of hymns and spiritual songs, suited to be sung at society meetings, family worship, public and social prayer meetings, etc.* Ed. 2. Covington, KY: for the author, 1845.
- Himani Hoolea. He mau mele ma ka uhane, e boolea ai na kanaka, na keiki, na ohana, na kila, na ekalisia, ia Iehove, ke akua e alo'i.* Honolulu: na na misionari mea pai, 1837.
- Howard, S. B. and J. Anderson. *The Social Harp: containing a rich variety of scriptural songs, for the use of Christians in their house of pilgrimage.* Rev. and enl. ed. St. Louis: W.W. McIntyre, 1854.
- Huntsman, John. *Social Melodies, being a collection of the most popular hymns and spiritual songs, now in use and designed to encourage and stimulate the spirit of devotion.* St. Clairsville, OH: E. Harris and J. Huntsman, 1842.
- Hymns and Spiritual Songs, intended for the use of the Churches of Christ.* Savannah: Henry P. Russell, 1822.
- Hymns for the Ohio Lunatic Asylum, alphabetically arranged.* Columbus: For the Ohio State University Hospital, 1848.
- Hymns for the Use of the Evangelical Association and Others: adapted to public and private use.* Ed. 6, imp. Cleveland: Charles Hammer, 1857.

- Hymns for the Use of the Evangelical Association and Others: adapted to public and private use.* Ed. 7, imp. Cleveland: Charles Hammer, 1860.
- Hymns for the Use of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* Rev. ed. Cincinnati: Swormstedt and Power, 1850.
- Hymns for the Use of the New Church, signified by the New Jerusalem in the apocalypse.* Cincinnati: Looker & Reynolds, 1826.
- Hymns, selected for Christian worship.* New-York: J. C. Spear, 1828.
- Hymns, selected from various authors, for the use of the Presbyterian Church, Charleston, South Carolina.* Philadelphia: A. Waldie, 1838.
- Hymns Written for the Service of the Hebrew Congregation, Beth Elohim, Charleston, S.C.* Charleston: Levin & Tavel, 1842.
- James, J. A. *Zion's Harp, or, Social and Camp Meeting Songs for the Pious.* Wheeling, [W.]V.: J. Fisher and Son, 1836.
- Jennett, Jesse. *A [C]ollection of the [M]ost Approved Hymns and Spiritual Songs now in Use.* Wilmington, N.C.: s.n., 1807.
- Karoron ne Teyerihwahkwatha igen ne enyontete ne yagorihwiyoghstonb kanyengebaga kaweanondabkon. Oni ohnagen non ka karyaton yotkate teyerihwahkwatha ne exhaogon ab enyontete hi yondaderibonnyeanitha. Collection of Hymns for the use of native Christians of the Mohawk language; to which are added, a number of hymns for Sabbath school.* New-York: M'Elrath & Bangs, 1832.
- Kerr, David. *The Certainty of Salvation through Christ: a sermon preached on Whit-Sunday, May 11th, 1845. Published at the request of the wardens and vestry of St. John's Church, Thibodaux, Louisiana at which the author was rector. Dedicated to Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana.* New Orleans: Printed at the New-Orleans Stationers' Warehouse by J.B. Steel, 1845.
- Kirchen-Gesang-Buch für evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession, darin des seligen D. Martin Luthers und anderer geistreichen Lehrer gebräuchlichste Kirchen-Lieder enthalten sind.* New York: Gedruckt für die Herausgeber bei H. Ludwig & Co.: St. Louis: Im Verlag der deutschen evan. luth. Gemeinde u. A.C., 1853.
- Kurtz, Henry. *A Choice Selection of Hymns, from various authors, recommended for the worship of God.* Poland, OH: Henry Kurtz by James & Co., 1852.
- Kurtz, Henry. *Die kleine Lieder-Sammlung oder Auszug aus dem Psalterspiel der Kinder Zions, aum Dienste inniger, heilsuchender Seelen, und in sonderheit zum Gebrauch in den Gemeinden der Brüder, zusammengetragen in gegenwärtige kleine Form und mit einem dresachen Register versehen.* Poland, OH: Henry Kurtz, 1850.
- Lloyd, Rees. *The Richmond Alarm: a plain and familiar discourse written in the form of a dialogue between a father and his son : in three parts, written at the request of a number of pious persons.* Ed. 2, cor. from London, ed. 2 in the year 1774. Pittsburgh: Printed for Rees Lloyd by Robert Ferguson & Co., 1815.
- Long, Peter. *Western Harp, or Hymns, Spiritual Songs, and Sacred Poems, on a Variety of Subjects.* Greenville, IL: 1848.
- Mathers, James. *Dedication Hymn, to be sung at the dedication of the Howard Street Presbyterian Church, San Francisco, June 15th, 1851. Tune - "Old Hundred."* [San Francisco]: San Francisco Herald Print, 1851.
- McIntosh, Matthew. *Original Poems: Descriptive, Social, Moral, and Sacred.* Pittsburgh: sold by Luke Loomis, 1846.
- Mercer, Jesse. *The Cluster of Spiritual Songs.* Augusta, GA: Hobby Bunce, 1810.
- Mercer, Jesse. *The Cluster of Spiritual Songs, Divine Hymns, and Sacred Poems: being chiefly a collection.* Ed. 3. Philadelphia: W. W. Woodward, 1823.



