Accounting for taste: The early American music business and secularization in music aesthetics, 1720--1825

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Abstract
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This research focuses particular attention on the process whereby a cohort of homespun American composers of psalmody in the northeast self-consciously sought to replace the new country's dependence on English sacred music with an indigenous style during the Revolutionary and Federal periods. This three-decade supremacy was countered by a redoubled return to European imported music, as well as standards of composition, brought about by a wave of immigrant professional European musicians who arrived during the 1790s to work in the orchestras of the nation's proliferating theaters. The return to a commodified importation of European-based music ramified in American culture through a greatly expanded repertory of sacred music types, instrumental art-music, and a new genre of simple sentimental popular songs. The diverse elements of this transformation explores the nature of continuities between colonial and independent status, further informing and complicating our understanding of early national cultural formation and state-building.

Keywords
History, United States, Education, Music, American Studies

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ACCOUNTING FOR TASTE:
THE EARLY AMERICAN MUSIC BUSINESS
AND SECULARIZATION IN MUSIC AESTHETICS, 1720-1825

BY

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Baccalaureate Degree History, University of New Hampshire, 1993
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DISSERTATION

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
History

September, 2007
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAS  American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts
Evans  Evans Digital Collection of Early American Imprints
JAH  Journal of American History
JRPP  John Rowe Parker Papers
LOC  Library of Congress
MHS  Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Massachusetts
OED  Oxford English Dictionary
QMMR  Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review
WMQ  William and Mary Quarterly
ABSTRACT
ACCOUNTING FOR TASTE:
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BY
PETER S. LEAVENWORTH
University of New Hampshire, September, 2007

This study redefines popular music in early America as sacred music sung and performed in most churches and, starting in the 1790s, theater music imported from England. Rather than more static secular ballads and traditional dance pieces customarily understood as popular music, sacred and theater music intersected with more people more often and did so with more participation. Conflicting tastes of practitioners of religious music and secularizing influences from the theater created a series of reforms and counter measures that featured regional, as well as personal, fractures in American society. These personal and public debates, carried out in diaries, letters, hymnal prefaces, newspapers, and magazines, reflected larger divisions in an evolving American culture.

This research focuses particular attention on the process whereby a cohort of homespun American composers of psalmody in the the northeast self-consciously sought to replace the new country's dependence on English sacred music with an indigenous style during the Revolutionary and Federal periods. This three-decade supremacy was countered by a
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INTRODUCTION

One of the most pronounced trends in American historiography during the past few decades has been interdisciplinary studies that build bridges to research in fields previously considered peripheral to historical analysis. Work in anthropology, material cultural, folk art, literary studies, and post-colonialism now inform historiographic discourse. This cross pollination of fields has resulted in the creation of a large body of nuanced research in cultural history, which has become more of a transcendent perspective than a category of analysis. Traditional history sub-fields, such as religion, politics, intellectual history, or economics, have been revisited with a more panoramic approach that considers the importance of cultural context as primary.

My study seeks to bring this larger cultural purview to a consideration of changes in popular music in the colonial period and the Early Republic. Utilizing the research of several generations of American musicologists, as well as recent historiographic perspectives, I have imposed a comprehensive frame of reference to conflicts over musical trends and tastes that occurred from the 1720s to the 1820s. This is a context that moves outside of musical considerations altogether. At the same time, I propose that things musical have much more to teach us

about early modern world views and society than has usually been imagined. Music is an inherently human ability, one that is closely related to, and may antedate, the human use of language. Music is also an innately social capacity, whether related to neolithic procreation and dance, or modern creative performance, and its locally particular characteristics are unique cultural constructions. Its ability to stimulate the emotions - focal points in the brain now identified as neural structures in the amygdala and cerebellum - was widely seen in the rhetoric surrounding musical taste in the Early Republic as a stabilizing characteristic. In the words of Solomon Kidder in 1809, to "listen to sublime and enchanting strains of sacred music [is] to contemplate the divine art, by which the human mind is refined, the passions controlled and harmonized, and ferocity converted to mildness." Dr. Edward Atlee, in an essay on the influence of music in the cure of diseases at the University of Pennsylvania in 1804, declared that the "passions of the mind are peculiarly affected by music. Indeed there is scarce an emotion that may not be excited or suppressed by it...I believe that music ought justly to be esteemed as one of the most agreeable, powerful, and effectual means of relieving human misery." These centralizing claims for the powers of music align remarkably with current assertions of the importance of sound in the history of the senses as well as the significance of music to the human experience.²

For all the interest in cultural perspectives by historians, and especially the tension between vernacular and fine arts in recovering a period's creativity, entertainment, and humor, music has been strangely disregarded, despite its omnipresence. While musicologists' historical contextualization has usually lacked complexity, cultural historians have generally ignored music and the invaluable biographical work of musicologists. Exceptions have been few. Three decades ago, Kenneth Silverman offered excellent analysis of revolutionary changes in the American music scene in his groundbreaking work, A Cultural History of the American Revolution. Silverman's focus, however, tended to marginalize continuity before and after the Revolutionary period. Much more recently, Sean Wilentz has co-edited The Rose and the Briar: Death, Love, and Liberty in the American Ballad with Greil Marcus, a collection of essays explicating the background of some of America's best-known ballads. Other historians such as David Waldstreicher, Simon P. Newman, Jeffrey L. Pasley, and Rosemarie Zagarri have addressed in passing the wider cultural significance of music in political songs of the Early Republic. However, even musicologists have largely abandoned considerations of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century American

music in the past twenty years.4

When American music has been addressed, historians and musicologists have directed far more attention to the economically and technologically driven developments in the diverse culture of twentieth-century popular music. With archives rich in photographic and recorded material, the fast-paced kaleidoscope of modern commercial music, particularly the recognizable strands that came together after World War Two to influence rock and roll, blues, and jazz, are difficult to compete with in terms of general interest and classroom attention. The finely parsed nuances of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century psalmody and hymnody pale by comparison. Modern reproductions of early American music are invaluable in reconstructing the soundscape of the period but also demonstrate, to the uninitiated ear, the obscure nature of the changes in music that caused such profound conflict and debate. And that, of course, is the point. It is the tumult of these confrontations over musical taste that convey their importance in understanding the larger cultural conflicts of the time. My research is designed to correct both historiographic and musicological oversights by synthesizing the disparate threads of the eras' musicology and contextualizing America's primary soundscapes in the political, religious, and economic environs with which they interacted. The focus is on people's reactions to music rather than on the music itself,

4 In a recent opinion essay in The Bulletin of the Society for American Music entitled "What Happened to the Nineteenth Century?", Katherine K. Preston of The College of William and Mary noted that a "perusal of conference programs from the last five years suggests a general decline in pre-20th-century scholarship...fewer young [American musicology] scholars are choosing to undertake research in the 18th or 19th centuries...." As a result, "[t]here are huge gaps in our basic knowledge of 19th-century musical life. Worse, many scholars - especially younger ones - are not even aware that the lacunae exist, and as a result unchallenged misconceptions have crept into our collective 'knowledge' of the American cultural past." The Bulletin of the Society for American Music; Vol XXXI, No. 3, Fall, 2005: 42

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even as I trace various stylistic developments.

My project here is threefold: to present a culturally complex, topically intersecting overview of the evolution of the most popular American music in the century from 1720 to 1820; to trace the background of the many public disputes over what constituted appropriate listening and performance in this period; and to explore the general secularizing trends that affected the growth of the nascent American music business, even in the worship services of the many new denominations of the Early Republic. One of the first necessities is to define terms that I use consistently throughout this study. Acknowledging the need to distinguish between the multiplicity of 'publics' in a given period, I refer to a performing public to emphasize that consumers of increasingly commodified secular music after 1800 (two-page sheet music) had to be able to read and play music, however basic. Since this public's performance was usually in the family parlor, the ritual of domestic playing and singing extended the listening experience well beyond the concert hall, where a piece might first have attracted attention, by emulating that performance. By highlighting the qualifications necessary to have been a consumer of music commodities in the early nineteenth century, I stress the narrowly defined nature of music as an evolving business at that time, and hope to balance anachronistic comparisons with the accessibility of twentieth-century recordings.

I define Protestant psalmody and hymnody in early America as the dominant popular music, even if we use the ahistorical criteria of mass appeal as a standard of comparison. Our contemporary conceptions of
popular music are inextricably linked to twentieth-century assumptions of secular commodified music that intersects with its public in prerecorded modes that are much more passive than that of two hundred years ago. Then, sacred and secular singing was a musical pastime nearly as prevalent as recorded music is in the early twenty-first century. Hymns were sung outside of church services by people of all social stations alone, at work, or at everyday non-religious gatherings such as weddings, house-raisings, and governmental proceedings. Favorite melodies were invested with personal and mnemonic meanings that lasted lifetimes. Religious music, whether Congregational psalm-singing, German pietist brass quartets, or Anglican vespers, was a human pursuit that came to encompass Christianized native peoples and slaves as well as the plethora of non-Anglophone Europeans in early America.

To be sure, secular ballads, folk songs, and dance tunes, with which I am not concerned here, were ubiquitous in the early American soundscape as well. Throughout the period that this study encompasses, intriguing anecdotes of this vernacular tradition appear in many journals, diaries, and ephemeral publications. For instance, in 1727 Samuel Sewall noted that "[l]ast night three musicians serenaded me under my Chamber Window once or twice...." Eighty years later, traveler Thomas Ashe entered a tavern in Wheeling, Virginia: "which was filled with persons at cards, drinking, smoaking, dancing, &c. The music consisted of two bangies, played by negroes nearly in a state of nudity, and a [f]lute, through which a Chikesaw breathed with much occasional exertion and violent gesticulations....This ball, considered a violent vulgar uproar by
me, afforded the utmost delight to the assembly, and possibly would have concluded with infinite joy and satisfaction at an early hour next day, had not an unlucky wight of a drunken politician, seized a friend by the throat, and threatened to annihilate him, if he did not drink "Damnation to Thomas Jefferson." The problem presented by these intriguing reports for the historian seeking connections between music and larger contextual meanings is that there is not enough information about the music itself. What we are given are reports of unique situations where music was performed. Since the observers have often relegated these isolated incidents to the background of their narratives, our efforts to make more of them are circumscribed. However, when Eliza Southgate Bownes mentions being serenaded under her window while traveling in New York in 1802, covered in Chapter V, she names the songs she heard. Most of them had a publishing history which, taken with her earlier entries about her own musicianship, provide details of how popular songs could be incidentally experienced outside of common performance venues like parlors and theaters. The descriptions of diverse folk entertainments that I have discovered deserve further attention, which I intend to explore in separate analyses.

Here, I focus on popular religious and theater music because of the public debate carried out in print over alterations in performance and publishing of these genres between 1720 and 1825. Controversies surrounding new trends in religious music, as well as the beginnings of

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theatrical reviews in the 1790s, not only provide a thick description of the ways in which music was performed and heard, but also reveal profound cultural rifts in which musical taste played an important part. Widespread disagreements over innovations in sacred music, alterations that often derived from theater music and British ballad opera, dramatize the preeminent public anxiety over the state of American Christianity and rising secularization. An appraisal of the differences between the music of orthodox Calvinists, Unitarians, and evangelicals between 1800 and 1825 offer another dimension, a soundscape, to this transcendent public concern of the Early Republic. The tension between a profane, liberalizing America and traditional Protestantism, as a number of historians have maintained, was more provocative to most citizens than the rarified political confrontations between republicanism and democracy, however public its manifestation. Rather, the latter polemic was subsumed by the former. The fault lines surrounding the liberal/Christian dichotomy ramified through the populace in different ways regionally but they also created doubts and contradictions within individuals. And secularization, rather than liberalism alone, promoted dissension early in the eighteenth century within the ambit of religious innovation in New England. These personal conflicts are exemplified in this study by Boston ministers’ insistence on music literacy in Chapter I,
William Billings's challenge to his own spirituality through his artistic ambition in Chapter II, and composer Daniel Read's doubts of the divinity of Christ and Rev. Samuel Gilman's self-examinations in Chapter IV.

The introduction to the United States of liberalizing European musical tastes by immigrant theater musicians and organists in the 1790s, and the resulting rise of a secular music business after 1800, represents far more than simply the popularity of a new amusement. Changes in agricultural production, nascent industrialization, vigorous commercialization, aggressive land acquisition in western territories, the expansion of slavery, alterations in gender relations, and a multitude of reform movements introduced non-religious values that imbued every new cultural choice with morally charged dilemmas. The new secular possibilities in music appreciation 'played' to precisely these contingent transitions and fostered a reactionary stance, both theologically and musically, among more traditional Calvinists and Anglicans. This analysis of the music of the early national period captures this bifurcation in popular musical taste that appealed to either new liberal social sensibilities or traditionalists' grasping for a return to older cultural models. Even the most inoffensive sentimental songs (and there were plenty) relayed connotations of affectation, ephemerality, and underlying commercialization to an increasingly consumerized public.

Considerations of how music was inextricably linked with religious, political, and class conflict emphasize the plasticity of ideology and, to us, seemingly inconsistent personal standards in the early national period. Rev. William Bentley of Salem, Massachusetts lamented the smallest
alterations to the music of Congregational services in the 1790s but, disbeliefing the divinity of Christ, was one of the most theologically radical ministers in a state where Unitarianism was rising. Although a large group of New England psalm composers wrote patriotic hymns during the Revolution and created a psalm style that was widely popular, anglophilia was so strong and extensive in the 1790s that the new nation’s single claim to an indigenous art-form was largely abandoned after the turn of the century. Further, this preference was deliberately encouraged by the ways in which Congress constructed early copyright laws. The story of popular music in this period, as it reflected personal visions of cultural ideals in a tumultuous time, complicates the traditional linearity of American nation-building.

The evolution of popular music from the thoroughly colonial 1720s to well into the new republic of the 1820s, also speaks to post-colonial understandings of cultural construction and state formation. While eventually involving music in western territories of the United States, this narrative delineates what can only be seen as a re-colonization of the eastern United States music business by British-influenced Europeans at the outset of the national period. For the half-century before the Revolution, developments in English rural parish and urban cathedral hymnody, and the corollary religious verse of evangelical Isaac Watts, dominated changes and controversies in American sacred music. However, after a brief period of the ascendancy of American-composed

I am more attentive here to uses of post-colonial interpretations in the Early American Republic as they inform local and specific continuities with the colonial period rather than theoretical or metaphysical constructs. See the Roundtable essays of Jack P. Green, David Armitage, Eliga H. Gould, Michael Zuckerman, Kariann Yokota, Adam Rothman, and Robin L. Einhorn in The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, V. LXIV, No. 2 (April, 2007): 235-286.
hymnody in the 1770s through the 1790s, European musical standards reappeared with scores of British, French, German and Italian immigrant musicians throughout the 1790s. They performed in the pit bands of America's newly resurgent theaters and played organs installed in increasing numbers in American churches. These cultural messengers from former imperial centers to former provincial peripheries established a normative musical milieu that amplified what had marginally existed in the colonial period. The appealing orthodoxy of the Europeans helped provide reassurance to culturally ambivalent white Americans that they did not lack civility.8 The music scene of the early national period not only situates American cultural dynamics in the larger Atlantic world of trade dominated by European standards, but provides insights into England's financially hegemonic, but musically derivative, relationship with the continent.

After 1790, immigrant Europeans dominated the music engraving/publishing business, commodified secular song printing, and nurtured an urban continental cosmopolitanism that blurred distinctions formerly made by many Americans between secular and sacred in religious music. These transformations helped prepare and fetishize the accouterments of cultural hierarchy later in the nineteenth century with divergent venues (and regalia) for vernacular entertainment and 'high' art in what Lawrence Levine has called a sacralization of culture.9 The

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details of this musical invasion demonstrate that cultural hierarchy exerted agency long before Levine notes its elaboration in distinct American styles and sites. Under one roof in the nation's theaters, class stratification was maintained through separate seating and pricing. Instruments were categorized by cost, with pianos commanding premium prices implying trophy ownership, while penny whistles and fifes were available for the less financially fortunate. Banjos, gourd instruments, flutes, and drums were the province of culturally other slaves and Indians, as Thomas Ashe testified above, but this did not keep Europeans from having to make adjustments to their new circumstances. Former British subjects and Hessian nationals wrote some of America's most popular patriotic tunes. In 1799 at the Federal Street Theater in Boston, Gottlieb Graupner, a former oboist in a Hanoverian regiment and founding member of the Boston Handel and Haydn Society, performed The Gay Negro Boy "in character" on the banjo to such enthusiasm that he "had to bring his little bench from the wings again and again to sing his song." His familiarity with anything like this American idiom had to have come from his brief tenure in the diversified music scene of Charleston, South Carolina.10

Most of the European 'settler' musicians experienced a measure of creolization as they adapted to essentially American conditions. The fact of doing so was not exceptional and researching the stories of trained musical emissaries to other realms within European empires would likely reveal similar cultural bargaining. However, the results of these

American accommodations by European musicians became distinctive, especially by the 1820s and 1830s. Bohemian composer Anthony P. Heinrich’s personal salvation through American naturalism, featured in Chapter VI, was inspired by his isolated life in the Kentucky backcountry, with James Audubon as a friend and neighbor. His acquired Americanness, that he featured in his lavishly illustrated music publications and solicitous letter-writing led him to attempt to re-export his romantic work to Europe in the 1830s by personally approaching orchestra leaders and publishers there. Unsuccessful in these efforts, he was undoubtedly aware of the celebrity of Frank Johnson, a black Philadelphia band leader whose dance music and fellow musicians were attracting much more attention on the continent. Neither of these musicians could have imagined the changed styles and decades that would pass before significant numbers of Europeans would become interested in American music of any kind. But as the first American composers to attempt to export Americanness, each in their own style, back to the center from the former periphery, their efforts call attention to a maturing level of self-fashioning reflected in the culture at large.
CHAPTER I

REFORM IN AMERICAN SACRED MUSIC
BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

“Give me the making of the songs of a nation, and I care not who makes its laws.”
Andrew Fletcher, Scottish political writer (1704)

“Let me write the common ballads for any nation, and I will make their religion
what I please.”
Voltaire (from Hubbard's Essay on Music, i

“But one Puritan amongst them, and he sings psalms to hornpipes.”
William Shakespeare, The Winter’s Tale

On an early August Sunday in 1779, while the Revolutionary War raged elsewhere on the American continent, conflict of a more communal nature was nervously being resolved in the first parish Congregational church of Worcester, Massachusetts. As the minister read aloud the scripture to be used as text for the psalm about to be sung by the congregation, tension built. For many years a majority of the congregation had agitated to change the singing style in worship services and had finally, earlier that month, carried a vote that firmly specified an end to the traditional Puritan practice of lining-out psalms by the aged Deacon Chamberlain.

This common way of singing had involved a recitation of the psalm to be sung by the minister beforehand. Then, because of a lack of psalters or literacy or both, a deacon or precentor read or sang each line of the psalm tune before the congregation repeated it. The resulting choppiness in singing made psalm tunes easily last twenty minutes or more and, because of the frequent interruptions, contributed to wandering pitch and
tempo. A few parishes had voted to stop lining-out as early as the 1690’s, but the evidence shows some churches continued the practice throughout the eighteenth century. Some parishes voted to split the singing between lined-out tunes and psalms sung through without interruption. The contrast must have been stark indeed. In either case, the traditional approach to psalmody emphasized textual meaning at the expense of musicality, and universal participation rather than specialization by skill, both hallmarks of the English Reformation.

The Worcester churchmen had been a bastion of resistance to this change. As early as 1726, parishioners had moved to switch to singing “by rule” (uninterrupted singing with psalm books) but apparently the steadfast deacons ignored this initiative and simply continued lining out. It was certainly a measure of the power they commanded, along with the stasis of tradition, that this continued into the 1770s. By then, however, various motions were being passed in Worcester, as well as elsewhere in New England, allowing qualified choral conductors to lead an often younger section of the congregation who presumably had been attending a local singing school. On Sunday, August 5, 1779, the town voted “that the

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11 Cotton Mather, *Church Discipline; or Methods and Customs in the Churches in New England* (Boston, 1726) “In some [churches], the assembly being furnished with Psalm-books, they sing without the stop of reading between every line. But ordinarily the Psalm is read line after line, by him who the Pastor desires to do that service; and the people generally sing in such grave tunes, as are the most usual in the churches of our nation.” Lining-out continued in the western backcountry well after 1800 and survived in many black Protestant parishes throughout the nineteenth century, partly because of the African call and response musical tradition. For the African-American tradition of lining-out see Gilbert Chase, *America’s Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present*, (New York-London: McGraw-Hill,1955), 249-251; Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans; A History*, (New York/London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1971), 31, 159, 229, 235.

singers sit in the front seats in the front gallery, and those gentlemen who have heretofore sat in the front seats in said gallery, have a right to sit in the front seat and second seat below, and that said singers have said seats appropriated to said use...that said singers be requested to take said seats and carry on singing in public worship...that the mode of singing in the congregation here, be without reading the psalms, line by line, to be sung."

On the following Sunday, elderly Deacon Chamberlain rose to intone the first line of the hymn, ignoring the motion passed by the town earlier that week. As the singers emphatically sang through the hymn in its entirety, the deacon continued shouting out the lines until he was overwhelmed by the singing of the congregation. He then grabbed his hat and left the church in tears. This dramatic incident epitomizes not only the pivotal change in music aesthetics under way in the years before the outbreak of war, but also the intensity of personal and generational allegiances connected to religious music. To understand what was at stake for either side in the controversy over popular sacred music in the 1770s, we need to explore reforms in New England psalmody that took place earlier in the eighteenth century. These modifications, initiated in the 1710s and 1720s, created the artistic ferment from which the New England composers of the period from 1770-1810 gained momentum for their own contributions.

Seventeenth-Century Puritan Psalmody

Seventeenth-century Puritan ideals in religious music were

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particularly defined by their emphasis on an individual communication with God. The elimination of separate choirs, musical instruments, and church-sponsored composition were all part of the general reforms to the Church of England that Puritans were advocating by the late sixteenth century. Every Christian needed to raise his or her own voice in singing the Lord’s praises, regardless of the quality of that singing. In addition, only lyrics taken from the book of Psalms in the Old Testament were worthy of use in worship. Hymns, or contemporaneously written texts, were not widely used in English or American dissenting congregations before the middle decades of the eighteenth century. The inclusion of early eighteenth-century evangelical texts and music became an essential component of a dramatic shift in Protestant religious music affecting the New England composers.

There were few metrical variations within the approximately 150 psalms, which limited the variety of cadences and time signatures available to Puritan worship. Texts were adapted to a short list of old, traditional melodies that accommodated specific meters, so any given melody could have multiple, interchangeable scriptural texts. The 1612 Henry Ainsworth collection of psalms, published in Amsterdam for the Plymouth Separatists, contained 48 psalms, with nine of the melodies being duplicates, and the music notation was for the melody part only. The Boston Puritans brought with them new editions of the 1562 psalter of Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins that had been revised by Thomas

Ravenscroft in 1621. This tunebook contained nearly 100 psalms with music written out in four parts (bassus, medius, tenor, cantus) but apparently, only the melody was sung in unison in church. Melodies were very simple, which facilitated general participation, with only occasional variation between semibreves, minims, crotchets, or quavers (whole, half, quarter, or eighth notes). The One Hundredth Psalm, still sung in many Protestant services as a doxology, is a typical example.\(^\text{15}\)

The provenance of these tunes as well as their simplicity was significant. An important dilemma for the dissenters was whether, if the text must come from the Bible as the direct word of God, it was possible to use music that was the work of men. Boston’s Reverend John Cotton (c.1585-1652) addressed this issue and others associated with sacred music in his 1647 pamphlet, *Singing of Psalms a Gospel Ordinance*, which consolidated rules for Puritan music on both sides of the Atlantic.\(^\text{16}\) Taking the common question and answer catechismal format of religious tracts, Cotton’s discussion shows that almost nothing connected with church singing was taken for granted. His topics, and the answers, provide one of our best sources for what congregational music must have been like. For instance, Cotton asked whether one person should sing for the whole congregation, who would participate in spirit and finish by saying ‘Amen’ together. He concluded that the evidence of scripture showed that the entire congregation should sing. Under the heading, *Touching the manner*


\(^{16}\) Buechner, *Yankee Singing Schools*, 2.
of singing, Cotton asked “whether it be lawful to sing Psalms in meeter devised by men,” “whether in Tunes invented,” and “whether it be lawful in Order unto Singing, to read the Psalme” (i.e., lining-out). Many of the same issues were briefly considered seven years earlier in Cotton’s preface to The Bay Psalm Book. Cotton answered in the affirmative to each of these questions, reasoning that, since the psalms had to be translated into English in the first place to provide understanding, adapting them to meter, using composed melodies, and even lining-out the phrases all furthered a better understanding.17

The Bay Psalm Book, the popular name for The Whole Book of Psalms faithfully translated into English Metre, was the first book printed in America. It was published in 1640 and went through 26 editions by 1744. The psalms were retranslated by Boston ministers to more closely follow the original Hebrew. Nonetheless, many parishes lacked tunebooks for the entire congregation.18 Thus, the practice of lining out was brought with some of the Bay colonists and adopted by other communities in Boston area congregations in the 1640s. The Plymouth church, still using their more musically complicated Ainsworth psalmbooks, changed over to lining-out in 1682, possibly one of the last communities to do so.19


19 “The Church of Plymouth made use of Ainsworth’s version of the Psalms till the Year 1692...and till about 1682, their excellent Custom was to Sing without Reading the Line.” Rev. Thomas Symmes, Utile Dulci, Or A Joco Serious Dialogue, Concerning Regular Singing, (Boston, 1723),11.
The publication of the *Bay Psalm Book* was musically significant because it contained only text, with no music notation, until its ninth edition in 1698. It is possible that it relied on the availability of older tunebooks like the the Ravenscroft psalter to furnish tunes, but the absence of music presaged a widely-remarked declension in the quality of church music in New England towards the end of the century. Since there were many more texts for psalms than there were tunes, different psalms might be inserted into the same melody, as long as the time signature and cadence matched the meter of the psalm (see Appendix A, Table A 1). The Ravenscroft edition of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter (1621) had nearly one hundred separate tunes in four parts by prominent English composers, utilizing sixteen meters other than common time, but the 1698 edition of *The Bay Psalm Book* contained only thirteen melodies notated in two parts (bass and melody), nine of which were in common time, the remaining four each representing alternate meters.20

Psalm singing in seventeenth-century America, and especially in New England, was truly a popular music not just confined to Sabbath services. Families sang religious music while conducting midweek

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devotions at home and at other social functions. Samuel Sewall (1652-1730), precentor for his church from 1694 to 1718, recorded psalm-singing at many events outside of the meetinghouse, paying particular attention to details of tunes, psalms, occasions and quality. Based on references in Sewall’s diary, Appendix A, Table A 2, shows the variety of occasions where psalm singing took place, even as it demonstrates that this happened most often in church. Significantly, Sewall noted recurring problems with picking good keys in which to pitch tunes and times when one melody drifted into another. On one occasion, when Sewall tried to set the tune, he acknowledged that

I intended WINDSOR, and fell into HIGH DUTCH, and then essaying to set another Tune, went into a Key much too high.
So I pray’d Mr. White to set it; which he did well, LITCFIELD TUNE. The Lord Humble me and Instruct me, that I should be occasion of any Interruption in the worship of God.

Though he blamed himself, the confusion was not just a problem with Sewall’s abilities; towards the end of his tenure as precentor he noted that “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.” The babel of tunes and text helped spur efforts at reform.

Enjoyment of psalm-singing outside of the meetinghouse could cross

21 For example, Cotton Mather records that “So many of my Family are now so taken off one way o another...that I am afraid, I must often omit, the Singing, which makes a part of the Evening-Sacrifices in our Family.” Cotton Mather, Diary of Cotton Mather, 1709-1724, 2 vol., Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1911) February 19, 1716-17, V.2, 437.


23 Sewall, Diary, December 28, 1705, V. 1, 538.

24 Sewall, Diary, February 23, 1718, V.2, 885-6.
over to singing secular ballads, depending upon the individual's zeal for exclusively religious music. Despite disapproval by more zealous Christians, secular singing was omnipresent. Cotton Mather (1662-1728) so noted in 1713 when he mentioned in his diary that "I am informed that the Minds and Manners of many People about the Country are much corrupted, by foolish Songs and Ballads, which the Hawkers and Pedlars carry into all parts of the Countrey."\(^{25}\) However, Mather displayed a tolerance characteristic of a more open-minded Enlightenment philosophy when he considered music as part of the ministers' curriculum in college. In a letter to his son, he advised "[f]or MUSIC... [d]o as you please, if you Fancy it, I don't Forbid it...It may be so that you may serve your GOD the better for the Refreshment of One that can play well on an Instrument."\(^{26}\) Occasions for group singing beyond those explicitly devoted to worship also may have provided opportunities for more adept singers to indulge in multiple part singing where it could be distinguished and appreciated.

In church, however, while early 17th-century psalm books, or psalters, give evidence of melodic and metrical variety, by the second half of the century, that diversity had withered to a very short list of psalm tunes.\(^{27}\) Table A 1 illustrates both the small pool of melodies from which

\(^{25}\) Mather, *Diary*, September 27, 1713, V.2: 242. It is significant that Mather mentions the dispersal of ballads by pedlars who would have been selling inexpensive off-prints and that his antidote involved publishing as well. Recent scholarship in the dissemination of "traditional" balladry has emphasized print and manuscript culture as being at least as important as oral transmission, if not far more so.

\(^{26}\) Cotton Mather, *Manuducto ad Ministerium, Directions for a Candidate of the Ministry*, (Boston 1726),57.

Samuel Sewall’s Boston congregation chose for singing, as well as the interchangeability of psalms which supplied the texts for worship. Sewall often abbreviated the tunes to their first letters which again suggests invariability. As the table shows, some psalms were sung to different melodies (90, 116, 68, 113) which may help explain why congregations easily slipped from one tune to another. Phrasing would also have been uncertain and subject to irregularity. Because of the lack of fixity in the texts used with melodies, precentors improvised to determine syllabic distribution within the notes of a given tune, no doubt with varying degrees of success. The precentors had to be familiar with the different meters in which the psalms were composed and to match them with melodies that conformed to those meters. At the same time, some scriptures appear to have been associated only with certain tunes. For instance, Sewall mentions that he “try’d to set LOW DUTCH TUNE and fail’d...fell into the tune of 119th Psalm,” which meant using a text different from the 119th Psalm. The reduction in the number of tunes, the variation in texts, and the general confusion all reflected a diminished singing ability that appears to have been widespread. The records of the First Church in Salem note that in 1667, the parish voted to use the simpler Bay Psalm Book, in addition to the Ainsworth psalter which they had been using, citing “the difficulty of the tunes, and that we could not sing them so well as formerly...” By 1685, the Plymouth church, which had just introduced lining-out, also abandoned their Ainsworth

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28 Sewall, Diary, July 5, 1713, V. 2, 720.
psalmbooks after attempting its version of the 104th Psalm "because in Mr Ainsworths Translation...the tune was soe difficult few could follow it..."\textsuperscript{30}

Isolated parishes and their amateur chorister-deacons improvised to such an extent that melodies associated with specific psalms became unrecognizable between, and even within, congregations. Samuel Sewall commented that

\begin{quote}
I knew not that had the Tune till got to the 2d Line, being somewhat surprized, though design'd that Tune. I would have assisted Capt. Frary but scarce knew what tune he design'd; and the Tune I guess'd at, was in so high a Key that I could not reach it.\textsuperscript{31}
\end{quote}

There are almost no technical descriptions of psalm-singing throughout most of the seventeenth century in America, and we get most of our knowledge of how this early style might have sounded through indirect, brief, critiques from the early 1700s. For instance, one tract asks

\begin{quote}
What Convenience and Benefit would ensue upon it, if Men's voices were somewhat Lower'd in Singing (when otherwise very Loud voices are ready to drown all other voices in a Congregation), and what advantages would Ensue if all the Singers in a congregation would keep time?\textsuperscript{32}
\end{quote}

This pointed commentary came from a small group of Boston-area ministers who advocated for an improvement in musical literacy.

English psalmody in the late seventeenth century, in both Anglican and dissenting congregations, appears to have degenerated in precisely the same ways that American sacred singing had. In London, Samuel Pepys

\textsuperscript{31} Sewall, Diary, October 25, 1691,283.
\textsuperscript{32} Peter Thacher, John Danforth, & Samuel Danforth, An Essay: Cases of Conscience Concerning the Singing of Psalms (Boston, 1723).
noted in his diary that while attending church in 1661, “a long psalm was set that lasted an houre, while the sexton gathered his year's contribucion through the whole church.”

The “old way” of singing was, at least to modern ears, unmercifully slow. Actually, psalm-singing could vary in length dramatically, at least based on the number of psalm verses cited. When Samuel Sewall was visiting Christianized native Americans on Martha's Vineyard in 1714, their singing consisted only of four verses from the 11th Psalm.

On the other hand, when Sewall attended a Thursday night lecture in 1709 in Boston the assembly sang Psalms 23, 24, 25, 26, and 73 -- a total of 78 verses.

Puritans sang psalms at home in three or four parts rather than just the melody as in church, a more entertaining format in more controlled circumstances. It is possible that, for the smaller groups gathered for midweek devotions, the practice of lining-out was dispensed with, which would have halved the length of the singing. Even so the time necessary for a typical psalm would have been at least thirty minutes. The length of the psalmody in Puritan devotions emphasized the importance they attached to singing in the worship service.

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34 This extreme in brevity may have been connected to language limitations. Sewall comments immediately after the singing that "Mr. Mayhew gave us the heads of his Sermon in English...I enquired if any could read English...at last only two young men were produced. I set him to read in my Psalm-book with red Covers, and then gave it him." Sewall, Diary, April 7, 1714, V.2, 751.

35 Sewall, Diary..., April 15, 1709, V. 2, 617.

Context for the Decline in Puritan Music

Histories of music of this period have usually considered the mutations in sacred music chiefly in musicological terms, with indefinite references to social contexts at best. Pressures within Puritan society that accentuated the decline in attention to music are important to understanding the process. The last third of the seventeenth century and first decade of the eighteenth witnessed dramatic changes in New England Puritanism that contributed to the diminution of doctrinal fervor of the original dissenting colonists. As the nature of Puritanism changed, so did the attitudes towards psalmody, since singing was regarded as a reflection of devotion. This instability was manifested in four ways.

First, by 1662, the clergy and the elect church members of many congregational parishes found themselves compromising the benefits of full church membership by having to accept infant baptism and the doctrine of the halfway covenant. This involved second generation emigrants, many of whom were not full church members because they had not undergone the conversion experience, confirmed by ministers and other church members, necessary for full membership. Nonmembers could not vote on church matters and could not partake in the sacraments of communion and baptism. As this first generation of indigenous Puritans increasingly failed to experience conversion, they nonetheless demanded access to the rite of baptism for their children. Some ministers and church members had to adopt a new shade of membership that helped to retain
attachment to the congregational church.\textsuperscript{37}

A second element was the threat in 1660, and then the reality in 1686, of the imperial establishment of an Anglican church in Boston. This increased pressure on the clergy to maintain church membership. Starting with the restoration of Charles II in 1660, through the ascension to the English throne of William and Mary in 1689, the New England dissenters were faced with nearly incessant interference in their tradition of self-government and their staunch repudiation of the Church of England. This intrusion was led by local merchants and tradesmen who had always shared allegiance to the Church of England and whose preferences were now sanctioned by the restored monarchy. By establishing legitimacy, these non-Puritans destabilized the dominance of the dissenting magistrates and brought into New England the very trappings of Catholicism the dissenters had eradicated in their worship for over one hundred years. Among the new Anglican aspects of worship were unqualified access to the sacraments of baptism and communion as well as more elegant treatment of sacred music.\textsuperscript{38}

The same extension of imperial control that attended the return of the monarchy in 1660 challenged most New England farmers' method of title to their lands. They had originally been granted land by the Boston


magistracy's establishment of townships, through powers based on their original charter. Royal Commissioners sent to New England in 1664 brought into question the extent of the authority assumed by the Boston theocracy, among which was land entitlement. The result was a twenty-year period where various royal proxies attempted to squeeze quitrents from rural settlers from Maine to Rhode Island who had thought they owned their holdings outright. This created unrest bordering on outright rebellion in many areas.39

The most disrupting factor during this period, however, was the series of wars waged with New England's native Americans. Beginning with King Philip's War (1676-1678), and continuing with King William's War (1689-1699) and Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), rural settlements endured devastating attacks and periodically launched strikes of their own for over thirty-five years. The effect of this nearly constant warfare on the collective psyche of the white New England populace has been widely explored. Some Scholars even see it as contributing to the Salem witchcraft hysteria. The pressing business of warfare, along with the attendant casualties and the disruptions of a refugee population, undoubtedly contributed to reducing the quality and variety of sacred music. Maintaining high standards in parish singing required a stable community.

Regular Singing Reform

As the variety of meters and number of melodies for adapting psalms withered, and lining out became nearly universal, a small group of Boston clergymen began to advocate reform of church singing in the early 18th century. Often good singers themselves, these inspired activists connected the decline in music quality to a larger deterioration in Christian values. They felt that improving the quality of church singing would help resuscitate the fervor of worship. They were also influenced by the London Independents, who had accepted learning to read music in the previous decade for much the same reasons. English psalmody had undergone a similar rehabilitation around the turn of the eighteenth century that reached Boston through the extensive communication between New England and British ministers and literati. Percolating in America in the second decade of the eighteenth century, the impetus for improvement by the 1720s led these concerned ministers to publish a series of independently written essays urging change. The reformers referred to their improved efforts at reading music as “regular” singing, or singing by note, and called the traditional lining-out method the common, usual, or old way.

Cotton Mather was one of these Harvard-educated reformers. He had noted in his diary periodically from 1716 to 1721 the need for improving singing in church.

September 24, 1716 The Psalmody in our Assembly must be better provided for
October 13, 1718 The Psalmody is but poorly carried on in my

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Flock, and in a Variety and Regularity inferior to some others; I would see about it.
March 1, 1721 Should not something be done towards the mending of the Singing in our Congregation? 41

While Samuel Sewall had simply noted the poor quality of singing, Mather, a minister ten years younger than Sewall, was intent on changing the way music was performed in church.

The singing reform movement was led by the Rev. Thomas Symmes (1677-1725), the Rev. Nathaniel Chauncey (1681-1758), the Rev. John Tufts (1689-1750), and the Rev. Thomas Walter (1696-1725), all significantly younger than Mather or Sewall, but the effort was supported by older church leaders, such as Mather. In 1721, when Cotton Mather advocated reform in two essays, he observed “in some of our congregations, that in length of time, their singing has degenerated into an odd noise, that has more of what we want a name for, than any Regular Singing in it.” 42 The Rev. Thomas Walter claimed “I have observed in many places, one man is upon this note while another is upon the note before him, which produces something so hideous and disorderly as is beyond expression bad”. 43

The Boston reformers launched a series of publications to explain their position and to gain converts within congregations (see Appendix B). Even before they appeared, some modifications to sacred music were already underway in Boston. The first essay to appear, The

41 Mather, Diary, Vol.2, 373, 560, 606.

42 Cotton Mather, The Accomplished Singer, Boston, 1721 “Intended for the assistance of all that sing psalms with grace in their hearts: but more particularly to accompany the laudable endeavours of those who are learning to sing by Rule....”


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Reasonableness of Regular Singing by Rev. Thomas Symmes in 1720, mentioned as part of the justification for its publication

3. The Difficulties & Oppositions which some Congregations have met withal, in their attempting...a Reformation in their Singing
4. The Success which has followed suitable Endeavours to remove those Cavils, which some (while they labor under their Prejudices to Singing by Rule) have tho’t were unanswerable Reasons in their Favor

Symmes clearly alluded to ongoing reform that was meeting entrenched opposition. The number of printed sermons and essays, emanating mostly from Boston, that advocated regular singing imply overwhelming acceptance by the general population. However, their purpose was more to counteract the vociferous and widespread opposition to change in many rural parishes that remained unarticulated in print. Timothy Woodbridge of Hartford, Connecticut, noting the strength of resistance, commented in 1727 that “[t]he Tempers of some have been so high, as that it has driven them on to turn their Backs on the Mode of Singing at the time of Publick Meeting, as if it were some Idol Worship....”

Thomas Symmes’ Utile Dulci (‘the useful with the pleasant’) is one of the most entertaining and informative of these tracts. Written as a dramatic dialogue between a reforming minister and a country bumpkin, it is also for its rare itemization of the reasons for opposing singing by notation. These “rustick” objections were:

1. It is a new way, an unknown tongue.
2. It is not so melodious as the usual way.
3. There are so many tunes we shall never have done learning them.
4. The practice creates disturbances and causes people to behave indecently and disorderly. [possibly a reference to youthful singing schools]
5. It is Quakerish and Popish and introductive of instrumental music.
6. The names given to the notes are bawdy, yea blasphemous.
7. It is a needless way, since our fathers got to heaven without it.
8. It is a contrivance to get money.
9. People spend too much time learning it. They tarry out nights disorderly.
10. They are a company of young upstarts that fall in with this way, and some of them are lewd and loose persons.

Clearly, many members of rural congregations did not want to be bothered with learning to read music, nor were they eager to depart from a deeply rooted tradition that they equated with Calvinist egalitarianism. Cotton Mather noted with dismay as he pressed for singing reform that "[t]ho' in the more polite City of Boston, this

Design mett with a General Acceptance, in the Countrey, where they have more of the rustick, some Numbers of Elder and Angrey people, bore zealous Testimonies against these wicked Innovations, and this bringing in of Popery. Their zeal transported some of them so far...that they would not only use the most opprobrious Terms, and call the Singing of these Christians, a worshipping of the Devil, but also they would run out of the Meeting-house at the Beginning of the Exercise.\footnote{Mather, \textit{Diary}, Letter to Thomas Hollis, February, 1722-23, V.2, 693.}

This distinction between urban and rural musicality was an early expression of what has become a long-standing American differentiation. To be sure, it participated in an earlier English cultural, political, and literary division. The contrast helped to define musical characteristics of taste and "correct" composition in America for the next century.
Significantly, reformers framed their corrections in terms of a return to a tradition of Puritan musical literacy, which undercut the critics' claims that reformers were introducing something new; it positioned the 'old way' singers as the revisionists. This valorization of authenticity became a recurring theme in later music reformations.

The singing controversy featured a generational divide that helped polarize the debate. The questions posed in the catechistic question and answer format often used in the pro-"regular" singing publications reveal many of the subtle faultlines. The trio of ministers who authored *Cases of Conscience* asked “[d]o you believe that ‘tis lawful...that the Aged in the Churches should in their Age submit to be turned out of their Old Way of Singing of Psalms to gratify the Younger Generation?” - to which they tactfully answered in the affirmative. They also asked “[h]ow can that Possibly be a good way of Singing Psalms which a Considerable Number of Young People so readily comply with who, in learning the PsalmTunes, are too light and airy and vain?” to which they could only reply “[i]t’s certainly a Good Way, notwithstanding.” It appears, superficially, that the mutiny against Deacon Chamberlain in 1779 might just have easily taken place fifty years earlier. The ministers asked whether “they who purposely sing a tune different from that which is appointed by the Pastor or Elder to be sung, are not guilty of acting disorderly....” In response to this confrontation to their social, as well as spiritual, authority, the ministers naturally condemned those who, when “Pastors and Elders... order one Tune to be sung, [yet] will purposely sing another : and wilfully...disturb the harmony of the Church....” Ultimately, however,
the clergy encouraged inclusion and open-mindedness. In the preface to Thomas Walter's 1721 *Grounds and Rules of Music Explained*, fourteen ministers signed a note that claimed “we would encourage all, more particularly our Young People, to accomplish themselves with Skill to sing the songs of the Lord....” The clergymen were taking a certain risk in so explicitly placing their faith in the youth of their congregations, and their attempts to limit this trust to the issue of music reform alone would soon disintegrate as the events of the Great Awakening unfolded in the next decade. However, in terms of securing changes in the practice of religious music, their concentration on altering the musical taste of the next generation succeeded in ways they had not envisioned.46

The controversy over introducing music literacy into congregational singing was not insignificant, nor was it detached from other challenges to ministers' authority during the 1720s and 1730s. Invective ran high on both sides, even though most of what we know about the opposition to regular singing is derived from the ministers' writings. The clergy's tracts could betray an arrogance that reflected, and contributed to, other confrontations between them and their laity. Thomas Symmes took particular delight in his *Utili Dulci* (1723) in abbreviating his reference to anti-regular singers as “A.R.S.’s”. Symmes employed a condescension throughout his contrived dialogue with the country “rustick” that could not have failed to offend. He compared the opposition's dedication to tradition with “the miserable Hottentots...who think to adorn themselves with the Guts of Beasts, with all the Garbage in them; prefer[ing] these Guts to a Chain of Gold, because its what they're

used to...."47 This tone was not confined to Boston and Massachusetts. In a 1727 singing lecture preached by Rev. Timothy Woodbridge in New London, Connecticut, he succinctly observed that the practice of regular singing “has been so Long Dead, as that with some it Stinketh....”48

Since these sermons were delivered well into the 1770s and beyond, these insults undoubtedly reflected clerical exasperation with the slow pace of reform, but they also reveal an assumed hierarchical distance based in part on the ministers’ education.49 While much of the authority of the American clergy in the early eighteenth century rested on fluency in ancient languages and scriptural exegesis, the spirituality of the laity depended more on their own intensive reading of the Bible. New England Puritanism had a long seventeenth-century tradition of defiance and accommodation between the clergy and those classified as “horse-shed” Christians within their parishes.50 Just as conflict between the clergy and congregations could result from differences over style, salary, and perquisites (firewood, food, etc.), so too did confrontation develop from...

47 “I’ve said to some of my Hearers, that if any of you A.R.S.’s would take the pains to acquaintance yourselves with the Rules of Singing...” and “there are few of you A.R.S.’s that ever heard Singing in several parts of Musick: and some of you don’t know the Difference between Treble & Bass.” Thomas Symmes, Utili Dulci..., (Boston,1723) Evans, 2481, 17,18.


49 Thomas Symmes dialogue is deeply infused with the expectation of automatic respect and its refusal. When his anti-regular singing neighbor questions whether it will do any good to have any discourse with the minister he responds “if those that should come to learn of me and be instructed by me, come rather to dictate to me : and instead of...Entreating me as a Father... treat me with the last Scurrility, or at best, as if I were the Pupil, and they the Tutor ; I’ve just reason to be angry...I should sin against God, and betray the Authority I’m vested with, and vilify my office, if I should tamely suffer my self to be insulted....” Symmes, Utili Dulci,1723 (original emphasis), 9.

50 David D. Hall portrays horse-shed Christians as the stubbornly non-elect who used the occasion of Sabbath lectures to socialize in the horse barn and refused to internalize sermons. Hall, Worlds of Wonder,11-15.
differences on points of religion based on Biblical interpretation. The controversy over music literacy had close parallels with other challenges to ministerial authority involving theological legitimacy that would assume larger proportions in the 1730s and 1740s during the Great Awakening. By then, itinerant evangelical preachers, who lacked college education, challenged the legitimacy of established ministers with divinity degrees, advancing a widespread questioning of the ministers' conversion experiences by their own parishes.

However, even earlier, in the first two decades of the eighteenth century, New England Congregational clergy were struggling with change and reform. Internally, clerics and their parishes were becoming less isolated, idiosyncratic versions of Puritan orthodoxy, anomalies reflected in their improvised treatment of psalmody. Facing intrusions of deism and Arminianism that accompanied the increasing pace of mercantile trade, as well as accelerated immigration, the ministers were becoming more dependent on consensus and consociation between congregations. They perceived that their stature would be better

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51 For example, between editions of his music-reforming *A Very Plain and Easy Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes*, Tufts published a pamphlet in 1725 entitled *Anti-ministerial objections considered, or The unreasonable pleas made by some against their duty to their ministers, with respect to their maintenance answered*. Evans Early American Imprints, 1st series, no. 2713. Rev. Valentine Wightman, another regular singing tract-writer, later published a sermon responding to an attack on the maintenance of clergy: *Some brief remarks on a book, called, tho' unjustly, An impartial account of a debate at Lyme in the colony of Connecticut, on the following heads. Viz. I. On the subject of baptism. II. The mode of baptizing. And, III. On the maintenance of Gospel Ministers. Written by John Bulkly held on the seventh of June, 1727*, especially pp.24-41 where he answers the question “Whether Ministers of the Gospel ought to be maintained in the least, by goods taken away by Force from Men of contrary Persuasions?” Evans Early American Imprints, 1st series, no. 40013, underscore added.

preserved through cooperation, and the drive for regular singing was a consequence of that need for unity in reform.

Externally, the congregationalists were also confronted with a sharply resurgent Church of England. This extension of the English state church was aided by the consolidation of imperial power after the 1689 English Revolution and the huge coffers of the Society for Propagating the Gospel (SPG). As the Anglican church expanded parishes in New England, building opulent Georgian churches, and incorporating bell-towers, fine interior decoration, and instrumental music with choral singing, they attracted lay adherents, and even some ministers, away from the congregational churches.53 Indeed, Rev. Thomas Walter, nephew of Cotton Mather, a leading reform minister and author of the most successful American instructional book for singing reform, dabbled with conversion to Anglicanism while at Harvard before his graduation in 1713. Music was intimately connected with this encroachment.54 In 1713 America's first organ was given by a Boston merchant to the Brattle Street Church in Boston, which refused it on religious grounds. It was then delivered to King’s Chapel, Boston’s first Anglican church, where it naturally transformed the congregation’s sacred music performances.55 In a 1724 letter to a member of the SPG, Cotton Mather blended disgust with anti-


55 Oscar Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America,* 1731-1800, (Leipsiz: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1907), 9. This same organ can still be heard in St. John’s Church, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

37
regular singers with fears of the inroads made by the Church of England.