- Miller, Rosanna. *California Brother Hymn*. S.l.: s.n., c. 1850.
- Miller, H. *A New Selection of Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, from the best authors, designed for the use of conference meetings, private circles, and congregations*. Ed. 9. Cincinnati: Morgan and Sanxay, 1831.
- Na Himeni Kamalii*. Oahu: na na misionari i pai, 1832.
- Na Himeni Kamalii: na mea e ao ai, a e boolea aku ai na kamalii i ke akua*. Honolulu: mea pai palapala a na misionari, 1837.
- Das Neu eingerichtete Evangelisch-Lutherische Gesangbuch: bestehend aus einer Sammlung Lieder: zum Gebrauch des öffentlichen Deutschen Gottesdienstes und andern Uebungen zur Gottseligkeit in dem Staat von Ohio und den angrenzenden Staaten*. Canton, OH: Schäffer und Sala, 1821.
- Noel, Silas Mercer. *A Hymn Book, containing a copious selection of hymns and spiritual songs, from the best authors. Arranged in the most familiar order: carefully compiled, collated and corrected, by Silas Mercer Noel. Including many hymns and songs never before in print: and a psalmody, Adapted to Tunes commonly used by Congregations in Kentucky: accompanied with a scheme of general contents, an index of particular contents, and a table of first lines*. Frankfort: Gerard and Berry, 1814.
- Osbourn, James. *North Carolina Sonnets, or A Selection of Choice Hymns, for the use of the Old School Baptists*. Baltimore: James Osbourn, 1844.
- Peck, John M. *Dupuy's Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. Louisville: John P. Morton, 1843.
- Psalms and Hymns, adapted to social, private, and public worship, in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church*. [Nashville]: Cumberland Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1844.
- Psalms, Hymns, and Songs of Praise and Rejoicing, composed and selected for the dedication of the synagogue Kahal Hakodoesh Benea Israel of Cincinnati: erected and dedicated on Friday, 27th of the month Ellul, 5596; corresponding to the 9th of September, 1836*. Philadelphia: Haswell and Fleu, 1836.
- The Psalms of David, in Metre: according to the version approved by the Church of Scotland, and appointed to be used in worship*. Pittsburgh: McDonald & Beeson, 1847.
- Ravoux, A., Alexander Faribault, Oliver Faribault, David Faribault, Joseph Cretin, and J. B. M. Genin. *Wakantanka ti ki canku*. Prairie du Chien, WI: s.n., 1843.
- Renville, Joseph. *Dakota downapi kin. Hymns in the Dakota or Sioux language. Composed by Mr. J. Renville and sons, and the missionaries of the A. B. C. P. M.* Boston: Crocker & Brewster for the A.B.C.F.M., 1842.
- Sammlung von geistlichen Liedern: für kirchlichen und häuslichen Gottesdienst: mit Beifügung deutsche und englischer Melodien*. Stereotypirt nach der 3. Aufl. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, für die Bischöfl. Methodisten-Kirche, 1856.
- Sarjent, A[bel] M. *The New Hymn-Book for the use of the Free Church*. New York: for the author, sold at E. Riley's music and bookstore, and by the several minister of the Halcyon Church on the waters of the Ohio, 1811.
- Scott, Walter and Leonard, Silas White. *Christians Psalms and Hymns: with names of appropriate tunes*. Louisville: J. Maxwell, 1839.
- Shaffer, Stephen D. *Shaffer's Pilgrim Songster; being a collection of select spiritual songs: embracing many adapted to camp meeting, and revival occasions: as well as others designed to refresh the souls of Christians in social meetings, and in their solitary hours*. Zanesville, OH: Parke & Bennett, 1848.
- Shaffer, Stephen D. *Shaffer's Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. Zanesville, OH: S. D. Shaffer, E. C. Church, print., 1847.
- Sickles, A. W. *Ne Karoron ne Teyerihwahkwatha igen ne enyontste ne yagorihwiyobston igen kanyengebaga kawennondahkon oni skayestong dohka nigarennage ne oneniodeaka kawennondahkon*

- tehawennate nyon sbostowane. A Collection of Hymns, in the Oneida language, for the use of native Christians, translated by Rev. A. W. Sickles.* Toronto: Wesleyan Missionary Society, 1855.
- Smith, Benjamin. *Poems, Moral and Religious.* Pittsburgh: s.n., 1842.
- Smith, Elias and others. *A collection of divine hymns, or spiritual songs.* Poughkeepsie, New York: Paraclete Potter, 1810.
- Smith, Robert and Henry Purcell. *A Selection of Psalms, with Occasional Hymns.* Charleston: W.P. Young, 1792
- Steck, John Michael and Jacob Schnee. *Das Neue Gesangbuch, zum öffentlichen Gottesdienste, und zur häuslichen Andacht.* Pittsburgh: Gedruckt von Jacob Schnee, 1815.
- Stone, Barton W. and Thomas Adams. *The Christian Hymn-Book.* Georgetown, KY: N. L. Finnell, printer, 1829.
- Tanner, Benjamin. *The whole Book of Psalms, in Metre; with hymns, suited to the feasts and fasts of the Church, and other occasions of public worship.* Charleston: W. P. Young, 1808.
- Taylor, Caleb Jarvis. *Spiritual Songs.* Lexington, KY: Joseph, Charless, 1804.
- Tshipiatoko-Meshkanakanots.* n.p, n.d.
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