Very Lately, a Little Crue at a Town Ten miles from the city of Boston, were so sett upon their old Howling in the public Psalmody, that being rebuked for the Disturbance they made, by the more Numerous Regular Singers, they declared They would be for the Ch[urch] of E[ngland] and would form a Little Assembly for that purpose, and subscribed for the Building of a Chapel; and expect a Missionary to be sent and supported from your Society...\(^5^6\)

Certainly a large part of the attraction of the Anglican Church in New England was the fact that the SPG funds paid for the clergy, otherwise supported by an onerous tax for Congregationalists. Mather was very attuned to this vulnerability as he notes elsewhere in the same letter that these apostates would not threaten to leave “if they had not the Hopes of being Excused from all the Charge of Maintaining any Ministry, by having parsons maintained for them, from the stock of your Society [SPG] ...Than which there never was more shamefully misapplied and prostituted Charity in the world.” This circumstance tempers a strictly musical interpretation of just how important not learning to read music was to some parishioners in relation to their Congregational membership. It should not have come as a surprise that the ‘crue’ who did not want to put themselves out learning to read music could also be so easily attracted to the liturgical traditions of the Church of England which emphasized pomp and ceremony over the inner examination typical of Calvinism. They could enjoy more sophisticated music, accompanied by the impressive new organ, without having to materially change their own style of participation. When Mather noted in 1718 that his parish’s psalmody was conducted “in a Variety and Regularity inferior to some

\(^{56}\) Mather, Diary, Letter to Thomas Bradbury, April 22, 1724, 707.
other...” (emphasis added), he may have been referring to other congregational churches. However, given his and his fellow clerics’ sweeping condemnation of congregational singing and their preoccupation with the widespread infringement of the Anglican church in New England, it is likely that the ‘others’ with more variety and regularity were the Anglicans and their organ at King’s Chapel. The repugnance of the congregational majority in New England to service alterations reminiscent of Catholicism might have led them to reject the refinement of Anglicization out of hand. Instead, the ministers wisely counterattacked by accepting some of the Anglican trappings, among which was the improvement of psalmody.

Establishment of Singing Schools

The creation of informal schools for singing instruction was the most immediate and far-reaching achievement of the reforming clergy. By 1721, a “Society for Promoting Regular Singing in the Worship of God” had been formed in Boston, and similar societies were endorsed by reformer

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67 Alan Beuchner devotes a section of his published dissertation on singing schools to demonstrate that music was part of the curriculum at Harvard College for this group of reforming ministers. While this background in musical training is tentative as to its nature as well as its extent among the ministers, he extrapolates from this exclusively the motives for the clergy’s rehabilitation of psalmody. I would suggest that while the ministers’ heightened standards may certainly have been formed in college, their motivations in so diligently trying to reform their congregations’ singing were more complex and part of a larger effort to retain authority and piety amid increasing economic changes, spreading Anglicanism without, and evangelical revivalism within. Beuchner, Yankee Singing Schools, “Harvard College, the Wellspring for Regular Singing,” 31.

68 Bushman, The Refinement of American, 176-7
ministers in nearby communities.\textsuperscript{59} Documentation on these earliest
singing schools is scarce. However, this pastime would eventually become
a national tradition of weeknight instructional courses for young people
during the winter months, with a final demonstration concert in the early
spring. Although started in New England, the singing-school educational
model spread to the south and west along with settlement, as a fixture of
American rural culture well into the middle of the nineteenth century.
Even at these early stages of its development in the mid-eighteenth
century, there is evidence of these schools in South Carolina (1730),
Maryland (1765), Philadelphia (1753), and New York (1754).\textsuperscript{60}

Samuel Sewall noted on March 21, 1721 that "[a]t night Dr. Mather
preaches in the School-house to the young Musicians... House was full and
the Singing extraordinarily Excellent, such as has hardly been heard
before in Boston." A year later, James Franklin's \textit{New England Courant},
noted that "[o]n Thursday late in the Afternoon, a Lecture was

\begin{quote}
held at the New Brick Church, by the society for promoting
Regular Singing in the Worship of God. The Reverend Mr.
Thomas Walter of Roxbury preach'd an excellent Sermon on
that Occasion...The Singing was perform'd in Three Parts
(according to Rule) by about Ninety Persons skill'd in that Science,
to the great Satisfaction of a numerous Assembly there present."
\end{quote}

The performances were usually early-spring showcases of the previous

\textsuperscript{59} Peter Thacher stated in 1723 that churches in 'Boston, Roxury, Dorchester, Cambridge,
Taunton, Bridgewater, Charlestown, Ipswich, Newbury, Andover and other Places' had been
converted to regular singing. Thacher et al., \textit{Cases of Conscience}, 7.

\textsuperscript{60} Wiley H. Hitchcock, \textit{Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction}, (Upper Saddle River,
NJ:Prentice-Hall, 2000, 8 It is not clear whether these schools were initiated by travelling New
Englanders or by singing-masters who arrived directly from England. After the Revolution, in the
period of high popularity of the New England style, the former would be more true while it is
possible that in this earlier period, the latter would have prevailed.

\textsuperscript{61} Sewall, \textit{Diary}, 976; \textit{New England Courant}, \# 31, March 5-12, 1722.
winters' progress by the singing society but would expand late in the century to include occasions throughout the year such as the Fourth of July, college commencements, Thanksgiving, and Christmas.

These rare notices convey several significant aspects of the new method of learning to read music. Having the concert outside of the Sunday service signaled its transcendence of secular/sacred spheres as well as compromise with the opposition. The remarks on the quality and the large attendance speak to widespread appreciation of well-performed vocal music, and treating psalmody as a performance is a significant break with Calvinist insistence on unrehearsed, universal participatory singing. By training and reintroducing a separate singing group into the meetinghouse, the reformers set the stage for establishing independent choirs, one of the trappings of Catholicism that the English Reformation had banned as a papist corruption.

Setting psalmody into three and four distinct parts, with corresponding divisions within the schools according to vocal range, was a cornerstone of the case for the superiority of music literacy. Even untrained ears could hear the impressive difference, which undoubtedly helped convince parishioners who were otherwise intimidated by the prospect of learning to follow musical notation. Many towns outlying from Boston attempted a halfway acceptance of the new style by gradually introducing separate choir performances of psalms that alternated with the old style of lining-out by the full congregation. And long after lining-out had been abandoned, the hymnody of the services in many parishes still strove to maintain a balance between a practiced choir performance
and full congregational participation.

Acknowledgment of the youth of the participants is not coincidental. The reforming ministers depended on the fact that young people were much more adept at learning to read by note and less invested in the old way of singing. As Peter Thacher noted in 1723, “[p]ersons in their Youth do learn the Art of Musick with greater ease and speed than such as are Aged; and therefore should be encouraged to learn it while they are Young; and having obtained this Gift of God...they are to be Allowed and Encouraged to Exercise it peaceably in Publick Assemblies...” The reform movement might have led to a permanent, deeply divisive impasse between laity and clergy were it not for the far-sighted policy of enlisting the next generation of churchgoers to the cause. Besides the simple fun of unreserved singing and the socializing aspects of regular mixed gender meetings in the winter, it seems likely that the sanctioned opposition to conservative elders added to the attraction of this new approach to music. As an added impetus, young folk might be guided away from the widespread circulation of secular ballads and popular songs, widely circulating in England as well as America in chapbooks, broadsides, and

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62 Peter Thacher et al. *Cases of Conscience*, Boston, 1723, 5. Five years later in Connecticut the same situation prevailed: “And as for Young Persons being so forward in the matter, a Good Account may be given: (1) They are generally more free from prejudice than Elderly people, and then besides, (2) Their present age disposes them to Mirth, and it should be a very Joyfull and Acceptable thing unto Elderly People to see them forward to improve their Mirth according to Scripture....” Nathaniel Chauncey, *Regular Singing Defended*, New London, 1728, 49.

63 “...and we would encourage all, more particularly our Young People, to accomplish themselves with Skill to *Sing the Songs of the Lord*, according to the Good Rules of Psalmody: Hoping that the consequence of it will be, that not only the Assemblies of *Zion* will *Decently* & in order carry on this Exercise of *PIETY*, but also it will be the more introduced into *private Families* and become a part of our Family-Sacrifice.” Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained*, (Boston: 1723, 2nd edition), Preface.

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In the first music reform tract, Thomas Symmes explained in 1720 another good reason why the next generation was being targeted by the reformation of singing by asking

"[w]ould not this be an innocent and profitable recreation, and would it not have a tendency to divert young people, who are most proper to learn, from learning idle, foolish, yea, pernicious songs and ballads, and banish all such trash from their minds?"

References to secular music are often oblique and inconclusive in the colonial period, but their pervasiveness can be inferred through negative commentary like Symmes’s. In 1713, Cotton Mather had recommended a solution to bawdy ballads:

"By way of Anti-dote, I would procure poetical Composures full of Piety and such as may have a Tendency to advance Truth and Goodness, to be published, and scattered into all Corners of the Land. There may be an Extract of some, from the excellent Watts’s Hymns."

The mention of Isaac Watts’s (1674-1748) *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1707) is significant, in that it presages the shift away from using only verses from the Psalms of David in dissenting worship services, long a dictum of Calvinist psalmody in England. Watts, from a long-standing

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nonconformist family, was familiar with Locke and Descartes as well as Calvin. He purportedly embarked on hymn composition around 1694-5 when, after complaining that the psalmody was the worst part of the church service, his father urged him to write his own. As Watts’s career tended towards the ministry, he came to feel that many English parishioners found the traditional English translations of the Psalms unintelligible. He therefore set about writing paraphrases of Psalms, and especially of New Testament scripture, expressly for “Souls of meaner Capacity.” Influenced by Gospel preaching, he frequently substituted references to Jehovah with Jesus and made his hymns emotional and personal with “...the Breathings of our Piety exprest according to the Variety of our Passions, our Love, our Fear, our Hope, our Desire, our Sorrow, our Wonder, and our Joy, as they are refined into Devotion....” The spiritual passion of his verse predisposed his tune selections to evangelicals first in England and then America. He corresponded with Cotton Mather, sending him a copy of the *Hymns* in 1711; Mather admired them so much that he ordered more for distribution.

The advent of the Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s did not explicitly hinder the spread of singing schools and the new musical forms of evangelical hymns and anthems. However, some colonial new lights, 67 Thus, psalms were based on close translations of the Book of Psalms where hymns were contemporaneously composed texts that may still be modelled on specific scripture but poetically depart from a strict rewording of the Bible.


70 “[T]he religious, ingenious, and sweet-spirited Isaac Watts, hath sent me the new Edition of his *Hymns*; wherein the Interest of Piety are most admirably suited. I receive them as a Recruit and a Supply sent in from Heaven for the Devotions of my family.” Mather, *Diary*, V.2, 142.

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influenced by English itinerants like Methodist John Wesley and George Whitefield, did not approve of separate choirs, as they retained the Calvinist belief in universal participation in worshipful singing. The anti-establishment overtones of the various revivals throughout the colonies attenuated the social and theological authority of the local clergy, usually Congregational in the north and Anglican in the south. Although these traditional clergymen were the original promoters of regular singing, the singing schools that instituted regularity often took on a life of their own. Weekly instruction was conducted by singing masters who, like the travelling evangelical preachers, were often itinerant as well. Fairly independent of ministers and deacons, they taught at schools, town halls, homes, or taverns. The schools appealed to a select group interested in singing for its own sake. The impetus for changes in sacred music eventually moved away from the clergy’s control, since the singing school movement usually took place outside of the church. Even as late as the 1790s, when singing schools had become a cultural institution, and in parishes that underwrote the costs of a singing school, ministers could still view them with deep suspicion that resonated with the 1720s anti-regular singers’ ninth and tenth objections (p. 19). Early in the 1790s the Rev. William Bentley of Salem, Massachusetts commented that “[t]he invectives against Singing School as corrupting Morals have been

Allan Buechner would have been more comfortable saying the Great Awakening did nothing to promote regular singing. In his recently published 1960 dissertation, he devotes an appendice to opposing the view of previous historians of church music that the revival movement was conducive to regular singing. While hard evidence is scanty and inconclusive at best, I respectfully disagree with his argument that enthusiastic singing necessarily resembled the older ‘common way’ of improvised singing. His conclusions are narrowly circumscribed by musical considerations alone and he draws solely on two sources for opinions of New Light musical practice (Charles Chauncey and Jonathan Edwards) who were Calvinist ministers deeply inimical to the evangelical individualism and populist appeal at the heart of New Light preaching.
frequent, & tho I have been witness to no remarkable effects, as the youth
take uncommon liberties on our Streets in the evening, these Schools may
contribute to the evil. While the Rev. Bentley’s concerns were
apparently somewhat ambivalent, the fears of those who suspected that
the singing schools could contribute to the taking of ‘uncommon liberties’
would have been confirmed by Yale undergraduate Simeon Baldwin’s
frank note to a friend in 1782:

    [A]t present I have no Inclination for anything, for I am almost
    sick of the World & were it not for the Hopes of going to singing-
    meeting tonight & indulging myself a little in some of the carnal
    Delights of the Flesh, such as kissing, squeezing &c. &c. I should
    willingly leave it now, before 10 o’clock & exchange it for a better.

During the 1740s, as revivals swept different sections of the colonies
and evangelists such as George Whitefield and Gilbert Tennent drew large
gatherings outside of churches, American clerics had much more to worry
about than the reformation of singing. Untrained, itinerant preachers
challenged their legitimacy, and laity often divided over the validity of
the new Gospel-based evangelism to the extent that members of
congregations frequently left to form new parishes. However, the fact
that precentor/deacons, who usually led the opposition to regular singing
and owed their positions to social standing rather than musical ability,
were able to stave off inroads by reformers for decades in some churches
speaks to a grassroots reluctance to change sacred music quickly or
radically. And this ambivalence to ‘improvements’ could prevail in
towns, like Worcester, that also hosted singing schools.

72 Rev. William Bentley, Diary, 4 Volumes, (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1962), Vol.1,
261, May 22, 1791.

73 Lowens, Music and Musicians, 282.
Once the singing schools became a fixture of New England culture, the natural inclination of choral singing instructors and students was to explore more intricate melodies and complicated harmonic effects than the traditional seventeenth-century psalm sources provided.\textsuperscript{74} By the 1750s and 1760s, singing schools had become a common feature in the northeast and mid-Atlantic colonies regardless of how regularly singing had been conducted during the Old Light/New Light controversy.\textsuperscript{75} This period marks the beginning of what, in the late twentieth century, has been called the 'golden age' of choral music in New England.\textsuperscript{76} During these two decades, the new inspirational music came from English tunebooks, but they often went through a winnowing process before appearing in American publications.

\textit{Mid-Eighteenth-Century Printed Music}

Just as the original challenge to singing orthodoxy by the reforming ministers was publicized in tracts, so too did alterations in sacred music later in the eighteenth century depend on newly published sources of music. Printed music increasingly became both an agent of reform and a source of income in the field of religious music (see Appendix C, Table C 1). However, the ministers' recommended purchases tended to alienate flinty


\textsuperscript{75} John Beale has one of the best, though understandably brief, discussions about the nebulous position of the singing controversy within the upheavals of the Great Awakening in \textit{Public Worship, Private Faith: Sacred Harp and American Folksong}, (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 16-18.

\textsuperscript{76} Since the 1950s, Alan Buechner, with Richard Crawford, Gilbert Chase, Irving Lowens and other musicologists, have labored to rehabilitate the status of American sacred music composition of the late eighteenth century.
New Englanders, who saw them as an economic burden and accused ministers of financial gain: they complained of regular singing as a "contrivance to get money." In addition, the newly composed hymns exuded a holy pathos that may have seemed strange to many. Isaac Watts's innovations were not musical per se, but strictly textual and, by implication, doctrinal. He recycled well-known melodies to allow more immediate access to the primary message of his innovations, as did many other sacred and secular lyricists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Watts was perhaps the best known among a number of English hymn composers who had begun to legitimize a shift towards innovation in singing texts, but it remained for others to initiate changes in the music itself, and it is in this arena that New England later made substantial contributions.

While the reforming Boston clergy could fulminate about the need for regular singing, and singing societies began to form singing schools, the reform movement needed teaching materials in the hands of those singing masters, or choristers, who were to instruct in the new way. The Rev. John Tufts (1689-1750), a 1708 Harvard graduate, addressed this need by publishing A Very Plain and Easy Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes some time before 1722, a twelve page pamphlet with 20 psalm tunes and four pages of instruction. Tufts' small tract served as a popular instructor for the next forty years or more, coming out in eleven

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77 Although sometimes cited as first published between 1710 and 1715, Irving Lowens maintains that the 1721 edition is the first, and possibly incomplete, version by Tufts who quickly published two slightly longer editions within the next two years. However, his only evidence appears to be the absence of newspaper advertising by Tufts' before 1721. Currently, there is no text extant before the 1726 edition, the fifth imprint since the 1721 advertised edition. Lowens, Music and Musicians, 41.
editions by 1744. This first American music imprint to include directions in singing was original in several respects. Tufts was continuing in Watts’ egalitarian spirit as his printer advertised his selection of tunes as “the most easy Method ever yet Invented,” intending that “Children, or People of the meanest Capacities, may come to Sing them by rule....” Unlike many other psalm compilations of this period, which copied nearly verbatim from established English instructors, Tufts seems to have composed his own clear and concise directions. Another innovation was Tufts’s inclusion of “100 Psalm Tune New” immediately after the 100th Psalm. Not found in any previously printed collection, the melody was presumably composed by Tufts and appears to be the first published American composition.

Another innovation was that instead of using the diamond-shaped music notation of the time, Tufts represented notes with the letters F, S, L, or M, abbreviations for a system of solmization (substituting syllables for notes) then prevalent in England. However, the English system repeated three of the four syllables twice in a given scale rather than the seven different syllables developed in the nineteenth century: “fa-so-la-fa-so-la-mi-fa” rather than “do-re-mi-fa-so-la-ti-do”. Called the ‘fasola’ system, it was a simplification of the original European solmization usually identified with Guido of d’Arezzo (c.990-1050), which used seven syllables. The principle advantage of these representative systems was that no matter which key the tune was to be sung in, the relative position of the notes in the melody were indicated by the syllable. Despite the appearance of traditional key designations with sharps or flats at the beginning of the


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tune, the key was also given aurally with a pitch pipe. Thus, the importance of deciphering precisely where notes appeared on a five line staff, and the interpretation of sharps and flats within each key, was minimized.79

As long as the melodies remained fairly simple linear progressions, like the 100th Psalm (often used today in many Protestant churches as the Doxology), the choice for which tone the twice-used lettering (F,S,L, or M) was intended was fairly obvious. Most tunes used at the time were of this closely patterned type. Nevertheless, more complicated melodies that jumped wide intervals made the choices between the duplicate syllables less clear and the fasola system was less effective than standard notation. It was, however, intended by Tufts as an aid to learning notation, not a replacement for it.80

Tufts' earliest editions (1721-23) were printed with the melody only. Editions later in 1723 had two parts, and all later editions (the 11th and last dates from 1744) had three parts. In Tufts' first editions of his instructor, the letters alone appeared on the staff and notes held longer than a single beat were signified by a period or semicolon after the letter. Later editions (5-11) of his instructor used regular notes and placed the letters beneath the staff. One can imagine Tufts refining the successive editions, enlarging the selections from sixteen to thirty-seven in the final

79 See “solfization” and “fasola” in Harvard Dictionary of Music, Willi Apel ed., Harvard University Press, Cambridge Massachusetts,1970. Apparently some of the more superstitious anti-regular singers believed the use of these syllables was “Bawdy, yea Blasphemous” (see objection six, page 19 above). An exasperated Thomas Symmes’ replied that these are the first syllables of “Mi-ra Gestorum, Sol-ve Polluti, Fa-muli Tuorum, La-bil Reatium.”

80 This is at variance with the purpose of later shape-note systems, starting in the 1790s and moving into the nineteenth century, which were intended to replace the use of conventional music notation.
seven editions, as his students improved. Tufts's choice of tunes reflected a sense of music that would stand the test of time: 18 of his 37 selections were still being used in hymnals well into the twentieth century. Finally, Tufts's fevered publishing rate (7 of the 11 editions were in the 1720's, each with alterations) also presaged the increased commodification of music through print. This was the American ancestor of later shape-note music publishing, but he was not the first to do it, even though he may have come up with it on his own in Newbury, Massachusetts. Similar printed solmization had existed in Europe for at least one hundred and fifty years. As we shall see, variations on the fasola system, intended to make music literacy more easily attainable, became something of an American tradition within the realm of folk psalmody.81

While Tufts' instructor was significant because of its innovative, didactic approach, the instructional work of another Boston reforming minister, *Grounds and Rules of Music Explained* by twenty-five-year-old Thomas Walter, was more important. It was first published in 1721 and went to six editions by 1764. Although a newspaper advertisement for the first edition claimed it was “fitted to the meanest capacities,” it did not share Tufts' inventiveness in trying to simplify music theory for singing school students. *Grounds and Rules* used conventional diamond-shaped notes, and its twenty-four psalm tunes were written in three parts from the first edition. It appears to have been targeting an already musically literate audience, perhaps the original cohort of amateur singing masters. Tufts's *Introduction* was a twenty-four page duodecimo pamphlet capable

of being stitched into a larger psalm book like the Bay Psalter, while Walter's was forty-six pages in the oblong shape that later characterized almost all singing school tunebooks. Tufts's music theory section was nine pages, introducing his letter substitution system, while Walter's theory section was twenty-four pages, all devoted to learning standard notation. Later editions of Walter's Grounds and Rules had forty-three tunes compared to Tuft's thirty-seven, but they had twenty-two tunes in common. Tufts was an unknown rural minister whose printer initially did not see fit to mention his name in advertisements, while Walter was Cotton Mather's nephew. Walter's work became the chief publication used in singing schools for the next forty years. Together, though, Tufts and Walters formed the first indigenous American publications for music education. Aside from providing instruction, both works were intended to expand the number of melodies available to congregations. Walter commented in his introduction that "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 a least mightily to lessen the relish of them."  

Until the 1760s, the singing societies still used music supplied by the Bay Psalter, Tufts' and Walter's selections, and other tune supplements meant to be appended to existing psalm books; neither Tufts' Introduction nor the Bay Psalter were published after 1744. New hymn texts that did not strictly adhere to the book of Psalms were used, either compilations of

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Isaac Watts collections or various editions of Brady and Tate's *New Version of the Psalms of David, fitted to the tunes used in churches.* As the latter's title implies, these new collections of evangelical poetry relied on existing, traditional sacred melodies. In 1755, English composer William Tan'sur (1717-1783) published *Royal Melody Compleat* (London, 1755, 1760, 1764-66) which, along with Aaron Williams (1731-1776), *Universal Psalmodist* (London, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1770), became the two most influential sources of new sacred music in the period just before the Revolution. These composers were the most popular of a small coterie of English choral musicians whose works, particularly anthems, found popularity in the colonies. Other composers in this group were William Knapp (1698/9-1768), Joseph Stephenson (1723-1810), and John Arnold (1720-1792). These composers of the English rural parish tradition introduced not only new original music but several different types of sacred compositions: anthems, set pieces, fuging tunes, and canons. The fuging tunes in particular became very popular in America, and many of the indigenous composers of sacred music used this style extensively in the late eighteenth century. The stylistic singularity that Americans associated

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86 Anthems were through-composed, multi-section pieces that could mix instrumental interludes with non-repeating choral refrains, often dedicated to special occasions or holidays. Set-pieces were through-composed settings of poetry longer than a single stanza. Fuging tunes contained passages of staggered, overlapping phrases that created harmonic effects identical to singing in rounds (i.e., Row, Row, Row Your Boat). Musicologists have used the variant spelling without the second 'u' to denote the English and American country choral style that should not be associated with the sophisticated Baroque style of fugue that used instrumental, thematic imitation. Hitchcock, *Music in America*, 16.
with these imports is implied by a 1763 diary entry by John Tileston, a singing instructor in Boston, which notes "The Tan'sur Singers at my House." As Alan Beuchner points out, grouping singing society members together in church as choirs became prevalent only after the publication of these two works. 87

English sacred music had undergone a transformation preceding that in America by a decade or two early in the eighteenth century. Thus, the American phenomenon closely reflected British music culture, and English influence transcended many of the debates over musical taste in America. Rural/urban divisions were more pronounced in England than in the United States before 1800. The Anglican cathedral (urban) style of composition, deeply infused with organs, bands of instrumentalists, and large trained choirs, was more at variance with its contemporary rural style than that in America where urbanization itself was an ongoing enterprise. John Arnold's introductory essay in his Church Music Reformed (London, 1765) is revealing:

In most Country Churches the Psalms used to be sung formerly much after the same Manner as is now used in the Churches in London...that is, the Clerk used to sing the Melodies, and the People used to follow the Clerk in singing the Psalms, till about a half-century ago, when several Books of Psalmody were printed and published, containing some very good Psalm Tunes & Anthems in four Parts; of which the people in the country soon became particularly fond, so that in a few years almost every country Church had one belonging to it; which in some places had the Distinction of the Choir of Singers, in others the Society of Singers...placed in a Gallery or Singing Pew erected for that Purpose...but within these few Years past...the Singers, being fond of Novelties, are almost continually searching after all Publications of this Kind...as their tunes mostly consist of what

87 Beuchner, Yankee Singing Schools, 41.
they call Fuges, or (more properly) Imitations... 88 

The use of the term ‘fuge’ for this type of successive choral part-singing was not a misunderstood American simulation of a Baroque fugue, but rather a technique with its own provenance. The Elizabethan madrigalist Thomas Morley gave this definition in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practical Musicke* as early as 1597: “We call a Fuge, when one part beginneth and the other singeth the same, for some number of Notes (which the first did sing).” In the seventeenth century, Christopher Simpson’s *Compendium of Practical Musick* (1667) explained this technique somewhat more clearly:

[A fuge] is some Point...consisting of 4, 5, 6, or any other number of Notes; begun by one single Part, and then seconded by a following Part, repeating the same, or such like Notes... the leading Parts still flying before those that follow.

By the mid-eighteenth century, these “flying pieces” were first tacked onto the end of older psalm-tunes as an optional choral supplement. William Tan’sur noted in his preface to *The Royal Melody* that “I have adapted Portions of the Psalms of David...with many Fuging Chorus’s, which may be omitted where Voices can’t be had to perform them according to Art.” Soon fuging passages were written into middle sections of new compositions referred to as ‘fuging psalm-tunes’ and eventually more adventurous composers would begin pieces with fuging sections. 89

A corollary innovation to the use of fuging was the introduction of sections of rapid notes, unusual syncopations, and complex


ornamentation. The widespread acceptance of these trills and melisma (multiple quick notes on single syllables) owed much to their use by English gospel preachers in the 1740s and 1750s in Britain. Methodists and their evangelical Anglican fellow-travellers introduced their own brand of music reform that later became quite influential in America. As noted earlier, they disapproved of separate choirs, and John Wesley especially disliked fugging tunes that layered different phrases concurrently, making it difficult to understand the text. At an English conference in Bristol in 1768 he complained of

complex tunes which it is impossible to sing with devotion... repeating the same word so often (but especially while another repeats different words - the horrid abuse which runs through the modern church-music) as it shocks common sense, so it necessarily brings in dead formality and has no more of religion in it than a Lancashire hornpipe.\(^9\)

However, his criticism by way of comparison to secular music was a very finely made cut since both John Wesley and his hymn-composing brother Charles followed the time-honored tradition of adapting familiar popular tunes to new evangelical hymns. From Wesley’s first hymnal, The Foundery Tune Book (1742), and Whitefield’s The Divine Musical Miscellany (1754), the proselytizers employed music derived from a variety of recognizable secular sources. One tune was based on Handel’s march Riccardo primo and another on his “See, the conquering hero comes.” Charles Wesley’s well-known “Love divine, all loves excelling” was a play on Dryden’s “Fairest isle, all isles excelling.” Methodist hymns were even set to tavern songs such as “How great is the pleasure” and “Drink to me only with thine eyes.” This open-minded approach helped make

evangelical singing an attraction for conversion. In tandem with this broad appeal was the Wesleys' active courting of converts among upper-class British society to gain financial support for their charitable projects. Utilizing familiar theater music in hymnody made their evangelical message that much more accessible to the wealthy, who were not put off by its stage provenance. In addition, the charities themselves, such as the Magdalen Hospital, Lock Hospital, the Asylum for Female Orphans, and the Foundling Hospital each issued compilations of devotional music including much of the Methodist style. Martin Madan's Lock Hospital Collection ironically became especially fashionable with American reformers of sacred music after 1800, even though they were revisionists who wanted to purge the American style of secular influences.

Perhaps the single most important musical fusion from the Methodists came from theater music in the person of John Friedrich Lampe, employed by Charles Wesley to compose music for twenty-three of his texts and for one of his brother, Samuel, for use in Hymns on the Great Festivals and Other Occasions (1746). Lampe was a German bassoonist, who played in Handel's orchestra at the King's Theater in the 1720s, and a composer of published satires and burlesques. Although his theater-song style did not appeal to John Wesley, the affirmative, uplifting mode of florid hymnody had great popular appeal and became a Methodist trademark. Its acceptance was furthered by non-evangelical Anglican clergy who adopted it to forestall inroads into their congregations by these dissenters. Even John Wesley's distaste for fusing tunes, a proscription of which remained in the Methodist charter into the 1840s, did not prevent
their extensive popularity later in the eighteenth century in New England. Thus, theater and art-music were mixing with sacred compositions in England in the mid-eighteenth century and were subsequently exported to the colonies. Around 1800, these same secular influences, now attributed to American sources, would become the focus of reforming purges in the United States.91

*The Mid-Atlantic and Southern Colonies*

The introduction of new styles of sacred music in America was not confined to New England, but was imported into mid-Atlantic and southern colonies as well. In fact, the first American publications of anthems, Methodist-influenced hymns, fuging tunes, and original compositions were Presbyterian James Lyon’s (1735-1790) *Urania* (1761) and Episcopalian Francis Hopkinson’s (1737-1791) *Collection of Psalm Tunes, with a few Anthems, and Hymns...with some Entirely New* (1763), both published in Philadelphia. Lyon’s work was a departure from previous American publications in its greatly increased size, at around 200 pages, containing ninety-six tunes. He also included six of his own compositions, three of which, significantly, were anthems.92 The new fuging technique, which was to prove so popular in America, appeared only in the English anthems of this work. The influence of Lyon’s *Urania*...


92 Lyon’s most innovative composition, a retrospective treatment of “Two Celebrated Verses by Sternhold & Hopkins”, ‘veers from duet to full chorus, exploits the antiphony of answering voices, includes some vocal flourishes that would tax any singer’s virtuosity, and divides into sections to be sung at contrasting speed.’ Stevenson, *Protestant Church Music*, 50.
was considerable in spite of its being a financial loss for Lyon. Printed by subscription, the first edition listed 141 subscribers, including individuals from Boston and Salem Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Maine. Lyon's alma mater, the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University), where he had performed a commencement ode set to music in 1759, alone bought fifty copies. The relative popularity of such a large undertaking in print indicates a previously established market for imported tunebooks with the new types of English sacred music. One of Lyon's choices for *Urania*, a psalm-tune called *Whitefield's*, was a favorite of the evangelist preacher George Whitefield and was taken from *The Divine Musical Miscellany* (London, 1754). This was an early Methodist collection, and *Whitefield's* has sometimes been attributed to Charles Wesley. Set to a hymn commonly called "Come, Thou Almighty King," the melody was also used in England as "God Save the King" and is familiar in America today as the tune for "My Country 'Tis of Thee" (America).93

References to James Lyon years later in the diary of fellow Princeton alumnus Philip Fithian, tutor to the children of Robert Carter in Virginia, shed more light on the spread of new musical forms in the south. In Cohansie, New Jersey on April 22, 1774, Fithian recorded that

I went to Mr. Hunters where I met with that great master of music, Mr. Lyon. He sung at my request, & sings with his usual softness and accuracy - He is about publishing a new Book of Tunes which are to be chiefly of his own Composition - ...I returned towards Evening but promised first to visit him again to-morrow afternoon.

April 23, 1774  At home drawing off some of Mr. Lyon's Tunes, & revising my own Exercises - Afternoon according to Appointment I visited Mr. Lyon at Mr. Hunters. He sings with great accuracy. I sung with him many of his Tunes & had much conversation on music, he is vastly fond of music and musical genius's. We spent the Evening with great satisfaction to me.

It is noteworthy that Fithian mentions Lyon’s intention to publish a book of original music, since no such book appears to have been printed. This would indicate that Lyon had been hard at work since publishing Urania, composing new music despite the previous lack of financial success. Two months later the musically adept tutor reported that in the Evening at Coffee the Colonel [Richard Lee] shew’d me a book of vocal Musick which he had just imported, it is a collection of psalm-Tunes, Hymns, & Anthems set in four parts for the Voice; He seems much taken with it & says we must learn and perform some of them in their several parts with our voices & with instruments.

Significant here is the mention that the collection was imported, not an American imprint, and the Colonel’s enthusiasm for the latest music fashion. The use of instruments with sacred music was not as problematic in predominantly Anglican southern society as it so often was in New England.94

Francis Hopkinson represents an alternative, if minority, type of musician in the American colonies. A genteel amateur musician, he was distinct from singing masters of choral music and immigrant professional musicians, like his friend and music instructor, James Bremner (?-1780), a Scottish organist who arrived in Philadelphia around 1763.95 More often


95 Sonneck, Francis Hopkinson, James Lyon, 27-29.
found in the southern colonies, individuals like Hopkins typically came from wealthy merchant or planter families and acquired their musical skill as a gentleman's accomplishment. In this they imitated their English counterparts and provided a precedent for young ladies' acquisition of keyboard playing and singing during the early national period. Hopkinson was a poet, inventor, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and first secretary of the Navy under Washington, as well as an organist, harpsichordist, and composer. His light, sentimental tune 'My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free', from a 1759 manuscript, is commonly regarded as the first authenticated American composition (Rev. Tufts' 100TH PSALM TUNE NEW is conjectural). Several manuscript music books of his survive at the Library of Congress, including one large collection of 206 pages with 109 pieces. Probably written while Hopkinson was a student at the College of Philadelphia, this book seems to have been influenced by Italian immigrant musician Giovanni Palma, from whom he probably took lessons. This notebook contains some original compositions, but consists mostly of pastoral pieces from cantatas and operas, or hymns and anthems, nearly all of European origin. Hopkinson’s Collection of Psalm Tunes of 1764 was only thirty-three pages long with thirty-seven tunes, four of which have been attributed to him. In 1788 he published a collection of eight original songs in a popular vein, which he dedicated to George Washington. Hopkinson is important, not so much for his publishing efforts, but as a well-documented example of the skilled amateur colonials, whose influence as a knowledgeable and motivated
segment of the listening public continued into the national period.96

The predominant characteristic of the florid English parish genre employed by both Lyon and Hopkinson was the use of melisma. This vocal technique was associated with Italian opera as well as British ballad opera, which enjoyed tremendous popularity in English theaters in this period. This motif found favor with many American singing masters and their students. It was introduced from varied European sources culminating in collections like those radiating from Philadelphia. The first selection in Hopkinson’s manuscript notebook is a piece of Giovanni Palma’s, “Di render mi la calma,” where Palma expends no less than thirty-nine notes on the single preposition ‘da’. Similarly, in separate treatments of Nahum Tate’s “While Shepards Watched [Their] Flocks,” now called CHRISTMAS, Lyon used sixteen notes for the syllable ‘Glo’- ry in Urania (see measures 9-11, Appendix E) and Hopkinson employed thirty-two notes for ‘trem’-ble in his manuscript notebook.97 This was a substantial break with late-seventeenth-century Puritan psalm-tune practice where melodies relied on the simplicity of slower note changes, regularly assigned to single syllables for congregations to follow easily by ear. An earlier example (see Appendix D) comes from Walter’s Grounds and Rules (1726 edition) which was still a popular source into the 1750’s and featured tunes that would have been familiar to Samuel Sewall in the 1690s. There are no words, since texts were still interchangeable, possibly with the newer hymns of Watts or Tate & Brady instead of psalms. The later example of Lyon’s


CHRISTMAS displays the frequent use of faster eighth- and sixteenth-notes and as well as the melisma on 'Glo'-ry.

The increased sophistication and complexity of the music itself made fixing texts to predictably used stanzas a prerequisite. The consistency of music and text also followed from proprietary impulses of authorship. The infusion of compositions from professional musicians connected with the British theater made the desire for name recognition an assumption on the composer's part. The traditional Puritan ambivalence, if not hostility, towards compositional acknowledgment was dissipating in the face of promotional necessities. As the market for music publication increased, the need for advertisement as well as copyright protection increased. As British subjects, American colonials were nominally safeguarded by the Copyright Law of 1710. It is indicative of the changing boundaries of intellectual property in late-eighteenth-century America that Yankee composers Andrew Law and William Billings were among the very first petitioners to Revolutionary legislatures for copyright protection.

The port of Charles Town, South Carolina, was another important center of musical activity in the southern colonies, one with its own distinct flavor. The largest city in America south of Philadelphia in 1775, Charles Town's art music was a blend of imported Anglican polish and indigenous amateur appreciation, and the city led led the American colonies in importing organs and organists. However, the city's publishing business was fitful, dedicated to newspaper and government printing, and the skillful compositions of its church keyboardists never circulated beyond aristocratic society. In 1737, Charles Theodore Pachelbel (1690-

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1750), son of the famous Baroque musician Johann Pachelbel, arrived in Charles Town from Europe, by way of Providence and New York, to play the newly installed organ at St. Philip's Anglican church. He gave concerts in New York on harpsichord and his will of 1750 itemizes a spinet and a clavichord. By 1768, St. Michael's in Charles Town had installed a two-manual Snetzler organ, maker of the largest American organ at Trinity Church in New York, and obtained the services of organist Peter Valton (c. 1740-1784) who had arrived in 1764. Valton had been deputy organist under William Boyce, James Nares, and John Keeble, respectively, at King's Chapel, Westminster Abby and St. George's Hanover Square -- all prominent venues of the urban cathedral style of musicianship in this period. He composed, gave harpsichord concerts, performed with actress Sarah Hallam, and in 1768 published Six Sonatas for Harpsichord or Organ, with Violin Obbligato. Even the rector at St. Michael's, Dr. Henry Purcell (1742-1803) was an amateur composer. By the 1770's Charles Town had two music associations, the St. Cecilia Society and the Orphaeus Society, in addition to outdoor concerts at the Orange Gardens. In many respects, Charleston had reached a point musically during the early 1770's that the larger American cities would only reach by around 1800.99

Music publishers and musicians in New England were aware of the new American collections and compositions emanating from Philadelphia. In Newburyport, Massachusetts organist, engraver, and printer Daniel Bayley (1725?-1799) played a prominent role in furthering the


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popularity of the new English styles of rural church music in New England. While no compositions of his own have survived, Bayley was a prodigious publisher of engraved books of other composers' church music. His first book, printed in Boston before he acquired his own press, was *A New and Complete Introduction to the Grounds and Rules of Music* (1764), which borrowed from both Thomas Walter's instructor and William Tan'sur's *Royal Melody*. This collection went to five editions in New England by 1768, through the hands of other publishers in addition to Bayley. His most influential tunebook, *The American Harmony*, was first published in 1767 and was simply a reprinted combination of Tan'sur's *Royal Melody* and Williams' *Universal Psalmodist*, which went to eleven editions by 1774. He included pieces adapted or composed by James Lyon that became classics in New England in later decades: "Let the Shrill Trumpets," from Tate & Brady, and Lyon's own "Two Celebrated Verses by Sternhold and Hopkins." The publishing combination of the Philadelphia and Boston-Newburyport imprints promoted the widespread popularity of the new English styles in New England, which, when coupled with the pre-revolutionary boycotts of British commodities, prompted an outpouring of American indigenous composition in the northeast in the final third of the eighteenth century.100

Later Eighteenth-Century Adaptations in American Sacred Music

As the ubiquity and success of the singing schools gradually raised awareness of the beauty of practiced multipart singing in worship

services, related musical alterations grew from this heightened aesthetic sensitivity and fueled more controversies within parishes. The insertion of choirs, musical instruments, and contemporaneously composed hymns, rather than psalms, into Congregational and Presbyterian services, were modifications of the seventeenth-century Calvinist model that had not necessarily been envisioned or endorsed by the first New England reformers. Proposals for their adoption proceeded individually and often involved negotiation and gradual shifts; their implementation could proceed slowly even after they had been voted in, as in Worcester's Congregational church.

One direct result of having a segment of the congregation trained in singing was literally making room for a separately seated choir. This began at the First Church of Boston in 1758, when it was “suggested that a number of the Brethren who were skillful singers, sitting together in some convenient place, would greatly tend to rectify our singing on the Lord's day”\textsuperscript{101}. Church and town records throughout New England record similar motions, often sanctioning carpenters to make pew alterations or special sections in the galleries above to accommodate the choir, sometimes at church expense but often at the choirs’. These events did not go unremarked, and the opponents' comments often reveal how deep the resistance to changing the worship service could be. In Wilbraham, Massachusetts, Ezra Barker noted that “Now Seats are Shifted, Some of the Males have Stretched a Wing over upon the Female Side and have intruded upon their Right, and all with this Cloak, V.Z. for the

\textsuperscript{101} Arthur B. Ellis, \textit{The History of the First Church in Boston, 1630-1880}, (Boston: Hall & Whiting, 1881), 204; Buechner, \textit{Yankee Singing School}, 91.
Convenience of Singing.” The fact that members of the choir might not actually belong to the church, and would travel from neighboring towns to parishes where they were allowed to sing together, is illustrated by Barker’s further notice that “A few, and those mainly out of the Church, Sing While the Church or the bigger part and the others are obliged Solitarily to hang their Harps upon the Willows.” Church records throughout New England show that in the late 1750s and 1760s, the question of seating the choir separately was taken up by parish after parish. Richard Crawford has compiled data for the formation of separate choirs from town records for this period, mostly in New England, as follows:

By 1750 - 2 towns  
By 1760 - 15 additional towns  
By 1770 - 31 “ “  
By 1780 - 48+ “ “

Table 1. Increase in Separate Seating for Choirs

Music reform advocates, affected by generational and doctrinal religious differences brought about by the Great Awakening of the the 1740s, generally predominated, but often only after heated opposition. The enthusiasm and virtuosity of rehearsed performances offended the sensibilities of many church members who felt excluded. Again, Ezra Barker remarked that “they so Suddenly exchanged old Tunes for New ones and introduced them into the Publick Worship and...Now Merry Tunes come in a pace, So full of Cords or Discords that Another Set of good Singers are Shut out of bearing a part in that Worship unless they will be

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at pains to learn... Often parishes allowed some hymns to be sung by the choirs, while the entire congregation sang other pieces. The question of lining-out the hymns and psalms eventually stopped being an issue since the contrast with uninterrupted, multipart singing usually made its desirability obvious. Half-way measures could often hasten the desire for change. In Warwick, Rhode Island, Rev. Lemuel Hedge described a temporary solution arrived at in 1772, where singers intoned the last notes of two parts of a tune while the deacon read the next line.

But some may say, that they should not so strongly object against the practice of singing without reading, if it was not for the continuing the Bass and the Treble between the Lines, but this is so much sound without substance, and sounds so oddly and uncouthly to them, that they cannot away with it

The advantage was that the congregation did not lose the proper pitch during the break while the deacon read the next line. Evidently this was an unsatisfactory solution, and lining-out was soon dropped altogether in this Warwick church.104

A final controversy was the question of whether instruments should be allowed in the worship service. The acquisition of organs by churches created significant controversy from the mid-eighteenth century well into the nineteenth and was aggravated by their considerable expense. However, before organs were even discussed, smaller instruments were often used experimentally in conjunction with choirs. Probably the most common was a stringed instrument that came to be known as a church


104 Lemuel Hedge, The Duty and Manner of Singing in Christian Churches, a Sermon preached at a Singing Lecture in Warwick, January 29, 1772, (Boston, 1772), 34-35.
bass. Somewhere in size between a 3/4 double bass and a cello, they were usually made locally, much like the music for which they were intended, by homespun luthiers using native woods. These were descendants of seventeenth-century psalterers, obscure 2-string viols that had accompanied the singing of psalms then for much the same reasons. Given the youth of many of the singing schools, the bass parts were usually underrepresented. William Billings, in the introduction to his *New England Psalm-Singer* (Boston, 1770), emphasized this complaint:

> In most singing Companies I ever heard, the greatest Failure was in the Bass, for let the Three upper Parts be Sung by the Best Voices upon Earth...yet without a sufficient Quantity of Bass, they are no better than a Scream, because the Bass is the Foundation, and if it be well laid, you may build upon it at Pleasure. Therefore in order to have good Music, there must be Three Bass to one of the upper Parts. So that for Instance, suppose a Company of Forty People, Twenty of them should sing the Bass, the other Twenty should be divided...into the upper Parts...six or seven of the deepest Voices should sing the Ground Bass... which if well sung together with the upper Parts, is...so exceeding Grand as to cause the Floor to tremble.

Since it was rare to have anything near that percentage of bass voices in the schools, the bass viol worked in their stead. In fact, it sometimes provided the only bass tone. Rev. Samuel Gilman, in his richly detailed, semi-fictitious account of a church choir published in 1829, describes its

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105 An example of such an instrument owned by the author has a white pine top and hard maple back, sides, and fretboard. It was made by a carriage maker in Greenfield, Massachusetts in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century who fixed his label, featuring a four-wheeled gig in profile, inside inside the back.


use, particularly as the lowest part in a fuging section:

The grand and rolling bass of Charles William’s viol, beneath which the very floor was felt to tremble, was surmounted by the strong, rich and exquisite tenor of his own matchless voice. And oh! at the turning of a fugue, when the bass moved forward first, like the opening fire of artillery, and the tenor advanced next like a corps of grenadiers, and the treble followed on with the brilliant execution of infantry, and the trumpet counter shot by the whole, with the speed of darting cavalry, and then when we all mingled in that battle of harmony and melody, and mysteriously fought our way through each verse with a well ordered perplexity, that made the audience wonder how we ever came out exactly together (which, once in a while... we failed to do) the sensations that agitated me at those moments, have rarely been equaled during the monotonous pilgrimage of my life.108

This amply illustrates the excitement that singing brought to rural young people but might also explain the intimidation of older members of the congregation by such youthful enthusiasm. Rev. William Bentley of Salem, Massachusetts gave much testimony in his extended diary to the changing practice of church music in general and the introduction of instruments in particular. Seats had been assigned for singers in the gallery of his church in 1769. In his daybook in 1795 he recorded paying 21 dollars for a Bass Viol, delivered from Boston, and the next week he paid a seamstress 1.50 dollars for a bag for the bass viol. He commented in his diary that “The fondness for Instrumental music in Churches so increases, that the inclination is not to be resisted. I have applied to Mr. Gardner to assist the Counter [alto] with his German Flute.” The following year he also wrote of bass viols leading the way for other instruments to follow: “The Violin for the first time was introduced last Sunday. We expect two

German flutes, & a Tenor-Viol [viola] in addition to our present Bass viol.” Bentley also shows that the introduction of instruments could still be controversial well into the nineteenth century. He recorded a dispute in nearby Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1813:

I learn from Mr. Gleason that G. Richards who left the Univ[salist] Ch. in Portsmouth for Philadelphia, soon engaged in a controversy with part of his charge as G. said from a dispute about the Bass Viol which he wished to introduce into the music. This was the plea & a separation [sic] ensued. G. preached for him repeatedly after he left his house of worship with his seceders.\textsuperscript{109}

\textit{Prelude to an American Style}

During the 1760s, while newly imported English styles were influencing the way American sacred music was conducted, the growing resentment of colonials towards Britain’s imperial taxation policies were beginning to raise an appreciation for indigenous productions of all sorts, including music. Boycotts and non-importation initiatives inevitably raised questions about the extent to which anything British ought to be valued. Thus, it comes as no surprise to find Josiah Flagg (1737-1794), a Boston jeweler, engraver, singing master, organist, and early concert performer, advertising his \textit{A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes} (Boston 1764) as being printed on American paper. Since all imported paper goods had recently been added to the list of taxable commodities, the use of American paper undercut the drastically lower printing costs normally enjoyed by London. Flagg apologized in his preface “for offering to the Publick, a \textit{new} Collection of Psalm Tunes, at a Time when there are

\textsuperscript{109} Bentley, \textit{Diary}, V.1, 4; V.2, 163, 175; V.4, 181.
already so many among us,” suggesting a large circulation of imported works. In 1764, the only important American collections were those of Lyon, Tufts, and Walter. For Flagg, that his new work was the first to be printed on paper produced in America was a significant promotional detail:

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\text{it is hoped, it will not diminish the Value of this Book in the Estimation of any, but may in some Degree recommend it... That however we are oblig'd to the other Side of the Atlantick chiefly, for our Tunes, the Paper on which they are printed is the Manufacture of our own Country.}
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Flagg was a friend and occasional business partner of Paul Revere, and they apparently shared patriot sentiments. A 1770 periodical printed a song entitled “A New Song, compos’d by a Son of Liberty, and sung by Mr. Flagg at Concert-Hall” and, in what must have seemed ironic even then, set to the tune of “The British Grenadier.”\(^{110}\) Revere engraved Flagg’s frontispiece, copying exactly that of Lyon’s *Urania*, and it appears from Revere’s business records that they split the £300 cost of the copper engraving. This represents a very large expense and highlights the high prices of paper and copper necessary to publish music before and during the Revolution. William Billings announced in his *New-England Psalm-Singer* (Boston, 1770) that he had delayed printing his work for eighteen months in order to use American paper “to his great Loss.” It is likely that Revere engraved only the frontispieces for works of Flagg and Billings, and not the music. Like *Urania*, Flagg’s *Collection* was very large, at 118 pieces of music. Incipient patriotism aside, Flagg’s *Collection* as well as his *Sixteen Anthems* (Boston, 1766) consisted primarily of works of English origin. He


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was the first in America to publish music in more than three parts as well as pieces from Italian opera and a work of George Friedrich Handel. He republished ONE HUNDRED NEW from Tufts as well as MORNING HYMN of Lyon’s, displaying an attention to American composition even though, it appears, he did not himself compose.111

Musicians’ awareness of, and public interest in, new American compositions was in a nascent, unpublished stage in the 1760s. As we shall see in the next chapter, several older American psalmists who published prolifically in the post-revolutionary period compiled manuscript tune-books as early as the decade before hostilities erupted.112 Daniel Bayley took pains to mention in the 1775 preface to his New Universal Harmony that “I expect I shall be able to procure some curious pieces that are productions of America by some masterly hands who have not yet permitted any of their work to be made public.” He could not be referring to William Billings since his groundbreaking The New-England Psalm-Singer, with 127 all-original pieces, had been published in 1770, a project that must have taken years to prepare. Bayley, by using “hands,” seems to be referring to multiple individuals as well.

The changing political atmosphere could also affect how some parishioners thought about imported English hymnody. Regardless of the spiritual attraction of the emotional poetry in the lyrics of Watts, the knowledge of their denominational background (Anglican) and their political sympathies could hinder their appreciation during the tax crises

111 Music, “Josiah Flagg”: 140-158; Lowens, Music and Musicians, 247; Sonneck, Early Concert-Life, 261-4, 298-9; Lambert, Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1045-56.

of the 1760s. In Dorchester, Massachusetts, Col. Samuel Pierce noted in his diary that in November, 1765 it was the “first time that we sang Tate and Brady’s spalms [sic] in Dorchester meeting. Som [sic] People much offended at the same.” While Watts and Tate & Brady were never large sellers before the Revolution, the emotionalism and sincerity of their verse had appealed to evangelists during the Great Awakening. As early as 1742, well into the Northampton revival in western Massachusetts, Rev. Jonathan Edwards returned from a trip to find his congregation had started using the hymns of Dr. Watts “and sang nothing else, and neglected the Psalms wholly.” That both hymn sources became more controversial in the decade before the Revolution speaks to the shifting political landscape surrounding their use. While their departure from the exact texts of the psalms was initially problematic for some, the emphatic loyalism of the composers to the British crown had become their most offensive quality. Watts’s and Tate & Brady’s original publications had come at a time, around the turn of the eighteenth century, when homage to the reigning British monarchs helped gain official sanction for the use of their works in the Church of England. The fact that both these publications, and especially Watts, became widely used in America only after local editions altered offending sections during and after the

113 While Isaac Watts was a minister from a dissenting background, Nahum Tate was a layman poet laureate and librettist of Purcell’s Dido and Aeneas and Nicholas Brady was an Anglican doctor of divinity as well as a playwright. Temperly, The Music of the English Parish Church, 121.


115 The problem for Edwards was not Watts per se since he “disliked not their making some use of the Hymns; but did not like their setting aside the Psalms.” Benson, The English Hymn, 163; Letter of Edwards in Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society, 2nd series, V. X, 429.

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Revolution, explains their earlier lack of appeal. In 1781 a group in Newburyport, Massachusettts led by John Mycall was convened for the project of “getting King George well out of King David’s Psalms.” Their new title for Watts is indicative of the types of changes they made throughout his texts when they referred to contemporary political authority: Watt’s original “Power and government from God alone. Apply’d to the Glorious Revolution by King William, or the Happy Accession of King George to the Throne” became “Applied to the glorious revolution in America, July 4th, 1776.” These Americanized editions went through many imprints, selling briskly into the 1820’s.

A demand for distinctly American compositions had been prepared and the Yankee tunesmiths of the last three decades of the eighteenth century intended to address this new need. Deacon Chamberlain’s tearful awakening to the new realities of psalm-singing in the 1770s, which had already been transformed in parishes all around him, seems naive and anachronistic. His myopia underscores, however, that an understanding of innovations in musical preferences over time cannot ignore the persistence of older tastes, with divisions often falling along generational lines, whose endurance helped to define precisely what had changed.

See John Beale’s discussion of Watt’s where he states that “[o]f the various objectionable features, Watt’s zealous allusions to the British sovereign and state were among the most serious. This visible feature of Watts became intolerable with the onset of the Revolution” Beale, Public Worship, Private Faith: Sacred Harp and American Folksong, (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 13.
CHAPTER II

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN MUSIC, 1770-1800

The air and movement of the tunes were exactly suited to the excited feelings of the people...even the tunes they had formerly sung began to sound tyrannical, and, consequently, with the Tea, were thrown overboard...it is not strange, when we consider the state of public feeling, that they should gladly accept and embrace the change of music...that...electrified the whole community.

(Nathaniel Gould, Church Music in America, 1853)

Beginning in the 1770s, growing public sentiment in the American colonies towards self-determination in trade was taken up by a cohort of young singers devoted to composing American sacred music. Often called the first school of American composers or the Yankee psalmists by musicologists, these singers undoubtedly had begun composing their own music in the 1760s. Publishing music was partially fueled by the absence of boycotted English paper goods; nevertheless, that necessity came with anti-imperial implications. American cultural independence, whether from the outset of their composing, or acquired as hostilities approached, was unmistakably part of the singers' agenda. Despite being heavily influenced by English nuances in psalm tune composition at first, the New England psalmists often made these musical themes their own by developing key features that soon became recognizably American.

There are two important characteristics of the new composing movement in America that both derived from its cultural context and simultaneously helped to shape it. An evolving sense of American self-identity was imbued with a spirit of anti-authoritarianism which also legitimated working-class self-fashioning. These trends found fertile
ground in colonial urban centers and Boston in particular. The traditional importance of literacy in Puritan society supported the burgeoning print market of the second half of the eighteenth century in New England, both from local presses as well as regular imports from England. The musical component of this process of American self-realization was highlighted by the regular singing controversy of the 1720’s. The full implications of this reform in music literacy had been muted and delayed by both the Great Awakening and the prolonged American involvement as Britain’s ally in King George’s War (1740-1748) and especially the Seven Year’s War (1756-1763). Victory in Canada in 1760 marked the expansion of the popularity of new English hymnody, as well as the beginning of America’s estrangement from Britain. This period was crucial to the development of an incipient nationalism in part of the population as John Adams noted in a letter to Thomas Jefferson in 1815.

[The war]...was no part of the Revolution; it was only an effect and consequence of it. The Revolution was in the minds of the people, and this was effected, from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen years before a drop of blood was shed at Lexington.

And while Adams recommended consulting the “records of the thirteen legislatures, the pamphlets, [and] newspapers...to ascertain the steps by which the public opinion was enlightened and informed”, the music of the early New England psalmodists also provide an expanded appreciation of the full gamut of cultural resources to which the patriots availed themselves.

The career of Boston tanner and singing master William Billings exemplifies the confluence of these new trends. His first publication, *The New England Psalm-Singer; or, American Chorister* ('Boston, 1770),

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containing 127 tunes all of his own composition, burst onto the market for sacred music imprints where, during the previous hundred and fifty years, only about twenty-four indigenous American pieces had been published. Raised and trained within the singing school tradition, Billings set an entirely new standard of American self-sufficiency. He exuded determination and a sense of humor that, in his later publications, seamlessly blended Congregational piety with nationalist confidence. Making light of any guidance he had received in composing, the twenty-four-year-old composer announced in his introduction that “I don’t think myself confin’d to any Rules for Composition laid down by any that went before me...I think it is best for every Composer to be his own Carver.” By the end of his career he had produced 338 pieces of music.

Nearly all of the initially unpublished psalm tune compositions by musicians other than William Billings remained unprinted until late in the war or afterwards. Daniel Read (1757-1836), Amos Bull (1744-?), and Oliver Brownson (n.d.) of Connecticut and William Billings (1746-1800), Abraham Wood 1752-1804), Timothy Swan (1758-1842), Solomon Howe (1750-1835) and Supply Belcher (1751-1836) were all of this group of composers who composed before the Revolution. Others, like prominent Andrew Law (1748-1821) from Connecticut or the obscure Oliver King (1748-?) from Massachusetts, played a key role as compilers, if not composers, of new American sacred music.”¹⁷ Law published the first printed work of five New England composers in his Select Harmony in 1779

¹⁷ Read and Wood have extant manuscript tunebooks, Swan’s manuscript records attest to his composing c.1774, and Law, Bull, Belcher, Brownson, and several others are very likely to have been composing by way of circumstantial evidence. I am indebted here to Nym Cooke’s compelling analysis of the dating of the earliest New England psalmists’ compositions before they were eventually published. Cooke, “American Psalmists,” 207-216.
and King advertised a collection to be printed by subscription in 1775, never published, whose list of subscribers included a half dozen singing masters whose work was later published elsewhere. He also included a request in the subscription advertisement for "Gentlemen employed in teaching Music or any others, [to] favour him with those Tunes and Anthems they may be acquainted with that have not been made public." Music publisher and organist Daniel Bayley of Newburyport had made a statement along similar lines the same year in promising the public "curious pieces that are the production of America." These were signs that editors of new collections of sacred music were looking for indigenous work that contrasted with British imports already in circulation.

These young men had participated in the newly popular singing schools in their youth, during the 1750s into the early 1760s, and in turn began conducting their own schools in their late teens and twenties. While some were school masters who taught all subjects regularly, most earned their livelihood as shopkeepers and tradesmen. Singing instruction and tunebook publishing were avocations that reflected their aesthetic and spiritual exuberance. Daniel Read was a combmaker and storekeeper, Timothy Swan a hatter, Abraham Wood a cloth fuller, and Supply Belcher a teacher and tavernkeeper. Andrew Law was among the few who were college educated. He became a licensed minister in 1776 but abandoned the pulpit to follow a career as one of the country's most prolific early sacred music compilers.¹¹⁸ This rural prototype of engaging in musical activities as a part-time career crystallized during this period and served

as a cultural icon well into the nineteenth century. A disapproving description by an English tourist in 1834 of American 'professors of music' describe what had become a stock village character:

The native professor is generally a nondescript sort of being, a jack of all trades, - one hour in the exercise of his profession as a music master, the next attending a sick bed as a Doctor of Medicine, - again arranging a Psalm or Hymn tune, then hurrying off to his dry-good or liquor store; or mayhap after a day's labor at boot making, plastering, or painting, he is found in the evening leading a Choir of Singers, or conducting a Vocal Concert..."119

While this description is freighted with aesthetic and class prejudice, it captures the characteristic lifestyle of the purveyors of the United States' first popular music. By depicting music as just another of the professor's trades, the observer emphasized that talented New Englanders could not support themselves by music alone, but he missed the point that, nevertheless, music represented a higher calling to these men.

Pre-Revolutionary Immigrant Professional Musicians

The New England composers of the late eighteenth century were distinct from European professional musicians (and the few of the latter who emigrated to the colonies before the Revolution) by their homogenous class and religious identification, as well as the purposes to which their musical efforts were put. Almost all the emigrant professional musicians who arrived before the war were English, middle-class, and Anglican. They diversified only within the field of music, as new arrivals did after the war, by playing organs in churches, selling sheet music, giving

lessons, repairing and selling instruments, and giving concerts. Examples would be William Selby (1738-1798) of Newport and Boston, William Tuckey (1708-1781) of New York, James Bremner (?-1780) of Philadelphia, and Peter Valton (c. 1740-1784) of Charleston.

Selby was elected to his first position as organist at St. Sepulchre in London in 1756; by 1766 he held two other posts as well. Plural appointments were not only common but fairly necessary since his salary at St Sepulchre was only £ 20 per annum. He arrived in Newport, Rhode Island in 1773, was organist at Trinity church there until 1776 and organist at King’s Chapel in Boston from 1782 until he died. An advertisement of his in the Newport Mercury offers “to instruct young gentlemen and ladies to play upon the violin, flute, harpsichord, guitar and other instruments now in use” and dancing “for young Masters and Misses” since “he had been entirely bred to these genteel professions.”

Tuckey had been vicar choral and parish clerk at Bristol Cathedral before arriving in New York in 1753. He became organist and choirmaster at Trinity Church and directed Handel’s Messiah for the first time in America in 1770, two years before its first appearance in Germany. An advertisement placed by him soon after his arrival announced instruction in “not only church music...but also in...composing

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120 Successful European musicians retained by the upper classes and aristocracy, on salary or by commission, were in a category by themselves and, until the 1790s, very few had any reason to come to America. See discussion below in Chapters 3 and 4.


musick in parts both vocal and instrumental [and] management of musick for concerts.”

Bremner came in 1763 to Philadelphia, where he was organist for St. Peters and Christ Church and advertised a music school where “young Ladies may be taught the Harpsichord or Guitar...[and] young Gentlemen may be taught the Violin, German Flute, Harpsichord or Guitar.” Amateur musician Francis Hopkinson was probably a student of his and succeeded him as organist at Christ Church.

Valton, who had the most prestigious background of this group, had been deputy organist to Dr. William Boyce (1710-1779), Dr. James Nares (1715-1783), and John Keeble (1711-1786) at King’s Chapel, Westminster Abbey, and St. George’s, Hanover Square. All of the latter were among the foremost cathedral keyboardists and composers in London at that time. Valton came to Charleston in 1764, where he was organist at St. Michael’s and St. Philip’s and advertised dealing in “good and handsome new spinets” and other music supplies. He also participated in Charleston’s active concert life, performing with talented amateurs as well as singers from travelling theatrical companies. All these newly arrived British musicians were highly trained professionals who came from fairly good positions in Anglican churches in England. It should not be surprising that they all found employment in Anglican churches in America. It is important to note, however, that whatever their influence on the standards of music performance in their respective cities in the 1760s and

early 1770s, they did not inhibit the expansion and popularity of the homegrown New England style of psalmody.125

In the absence of direct commentary by these earlier British professionals on the quality of music they found in churches of the colonies, it is fair to believe that they were not surprised by the kind of music they discovered. The new styles of sacred music, most notably fusing-tunes, that were finding favor in America during the 1760's had come from the publications of rural English parish composers whose popularity was actually declining in England.126 Thus, the emigrant Cathedral organists were familiar with this variety of sacred music from a distance and probably shared the disapproval of English composer William Tan'sur who commented in the preface of his *Royal melody compleat*:

> There are many, in this age, that assume the shape of a master, or tutor, who are so very ignorant...Many of these will also set up for composers, which neither know tune, time, nor concord: and, for all they cut so ridiculous a figure in the eyes of the learned, yet they gain proselytes luckily among the ignorant; which makes good the old saying, 'that they are clever fellows, amongst folks that know nothing.127

The performances and musical expertise of the few European immigrant musicians in the cities before the Revolution undoubtedly influenced American psalmists, whose only previous exposure to music theory would have been from instructional prefaces to imported English tunebooks. English professionals sometimes advertised their expertise explicitly, as William Tuckey did, by offering his “knowledge of a thorough

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base, and composing musick in parts both vocal and instrumental.” Early American musicologist Karl Kroeger has theorized that the stylistic scope and polish displayed in William Billings's earliest work in Boston indicates that he must have had his pieces reviewed by skilled local musicians. Even though it was likely that trained American musicians, such as organist Josiah Flagg and singing-master John Barry, helped in publishing Billings's first work, the influence of immigrant British musicians in Boston such as William Selby and singer Robert Rogerson (1722-1799) was pervasive.

*Iconoclastic Ferment of the Original New England Composers*

The Yankee tunesmiths may have been of similar backgrounds in some respects but nonetheless there were several categories among them. The greatest division among the New England musicians in the final third of the eighteenth century was location: urban or rural. This early divide helped create the basis for the confrontations twenty to thirty years later over 'correct' musical taste. With the increase in commercial activity in seacoast areas from Portland to Savannah, particularly after 1790, musicians living in proximity to more cosmopolitan seaports developed different sensibilities from those inland. This resulted in a subtle stylistic

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128 *New York Mercury*, March 11, 1754. Thorough, or through, bass was a numbered, vertical inscription appearing under regularly staffed notation which was a type of shorthand for playing improvised, left-hand bass parts on keyboards used by trained Europeans.


130 Rogerson arrived in Massachusetts sometime before 1750 and took a position as minister at Rehoboth but he made appearances in Boston so frequently to sing c.1788-90 that he may have had a home there. Webb's various singing groups performed compositions by Rogerson, Selby, and Billings. Daniel, *The Anthem in New England*, 94.
divide within the New England composers. The urban milieu of Billings and younger eastern Massachusetts psalm composers such as Samuel Holyoke (1762-1820), Jacob Kimball (1761-1826), and Oliver Holden (1765-1844) produced music that was more directly tied to their rural English predecessors like Tan'sur, Williams, Stevenson, and Knapp. Other New England tunesmiths from Connecticut, such as Daniel Read and Timothy Swan, developed a style more devoted to incorporating the device of fuging in the 1780's that became a distinctly American idiom of folk hymnody. The rural psalmists tended to have a more limited facility with harmonic structure and often restricted passages to, or resolved verse endings (cadences) with, notes grouped in octaves or fifths rather than complete chordal triads usually associated with part singing. The rural New England psalmists, with a few significant exceptions, do not appear to have owned or used keyboards as they composed. They wrote down the melody, or 'air', first and then added each harmony part all the way through, separately and linearly. Since they could not aurally proof their work until it was sung by a group of singers, the opportunity for dissonances and "incorrect" composition was much more prevalent. Without the benefit of a keyboard, or a choir at their elbow, to test their harmonies and eliminate discords, they often published work that had not been proofed.

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131 European-trained keyboardists composed using complete chord triads with occasional color tones against melodies and could check immediately for dissonance. The melody was generally in the tenor part which was the dominant range for young men and some women, with a treble harmony above for women, and counter and bass parts below the tenor for a few of the men. William Billings' singing school in Stoughton Massachusetts in 1774 recorded this distribution of parts: twenty-five men and women were tenors, eighteen women were trebles, five men were counters and five sang bass. For the psalmists practice of composition I am indebted to discussions with Nym Cooke.

been thoroughly edited. This became one of the foremost contemporary criticisms of American folk-hymnody. In addition, as musical typesetting began to replace copper engraving, printer error could be a significant problem. As Yankee compilers and composers reviewed each others' work, they frequently noted that they had made alterations and corrections, a habit that could exacerbate already prickly relationships surrounding the inclusion of each others' pieces -- with permission -- in competing collections. But sometimes what was considered harmonically incorrect in the late-eighteenth century is the unpolished, playful, or haunting quality that has earned the idiom so much respect in the last fifty years. This genre spread into upper New York, western Massachusetts, Vermont, and Maine through the efforts of scores of indigenous composers of varying ability.\textsuperscript{133}

Some of the New England composer/compilers were active in the patriot cause before the war and during the armed confrontations in the northeast from 1775-1777. Given the shortage of paper prior to the war, as well as the wartime service of some of the composers, it should not be surprising that no American tunebooks were printed between 1775 and 1778\textsuperscript{134}. Josiah Flagg was active in the Sons of Liberty in Boston, while Abraham Wood was clerk and drummer in his brother's militia company, Jacob Kimball (1761-1826) was a regimental drummer, Timothy Swan served briefly as a fifer with the American army at Cambridge, and John

\textsuperscript{133} Lowens, \textit{Music and Musicians}, 239.

Stickney (1744-1827) fought at Saratoga. Amos Doolittle (1754-1832) was attached to Benedict Arnold's unit at Concord and Lexington, of which he engraved and sold several battlefield scenes. Daniel Read was a soldier in several expeditions into Rhode Island in 1777 and 1778. Timothy Olmstead (1759-1848) was a musician in the Seventh and Ninth Connecticut Regiments at the battle of White Plains, Oliver Holden (1765-1844) served as a soldier, and Daniel Belknap's (1771-1815) father was a captain at Bunker Hill. William Billings, blind in one eye and lame, was kept from joining the army as a soldier but apparently served in some capacity as a quartermaster/wagoner outside of Boston and later in New York. Billings's printers, Benjamin Edes (1732-1803) and John Gill (1732-1785), published a patriot newspaper, the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, and participants in the Boston Tea Party were rumored to have disguised themselves in their offices. The texts of many of these composers make reference to the patriot cause, infusing the new, self-consciously American sacred music with secular and political meanings. At the same time, the music of these tunesmiths improvised, consciously or not, on the secular musical influences they obtained from their English mentors.135

*Constructing National Identity Through Sacred Music*

Earlier eighteenth-century developments in psalmody had prepared the way for the activist direction it would take during the Revolutionary period. Singing sacred music was so widely accepted by


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Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists, that, by the 1770's, it easily lent itself to commentary on the world outside of scripture. The fact that the new imported sacred music of the 1760's embraced secular influences in the music itself through Methodist appropriation of popular ballad songs, as well as vocal ornamentation from British music theater, made it that much more accessible to a wider audience. To the extent that resistance to British commercial exploitation partook of an ethical rejection of perceived corruption in the imperial bureaucracy, as well as unprincipled behavior by English troops, American religious music was the ideal popular artistic format for voicing rebellion within a moralizing frame of reference.

It is traditional to begin discussions of late eighteenth-century American psalmody with William Billings, and there are very good reasons for doing so. None of the New England composers captured better than Billings the range of imagery that these turbulent years impressed upon the collective musical imagination. Only a few early American composers attempted to write anthems, the most complicated and challenging pieces, both musically and textually. Of the two hundred odd anthems written in America by 1810, which represent only about 2 1/2% of all sacred compositions, Billings is responsible for nearly fifty. Part of the challenge of composing anthems was their sheer length, with the expectation of sectional variation and key modulation, but fitting texts to these long pieces that could sustain metrical and devotional integrity was just as demanding. While Billings's music was firmly anchored in the new elaborate English psalmody of the 1760s, his treatment of texts was truly

groundbreaking. Some English psalm composers, such as William Tan'sur, made small emendations to scriptural passages, often simple paraphrases to render the meaning more accessible to modern readers. When Billings composed his own verse, however, he wrote into his texts completely new meanings that only faintly echoed familiar psalm passages. He validated textual improvisation for other contemporary psalmodists and legitimated his proto-nationalist paraphrasing through the use of Biblical analogy. To an older audience this would certainly have been sacrilegious, but Billings seemed assured that most of his contemporaries would be impressed and stimulated by intertwining colonial independence with scripture. Of course, whether Billings was aware of it or not, there was ample precedent in Enlightenment literary ethos, inherited from Renaissance philological adaptation, that made the Bible fair game for decorating and authorizing contemporary political agendas.

Billings's career, his music, and especially his texts provide a new perspective on early national public consciousness. Examining the culture of evolving nationalist awareness, Benedict Anderson has posited that the wide acceptance of the vernacularization of language is a precondition for a national consciousness. This is accomplished through expanded access to the print-market and he is careful to include popular and folk music as critical accessory commodities.\(^{137}\) The intricate weave between sacred and secular in Billings' music provides an important window on understanding

\(^{137}\) Benedict Anderson, "Old Languages, New Models" *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, (New York & London: Verso, 1991, 75. In addressing the period of Eastern European nationalism in the second half of the nineteenth century, he points out that "composers did not carry on their revolutionary activities in a vacuum. They were, after all, producers for the print-market, and they were linked, via that silent bazaar, to consuming publics."
early national self-imagining. Even Paul Revere’s frontispiece to *The New-England Psalm Singer* portrays men singing, not in church, but in a private setting that implies joy in singing for its own sake.

Unlike any of his predecessors, Billings wrote or chose verse that was contemporary to such an extent that it reveals a progression from loyal British subject to rebellion, through fighting for victory to nascent nation-building. In *The New-England Psalm Singer*, a tune ironically named *LIBERTY* proclaimed ardent loyalty in what must have been an early piece reflecting the satisfaction of imperial victory after 1763:

> God Bless our gracious King And all his royal race; Preserve the queen and grant that they May live before thy face.

In a fuging tune attributed to Billings called *EUROPE*, probably written in the later 1760’s, discord is acknowledged but the composer urges hopeful reconciliation with Britain:

> Let Whig and Tory all subside, And Politicks be dumb; A nobler Theme inspires our Muse, And trills upon our Tongue. O praise the Lord with one Consent, And in this grand Design, Let Britain and her Colonies Unanimously join.

At the same time, in a Billings piece entitled *AMERICA*, faint traces of praise appear for unity of purpose and safe haven, if not independence, in words attributed to future Tory Dr. Mather Byles.

> To Thee the tuneful Anthem soars, To Thee, our Father’s God and ours; this wilderness we chose our Seat: To Rights secur’d by Equal Laws, From Persecution’s iron Claws, We here have sought our calm Retreat. ...Here Liberty erects her Throne; Here Plenty pours her Treasures down; Peace smiles, as Heav’nly Cherubs mild.\(^{138}\)

\(^{138}\) Rev. Mather Byles, Sr. (1707-1788) contributed several texts for Billings music in the *New-England Psalm Singer* including those for the canon in the circular staff in the frontispiece as well as the text to *HOLLIS STREET*. He appears to have been a friend of Billings in spite of Byles’s loyalism and was Billings’ minister when the composer joined the Hollis Street Church.
It is worth noting that even a loyalist could write verse that points to a strain of American exceptionalism, prevalent in some colonial literary circles, called the *translatio studii* or *translatio imperii*. This was the venerated belief anchored in Greek and Roman classicism that the locus of western civilization travelled, like the sun, from east to west, from Greece to Rome. It was considered self-evident that this place was now held by Great Britain, but many literate colonials believed not only that America was the next stop, but also that its removal was overdue. The victory over the French in Canada in 1760 had prompted Ezra Stiles to declare in a thanks-giving sermon in Newport Rhode Island that

> this Land may be renowned for Science and Arts...Not only science, but the elegant Arts are introducing apace...and in a few years we shall have...Painting, Sculpture, Statuary, but first of all the greek Architecture in considerable Perfection among us.\(^9\)

It is ironic that the muse he overlooked, music, would actually be the field in which the new nation first fashioned its most distinctive contribution to the arts.

By 1770 the *translatio* theme had acquired a strongly anti-British component that reinforced the moral imperative to resist English cultural commodities and accentuated America's latent superiority. Painter John Trumbull closed his Master of Arts "Essay on the Use and Advantages of the Fine Arts" at Yale in that year with a poem "Prospect of the Future Glory of America":

> In mighty pomp America shall rise;  
> Her glories spreading to the boundless skies;

Of ev'ry fair, she boasts the assembled charms;
The Queen of Empires and the Nurse of Arms.

See bolder Genius quit the narrow shore,
And unknown realms of science, dare t' explore;

Hiding in brightness of superior day
The fainting gleam of Britain's setting ray.

Benjamin Franklin's irritation with the delay of the *translatio* was evident in his comments in a letter to England in 1763:

> Why should that petty Island, which compar'd to America is but like a stepping Stone in a Brook, scarce enough of it above Water to keep one's Shoes dry...enjoy in almost every Neighbourhood, more sensible, virtuous and elegant Minds, than we can collect in ranging 100 Leagues of our vast Forests?...'Tis said the Arts delight to travel Westward.\(^\text{140}\)

But Franklin's impatience is really directed at American intellectual liabilities, a sentiment that also became a widespread cultural theme in the early national period. However, progress was later perceived to have been accomplished. By the end of the Napoleonic era, with much of Europe ravaged from years of warfare, even British observers would pick up on the theme. John Lambert, an English tourist in the early Republic, connected growing American refinement with cultural presumption:

> The Americans, no doubt, flatter themselves that, as improvement has been travelling westward since the beginning of the world, their quarter of the globe will prove to be the phoenix that shall rise out of the ashes of European luxury and refinement; that it shall survive the wreck of

\(^{140}\) Letter to Mary Stevenson, March 25, 1763, from Philadelphia, in Leonard W. Labaree ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966), 231-3. Franklin used this final phrase again in a letter to Charles Wilson Peale, July 4, 1771. In the earlier letter Franklin asks that an included manuscript recitativo by a young friend, probably Francis Hopkinson, be given to Mr. Stanley, the accomplished blind organist at London's Temple Church, for him to add a part in the bass. Franklin further comments that "you will say that a Recitativo can be but a poor Specimen of our Music. 'Tis the best and all I have at present but you may see better hereafter." John Stanley was the organist, often confused with Handel, who had played and approved the organ which was sent to King's Chapel in Boston in 1756. Barbara Owen, *The Organ in New England*, (Raleigh, North Carolina: The Sunbury Press, 1979), 12-13.

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nations, and reign in future ages mistress of the world. 

All of these commentators were undoubtedly influenced by Anglican George Berkeley’s 1726 “Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America”, composed two years before he actually emigrated to Rhode Island. These lines were widely reproduced by the colonial press during the 1760’s and reflected rising American cultural self-confidence:

There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes its sway;
The first four acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time’s noblest offspring is the last.

The imagery of Trumbull and Berkeley both conflate superiority of arms and supremacy in the arts, a fusion amplified by other American commentators as warfare approached in the mid-1770’s. British-Americans were used to assuming that military might automatically subsumed preeminence in the fine arts. While these verses remain steeped in classicism, the key ingredient added to this expectant national genius by some influential New England ministers and many of the tradesmen-psalmodists, was an inherent confidence in America’s moral superiority through its inculcation of Christian virtues - a superiority they expressed

in music.142

A Revolution in Music

The independent streak in some of Billings’ 1770 texts became overt paeans to victory by the time he published The Singing Master’s Assistant in 1778. Nothing illustrates this more than his new lyrics for CHESTER, a fight song more popular than Yankee Doodle with American troops. Billings’s 1770 text in the New-England Psalm Singer contained just one verse:

Let tyrants shake their iron rod, And Slav’ry clank her galling chains,
We fear them not, we trust in God, New-England’s God for ever reigns.

Eight years later and many battles into the war, the composer had added these more specific lines:

Howe and Burgoyne and Clinton too, With Prescott and Cornwallis join’d
Together plot our Overthrow, In one infernal league combin’d.

When God inspir’d us for the fight, Their ranks were broke, their lines were forc’d,
Their Ships were Shatter’d in our sight, Or swiftly driven from our Coast.

The foe comes on with haughty stride; Our troops advance with martial noise,
Their Vet’rans flee before our Youth, And Gen’rals yield to beardless Boys.

What grateful Off’ring shall we bring? What shall we render to the Lord?

142 I am indebted to Joseph Ellis’ discussion of American uses of the translatio studii in his chapter “Premonitions and Paradoxes in the Revolutionary Era” in After the Revolution: Profiles of Early American Culture, (New York/London, W.W. Norton & Co., 1979). He does not consider, however, the powerful Christian message of moral superiority that helped fuel the cultural expectations of many Americans.
Loud Halleluiahs let us Sing, And praise his name on ev'ry Chord.

Many of Billings's texts are from Isaac Watts or Universalist James Relly (c.1722-1778), but his own paraphrasing of psalms went even farther afield than these hymnodists by introducing overtly secular, patriotic themes. His anthem, with fusing sections, LAMENTATION OVER BOSTON: BY THE RIVERS OF WATERTOWN, based on the 137th Psalm, has this text:

By the rivers of Watertown we sat down and wept, when we remember'd thee, O Boston
Lord God of Heaven, preserve them, defend them, deliver and restore them unto us again
For they that held them in bondage requir'd of them to take up Arms against their Brethren.
Forbid it, Lord God, forbid that those who have sucked Bostonian Breasts should thirst for American Blood.

A voice was heard in Roxbury which echo'd thro' the Continent, weeping for Boston because of their Danger
Is Boston my dear Town, is it my native Place? For since their Calamity I do earnestly remember it still.

Many who read the Bible intensively would automatically have connected this analogy to the original:

By the waters of Babylon, there we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion.
On the willows there we hung up our lyres.
For there our captors required of us songs, and our tormentors, mirth, saying, "Sing us one of the songs of Zion!"

A voice on the bare heights is heard, the weeping and pleading of Israel's sons, because they have perverted their way, they have forgotten the Lord their God.

Is Ephraim my dear son? Is he my darling child?
For as often as I speak against him, I do remember him still.143

Billings’s anthem RETROSPECT from the same tunebook has words that connote the immediacy of a participant in the Saratoga campaign of 1777 (Appendix F, Example 1). As with LAMENT OVER BOSTON, the strikingly contemporary descriptions of action all have a parodic relationship to scriptural passages from Jeremiah, Psalms, Isaiah, Luke and Revelation. The sheer length of the text illustrates the challenge to the composer in sustaining a coherent symbiosis with the music. Many of the stanza endings are repeated in refrains that stretch this anthem to over eight pages, whereas ordinary psalm tunes often fit two to a page.

Billings’s treatment of text was more groundbreaking than his music. His publication of an all-original psalmbook and skill over a variety of hymnody styles was a trend-setting accomplishment in the colonies in 1770 and inspired many of his fellow singing masters. However, his musical styling remained derivative of his favorite English composers. His love of fuging reflects its popularity in England and its prevalence in imported psalm books. On the other hand, his innovative paraphrasing of scripture emphasized a secular political allegiance that remained grounded in Christian rhetorical motifs. For a working-class tanner with a modest education to have accomplished this, and garnered wide respect and imitation rather than being censured for blasphemy, is emblematic of the democratizing current that ran through the social re-ordering taking place during the Revolutionary years.144

The historian of American religion Nathan O. Hatch has understood the significance for wider cultural trends of these radical changes in sacred

144 In spite of war time unity in patriotism, the New England psalmists were later split by party issues in the years of the early Republic.
American Protestantism was fracturing from 1770-1820 as Methodists, Baptists, and other sects rapidly gained rural adherents who validated a vernacular, improvised religious experience. The preponderance of New England composers were Congregationalists, but their innovative lead was soon taken up by other, more populist denominations. After 1800, Separatist Baptists like Joshua Smith of New Hampshire and Elias Smith of Vermont began publishing their own distinctive hymnody, emphasizing message rather than music. They continued the tradition of utilizing familiar ballad tunes and sea chanties to ease departures from scriptural verse. Originally hoping to break down the barriers imposed on them by more traditional denominations, these early Baptists expressed their frustration at the failure of ecumenicalism through their music, as Elias Smith did in THE CHRISTIAN UNION:

More than ten years have roll’d away, since I did testify and say,
Aside all party names I’ ll lay, and make the name of Christ my stay,
And join in Christian Union.

And at that time I did not know, one on this earthly hall below,
That thus with me would join and go, I ask’d some brethren, they said No, we can’t join such Union.

My name is dear, said brother P; [Presbyterian]
And so is mine said brother C; [Congregationalist]
Then loud spake out my brother B; [Baptist]
My name’s the dearest of the three, away with such a Union.

Mormon, Adventist, and Methodist revival meetings also came to encourage new experiments with spirituality that emphasized colloquial singing. The Methodist and Baptist inclusion of black members and the formation of the American Methodist Church introduced a whole range of influences from the enslaved and free African-American population. After
the Europeanists' partial reform of the New England compositional style in the urban east, it was these non-Congregationalist sects that continued the rural tradition of vernacular hymnody well into the nineteenth century in the new western territories. Earlier northeastern favorites enjoyed a prolonged half-life as they shared hymnal space with the newer evangelical tunes of the Second Great Awakening.\footnote{Hatch has argued, along with print historians Richard D. Brown and William Gilmore, that "the reordering of preaching and print communications at the opening of the nineteenth century is related to a more fundamental reality - a complex process of democratization...[t]he hymnodic revolution that swept through America during this period underscores this underlying ferment." Nathan O. Hatch, The Democratization of American Christianity, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 146-161. However, Hatch has used the dated periodization of George Pullen Jackson's work from 1943 in placing this "oral phenomenon" at the turn of the nineteenth century when more recent research has moved the start of a vernacularizing movement to before the Revolution. By the turn of the nineteenth century the New England psalm style had fallen into wide disfavor in urban areas despite its continued, but sometimes contested, popularity in rural America. In addition, the use of "orality" as a meaningful analytic tool has undergone reevaluation in recent years in both the fields of folk musicology and the history of reading. American sacred music, along with popular ballad traditions, has always been more intimately connected with manuscript and print than has been previously recognized. For music revision, see Daniel Cohen "Martha Buck's Copybook: New England Tragedy Verse and the Scribal Lineage of the American Ballad Tradition", Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. 114, part 1, Worcester, Massachusetts, 2005; for a circumscribed definition of orality in connection with literacy, see Richard Cullen Rath, "Conclusion: Worlds Chanted into Being", in How Early America Sounded, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 173-184.}

Other New England Psalmodist Composers

William Billings's influence on the development of indigenous American music extended far beyond his own example. He is known to have conducted singing schools in Boston in 1769, Weymouth in 1771, Stoughton and Providence in 1774, and Dover and Needham in the late 1790's. Other composers who did, or were likely to have, come in contact with him are Supply Belcher, Jacob French, Daniel Read, Solomon Howe, Abraham Wood, Andrew Law, and Timothy Swan. For some singing-master/composers such as Howe, Belcher, French, and Swan, there is
documentary evidence of direct communication between them and Billings. For others there is circumstantial evidence; they lived in proximity to Billings and there are strong parallels between some of their individual tunes and pieces published previously by Billings. A few of these younger composers, particularly some located in Connecticut and the Connecticut River Valley, such as Daniel Read and Timothy Swan, would establish their own music style, which became more recognizable and emblematic of the period than even Billings. These composers in turn influenced other rural composers in the same imitational mode, and through the same print and/or manuscript media, that they had originally received from the Boston tanner.¹⁴⁶

The texts for the occasional secular and patriotic pieces of these other New England tunesmiths, like those of Billings, demonstrate the ubiquity of his sentiments. Since many of these young singers participated in the war for independence, they too were inspired to write about what were probably the most impressive events of their lives. Abraham Wood began composing early in the war with tunes like WARREN, from his manuscript tunebook dated “1775”, memorializing Dr. Joseph Warren, killed at Bunker Hill, and EFFINGHAM:

Some trust in Horses train’d for War, And some of Chariots make their Boasts;  
Our surest Expectations are From Thee, the Lord of heav’nly Hosts.  

O may the Memory of thy Name Inspire our Armies for the Fight! Our Foes shall fall and die with Shame, Or quit the Field with shameful Flight.

¹⁴⁶ Nym Cooke’s research points out these many connections between specific compositions, which did not require physical proximity after Billings’ publication of The New-England Psalm Singer (1770), The Singing-Master’s Assistant (1778), Music in Miniature (1779), The Psalm-Singer’s Amusement (1781), The Suffolk Harmony (1786) and The Continental Harmony (1794). Cooke, “American Psalmists,” 238-481.
and his tune LEXINGTON

For lo! the tumults of thy Foes O’er all the Land are spread;
And they, which hate thy Saints and Thee, Lift up their threat’ning Head.

and BUNKER HILL

We are expos’d all Day to die As Martyr for thy Cause,
As Sheep for Slaughter bound we lie By sharp and bloody Laws.

As with Billings’s use of text, Wood closely associates the preeminence of the patriot cause with a Christian devotion deeper than that of the British.

Another well-known psalmist, who composed similarly stirring lines associated with specific battles, was Connecticut psalmist Daniel Read. Read may have participated in the singing school that Billings conducted in Providence in 1774. His manuscript tune book, never published but with the date “1774” inscribed, contains BENNINGTON with these phrases taken from the 124th Psalm:

Had not the Lord, may Israel say, When men to make our lives a prey
Had not the Lord maintain’d our side, Rose like the Swelling of the tide

Other texts, as with Billings’ works, break free from Biblical verse, as Read used in his second line of TRENTON:

Sing to the Lord with joyful voice, let ev’ry land his name adore,
Across the Ocean to the Shore, the Brittish Isles Shall Send the noise

From a non-Biblical text in a fuging-tune called CAPTORUM, one wonders if perhaps Read had spent time as a prisoner of war:

I am not Concerned to know what tomorrow’s fate Will Do

tis enough that I can say I've possest myself today

It is not clear how many of the large number of psalms, hymns, and anthems were composed by Read. His tune NEW ENGLAND has the first stanza of Billings's CHESTER as text, although an entirely different melody. This underscores Read's attention to Billings as early as the mid-1770s, as well as the importance of the text of CHESTER. Many pieces are so short, in music as well as verse, that it may have been a notebook, albeit a fair copy, meant to be returned to for refinement.

This characteristic manuscript neatness points to the strongly suggests that Read used rough music drafts to work out the harmonic dimensions of his many pieces, probably like the extant sheets of manuscript drafts, with sections crossed out, in the papers of Timothy Swan. This argues against the case for folk hymnody as an “oral tradition”, at least after 1760 and especially by the 1780’s, which posits that music would have been composed and communicated without recourse to paper. Composing in three or four parts required that the music be written down in order for the psalmodist to visually order the parts on the staff. In addition, the music was complicated enough to make singing schools and a profusion of tunebooks essential for performance by a large group of parishioners. Documentary evidence in many surviving diaries, journals, hymnals, and almanacs suggest that many sacred texts were preserved and/or communicated in manuscript. The special hymn at the back of Ebenezer Martin's 1796 almanac from Chocanut, New York, is illustrative (see Appendix F, Example 2). A brief note at the end of the introduction to Billings's New-England Psalm Singer advertised “musick

148 Timothy Swan Papers, Box 11, AAS.
pens for drawing the 5 lines at once, made & sold by Josiah Flagg at his Shop," an indication of how the eighteenth-century music business made manuscript composition easily accessible. Finally, twenty-one-year-old Boston singer society member Nathaniel Webb (1767-1853) recorded in his diary the following method for disseminating a tune with which he was already familiar:

Friday Jan 30th - sent the following billet to Mr William Stow
Hatter Sir, Will you be so kind as to favour me with your singing book which contains the Tenor of Devotion, while I can take it off for a friend, and oblige Your humble servant, NW
Sunday Feb 1st - borrowed Mr Wm Stows Singing Book

Wednesday 4th - went to Mr Pico's & deliver'd two tunes which by desire I pricked for Mr Pico - viz. Devotion & Paris149

Webb was an able singer and most likely as qualified as anyone to communicate a tune by ear, if he had so desired. Whether Mr. Stow's singing book was in manuscript or print is irrelevant; the significance was the mode of transferance. The fact that the desired music was specifically the tenor part (which does not preclude Webb from having copied all parts) corroborates that the relative complexity of the music was a recognized factor.150

*149 Nathaniel Webb, manuscript diary, four volumes, Massachusetts Historical Society; "to prick" is to write out musical notation, O.E.D.

Other composer/compilers issued early nationalist music late in the war or afterwards. Andrew Law published his own BUNKER HILL, using a poem by Nathaniel Miles and set to music possibly not self-composed, but it is certainly an example of patriotic exhortation:

Why should vain mortals tremble at the sight of Death and destruction in the field of battle,
Where blood and carnage clothe the ground in crimson, sounding with death groans.
Life, for my country and the cause of freedom, Is but a trifle for a worm to part with;
And if preserved in so great a contest, Life is redoubled.\(^{151}\)

In 1793, Law published new words to the music of BALTIMORE. His lyrics may have been inspired by the recent events of the French Revolution:

An Ode to Freedom
Behold a glorious theme Awakes the tuneful voice!
Triumphant Freedom swells the strain, And bids the world rejoice.
She speaks, and light divine Resistless wings its way,
While desp' rate kings in concert join, To blast the spreading day.
But all their rage must die, for Freedom's reign's begun;
And lords and despots, trembling, fly Before this glorious sun.

Timothy Swan's manuscript music includes a hymn to INDEPENDENCE:

Hail Independence, hail bright goddess of ye skies,
Behold thy sons unite Behold their altar rise,
Lo freeborn millions kneel & swear their birthright to maintain,
Behold [[]] no foreign yoke to bear to drag no tyrant chain
Tis freedom's day let millions rise to freedoms standard fly,
Obey New England's call, Unite live free or die\(^{152}\)

While there are more of these scattered patriotic hymn tunes with secular overtones, the preponderance of texts were of unalloyed gospel and evangelical themes. However, the spontaneous emergence of this first


\(^{152}\) Timothy Swan Papers, Box 11, AAS.
truly American music with a nationalist appeal captured the mood of the
time in a unique way that communicates zeal for causes both spiritual and
political. It is significant that the last three examples are not explicitly
sacred beyond their appearing alongside other hymns.

The new indigenous music was radically different from that of the
colonial experience, and the end of hostilities with Britain in the early
1780s triggered a music publishing boom. Appendix G shows the
dramatic increase in indigenously composed pieces which began in the
mid-1780s and continued through the next decade. Boston music
publisher William Cooper, in his 1804 preface to The Beauties of Church
Music, admitted that he “…did as much as lay in his power, to produce
this…revolution in music” although he wrote this as he was atoning for
having done so. Rev. Nathaniel Gould (1781-1864) of Massachusetts was
a singing-school student in the 1790s and later a conservative music
reformer and publisher whose musical opinion of the Revolutionary era
was that “the thirty years referred to was a dark age.” He also observed
that:

the air and movement of the tunes were exactly suited to the
excited feelings of the people...even the tunes they had formerly
sung began to sound tyrannical, and, consequently, with the Tea,
were thrown overboard...it is not strange, when we consider the
state of public feeling, that they should gladly accept and embrace
the change of music...that...electrified the whole community**

The percentage of American compositions in all publications went
from less than 5% in 1770 to nearly 70% in 1800. At the same time, the
total number of tunes printed increased by a factor of ten during the same

** Nathaniel Gould, Church Music in America, (Boston:1853, reprinted AMS Press, New York,
1972), 58, 41-2.
period, from approximately 1460 to 1577. The style, particularly American fuging, which constituted around a quarter of all published pieces, became widely popular with nearly eighty composers or compilers publishing scores of oblong tune books that sometimes went to multiple editions. By 1794 Billings would write in the preface of his final tune book, The Continental Harmony, that:

> [t]here is more variety in one piece of fuging music than in twenty pieces of plain song...The audience are most luxuriously entertained, and exceedingly delighted; in the mean time, their minds are surprisingly agitated, and extremely fluctuated.... Now the solemn bass demands their attention, now the manly tenor, now the lofty counter, now the volatile treble, now here, now there now here again - O enchanting! [sic] O ecstatic! Push on, push on ye sons of harmony.

This ecstasy in singing was matched by the sentiments of many of the singing school students. Nathaniel Webb, the young school teacher in Boston’s North End, was at one point participating in three different singing societies. He appears to have been a good singer since he was sought out for two of these groups, and he apparently enjoyed himself thoroughly, capitalizing in his diary in very large letters:

> July 6th, 1789 myself & others met at Mr Bingham's school for the purpose of SINGING
> Tues, 7th this Evening went to SINGING...Mr Selby paid us a small visit this Evening
> Thurs July 22, 1790 in the evening on Mr Dana & had a good deal of pleasure in singing till 11 at n[igh]t

Similarly, Moses Cheney, reminiscing in the 1840s about his youthful singing school days in the 1790s, displayed an enthusiasm that may have

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155 Webb, Diary, MHS.
been amplified by the isolation of rural farming:

A School! A Singing School!! O those words! Every other word vanished at the sound...A little boy at twelve years of age, growing up in the shade of the deep and condensed forests of the mountains of N.H...Singing tunes by note! O, that winter's work! The foundation of many happy days for more than fifty years past.166

These sources mark the scope of the schools and their music, from downtown Boston to the deep woods of remote settlements, emphasizing that this was a popular music that to some extent transcended rural/urban cultural distinctions. The difference, by the end of the 1790s, lay in the relative proximity to cities, which were at the nexus of instrumental composition, publishing possibilities, imported music influences, and financial opportunities. Moses Cheney worked with a nameless singing master throughout his teenage years during winter months, while Nathaniel Webb sang year-round in several choral groups in different communities with some of New England's foremost singing masters and musicians: native psalmists Jacob Kimball and Oliver Holden, publisher William Cooper, and English immigrants William Selby (composer/organist), and Dr. Robert Rogerson (composer/instrumentalist/soloist).167 He also attended a benefit oratorio at the Stone Chapel in 1790, featuring anthems composed and played by Selby, that was to help a poverty-stricken William Billings eventually publish his last tune book, The Continental Harmony (1794). Webb's diary also emphasizes the range of venues where choral singing, however simplified, was carried out in


167 These choral groups were the New North Singing Society, The Independent Music Society, and the Charlestown singing school where "they have a bass viol & tenor (viola)". He also travelled to Cambridge to participate in the chorus for Harvard commencement.
everyday life. He met different groups of friends to sing at taverns, private homes, and college commencement exercises in addition to the weekly sabbath.

One of Webb's diary entries in particular conveys how pervasive music could be in late eighteenth-century New England and gives the flavor of a performance on Christmas Day, 1789.

Thursday 25 - Christmas went to church in the morning - assisted in the singing the following vizt. 1st Worcester 2d Milford 3rd Sherburne all common meter - finished with an anthem composed by Mr. William Selby - O be joyful in the Lord etc. Afternoon Service began at 4 o'clock in the afternoon - a more numerous concourse of people never made their appearance in that house at once I dare venture to suppose - Galleries, broad aisles, pews & all ---full - the church was brilliantly lighten - the broad Isle was so full the sexton could not do his office in the lighting of the candles, therefore those who were situated underneath the candlestick hanging lit the candles by holding up a man on anothers shoulder while he placed a light to those in the sconces & gave them fir [sic] - which novelty caused some mirth which was manifested by laughter notwithstanding the indecency of such conduct...there was no prayers read or said this afternoon but some favourite pieces of Musick were performed by a number of both vocal & instrumental performers - tho' I think no Instruments were heard except the Organ Mr Ray sung Handells Messiah Mr Selby's anthem Behold God is my Salvation...about 6 in the evening went to...Mr Savages where I spent the evening very agreeably - had a dance - 12 ladies and five gentlemen - a sort of a family kick up - had good cheer offered us - Nuts & raisons [sic] for the Ladies - Punch & Wine

This range of activity could just as easily have taken place in the country, and although no music is mentioned in connection with dancing, elsewhere Webb mentions fiddlers at these small, impromptu gatherings. Webb's comment that no instruments could be heard over the organ informs our understanding of the debate within the sacred music
reformation that occurred after the turn of the nineteenth century. Those who defended the unique American choral practice of the Revolutionary years against the Europeanizing reformers claimed that the use of the organ to maintain control in congregational singing obliterated all other intrumental and vocal subtlety.

Public Purposes, Private Resources

While the ultimate performance of this music was oral and public, the origin of these tunes was scribal and private. Though the nationalist rhetoric of some of these psalm tunes was clearly aimed at a public discourse, the sources of many texts reveal deeply personal perspectives. These emotional texts were the legacy of Isaac Watts, Charles and John Wesley, and the evangelical style of hymnody which came to have great appeal throughout early America. One particularly beautiful example from Justin Morgan (1747-1798), AMANDA, written after the death of his wife, reveals his despair through his choice of texts from Psalm 90 and Isaac Watts:

Death like an overflowing stream,
Sweeps us away; our life's a dream,
An empty tale, a morning flow'r,
Cut down and wither'd in an hour.

Teach us, O Lord, how frail is man;
And kindly lengthen out our span,
Till a wise care of piety
Fit us to die and dwell with thee.

Some composers experimented with tunes that were humorous rather than spiritual. Timothy Swan's manuscript music includes a piece entitled "The Whining Lover":

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Woman thoughtless giddey creature; banging Idle flutt’ring thing most fantastick work of Nature; still like fancy on the wing
Slave to ev’ry changing passion Loving hating in extrem
Fond of ev’ry foolish fashion and at best a pleasing dream
Lovely trifle dear Illusion; conquer’ring weakness wish’d for pain
Man’s chief glory and confusion of all vanities most vain
thus dividing beautie’s powere We will call it all a Cheat
But in less than half an hour Kneel’d and whin’d at Celia’s feet

Billings included in his Psalm-Singer’s Amusement (1781) an intriguing fugging tune called MODERN MUSIC (see Appendix F, Example 3) with text that eulogizes the music itself. This piece was not intended to be played in church and served as a demonstration of the choir’s proficiency at the end of a singing-school term. MODERN MUSIC brims with youthful enthusiasm for trained singing that easily moved away from solemn sacred music. Nonetheless, this excitement seeped into many hymns that were intended as solemn praises of God. It was this insouciant, free-wheeling treatment of spiritual music that became so objectionable as the style gained wide popularity. MODERN MUSIC is so explicitly self-referential that it stretched the boundaries of the new idiom, particularly as it intruded on an accepted compositional practice earlier in the eighteenth century that valued anonymity and imitation. The final lines assume the listeners are sympathetic, identify the singers as modest but ‘write their own laws’, and urge applause; they all celebrate performance rather than signify reverence.

An artistic self-confidence links many of these country composers,
some of whom also shared a loosening of the definition of sacred music. While many contemporary critics viewed this liberated aesthetic as conceit, it largely stemmed from the composers' rejection of English, and thus European, trends for roughly fifteen years before and during the war. It is important to bear in mind precisely what was being rejected. These musicians were participating in a larger economic and political boycott of goods, which for them included print matter such as hymnals and sheet music. This boycott naturally extended to the compositions themselves. They were not targeting the European standards for music composition, the faint outlines of which they retained from the music theory introductions of the imported tunebooks they already owned. American fine arts remained deeply indebted to English styles for many years after the Revolution.

Billings's anti-authoritarian statements that "Nature is the best Dictator, for all the hard dry studied Rules that ever was prescribed" and that "it is best for every Composer to be his own Carver" are qualified by his acknowledgement that "there is dry Study requir'd" and "I presume there are as strict Rules for Poetry, as for Musick."\(^{159}\) Just a glance at the introductions to the rules of music in his several publications gives an indication of the importance that Billings, and the other singing-master composers, attached to a knowledge of basic music theory. The absence of European sophistication in harmonic training and composition was an error of omission, magnified by the New Englanders' general lack of instrumental, and specifically keyboard, familiarity as well as lack of

contact with European exponents of Classical and Romantic arrangement in the American hinterland.

Text and Authorship

The publication of self-composed psalmody and the new emphasis on proprietorship had the added distinction of fixing texts to music. This had the effect of moving the power of crafting the meaning of sacred music from ministers to composers. Earlier eighteenth-century new music remained interchangeable with psalms or hymns of appropriate meter. The introduction of hymns by Isaac Watts or Tate & Brady at the turn of the eighteenth century was accomplished through publication of wordbooks with text only. Conversely, the reforming instructional works of John Tufts and Thomas Walter in Massachusetts in the 1720's introduced multi-part music, some of it new, but without new text. While wordbooks and religious poetry, such as the Unitarian-leaning Sacred Poetry (1795) by Massachusetts Historical Society co-founder Rev. Jeremy Belknap, continued to be occasionally published, sacred choral music publications without text became marginal. The New England composers in the final third of the eighteenth century began regularly

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111 Isaac Watt's predominance was honored even in the breach since Belknap's purpose was a reaction to what he perceived as Watt's "use of epithets and allusions...applied to the Savior, with a license disgusting to the spirit of devotion. It has been my aim to avoid these familiarities: and either to change or emit such epithets and allusions." Preface, Sacred Poetry, Boston, 1795.
connecting new music with specific words.\textsuperscript{161} The new music sometimes included poetry of their own invention but far more often they mined far-ranging text sources as Billings had, or fell back on the ubiquitous Watts. Therefore, even as American music composition expanded exponentially, the utilization of American sacred poetry in these new pieces grew at a far slower rate. However, fixed texts, original or otherwise, placed the control of text, even with doctrinal overtones, in the hands of the musicians rather than the clergy or deacons who.\textsuperscript{162} In the nineteenth century, text fixing eventually led to the identification of sacred pieces in services, hymnal indices, and daily conversation by their opening lines as much or more than by their given names. This highlighted the conservative preferences of the later Europeanizing reformers for whom text was of supreme importance, and the music consequential merely as an appropriately solemn means of delivery.

Democratization of American sacred music took place in the larger context of the democratization of knowledge in general, spurred by a confluence of nascent American commercial energy, a rapidly expanding print culture, and a pronounced trend towards self-improvement through

\textsuperscript{161} This phenomenon works against the non-reading tradition from earlier in the eighteenth century as noted by Daniel C.L. Jones in "Early American Psalmody and the Core Repertory: A Perspective", in Susan L. Porter & John Graziano, eds. \textit{Vistas of American Music: Essays and Compositions in Honor of William K. Kearns}, (Warren, Michigan: Harmonic Park Press, 1999), 43; Jones identifies the 'old way' of non-literate singing carried on in seventeenth-century New England as a folk or oral psalmody that only began to wane after the sharp increase in sacred music printing around 1760.

The rural consequences of this phenomenon, what David Jaffee has labelled the “village enlightenment,” had significant influence on the incentives of the early psalmists. The emergence of a mechanics' cultural perogative sanctioned the break with the authority of traditional music sources through self-composition and tempered the influence of the clergy through the choice of texts. It was this component of American identity formation, even more than the related loosening of liturgical or denominational conformity, that was the mainspring of the movement that allowed the American composers their artistic license.

The popular music of these indigenous, mechanic composers both challenges and confirms assertions by recent historians of print and nationalism of this period. Michael Warner has posited that the early nationalist rhetoric of the 1780s and 1790s, though advocating American print commodities, actually had no more conceptualization of an intrinsically American aesthetic than “they might for the making of shoes.” This was because “buying American” was a financial imperative and not the call for a “distinctively indigenous culture...detached from public discourse” that it has been construed to be. He maintains that patriotic rhetoric remained focused on a public political economy, rather than a personal relationship to the arts as ends in themselves, until well

163 I define democratization as egalitarian ideals materialized through the expansion of communication networks (print commodities, U.S. mail, domestic freight systems), commercial growth (establishment of banks, Federal land sales, entrepreneurial manufacturing), with government policy and public rhetoric that valorized such efforts, fully acknowledging that, simultaneously, elite classes moved to manipulate broadened prerogatives for their own benefit. This definition derives from the work of cultural historians Robert Darnton, Michael Warner, Richard D. Brown, Joseph Ellis, and Joyce Appleby.


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While this aspect of eighteenth-century nationalism cogently applies to much of the print culture of the era, the work of the New England psalmists was an individualistic approach to a self-consciously American aesthetic. It represented an alternative to the meta-discourse of the educated elite which Warner so vividly portrays. He uses examples of rural farmers' negative commentary on the effects of literature as exceptions that prove the rule. They invoke the same republican purposes of print culture even as they dissent from it as practiced by the powerful for their own ends. However, Jaffee's point about the intentions to which his village enlightenment were put, obtains for both a public and a private sense of purpose. Rev. William Bentley of Salem noted this disjunction in his diary in 1796, commenting on Andrew Law's recent singing school there:

Mr. Law has new formed his Music School from the object of particular singing for religious societies, to the mere teaching of the art, which is a commendable exchange. Singing has never been taught in New England as a Liberal Art, in public schools, but by private tuition...he teaches the Rules without regard to performance in the churches, tho' by Psalmody only.  

The surging popularity of American sacred music in the last two decades of the 1700s represents both a public appeal to "buying American," and the reification of individualism on the part of the composer and the singer. While the Yankee tunesmiths often cited public improvement as an objective in their prefaces, they clearly were

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personally fulfilled through composing and teaching, as their critics often noted. Desire for personal achievement alone does not fly in the face of Warner's thesis of republican print ideology, but its new connection with America's first indigenous art-form, however basic, points to a competing public discourse of liberal individualism. Beyond the personal satisfaction of publishing one's own music and improving one's own singing abilities, everyone could agree that better singing was better worship, and that it would accompany individual salvation. The sub-discourse was the question of what constituted "better" music.

The New England composers were well aware of their challenges to conventional hierarchies. An explicit jab at literate elites appears in the preface to Billings' *Continental Harmony* (1794) when the subject of lining out appears -- condemned by Billings, though still being practiced:

> Whatever Mr. Clerk, or Mr. Deacon, or Mr. Any-body-else, who sustains the office of retailer [precentor] may think; I shall take the liberty to tell them, I think it a very gross affront upon the audience, for they still go upon the old supposition, viz. the congregation in general cannot read; therefore they practically say, *we men of letters, and you ignorant creatures*.

This is a telling commentary by a leading exponent of the mechanics' enlightenment on outdated assumptions of authority, and the absurdity of their continuation in the 1790s. In the same vein, the preface to the later *Suffolk Harmony* (1807), possibly published by Oliver Holden of Charlestown, Massachusetts, reflects the cultural revolution in which he had participated.

> in those days...the psalm was parcelled out line by line: but since men have been permitted to think and act for

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themselves in modes of worship, that practice has been discarded.

The turning point to which the author alluded is the democratization of American Protestantism that took place from the Great Awakening through the revolutionary and constitutional periods. Religious egalitarianism and its associated print objects in the immediate post-war period contain prototypical arguments for the value of art (music) for its own sake.

This aspect of the American psalmodists' music attracted much criticism. The Europeanizing reformers of American sacred music sought to improve worship music performance by holding it to the standards of art-music. They were propelled in this effort all the more since, in their view, the music of the rural New England composers implicitly aspired to this status, but fell short of the mark in quality.

**Postwar Momentum and The Music Business**

During the 1790s, nationalist public rhetoric combined with rapid changes in investment possibilities, especially in land speculation, communication infrastructure, and early manufacturing, to promote a new sense of enterprise aimed at enhanced personal financial well being and redefined social mobility. Among the new business opportunities of

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the Federal period, music publishing offered alluring prospects that coincided with the aggressive commercialism that characterized early capitalism in the United States. The potential for re-inventing oneself, particularly through commerce, was a significant aspect of the social turbulence in this era, a cultural transformation that only accelerated after Jefferson's election in 1800. Jaffee offers three examples of individuals, respectively exemplifying print production, distribution, and consumption, who "struggled over choice of career and construction of self in the context of an emerging market society." The country composers were of a similar bent, and almost all struggled to earn as much income as possible from music. Refering to a young New Hampshire bass viol player in a rural church who was destined for an education and professional career better than his peers, the Rev. Samuel Gilman opined around 1800 that "[p]erhaps there is not a country in the world, where professions are so often changed as in America."  

The boycotts of the pre-war years and the subsequent separation from England established a temporary, if circumscribed, self-sufficiency in sacred music publications in the former colonies. The general disruption to commerce during the war and the lengthy business depression of the 1780s made this brief period of autonomy in domestic print production a feeble one in general. However, it coincided with a vigorous resumption of interest by many composer/compilers in following William Billings's bold footsteps. During the 1780s, a cohort of composer/compilers from New

169 Jaffee, "Village Enlightenment" WMQ : 328.

England to Philadelphia published their first tunebooks, and almost all of them followed with later works. Meanwhile, previously published compilers came out with new editions or collections. Some of these composers, like Billings, had been developing a large catalogue of original material during the 1770s, and a backlog of publishable music had developed. Secular music publications increased dramatically as well. Of the sixty-nine songsters, as collections of secular music were called, brought out between 1734 and 1792, nearly half appeared after 1783.

One of the more common ways for individuals to refashion themselves in the Early Republic was by changing or blending careers. Making a living as a singing-master in rural America was a difficult, sometimes itinerant, vocation, usually viable only for younger men. More common was treating music as a part-time vocation. Usually relying on a trade or store for their main support, men often conducted singing-schools as a seasonal opportunity for extra income and for practicing a refreshingly divergent set of skills. The more ambitious were able to invest in music publishing, as compilers if not also as composers. Their

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171 A partial list of first time publishers: Daniel Read (The American Singing Book, 1785), Timothy Swan (The Federal Harmony, 1785), Jacob French (The New American Melody, 1789), Andrew Adgate (Philadelphia Harmony, 1788), John Aitken (Compilation of the Litanies and Vesper Hymns and Anthems, 1787), Oliver Brownson (Select Harmony, 1783), John Hubbard (Harmonia Selecta, 1789), Simeon Jocelyn and Amos Doolittle (Chorister's Companion, 1782), Chauncey Langdon ( Beauties of Psalmody, 1786), and Isaiah Thomas (The Worcester Collection, 1786). Continuing composer/compilers were William Billings, Andrew Law, Daniel Bayley, and Jonathan Stickney. Frank Metcalfe, American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music; Frank Metcalf, American Psalmody, or Titles of Books Containing Tunes Printed in America from 1721 to 1820, (New York: 1917, Da Capo Press, 1968).

regular occupations often provided capital to invest, and to lose, in what became a notably large number of print productions (see Appendix C, Table C 1). This surfeit of tunebooks was acknowledged at the time, as immigrant organist Benjamin Carr of Philadelphia noted that “every organ loft groans under the weight of piles of books replete with ‘dreadful harmony’ the production of these self taught [H]andels.”

Many musicians’ main occupations were tedious or unprofitable. Daniel Read of New Haven first made his living as a comb maker but spent the better part of his adulthood trying to leave the trade. After establishing a small comb shop where he employed several apprentices, he also set up a grocery store nearby in the mid-1790’s. This came after he complained in a letter in 1794 to his brother that

My Combmaking Business groes [sic] poor, there are so many Jockeys seting [sic] up...all over the country and hawking their Combs from Town to Town...that it not only enhances the price of the stock exceedingly and lessens the price...but it renders the former difficult to get and makes the market of the latter exceedingly dull

Read nearly always used a few young men to produce the combs, involving himself only to teach them or participate when business was so slow that he had to let his workers go. Among his advertised wares in his grocery store was a selection of books and pamphlets to which he added his own psalm books. He later attempted to become the exclusive agent in New Haven for cotton yarn from Samuel Slater’s mill in Rhode Island but this too failed when Slater did not cooperate. During the Embargo years of 1807-1809, Read had to sell his stock of combs at auction, emphasizing

173 Gilman, Memoirs of a New England Village Choir, 60; Letter to John Rowe Parker, October 4, 1821, Benjamin Carr folder, John Rowe Parker Papers, Rare Book Room, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania (hereafter referred to as JRPP).
parenthetically that "the above articles were all manufactured in the United States; the purchase therefore pays no tribute to any foreign nation whatever." For Read, sales of his music books was a source of income during periods when other business was depressed.174

Even farming, a ubiquitous source of partial support for musicians' families, could be a source of irritation. In July, 1789, Massachusetts music engraver Alexander Ely wrote composer/hatter Timothy Swan, imploring him to send work because

I should have been out of employ [sic] all this week if I had not since gone to farming - would thank you to send me tunes as soon as possible for I am in great want of an excuse to leave the Farming business and be more agreeably imploy'd.175

Publishing a psalm book required considerable investment in preparation, materials, and the skills of related trades - engravers, typesetters, printers, and distributors. Although American composers usually paid diligent attention to new copyright laws passed by states as well as the federal government by 1790, it is uncertain how much of a factor copyright protection played in psalmodist publishing strategies. Some sacred composers complained of having their work pirated, when they knew of it, but it appears suits were rarely filed.176 Attribution of words, melody, and harmonization became important because the credit due


175 Timothy Swan Papers, Box 11, Folder 2, AAS.

176 For instance, Daniel Read's biographer, Vinson Bushnell, maintains that one of Read's later tunebooks, a third edition of the Columbian Harmonist, appears to have been re-issued by his own brother Joel without his knowing anything of it. Bushnell, "Daniel Read," 325,332.
composers became monetary as well as reputational.177

For most of the eighteenth century, music printing was engraved on copper plates, a specialty trade that required a large expense at the outset but which allowed music compilers and publishers of limited means, who retained ownership of the plates, to print new editions as needed. By the 1780s, musical type imported from England was being used by entrepreneurial publishers of means such as Isaiah Thomas of Worcester.178 Typesetting and its post-production dismantling eliminated the possibility of inexpensive later editions, dictating large initial runs and ample investment capital. Another problem with typesetting was the extent to which the compiler had to relinquish control of detail to the printer. Daniel Read remarked in a letter that

In preparing copies for engraving I have always laid out the work page for page proportioning all the distances of Notes Bars &tc. as I wished to have it appear in the book, but in typographical work I suppose we must depend much more upon the printer... It would be well that some person concerned should look over the proof sheets to prevent errors; but for a person at a distance it is inconvenient...Perhaps the Printer will be sufficiently careful: But I frequently see many errors in typographical music...

177 William Billings and Andrew Law were among the first to lobby for, and eventually receive, copyright protection for literary property from the provisional wartime governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Billings started petitioning the colonial Massachusetts General Court in 1770 and Law was the first to receive copyright protection for any literary property in America from the provisional government of Connecticut in 1781. By the late 1780s, every state except for Delaware had copyright laws but enforcement was problematic. The 1790 federal legislation, fervently advocated by Noah Webster, was an effort to create a uniform code. However, early record-keeping of copyright filing was haphazard and only partial records in multiple locations are extant; Richard J. Wolfe, Early American Music Engraving and Printing: A History of Music Publishing in America from 1787 to 1825 with Commentary on earlier and Later Practices, (Urbana/Chicago/London: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 188-9.

178 Thomas was not the first to print music typographically; six other instances of the use of musical fonts have been catalogued by Richard Wolfe in Early American Music Engraving and Printing, 28-32.
After viewing the proofs of his *Columbian Harmonist*, printed by Boston printer Herman Mann, who was using musical type for the first time, Read communicated his horror in a letter:

Some obvious blunders of the printer have excited my notice... such as printing all the pages wrong side up...misarranging some of the tunes, breaking them to pieces - leaving out the name of one tune or more in the Index - and inserting wrong pages for others... I should have thought the printer a blockhead and have said he ought not to be paid for his work...

However, the cost per unit was greatly lowered in typographical printing and, while music engraving continued into the early nineteenth century, competing financially with typesetting was difficult. 179

Regardless of which printing method was used, music publishing still tempted part-time choristers whose main trade had perhaps become a burden and whose singing school instruction was aesthetically, but not financially, rewarding. Many tune book composers and compilers were singing masters, either itinerant or relatively local, who sold their published tune books to their students. Some composers, such as Daniel Read, and publishers, such as Andrew Law and Isaiah Thomas, aimed at much larger markets. In a letter of January 9, 1793 Read tried to persuade Richard Atwell, a young musician and tradesman from Huntington, Virginia, to take some of his tune books on consignment:

a young man of my acquaintance made in Six months by one School only, three hundred dollars. And...books of the Size of the American Singing Book...Sell at one dollar pr piece. He advises me to send 10 or 12 dozen of my Books to Alexandria immediately and thinks I shall find immediately sale for them ...if a person interested in the publication of music were to travil that way and lay a broad foundation for the Sale of his books by

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179 Lowens, *Music and Musicians*: Chapter 4, "Andrew Law and the Pirates"; Read's letters were to his brother Joel in 1804 and 1805, Bushnell "Daniel Read of New Haven," 275, 292-3.
lodging a quantity of them in every Capital Town and causing them to be publicly advertised and also by gaining the interest of the principle teachers &c. he could receive great benefit therefrom.

Mr. Atwell was interested and on January 22, Read communicated his ambitions for sales of his tunebooks:

In short it is my wish that the American Singing Book, Columbian Harmony, Child's Instructor, &c. be left with Suitable persons in all the Capital Towns throughout the United States and that the favour and friendship of the Teachers of music in every part be obtained...It is not my idea to enter into the execution of this Business for the Sale of a few dozens or a few Hundred of Books only; but I have no doubt but we may extend it to thousands and perhaps to tens of thousands within a year or two.

Andrew Law, a rival Connecticut singing-master, engaged in a more dramatic campaign in the early 1790's by personally going to Alexandria. There he contracted with young Connecticut singing-masters to set up multiple singing schools from Baltimore to western Virginia, in which only Law's tunebooks would be used. The financial interest of Read and Law in a southern market, though ultimately unsuccessful, was prescient: two decades later, as the New England style fell out of favor in the urban northeast, it found lasting popularity in the new frontier regions of the south and west, where it served as a predecessor to the Sacred Harp singing tradition that is still extant in parts of the rural south. Musicologist Alan Lomax recorded a version of Daniel Read's "Sherburne," sung at a Sacred Harp meeting in Georgia in 1942.

Details about pricing strategies from Read's letter book also shows his awareness of differences between rural and urban marketing. In an 1805

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180 Crawford, Andrew Law, American Psalmist, 60-66, 76-85.
letter to his publishing partner and brother, Joel, Read explains the rationale for his terms with a variety of outlets for his tune book sales:

I agree with you to fix the price of the Book at 62 1/2 Cents single and at 50 by the dozn. As to Booksellers commissions I know of no fixed rule. I agree with them as I can, or I give them my terms and let them do as they please, and when they are at a distance they sometimes advance the price. To country Booksellers I have sometimes discounted about 50 Cents pr dozn. over and above the profits they make by retailing. To Singing Masters who buy for their Schools I sometimes give a Book or two, and to my principle bookseller in New York I deliver them at a fixed price perhaps a cent or two lower than I would sell them to others by the 100 which induces him to push the sale; to him perhaps I shall put them at 40 or 42 Cents.

These were the early days of American copyright laws and compilers making use of others compositions were held in check by copyrights granted by individual states, the federal government, or gentlemen’s agreements to ask permission. In 1786, chorister/compiler Simeon Joscelin wrote to Timothy Swan asking for permission to include some of his compositions in a new tunebook:

I am the more particular, as I mean not to take the liberty with any Gentelman’s [sic] works, in this state, that some have...Mr. Brownson...who I am persuaded, from my acquaintance with him, is possessed of too liberal sentiments to wish for a Patent, however consistent with LAW.

This demonstrates an early ambivalence towards copyrighting, since Connecticut had passed a copyright law in 1783, seven years before the federal government would do so. Since the Connecticut statute was first used by singing master and aggressive tunebook publisher Andrew Law,

181 Bushnell, "Daniel Read," 289; Newspapers also served as important distributors of Read’s, and other compilers’, works, probably with some understanding of payment in sales in trade for advertising. Bushnell, “Daniel Read,” 158-159.

182 Letter of June 27, 1786, Timothy Swan Papers, AAS.

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Joscelin’s emphasis at the end was undoubtedly punning on the name. By 1793 the ambivalence to legalities had dissapeared, and sharp publishing competition colors correspondence from Alexandria, Virginia, sacred music publisher John Rhea:

I am convinced that Mr. Law visited you for no other reason but to prevent my getting your Music - I [need to know] whether he means to buy a Copyright - he is amazingly opposed to my publishing and thought to injure me by seeing you before I did...I must publish Flanders, unless you absolutely forbid me, and will trust to you that he will not have it in his power to hurt me for it - I could wish to publish more, but will not unless you give me leave...should Mr. Law make you an offer let me know what it is.183

Nearly a year later, Rhea again petitioned Swan for the rights to music, not having heard from him but having published without including his music. He again begged Swan for the privilege of using BALLOON and FLANDERS, asking “what I must allow you for that privilege...[i]f you have not sold your right to them....”184 The popularity of some of Swan’s music was enduring; in 1810, Brattleborough, Vermont compiler David Belknap was approaching Swan, mentioning his usual terms but offering payment in kind:

I have wanted to make use of some of your Music in my publications, but wish’d not to publish any Gentelman’s [sic] Music without license. I should like (if agreeable to you) to purchase the copyright of two pieces of your music Viz. China & London; the price I have generally given for music is one dollar a page; but if you will sell me the copyright of the above said pieces I will give you three dollars for the two pieces & will pay you in

183 Letter of March 12, 1793, Timothy Swan Papers, AAS.

184 Letter of January 27, 1794, Timothy Swan Papers, AAS.
books from Mr. Fesenton's bookstore.\textsuperscript{185}

Since Belknap probably meant to give Swan the books at cost, this offer may have held out the incentive of further profit for Swan through sales of the books given in payment. These letters from over a twenty-four year span register the informality and slow pace of rural publishing arrangements relative to urban music publishing. Music publishing in cities had expanded exponentially during the 1790s, especially within the sphere of secular sheet music sales, which emphasized cutthroat competition and ephemeral popularity.\textsuperscript{186}

Worcester, Massachusetts publisher Isaiah Thomas, neither composer nor musician, gained a reputation for pirating popular tunes from their composers' publications and underselling them. He was the first New England publisher to use music typesetting rather than engraving, and he was in a financial position to reap its benefits. Daniel Read, long after discovering some of his compositions from his \textit{The American Singing Book} (1785) in Thomas's very successful \textit{The Worcester Collection} (1786), wrote fellow composer-compiler Jacob French in 1793 that:

\begin{quote}
It is not only ungenerous but unjust to publish the works of any author without his consent. Irritateted [sic] beyond measure at
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{185} Letter of April 2, 1810, Timothy Swan Papers, AAS A clipping from the \textit{Harford Daily Courrant} of May 23, 1902 describes Swan's CHINA as "for fifty years or more the standard tune for use at funerals in New England and which was wedded to Dr. Watt's hymn "Why do we mourn departed friends?"" Swan wrote the piece in 1790 and it was performed in public for the first time four years later. American composer Edgar Stillman Kelly (1857-1944) used the melody in the third movement of his "New England Symphony" calling it "as near to American folk-music as anything ye have" and because of its "unusual rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic qualities is worthy of a place beside the German Chorals." Letter to the editor, \textit{Harford Daily Courrant}, October 26, 1902.

\textsuperscript{186} Federal copyright protection covered only American citizens and their productions. Since almost all urban music publishers were immigrant musicians, their publications of European works and their own compositions were not protected.
the unprovoked Robbery committed upon the American singing Book by the editor of the Worcester Collection and having no redress but by retaliation there being then no law in existance to prevent such abuses I availed myself of that opportunity to publish some peices [sic] from the Worcester Collection...But since the Statute of the United States made for the purpose of securing to Authors the Copyright of their work...I think it my duty to prosecute any person who prints my music without my consent, as much as if he were a common...Housebreaker

Read's sanguine outlook on the possibilities of his publishing empire proved illusory, as did that of so many other music publishers. They produced income and sometimes even a good profit, but competition flooded the market with inexpensive popular tune books. While copyrighting seemed like the answer to profitability, it appears to have had the unintended consequence of suppressing circulation of popular individual tunes. Musicologist Richard Crawford's creation of a core repertory in American psalmody - the top 101 "hits" of the period, based on frequency of printings of individual pieces, with or without permission - has shown that the most popular tunes originated during the initial post-war blush of publications in the 1780s. Other most-favored sacred music came from the Europeanist reformers' repertoire in the period after 1800. Fewer pieces first-published after 1790 became as popular, which can be credited both to the effects of the federal copyright law, protecting American works published after 1790, and to the rising chorus of criticism that began in that decade.187

Wide choices brought a new phenomenon to music publishing - rapidly changing public tastes. Compilers had always been aware of the

relative popularity of specific tunes. The basis for their knowledge is not always clear; some tunes were regarded as well-composed and deserving of popularity, but others enjoyed continued publication in spite of low reviews. Daniel Read qualified his tune selection, in the preface to the second edition of his *Columbian Harmonist* (1810), with the note that a “few tunes of the lighter kind, and some which are incorrect in point of composition, have been admitted, rather on account of their popularity than the approbation of the Editor.” Isaiah Thomas mentions in the preface to his 1803 edition of the *Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony* that “Some tunes are inserted which do not merit approbation. The motive needs no explanation.” Choristers even kept track of differences in popularity between men and women. Billings notes in his prefatory comments to *The Continental Harmony* (1794) that men equally enjoyed tunes in major or minor keys whereas “…I am very positive that nine tenths of them [women] are much more pleased and entertained with a flat [minor], then a sharp [major] air.”

Successive editions almost always reflected changes from previous ones by weeding out tunes that proved to be less popular, and replacing them with new tunes, from other compilations or the composer’s pen, that promised wider approval. Some psalmodists were not above passing off other composers’ well-received melodic inventions as their own “new” works. However, the public’s unqualified zeal for new sacred music material, fueled by the singing schools, was not welcomed by everyone. Citing incorrect harmonic construction, the influence of profane melodies, or texts of too blithe a spirit, urban critics and psalm composer/compilers

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voiced opposition to aspects of the no-longer new style. Even some of the composers themselves were not happy about constantly shifting tastes of the consuming public. In "Observations and Remarks" printed in the beginning of the second edition of the *Columbian Harmonist* (1804), Daniel Read notes that

> [t]his multitude of new tunes has, in the opinion of some judicious musicians, corrupted the public taste. It has undoubtedly excited a love for novelty and change, which has often prevailed against sober judgment...But perhaps this rage for new music will not always prevail...A frequent change of tunes in a society, is unfavourable to good singing; many valuable singers, who have but little leasure [sic] or opportunity to learn new tunes, are thereby lost to the choir. Good tunes, which have been well learned, should not be immediately laid aside, when others are introduced.

Read's comments reflect the reaction of an older generation to the new commercial effects in the music market. The rage for new music did indeed prevail. At first it seems ironic that the original proponents of the new style of American music who had themselves brought about a large measure of cultural alteration would in turn complain about fluctuations in popular taste. But the iconoclasm of Read and his contemporaries had occurred when they were in their teens and twenties amidst the upheaval of revolution; by 1810, ten years after William Billings had died in poverty in Boston, Read was fifty-three, a moderate Federalist dealing with the repercussions of ten years of Jeffersonian policies and a battered national economy. Adding insult to injury, he was confronted with the declining popularity of the music that had been his life's calling. As American musical taste moved away from the fuging style of the New England composers, particularly in urban areas, the rejection of older
generations' values was one of several factors that came into play.

The New England Psalmodists' Fall from Grace

From almost the very beginning the surge of indigenous music publication in the 1780s had met with emphatic disapproval. This often came from champions of tradition who were deeply offended by the changes in liturgical structure that choir singing had brought about. The political Revolution had ushered in a multitude of accompanying cultural transformations, described by one prominent historian as "a welter of organizing principles to vie for public affirmation."

The outlines of this rejection are difficult to trace in the recorded opinions of ordinary laymen and women, many of whom undoubtedly overcame their initial suspicions when confronted with the sustained popularity of the music and its infectious appeal. There was a wide range in composers' abilities, as well as in the skill of individual choirs, that must be taken into account when evaluating the public discourse on sacred and popular music in the early republic. Many of the newly composed pieces were written for singing school-trained choirs and could be difficult to sing well. On a Sunday in April 1789, Boston singer Nathaniel Webb wrote in his diary that the choir "made a terrible boggle in endeavouring to sing a tune called GREENFIELD - finally had to take a new meeter & sing SAINT MARTIN'S." The former was a new New England tune recently composed

189 Appleby, Inheriting the Revolution, 137.

190 Even Billings's groundbreaking achievements need to be put in perspective as musicologist Nym Cooke has commented: "Billings's New England Psalm-Singer contains much forgetting music, but also some of the most beautiful and stirring pieces composed in early America." Cooke, "American Psalmodists," 265.
by Massachusetts blacksmith/composer Lewis Edson Sr., one of the most popular fuging-tunes at the time. The latter was one of the older English parish style pieces by William Tan’sur imported into the colonies during the 1750’s. Clearly some of the newer New England favorites were difficult to sing. In an embarrassing moment, the choir reached back to a simpler old standby in trying to save face. This occasion may seem reminiscent of awkward moments in Samuel Sewall’s singing career. Some musicologists have connected the New England psalm-singing aesthetic of the late-seventeenth-century, with its illiterate and extempore improvisation in rural congregations, as flights of fancy that anticipate the extended melismas and song-like melodies of the yankee composers nearly a century later. However, they are worlds apart in terms of intention, context, tempo, and text; and musical literacy would be the linchpin in this differentiation.

While the tastes of lay people may be hard to assess, the opinions of musicians, composers, and social commentators were widely disseminated in letters, tunebook prefaces, and magazines. A few composers complained about aspects of the new style in the early early 1790s. Samuel Holyoke noted in the preface to his *Harmonia Americana* of 1791 that perhaps some may be disappointed, that fuging pieces are in

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191 GREENFIELD, along with LENOX and BRIDGEWATER, were very popular fuging tunes by Edson and had made his name a household word along with Billings in the 1780’s in spite of Edson’s professional obscurity. He never published a tunebook, his songs’ renown stemmed from repeated publication in the tunebooks of others (103 printings for GREENFIELD), and none of his subsequent pieces ever approached the trio’s popularity. SAINT MARTINS was even more popular with 138 printings. Lowens, *Music and Musicians*, 181 - 190; Britton et. al. *American Sacred Music Imprints*, The Core Repertory, 688.

general omitted. But the principal reason why few were inserted was the trifling effect produced by that sort of music; for the parts, falling in, one after another, each conveying a different idea, confound the sense, and render the performance a mere jargon of words. The numberous [sic] pieces of this kind, extant, must be a sufficient apology for omitting them here.

Among the roughly 130 subscribers to his tunebook are listed Rev. Daniel Chaplin, Daniel Dana, Jonathan Hubbard, and Nahum Mitchell, all of whom can be identified with the Europeanizing reforms that came after 1800. Many other subscribers, including Danish musician Hans Gram and native composers Isaac Lane and Abraham Wood, were from Boston, northeastern Massachusetts, and southern New Hampshire. These areas that became associated with Europeanizing reform, the refinement of instrumental accompaniment to sacred music, and the formation of musical societies in the larger towns of this region in the early nineteenth century. Holyoke eventually became known as “the American Madan,” a reference to Martin Madan (1725-1790), compiler of *The Lock Hospital Collection*, perhaps the most popular English tunebook in America after the Revolution.193 The nickname is testimony to the influence of older, English styles on Holyoke’s taste. It is significant that many music publications of the era repeat Holyoke’s claim that they are “suitable for divine worship and the use of musical societies,” related but distinct venues.

Rev. Andrew Law was another early critic of indigenous composition, as well as an early reformer who advocated conservative taste in sacred music throughout his career. Perhaps America’s most prolific publisher of tunebooks, instructors, and musical magazines, he

193 Martin Madan was a compiler, composer, musician, and chaplain to Locke Hospital, London, a charitable medical facility and he was associated with John and Charles Wesley.
experienced an epiphany in the early 1790s regarding American psalmody that convinced him that Americans would do better to emulate European standards than to continue ignoring them. The turning point came some time after the publication of the third edition of his *Rudiments of Music* (1791) in which twenty-one of the eighty tunes were fuging pieces. This was keeping with the norm: 25% was the average proportion of fuging tunes in all publications. Law's *Christian Harmony*, published just two years later, contained only four fuging tunes out of a total of sixty-three. In 1793, Law had begun to articulate his criticism of American sacred music in the first edition of his *Musical Primer*.

The tones of our singers are...universally rough, hard and disagreeable...it renders our psalmody less pleasing...it vitiates our taste and gives currency to bad music. A considerable part of American composition is in reality faulty. It consists more of the sweet and perfect cords, than European music, which aims at a variety and energy, by introducing the perfect cords less frequently; and therefore American music will better bear with the harshness of our singing. Hence the great run it has taken to the exclusion of European composition.  

What Law meant by “sweet and perfect cords” are the reiterated use of consecutive fifths and octaves, the simplest of harmonizations, and that Europeans more often used thirds and sixths in conjunction with fifths, octaves, and figured (or thorough) bass. His criticism itself was rather simplistic, since he merely counted the number of times fifths and octaves were used alone in order to assess value or “correct taste.” However, his immediate practical solution was to advocate, in print and in his extensively proffered program of singing schools, an elimination of harshness and the cultivation of a “tone...rendered smooth, persuasive

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and melting. Law's reform concentrated on performance practice, from which, he believed, a reform of the music would ensue:

the roughness of our singing...ought to have been smoothed and polished...If there is ought of roughness or discord required in music, it should arise from the composition itself, and not from the voices of the singers: These should all perform in the most sweet, graceful and flowing sound. But sing the sweet-corded tunes of this country make, in sweet toned voices, and they will immediately cloy, sicken and disgust.

His opinions became widely known, and he was viewed by later Europeanist reformers as a progenitor of the movement. Later editions of his *Art of Singing* and *Musical Primer* were favorably reviewed ten years later in a conservative Boston magazine, whose editors observed “with pleasure some old favorite pieces, which have been consecrated by time, and endeared by use.” In an address to the Middlesex Musical Society in 1810, Rev. Samuel Worcester, a prime mover in what had by then become known as the crusade for “ancient music,” announced that the “day must come, when the American public will do justice to the meritorious labours and improvements of Mr. Law.”

Rural Yankee psalmodists were certainly aware of the criticism leveled at their art and often affected an apologetic tone that approached

195 Unlike most itinerant New England singingmasters who travelled in circuits relatively close to home, Andrew Law journeyed all over the eastern seaboard. His singing schools were known to have been offered in Alexandria, VA; Charleston, SC; Boston, Cambridge, Charlestown, Newburyport, Salem, MA; Exeter, Hanover, Portsmouth, Keene, NH; Hartford, New Haven, Norwich, Windsor, CT; New York, NY; Newark, Trenton, NJ; Philadelphia, PA; Providence, RI; and Baltimore, Queen's County, MD. Andrew Law, *The Musical Primer*, 2nd edition, Cheshire, 1794.8; Crawford, *Andrew Law, American Psalmodist*, 104-107, 418. Rural New Hampshire diarist Abner Sanger mentions attending his singing schools in Keene, New Hampshire. Lois Stabler, ed. *Very Poor and of a Lo Make: The Journal of Abner Sanger*, (Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Peter E. Randall Publisher, 1986), 192, 233, 238, 594.

196 *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, Vol. 1, No 3 January, 1804: 138; The editorship was about to be taken over in May by Rev. William Emerson, father of Ralph Waldo Emerson.
conscious inferiority. Composer Jacob Kimball (1761-1826) of Topsfield, Massachusetts began his preface to *The Rural Harmony* (Boston, 1793) by confessing, in third person, that

In a country where music has not yet become a regular profession, it cannot be expected that a composition of this kind can stand a rigid criticism...He has aimed at originality in his compositions, and endeavoured to deviate (as far as he deemed it justifiable) from the common style; where he has given into it, he has attempted to improve it by a particular attention to the harmony.

Farmington, Maine composer Supply Belcher fairly paraphrased Kimball's intent in his preface to *The Harmony of Maine* (Boston, 1794):

As the encouragement of Arts and Sciences is beneficial to all countries, and especially where the settlement is new, the Author presumes that the propagation of Sacred Music will...not only be a means of forming the people into Societies, but will be ornamental to civilization. He therefore presents the following work to the Public - not that he expects it would stand the test of rigid criticism...He has aimed at originality in his composition, as much as possible has set a number of easy and natural Airs, for the benefit of learners, and a variety of other, for the amusement of those who have made some proficiency. To please every one would be something new...

By the late 1790s criticism of the Yankee composers' style had grown to the extent that it appears to have had a limiting effect on the diffusion of their tunes. In Appendix G, American-to-European ratios of the origins of individual pieces in psalmbooks are traced over five decades. The percentage of sacred music of American origin builds to a majority by the 1780s and levels off each decade thereafter. However, when the decade 1800-1810 is divided into five-year segments, a jump in American pieces is followed by a sharp decline to a level below European compositions. This appears to be the result of the initial efforts of the Europeanizing reformers' publishing program, which quickly took effect.
However, another analysis of just the American publications, by Richard Crawford, qualifies the influence of the reformers. This shows that only a scattering of compositions published for the first time after 1790 entered the core repertory, and that most of the American sacred tunes that remained popular into the nineteenth century were originally published in the 1780s. Crawford conjectures that this may have been the influence of new federal copyright laws inaugurated in 1790 but he also credits the increasing impact of the Europeanizing critics. However, since the start of the slowdown in current indigenous composition reprintings coincided with the copyright law, while the decrease in overall American tunes published does not even begin until after 1805, it would seem that protecting native composers' artistic rights had the unintended consequence of making their work less attractive to compilers. Not only were compilers persuaded to use predominantly uncopyrighted American pieces from before 1790 but also they were encouraged to use English imported music for which they did not have to pay copyright fees. This financial incentive may skew measures that equate popularity with publishing frequency alone. Pirating English material provided a wealth of publishing opportunities, and this was partly the intention of Congress in omitting reciprocal protection with other countries.

Critics of the American idiom imbued their cavils with a moral imperative, along lines of both national destiny and religious piety. John

Cole, a music publisher of Baltimore, claimed in the preface to his *Beauties of Psalmody* (1804) that the editors do not expect that the present work will receive a liberal share of public patronage; they are sensible that it is not calculated to please the present taste; they know and are sorry to record it, to the shame of their countrymen, that the Massachusetts Compiler and the works of Kimbal [sic] and Holyoke, lie neglected on the book-seller’s shelf, while those of...[non-Europeanist native composers] are sought for with avidity and receiv’d with approbation

As noted above, Samuel Holyoke, Jacob Kimball, Oliver Holden, and Hans Gram were Yankee musicians among the small coterie of reformers with a high reputation, especially in Massachusetts, for their European inclinations. This regional feature was sometimes cited, as in this anonymous commentary, apparently from Connecticut:

Connecticut has for some years been deluged with musical compilations from all parts of the United States; some of which have possessed very considerable merit; but much the greater part have served only to vitiate the public taste. To this cause, in no inconsiderable degree, but perhaps more than any other the introduction of “patent notes”, so called, may be attributed the mortifying and lamentable fact, that Connecticut has for some time been receding from a just taste & correct execution in the noble and delightful science of sacred musick, while Massachusetts is emulating Europe, and decidedly our master 198

Embarrassment for the state of the arts in America became a common theme and collections were made of those pieces which exhibited “correct taste” which, in other collections, had been so deeply buried under the crudities of half-learned harmonists, that a collection of them into one volume became in some measure requisite...for, in order to correct our taste in musick, as in the sister arts, we must, in the first place, have within our

198 Letter to John Rowe Parker, ‘unidentified’ in Martin Madan Folder, JRPP.

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reach, and constantly before us, the best models..."

The increasing chorus of condemnation of native style was coming from several sources, each of which had financial motives in addition to sincere disapproval. The first of these was the small subset of the indigenous New England music community who castigated the frequently crude harmonic arrangements published by some of their “brothers of the pitch-pipe.” The contrarian Andrew Law was among the first and most vociferous critics; he also attacked any other musician reflexively. However, critical remarks appeared in most prefaces, and nearly all American composer/compilers felt compelled to position their work in the contemporary publishing scene by making pointed observations about others, while apologetically appearing humble.

A second source of criticism was conservative Anglican and Congregational churchmen after 1800, with a wider religious agenda than just music. These traditionalists were reacting to doctrinal innovations coalescing in American religion in the 1790s, particularly the rise of Unitarianism in Boston. Anglicans such as John Rowe Parker, who published The Euterpeiad, the first American music magazine with commentary as well as music, and minister/singing-masters like Nathaniel Gould, wanted to see a return to the slow, reverenced chants of the Church of England that antedated any of the eighteenth-century reforms. They advocated a revival of “ancient music” to replace the spirited music of the Revolutionary period, which they believed unsuitable for respectful worship services. Other Congregationalists, like the Rev. Samuel Worcester, a founding member of the conservative Middlesex

199 Preface to The Salem Collection (Boston, 1805), compiled anonymously.
Sacred Music Society, spearheaded a Trinitarian movement that split congregations along doctrinal lines and which also repudiated innovative sacred music. Reactionaries like Worcester espoused a rigid Calvinism even more severe than what had been current with most seventeenth-century Puritans. The Middlesex Music Society published its own tune books and conducted its own singing schools, promoting a return to slower, more decorous multipart singing.

The third and by far the most significant detractors of the Yankee school of psalmody were European-trained musicians who streamed into American cities starting in the early 1790s, principally to work in America's new theaters, but also as organists in many Anglican or Catholic churches. Theatrical entertainments had existed in New York before and during the war, and in Philadelphia for a decade before the war, but had been proscribed in Boston for decades. The Continental Congress had prohibited such entertainments in 1774 as a "species of extravagance and dissipation," to the annoyance of many southern army officers, like General Washington. Campaigns to legalize theaters in Boston and Philadelphia in the 1780s and early 1790s by more secular-minded elites was an indication of the extent of the cultural shifts underway after the Revolution. By mid-decade there were two theaters in each of these three largest cities, with many more being established in secondary cities such as Portland, Portsmouth, Concord, Providence, Newport, Hartford, Baltimore, Richmond, Petersburg, Norfolk, Charleston, and Savannah.

While initially these professional musicians, trained in European

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standards of performance and composition, worked in theater and concert settings, their influence on America’s most extensive popular music - choral worship - was pervasive. By 1795 this was acknowledged by indigenous urban musicians, who welcomed what they viewed as an improving influence. The preface to a Boston tunebook that featured more European sources than American acknowledged that “[a]t the present period it becomes necessary that greater attention be paid to every mean for improving that important part of divine worship, as good, musical emigrants are daily seeking an asylum in this country.”\footnote{Hans Gram, Samuel Holyoke, and Oliver Holden preface to The Massachusetts Compiler, Boston, 1795.} French, German, Italian, and English professionals arrived either individually or as members of theater companies recruited by American theater managers, who personally travelled to England to put together troupes of as many as fifty actors and musicians for American theaters.

Besides providing new models for composition of sacred music, these musicians were also responsible for transforming American urban popular music by expanding the market for secular, sentimental, contemporaneously written songs. These were presented during or between dramatic pieces, or at concerts in new venues also facilitated by their presence. The work of these Europeans in America is vital to understanding the liberal, secularizing changes in the American music scene between 1790 to 1825, changes that actually continued the “revolution” in music of the 1770s and 1780s by countering it.
CHAPTER III

AMERICAN MUSICAL THEATER AND
THE FIRST BRITISH MUSICAL INVASION
1785-1805

But modern youths, with imitative sense,
Deem taste in dress the proof of excellence;
And spurn the meanness of your homespun arts,
Since homespun habits would obscure their parts;
Whilst all, which aims at splendour and parade,
Must come from Europe, and be ready made.
Strange! we should thus our native worth disclaim,
And check the progress of our rising fame.
Yet one, whilst imitation bears the sway,
Aspires to nobler heights, and points the way.
Be rous'd my friends! his bold example view;
Let your own Bards be proud to copy you!

Royal Tyler, Prologue to The Contrast, 1787

The arrival of a class of European professional musicians in America after 1790 was the most significant factor affecting American music in the early national era, but it had larger implications for American culture as well. Representing nothing less than a colonization of several related trades in urban areas throughout the American littoral, highly trained British, German, French, and Italian musicians dominated pit bands in theaters, organ lofts wherever these new instruments were being installed, and, perhaps most importantly, the engraved print medium that produced small runs of single-song sheet music. Just as hundreds of rural northern psalm composers were hitting their stride in publishing recently composed American hymnody, the immigrant Europeans offered a new standard of musicianship and harmonic sophistication that had great appeal for conservative critics of the flamboyant New England style. In addition, many members of the generation younger than the
revolutionary cohort had simply tired of the style of hymnody they had always known.

Because imitation was much more highly regarded in the eighteenth century, Congress established the first copyright laws in 1790 that effectively favored imported music in a conscious effort to promote emulation of European culture.\(^2\) This, in addition to the backlash against indigenous American music, amplified the effect of the Europeans' publishing activities in the United States. The trajectory of the immigrant musicians' careers, while individually providing nothing more than a bare living, collectively influenced American culture at a critical juncture. The cosmopolitanism they brought with them included a much more relaxed approach to mixing secular motifs and influences with sacred music. What to our ears sounds like a remarkably subtle, if not indistinguishable, shift in religious music appeared to many Americans, especially in New England, as quite radical. Nonetheless, the influence of the Europeans was often welcomed by many American cultural conservatives as it satisfied their craving for things English. The delicately gradual secularization that was evident earlier in the eighteenth century though the infiltration of Enlightenment ideals was furthered by the larger publishing project of the newly arrived Europeans. Their worldly influence contributed to what was probably the most disturbing confrontation for many Americans in the Early Republic. This

\(^2\) This placed immigrant composers who remained foreign nationals in a position where their own compositions were not covered. But because they controlled most of the secular publishing business, they protected each other from piracy through mutual self-interest well into the nineteenth century. European works, of literature as well as music, were pirated by any American typographical printer. However, the immigrant musicians had a great advantage in the ephemeral sheet music market both because they controlled the engraving/printing process in cities and because they retained contacts in England that provided the latest London stage hits.

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was the growing rift between traditional Protestantism and the new nineteenth-century liberalizing effect of the commercial marketplace and egalitarian politics. The larger cultural consideration of the influence of European music complicates, as it confirms, our understanding of the complexities of the construction of nationhood outside of government.

Most musicological research devoted to European music and musicians arriving in American cities after the Revolution has focused attention narrowly on single cities, individuals, instruments, publishing, performance, or composition.203 The few panoramic treatments of American music trends in the Early Republic have briefly acknowledged the influence of these European immigrants, but there have been no syntheses of their work as a class of artists and artisans, nor of their interaction among themselves or with indigenous styles of American

music and musicians.\textsuperscript{204}

The influence of the sophisticated music brought by the newly arrived Europeans was initially notable simply by their sheer numbers. In one of his many revealing comments about Federal theater music, William Dunlap, later manager of New York's Park Street Theater, briefly described alterations in the pit band at the Park's predecessor, the John Street Theater, in the mid-1790's:

We have noticed the improvements made by Mr. Hodgkinson in the orchestra at New-York, improvements rendered necessary by the excellence of this branch of theatrical arrangement in the rival company of Philadelphia. Instead of the "one Mr. Pelham," and his harpsichord, or the single fiddle of Mr. Hewlett, performers of great skill filled the bands of the two rival cities. In New-York, the musicians were principally French, most of them gentelmen [sic] who had seen better days, some driven from Paris by the revolution, some of them nobles, some officers in the army of the king, others who had sought refuge from the devastation of St. Domingo.\textsuperscript{205}

Most of the non-French artistic emigres had been squeezed out of Britain's highly competitive theater scene, centered around London's Covent Garden and Drury Lane theaters. Within a single season, orchestras were transformed from a thin representation of English theatrical music by importing entire bands consisting exclusively of Europeans. The


transition from one or two musicians to orchestras of twelve to twenty pieces was permanent, and hence even small touring troupes of actors were accompanied by bands of four or five musicians (see chart in Appendix H). The legalization of theaters in Boston and Philadelphia in the early 1790s brought British ballad opera to American cities, including musicians, music publishers, engravers, and minor composers. This enlarged music scene did not emulate European standards so much as import them wholesale. Within a two-year period 1792-1793, the theaters in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston each had representatives in London send back hired companies with over fifty individuals apiece, including pit orchestras. The Philadelphia company was brought back by Thomas Wignell in anticipation of the completion of the new Chestnut Street Theater, whose opening was delayed by the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. In Boston, the new Federal theater trustees selected Charles Stuart Powell to secure a company in England. John Henry (1746-1794), of Hallam and Henry's Old American Company, brought back a strong

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206 Concert orchestras tended to be larger than theater bands on both sides of the Atlantic; London theater orchestras could be a small as six or eight musicians, who often doubled on other instruments. Porter, *With An Air Debonair*, 369-371; Dunlap's difficult partner, actor John Hodgkinson, toured New England in the summer of 1797 under financially trying circumstances with a band composed of fifteen actors and four musicians: Nicolai, Adet, Joli, and Falconer. Entry for August 8, 1797 from Diary of William Dunlap. Two of these, Nicolai and Adet, are mentioned in the band lineup for the following theater season at the Park Theater in New York in the 1798-99 season (see Appendix J). A Joseph Falconer is mentioned as the "intelligent box-office keeper" at that theater by Dunlap. *William Dunlap, History of the American Theater*, Vol. 2, 71.

207 British ballad opera more resembled what we would consider musicals than Italian opera. The variety of styles within this popular English style is discussed below. Porter, *With an Air Debonair*, 44-45.

troupe to New York, adding to that already at the John Street Theater. The Old Americans then proceeded to Philadelphia for a season at the old Southwark Theater, challenging Henry's former partner Wignell on his own turf. American theaters were nearly simultaneously infused with new talent. The procedure of traveling to England to "bring over a company" was repeated throughout the 1790s and 1810s as new actors and musicians replaced previous members or expanded the theaters' companies (see table in Appendix I).

European musicians were drawn by the hope of higher pay and more consistent employment, but they were also pushed by events at home. In England, the competition for musical theater and cathedral positions was fierce, in large part because London was attracting some of the best continental talent in Europe at that time, particularly from Germany. George Frederick Handel (1685-1759), and later Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809), found lengthy and rewarding tenure in London, as did dozens of lesser composers of secular and sacred music. In addition, the works of German playwrights such as Augustus von Kotzbue (1761-1819) were adapted to the English stage and eventually to

\[209\] William Dunlap *History of the American Theater*, 179. While the old John Street Theater (1767) continued to be the focus of theater life in New York, it was in 1794 that a group of investors began planning the Park Street Theater, opened in 1798, when the John Street Theater was torn down. Porter *With An Air Debonair*, 10.

\[210\] Charles Durang, writing his memoirs of his years in the Philadelphia theater in the 1850's, commented that even in the years before the Revolution "[t]he provincial ground of Thespis was duly occupied throughout Britain. Like another Columbus, he bethought him of a western world. The English colonies of North America, yet in the cradle of suckling childhood, were supposed to be uncivilized in all social relations; yet a California fame (as at the present day pertains to that El Dorado ) tingled in the ears of Bull's subjects, and promised ample scope for all kinds of enterprise." Charles Durang, *History of the Philadelphia Stage*, 2.

American audiences by William Dunlap (1766-1839). After 1793, there was an exodus of French musicians and musically-trained minor aristocrats, both from the revolution in France and the slave rebellion in Haiti. Many of these émigrés were forced into employing their formerly ornamental attainments to obtain a living, and America, especially to the French Haitians, seemed like an accessible haven. For Germans, competition and social upheaval within the German states, the patronage of the House of Hanover in England, and eventually the Napoleonic wars, provided impetus to leave. America’s large and well-established German population offered a welcoming destination for some, particularly among the Pietist sects in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, where sophisticated brass ensemble playing constituted an important part of worship services.

212 Several of Dunlap’s seventy-five librettos (Count Benyowsky, Pizarro, Wildgoose Chase, and The Stranger) were borrowed directly from Kotzbue. Dunlap, a trained painter, theater manager, playwright, biographer, historian, novelist, and librarian, has been called the father of American theater but he was more a renaissance man of the early republic. His insights into theater music are invaluable but somewhat limited by his being, by his own account, tone deaf. “Of music and operas I was profoundly ignorant - as ignorant as all but professors of music are...My knowledge of music gave me no advantages as the manager of a theatre...[but] I was not quite so low as the manager of a provincial company, who threatened the horns in is orchestra that he would discharge them because they did not sound as long as the fiddlers.” Dunlap, History of the American Theater, Vol. 1, 68-69.

213 Referring to the newly opened Chestnut Street Theater in the fall of 1794, Charles Durang mentions “[t]he orchestra consisted of a number of Frenchmen of name and talent, who the revolutions of France and St. Domingo had driven to this country as an asylum. Many of them were Counts, Marquises, &c. who had acquired music and dancing as necessary accomplishments to the finished French gentleman. Thus suddenly deprived of their estates and exiled from their country, they resorted to their accomplishments for a livelihood, with that grace and facility characteristic of the people of that gay nation.” Charles Durang, History of the Philadelphia Stage, 44-45.
and social events. However the music of the German Moravians, while far more ornate and instrumentally sophisticated than that of the dissenting denominations in America, was largely confined to their own communities. Later, as instrumental concerts became more prevalent in Philadelphia, brass and woodwind sections might be hired as a group from nearby German towns to augment the orchestras.

Refugee musicians, already mobile and traveling light, tended to move frequently among American cities before settling down. For instance, German regimental oboist Gottlieb Graupner (1767-1836) was discharged from his army unit in Hameln, Hanover in 1788. From 1791-1795 he played in Joseph Haydn’s London orchestra, leaving for Prince Edward Island in the summer of 1795. By November of that year he played an oboe concert between acts at the City Theatre in Charleston, South Carolina. By mid-1796, Graupner had married actress/singer

214 Regarding the John Street Theater in New York in 1785, Charles Durang reported that “[t]he orchestra was composed of the following musicians: Mr. Philo, leader; Mr. Bentley, harpsichord; Mr. Woolf, principal clarionet; Trimmer, Hecker, and son, violoncello, violins, &c. Some six or seven other names, now not remembered, constituted the music force. The latter were all Germans. This, then, was the best company in all departments that had been offered to an American public.” Charles Durang, History of the Philadelphia Stage, 24. Early records of the Music Fund Society of Philadelphia show disbursements for paying individual bassoonists, trombone quartets, and music borrowed, all of the United Brethren of Bethlehem. Since a German member of the Philadelphia music society was directed to communicate with the Brethren, it might be assumed that the hired musicians did not speak English. Further insights into the broad prevalence of music in German Pennsylvanian society is given by Eliza Southgate Bownes’ comments on travelling there in 1803: “[S]uch jargon as you hear in every entry or corner makes you fancy yourself in a foreign country. These Bethlehemites are all Germans, and retain many of the peculiarities of their country, such as their great fondness for music. It is delightful. There is scarcely a house in the place without a pianoforte; the postmaster has an elegant grand piano. The barber plays on almost every kind of music. Sunday afternoon we went to the young men's house, to hear some sacred music. We went into a hall which was hung round with musical instruments, and about twenty musicians of the brethren were playing in concert; an organ, two bass viols, four violins, two flutes, two French horns, two clarionets, bassoon, and an instrument I never heard before made up the band; they all seemed animated and interested. It was delightful to see these men, who are accustomed to laborious employments and all kinds of mechanics, so perfect in so refined an art as music.” Eliza Southgate, A Girl’s Life Eighty Years Ago , (New York: Arno Press, 1974), 173-4.
Catherine Hellyer and moved to Boston where he played concerts, gave lessons, and ran a music store until his death in 1836. Similarly, Dr. George K. Jackson (1745-1823) was an English organist and music teacher who did not emigrate to America until 1796. Arriving first in Norfolk, Virginia, then moving to Alexandria, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Elizabeth, and New York, he finally settled in Boston in 1812. Other immigrant theater musicians routinely toured the circuit of smaller American cities associated with their home base acting company.

Most of the immigrant musicians were keyboardists or multi-instrumentalists trained in European standards of harmonic composition. They were used to reading and composing music in block chords that, in choral music, signified all three or four parts of vocal harmonies at once. As they arranged their horizontal harmonic structure in their own pieces, or as they adapted the works of others, they could experiment or check for unwanted dissonance immediately, before attempting to perform the pieces with choirs or engraving them for printing. Inevitable comparisons with native sacred music found the latter wanting, but the overall percentage and volume of American-composed pieces in sacred music imprints continued to predominate in the 1790’s, and actually increase between 1800-1805.

The Revived American Theater as National Art Form

The theater of the early national period shared many of the same inhibitions and yardsticks of taste as American sacred music in the 1790’s. As with rural early national music, American playwrights honed their
craft on a very part time basis, supporting themselves mainly as actors, theater managers, or doctors and lawyers. Like the nationalist verses of some of the New England psalmists, the wartime American dramas were often fiercely patriotic dramatizations of events current during the Revolution. Mercy Otis Warren, who wrote a trilogy of plays in the early 1770s critical of the Massachusetts royal government, John Leacock (The Fall of British Tyranny), and Hugh Brackenridge (The Battle of Bunker's Hill, The Death of General Montgomery) all wrote dramas that were expected more to be read than performed. This was especially true after 1778, when the Continental Congress proscribed theater throughout areas it nominally controlled.

From the outset of theater revival after the Revolution, British styles and plays predominated in popularity, even as a few American playwrights, highlighting American themes, tried to have their works produced. This phenomenon reflected the preferences of the urban American theater audiences to which theater managers catered, in contrast to the rural congregations that enjoyed the new Americanized style of psalmody. One disappointed theatergoer in Philadelphia commented that “[w]e have heard of new plays and farces which were performed many months ago in England, and which we had hoped before this time to have seen here...unless you speedily alter your mode of conduct, your company will play to empty benches.” It would not be

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216 Richards, Early American Drama, xi-xii.

217 General Advertiser, April 1, 1794.
until the 1830's and '40's that American subjects and plays could be counted on for box office success, usually as vehicles for immensely popular stars such as Edwin Forrest. Even in the midst of the War of 1812, American playwright James N. Barker's *Marmion, or the Battle of Flodden Field* was advertised as an English play "to avoid the absurd and unjust prejudice then existing against all American plays." Mortifying as this fact was, it had the desired effect of securing the entire success of the piece. The decades-long wait for the validation of American efforts in theater paralleled the slow development of other indigenous fine arts, such as painting and literature; it also underscored the anomalous treatment of rural American sacred music.

This predilection for British productions is not surprising since the early national theater was comprised almost exclusively of English managers and actors, with European musicians taken from some of the best theaters in England. Philadelphia actor Charles Durang, son of actor and pantomime John Durang, grew up in the early American theater, and his *History of the Philadelphia Stage*, published serially in 1854, contains first-hand observations of the early pit band at the Chestnut Street Theater in 1793-1794. He emphasized that the arriving acting companies had their "origin in the best London talent, and not, as is often

218 *Marmion* was based on Sir Walter Scott's poem "with a good speech for King James, in which a close parallel is run between the conduct of England to Scotland, and (by allusion) to this country. As it was intended by [managers William] Wood and [Thomas] Cooper that Marmion should come out as an English play, I was fearful this 'one speech' might 'unkennel' the 'occult' design, but they declared it must remain as a powerful 'touch at the times'..." Letter to William Dunlap from James Barker, June 10, 1832 in Dunlap, *History of the American Theater*, 314-315; Barker was also responsible for adapting English plays to American audiences with success as Charles Durang noted - "The Travellers by Cherry was very cleverly altered by James N. Barker, or Americanized, to use his own phrase, and successfully placed before the public. The piece originally was a *soupe meagre* affair; but our townsman showed much tact in the alteration..." Durang, *History of the Philadelphia Stage*, 84,107.
alleged, in provincial itineracy.” Similarly, the orchestra was on equal footing with London’s best. As Durang noted “the musicians were deemed equal in general ability with the stage artists - the celebrated violinist from London, George Gillingham, the leader.” He also marked the dramatic change in the American music scene occasioned by their arrival since the orchestra...under the direction of Manager [and keyboardist Alexander] Reinagle... contained about twenty accomplished musicians, many of them of great notoriety as concerto players on their respective instruments. The concentration at that early day of so much dramatic, operatic and instrumental talent, introduced a new era in theatricals here...

Despite Durang’s assertion that the company was not associated with itineracy in England, at least one modern historian of early American theater has stated that the American stage of the early national period can best be understood as far-flung stops on the English-speaking provincial circuit that included Bath, Edinburg, Dublin, and Spanish Town (Jamaica). Although the period of the War of 1812 highlighted the paradox of the preference for English plays, this prejudice had existed since the end of the Revolution.

Plays by two American authors in the early national period provide important perspectives on the purposes and attitudes of the theater management and audiences that also inform the music that was conducted in eighteenth-century operas was carried out by two performers: the keyboardist (pianoforte or harpsichord) guided the overall performance, especially coordinating the vocalists while the orchestra leader, often a violinist, directed just the band. No batons were used but in French performances a time-keeper pounded the floor with a large stick. Mates, The American Musical Stage, 74-75; Adam Carse, The Orchestra in the Eighteenth Century, (Cambridge: Heffer & Sons,1940), 88.

Victor Fell Yellin, “Two Early American Musical Plays”, liner notes for The Indian Princess/The Ethiop, CD 80232-2, New World Records, 3.

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performed there. Royal Tyler (1757-1826) of New York and John Murdock (1748-1834) of Philadelphia each wrote several works commenting on the ongoing stratification within American society was undergoing and the consequent ramifications for the arts. They approached this topic from different perspectives. Tyler was a Harvard-educated Federalist lawyer, former army officer, and a future Vermont judge. Murdock, by contrast, was a working-class hairdresser, abolitionist, and Democratic-Republican who strongly resented what he perceived as an elitist stranglehold on the preferences for theater productions.²²¹

In early 1787, Tyler, just returned from helping to suppress Shay's rebellion in Massachusetts, wrote The Contrast, the first American play to be professionally performed that became popular enough to enjoy what was considered a "run" at the time: six performances in New York, four in Philadelphia, and subsequent presentations in Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, Alexandria, Richmond and Spanish Town (Jamaica).²²² While other plays such as William Dunlap's controversial Andre and Susanna Rowson's Slaves in Algiers, portrayed nationalist themes mixed with popular sentimentality, The Contrast satirizes two dominant social


²²² William Dunlap commented that "The Contrast...is extremely deficient in plot, dialogue, or incident, but has some marking in the characters, and in that of Jonathan, played by Wignell, a degree of humour, and knowledge of what is termed Yankee dialect, which, in the hands of a favourite performer, was relished by an audience gratified by the appearance of home manufacture - a feeling which was soon exchanged for a most discouraging predilection for foreign articles, and contempt for every literary homemade effort." Dunlap, History of the American Theater, 137.
typologies emerging in postwar America. Tyler's central central contrast juxtaposes the anglophile, urbane cynicism of Dimple, Charlotte, and Jessamy with the homespun, patriotic integrity and unsophisticated earnestness of Colonel Manly, Maria, and Jonathan. These caricatures are important to our understanding of music because they reflect contemporary conceptions of the cultural bifurcation that also informed musical taste. City and country, cosmopolitan and rustic, European-sanctioned and American exception are viewed by Tyler (and his audience) as two halves of a whole. Tyler skewered both archetypes, presenting the urbane fashionables as shallow narcissists and the New England provincials as bombastic (Manly) and hilariously naive (Jonathan). Similarly, theater musicians could not afford to affront any sizable segment of their audiences and had to appeal to both the "gallery gods" and the box seats by playing two types of music.

Andre sympathetically portrays the British officer Major John Andre, captured and executed as a spy after negotiating General Benedict Arnold's defection. At the time, the sentence was widely viewed as not one of General Washington's finest decisions. On the other hand, the cult of Washington during the 1790's was strong enough to cause revision of the play. The initial performance of Andre depicted an American officer, Bland, plucking the cockade out of his hat and throwing it on the ground in disgust at General Washington's insistence that Andre be hanged rather than shot. After the first performance, Dunlap quickly rewrote the scene to have Bland, played by British actor Thomas Cooper, replace the cockade in his hat. Wearing cockades as emblems of political affiliation in American city streets became provocative in the late 1790s.

Kenneth Silverman has called The Contrast "the most distinctively American literary work of the eighteenth century" pitting "revolutionary stoicism and high-mindedness against the new spirit of display and fun, republicanism against aristocracy, country against city, soldier against beau, Boston against New York, marriage against seduction...American simplicity and sincerity against European affectation and preoccupation with fashion." Silverman, A Cultural History of the American Revolution, 559-560.

Seating in American theaters was similar in pricing and layout: the cheapest gallery seats were in the balcony at 25 cents, the 'pit' was the entire ground floor up to the orchestra pit comprised of rows of benches at 50 cents, and the boxes were compartments surrounding the second and third story perimeter, coming onto the sides of the stage itself, at 75 cents. Periodic attempts at raising this pricing schedule by 25 cents across the board always faiired poorly.

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223 Andre sympathetically portrays the British officer Major John Andre, captured and executed as a spy after negotiating General Benedict Arnold's defection. At the time, the sentence was widely viewed as not one of General Washington's finest decisions. On the other hand, the cult of Washington during the 1790's was strong enough to cause revision of the play. The initial performance of Andre depicted an American officer, Bland, plucking the cockade out of his hat and throwing it on the ground in disgust at General Washington's insistence that Andre be hanged rather than shot. After the first performance, Dunlap quickly rewrote the scene to have Bland, played by British actor Thomas Cooper, replace the cockade in his hat. Wearing cockades as emblems of political affiliation in American city streets became provocative in the late 1790s.

224 Kenneth Silverman has called The Contrast "the most distinctively American literary work of the eighteenth century" pitting "revolutionary stoicism and high-mindedness against the new spirit of display and fun, republicanism against aristocracy, country against city, soldier against beau, Boston against New York, marriage against seduction...American simplicity and sincerity against European affectation and preoccupation with fashion." Silverman, A Cultural History of the American Revolution, 559-560.

225 Seating in American theaters was similar in pricing and layout: the cheapest gallery seats were in the balcony at 25 cents, the 'pit' was the entire ground floor up to the orchestra pit comprised of rows of benches at 50 cents, and the boxes were compartments surrounding the second and third story perimeter, coming onto the sides of the stage itself, at 75 cents. Periodic attempts at raising this pricing schedule by 25 cents across the board always faiired poorly.
In its portrayal of a divided American society, *The Contrast* invokes musical taste in its satire of New England character. When the country bumpkin from Massachusetts, Jonathan, is asked to sing by the city servant Jenny, he says he can sing only psalm tunes like MEAR, OLD HUNDRED, and BANGOR, all New England singing-school standards. His only exception is, of course, "Yankee Doodle." Jenny replies that she would prefer a "little song to please the ladies, such as Roslin Castle, or the Maid of the Mill," i.e., English popular music. Thus, in America's first self-consciously native comedy performed in all major cities, sacred choral music was epitomized as provincial, the sole music of revolutionary enthusiasts, while theater music was framed as quintessentially fashionable, trivial, and English. While *The Contrast* was not a comic opera, it invoked a metaphorically dualist soundtrack that the audience imagined playing behind its view of society at large in the 1780s.

At the beginning of the final act, the urbane servant Jessamy coaches Jonathan in becoming more sophisticated by following a code devised by his master, Dimple, to insure unified reactions to comic plays from each level of society, represented by the theaters' seating arrangement. Dimple has arranged this so that "pit, box, and gallery

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226 BANGOR was composed by William Tan-sur and first published in 1735, MEAR and OLD HUNDRED were anonymously composed and first published in 1720 and 1551 respectively. Britton, Lowens, and Crawford *American Sacred Music Imprints, "Core Repertory"* (Appendix 4), 684, 686-7.

227 "Roslin Castle" was a broadside ballad from Scotland of the mid-eighteenth century whose melody became a popular funeral tune during the Revolution; "Maid of the Mill" was the title song of a British comic opera of the 1760's with libretto by Isaac Bickerstaffe and music by Samuel Arnold.

228 One song is performed in *The Contrast*, "Alknomook" by Maria at the beginning of Act 1, Scene 2. It was a well-known English song and pean to native American stoicism first appearing in print in England in 1783.
may keep time together, and not have a snigger in one part of the house, a broad grin in the other, and a d---d grum look in the third. How delightful to see the audience all smile together, then look on their books, then twist their mouths into an agreeable simper, then altogether shake the house with a general ha, ha, ha! loud as a full chorus of Handel’s...

“A gamut for laughing - just like fa, la, sol” says Jonathan as he makes the connection to singing school pedagogy. This scene not only lampoons Jonathan’s dull-witted responses but also mimics some of the methodology of the mechanics’ enlightenment; it also parodies the sycophantic compulsion to imitate that drove urban vogue.299

John Murdock’s *The Triumphs of Love*, a product of the mechanic’s enlightenment, was written and performed in 1794, seven years after *The Contrast*. The managers of the Chestnut Street Theater in Philadelphia, English actor Thomas Wignell and English keyboardist Alexander Reinagle, had to be repeatedly petitioned to put the play up before it was finally given a brief run.300 While the comic actor Wignell had played Jonathan in *The Contrast*, he played Peevish in *The Triumphs of Love*. Murdock even used a character named Major Manly whose high-minded republican character very much resembled that of Tyler’s Colonel Manly. A brief exchange early in the play underscores the sardonic erosion of revolutionary spirit that had already occurred in urban American culture by the mid-1790s.

*George Friendly jun.* [A] fine sparkling hilted sword - now tell me truly is there not vanity in dangling that fine affair by your

299 Richards, *Early American Drama*, 50.

300 Heather Nathans finds Murdock’s work a class-based counterpoint to that of Tyler or Rowson whose perspective “understands the gap between the rhetoric of republicanism and its practice...the play and its author appealed to just that sort of American that the theater’s founders did not want represented in their class-regulated theater.” Nathans, *Early American Theater*, 98-9.
side?

Major Manly  No, George, not a particle; but I feel a conscious pride in wearing it, for these reasons: - it has been my trusty friend in the hour of danger; and the first moment I girded it on this side, I subscribed my name to our glorious independence, which I will support while I have breath.

G. Friend, jun.  What a Don Quixote in politics! you were always an enthusiast in that way, Harry.

Devotion to the cause of independence was portrayed as extravagantly idealistic and dismissed with the same glib worldliness displayed throughout The Contrast, but without Tyler's ridicule of the republicans' earnestness. Benjamin Franklin's third of American society which had been ambivalent to the patriot cause was alive and well at the theater. Working-class patriots like Murdock were deeply offended by the cynical, self-interested refinement that accompanied the increasing social stratification of American cities. The portrayal of rural, revolutionary folk in contemporary theaters helps explain the eventual marginalization of the American sacred choral style in urban areas.

Rural treatment of Revolutionary veterans was often somewhat more deferential. Rev. Samuel Gilman's filiopietistic account of several aged veterans of the Revolution rescuing his congregations' worship music in the early nineteenth century vividly made this point.

Four ancient men, the least of whose ages was seventy-three, indignant at the folly and pertinacity of those singers...and weared out with waiting for a return of tolerable music, tottered up the stairs one Sabbath morning with the assistance of the panaled railing, and took their places in the seats left vacant by their degenerate grandsons. Two of them had fought in the old French war, and all had taken...part...in the struggle for...independence....their voices of course were broken and tremulous, but not destitute of a certain grave and venerable sweetness. They kept the most perfect time, as they stood in a row, fronting the minister, with their hands each holding a lower corner...
of their books, which they waved from side to side in a manner
the most solemn and imposing. Their very pronunciation had in
it something primitive and awe-inspiring. Their shall broadened
into shawl, do was exchanged for doe, and earth for airth. Their
selection of tunes was of the most ancient composition and slowest
movement, with the exception, occasionally, of old Sherburne,
and the Thirty Fourth Psalm.231

America’s first generation of dramatists, as with native
practitioners in other fine arts, had high expectations for the early
national stage. Their idealism was vigorously challenged, nonetheless.
The language of Boston’s 1750 Act to Prevent Stage-Plays conveys the
essence of the traditional opposition to the theater which had prevailed in
Philadelphia as well. These “stage-plays, interludes and other theatrical
entertainments” were seen to promote “unnecessary expenses...discourage
industry and frugality, but...tend to increase immorality, impiety, and a
contempt of religion.”232 However, such condemnations of the theater
began to falter after the Revolution. Attempts to allow a theater in Boston
in the late 1780s created a public controversy but leading citizens who
favored drama eventually succeeded in having plays permitted by the
early 1790s at improvised structures named The Exhibition Room and
The Board Alley Theatre. Their reasoning, presented to the legislature in
1791, stood opposition on its head by claiming “a theatre...will...afford a
rational and innocent amusement...advance the interests of private and
political virtue...polish the manners and habits of society,...and refine the

had been written by Daniel Read of Connecticut and first published in 1785 while THIRTY FOURTH
PSALM was published in 1760 by Joseph Stevenson of Poole, Dorcetshire, an English parish
composer popular in American before the Revolution.

232 From the Act to Prevent Stage-Plays, passed by the Massachusetts General Court, March, 1750
1969, originally published 1853), 2.

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literary taste of our rising republic.\textsuperscript{233}

Not only was the theoretical purpose of the theater viewed as bound with national character and destiny, but also, for some, it became connected with emerging nineteenth-century ideas of the perfectibility of the individual. William Dunlap, playwright and manager of the Park Street Theater in New York in the late 1790's and early 1800's, published his landmark \textit{History of the American Theater} in 1832. It was written over the course of the intervening decades and thus reflects many events as they happened, rather than undertaken strictly as a memoirist's recollections.\textsuperscript{234} Dunlap commented that, without actors, "thousands...would never have heard the name of Shakespeare" and thus become "familiar with the most sublime, moral, and beautiful, sentiments that ever adorned a language." He did allow that "there are evils, and perversions, and abuses" connected with plays, but the theatre itself was a "powerful engine for the improvement of man...that...only wants the directing hand of an enlightened society to make it the pure source of civilization and virtue."\textsuperscript{235} Dunlap maintained his sanguine view of the public service of the theater despite his own hard experience. He was forced to declare bankruptcy after managing New York's Park Street Theater for eight frustrating years from 1798 to 1805. His diary, as well as the \textit{History of American Theater}, provide many details on the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{233} Clapp, \textit{Record of the Boston Stage}, 5.
\item \textsuperscript{234} Elihu Hubbard Smith records in his diary on March 2, 1796 that "in the afternoon ...found ...Dunlap taking down Notes for his intended history of the American Theatre" - thirty-six years before its publication. \textit{The Diary of Elihu Hubbard Smith (1771-1798)}, James E. Crown ed., (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1973), 135.
\item \textsuperscript{235} Dunlap, \textit{History of the American Theatre}, 2-3.
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troublesome task of keeping the newly-built Park Street Theater afloat. From before its opening in 1798, the wealthy group of proprietors who had overseen the extravagantly expensive and prolonged construction of the building insisted on excluding the lowest class of theater attendees, while dunning free tickets for themselves and friends. These limitations on ticket sales had dire effects on the financial viability of the theater.

In Boston, similar efforts at exclusivity bore the same results. The Federal Street theater was built in 1794 by the same wealthy investors who had constructed the Tontine Crescent, a stylish semicircle of townhouses, designed by Charles Bulfinch in imitation of fashionable urban homes in Bath, England. The influential members of the Tontine Crescent Association were connected through economic, family, and civic ties. The theater, located directly in front of this development, was clearly an accoutrement to the newly powerful commercial elite in Boston, who had opposed the old Revolutionary-era leadership, represented by Gov. John Hancock, in the debate over opening a theater. Over the stage, the state seal and national emblem were combined with the tragicomic masks of the stage, invoking the symbols of the new nation in the name of local as well as international legitimacy. By 1796, a rival establishment, The Haymarker Theater, was patronized by those resentful of the tone of the Tontiner's theater and its productions: mechanics, artisans, and minor merchants, who wanted entertainment that reflected their own social sensibilities. The result was financial disaster for both theaters by the end of the decade. So bitter were the class divisions between the theaters that the Federal Street Theater filled its unsold seats with non-payers, called

“deadheads,” who promised not to attend the Haymarket. The Federal Street Theater struggled, both financially and aesthetically, from its inception, and with the impending opening of the rival theater, the trustees sent the manager a list of changes they wanted implemented by the end of the 1795 season. Among them was “that you dismiss one half of the present Band & engage an equal number of persons who shall understand their business and not disgrace the Orchestra by their incapacity or affront the audience by their ebriety.” The larger complaint was that “the Town, and the Proprietors for two successive seasons have been greatly disappointed, and that we can no longer submit to the humiliating Idea of the Boston Theatre being considered as the most inferior in the United States.” For different social and economic classes, far more than just entertainment, the theater represented evolving, multivalent ideals of public culture.

The Chestnut Theater in Philadelphia was built directly across from the old State House, associating it with political legitimacy. Thomas Wignell, the co-manager of the Chestnut Theater since its opening in 1794, was heavily invested in musical productions. Charles Durang commented that

Mr. Wignell... presented great dramatic strength as well as operatic excellence. His policy...was to rely on, and to push, the latter entertainments, to the neglect of the former, although he possessed great ability in tragedy and comedy. [I]f he had simultaneously presented...tragedy, comedy and opera his treasury would have been benefited. The country, at that period, had not made any advances in the more scientific music of the

237 Clapp, Record of the Boston Stage, 50-51.
238 Letter from William Tudor to Charles Stuart Powell, March 4, 1795, Tudor Ice Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School as noted in Nathans, Early American Theater, 89.
lyrical style, however *au fait* in judgment our audience was in the regular drama. Music of an elevated character, to be properly appreciated, must have adequate judges, which only old and refined nations can furnish in sufficient numbers to support so expensive an institution as an opera.\textsuperscript{239}

Some scholars of early American theater have suggested that by favoring musical entertainment, proponents of legalizing theaters hoped to appease opposition that had no quarrel with public musical performances.\textsuperscript{240} In fact, theater orchestras often presented concerts in theaters on evenings when no plays were being performed and many actors and actresses were also accomplished singers who performed at these concerts. However, by emphasizing musical works, Wignell was actually following the latest English trends in dramatic presentations. Earlier in the eighteenth century, a hierarchy of stagecraft placed tragedy as the most important form of theater with its single-minded depiction of heroic themes worked out by larger-than-life protagonists and


\textsuperscript{240} Julian Mates quotes H. Earle Johnson's conjecture that "it is likely that many whose scruples would not permit them to enter the theatre were foremost in their championship of the various musical activities [i.e., public concerts]...Both music and the theater flourished and the artists of the latter were extremely serviceable to the concerts of the former, an association which tended to break down the wall of partition between the two forms of public improvement and amusement..." H. Earle Johnson, *Musical Interludes in Boston 1795-1830*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 45 ; the first part of this quotation used in Mates, *The American Musical Stage*, 6.
brought to a destructive but just conclusion. Comedy followed in significance, using satire and witty repartee to resolve a moral balance in a lighter, entertaining tone. The ‘main piece’ would be followed by brief interludes of pantomime, dance, or song before the final, one- to three-act ballad opera or farce would be performed. A typical night at the theater could last four or five hours with doors opening at five and shows starting around six. Theaters typically presented shows three times a week, on Monday, Wednesday and Friday or Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday nights. Music would have been a part of all types of theater except perhaps tragedy.

Musical accompaniment, originating in French *melodrame*, was played as background music to suggest moods within the action on stage as well as supporting singers who broke into song much like in today’s musicals. Later in the eighteenth century, these theatrical forms began to share characteristics to the extent that new hybrids evolved: pastiche opera (which borrowed recognizable melodies from many sources but added new text specific to the play), musical romance (“rescue operas” that introduced gothic, supernatural themes with comic interludes), and melodrama (combining broadly expressed passion with tragic story-lines).

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241 Susan L. Porter emphasizes the divide between the displeasure of official critics with musical entertainments in contrast to the delight of audiences. “By the end of the century this clear hierarchy [tragedy, comedy, opera] had been obscured and the genres blurred by the development of sentimental comedy, dramatic romance, musical romance, and melodrama, which disdained to observe the boundaries of the traditional genres...Music occupied an increasingly prominent place in these works, providing the ideal means of expressing the feelings and sentiments that were beyond the power of ‘mere words’ - an idea that, if articulated, would have been even more outrageous to the contemporary critic.” Porter further proposes a democratized Romanticism by observing that “these works dealt with the misfortunes and foibles of common people instead of the tragic fate of heroes; they allowed sinners to be forgiven instead of punished; they ignored the unities and allowed rambling, complicated plots with multiple story lines; and they incorporated elements of tragedy, comedy, opera, and even the scorned ballet and pantomime into a thoughtless, sensuous hodgepodge.” Porter, *With An Air Debonair*, 23-4.
By concentrating on musical theater, several different styles of plays could be presented as the main piece that were both popular and followed the latest British fashion. As a result of the prevalence of music in both the theatrical presentations as well as the increased programs of concerts in the same or nearby venues, secular European music of many genres rapidly gained increased audibility during the 1790's.

*The Orchestra in Early National Theaters*

While the more elevated view of the benefits of theatrical entertainments prevailed in allowing theaters to open in Philadelphia and Boston, the 'abuses' mentioned by Dunlap were particularly relevant to the status of the orchestra musicians. Their salaries at the theaters were the same as those of the lowest paid actors and were remarkably uniform from city to city, usually $10 per week for most orchestra members. Records for expenses at the Federal Street Theater in Boston for the 1796-97 season show a band of fifteen musicians with a total weekly cost of $175 while an entry in William Dunlap's diary estimates the cost of a twelve member band at $140 a week (see Appendix J). The band leader, soloists, and composers were usually paid somewhat more. However, their jobs often involved the extra work of writing out parts for the rest of the orchestra because scores sent with playbooks from England were usually only for the keyboard. Since the instrumental make-up of theater orchestras varied greatly in England as well as in America, it was common to have to customize the written orchestration for the particular theater and performance. Rehearsals during the regular theater season
took place on the days off (Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday or Sunday) between performance days. Musicians as well as actors were kept extremely busy since each night at the theater involved one full-length play, musical interludes, and a shorter after-piece or farce, and different plays were commonly presented each night the theater was open.

Band membership changed often, especially when there was more than one theater in town. Musicians moved regularly between cities, either touring with a home-based company or changing companies. Of the sample of Boston orchestra members listed in Appendix J, violinist Georg Schetky eventually made Philadelphia his home while James Hewitt moved to Boston in 1811, returning to New York later, and then touring extensively in the south. Hewitt owned a music store in New York for at least 15 years after 1797, an anchor that enhanced his income and led to further business opportunities. French horn virtuoso Victor Pelessier, also a gifted composer from the theater in Cape Francois on St. Dominique, had moved to New York from Philadelphia c.1794 and moved back to Philadelphia c. 1807, where he also traveled within the southern circuit. Not much is known about the composer Trille Labarre except for high praise from Philadelphia's outstanding English keyboardist Benjamin Carr over twenty years later. In one of his revealing letters to Boston music critic, music storeowner, and publisher John Rowe Parker in the early 1820s, Carr recommended publishing information about earlier musicians of the 1790s to dispel the public's apparent belief that only in the early 1820s had concert life in America finally begun to meet


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European standards and respectability. He also wanted to promote appreciation for professional musicians in general.

It is highly necessary to stir the public mind into respect for musical people...there has been some sentiments expressed since the formation of our Musical Fund Society\(^4\) that the public have never before heard any excellence in music - the fact is, there has been a blaze of talent in this city [Philadelphia] in former years - two things prevent a general recollection of the same - it did not excite sufficient interest at the time and the face of society here changes every few years...

The lack of 'sufficient interest' was probably measured by Carr and other professional musicians in ticket sales. Attendance for the earliest performances of English or German concert music in American cities after the Revolution was often irregular. The changing 'face of society', both the increasingly transient population of the early Republic and the rapid propulsion up or down the social ladder, was something of which a highly mobile and ambitious musician would be sensible.

The one musician outside of Philadelphia whom Carr chose to mention was Trille LaBarre and Carr underlined most of the passage describing him to Parker:

I would wish to add one who resided & died in Boston...a frenchman by the name of LaBarr & from good authority I have he was a most excellent & scientific musician and a scholar

of Gretry\textsuperscript{246} two matters I can give you from a gentelman [sic] who knew him - in 1796 - when there were two theaters open in Boston - the Bands of both joined & on St Cecilia's day performed a grand Mass of his in the Catholic church, which was a piece composition - and in 1797 he composed the orchestra parts & super-intended the getting up of the grand opera of Richard Coeur de Lion composed by his master (Gretry) and this opera was performed upon a grander scale & more perfect in all its parts than perhaps any other musical performance in the United States.\textsuperscript{246}

Besides his stated intention of correcting the record of quality in music performance in the United States before 1800, Carr mentioned two other important facets of popular music performance. The first was his notice of theater orchestras performing in churches. This development was of critical importance to the influence that immigrant, professional Europeans came to exert in indigenous American sacred music and American popular music. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the place of sacred music in theaters was more often a source of satire and stigmatization than a serious artistic influence. However, the skill of these European-trained professionals, when applied to the performance of European sacred compositions in American churches, particularly those of Handel and Haydn, was usually accepted as an improvement demonstrable to even untrained ears. The previously mentioned examples of prewar immigrant musicians such as William Selby, William Tuckey, James Bremner, and Peter Valton had created a niche in American

\textsuperscript{246} Andre-Ernest-Maxime Gretry was a French composer of operas who flourished from c.1760 - 1799. He composed and performed for the French court but survived the Revolution. He had composed "Richard Coeur-de-Lion" in 1784 at the pinnacle of his career. \textit{The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians}, second edition, edited by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001).

\textsuperscript{246} Benjamin Carr folder, Letter of December 7, 1821, JRPP.
Anglican churches into which theater keyboardists such as Benjamin Carr (1768-1831), James Hewitt (1770-1827), Rayner Taylor (1747-1825) could easily move in the late 1790's. As the formation of musical societies surged in the years after the War of 1812, many music academies were allowed to meet in churches until they built halls of their own. Thus, from the 1790’s into the 1820’s, the Anglican and Catholic churches in America served as hospitable forums for the performance of European sacred compositions. Protestant churches were compared and found wanting by some critics, just as they had been during the initial singing reforms in the early eighteenth century. Around 1807, one contemporary British observer of urban services remarked that

This mode [fasola, or shapenote] of teaching a style of music that can be adapted nearly to all the hymns that are sung at the meetings and chapels of the different dissenting sects, is common in the United States; but more particularly in the northern and middle parts of the union. There is consequently a sameness, which does not accord so well with the ear as the sublime music of the episcopal church, and the pleasing variety of many of the dissenting places of worship in England.\(^{247}\)

A second important aspect of American professional musicianship alluded to by Carr was the desire for “respect for musical people” and spoke to the general working conditions of theater musicians. Careers in the theater pits were often unstable and unpleasant. Although roughly on a par with middling artisans, musicians’ dependence on public performances placed them at the mercy of American society’s most rauco...element in audiences.\(^{248}\) The lower class patrons of the cheap seats,

\(^{247}\) Lambert, *Travels*, 108.

\(^{248}\) "In general...orchestral musicians in early American theatre were faced with job conditions and status worse even than the other performers, were subject to the whims and violence of the audience, and were poorly and irregularly paid." Porter, *With An Air Debonair*, 384.
the "gallery gods," appear to have felt a particular prerogative in directing the choice in music. Actor Charles Durang recalls outrageous behavior as commonplace in Philadelphia in the spring of 1790, in spite of an "array of civil and military power and preventative police regulations." As soon as the curtain came down "the gods in the galleries would throw apples, nuts, bottles and glasses on the stage and into the orchestra." Because of dim lighting and overcrowding it was difficult to identify miscreants, "as if each person had the attribute of Briareus, scattering with a hundred hands the missiles in their mischievous freaks."
The inarticulate shouted out was their choice of music, "[v]ociferating, with stentorian lung, 'Carlisle's March,' 'Cherry Charlotte's Jig,' 'Mother Brown's Retreat'...these were the names of notorious characters with their slang and flash appellations, as given by the rowdies of that day."249 Music, as much or more than the acting, prompted outbursts from the gallery where the audience had their own cultural preferences to express in the form of street music. Early national theater audiences contained a broad spectrum of economic classes, for some of whom the orchestra was a personification of aristocratic prerogative, in their expertise in an obscure form of learning, in their choice of music, and to whom in the audience the band actually directed their performance. The boisterous gallery asserted itself in ways that served notice to the elite occupiers of the box seats, as well as the orchestra, that their pretensions to what Kenneth Silverman has called "[l]uxury - loose morals, fashionableness, Europeanization, [and] false gentility" were unsuitable in the new republic.250

249 Durang, Charles History of the Philadelphia Stage, 27.

250 Silverman, A Cultural History, 545.
The disrespect of the audience did not always predominate in the early 1790's. Describing events in Philadelphia in the fall of 1793, Charles Durang claimed these rowdies were held in check by the "dignified personne" of the music director Alexander Reinagle, "the very personification of the patriarch of music - investing the science of harmonious sounds...with a moral influence, reflecting... high respectability and polished manners." This ability to temporarily awe the gallery into silence appears to have come with the arrival of the new company and orchestra from London that included many outstanding instrumentalists:

Such was Reinagles's imposing appearance, that it awed the disorderly of the galleries, or the fop of annoying propensities, and impertinent criticism of the box lobby, into decorum...No vulgar, noisy emanations, were heard from the pit of that day; that portion of the theatre was then the resort of the well-informed critic. The intellectual taste and analytical judgment of our city congregated there to listen - to follow the track of the actors' readings. There it was, that you might see... the elite of the literary young men of the town...whose attic acumen and wit appreciated, while they kept the upper regions in attention.251

However, the silence of the gallery was short-lived. A vivid picture of an evening at the theater was provided by Washington Irving, certainly "a fop of annoying propensities." In letters written in 1802-3 to his brother Peter's New York periodical, The Morning Chronicle, Irving complained of, and then 'defends', the state of American theater and its music in two different personas, Jonathan Oldstyle and Andrew Quoz:

I observed that every part of the house has its different department.... The mode by which they issue their mandates is stamping, hissing, roaring, whistling, and, when the musicians are refractory, groaning in cadence...I could scarcely

251 Durang, History of the Philadelphia Stage, 35-36.
breathe while thus surrounded by a host of strapping fellows standing with their dirty boots on the seats of the benches. The little Frenchman who thus found a temporary shelter from the missive compliments of his gallery friends, was the only person benefited. At last the bell rung, and the cry of “down, down! - hats off!” was the signal for the commencement of the play...

I shall conclude with a few words of advice for the benefit of every department of it.
I would recommend,
To the actors - less etiquette - less fustian - less buckram.
To the orchestra - new music, and more of it.
To the pit - patience, clean benches, and umbrellas.
To the boxes - less affectation - less noise - less coxcombs.
To the gallery - less grog, and better constables; and
To the whole house - inside and out - a total reformation. And so much for the theatre.

Jonathan Oldstyle

Irving, with his finger on the fractious pulse of the age, countered his own assessment with a tongue-in-cheek reply from Oldstyle’s literary foil, Andrew Quoz. He acknowledged the former validity of Oldstyle’s complaint of the music “in old times, when people attended to the musicians,” but music at the theater “is a thing of...little moment at present...kept principally for form sake” because there is “such a continual noise and bustle between the acts that it is difficult to hear a note.” In fact,

if the musicians were to get up a new piece of the finest melody, so nicely tuned are the ears of their auditors, that I doubt whether nine hearers out of ten would not complain, on leaving the house, that they had been bored with the same old pieces they have heard these two or three years back. Indeed, many who go to the theatre carry their own music with them; and we are so often delighted with the crying of children by way of glee, and such coughing and sneezing from various parts of the house, by way of chorus - not to mention the regale of a sweet symphony from a sweep or two in the gallery - and occasionally a full piece, in which nasal, vocal, whistling, and thumping powers are admirably exerted and blended, that what want we of an
orchestra?\textsuperscript{252}

The spectacle of the new theater buildings and their furnishings highlighted the European musicians, many of whom were known to be of the aristocratic class from France and loyalist expatriots of the French Revolution. They were associated with Old World social distinctions, viewed as repugnant to republican ideals as conceived by the newly self-empowered working classes. Poverty-stricken former elites made attractive targets and were without support from American Republicans or Federalists. An incident of the same period in New York was similar:

When a small band of seven or eight musicians one night [c. 1791] attempted to play in the theatre a portion of a Haydn symphony, the ‘gods’ in the gallery cried out, “Stop that noise, give us Bonapart crossing the Rhine, Washington’s March, or Yankee Doodle.”\textsuperscript{253}

Noisily advocating for American popular music was more about repudiating European preferences than actually expecting to hear their requests. As Washington Irving noted concerning the demands of the gallery in New York after the turn of the century, “[t]he good folks of the gallery have all the trouble of ordering the music (their directions, however, are not more frequently followed than they deserve).”\textsuperscript{254}

\textsuperscript{252} Letters of Jonathan Oldstyle and Andrew Quoz to the \textit{Morning Chronicle}, quoted by William Dunlap in \textit{History of the American Theatre}, 176, 179-180.

\textsuperscript{253} Frederick Louis Ritter, \textit{Music In America}, New York, 1895: 135. The tunes in this recollected anecdote may have been intended as typical rather than actual since Napoleon Bonapart did not cross the Rhine until much later.

\textsuperscript{254} Washington Irving letters of Jonathan Oldschool in the \textit{Morning Chronicle}, New York, c.1802-3 The opening of the Federal Street Theater in Boston marked “the custom...then introduced...of allowing the audience to call upon the orchestra for such pieces of music as suited the popular taste; and though popularity was in a measure obtained by allowing the members of both political parties to hear their favorite airs, oftentimes indicative of party spirit, which then ran high, it was the source of much confusion. In Philadelphia...a riot occurred, owing to the orchestra refusing to respond to the call; seats were broken, and the play terminated.” Clapp, \textit{A Record of the Boston Stage}, 22-23.
Members of the gallery had ample access to their own music in taverns, coffee houses, and street corners, and onboard ships. A historian of early national rioting has pointed out that “theater disturbances can reveal much about the middle-class critique of rowdyism, perceptions of increased disorder in society, and a real rise in the level of violence in rioting.” Paul Gilje maintains that the middle classes, who occupied the ground floor seats in front of the orchestra pit, were relatively accepting of the thrown objects from the gallery that fell short of the orchestra or stage. He quotes Washington Irving that “it was useless to threaten or expostulate” and better to “sit down quietly and bend your back to it.” From this, Gilje asserts that this tolerance follows the eighteenth-century model of American civil unrest characterized by a general absence of major personal injury. However, there were more serious exceptions within theater rioting before 1800, which inevitably involved the music. William Dunlap recounted an incident in November, 1796 in New York where the perpetrators of rowdyism were easily identified by the audience.

Two sea captains, doubtless intoxicated, being in one of the stage boxes, called during an overture for Yankee Doodle. The audience hissed them; they [the captains] threw missiles in the orchestra, and defied the audience, some of whom pressed on the stage and attacked the rioters in conjunction with the peace-officers; one of the latter was injured by a blow from a club.

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The rioters were dragged from their box, one turned into the street, and the other carried into a dressing-room. These madmen afterwards, with a number of sailors, attacked the doors of the theatre, and were only secured by the city watch.

While many of these minor incidents could be interpreted simply as latent class conflict, the increasingly strident political differences that developed in the 1790s were also reflected in theater music. Theater orchestras consisting of former British subjects and French aristocrats had little sympathy for the radical strain in anti-Federalist cant. An event on March 4, 1794 at the New York John Street theater illustrates the lasting effect on musicians. English violinist James Hewitt was leading the band through the usual prelude music on opening night of the new play, "Tammany, or the Indian Chief," for which he had composed the music. Locally written, the play catered to the views of the Tammany Society, a pro-French and anti-Federalist organization whose members were well-represented that evening. Apparently the band had the temerity to ignore calls for such anti-Federalist favorites as *Ca Ira*, *Carmagnole*, and the *Marseillaise March*, resulting in blows delivered to the person of Mr. Hewitt. A letter to the newspaper two days later signed by "The Calm Observer" describes the situation with reserved glee:

The [federalist] *junto* were kept aloof, and to make up for their absence, (and determined to have *some* fun) the prelude was commenced upon an *individual*, poor Hewit[t], the leader of the band, and a very respectable inoffensive character. They quarreled with him, because as a foreigner he did not know the music called for, nor would they wait till he could recollect himself, and make up the tune from the rest of the band, which was afterwards done. Perplexed as the leader of a band always is, by the variety of calls from every busy creature who is fond of the sweet sound of his own voice at a theatre, how *pleasant* a situation would his be if every call not instantly complied with was thus
resented. But it was no matter, something was necessary for a
ingoing, "a word and a blow" did the business, and afforded
excellent sport.

After much altercation on the score of the music, the opera
(the music of which could not proceed without Mr. Hewitt) was
permitted to make its appearance...The audience was of one
complexion in point of sentiment. In the Pit, and several of the
Boxes, I saw a considerable number of respectable mechanics, and
other industrious members of society, who with honest (some with
misguided) sentiments are always inclined to applaud every
expression that has the semblance of patriotic principles...I saw
persons there...who...cannot well afford the expense of public
amusements...I saw poorer classes of mechanics and clerks, who
would be much better employed on any other occasion than
disturbing a theatre - Others I saw, who, generally follow no
useful occupation, whatever, and who exists [sic] only in a riot
or a frolic.257

The fact that this patron referred to Hewitt's treatment as "some fun" and
"excellent sport," though perhaps sarcastically, articulates the prevalent
attitude towards the orchestra. Yet, a few days later another letter-writer
appeared to believe that the "Calm Observer" was overly sympathetic to
the bandleader and his alleged ignorance of some of the most popular songs
of the day.

If Mr. Calm Observer feels himself insulted or injured by the
blow given on Monday night last at the Theatre, to a very
respectable, inoffensive, fiddler, whose respectability consist[s]
in being respected by beings whose political principles are
infamous as his own: His inoffensiveness in his cowardice may
have the satisfaction he merits, by calling at No. 43 Broadway,
where he will find the man
Who Gave the Blow258

257 New York Diary, or Evening Register, March 6, 1794  Hewitt had composed the score for
University Press, 1927), 346-348.

258 New York Diary, or Evening Register, March 8, 1794.

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As a result of this incident, it appears that the John Street Theater's managers, Lewis Hallam and John Hodgkinson, commissioned Benjamin Carr to compose a patriotic piece that would please everyone. Carr owned music stores in both Philadelphia and New York and was a friend of James Hewitt, who would eventually take over Carr's New York store in August, 1797. Carr's *Federal Overture*, consisting of nine separate songs, was a pastiche of contemporary popular political and vernacular songs meant to appeal to Federalists and anti-Federalists alike. Beginning with a musical reference to *Yankee Doodle*, the first two tunes were *The Marseilles March* and *Ca Ira*, widely associated with the French Revolution. These were followed by three apolitical pieces: *O Dear What Can the Matter Be* (possibly a comment on the political upheaval of the times), *The Irish Washerwoman* (a popular fiddle tune), and *Rose Tree* (from Shield's popular opera, *The Poor Soldier*, President Washington's favorite play). Next came *La Carmognole*, another French revolutionary tune, and *The President's March*, composed by Philip Phile for Washington's inaugural ceremonies in 1789. It would provide the melody for Joseph Hopkinson's words, composed in 1798 in Philadelphia, that transformed the song to *Hail, Columbia*. This patriotic song had widespread appeal and served as

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the official theme of the president well into the nineteenth century until it was replaced with *Hail to the Chief*. Carr's medley ended with *Yankee Doodle* and *Viva Tutti* from *Il Carnevale di Venezia* by Pietro Guglielmi, best known as a tune accompanying toasts and meant to suggest reconciliation.\(^{261}\)

Carr's overture was first performed on September 20, 1794 at the old Southwark Theater in Philadelphia and appeared to please the audience. It became so popular that he decided to publish the piece in November. He performed the overture in New York, opening for *Love in a Village*, and it received a favorable review. However, the larger purpose of the piece, like the that of the music, was the tranquility of the house:

> Mr. Carr's overture...has the advantage of being eminently calculated to attract an *universal* admiration. Previous to the commencement of the opera, Mr. Hodgkinson addressed the audience in his new capacity as manager...which had for its object the good order and tranquillity of the house; by suppressing the indecencies which have been customary with the gallery, and the results which a few of that part of the audience have thought themselves privileged liberally to bestow upon every other part of the house, and more especially upon the gentlemen who compose the orchestra. We hope our fellow-citizens will...show that they are determined there shall be no privileged order in the play-house more than in the state. It is the interest of the manager's that every part of their audience should be pleased; therefore[sic] popular tunes and favorite overtures will be performed at stated times...and Mr. Carr's overture was composed for this purpose. But a few riotous people must not expect the arrangements of the theatre, the peace, pleasure and feelings of the whole audience, to be sacrificed to their senseless whims and brutal love of indecency. Now, fellow citizens, is the time, by...to begin this very necessary

The purpose of Carr's composition was not simply to please everyone but explicitly to foster political reconciliation. This was aimed not only at heading off political violence in the theater but, also, by an analogy that everyone understood, to end unruly political confrontation in government. The elimination of privilege within government was a universal stricture for social commerce throughout the American public imaginary. In addition, and not of least importance, this *pax equalitas* would help to boost attendance.

As this imperative applied to the music of the theater, there were parallels for the same basis of winnowing hymn selections by American sacred music publishers. Choices in tune selections were directly connected with sales of either tunebooks, songsters, or theater tickets. American music was increasingly coalescing from its diverse strands of religious, moral, or refined purposes into a business of opportunity. Elites' employed the egalitarianism of the new constitution in an attempt to censure the unruly gallery and to turn the rejection of refinement by the working classes, in fact the very purpose of their rowdiness, against them. This was part of a campaign to enlist the better part of the audience in a self-conscious reform of theater culture. The centrality of music to this reform program is demonstrated by the management's announcement of scheduled times for presenting popular music that would obviate the need for vocal requests.

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Observations like that of Washington Irving's fellow theatergoer, whose advice was to "bend your back" to the thrown objects of the gallery, must be kept in perspective. Cultural historian Lawrence Levine has called early theater audiences "a microcosm of the relations between the various socioeconomic groups in America." However, he also has tended to conflate riotous behavior in the 1790s and early 1800s with the true riots in the 1830s and '40s. It is tempting to anticipate the later bifurcation of classes into different theatrical venues, with separate types of entertainment, that occurred by the 1830s and Levine moves too seamlessly between the early and later decades of the nineteenth century. However, throughout the period of this study - the four decades between the end of the Revolution and 1825 - plays and their music were aimed at a general public, literally and metaphorically under one roof. The music publishing strategies of the era confirm this ideal conception of the public. Nascent hierarchies of taste and entertainment were developing in the 1790s and 1810s, but elite prerogatives were far from hegemonic or controlling of even their own preferences. As American actor John Howard Payne commented in 1810, "The judicious few are very few indeed. They are always to be found in a Theatre, like flowers in a desert, but they are nowhere sufficiently numerous to fill one."263

Theater managers and musicians were well aware that their venues were cultural crossroads that required a delicate balance to placate the politicized classes that came to be entertained. An address published in November 1795 at the opening of the third season of the new Federal Theater in Boston, by Col. J.S. Tyler, the new and rare American manager of a major theater in this era, is exemplary. He asked the audience, in part, to “Let Feds and Antis to our temples come, And all unite firm Federalists in Fun; Let austere politics one hour flee, And join in free Democracy of glee!” Balancing federalism and democracy, he further proclaimed “The good ship - Theatre - is on the stocks...In me, her captain, know me for our friend, Your townsman, - town born, town bred - at north end.” Tyler made his native birth and localism a point of distinction, using a shipping metaphor for a profitable, community effort with which all would be conversant in Boston. He concluded with “Let British lords their haughty birth declare, I boast of being bom in - Old North Square.” His stewardship was understood to be an improvement on English management, intrinsically linked to aristocratic views that would no more be associated with the Boston theater.\(^{264}\)

Lower orders were rebuffed in their efforts to confront the pretensions of elite patrons, but wealthy theatergoers also had to make adjustments. The new Chestnut Street Theater in Philadelphia was a product of sixty affluent subscriber-investors, each of whom contributed $300 towards construction. As happened with the Federal Street Theater

\(^{264}\) Clapp, *A Record of the Boston Stage*, 25-26. Clapp notes that “The public was partial to Mr. Tyler on account of his being an American, and it was anticipated that he would adopt, as he did, a liberal system, which it was thought would stimulate the dormant genius of our countrymen, and reduce the dependence then placed upon foreign talent.” This effort did not apply to the orchestra nor was it meant to have.
in Boston in 1794 and the Park Theater in New York in 1798, these backers could become stubbornly demanding of perquisites in a business they perhaps viewed as their private preserve. Anne Bingham, wife of Philadelphia merchant and theater subscriber William Bingham, wanted to purchase one of the thirty boxes in the new theater to decorate and lend to friends as their own, a practice widely observed in Europe. Manager, and British ex-patriot, Thomas Wignell felt that he had to “act on the principles of his country’s [America’s] government, and on the recognition of feelings deeply pervading the structure of its society” in politely refusing her request. Although acceding to his principles, apparently Anne rarely attended the theater thereafter.265

Rival Threats to Theaters from the Circus and the Gardens

By the mid-1790’s musicians had two other venues for public performance outside of theaters. These were circuses and urban pleasure gardens, each modelled on English predecessors that quickly spread to America’s larger cities. Although circuses were an ancient European tradition, those in eighteenth-century Britain differed from their simpler antecedents in their wide variety of entertainment. And they diverged from their itinerant nineteenth-century successors by occupying stationary buildings, of circular wooden contraction, with amphitheater seating within. Originally featuring just equestrian exhibitions, they were popularized in England by former cavalry officer Philip Astley. These shows soon expanded to include puppets, clowns, juggling, tumbling,
and balancing acts. Music was introduced by Astley himself, playing and singing on horseback, and eventually a stage for lyric theater and an orchestra were added to the amphitheater.\textsuperscript{266}

This entertainment was brought to America after the Revolution by Thomas Pool, an equestrian who first performed in Philadelphia in 1785. The next year he opened in New York and Boston, including a band of musicians. Charles Durang dryly noted that "[Mr. Pool's] performances were more diversified...by firing off pistols and drinking glasses of wine whilst driving two horses at full speed."\textsuperscript{267} However it was Englishman John Ricketts, arriving in Philadelphia in 1792 who made the circus a serious rival to the theater for the attention of the public. Between 1792 and 1799 he had built two circuses each in Philadelphia and New York as well as single venues in Norfolk, Charleston, Albany, Boston, and Hartford.\textsuperscript{268}

A contemporary print of the interior of Ricketts circus shows the structure opened on one side to allow the audience proximity to horse racing events. Ricketts Amphitheater, or Pantheon, was opened in Philadelphia across the street from the Chestnut Street Theater. It was a roughly boarded circular structure 97 feet across with straight walls eighteen feet high and a peaked roof that soared to fifty feet high. This


\textsuperscript{267} Charles Durang, \textit{History of the Philadelphia Stage}, 47.

theater “district” was just a few doors down from the federal government buildings and patriotic connections were articulated at the circus, as in the theater, through interior decor with each state’s seal, the arms of the United States, and representations of Agriculture and Commerce on display. The circuses in each city were generally open on the nights the theaters were closed. Starting in 1796, Ricketts confronted the theaters in New York and Philadelphia by instituting popular operas, a tactic that seriously diminished theater revenue. It did, though, provide bargaining leverage and extra employment opportunities for actors and musicians. It might be assumed that entertainment even broader than the theaters’ might not interest the urban elite. However, The New York Magazine in early 1795 observed that at the theater recently, the pit and gallery were full while the boxes were empty, the “genteel” patrons having gone to Mr. Ricketts. In 1798, Lailson’s New Circus also opened in New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. Competition in the small South Carolina city was so intense that the theater management was forced to hire the circus as part of their company. In Philadelphia, the managers of the Chestnut Street Theater began hiring acrobats and pantomimists between performances to mimic circus entertainment. In New York, the improvident Hodgkinson suggested to his exasperated partner, William Dunlap, that they buy up all the circuses. Dunlap replied that if “these were ours, cannot others be built? And if Circus’s can be built which will answer as Theatres, cannot Theatres be built on similar plans?” While Dunlap did not excoriate circus performances per se, he had few good 


270 Dunlap, Diaries: letter to Hodgkinson, September 12, 1797.
words for members of his own company who performed there: "Chambers sung to please me but acted in the pantomime most rantingly execrable...Mrs. Hallam play'd last night at Ricket's Circus & I find the people think she disgraced herself by it..." However, there was no escaping the fact that the spectacle of the circus had become a necessity on the theater stage. Charles Durang, whose father John had long been a pantomimist in Rickett's Circus, noted in 1801 that the French performer Placide danced on a tight rope "and played a fiddle with the bow in his mouth, the violin behind his back and over his head." Another feature was the Antipodean Whirligig, a man "standing on his head, and whirling round...like a top [or] like the axle of a wheel...sometimes he would have fireworks attached to his heels and other parts of his person." Durang also deplored the spectacle of Susanna Rowson, the noted novelist, playwright, actor, and founder of a Boston female academy.

Mrs. Rowson used to dance a hornpipe in heavy iron fetters, in the character of a sailor. Such exhibitions are not pleasant at any time; and as the figure of Mrs. R was rather short and somewhat inclining to the rounded contour, she did not make much sensation. Her refinement of intellect should have dictated better taste - or rather, an omission of the spectacle. Why ladies in the profession should wish to don the small clothes, we never could divine. It certainly adds nothing to their female charms, but deducts from the magic of such influences, through indelicacy that must necessarily arise in the imaginations of the auditory.

Mrs. Rowson and her husband worked for Rickett's Circus for some years before she opened her academy in Boston. Details of musicians' performance were:

271 Dunlap, Diaries : entries for June 1 and June 27, 1797.

experiences playing at the circus are scant. At the Olympic Theater in Philadelphia in 1812, the orchestra pit was located between the ring and the stage. When the melodrama Marmion was staged there, the dramatic impression was heightened by "a flourish of trumpets; a grand procession of Marmion's suite; they proceed down the stage, cross a bridge over the Orchestra into the ring, march round and exit to martial music."273 As the horses trod overhead, possibly leaving evidence of their passing, the musicians might have questioned the wisdom of their employment at the circus. No one employed by the theater or the circus could have missed the symbolism of their more paradoxical circumstances.

The other source of employment for musicians was the outdoor "gardens" that flourished in the larger cities in the summer. Light songs, concerts, dancing, fireworks, and musical comedies were given at these open-air venues, modeled on London establishments such as the Vauxhall (1661-1859), Ranelagh (1742-1803), and Marylebone (c.1659-1778). Similar establishments were constructed around restorative springs, such as those at Sadler's Wells (1684-c.1879) and Lambeth Wells (c.1697-c.1829). Although first appearing in New York in the 1760s, they spread in earnest during the 1790s, with New York having a Vauxhall in 1793, a Ranelagh in 1798, a Columbia Gardens and a Mount Vernon Garden by 1800. Charleston had its own Vauxhall by 1795, Philadelphia had Harrowgate Gardens, Bush Hill, and a Vauxhall all by 1800. These pleasant pastimes impressed visitors like young Eliza Southgate Bowne from Maine when she went to the Columbia and Mount Vernon Gardens in 1803:

Last night we went to a garden a little out of town, Mount Vernon garden; this is surrounded by boxes of the same kind [as Columbia Gardens], with a walk on top of them. You can see the gardens all below, but 'tis a summer playhouse,--pit and boxes, stage and all, but open on top. From this there are doors opening into the garden, which is similar to Columbia Garden; lamps among the trees, large mineral fountain, delightful swings, two at a time. I was in raptures, as you may imagine, and if I had not grown sober before I came to this wonderful place, 'twould have turned my head...

Here, too, they have music playing on the water in boats of a moonlight night.74

Bands and singing actors from the theaters found steady employment in the summer at these outdoor concert series that also featured some of the more popular musical dramas.

The garden tradition in England exerted a strong influence in America. The Ranelagh Gardens in Chelsea, England had an amphitheater of covered supper-boxes for seating that was duplicated in both the New York gardens. The English gardens became a venue where all musical tastes were catered to, where English composers were given listening time equal to both 'ancient' continental composers, such as Handel and Corelli, and modern Europeans like Johann Christian Bach, Haydn, and later Beethoven and Rossini. Instrumental art-music and popular songs received equal billing, and sacred and secular music was interchangeable in these concerts. In the London Vauxhall Gardens, Thomas Arne was music director starting in 1745, followed by James Hook (1746-1827) from 1774 to 1820 as organist and music director, and Henry R. Bishop (1786-1855) directed in the 1820s and 1830s. Samuel Arnold managed the Marybone gardens for a period, making its music an


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important draw. Throughout this period some thirty-three collections of
garden songs were published annually and the productions of these
gardens formed a considerable part of the English popular music scene.
The songs were of a basic ballad format, but with dramatic
embellishments taken from Italian opera and adapted to English auditors,
similar to the vernacular modifications made by English ballad opera on
stage. Texts as usual came from popular poets, from Shakespeare to Sir
Walter Scott, but could also appeal to current reform issues such as Hook's
*Rights of Women* (1801) and Bishop's aria *The Emancipation from Negro
Slavery* (1834).

In America, there was a similarly close relationship of gardens to
local theaters. Theaters in the larger cities were generally closed by early
summer, and most acting companies put together smaller touring groups
that travelled a circuit of nearby towns. Outdoor venues were attractive
and musicians and singers were usually available for the summer. The
American version of the gardens stressed the same wide variety of styles as
were found in England. Yet the musical emphasis on easy accessibility
could also stigmatize the style. In the *Port Folio's* review of an indoor
winter concert in 1801, the reclusive organist and virtuoso improviser
Rayner Taylor made a favorable impression through his "powers which
have hitherto, been too much confined to the circle of his personal friends."
His organ concerto and compositions "exhibited science, taste, and
execution" but this seems to have been at variance with what the
reviewer had previously heard from him at the gardens. He concludes
with a wish that Taylor "will, in future, justly estimate his forte" since to
"behold him wasting his time and talents, in composing or executing a Vauxhall song, excites sensations similar to the view of Hercules playing with the distaff." The metaphor well fit the larger view of an emerging national self-conception of an immature goliath, and, by extension to the public, the reviewer is impatient for further development. Urban American musicians faced conflicting admonitions to please one segment of the listening public with few pretensions to sophistication, and another segment that was self-conscious of America’s cultural deficiencies.

Differences Between Emblems of Distinction: English and French Precedent and Musicians’ Status

In the 1790’s, immigrant musicians encountered specific American circumstances that required compromise and adaptation, especially in choices of popular and patriotic music. These occurred in theaters that, from their hard-fought beginnings, ostensibly reflected and amplified the supposed spirit of egalitarianism on which the new government was predicated. However, to the extent that these Europeans came from or through England, they were leaving behind a British music scene widely regarded there as in decline, bereft of its former native genius, and dominated by superior composers, singers, and instrumentalists from Italy, Germany, and France. The British Isles had become a mecca for

275 For instance, Thomas Wignell and Alexander Reinagle, the managing partners of the newly renovated Chestnut Street Theater in 1801, accompanied their announcement of the re-opening with a statement that they were sorry "to be compelled to notice the introduction of cigars" in Philadelphia, a custom they felt was "dangerous, repugnant to decorum, and furnished European travellers with a constant topic of ridicule." Durang, History of the Philadelphia Stage, 70.
employment for the rest of Europe, but these interlopers found they had to adapt to anglophone preferences. German composer Josef Wolfl reported to the publisher Hartel in Leipzig in 1805 that

[s]ince I have been here, my works have had astonishing sales and I already get sixty guineas for three sonatas; but along with all this I must write in a very easy, and sometimes a very vulgar style. So much for your information, in case it should occur to one of your crititics to make fun of me on account of any of my things that have appeared here. You won’t believe how backward music still is here, and how one has to hold oneself back in order to bring forth such shallow compositions, which do a terrific business here.277

By the 1790’s, the great English Cathedral composers of earlier in the century, and earlier centuries, were seen as having no comparable contemporaries. The theater had been dominated since the 1750’s by British ballad opera, with intermittent songs in English, rather than Italian opera sung throughout in Italian. In fact, the vernacular nature of ballad opera was begun as a popular burlesque on the inscrutable Italian style, so favored by English aristocratic patrons. Ballad and pastiche opera borrowed songs from other sources, rewriting the lyrics to conform to the plot at hand while humorously referencing the original composition, often with political overtones that the audience would understand.278

Newer types of popular musical dramas evolved, building on the ballad


278 “The theatre in England at this time [1793-1804] was...in an anomalous condition, unable to produce plays without music, or operas without speech, and catering for an audience determined to have spectacle and sensation rather than either. Indeed by 1800 the legitimate drama had lost much of its intellectual momentum....Certainly it was true that music from about the mid-eighteenth century had become broadly popular as a consumer product...But if music was the late eighteenth-century rage, if it usurped the position of the legitimate drama, it gained little by it. Instead of stimulating English music to greater heights, the very opposite occurred...Apart from the Bible, from which had sprung the oratorio tradition of Handel, and which itself lay like a dead hand upon English musical consciousness, the vitiated and debased drama was to become, for a period, music's only viable inspiration and support.” Beedell, *The Decline of The English Musician, 1788-1888*, Chapter 2 ‘England: The Land Without Music,’ 38-71.
opera vogue, such as comic operas (with music specifically composed for it), musical romance, melodramas (which often blended gothic themes with spectacle), and pantomime/ballet which were presented as interludes or afterpieces for recuperating from the effects of the main dramatic piece. Drama had become a vehicle for music to such an extent that the English satirist John Williams (1761-1818), writing as Anthony Pasquin, published a poem in 1792 in London about the 'musical mania which tortures the times':

Oh! I'm sick to the soul, to see MUSIC alone,
Stretch her negligent length on the Drama's gay throne.
Where Muses more honor'd by Wisdom should sit,
To adorn the heart's mirror, and fashion our wit.
Let the Wench have her place, as a Wench worth respecting,
But to wound her OLD SISTERS, is base and affecting.

The British styles were emphasized by English stage managers in America as well, and American audiences appear to have appropriated English tastes. Charles Durang observed this production policy by the English manager of the Chestnut Street Theater in Philadelphia, Thomas Wignell, in the early 1790's:

Mr. Wignell, it seemed, devoted his chief attention to the English opera - (which, after all, is but a bastard opera). Indeed, he possessed great strength in that department. But the day had not yet arrived for operatic speculations. Music is only now [early 1850's] progressing with us to a just appreciation, induced by the more elevated compositions of the Italian school.


281 Durang, History of the Philadelphia Stage, 43. Italian opera was bought to New York for the first time in 1825-26 by the Garcia troupe. Porter, With an air Debonair, 25-29; Elson, History of American Music, 100.
William Dunlap quoted Wignell himself as saying that "had he devoted all his care to the Drama, instead of music, he might have been rich instead of a bankrupt." Durang also implies that only with the passage of some twenty-five years had Americans developed tastes refined enough to distinguish between English and Italian opera. However, Dunlap differentiated American from English preferences regarding music in drama by pointing out that Americans

write of the theatre as the home of Melpomene [muse of tragedy] and Thalia [comedy], and view the sister, Euterpe [music], as a favored guest in the household where they preside. Let music have a temple of her own; but when in unison with the drama, music and painting are only to be considered as accessories.

This perception of a more serious national inclination, though, may have been influenced by a combination of idealism and his own experience of becoming bankrupt while adhering to a policy favoring musicals. Most reflections on American tastes at the theater were more in line with Josef Wolff's jaded evaluation of contemporary British preferments.

As with earlier developments in hymnody, American taste in theater music was closely tied to English trends. However, a critical appraisal of the same melange of cultural imports, contemporaneously conflated as 'European', was somewhat differently received in America than in Britain. England, with a long musical heritage of its own and a

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283 Durang, Charles *History of the Philadelphia Stage*, 43. This dovetails with Levine's appraisal of trends in American theatrical and concert productions by the mid-nineteenth century where the popularity of opera in Italian served as a vehicle for sacralizing "high" culture, distinct from the lower order of English ballad opera. Levine, *Highbrow, Lowbrow*, Chapter 2, 'The Sacralization of Culture,' 85-95.

heightened xenophobia developed throughout the eighteenth century, viewed the dominance of foreign influence with chagrin and contempt. Americans shared no such sensitivity. Americans in the Federal era rarely made substantive distinctions between English and other continental contributors besides the French. This was understandable since German and Italian individuals, like George Freidrich Handel, Joseph Haydn, Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782), Johann Schroeter (1752-1788), John Benser (? - 1785), Tomasso Giorgani (c.1730-1806), Muzio Clementi (1752-1832), and Felice Giardini (1716-1796), spent important periods of their careers in England. The preeminence of oratorios may have laid ‘like a dead hand’ on English musical imagination for British critics but, in the religiously predisposed new American nation, oratorios rapidly became the pinnacle of attainment in American sacred music.

Simultaneously, French influence came by a separate path to American theaters, rising in public awareness and stature during the American Revolutionary years followed by a direct influx of trained musicians resulting from the French Revolution and the Haitian revolt. They came to America under duress and not for financial or career opportunity. French musicians constituted a significant class of skilled

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285 As early as 1728, Daniel Defoe noted that London was burdened with "heaps of Foreign Musicians" to such an extent that he proposed an academy for training young English musicians, an idea which came to naught. Daniel Defoe, August Triumphans; or, The Way to Make London the Most Flourishing City in the Universe (London, 1728), 17. Precisely a century later, the same conditions prevailed: "The phenomena... of the season were then -- the immense influx of foreign performers, and the almost entire diversion of the patronage of the leaders of fashion and the public from the English to the foreign style and to foreign artists..." "Sketch of the State of Music in London," QMMR 37 (1828): 95.

professionals with their own rich composing heritage who, unlike most foreign musicians in England or America, were biding their time anxiously until they could return to France. Of course, French culture was well-received by American Francophile democrats even as the aristocratic nature of the emigre guests had to be ignored. Oeller's Hotel in Philadelphia, located near the theater district adjacent to the federal government buildings, became a cultural center for French emigres where balls were given regularly by subscription as well as concerts of French music. The program for a concert in 1795 illustrates a sample French repertory that could intersect with English (see Appendix K).287

Their circumstances in America were often desperate, and their attitude tinged with humiliation and outrage. Moreau de St. Mery, a West Indian creole lawyer and minor aristocrat, mentioned one such musician from St. Domingo, a former general of the Orleans dragoons and governor of Guadeloupe, in his diary: “M. Collot...[l]ike so many other colonists...has been reduced to earning his living by his labors. His talent for the violin, which he studied for his own amusement, has made him first violinist at the Philadelphia theater.” As a sad and telling denouement, Moreau notes that the former general and governor now sold ice cream from a cart outside the theater but his wares “will bear comparison with that of the cellar of the Palais Royal in Paris.” In 1798, Moreau and this violinist Collot were deported during the height of the Quasi-War with France, under circumstances that highlighted the friction

287 Frances Sergeant Childs, French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790-1800: An American Chapter of the French Revolution, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940),110-111; Oeller's Hotel was destroyed in the same fire that burned Rickett's Circus in 1798. Siek, “Musical Taste in Post-Revolutionary America,” 155, fnt.
which developed between the French émigrés and their host country. Moreau noted he was the only person in Philadelphia who continued wearing his tri-color cockade and that he and Collot headed the list of deportees put together by President Adams. Curious about the charges against him, especially since Moreau and his associates hated the French Revolution, Moreau inquired of Sen. John Langdon of New Hampshire what his offence may have been, only to be told “nothing in particular, but he’s too French.”

Of course not all demonstrance went against the French. The theater managers in major cities, if not of a deliberately democratic persuasion, at least felt compelled to placate ruffled French feathers. Performances of the Poor Soldier, reportedly one of President Washington’s favorite plays, had come to feature an extended improvisational caricature of the character of Bagatelle, the French valet. Various outpourings of offended dignity from French emigres, as well as American democrats, included yet another theater riot in Boston. This led not only to the curtailment of the satire but, in Boston, to the installation of a black valet, Domingo, in place of Bagatelle, complete “with a song in character.” Here was an object for parody that crossed political lines and offended no one who could retaliate.

Kenneth and Anna M. Roberts, trans. and ed. Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey, 1793-1798, (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1947), 323, 253. Moreau de St. Mery's diary reveals in detail the plight of French refugees and the maintenance of ties between them while here. His general unhappiness and predisposed animosity to American culture were shared by many of his acquaintances who considered themselves exiles in a culturally desolate land and watched developments in France throughout the later 1790s for opportunities to return to France.

The story of Mon. and Mme. Gardie of New York came to epitomize the tragedy of the emigre musicians' circumstances in ways that resonated with gothic themes in popular literature of the time. Gardie was the son of a French nobleman, the king's receiver-general at La Rochelle, and had married an actress/dancer from St. Domingo. Returning to France, she was not 'received' by his family and continued to follow her profession. When performing one evening some time after the Revolution, she refused calls for her to sing the Marseilles Hymn, causing her and her husband to flee France, eventually arriving in New York City. He performed in the John Street Theater orchestra and she performed dances and pantomimes. William Dunlap, the source for this tale, says in his history of American theater that Gardie supplemented his income by copying music for the theater. When manager Dunlap and his partner, actor John Hodgkinson, severed their stormy business relationship in 1798, Mon. Gardie had been copying music for Hodgkinson to take with him. When Hodgkinson left without paying for the copying, Gardie became frantic. Faced with returning to France penniless without his wife, he stabbed her and then took his own life, leaving an only son. In another story, Dunlap reveals the tribulations of a musician in the theater band who had suffered at the hands of the Inquisition in France and did not share the anti-democratic politics of his fellow musicians -- an exception that apparently proved the rule. As a "victim of an institution which could only exist in a monarchy or aristocracy," he had no friends in the orchestra because the other French musicians "adored the source of their former ease and splendour," and considered themselves to be
“victims of democracy.”

Another important difference between American and English musical cultures lay in different perceptions of the social status of a musical career. English musicians had been left behind in the self-conscious rise in stature pursued by many British professions in the eighteenth century. Although formerly connected with traditional requisites of a formal education fostered by both universities and cathedrals, the secular branch of musicians, from whom the stage and concert orchestras were made, sank in status even as, and to some extent because, music became a middle-class embellishment. By 1821, a London periodical would comment that “There are...the strongest proofs that [music] is becoming the ornament and the solace of other classes beside the most affluent.”

As for urban English sacred music, in the latter half of the eighteenth century the Church of England had allowed its formerly

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290 For the Gardie’s story, see Dunlap, History of the American Theater, Vol.1, 263, 402-406 ; For ‘A Tale of the Inquisition,’ see 391-400. Dunlap recorded separately in his diary that “[P]revious to my leaving town L. Gardie had called upon me and informed me that he had some Music in his possession, the remains of what had been given him by Mr. Hodgkinson to copy, and that Mr. Hodgkinson had gone away in his debt $20. I told him the music belonged to the Theatre and not to Mr. H - he said it was at my service; I sent for it and he was not at home. Yesterday I call’d at his lodgings about 9 o’clock in ye morning, he said Mrs. Gardie was out & had the key of the place where the music was, asked when I should be at home & promised to call on me that day. this morning between 8 & 9, I met Hallam, he put on a woeful face ‘My dear Dunlap what I shall tell you will be a Terrible shock. Gardie has murder’d his wife & himself’...What I shall relate of the former history of these people I collect from [scenery painter Charles] Ciceri & [musician Victor] Pellessier.” Entries for July 11 & 20, 1798, William Dunlap Diaries, Collections of the New York Historical Society, Vol. 1, 1797-98.

291 “Sketch of the State of Music in London,” QMMR 11 (1821):399; “[E]ven in the mid-eighteenth century the high-status branch of the musical profession no longer commanded its former prestige, the financial and social advantages of careers in church music and of university degrees in music had declined considerably, and the old profession with its church and university ties became much less significant in the profession as a whole. No successful attempt to reverse this trend occurred until at least the middle of the nineteenth century.” Rohr, The Careers of British Musicians, 9.
rigorous system of training for musicians and singers in its forty
cathedrals and collegiate chapels to lapse. The salaries of organists, who
often were responsible for musical instruction in their parishes, stagnated
and it became clear that local church hierarchies believed keyboardists to
be their "'superior servants' in the same category as the Church
Yardman, the Bell-ringer or the Organ-blower." The blessing of music by
the rising middle-class had also become its curse. In 1791, a German
pastor in London commented on this state of affairs by noting it should not
have been surprising that most English people, "whose *summum
bonum* is money, are tasteless in the arts, and treat them with
neglect, or even look upon them with a kind of disdain." Even as a
"tradesman or merchant...regards the accumulation of money above all"
it was natural that they consider a "man of talents and learning, or an
artist endowed with excellent genius, as beings far below him."Regardless of how proficient or acclaimed English musicians became, they
were unable to compete with foreign instrumentalists and composers who
were paid handsomely by their aristocratic patrons, nor were they able to
break out of their lower-artisan social niche. The stultifying effects of a
relentlessly class-conscious society were articulated in an 1818 piece that
underscored the hopelessness of the musician's status:

> The labour of practice can scarcely ever be relieved, except by
> some coarse or dissolute species of dissipation. The poor musicians
> can find no better associates than those of his own condition, and
> while his sensibility is sharpened by his art, his taste occasionally

292 Testimony in a Chancery court action brought by an organist against the Dean of the Cathedral
Church of Bangor, in Joseph Pring, *Papers, Documents, Law Proceedings of the Choir of the
Cathedral Church of Bangor* (1819), 73 quoted in Beedell, *The Decline of the English Musician*,
55.

awakened, and his manners improved by the good company into which that art casually introduces him, it is most probable he is only made to feel the more acutely those deficiencies which he has not the means to repair. The polite and the informed who are induced to enter into conversation with him discover at once that his recommendations are confined to his fiddle or his voice, and they quit him in that hopeless conviction. 

By removing to the new theater circuits in the United States in the 1790s and 1810s, most British/European musicians likely believed they had found the “means to repair” their social deficiency. In spite of their association with Britain, as individuals they were granted much more respect as “professors of music” than they received in England. As the new, wider influence of European musicianship gained traction in American cities in the late 1790’s, new adjectives such as “scientific” and “correct” were used repeatedly in print to describe the standards of these artists to which native musicians should aspire. By describing their superiority as scientific, Americans granted these trained professionals an expertise in a sublime art/skill, from whose dissemination and respect the new nation could only benefit. The deference accorded foreign musicians was not only at variance with their treatment in England, but also with the increasing hostility of many Americans to the preponderance of British actors in their theaters. 

The American public could readily accept foreign preeminence in things musical. However, they felt that

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295 “Trained musicians from Britain were sought out and looked up to in America, not only to direct performances and offer their own compositions, but to teach, train, and guide American musicians and music lovers so that they in turn could become truly scientific. Any professionally trained musician from Britain was likely to be treated with respect as an “able master,” and his services would be in some demand, particularly as a teacher. Indeed one British composer, George K. Jackson, made his status official by arranging to receive a musical doctorate before he set out for American shores.” Termperley, Bound for America, 4.
many American thespians languished in secondary roles at the hands of British managers while English actors dominated the newly imported "star" system of touring celebrity-actors, traveling between American theatrical companies who supported their roles.

Immigrant musicians may have originally imagined that the only barriers to raising their status in American cities would be the vagaries of a vigorous new marketplace. However, though they may have been respected by the public individually, this did not mean they were impervious to manipulations by theater management. In 1794 in Charleston, a letter was published in the Charleston Gazette from three French musicians to the managers of the Charleston Theatre, "Messrs. West and Bignall." They complained of underpayment through the unreimbursed expense of having to travel to meet the troupe in outlying towns where it performed. They also asked if they could play for Mr. Placide at the French theater when they were not engaged at West and Bignall's theater. The managers replied in a published letter the next day, apologizing to the public for exposure to so trivial a problem and calling the musicians complaints "improper, unreasonable, and indeed not quite grateful." They claimed they had "thrown in their mite" to help the

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296 Charles Durang, citing the experience of his own career, wrote that by 1810 "[t]he Chestnut Street Theater was an excellent school for novices in those days, but a sad place for the young aspirant's ambitious views. There seemed an insuperable bar to promotion in the ancien régime to the minor performer. 'Once a captain always a captain - once a private always a private.' That was the maxim of the old Chestnut Street cabinet. These fogey ideas bred great discontent among the secondary people - after the leading performer's grade - the latter, of course, being secured in their positions by compact. The notion of an American having talent was then deemed eminently utopian. Some of us wild young Americans would venture to indulge in prophetic speculations as to the future of the drama, but we were only laughed at or sneered at. We have lived to see our vaticinations most triumphantly realized. How men who came hither from England, with good sense of observation and education, having their own children born here, could indulge in such fantasies, I never could understand. But such is the mystery of national prejudice." Charles Durang, History of the Philadelphia Stage, 100.
refugees in their dire plight but that “our occasion for their services by no means equalled our desire to relieve them from distress.” The musicians were fired with the excuse that they would be better served at the French theater.297

The lack of bargaining leverage could be compensated somewhat by feuding theater managers, as was the case with the partnership of William Dunlap and John Hodgkinson at the Park Street Theater in New York, as it disintegrated in acrimony in 1798. Throughout June of that year, Dunlap recorded incidents that involved both his mercurial partner and testy members of the orchestra. In early June, the eminent composer and horn player, Victor Pelissier, asked for a raise from $15 a week to $18. Dunlap replied simply that he “did not agree to it.” On June 18 he wrote that “Hodgkinson quarrels with the wind instruments” but did not elaborate on the cause. Within two days Dunlap noted that “Hodgkinson wished me to join with him in a declaration that the musicians who had quitted the orchestra in consequence of his message to them t’other night should never play in it again, which I not choosing to do, a few words rather acrimonious passed between us.” While Hodgkinson announced that “tho you plead their cause, by god, none of them shall set a foot in a Theatre where I am,” it was he who was actually leaving the area. A week later he let Dunlap know that he was taking Everdel, the violinist, with him as his leader. Dunlap responded that the violinist was engaged to him by contract. When Hodgkinson “complained of the man, mentioned his articles, proposed giving me the articles of the Seymours, he as his division

297 City Gazette and Daily Advertiser, Charleston, April 10 and 11, 1794; Eola Willia, The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century, 210-12; Porter, With an Air Debonair, 382-3.
taking Everdels, and then compelling him to go to Boston,” Dunlap agreed to this resolution. That the partners could summarily dismiss any discussion of raises and talked of trading their employee contracts like playing cards speaks to the small room for maneuver that musicians appear to have enjoyed within their professional positions. Significantly, the wind instrument players had quit rather than been fired, so they must have counted on alternatives for employment.

Ten years later the same situation prevailed. As the Park Theater prepared to put up Cinderella in the spring of 1808, members of the orchestra began missing rehearsals. Fines were threatened, as per contract, and then instituted as the infractions continued. On opening night, when the bell rang for the orchestra, the band leader, James Hewitt, was informed that unless the manager refunded the fines, the band refused to play. The furious manager addressed the audience, giving them the choice of a refund or, if they did not wish to be “deprived of their amusement by the freaks of underlings,” the music would be supplied by Hewitt alone on violin. The audience chose the latter, the orchestra was fired, and, after a delay of a few days, the play reopened “with a splendid [new] band.” On the same day the theater closed, Hewitt placed advertisements in L’Oracle and Daily Advertiser in both French and English for eight or ten musicians. Two days later, a violinist named Mr. Bork posted notices for a concert at City Hall featuring “the first Musical talents in this city.” The date of the concert was the same as that of the third performance of the revised Cinderella and tickets were available at

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Hewitt’s Musical Repository. The day of the concert, it was advertised that Hewitt himself would be conducting the orchestra at the concert while the theater manager announced that “the MUSICAL DEPARTMENT of the Theatre, is nearly completed, that Mr. Everdale [James Everdel] has arrived, & will take his place, as leader of the band.” Evidently, even though Hewitt was placed in an uncomfortable position by his own players, he chose to stick with them when they walked. While musicians had few recourses in battles over pay with management, by 1808 they had employment alternatives to which they could turn if they were forced to play the only card they had.2

**Europeanization and Magazines**

One of the most significant sources of English influence on the national music consciousness, outside the immigrant musicians themselves, was an array of new magazines. Newspapers provided more ephemeral news and derived more income from advertising, while magazines were issued weekly, monthly, or quarterly and usually supported by subscription. American periodicals of the 1790’s and 1810’s were an important forum for opinions on popular taste in general and musical taste in particular. These often short-lived periodicals, such as the *Monthly Register and Review of the United States* in Charleston, *The Port Folio* and the *Literary Magazine and American Register* in Philadelphia, the *Monthly Magazine and American Review* and the *Salmagundi* in New York, and *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review* advocated improving...

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American knowledge in science, history, and politics, along with taste in the fine arts, by cultivating European standards. The more sophisticated of these publications represented what essentially was America's first serious form of national literature and their editors were self-conscious of this distinction. Charleston's Monthly Register and Review, lauding the preeminent Port Folio of Philadelphia, remarked in 1806 that one of the most strong...demonstrations of the great advancement of a nation in arts, science, erudition, and general literary accomplishments, is the multiplication of periodical publications. As indications of the progress which this country is now making in taste for letters, we view with delight and pride every addition...to the number of those very useful works. America...may be said to have reached, in one publication, pretty nearly to the acme of perfection, in those light periodical works, which, not only instruct while they amuse, but impart an appetite for knowledge, infuse a taste for books, and, without seeming to dictate, guide the mind to a judicious selection.

As their numbers increased, so too did their longevity (see charts in Appendix L). The discussions of secular music and concert reviews in these publications had a didactic tone and provided an urban dimension to the grassroots program of self-reform in the America. The mechanics'...
enlightenment and the Academy movement in this period were its rural components.\textsuperscript{302} Music reform was a branch of the larger rehabilitation of education. These magazines touted an anglophilia that had derived from, or easily meshed with, contemporary Federalist political and proto-capitalist views. But the propensity for mimicking and advocating English/European aesthetics must be significantly qualified; a spectrum of finely shaded differences in the debate over American cultural development can be found within the discourse of these magazines. Throughout the 1790's, the Revolutionary era's fervent belief in the *translatio studii* diminished at different rates throughout the American reading public. Two broad camps resulted -- one of disgusted Europeanizers, many of them politically disaffected Federalists after 1800, and a cautiously optimistic group of cultural nationalists. The extremes could run from backwoods xenophobes to radical anglophiles like the *Port Folio*s Joseph Dennie, whose journal often reads as if published in London for English readers.\textsuperscript{303} However, while the merits of American painting, architecture, furniture design, literature and drama were debated by self-sophisticating urbanites, indigenous musical contributions were almost always treated as falling below European standards. The 1805 prospectus of the *Monthly Register and Review of the United States* in Charleston stated that since

\begin{quote}
  music...affords the purest delight, has the power of directing, soothing and controlling [sic] the human passions...we shall,
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{303} For instance, under 'Popular Music' in one edition, Dennie describes new ballads sung at the Drury-Lane Theater and 'at the nobility's concerts' as well as new country dances performed at the Prince of Wales' balls. *Port Folio*, October 3, 1801: 388-9.
therefore give some of our pages to music as a science...taken from the most approved authorities, of the best new musical pieces which shall be published in Europe. Nor can the Drama be deemed foreign to a work whose great object is to improve the public mind. Those new pieces, whether American or English, which are likely to have a favourable influence on the morals and manners of society, will be duly recommended...

While American plays might be worth recommending, only European music served to “improve the public mind.” Musicologist Nicholas Temperley has stated that the “theater was perhaps the arena where there was the least distinction between British and American aesthetic standards, because it was a place where the audience could directly impose its will. Composers writing for the English-language theater at this time, whether in London, Dublin, New York, or Philadelphia, were forced to bring their style down to the lowest common denominator. Broad humor, easy tunes, obvious harmonies, predictable dance and march rhythms, and a little flashy virtuosity were the qualities expected of theater music.” This was certainly true in terms of the music offered, but where American audiences could impose their will was precisely where they could violently diverge from British preferences. In the context of intense party conflict in the 1790’s, many Americans rejected English social constructs as portrayed in popular drama, forcing managers to rewrite plays, and sometimes music, to conform to American circumstances. Working-class and lower middle-class rejection of British actors and social portrayals led to real riots well into the middle of the nineteenth century.304

Some periodicals went beyond publicizing European trends and caustically denigrated indigenous efforts in literature and the arts (and

304 Nicholas Temperley, Bound For America, 5.
criticism aimed back at their own prejudice) as part of the campaign to induce the American public to raise their standards. The brahmin Boston Monthly Anthology, politically and culturally conservative but theologically liberal, remarked in 1809 that

We have been accused of depreciating our own country and everything indigenous. Owing to some glaring faults in our scheme of widespread superficial education, we are harassed with a class of authors more numerous here, in proportion, than in any other country - worthless weeds springing up prematurely, and their number is augmented by those who have mistaken virtuous patriotic sentiments for inspiration.305

The connection made between the rejection of foreign (mostly English) cultural influence and patriotism is not surprising given the country's undimmed recollection of the Revolution and the second war with Britain looming in the near future.

Joseph Dennie, who wrote under the name of Oliver Oldschool in the Port Folio, was a cultural reactionary and high federalist whose publication was intended as a torch in "this dark night of jacobinism." He was indicted in 1803 by a grand jury on charges of seditious libel for publishing views antithetical to democracy after he stated that a "democracy is scarcely tolerable at any period of national history. Its omens are always sinister, and its powers are unpropitious." Conversely, his reviews of American concerts could be quite flattering, as demonstrated by his praise of Benjamin Carr's 1801 presentation of pieces from Handel's Messiah. The music was "performed for the first time here...[t]he enterprise was novel...and the taste, evinced in the...excellence with which it was conducted, reflect equal credit upon the provider of the

entertainment and the several performers engaged.” Miss Broadhurst, a popular stage actor and singer, “gave full effect to the beautiful air alloted to her, “Spirits of the blest,” one of the many exquisite compositions of Mr. Carr.” The choral sections were “given with a force and grandeur which could have scarcely been expected from so small a band.” Denny could not resist imbuing so Britannic a performance with a larger cultural imperative as he noted that since Americans were descended from Britons, it was fitting that such music should be well-received here which “‘stir and rouze[sic] and shake the soul’ of the monarch on the throne, and the artisan in his cottage.”

Considering Dennie’s acid political tongue, this review was remarkably positive. However, it was understood by writer and reader that the music, the musicians, and many of the singers were English. The review does not mention the venue for the concert, and since secular songs were performed as well as the Messiah, it was probably not held in a church. The band was noted as small and the concert was possibly given at Oeller’s Hotel in Philadelphia where many of the same musicians and singers had performed some of the same songs and other pieces by Handel and Haydn in previous years. The music given at this concert demonstrates an ongoing development in cities, mixing secular and sacred music in settings outside of churches. This trend had been realized in rural New England in a different context before the Revolution as singing schools met to learn hymnody outside of meeting houses. The European

306 Port Folio, May 9, 1801: 150; Port Folio, April 23, 1803: 135; concert review, Port Folio, Feb. 21, 1801: 59 This may have been the first time that the Messiah was given in Philadelphia but parts of it had been performed in New York under the direction of William Tuckey at Trinity Church in 1770, two years before the Messiah was performed in Germany. Ronald L. Davis, A History of Music in American Life: The Formative Years, 1620-1865, 36-39.

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popularity of both secular and sacred works by Handel, Haydn, Pleyel, and others was transferred to American settings in the late 1790’s by immigrant keyboard players, like Carr and Taylor, directing concerts like this one. These performers moved easily between churches and theaters, with pit band musicians composing the concert orchestras.

Other reviews were not nearly so flattering, but some of their authors had taken seriously the advice to other magazines of Charleston’s *Monthly Register and Review* to “instruct while they amuse.” Washington Irving, writing an extensive commentary in 1805 on a concert in his *Salmagundi*, lacked the earnest pomp of Dennie but demonstrated how magazine writing had become the national literature of the age (see Appendix M). Irving is one of the more cosmopolitan, entertaining, and effective critiques of cultural conflict since his satire cuts all ways, including his own anglo-centrism. The assumption, of course, is that the reader shares the inside joke of this cunning disrespect. His Rabelaisian irreverence ostensibly holds nothing sacred, finding humor in the brief attention span of the audience, the snobbery of the English, and the histrionics of the musicians. These last were known to be mostly Europeans which adds a subtle layer of hypocrisy to Snivers’ alleged suffering at American productions. The seeming disrespect to the performers is undercut by Irving’s portrayal of this contrived condescension as commonplace and extreme, which kept his readership from taking it too seriously.

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Publishing Strategies of Theater Musicians

The key to success in early music publishing, besides musical training, was being skilled in engraving and punching copper or pewter printing plates. A high percentage of these early immigrant musicians were trained to various degrees in these skills. With sacred music, typographical music printing was able to compete successfully against the older method of engraving, making significant inroads in publishing hymnals where an economy of scale could prevail, especially in newer, larger tunebooks. However, with simple double-sheet printings of single pieces, engraving required lower investment in materials and labor required and offered greater flexibility in terms of printing more sheets as needed. When a particular piece stopped selling well, the plates could be melted and recast to be used again. Typographic printers who invested in musical fonts were well-established in regular letterpress printing and their involvement in music was a small part of their general business. As previously related by Daniel Read, they could also have a hard time perfecting its use.307

The output in sheet music by secular musician/publishers in this early period dwarfed that of typographic music printing and thus facilitated, and dominated, the increasing tempo of change in secular songs and art-music. Engraving for these trained musicians was secondary to music itself, a technological means to an end that kept the economic reward for production in the hands of the musician/composer. In typographic music publishing, the printers shared in profits beyond the costs of printing, the price that compilers paid for having a collection

307 Wolfe, Early American Music Engraving and Printing, 27.
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published at all. This division of production still offered the lure of significant rewards for compilers, as witnessed by Daniel Read's ambition to be selling 'tens of thousands' of tunebooks in 1793. The fact that his own earnings had to be shared with the printer undoubtedly helped to keep Read's ambitious dreams, as well as those of many of his fellow composer/compilers, unrealized. However, Read's optimism is indicative of the widely perceived notion of nearly unlimited possibilities circulating in the early federal period.308

The investment strategies of urban musician/engravers of secular music were much more nimble. They could publish as much and as often as their pocketbook would allow as well as take advantage of any ephemeral topics of composition. These opportunities could be songs of recent military and naval victories, political satires, and, probably most profitable of all, new songs made popular from theater musicals. These were often advertised as being sold in theater box offices and lobbies during intermissions, along with food and drink. For example, the following advertisement from the Boston Gazette for April 9, 1797 reveals how readily adaptive and affordable this practice could be:

Songs in the musical drama of the Adopted Child this day published and for sale at the ticket office State Street and at Ede's Office in Kirby Street, price 4 1/2.
These songs will be sung at the theatre this evening

308 Richard Crawford, D.W. Krummel, "Early American Music Printing and Publishing," in Printing & Society in Early America, 220-221; Wolfe, Early American Music Engraving and Printing, 36-37; The symbiotic relationship between typographic printers and sacred music composer/compiler was both positive and negative. The printer/investors provided an opportunity for publication that at the very least would otherwise have been less widely distributed, if published at all. This is the view taken by Crawford and Krummel. On the other hand, it appears that even in the most stable financial conditions for composer/compiler, such as those of storekeeper Daniel Read in the early 1790s, publishing profits were uneven. Profitability became more difficult as more American tunebooks were published, particularly after 1800.
Peter A. van Hagen, a Dutch immigrant musician, was just establishing his ‘Musical Magazine and Warehouse’ that year in Boston. The music for this production had been arranged by van Hagen and it is likely that he had the music printed. Many engraver/publishers had such music stores, or “magazines”, where they sold their sheet music in addition to instruments and music supplies. The United States copyright law of 1790 affected these small scale publishers in the same way that it tipped sacred music publishers away from newer American compositions. They made their highest profit on either their own works or on imported pieces. A letter from New York musician, storeowner, and sheet music publisher James Hewitt allows rare insight into the details of this practice. Hewitt explained the profitability of publishing in New York to John Rowe Parker in Boston, who was considering a partnership with Hewitt and a shift in his mercantile business towards music. Parker was not a musician but rather an import merchant who appears to have had cash, London connections, and perhaps a warehouse to contribute to the venture. Partnerships were becoming a common business strategy in this pre-corporate era that allowed business acquaintances to contribute different skills to a common enterprise.

Imported music [makes] about 40 [% profit] - or if from France about 50 pr. ct. The profits of the Music publish’d here depends upon the Sale - The expences will be, plates finish’d 2 Dolls each -

Printer 1 dollr. pr. hundred, Paper 6 Dolers. pr. Reim, Ink about half a Doll. pr. pound - & the Rest with other trifling expences not worth mentioning such as Oil - spirits of wine, & etc. The prospect of its being a profitable concern are very flattering, in fact there is no doubt of the success...  

It is clear from this discussion, and the one following, that imported music is of primary importance, both from the absence of consideration of American sources as well as the high profit margin of the imports. From the breakdown of expenses it can also be seen that the printers’ place in the process is half that of the engraver; but most of the musician/engravers (and a few of the native sacred music compilers) owned and operated the inexpensive copperplate presses as well. Hewitt itemizes these skills as expenses but he makes clear that he performs them himself as separately payable from the proposed partnership - the emphasis below is his own:

I am willing to put all my plates into the Joint Stock at a fair valuation, with such Music as may be necessary for the use of the Store, to the amount of 2000 Dolrs. but I certainly think that considering I make sacrifices of other profits by giving my personal attention, a consideration ought to be made either by adding more cash to the concern or by making some allowance from the profits; there are many situations in a music store, which will not only require my attention, but also my labours; it will be very necessary in the commencement to pay cash for certain articles, if goods can be imported the sale of the articles will provide for their payment, therefore the capital will not be so

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511 Hewitt folder, undated letter, JRPP; Since a letter in this folder dated December 11, 1809 Hewitt refers to “our former communications respecting a connection in business”, it can be assumed that the undated letter was written previous to that date.

512 Copperplate rolling presses were much simpler in construction than letterpresses and much less expensive. The very rare examples in engravers’ inventories imply that used rotary presses, such as Peter Van Hagen’s in Boston in 1810, were valued around $10 for a large one (for music) and $4 for a small version (for tickets). In the late 1790’s, records of Isaiah Thomas show that letterpresses were worth 75 to 100 dollars for newer models and 40 to 60 dollars for older used ones. Wolfe, Early American Music Engraving and Printing, Ch. 9, “The Copperplate or Rolling Press,” 165-175.
much wanted\textsuperscript{313} - besides one part of the stock is already provided in Music, which is a very material consequence; as it takes a long period of time, trouble & expence to collect publications suitable to this country - respecting the exchange of Music, I perfectly agree with you not to exchange here [Boston]- The establishment at New York will of course be placed in other hands, but it will always be a place of import for our publications...Respecting the profits, you may form some opinion by the following articles viz. - common violins from Germany which with costs and charges amount to about 1 Dol each, sell for 3 Dolrs; it is something of [the same] proportion for all the instruments from there - the best violins are got from London, cost about 5 guineas sell for 50 or 60 Doll. Music paper will afford a profit of near 50 pr. ct. English clarinets not above 10 generally - horns about the same - Strings of all kinds will bring 100 pr. ct. profit...\textsuperscript{314}

It was because of the significance to profitability within the nascent music industry that Hewitt highlighted the contribution of his engraved plates and his engraving skill. He did not mention bringing any other inventory with him, such as the instruments cited, other than his plates.\textsuperscript{315}

Engraving and operating copperplate presses were often conjoined skills for

\textsuperscript{313} This refers to the customary granting of short term credit (three to nine months) by English suppliers but this credit was in turn sought by some retail customers, particularly for high priced items like pianos.

\textsuperscript{314} Hewitt folder, undated letter, JRPP. This section of the letter directly preceded the previous quote - Hewitt's detailing of overall profitability was emphasized by the discussion of imported sheet music and printing costs. Hewitt's proposed partnership with John Rowe Parker never materialized but Hewitt moved to Boston in 1811 anyway. Parker eventually entered a very brief partnership with Gottlieb Graupner and then opened his Franklin Musical Warehouse, simultaneously editing and publishing \textit{The Euterpeiad}, America's first music magazine of critical reviews. The merger with Hewitt may not have been agreed to by Parker because of the uneven terms that Hewitt expected by virtue of his skills that Parker, as a non-musician, could not contribute.

\textsuperscript{315} "A publisher's true financial worth was best judged by the number of plates he owned, and they were the most important element in the acquisition of a music house..." Russell Sanjek, \textit{American Popular Music: The First Four Hundred Years}, Vol.II,1790-1909, (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press,1988), 35. The slowly built-up collections of engraved music plates gave meaning to music stores being referred to as 'magazines' or 'repositories.' Plates were numbered and stored in organized racks in backrooms or basements beneath the stores as the inventory increased. By the 1830's, a description of a London music publishing house notes extensive vaults beneath the building, vented in summer and heated in winter. Wolfe, \textit{Early American Music Engraving and Printing}, 69-73.
musician/publishers and the presses were usually located in a back room in music stores. Recently printed music was hung on rows strung over the sales counters as advertising while it dried. However, operating the rolling press remained time-consuming, arduous work. The plates had to be removed, thoroughly cleaned, and re-inked after each impression. This meant, for instance, that when Benjamin Carr and his partner George Schetky published Carr's *Six Ballads from the Lady of the Lake* in Philadelphia in 1810, a forty-five page edition for 136 subscribers, the printer would have to repeat the cleaning and inking process 6,020 times.316

Hewitt's emphasis of the 'time, trouble & expence' of putting together publications that would sell in the United States reflects not only this labor but also the trial and error involved in choosing music to publish. He had begun publishing c.1793, having arrived in 1792 as part of a theater company from London, and was a close second to the Paffs in terms of volume during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Hewitt was searching for an organist's position at the same time, and there is no mention of anticipating work in an orchestra, either for the theater or in concerts, even though he did so when he arrived in Boston. He was organist at Trinity Church in New York and became organist at Trinity Church in Boston.

Hewitt's friend, Philadelphian Benjamin Carr, was another prominent keyboardist and engraver/publisher who owned music stores. He was unique in managing shops in both New York and Philadelphia between 1794 and 1797, publishing music in both cities as well. Carr, like

Hewitt, began successfully selling his own productions within eighteen months of settling in Philadelphia. He had grown up in his father’s London music store where he acquired skills in instrument repair, instruction, engraving, and performance. Carr had also been given music instruction by Samuel Arnold and organist Charles Wesley, nephew of the founder of Methodism, John Wesley. It is telling that Carr’s first publication was his *Federal Overture* in 1794, and one of Hewitt’s earliest works was a *New Federal Overture* in 1797. Hewitt’s version, like Carr’s, included *Yankee Doodle*, *President’s March*, and *Ca Ira*, among other new pieces. A Mr. Leaumont of Boston performed his own *New Federal Overture* in Providence in 1795 and Peter van Hagen also wrote a *Federal Overture* for performance in Boston in 1798. Medlies that connoted political accommodation evidently were perceived as worth risking precious financial resources in sales of popular music.

Another common theme that intersected with many other nationalist motifs was the musical celebration of things military and naval, particularly victories. Hewitt published *The Battle of Trenton* (1797), “Dedicated to General Washington”, which he republished between 1812-14; *Three Marches* (1795-97) - *Governor Jay’s March*, *Major Morton’s March*, and *The New York Rangers March*; *The Wounded Hussar* (1798-1804); *The Tars from Tripoli* (1806-07); *The Star Spangled Banner* (1817) using Francis Scott Key’s text but his own music (rather than *Anacreon in Heaven*, the English tavern song melody used today); and *LaFayette’s Quick Step* (1824) saluting the Marquis’s famous tour (among

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317 Hewitt’s first publication appears to have been *Six Songs for the Harpsichord* in 1794.

sixty-seven such honorific compositions). In a nod to the popularity of sacred music in Boston, Hewitt also composed two hymns, FEDERAL STREET and LANG, which he published in his sacred tunebook, *Harmonia Sacra* in 1812 after he had relocated to Boston. In naming the tunes, he used the familiar New England device of using personally significant locations or proper names.  

The inclusion of *Yankee Doodle* in Benjamin Carr’s *Federal Overture* medley is the first extant printing of the tune. He also published *The Siege of Tripoli* (1803-06), using the common practice of musically representing progressive events in the battle. Part of the popularity of this type of piece (eighteen such pieces were published during this period) was the quasi-virtuoso piano effects that imitated the sounds of battle, which made lengthy, somewhat complex instrumental pieces interesting and accessible to socially mixed audiences of the federal period. But patriotic vigor and American success were a necessary binder to retain public interest to the extent that the composition would sell sheet music. Another related ‘hit’ was *America, Commerce, and Freedom*, with music by Alexander Reinagle, published by Benjamin Carr, with words possibly by Susanna Rowson.


*Carr’s Siege of Tripoli* is one of the better American battle pieces. It represents the bombardment of Tripoli by the American Commodore Edward Preble in 1804...The climax of Carr’s piece has a unique double slide in sixths to describe the explosion of a vessel, diminished-seventh chords to represent confusion and the destruction of a mosque-tower, and a descending four-octave scale to mark the barbarians’ flight back to port. The finale of *The Siege of Tripoli* is a rondo on “Yankee Doodle”; Carr also reissued this section separately.” J. Bunker Clark, “Anthology of Early American Keyboard Music, 1787-1830” , *Recent Researches in American Music*, Vol.1, Preface: vii-xix; Eve R. Meyer, Benjamin Carr - Selected Secular and Sacred Songs,” Recent Researches in American Music, Vol. XV, Preface: vii - xxiii; Davis, *A History of Music in American Life*, Chapter V, “The Search For a National Identity,” 77-94.
author of the pantomime *The Sailor's Landlady* in which the piece appeared in 1794 in Philadelphia. Despite its title, it is simply a sailor's drinking song that only by inference underscores American economic dependence on its merchant marine. The song was sung as far south as Savannah in 1796 and even spawned a parody in 1809, appearing in Timothy Minot Baker's *Favourite of Ancient and Modern Songs* printed in Boston.321

During the 1790s, several of these musician/publishers issued musical magazines. These were an important step in publicizing the changing musical scene, even if these periodicals were neither as well-circulated or as long-lived as their editors had hoped. They joined another sub-group of the New England psalmodist/composers who also issued similar sacred magazines. These early music journals reflected a common contemporary meaning of magazine, meaning strictly a storehouse. None of these periodicals indulged in review, commentary, or text beyond the music for several pieces in each issue. They represented a printing investment somewhere between a single-piece sheet and a printed book. They were all sold by subscription and few lasted more than a couple of years. They did, however, allow composers like Benjamin Carr, Victor Pellessier, and a Madame de Pelletier of Baltimore to print some of America's first original art music in the form of piano sonatas and rondos. Benjamin Carr, commenting on John Rowe Parker's much later effort to include the music for songs in his textually oriented music magazine, *The Euterpeiad* (1819-1821), told him to not bother:

...I am sorry to see songs, etc. attached occasionally to a number [issue]- they are of necessity (on account of their size [i.e., short]) generally trifling and what almost every body is already in possession of, and in no former instance, (as in the Ladies Magazine etc in London & formerly, for a time, in the Port Folio in this city) have the subscribers taken the trouble to preserve them.322

Subscribers already owned this music, undoubtedly through the sales of inexpensive sheet music provided by scores of engraver/publishers like Carr.323

An early characteristic of American music publishing was its regionalism in the 1790s. The New England psalm style was perceived as regional even as its popularity spread through itinerant singing masters and their tunesbook sales. Similarly, secular music publishing in major cities remained tied to their areas of origin due to very small print runs and localized nature of distribution. Even patriotic songs could remain connected with certain regions. Charles Durang observed this phenomenon in noting a performance in 1798 in Philadelphia:

[A]t Oeller’s ...they gave an entertainment, which was attended by President Adams...The bill announced that here would be sung “the Boston patriotic song, ‘Adams and Liberty,’ the New York federal song, ‘Washington and the Constitution,’ and ‘Hail Columbia,’” which might have been termed ‘the

322 Benjamin Carr folder, Letter dated September 8, 1820, JRPP.

Philadelphia patriotic song'...34

Most of the printings of sheet music in the 1790s appear to have been handled principally by its musician/publisher with dispersal through networks of friends and face-to-face relationships between musicians. The Carr family, however, cooperatively printed and sold their music between Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. James Hewitt, through his apparently long friendship with Benjamin Carr, was associated with Carr's music store before he took it over in 1797, which explains their collaboration on various compositions and publishing. The complexity of publishing grew in the late 1790s and after 1800, as printing output increased, the numbers of publishers rose, and music publishing houses became viable.

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The early period of influence from immigrant musicians, from 1785 to 1805, was one of flux due to the expanding economy of the 1790's, the evolution of political parties, and foreign policy dominated by the global confrontation between two of the European countries contributing musical immigrants. While all European musicians hoped to increase their fortunes by coming to the new nation, they discovered that, once here, they had to make alterations to the ways they had learned to carry on their trade in England or the continent. As a vocational class they increased their collective status and were extended respect for their learning in print and in music theory. However, they found they could be the butt of reproach by working class theater goers who perceived them as the minions of refinement and luxury and whose elite patrons, they

34 Durang, History of the Philadelphia Stage, 61.
believed, were undermining the spirit of the Revolution or threatening their livelihoods by sharp business practices. The rising volubility of political rhetoric found voice in popular music as well, and musicians who had recently been loyal subjects of King George III discovered financial opportunity in composing or publishing songs that celebrated American superiority in arms and government. As entertainment venues began to diversify in the largest cities, often in imitation of trends with which immigrant musicians were familiar in Europe, immigrant musicians found further employment opportunities, however ephemeral. And the conflicting dictates of the American public were omnipresent and required attention. As these financially astute musical entrepreneurs continued to adjust to new economic and political developments in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, they found themselves gravitating towards advantages offered by two instruments new to the western hemisphere, the organ and the piano. These expensive keyboard machines, utilizing nearly identical fingering mechanisms and techniques, each had its own cultural sphere, one spiritual and rich in traditional patronage, the other symbolizing modernism, emotion, and romanticism. The European musicians, taking their cues from the ferment of American culture changing around them, fashioned a nascent, niche industry out of the financial chances that these instruments placed at their disposal.
CHAPTER IV

EUROPEAN INFLUENCE IN THE REFORM
OF AMERICAN SACRED MUSIC, 1800-1820

The promptness of this young country in those sciences which were once thought peculiar only to riper age, has already brought upon her the eyes of the world. She has pushed her researches deep into philosophy, and her statesmen and generals have equalled those of the Roman name. And shall those arts which make her happy be less courted than those arts which have made her great? Why may she not be 'in song unequall'd as unmatch'd in war'?[?

William Selby, 1782

Theater music and sacred music maintained an unlikely and, heretofore, underexamined interrelationship that had great implications for new developments in religious music as well as American popular music at the turn of the nineteenth century. The two developed in tension with one another, fueled by the divisive religious constructions of the Second Great Awakening and the growth of post-enlightenment secularism. While sacred music was certainly the most universal and accessible musical genre, the growing American theater scene of the 1790s had introduced not only the latest hits of the British musical stage but also the beginnings of two other associated musical categories that were to find widespread favor in the early nineteenth century. The first were simple, sentimental songs that became detached from specific ballad operas. These were often based on, or in the spirit of, popular works by poets such as Thomas Moore and Walter Scott. These songs became staples for music publishers in the larger cities, relatively inexpensive to print and affordable for middle-class consumers of new parlor refinements such as...
as the pianoforte. The development and ramifications of this market are addressed in the next chapter.

The second new musical arena that deeply influenced sacred music was the increase in public concert performances, some of which combined European instrumental and sacred choral music in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. These new 'oratorios' were given largely by professional musicians from Europe but, by the 1820s, were increasingly augmented by American amateurs. The professionals brought with them a thorough grounding in European standards of composition and performance as well as the critical ingredient of the sheet music itself. Their skill in performing the works of Handel, Haydn, Pleyel, and many other European composers often derived from having played in the orchestras of these revered masters in England. The American versions of these performances had an immediate effect in acclimating a segment of the listening public to a wider selection of European preferences and areas of expertise. These musicians were also responsible for gradually secularizing the popular music of America, and slowly moving sacred music from a vocal/choral basis to include instrumental performance.325

The first decade of the new century was a period of interdependent innovations in the American music scene, bringing important new developments to sacred and secular music-making and publishing. These transformations had their genesis in events of the 1790s but established themselves with permanence after 1800. A salient aspect of these changes was the increased availability of two keyboard instruments, the organ and the piano. The former was connected with sacred music and the latter

with either public concerts of secular music or private use in homes by a performing public of expectant virtuosi. Popularizing new styles of music associated with both instruments attended the expansion of markets for these keyboards. The appeal of the organ legitimizes the elegant oratorios which nonetheless often contained musical references to theatrical devices. Meanwhile, the piano introduced a whole new industry in private entertainment that included lessons, amateur performances, and an explosion of songs in sheet music for sale.

Theater productions in the major cities proceeded in the face of continuing financial challenges that gradually increased in the 1810s. The precarious financial status of urban theaters had several consequences for the musicians employed there. Americans met with more success in having their plays and operas staged, starting with *The Archers, or the Mountaineers of Switzerland*. Based on the William Tell story and probably America's first ballad opera with libretto by William Dunlap and music by Benjamin Carr, it was produced at the John Street Theater in New York in 1796. Ironically, even as the events leading to the War of 1812 brought a new outpouring of patriotism, American playwrights garnered greater attention if they masqueraded as British. Psalmody in the United States was as widely popular as it had ever been, gauged by numbers of publications. However, within this surge of tune book publishing, music of European origin gained ascendency over American compositions, in numbers of published pieces, between 1805 and 1810 (see Appendix G).

While psalmody and theater music were considered opposite ends of the spectrum of American music at the time, the interplay between them
remained extensive. Europeanization became the common denominator that affected both genres of music, bringing them aesthetically closer together. English theatrical styles and their continental influences essentially defined drama in the United States in this period, including operas and plays written by Americans. \(^{326}\) Similarly, European musical forms affected sacred music in several ways, perhaps the most important of which were the establishment of organs in the services of many churches and the introduction of the English oratorio as a popular form of sacred music performance outside of regular church services. \(^{327}\)

**Reform in America Psalmody:**
**Reactionary Social and Theological Context**

Most controversies over musical taste in the early national period were deeply embedded within conservative responses to overarching social and doctrinal shifts. This was especially true after Jefferson's election in 1800 where the evaporation of Federalist political prerogative left open

\(^{326}\) English theater managers in tandem with their American audiences often made emendations to European dramatic works that reflected the different political, social, and religious climate in the United States. However, as intriguing as these alterations and their causes may be, the essential art form and most of its content was wholly imported. See Jeffrey Richards, *Drama, Theatre, and Identity in the American New Republic,* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Introduction, 1-16.

only a retreat to the moral high ground of cultural privilege. The world of letters in public prints - newspapers, books, magazines - took on increased importance as an outlet for asserting hierarchy in a society that seemed to be rapidly losing stratification. Close attention to changes in national self-perception after the election of 1800 has emphasized the ebb and flow of legitimation in a multiplicity of public spheres. One such rising public, undertaken in the alternative language of staffs and notation, was that of musical performance. The scientific mysteries of its compositional theory and the corollary choices of correct (and incorrect) taste had, for these conservatives, an inherent ranking of propriety. In this esoteric field, a segment of the American public desperate for social grounding, could find bottom even if it required the expertise of British, German, or French authorities. While Federalist critics of democratic aspects of American society could still praise its uniquely forged government, they considered themselves the cultural arbiters of the republic, prescribing correctives for keeping American aesthetics as

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328 Linda Kerber has acknowledged the extension of this retreat to the arts: "The articulate Federalists charged that Republican receptiveness to the crude, the novel, and the superficial in the arts and sciences imperiled the dream of founding in America a new, and higher, civilization." Kerber, Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1970), vii-xii, and chapter 6, 'Images of the Social Order,' 173-215.

329 William Dowling focuses on "the Federalist retreat from history" in his analysis of the editorship of the Port Folio where "a long and complex withdrawal in which Federalism, banished from the civic sphere by a triumphant Jeffersonian ideology, seeks an alternative home in what we now call the public sphere but what the Port Folio writers called...the republic of letters." William Dowling, Literary Federalism in the Age of Jefferson: Joseph Dennie and The Port Folio, 1801-1811, (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), ix-xv.

conscientious as its constitutional principals. For them, much American-composed psalmody merely mimicked its European origins, fixated with misbegotten genres like fuges that were pale reflections of intellectually conceived European fugues. In the late eighteenth century, the manifestation of culture through the fine arts was not understood in the modern sense of ironic individualist detachment from either ethical obligations or altruistic participation of a highly principled public. Music criticism, in this highly charged age of religious, political, and commercial turmoil, always had deeper moral implications than simply the restructuring of taste in any narrowly defined or casual terms.

Many American clergymen and lay religionists strongly resented the intrusion of theatrically influenced music into American worship services. Their widely published protestations reveal the growing ubiquity of the style of the stage. This encroachment was signified to them by both the melismatic trills and tumultuous fuging in some of the New England compositions and certain ornamental aspects of organ performance within the oratorio tradition. The shared characteristic of these offensive traits was essentially music that seemed overly complicated and refined for its own sake, distracting congregations from the messages of piety in sermons. Or as a minister at the time put it, both performer and listener were guilty of inhaling “the incense which they are solemnly wafting, though they have full enough need that it should ascend and find favour for them with the Searcher of all Hearts!”\[31\] This representation of self-indulgence was not the opponents' sole agenda but

rather evidence of declension, a widely perceived falling away from traditional Calvinist precepts, especially within New England Congregational culture. Yet many parishioners were delighted by the change in music, or grew to enjoy it. The growing influence of enlightenment deism and Unitarian/Arminian ideals - perfectibility through social structure, universal salvation, anti-Trinitarianism, interest in science, and systematization - was abetted by the climate of continuing change coming out of the Revolution.332 Most ministers influenced by Arminianism were graduates of Harvard College and their strong representation in the parishes of Eastern Massachusetts reflected a disposition, in varying degrees, to this liberal ameliorization of traditional Congregationalism.333

Opponents of Unitarianism, and theologically based adversaries of American musical innovation, were centered at Yale College and known as New Divinity Men or Hopkinsians, after Rev. Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803) of Newport Rhode Island. Descended from the Edwardsian reaction to the First Great Awakening, by the late 1790s these hardline Calvinists had lost the fervor and popular appeal of the earlier revivals. As they tried to retain the centrality of predestination and the innate depravity of mankind in New England Congregationalism, they found themselves

332 "The Arminian ethos of Unitarianism stressed the formation of Christian character, rather than the experience of conversion, as the key to salvation and regarded the arts positively, as potential instruments of moral improvement...drawing less sharp a line than Calvinists did between the domains of sacred and profane...." Lawrence Buel, New England Literary Culture: From Revolution Through Renaissance, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 39; Butler, Awash in a Sea of Faith, 220-1; Hatch, The Democratization of American Christianity, 5 -16.

increasingly marginalized. The new secular spirit of economic mobility and self-improvement, following the creation of the republic and the economic growth of the 1790s, was difficult to reconcile with Hopkinsian conservatism. These ministers were widely distributed throughout southern and central New England but with a clustering in northeastern Massachusetts and southern New Hampshire. These Hopkinsians formed the Massachusetts Missionary Society, published the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine, established a college for training clergy of their persuasion - the Andover Theological Seminary - and helped found the Middlesex Music Society. A series of sermons and lectures by Calvinist Congregational clergy after 1800, usually given at singing society performances outside of church services, consistently condemned the New England composers' popular style as well as the influence of theatrical music on congregational style. Daniel Dana, Nathanael Emmons, Elijah Parish, and Samuel Worcester, Destroys of a return to the slowly-cadenced psalm-singing of the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine, published the Massachusetts Missionary Society, provided a conservative alternative to Harvard after the appointment of liberals Henry Ware as Hollis Professor of Divinity in 1805 and Samuel Webber as President. Rev. Timothy Dwight of Connecticut delivered the inaugural sermon at the Seminary.
the seventeenth-century Puritans, as well as the introduction of Anglican liturgical chanting in Congregational churches, their valorization of "ancient music" has been regarded as a self-contained reform rather than a symptom of a wider confrontation. It is the larger context of the New England trinitarian/unitarian debate after 1800 that gives the dispute over music its true theological dimension.

This was not simply an abstract doctrinal dispute being worked out within divinity schools; it was a crisis of conscience that affected every parish in New England. American psalm composer Daniel Read shocked his brother in 1795 when he confided to him that he had doubts concerning the divinity of Christ:

I am not pleading Infidelity but for a rational Religion...is a doubt of the divinity of Jesus Christ inconsistent [sic] with Reason and Scripture?...is it necessary to my Salvation that I believe in that doctrine without a doubt? May I not hold it as a matter of uncertainty, until the Curtin [sic] shall drop and the misteries [sic] of the Kingdom of God shall be unfolded?

The propriety of sacred music figured prominently in the conservatives' vision of a properly constructed American social order as they formed musical societies, published non-American music, and disseminated the public rhetoric of their spiritual reform. The Rev. Samuel Worcester made this connection between music and society explicit in one of his lectures: "the influence of musick on the moral taste is great...some kinds of spurious religion are probably more promoted by a spurious species of psalmody...than by any other means."

Even as the anonymous editors of the musically and religiously

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conservative *Salem Collection* (Salem, Massachusetts, 1806) naturally privileged sacred music over secular, they tacitly acknowledged that opera and theater music closely competed with psalmody in approaching the sublime. Quoting Edward Miller’s (1735-1807) preface to the English publication *Psalms of David*, the American editors contended that

[w]e must not judge of the full effect of musick from frequenting the *opera* or the *theatre*. The lyric strains of Metastasio and Sachini may charm the ear and soothe the mind, but can never produce that rapturous sensation, that fervour and spring of the soul, which animates us when we listen to the divine strains of David, harmonized by Purcell, Handel, Marcello, or Crofts.\(^3\)\(^3\)\(^9\)

The Trinitarians of the *Salem Collection* advocated a retention of the old order of Calvinism as well as traditional preferences in sacred music, preserving an orthodox, unprofane hierarchy of theology and musical taste. However, their objections tacitly accepted that they were fighting a rearguard action. Their condemnation of American sacred music rested on its lack of decorum through the intrusion of worldly influences.\(^3\)\(^4\)\(^0\)

These clergymen and their spiritual allies linked theater music with the

\(^3\)\(^3\)\(^9\) Edward Miller (1735-1807) was an English organist at Doncaster, studied music under Charles Burney, played in Handel’s oratorio orchestra during the 1750’s, and published the *Psalms of David* (1790) as an effort to reform the British practice of psalmody. His opinions and his hymnal were popular with American reformers of sacred music after 1800. Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782) was a successful Italian poet and librettist who was patronized in Naples, Rome, and Venice from the 1720s to the 1770s. His operas and oratorios continued to be set by composers such as Haydn in the decades following his death. Antonio Sacchini (1730-1786) was a musician who studied violin, keyboards and composition in Naples and wrote opera scores in Rome, Florence, Munich, and Stuttgart between 1756 and 1772. Later that year, he moved to London where he enjoyed great success for nearly ten years. In 1781 he left for Paris where his work was favored by the Queen until he died. His music was well-represented in American tunebooks that featured European composers after 1800, whether they were explicitly reform publications or not.

\(^3\)\(^4\)\(^0\) The editors of the *Salem Collection* continued “while the whole Union has scarcely afforded so much as a *song* of distinguished merit, almost every village has been able to boast of its original *anthems* and *oratorios*...[I]n a country where the best *models* of composition are yet scarcely known...it has been, what we blush to confess, a general and most deplorable corruption of taste in our church musick... [M]ost of our modern psalmody is not less offensive to a correct musical taste, than it is disgusting to the sincere friends of publick devotion.” Preface, *Salem Collection*, 2nd edition, (Boston: Manning and Loring, 1806).
psalmody of the New England rural composers, regardless of the validity of their claims. John Hubbard, a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire and prime mover behind the reforming Handel Society there, followed typical views on the impropriety of American fuging by saying

[but modern innovators have not stopped here. From the midnight revel, from the staggering bachanal, from the profane alter of Comus they have stolen the prostituted air, and with sacrilegious hands have offered it in the temple of Jehovah...If any person will take the trouble of examining the songs in the Beggars' Opera, he will find from what sources many of our modern tunes are derived...will any person say that a theatre is as proper for public worship as any place?]

The Salem editors positioned themselves musically outside of either an endorsement of secular European influence or the recent heritage of indigenous American psalmody. They were successful in advocating for older English sacred music and provided the music extensively through the publication of a series of reform tunebooks emanating from Massachusetts. Rev. Nathaniel Gould was a contemporary Boston reformer of hymnody who noted in his history of American sacred music that these reformers "discarded all American compositions at once...books with such tunes as Old Hundred, Mear, St. David's...stared the singers in the face from every page." This became an increasingly compelling


342 The Salem Collection (1805, 1806), The Middlesex Collection (1807, 1808), Deerfield Collection (1808), A Collection of Sacred Musick...for West Church (Boston, 1810), Boston Brattle Street Church (Boston 1810), all noted by Richard Crawford in "'Ancient Music' and the Europeanizing of American Psalmody, 1800-1810." in A Celebration of American Music: 241; also, The Norfolk Collection, noted by Nathaniel Gould in Church Music in America, 70.

343 Nathaniel Gould, Church Music in America, 70.

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preference for Congregational traditionalists in the face of challenges from religious revivals, Unitarian rationalism, and Jeffersonian egalitarianism after 1800.

As most of these New England trinitarians were ardent Federalists as well, there was a parallel between their musical attempts to turn the clock back one or two centuries and the literary Federalists' retreat into publishing to create a fictive ideal American society that William Dowling has examined. The Calvinists' were at their most interventionist through their publishing efforts and music societies but it appears that these activities were relegated to the same districts in eastern Massachusetts and southern New Hampshire in or near where the New Divinity Men occupied pulpits. Rev. Nathaniel Gould observed that the leadership of these various music societies "made the associations appear rather formidable...that the whole movement was denounced as aristocratic...and were found to be...Federalists." It is not clear to what extent their theological preferences were influential outside of New England in the Second Great Awakening. The evangelicalism of the southern and western camp meetings and their preachers with scarcely more training than divine inspiration was enormously popular. No small

344 Dowling calls this impulse "a deliberate attempt to create in language an alternative to the conditions of American social existence." These conditions, for both literary Federalists and New England trinitarians, were democratizing tendencies. William Dowling, Literary Federalism in the Age of Jefferson, xi.

345 Not all ministers connected with reform tunebooks were New Divinity Men. The Rev. John Prince officiated at the First Church in Salem from which the Salem Collection was compiled but he was one of three Arminian ministers in Salem's five Congregational meetinghouses, the other two being Thomas Barnard and William Bentley. This accentuates the move away from ministerial control of music that had been ongoing since the 1740s. Wright, The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America, 255, 285.

346 Gould, Church Music in America, 70.
part of their popularity was predicated on the validity of a spiritual change of heart, an implicit rejection of Calvinist predestination. And the emotional, home-made hymnody of the evangelicals was also extensively embraced. However, the considerable publishing of the New England ultra-Calvinists has given the impression that foreign-composed psalmody enjoyed a resurgence of popularity.

The pervading spirit of secularization transcended both individual and public experience. By the early 1800s, increasing numbers of rural musicians, composers, and regular churchgoers as well as urban aesthetes found fewer valid proscriptions against attending the theater, a restraint that had been much more widespread only ten or fifteen years earlier. New Haven shopkeeper and prominent psalm-composer Daniel Read warned his adolescent son George, working and living alone in New York City in 1804, that “I have heard that you visit the Theatre! That is a dangerous place for boys, and too expensive for your purse...How sad it would be should you be found in bad company late at Night and taken up and committed to Brideswell.” Of course the ‘bad company’ could have been either ruffians or prostitutes but Read’s knowledge of theater culture came from personal experience, not conventional wisdom. While on a business trip to the city six years earlier, Read’s journal records a visit to the “new” theater (the Park Street Theater) on April 25, 1798. The theater may have been dangerous for boys but evidently not for adult

composers of psalmody. However, it was the culture of music surrounding the theater that influenced sacred music and not the reverse. While it would be ideal to have Read's impressions of the orchestra at the Park Street Theater, there is evidence of Europeanizing influence on his psalmody from another source. He became connected with a blind English organist, Daniel Salter, who moved to New Haven in 1794 within a block or two of Read's store. A nineteenth-century biography of Read describes Salter as one of his most intimate friends. Salter and his musical family eeked out a living selling nails, glass, and wire along with his playing organ at New Haven's Trinity church and giving lessons on piano, harpsichord, guitar, violin and German flute. The program for a concert given in December, 1796 (listed in Appendix O) was comprised of a typical mix of European music and American favorites. By the mid-1790s, Read had established himself as a well-published and respected composer of psalmody and compiler of other palmodists' works. In 1796, Read had written to a man inquiring about an organ for sale -- "Mr. Salter informs me that you have a small Organ...with two stops." While Read did not buy this parlor organ, he did purchase a larger one from a Mr. Erben in New York. By 1818, he had been refining some of his most popular earlier hymns for later tunebook editions that reflect the use of the organ in reordering harmonic construction, placing soprano parts on the root instead of the third, re-

348 Theater manager and historian William Dunlap's diary records that "New Peerage" and "The Miser" were playing that night as benefits for the actor Mr. Hallam with receipts of $410 which, Dunlap noted, did not cover expenses.

349 Salter did not remain in New Haven and travelled south, giving concerts in Trenton and Brunswick in 1798 and Fredericksburg and Charleston in 1800. Sonneck, Early Concert-Life in America, 40.
barring sections, and correcting improperly resolved sevenths. In the same year, he published *The New-Haven Collection of Sacred Music* of which only 25% of the tunes were American and which was advertised as "for the promotion of classical sacred music." By 1820, Read was a subscriber to the Boston *Euterpeiad*, the first magazine in America devoted to music criticism and ardent promoter of European influence. He also spearheaded the introduction of an organ in his church, albeit at his committee's own expense, but the church covered the cost of hiring Miss Salter to play it at $25 per quarter. While Read, as an indigenous singing master, was unusual in the extent to which he embraced instrumental music, his change of style was emblematic of this twenty-year period.

*The Invasion of the Organ in New England*

One of the most important developments in the interchange between sacred and secular music in America occurred around the turn of the century when many theater keyboardists moved from stage to steeple. As the thriving American economy of the mid-1790s succumbed to the pressures of failed land ventures in the Panic of 1797 and many cities experienced a substantial yellow fever outbreak the following summer, theaters in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston each faltered or failed.

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350 Howard Spaulding folder, letter of June 14, 1820 from New Haven, JRPP.


Immigrant theater keyboardists such as James Hewitt, Rayner Taylor, John Christopher Moller, and all three Carrs took positions as organists in urban churches, which were almost exclusively Episcopal or Catholic. These musicians had some of the best musical training available within the English cathedral tradition. Rayner Taylor had been a choirboy in the Chapel Royal c.1757-1763, studying music under James Nares (1715-1783), and played organ at St. Mary’s parish in Chelmsford from 1773 into the early 1780s. Benjamin Carr’s father Joseph had been an organist in England and Benjamin had studied under such distinguished composers as Samuel Arnold (1740-1802) and Charles Wesley (1757-1834). He later was principal tenor, harpsichordist and occasional conductor at the Academy of Ancient Music in London. James Hewitt played organ at Trinity Churches in New York and Boston; John Moller played at Zion Lutheran Church in Philadelphia and Trinity Church in New York.

Organists’ compensation represented a significant drop in pay compared to working in theaters. Annual salaries in urban churches

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333 Benjamin’s brother Thomas and his father Joseph both acquired positions as organists at Baltimore’s Christ Church and Old Saint Paul’s Parish, respectively, though it does not appear that they had played in theaters. Benjamin Carr played at Saint Augustine’s Catholic Church in Philadelphia. Siek, “Musical Taste in Post-Revolutionary America,” 158 -161.

334 Temperley, Bound For America, 55-64. Benjamin Carr, in a biographical sketch of Taylor written for John Rowe Parker’s Euterpeiad c.1821, related that Taylor was present at Handel’s funeral in 1759 where “his hat accidentally fell into the grave, and was buried with the remains of that wonderful composer. As Mr. Taylor’s higher works of composition are of the Handelian school, the following remarks of a gentleman to whom he related this extraordinary occurrence, were highly complimentary: ‘Never mind, he left you some of his brains in return.’ ” Taylor later played and composed at Sadler’s Wells Theater in London before emigrating to Philadelphia in 1792.

Arnold was a composer of operas for Covent Garden and other theaters; he also composed oratorios and other sacred music while organist at the Chapel Royal and Westminster Abbey. Wesley was the nephew of John Wesley and son of Charles Wesley, studied under William Boyce, and was later organist at Lock Hospital Chapel and Marylebone parish church. His younger brother Samuel, a musician and friend of Carr’s, described him as an “obstinate Handellian,” which by the nineteenth century in England meant very conservative.

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ranged from $170 to $500, probably depending upon the size of the congregation and the extent of the organist's musical duties. The theater pay of a musician in a conductor/composer position, which was the case for many keyboardists, would have been from $12 to $16 a week. Given a theater season from thirty-two to forty weeks, including summer theater, this would work out to $400 to $650 per annum. This would have been augmented by any combination of other sources of income such as giving lessons, repairing/tuning instruments, concerts, and music publishing, all of which could have been continued after the move to church employment. Of these alternatives, publishing music was the most attractive because it offered flexibility in use of time, allowed musicians to circulate their own compositions, served as advertising for the musicians' other activities, and could prove to be the most profitable.

Employment as church organists was also a break from the grind of

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355 For instance, Thomas Carr's salary of $130 was later increased to $200, and included an "allowance for organ blower." Redway, "The Carrs, American Music Publishers": 156.

356 On the other hand, church organists' lower pay varied greatly. James Hewitt wrote to John Rowe Parker in Boston concerning the position of organist at King's (Stone) Chapel: "[r]especting the organist situation, it would indeed give me pleasure; as yours is the church I should choose to give the preference for many reasons but really the salary is not adequate to the duty. Mr. Derby wrote me respecting the Stone Chapel but I can assure was I a resident in Boston, I must be much distress'd before I would accept it at the sairy [sic] they offer (170) which I understand is the standard for organists." James Hewitt folder, letter from New York, December 11, 1809, JRPP. New York organist Samuel Priestly Taylor wrote to Parker about two positions (in addition to students) in a way that underscores that all three would have to be available to him in order to move to Boston: "I now shall feel much obliged if you would let me know pr return of post whether the Handel & Haydn society would be willing to engage me for a twelvemonth at the salary of $300 and also if the organist of a church can still be obtained - as if these two situations can be insured me I should make no hesitation of coming to reside in your town and would come trusting to your recommendation for scholars." Taylor folder, letter dated December 14, 1817, JRRP. Finally, Boston organist Samuel A. Cooper sent Parker a note that mentions "I have engaged to play the New Hartford organ - sairy [sic] $500 per annum." Cooper folder, April 4, 1805, JRRP.
working in theaters, leaving more time for publishing and composing. With few exceptions, all these musician/publishers gradually increased their sheet music output after they had moved away from theaters as their chief employment. This probably reflected the increase in time available to them for the engraving/printing process as well as the increasing market for such publications. The reduction in scheduling would have been especially significant for Benjamin Carr who, in addition to his theatrical career, somehow ran two musical stores in Philadelphia and New York between 1794 and 1797, apparently commuting between them.

The keyboardists from the theaters joined other immigrant European organists, mostly from England and not involved with the theater, but all of whom performed in secular concerts and published both sacred and secular music to augment their income. Conservative Anglicans in Britain often disapproved of the theater and this may have influenced the decision of these musicians not to work in stage bands but it may also have been prompted by the hectic schedule and vulnerability of pit orchestras. These non-theater keyboardists included Hans Gram (1754-1804), George K. Jackson (1757-1822), Christopher Meineke (1782-1850), George Gilfert (? - 1814), Peter Van Hagen (? - 1803),

357 "Eventually, some of the musicians who had commenced publishing and selling music as a sideline came to devote more and more of their time and energy to this occupation, until they were just about fully engaged in it." Wolfe, Early American Music Engraving and Printing, 40.

358 One such exception was the preeminent Philadelphia keyboardist Alexander Reinagle who remained a theater musician until his death in 1809. However, as a manager/partner (unusual for a musician) he was more heavily invested in the theater in terms of career and income.
Antony Corri/Arthur Clifton (1784?-1832), Peter Moran (?-1831), Samuel Dyer (n.d.), Jacob Eckhard (n.d.), Joseph Willson (n.d.), and Daniel Salter (n.d.). Although European organists such as William Selby, William Tuckey, James Bremner, and Peter Valton had come to America before the Revolution, the influx of the European musicians in the years around 1800 was more concentrated than ever before; and the keyboardists from the theaters represented some of the most active musician/publishers. Their initial presence in the organ lofts of Episcopal and Catholic churches introduced an awareness of new possibilities for sacred music that eventually extended beyond their own congregations.

As organs became more prevalent in the expanding Protestant

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539 Gram arrived in Boston c.1785 from the Dutch West Indies where he composed secular pieces for the *Massachusetts Magazine* and played organ at Brattle Street Church, writing texts and music for hymns and anthems as well as co-editing the *Massachusetts Compiler* with American psalmodists Oliver Holden and Samuel Holyoke. Maribel Meisel: 'Hans Gram', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (2003). Jackson had studied under James Nares at the Chapel Royal and published a *Treatise on Practical Thoroughbass* (1785) in England before taking the position of organist at St. Peters Church in Philadelphia in 1797, at St. George's Chapel in New York in 1802, and eventually Brattle Street Church in Boston in 1812. Charles Kaufman: 'George K. Jackson', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (2007). Meineke emigrated from Germany in 1800 and became organist and choirmaster at St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Baltimore. J. Bunker Clark, David Hildebrand, 'Meineke, Christopher', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (2007). George Gilfert was the leading music publisher in New York in the 1790's and was described in city directories as playing at the "New Dutch Church." Wolfe, *Early American Music Engraving*, 52. Joseph Willson was an English singer, teacher, and organist who emigrated in the late 1790's and played at New York's Trinity Church (1804-9) and the First Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts (1822-25). Wolfe, *Early American Music Engraving*, 54-5 (see review of one of his concerts by Washington Irving, Appendix O); Daniel Salter was a blind English organist who moved to New Haven in 1794 to play at the Trinity Church. He gave lessons on many instrument and he performed small concerts with his children. Bushnell, "Daniel Read," 169.

denominations, the music of the English cathedral tradition became more familiar and acceptable to Americans in general.

Incorporating instruments as part of church services, especially organs, was slow to overcome Puritan opposition in congregations throughout America, particularly in the northeast. Violins, some wind instruments, and especially church basses made inroads in worship services because they were relatively inexpensive and of a softer tone that did not interfere with choral singing. The bass frequently supplied a rich, low underpinning to psalms that was often lacking in youthful choirs. Organs required an enormous investment and their installation required a substantial renovation of church interiors. Once installed, hiring a skilled and tasteful organist was very important and these instruments could easily overpower singers, from small choirs to entire congregations (see Appendix P).\(^\text{360}\) The young psalm singer from Boston, Nathaniel Webb, noted in the music for the Christmas service at the New North Church in 1788 that “some favourite pieces of Musick were performed by a number of both vocal and instrumental performers - tho’ I think no instruments were heard except the Organ.”\(^\text{361}\)

The revitalized interest in organs was also encouraged by a growing industry of organ builders. The few organs installed in American churches during the colonial period were virtually all imported from

\(^{360}\) Appendix P gives a contemporary illustration of the procedure by which congregations might arrive at obtaining an immigrant professional musician. Note the date and the number of amateur organists who figure early in the process.

\(^{361}\) Nathaniel Webb Diary, MHS, entry for Thursday, December 25, 1788.
England or Germany. The first indigenous organ builders were woodworkers who had taken an interest in maintaining and repairing the imported instruments. While some English and German organ builders emigrated to New York and Philadelphia, including Charles Taws, Johann Klemm, Philip Feyring, and David Tannenberg, all colonial organ builders in New England were native congregationalist tradesmen or gentlemen amateurs. The most prolific New England organ builders were a series of inventors starting with Josiah Leavitt (1743-1804) of Massachusetts, Henry Pratt (1771-1841) of Winchester, New Hampshire, and William Goodrich (1777-1833). Unlike the English builders of the organs they copied, these men were known to each other; Pratt had worked briefly with a partner of Leavitt's while Goodrich worked for Pratt for eight months in 1800. Leavitt was a doctor. Pratt was a skilled woodworker who made fifes, violins, and clocks and repaired guns and watches. Goodrich was a singing master and, though not trained in a particular trade, appears to have been a natural inventor with an interest in music who essentially trained himself to become New England's foremost organ builder in the

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363 Charles Taws (1771-1833) arrived in New York in 1786 from Scotland, moving to Philadelphia in 1788, and built and played organs and piano fortes well into the 1820's. He was a close friend of Benjamin Carr's, traveling together to visit musical locales and associates in Boston and Albany in 1821. *JRRP*, Carr folder, letters of June 20, July 30, and September 23, 1821. As was often the case with the Pennsylvania Germans and their offshoot communities in North Carolina, their rich sacred musical heritage was imported diligently but usually remained confined to their own services. In spite of their urban churches (usually Lutheran in New York and Philadelphia) and reports by travelers who marveled at the ubiquity of their talent particularly with brass instruments, their impact on the surrounding English styles of music was limited by the Germans' tendency to cultural insularity. A notable exception was the occasional hiring by Philadelphia theaters of German brass and wind quartets from nearby communities to supplement their pit bands.

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early nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{364} Although the early products of each of these men were smaller chamber organs for private homes, the same principles were employed to construct many much larger church organs. The careers of these men exemplify the omnivorous curiosity and vocational dexterity of the mechanics' enlightenment of the early nineteenth century. These Yankee inventors did as much as the skill of the immigrant organists themselves in hastening the abandonment of the prejudice against organs in congregational churches. Locally built instruments made their acquisition affordable and patriotic as a domestic manufacture, ushering in an era of “organ fever” after 1800 in the New England hinterlands.\textsuperscript{365}

Changes in Music in Massachusetts

After the Revolution, Massachusetts supported a rich musical milieu, particularly in and around Boston, where several immigrant European musicians encountered most immediately the indigenous New England style of psalmody. Organist William Selby had arrived around

\textsuperscript{364}Leavitt's specialty appears to have been “organizing” other keyboard instruments; i.e., adding an organ mechanism to harpsichords and piano fortés. A newspaper notice that “Dr. Josiah Leavitt has lately constructed an Organ under a Harpsichord” claimed that “Every friend to his country, to science, and the liberal arts, must feel most pleasurable sensations in observing the rapid improvements which are made in the various branches of the mechanick arts...Mr. Selby, whose superior knowledge is too well known to be doubted, has pronounced as his opinion that it is superior to any instrument of the kind he ever saw.” In 1823-5, Goodrich built an automated playing machine called the Panharmonicon, essentially a barrel organ with brass, woodwind, and percussion instruments attached. It played marches and overtures but also a Pastorale by Rigel, Echo by Cherubini, a Rondo by Marchant, and a duet from Haydn's Creation. It played different pieces by inserting large drums, or barrels, with patterns of spikes (like a music box) into it, stimulating mechanisms that played the instruments as the barrel turned. In 1811, Goodrich had assembled and toured with a similar invention by Johann Maelzel (1772-1838), a friend of Beethoven, who was exhibiting the machine in American cities. Beethoven had written his “Battle” Symphony for this invention which may give some idea of what it sounded like.

\textsuperscript{365}Owen, The Organ in New England, 28-35, 47-66.
1772, amateur singer Dr. Robert Rogerson arrived some time before 1750, and organist Hans Gram came from Denmark some time before 1790. All of these musicians contributed to the increase in sacred music concerts that started in the 1780s and composed and published anthems and hymns. They also collaborated in concerts and music associations with local native singers and psalmists Oliver Holden, Jacob Kimball, Samuel Holyoke, and Isaac Lane. The Europeans' influence on these Americans was unmistakable. Gram was a co-compiler with Holden and Holyoke of the *Massachusetts Compiler* in 1795 whose unusually extensive introduction to music theory (thirty-four pages) was clearly made possible by Gram's expertise. Gram's contributions were later recognized by having a musical association named for him in Maine during the period of widespread society formation after 1815. The seeds of early nineteenth-century "scientific reform" in sacred music in New England were planted in the decade before the turn of the century. Concert and theater music enjoyed an unprecedented increase in exposure in Boston, especially after the new Federal Street Theater and Haymarket Theater opened in 1794 and 1796 respectively. However, the most direct connection between European musical influence and New England's native composers took place in churches and involved the introduction of organs.

Previous scholarship in musicology has noted the effect of the introduction of organs on congregational singing. Despite the fact that singing schools in New England had often improved the sound of choirs, the congregation itself still routinely sang hymns in services with varying degrees of listenability. Many contemporaries noted with satisfaction the

improvement that the organ effected in whole-church hymnody by unifying pitch, tempo, harmonization, and time. Even a few of the New England psalm composers, such as Andrew Law, Daniel Read, Oliver Holden, and Nahum Mitchell (1769-1853), bought organs but, with the exception of Mitchell, these appear to have been mostly used to test harmonic composition rather than for performance. The real wedge for the organ's acceptance by reluctant New England parishes was the organ's immediate improvement in congregational singing. However, a far more transcendent consequence was the gradual Europeanization of New England sacred music.367

Diary entries of Rev. William Bentley of Salem Massachusetts, which span the years 1784-1819, serve as a barometer of this transformation that started with the introduction of instruments accompanying worship services. Bentley was originally a vociferous opponent of the organ's establishment. In 1790, responding to the sale of tickets to congregational clergy for a concert at St. Peter's Church in Salem, the proceeds of which would repair the organ, Bentley railed that

[i]t is singular that on a day of devotion we should be so weak as to be betrayed into...an act against the practice of dissenters, not only to hear organs in a Church, but to go on thanksgiving day to pay for the repairs of one for the service. This is beyond Catholic. If it is beneath the Pope to hear organs in the church, there might be

some respect to heaven.  

In 1795 Bentley noted a shift in popular opinion, even if not his own, when he wrote that "the fondness for Instrumental Music in Churches so increases, that the inclination is not to be resisted." By 1798, Bentley observed with seeming indifference the introduction of organs in Salem and elsewhere. He also acknowledged the compensatory relationship of organs to the choral tradition. "[They are] seriously engaged in the First Church upon the subject of an Organ. Subscriptions have already amounted to one thousand dollars. The absolute want of vocal musick is a plea which they can advance with justice." In 1801 he noted that four different congregations in Salem "have been induced to encourage Music from the introduction of an Organ...." By 1809, Bentley estimated as many as twelve Congregational churches in the entire state had organs; he did not mention Episcopal and Catholic churches where he would have expected their use. These last comments were given without judgment but after a concert given by immigrant organist George K. Jackson in 1812, he waxed enthusiastic:

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368 The Diary of William Bentley, Vol. 1, 214. This seemingly contradictory expectation for papal preferences is explained in part by musical commentary from the Port Folio in 1803: "[T]o hear church-music in its highest perfection, the lovers of this style must go to Rome; where, in the Pope's chapel, it is executed by a great number of voices, so strictly in unison with each other, that the aid of instruments is rendered unnecessary...." This fact must have been known to the opponents of instruments in American services.

369 Diary, Vol. 2, 163.

370 Diary, Vol. 2, 259. Bentley went on to say that "[t]he first Organs were at Old Church in Boston...then at Brattle Street...then at the New South...tho' one was provided soon at the Bennet Street by the Universalists. A few years since one was purchased for the old Church in Newbury Port. I have heard of no other Congregational Churches...There is a small one in the cong. Church at Charlestown." Oliver Holden, a European-influenced native psalmist, lived in Charlestown.


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This evening we had, as it was called, an Oratorio of Sacred Music... The celebrated Dr. Jackson, an Englishman, performed on the organ with great power & pure touch....The Instrumental Music transcended the vocal, which had nothing extraordinary about it but our expectations. Mr. Jackson's voluntaries were beyond anything I had heard, and the best music was before the second Chorus, when the Organ was accompanied only with the Violins...upon the whole, it was a rich entertainment.372

Bentley's manner of mentioning an 'oratorio' makes it clear that this was indeed a new phenomenon. Clearly, what impressed him was the organ and the new musical genre rather than merely the way it supported choral passages. Refering to the music as 'entertainment' had loaded meaning, also, since this was not part of a worship service per se. It would seem that he had finally been won over but, as before, acceptance of instruments in sacred music had been accomplished initially because of mediocre vocal music. By 1817, Bentley noted that at a concert of sacred music

The Instruments good, better than the voices...Most of the parts from Handel. It was a good beginning & the best we ever had in Salem. The music gallery is a semicircle rising like an Amphitheatre. The circle was illumined as were the seats with good effect. Few lights elsewhere so as to give the strength of the light in the Choir. We had several bass viols & Clarionets, but the Violin was played with the best effect.373

Bentley now included himself within the approving audience and the singularity of the stage arrangement and lighting demonstrate that much more deference was being shown instrumental treatment of sacred music.

Far from being a conservative traditionalist, Bentley was actually one of the most theologically liberal congregational ministers in eastern

372 Diary, Vol.4, 135.
373 Diary, Vol. 4, 452.
Massachusetts in the era of rising Unitarianism. Bentley's diary demonstrates the slow change from an emphasis on vocal music in most churches just after the Revolution, through an interest in instrumental accompaniment, to eventually appreciating the enhanced sublimity that organs brought to sacred music in their own right. This took place in the three decades from 1790-1820 and the resulting concerts of sacred music also created interest in concerts of secular music, often by the same European composers and played by the same groups of European and local amateur musicians.

The newly preeminent organists did not receive a blank check, however, in regard to their choices of music. A recurring problem with many organists' performances was their facility with, and English tradition of, mingling sacred pieces with secular music. And this general secularity had within it motifs that resonated with theatricality. For instance, as noted in the first chapter, melismatic trills had infiltrated sacred choral pieces, even in the relatively isolated New England compositional style, which immediately reminded any listener familiar with English ballad opera of theatrical music. Of course, this should not have been surprising given that so many prominent English theater composers also wrote devotional pieces for urban cathedrals. Famous British keyboardists that combined composing and conducting in theaters with playing organ in churches included Henry Purcell (1659-1695),

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374 Among the large numbers of Unitarian influenced ministers in this period who doubted the divinity of Jesus, most considered themselves Arians who simply placed Christ in a category lower than that of God. Bentley was considered a Socinian, open to the belief that Christ was simply an extraordinary human, a precursor to liberal Unitarianism. Conrad Wright, The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America, 200-217 "The differences between Unitarian and orthodox aesthetics were not clear-cut... Calvinism did not necessarily correlate with conservative aesthetic tastes...." Suell, New England Literary Culture, 39.
William Turner (1651-1740), John Weldon (1676-1736), William Boyce (1711-1779), Samuel Arnold (1740-1802), Thomas Attwood (1765-1838), and of course, George Friedrich Handel (1685-1759). The interest in this breadth of composing styles extended from the late seventeenth century into the nineteenth and was not unassociated with financial necessity. As in America, many notable English organists, such as Maurice Greene (1696-1755), Joseph Kelway (1702-1782), and James Nares (1715-1783) eschewed working in theaters but still composed and published secular concert pieces and instructional works.

Perhaps the most frequent opportunity for the encroachment of theatrical motifs was the playing of voluntaries. In the eighteenth century, these had no fixed place in the liturgy of the Anglican church but were played during interludes in the service, usually between readings or before Communion and, during the nineteenth century, as preludes and postludes. These were often partly or fully improvised and many keyboardists took the opportunity to demonstrate their facility with the instrument which was otherwise restricted by the usual hymns and anthems. Rev. William Bentley mentions an early example of the problem in 1793 where "[t]he voluntaries, &c. not practiced in the Protestant & reformed Churches on the continent [i.e. a strictly English embellishment], it seems, have intruded upon a congregation, who consented to the use of the Organ, upon condition of their prohibition."375 Bentley was at this time still strongly opposed to organs and here was one more reason. Perhaps he was referring to the Brattle Church where an early nineteenth-century newspaper notice recalled that

375 Diary, Vol.2, 2.
An Organ was introduced by vote of the Parish passed Dec. 19, 1790, but it met with considerable opposition, and for several years it was never played except as an accompaniment to the singing; no interludes or voluntaries were allowed.376

The playing of inappropriate voluntaries continued to be an issue in the following decades. The nineteenth-century reformer of sacred music Thomas Hastings recalled the audition of a skilled organist for a church position. Mr. Superficial “took his seat, and poured forth a noisy and rapid voluntary, which drew the people upon their feet.” He said that the piece was by Haydn but when asked by the pastor what the fine piece was called, the applicant named it hesitantly and under his breath. “‘The Devil on Two Sticks!’ responded the pastor. ‘It is an opera, I suppose?’ ‘Yes, sir, the overture’...So the inquiry was pressed no further.”377 Thus, voluntaries could be a leading source of European secular styles however unwanted. New England Congregationalists, often aligned with traditional Calvinism that shunned evangelicalism as well as theological liberalism, continued to be predisposed to a strictness of style that did not countenance virtuosity for its own sake; and this ran afoul of the English cathedral heritage which was more apt to accept a balance between sacred solemnity and dazzling instrumental technique.378 However, in England some listeners could be offended by extravagant worship music as well. The Philadelphia Port Folio, in 1803, reprinted music criticism from a


British source, possibly a review by music historian Charles Burney (1726 - 1814) from the English *Monthly Review*, that the American editor, Joseph Dennie, intended for the edification of American sacred music.

The more than impropriety of light church music, [Alexander] Pope forcibly reprobates when he says, 

Light quirks of music, broken and uneven,
Make the soul dance upon a jig to heaven.

A useful hint to many of our modern organists whose voluntaries are not of the most serious of devotional cast...the service must be performed with due solemnity, or the effect is lost.379

However much some were offended by the lightness of some of the music, what was important was the exposure in American churches to a growing variety and sophistication of styles. This resulted in encouraging immigrant keyboardists to continue composing in styles they had used previously in England. Increasingly, pieces by European masters, as well as American organists who studied them, began to appear in regular services and concerts of sacred music.

*Individuals at the Intersection of Sacred and Secular Music*

A small number of musicians in key positions in the largest cities on the eastern seaboard were responsible for disseminating new ways of experiencing music to a public broadly predisposed to understanding their lives in novel terms that broke with the preconceptions of their elders.380

A comparison of the publishing and performance selections of several

379 *Port Folly, August 6, 1803: 252.* The useful hint continued: “It was after a voluntary of this sort that the following observation was made by a Quaker, who having some business with a person that was gone to his parish-church, followed him thither, and staid till the service was over. On seeing the friend, the other, on coming out of church, asked him ‘how he liked our mode of worship?’ to which the Quaker drolly answered, ‘it is a merry one, if it be but the right one.’

English organists in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston - William Selby, George K. Jackson, James Hewitt, and Benjamin Carr - personify the progressive interchange between sacred and secular music after 1800. The careers of Jackson, Hewitt, and Carr matured about twenty years after that of Selby and were considerably different from his. In the 1780s and early 1790s, Selby, the premier English organist in Boston, was involved in a series of concerts that presented a new paradigm in public sacred music. His first concert, called Musica Spiritualis, was offered in 1782 and contained "Airs, Duetts and Choruses" from John Stanley, John Christopher Smith, Frederick Handel, Thomas Arne, as well as a composition of his own.\(^3\) Selby could easily have seen performances of all three of these composers in London, and he was firmly anchored in the Handelian style. His next concert did not take place until 1786 but he then participated in almost annual concerts till 1793, given by either the Boston Musical Society or subscription concerts of secular music given for his own benefit. Not much is known about this early music association except that Selby appears to have been closely connected with it, perhaps its founder. The earliest of this series, in 1786 and 1787, were patterned on British choral festivals where a full Anglican service was the centerpiece activity with full orchestral accompaniment. Extant programs of these Boston concerts show that Handel’s works figured heavily throughout as well as overtures from operas. Leading opera

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\(^3\) John Christopher Smith (Johann Christoph Schmidt, 1712-1796) was brought to England from Germany with his father by Handel who tutored him until he was able to help the royal master in his operatic productions. After Handel’s death in 1759, Smith dropped writing for the secular theater and concentrated on sacred music. He was joined by organist John Stanley (1712-1786) as a partner in producing oratorios at Covent Garden and later Drury Lane theaters. Stanley wrote for theatrical production as well. Barbara Small: “Smith, John Christopher’, Grove Dictionary of Music (2007); A. Glyn Williams: ‘Stanley, John’, Grove Dictionary of Music (2007).
singers were featured in these choral festivals in England where the boundaries between stage and steeple were much more porous than in New England. This blending appears to have been duplicated instrumentally for the first time in America in these concerts.

Selby was also composing and publishing anthems, one of the new extended, and more complicated, types of choral settings of hymns that had become popular with New England composers like Billings. Selby was evidently composing for his New England audience even though he had published psalms and hymns previously in London.\textsuperscript{382} Nathaniel Webb, the young singing school enthusiast from Boston, recorded holiday services at the congregationalist New North Church that featured local American compositions in company with popular European pieces. Thanksgiving was celebrated with “Selby’s Anthem,” two Christmas Day services each had one “anthem composed by Mr. William Selby - ‘O be joyful in the Lord’...[and after Handel’s Messiah in the afternoon] “Mr. Selby’s anthem ‘Behold God is My Salvation’ ” and for the Fourth of July, “an Halleluiah chorus by Doctr Rogerson.”\textsuperscript{383} At a 1787 concert of sacred music, Selby included two anthems by Billings. Nathaniel Webb’s diary reveals that both Selby and Rogerson occasionally participated in rehearsals of some of the urban singing groups with which Webb was involved.\textsuperscript{384} At a regular

\textsuperscript{382} A Second Collection of Psalms ande Hymns use’d at the Magdalen Chapel, published by Henry Thorowgood, c. 1770. Since nine of the twelve pieces are by Selby, Nicholas Temperley believes Selby to have been the musical editor. Selby had also published five secular songs in London between 1759-c.1765 in the style of Thomas Arne. Temperley, Bound For America, 20, 40-1.

\textsuperscript{383} Nathaniel Webb Diary, entries for November 27, 1788, December 25, 1788, and July 4, 1789. For Rogerson, see footnote 14, Chapter 2.

\textsuperscript{384} Young Webb was one of the founding members of the Independent Musical Society where Rogerson was the original vice-president (Webb Diary, February 27, 1788) and Selby was voted an honorary member (Webb Diary, June 29, 1788).
rehearsal of the Independent Singing Society, Webb also records “two new anthems of the Doctrs [Rogerson] Comp[osition].” Three of Selby’s five known anthems were printed twelve times before 1800 and his Jubilate (‘O Be Joyful in the Lord’) was one of the most popular anthems in terms of printings. Thus, William Selby was deeply involved in the musical cross-currents of America’s most overtly religious city.

While his anthem publications were nods towards the dominant New England style of psalmody, he had less luck in publishing secular music. In 1782, he offered for sale by subscription a serially published collection of secular music that included compositions of his own for harpsichord, piano forte, guitar, and german flute. This offering was not produced and he instead published more anthems. Not until 1790 did Selby again advertise for serial subscription Apollo and the Muses: Musical Compositions by William Selby that included some secular pieces among the anthems, voluntaries, sonatas songs, and chamber pieces. The following year this proposal was modified to include “Choruses and Songs from the Oratorios of the late celebrated Messrs. Handel, Boice [William Boyce], [John] Stanley and [John Christopher] Smith.” Even with the addition of these sacred music luminaries, it seems that only a couple of issues were produced and then the series was abandoned. During this period he did publish some secular songs and choral odes of a type popular in mid-century England (see Appendix Q). Significantly, none of these were printed as sheet music and all were published in either the Massachusetts Magazine, the American Musical Miscellany (1798 - a typographically

\(385\) Webb Diary, February 12, 1789.


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printed songster), or early installments of his abortive serialization, *Apollo and the Muses.* Bostonians' reluctance to buy either British pastoral songs or even sacred English art music could have stemmed from a combination of its Puritan heritage and its more recent anti-British fervor, as well as the postwar economic depression. However, within the two decades after the influx of European theater and church musicians, this reluctance would disappear. His attempts at secular publishing failed but Selby's advertisement for subscriptions conveys an unexpectedly dedicated allegiance to the adopted country by a recent British subject:

> The promptness of this young country in those sciences which were once thought peculiar only to riper age, has already brought upon her the eyes of the world. She has pushed her researches deep into philosophy, and her statesmen and generals have equalled those of the Roman name. And shall those arts which make her happy be less courted than those arts which have made her great? Why may she not be "in song unequall'd as unmatch'd in war"?

This from an Englishman who had given a concert ten years previously in conjunction with the military band of the British 64th regiment in Boston. This was written the year before the Revolution ended and Selby was undoubtedly distancing himself in the eye of the public from his brother John, a musician who had come to America as well but was a known Loyalist. To what extent Selby fully believed in what he advertised matters less than that his performing and publishing indicate a firm commitment to introducing European music in Boston. And by his example, he intended Americans to not only enjoy it but to incorporate its

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387 Like many of his fellow immigrant musicians who did not work in theaters, it appears that Selby was not an engraver. Thus, the bulk of his music in the first two publications was handled by printers and publishers as part of larger collections. The lack of success for his serialized music may have been compounded by the additional costs of having it engraved and printed by others.

388 *Boston Evening Post, February 2, 1782.*
principles in creating musical greatness of their own. As with so many British nationalists previously, for Selby the *translatio studii* was axiomatic to the *translatio imperii* and the former was sure to arrive in America. His sacred concert series of the mid-1780s and early 1790s was his attempt at setting such an example. This connection regarding the theater was made explicit by Robert Treat Paine in Boston during the same period. His allegory for the arrival of theater companies in his “Prize Prologue” written in 1794 fancies that the muses, leaving the tyrannies of Europe, “cast a fondly wistful eye on the pure climate of the western sky.” The goddess of Liberty had attracted the god of both music and civic establishment: “Behold, Apollo seeks this liberal plain, And brings the thespian goddess in his train.”

Insofar as Selby was successful in emulating music from London, his sacred concerts garnered enthusiastic praise for his abilities both as an organist and as a composer and the whole was compared favorably with English productions:

> the first recitative and the first song in the Messiah were sung as to have done no discredit to any capital singer at the theatre in Covent Garden; but the song 'Let the bright cherubims in burning row, etc.' in the opinion of several who had heard the oratorio of Sampson at Covent Gardenhouse, was sung, at least as well, in the Chapel Church [King’s Chapel] on Tuesday by our townsmen, as they had ever before heard.

Thus, Selby was popularizing many pieces from Handel’s oratorios *Messiah*

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and *Sampson* where they had not been played before. Handel had originated a style of oratorio as an amalgamation of dramatic/musical genres after hearing Milton's *Sampson Agonistes* read to him in 1739. Newburgh Hamilton created a libretto from the poem and supplied arias and choruses from other of Milton's works. As he explained in the preface c.1742 "Mr. Handel had so happily introduc'd here *Oratorios*, a musical Drama, whose Subject must be Scriptural, and in which the Solemnity of church-Musick is agreeably united with the most pleasing Airs of the Stage." Thus, blurring stage and steeple had a pedigree of decades, derived from one of the most popular composers in the anglophone world. Much of what Selby could not sell he performed to apparently rapt audiences. It appears that his efforts at introducing new styles of European music for sale was simply ahead of its time, yet his performances contributed to its eventual acceptance. Where William Selby was less successful in introducing light secular pieces in print, he triumphed in inaugurating oratorios in New England through concerts. Within the next two decades, oratorios, replete with classical/scriptural imagery bequeathed from the English Renaissance and set to magnificent and inspiring choral and orchestral passages, would enjoy a love affair with American sacred music that lasted decades. 

This affair was inaugurated in Philadelphia particularly through

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392 There was some questioning of the propriety of mixing scripture with theatricals in England. *The Universal Spectator* asked, if an oratorio "is an Act of Religion...I ask if the Playhouse is a fit Temple to perform it in." If it is "for Diversion and Amusement only...what a prophanation of God's Name and Word it is, to make so light Use of them?" However, this appears not to have been a mainstream view. Anthony Hicks: Handel, George Frideric: 'Oratorios and musical dramas', *Grove Dictionary of Music* (2007).
the efforts of Benjamin Carr, newly employed by the Catholic church rather than the Chestnut Street Theater after 1800. A review of an 1801 oratorio performance of his announced that "great praise is due to Mr. Carr for having led the way in the introduction of this grand and majestic style of harmony among us" and accurately predicted "the commencement of a new aera in the musical taste of this country."393 By 1810, Carr could organize an oratorio featuring the works of Handel, Haydn, and Pergolesi at St. Augustine's Church highlighting a thirty-four member choir and a mammoth orchestra of fifty-three that included his friends George Schetky and Rayner Taylor.394 This was European music on a European scale.395

By 1812, English organist George K. Jackson had arrived in Boston from New York to take a position at the Brattle Street Church. His record of music printing and concert selections from the previous twelve years in New York indicates a sea change in immigrant publishing preferences and successes. Even though Jackson never appears to have worked in theaters and was nearly always employed in churches, his choice of music to sell between 1800 and 1811 illustrates a decidedly secular inclination (see Appendix R). As with the publications of most theater musicians, many

393 Port Folio, May 9, 1801: 150; Port Folio, April 23, 1803: 135; concert review, Port Folio, Feb. 21, 1801: 59 This may have been the first time that the Messiah was given in Philadelphia but parts of it had been performed in New York under the direction of William Tuckey at Trinity Church in 1770, two years before the Messiah was performed in Germany. Davis, A History of Music in American Life, 38-39.


395 As Susan Porter’s chart in Appendix H suggests, English orchestras were not consistently large. European symphonies in this period were not intended to be more than half the size of today’s orchestras.
pieces were patriotic and intended to capitalize on recent events. This was an unusually popular genre throughout America, which was noticed by contemporary observers.

Aside from patriotic songs, Jackson's selections were similar to the type of music that William Selby had failed to sell to the public twenty years earlier in Boston. However, they differ from Selby's secular pieces in several key aspects. Most were issued as upright, engraved sheet music rather than printed as part of large collections or in magazines. Selby had reduced his risk by the latter methods while Jackson, Hewitt, and Carr benefitted from the more individualistic and entrepreneurial method of issuing single pieces on their own. Sheet music was usually printed in editions of 200 copies but further issues could easily be printed when needed. This translated into a higher number of pieces printed and, one could argue, more experimental publications. Experimental music meant two things: more self-composed pieces and a greater variety of secular styles, provided they fell within the two- to four-page format of inexpensive engraving.

Looking back on the huge output of sentimental, pastoral, and romantic secular pieces that proliferated in

396 Of the approximately 450 pieces of secular music printed in American before 1800, 101 (just over 22%) were patriotic or military songs. Sanjek, American Popular Music and Its Business, 23-24.

397 In the 1850's, the ubiquity of patriotic music was still be commented on by visitors to the U.S.

398 This bestowed the same benefit obtained by the New England psalmists in printing engraved work and retaining the plates, with the even less risky contrast that secular music was offered as individual songs. Sanjek, American Popular Music and Its Business, 17.

399 Because letterpress printing with musical fonts relied on the opposite of engraved press musical printing for its profitability (i.e. less frequent, large quantity editions), its secular repertory was less experimental and focused on issuing known favorites. Richard Crawford and D.W. Krummel, "Early American Music Printing and Publishing", Printing & Society in Early America, William Joyce et al. eds., 208-9, 225.
American popular music only a decade or two later, this shift does not appear daring. However, as the printing of individual pieces of sheet music began during the later 1780s and 1790s, it was a novel tactic in American music marketing, albeit grounded in English precedent.\textsuperscript{400} Jackson printed a higher percentage of his own compositions than did Selby. These extended to patriotic songs, instructional works, and sentimental pieces, as well as hymns, psalms, canons, and chants.

Another way in which later musicians' secular music differed from Selby's lay in pedagogical prints. Jackson, as well as Hewitt and the Carrs, composed several aids to musical instruction. Selby published none. This undoubtedly followed from their greater reliance on tutoring as part of their income. The larger project was ensuring a market of amateur musicians whose ambitions as expectant performers would maintain future sales of printed music. Targeting children with instructional material was part of the new awareness of early education.\textsuperscript{401} Jackson's \textit{New Bagatelles for the Voice & Piano Forte Calculated for Juvenile Improvement} was somewhat innovative by including six songs called "The ABC or Alphabet," "Numeration Table," "The Addition Table," "The Subtraction Table," "The Multiplication Table," and "The Pence Table" to

\textsuperscript{400} Secular printing of new lyrics to familiar tunes on broadsides was the common, inexpensive means of communicating songs throughout the eighteenth century that privileged the message of the word over the actual music. Wolfe, \textit{Early American Music Engraving and Printing}, 39. Several collections of music printed in Philadelphia between 1787 and 1789 by engraving heavy, folio sheets of 33 x 25 cm with punched pewter plates were the first in America to publish music in the European format. These were a Catholic book of liturgy (1787), a collection of songs by Francis Hopkinson (1788), and four collections of vocal and instrumental compositions by the premier theater keyboardist Alexander Reinagle (1789). Crawford/Krummel, "Early American Music Printing and Publishing," \textit{Printing & Society in Early America}, 201.

\textsuperscript{401} William J. Gilmore, "Reading Instruction in Rural New England, 1790-1830, and Its Conservative Intent", in \textit{Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life}, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 34 - 42.
help children memorize school lessons through song. The increase in instructional literature reveals a rising market for amateur musicianship, especially connected with the relatively new pianoforte, that in turn fueled the purchasing of simple keyboard sheet music for vocal accompaniment. Thus, organists who were considered the epitome of expertise in English cathedral music through performance, chose to publish predominantly secular, light pieces to augment their overall income from musical activities of which lessons was a large and dependable component. Most of this publishing took place in New York and Philadelphia where much larger and diverse markets existed. Boston's music publishing was still fitful and decidedly sacred.402 This helps explain James Hewitt's comment, from the previous chapter concerning his proposed music store partnership with John Rowe Parker in Boston, that they exchange their music in New York rather than in Boston. The larger and more cosmopolitan city provided better terms, a more cosmopolitan source, and a better market; and Hewitt's New York connections, and stock of engraved plates, provided a unique opportunity for a Boston enterprise.

James Hewitt and the Carr family were among the first few musician/engravers to realize the full potential of secular popular music publishing starting in the mid-1790s. Hewitt's earliest publications, starting in 1793 soon after his arrival in America, were, like Selby's,

402 By the end of the eighteenth century, Philadelphia was the leading city in music publishing, the first American city to host a full-time business of this sort and had seen at least thirty-two different companies come and go with twenty-two printers and at least nine engravers in support. New York had periodically sustained twelve music publishing houses, with sixteen printers and eleven engravers. Boston had been the first city to publish music, the Bay Psalm Book in 1698, but the last to support a full-time publisher one hundred years later - Peter Van Hagen in 1798. Sanjek, American Popular Music and its Business, 23; Wolfe, Early American Music Engraving and Printing, 59.
issued by subscription only. Hewitt’s publishing was somewhat limited during the remainder of the decade, probably hampered by his schedule directing the orchestra at the John Street Theater and, after 1797, running the music store that he had taken over from Benjamin Carr. However he was still able to issue sixty-nine pieces of music before 1800, a large number compared with other publishers.\textsuperscript{403} Between 1801 and 1811 Hewitt published a total of at least 480 pieces, sixty-six of which were his own compositions. Hewitt was second only to John and Michael Paff in leading New York music publishers in this decade before he moved to Boston in 1811. This period also marked the zenith of his publishing career. He published far less in Boston, probably because of the smaller market. However, by the end of his career in 1827, he had published at least 639 pieces, mostly by British ballad opera composers such as William Shield, Michael Kelly, and James Hook as well as some compositions of Handel, Haydn, and Mozart. He also composed and published ninety-two vocal and seventy-five instrumental pieces including twelve ballad operas, making him one of the most prolific composers in the country. And although some of his compositions appeared in collections with other composers' works, they also were issued in single-piece sheets. This oeuvre, regarded by his musicologist/biographer as “uniformly pleasant if not of the first rank,” was generally aimed at salability.\textsuperscript{404} In spite of the large number of his imprints, he died in poverty, which stresses the fragility of

\textsuperscript{403} Before 1800, George Gilfert was the largest music publisher in New York with over 200 pieces printed. Wolfe, \textit{Early American Music Engraving and Printing}, 52.

\textsuperscript{404} “[T]he performance of most of Hewitt’s compositions requires a level of technical proficiency readily obtained by a studious amateur with a modest amount of native ability, thus providing Hewitt with a maximum musical market.” John W. Wagner, “James Hewitt, Selected Compositions”, \textit{Recent Researches in American Music}, Vol. VII: vii-viii.
success in the music business in this period. Improving the marginal existence of “decayed musicians” was one of the prominent purposes of early urban secular music societies.

Benjamin Carr’s career had many similarities to that of his friend Hewitt. They had nearly identical life-spans, arrived in America within a year of each other, were musically trained in the same London milieu, played extensively in American theaters in the 1790’s, were trained as engravers, were both organists in Episcopal or Catholic churches and embarked on extensive publishing that included self-composed pieces. Important differences were that Carr, with his father and brother, dominated the American secular music publishing business soon after they arrived, establishing music stores in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York between 1794 and 1797. Hewitt’s publishing was irregular until the late 1790s. Carr also withdrew from frequent performing in Philadelphia to concentrate on playing organ in churches after 1800, while in New York, and later Boston, Hewitt played in both churches and theaters throughout his career. Carr, whose publishing business included his father and brother, also offered a range of publications that, like Jackson’s, aimed at a higher quality of European art-music than ballad opera songs. Carr’s compositions, along with those of Alexander Reinagle, Rayner Taylor, and Hewitt, constituted most of America’s first secular art-music. While Hewitt considered the violin his first instrument, Carr was, with fellow Philadelphians Alexander Reinagle and Rayner Taylor, among the top keyboardists in the country. Another consideration in Carr’s overall success was his location in Philadelphia, America’s largest city.

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until 1810 and center of the widest range of musical activities.

*Preaching to the Choir: Rural Europeanization and the Case of Rev. Samuel Gilman*

While the Europeans were holding sway in the urban centers of the new nation, particularly in introducing more instrumental music, the question arises of how this translated into rural and back country districts. Printed didactic sources reveal what opinions were emanating from urban areas, and the series of discourses and lectures given on music mentioned earlier give an idea of how leading men in small communities were thinking. However, records of face-to-face interchanges of ordinary people regarding music are much more scarce. Richard D. Brown has maintained that in the colonial period, face-to-face exchanges were colored by the relative stature of the communicants. This interpersonal imbalance began to shift, first as a result of revolution and ratification, and later, after 1800, as a democratizing dimension of an "economy of abundance" in ways that privileged print transmission as a levelling agent.405 However, the reminiscences of a minister growing up in New Hampshire around the turn of the nineteenth century that focus on his participation in the local Congregational choir give us precious interpersonal details, demonstrating how significant changes in musical taste were introduced on a face to face basis outside of print culture. On a larger scale, it provides a vivid glimpse of the subtle social turmoil taking place - some acknowledged by the author, some taken for granted. The Rev. Samuel Gilman's (1791-1858) quasi-fictional *Memoirs of a New*

England Village Choir, with Occasional Reflections, published in Boston in 1829, was clearly based on personal experience and covers a wide variety of musical situations and personalities. Gilman soon reached a point in the narrative where a young player of the church bass, Charles Williams, conducted the choir and instituted a period of rural musical elysium where a quaint cross section of village men and women regulate their own choices of hymns. Williams “wisely felt that his authority did not extend... to introduce among them any nice innovations on the oldfashioned manner of vocal performance.” Gilman was referring to the indigenous New England psalm style. This repertory included a range of styles from the “most galloping fugues and the most unexpressive airs” executed with the “same spirit and alacrity... expended on the divinest strains of sacred music.” Even though the psalms did not go “off with much science and expression”, it was a happy period at the meetinghouse where the “singing, though a little noisy, was at least generally correct in time and tone.” New anthems were prepared for special occasions such as Fast and Thanksgiving Days as well as funerals. Foibles were overlooked such as the stentorian voice of Mr. Broadbreast, the shriek of pale Miss Sixfoot, and the inattention to specified verses by Jonathan Oxgoad.

Gilman’s tone throughout balanced between sections of adolescent

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406 Gilman was born in Gloucester, Massachusetts, graduated from Harvard in 1811, became an ordained Unitarian minister, and married future author Caroline Howard in 1819. Gilman gives the location of his village as near the Merrimack River with the fictitious name of Waterfield but this author’s facsimile print of the work has what appears to be ‘Atkinson, NH’ inscribed after Gilman’s Waterfield. Gilman mentions on the first page that the activities described cover ten years straddling the turn of the century.

407 Gilman refers to the instrument first as a violoncello, what we would call a cello, but says that in New England it was called a bass viol. It is likely that the instrument was a locally constructed “church bass” (see p. 56, Ch. 1). Gilman himself played clarinet in the church choir.
humor, using mild parody, and the more censorious mode of an adult minister. Gilman reminded the reader, though, that this was “singing within the wooden walls to the edification of an American country congregation...and not beneath the dome of an European metropolitan cathedral.” Like Rev. Bentley, he admired the effect of an organ on congregational singing, “that gilded little sanctuary which towers in architectural elegance” over the assembly, even though his church appears not to have one. He remembered fondly the popular tunes that Williams played at home on the bass viol to small audiences such as “Washington’s March, Bellisle March, Hail Columbia, or the much less admirable, but equally popular Ode to Science” that “make every soul burn, and every cheek glow with lofty rapture....” Switching to a faster pace the musician would “exert an irresistible power” over his audience, “putting their feet and hands in motion...to an unbidden, spontaneous dance” to tunes like “The Girl I Left Behind Me” and “The Devil’s Dream”.

Gilman ruminated on alternative methods of sacred singing that he saw being carried on in other churches. Oddly, he admired most the denominations without separate choirs such as the Methodists who “joined together in some simple air...expressed the very soul of natural music.” Still, he returned to advocating a “select choir, who, by concentrating their efforts and reducing the matter to something of a profession, may keep the stream of sacred song at least pure, though small.” For Gilman, an educated member of the clergy, ‘Europeaness’ is a problematic representation. Everything in his academic training, including studies of Greek and Latin, spoke of respect for classics in the western tradition. He
admitted that, in America, “there is an aristocratical leaven among us” and that rather than pedigree, “[w]ealth and education have something to do with it.” But while Americans “draw arbitrary lines of distinction between different professions...it is a pleasant employment...to clamber over these distinctions.” For Gilman, anything with a whiff of an ‘aristocratical’ aspect was measured in terms and extent of Europeaness, even as it deviated from that paradigm in America. And this American ‘leavening’ had implications for public music. He singled out as a prominent cause of indifference to sacred music quality “the extensive cultivation of secular music in private families” that “render...ears so fastidious” that the “tasteless and indiscriminate clamour” of mixed congregations “excite in the more refined classes a disgusted and indevout spirit....” Thus, for a Unitarian minister, secularity was problematic only because of certain unintended consequences, such as creating hierarchy and limiting egalitarianism in public music, rather than in its essence, as it was for Calvinists.

When Williams, the son of a shoemaker, went off to Dartmouth college with financial support from the whole town, Gilman took over leadership of the choir. Things remained quiet for a year till a gentleman arrived to teach at a local academy and took up residence in the town choir where he was ‘paying addresses’ to a local young woman. Mr. Forehead startled the choir director on the first Sunday by requesting Old Hundred. Only a few members of the choir “were acquainted with...so

408 Gilman speculated that the 'extremely unsettled' nature of American society might lead to pedigrees of citizens based on ancestors' positions: a 'first class' descended from former presidents, governors, Supreme Court justices, and general officers; lower orders would descend from lower positions. This 'system' embodied a longing for fixity in social station so often lamented by elites in the Early Republic.
celebrated a piece of musical antiquity” since they had heard it sung “by
their fathers or grandfathers.” As the tune was announced, it created a
stir in the congregation below where “the elder members of the
flock...looked upwards to the gallery, with the gleams of pleasurable
expectation....” When Mr. Forehead next requested St. Martins, several
choir members vigorously countered with New Jerusalem. After the
service, in discussing this confrontation of preference with Mr. Forehead,
Gilman learned that he came from a choir in “one of our seaport towns”,
where music had been introduced of “a new and purer taste”, where “no
tunes of American origin were ever permitted” and of “fugues there were a
loathing and detestation.” The “slow, grand, and simple airs which our
forefathers sang” were the only music worth hearing. He illustrated this
change by noting that Old Hundred, St. Martin’s, Mear, Bath, and Little
Marlborough replaced Russia, Northfield, The Forty Sixth Psalm, and New
Jerusalem as the tunes most often sung (see Appendix S).409 What struck
Gilman was that this partiality was based more on a “fastidious arrogance
of fashion” than a “conscious superiority of taste.” In the month that
followed, Mr. Forehead persuaded a large part of the choir to change over
to the new old music. Some were attracted by its novelty, some by the
assurances of fashionability, and some that the more solemn music was
indeed more appropriate for worship services. However, the other half
“were extremely obstinate and almost bigoted in their attachment to the
existing catalogue of tunes.” Their tunebook had been The Village

409 In the chart, note that the New England-composed tunes appeared after the Revolution while
the English tunes are at least a generation older. Almost all of the older tunes are anonymously
composed. Many of the reform tunebooks emulated this by acknowledging their compilers only
as an unnamed committee.

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Harmony, compiled by printer Henry Randlett of Exeter New Hampshire which was one of the more popular hymnals, going through seventeen editions between 1795 and 1821. Even though this controversy had introduced “party spirit” into an association where none had been nor belonged, Gilman was enough persuaded of the newer taste’s improvements to go along with ordering thirty new editions of the “******* Collection.” This could have been any of the Trinitarian publications mentioned above (footnote, p. 219). The “admirers of fugues” folded their flag and absented themselves from participating in the choir thereafter. However, the debate had spread to the congregation where some hated Old Hundred “as they did the toad that crossed their path at twilight” while others regarded the “innocent tune of Northfield with the same abhorrence....” Gradually, more and more pews became deserted while a “few families of fashionable pretensions encouraged us, for there was something artistocratical ...something modish... in the superior taste of our newly introduced music.” Another type of supporter was the “hoary head... for it loved to listen to the strains which had nourished the piety of its youth.” Generational memory played a significant part in constructing musical taste.

Eventually, Mr. Forehead moved away, the advocates of American psalmody came back to banish anything by “Williams or of Tansur,” and the missing part of the congregation returned. A compromise was arbitrated allowing a specified number of both styles to be chosen each Sunday. Some common ground tunes were identified as Wells, Windham, and Virginia (see Appendix S) which reflect this balance. When Gilman
left to teach in a different district, the perogative of the women in the choir came to the fore in directing its course under the auspices of Mrs. Shrinknot. The vagaries of the choir were compared to the national government where the author asks “[w]here but on the floor of the American Capitol” would the contrasting character of individuals forge policy? He replies that similarly, “in a church choir there somehow arise certain shades of freaks”, but also “certain descriptions of virtue”, that exist nowhere else in mankind.

One last event related by Gilman illustrates how the theological debates between Trinitarians and Unitarians could play out in choices of music in the pew-box trenches. One Sunday, a new minister who “carried some point of orthodoxy considerably further than I could then...or now,” called for a hymn that described “a terrific combination of images respecting the future abode of the wicked.” The leader of the choir, a middle-aged tinplate-worker who had recently converted to Unitarianism, leaned over to the pulpit to reply “you are requested, Reverend Sir, to give out another hymn.” The minister asked “Why am I requested to do so, Sir?” “We do not approve of the sentiments of the hymn you have just read,” came the reply. To which the minister announced, “I decline reading any other” which was promptly followed by “Then we decline singing, Sir.” The startled clergymen took a moment to regain his composure and, facing the congregation, said “let us pray.”

Illustrated here is disagreement over music at the intersection of several conflicts. One of the last vignettes of the memoir, it must have dated from the mid-1810s. The extended rhetoric over doctrinal
differences, enunciated by church leaders and printed for distribution, ramified in discrete events and informed individual choices. The intensity of these prerogatives, coupled with the new spirit of democracy after the election of 1800, made it possible for a country tradesman, with the backing of like-minded peers, to coolly contradict one of the most respected community figures in New England.410 Historian Joyce Appleby has appreciated the implications of Gilman's description, using it extensively to illustrate shifts in class, gender, mobility, and religion expanded to a national level.411 In the present study, the more locally rendered meanings of the schisms involving choices in music, social hierarchy, cultural imports, and theology speak more to a continued regionalism in the Early Republic and emphasize the centrality of music to Gilman's story.

One of the key organizing features of Gilman's thoughts on American society was the development of enlightenment liberalism, understood in its early nineteenth-century sense of individual prerogative. Gilman at once found these village contentions and shifting alliances curious but endemically human and reflective of national characteristics. An important policy development of the new national government that honored these liberalizing tendencies was the establishment of a patent office, particularly as the procedures of copyright were applied to the arts through protection of what we call


intellectual property. Inspired by British models, the American version differed and changed over time in significant ways.

The Limited Influence of Copyright

Early United States copyright law was based on the Statute of Queen Anne, a 1710 English law, described as "stingy" and having to be incrementally expanded during the eighteenth century in England. It was intended to protect book publishers foremost and only by degrees were authors afforded rights. In America, the early introduction of copyright legislation in state statutes, passed by revolutionary assemblies during the war, and on the federal level in 1790, covered only the intellectual property of American citizens. Thus, foreign imprints and the compositions of non-citizens were deliberately not protected, as they were in Britain. The original copyright law was more an effort by Congress to encourage the proliferation of literacy by making European publications more accessible than to protect American intellectual property. The fact that bibliographer Charles Evans found only 556 pieces of copyrighted printed matter, very little of which was music, of approximately 13,000 books, newspapers, pamphlets, and broadsides in the entire decade after 1790 indicates that such protection was hardly requisite in music publishing. Music publishers routinely pirated European works or the publications of non-citizens whose popularity offered an opportunity for profit until around 1820. A larger concern was avoiding publishing a song which had been popular but whose sales had already saturated the musical public, an indication of the limitations of America's early music

\[412 \text{ Sanjek, American Popular Music, 3 - 4.} \]

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market. However, this did not preclude the influence of copyright in music publishing decisions. Since most American compositions were sacred music, most of the evidence of compliance falls within this category. Copyright records demonstrate that immigrant publishers were diligent in copyrighting the work of Americans that they published; and for the most part, American compilers too, were assiduous in either paying copyright fees or paying composers directly.

Two significant trends mentioned earlier that bear on this influence were that: (1) after 1790, the most popular sacred music had been written before 1790 (i.e., not covered by copyright) and (2) until 1805, American-composed sacred music continued to grow proportionately over European-derived music (see Appendix G). European works also dominated secular music publishing throughout the 1790s, partly through lack of copyright fees, but also because of the immigrant musician/publishers' preference for these styles that eventually became the American public's as well.

Another analysis of publishers of sacred music in the decade between 1800 and 1810, prepared by Richard Crawford and Donald Krummel, reflect this bifurcation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Printer</th>
<th>American</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>Unidentified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Nonprofessional'</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Professional'</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2. Percentages of American and Foreign Music Compositions in Engraved Sacred Music, 1800-10*

For Crawford and Krummel, the ‘nonprofessional’ printers of engraved sacred music were by definition residents of villages or towns while the

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'professional' printers were the urban immigrant musician/engravers. Since this was engraved music, it excluded typeset sacred music which was increasingly the predominant mode of publication. However these figures capture the intrusion of urban musician/engravers into the sacred music market and highlight the expected preferences of both rural compiler/publishers and foreign musician/engravers. The United States' non-reciprocation of copyright protection with foreign countries lasted far into the nineteenth century and was inextricably linked with book publishing. British copyright law had been extended to foreign nationals based on a suit brought by Johann Christian Bach in 1777. The work of foreign nationals was protected as long as it had not been published previously, creating circumstances where American authors Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper reaped substantial income by publishing first in England.

The inversion of American to European compositions captured in the data from 1805-1810 (Appendix G) brought the preference of European sacred works back to pre-1780 proportions. This rapid turnaround in popularity that reversed a twenty-five-year Americanizing trend, may also have been influenced by the revision of the 1790 copyright law enacted in 1802. Music was not specifically mentioned in any federal copyright law until 1831, but the revisions of 1802 increased protection for engravers and etchers, under which secular, and some sacred, music publishing was subsumed. It also raised fines for violations and possession

414 The works of the nonprofessionals were published in a range of towns and villages such as New Haven, Cheshire, and Danbury, Connecticut; Lansingburg, and Albany, New York; and Hopewell, New Jersey.

415 Sanjek, American Popular Music, 27.
of unauthorized editions and required dating of protected material.\textsuperscript{416} The increasing dominance of both the secular and sacred music publishing market with European compositions by foreign nationals (which Selby, Jackson, and Hewitt remained their entire careers) created a free-for-all for competitive publishing that marginalized indigenous work. European compositions were cheaper to distribute than any American-composed piece of music until late in the second decade of the nineteenth century. By that point, European prints constituted 70\% of all American publications that, not coincidentally, paid no royalties. Circumstances exerted a disincentive for the growing number of publishers specializing in music to reissue music compositions by Americans because of the cost of royalties. This limited the distribution of American compositions to the hands of the original composer or their original publishers. This unintended consequence created a situation akin to a tariff on domestic manufactures in the name of protection from theft of intellectual property.\textsuperscript{417} In the case of the change to European predominance within sacred music editions, it is likely that the increasing size of typeset reform hymnals, with their bias against the earlier American style of psalmody, gives the impression through sheer numbers of a preference for European works that may have existed only in the urban east. This statistical preference on a national publishing scale may not have held true in western settlements where shape-note singing and evangelical hymnody

\textsuperscript{416} Previously, sheet music had not been dated on the assumption that dating would constrain the fashionableness and popularity of the piece. However, since copyright protection for music continued to be rarely sought, dating was not generally complied with until after 1820. Wolfe, \textit{Early American Music Engraving and Printing}, 194.

were very popular.

In the rapidly increasing secular publishing field, there was really no contest between Europeans and natives. While the immigrant publisher/engravers respected American copyright laws, they had no pressing need to publish American secular works. Both sophisticated instrumental music and popular songs were of European derivation and even in American patriotic music, Europeans often either wrote lyrics and/or set music for these pieces as they engraved and published them. The immigrant musicians filled the needs of a market that they continued to enlarge.

Creating and Sustaining Markets

Theater musician/publishers effectively cornered the market on potentially profitable songs from new theater productions since the most popular London plays were sent directly to theater managers. These playbooks were accompanied by simple music scores that usually contained only the melody for songs with simple bass figures. The scores were given to orchestra leaders to arrange for the particular instrumental composition of their band. In the process, they could choose music for publication which they deemed, or the response of audiences indicated, would meet with marketable popularity. This edge, through a direct connection to the latest British tastes, was emphasized in some of the musician/publishers’ advertisements from their very arrival. Benjamin Carr’s initial attempt at serial publication made a point of his communication with London music publishers:
NEW MUSIC

B. Carr and Co. inform the public that having settled a correspondence with the principal publishers of Music in Britain &c. from whom they are constantly receiving supplies of the newest music -- together with several originals in their possession, from which they wish to present amateurs with a selection of the most esteemed, they will, for the future, publish a new song, or piece of music every Monday, and, by the continuance, hope to make their publications a register of fashionable music.418

Carr's series ended within a few weeks but this coincided with the long-awaited opening (delayed by the previous year's yellow fever epidemic) of the new Chestnut Street Theater in February, 1794 where Carr was immediately employed.

Immigrant musicians had always relied on the growth of an amateur market, giving lessons, publishing instructional material, and creating an expanding audience for concerts and original compositions. Carr's publishing was especially productive in instructional works. He issued compositions of his own as Six Progressive Sonatinas, Preludes for the Piano Forte, Musical Bagatelles, Applicazione addolcita, and the Analytical Instructor for the Piano Forte. An educated man, Carr had utilized the poetry of Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott in creating some of his best-selling song collections such as Three Ballads from Shakespeare (1794), Six Ballads from the Poem of the Lady of the Lake (1810), and Four Ballads from the Celebrated New Poem of Rokeby (1813). Because of the downturn in the theater business at the end of the 1790's and perhaps the increased competition among professional musicians for students and music sales, Carr began advertising for pupils in 1800. He mentions that "he has leisure to attend a few pupils on the Piano Forte" which may have been an

418 Dunlap and Claypoole's Advertiser, January 1, 1794.
understatement. His focus on the piano was also emphasized by his willingness to tune them “in town or country, by the year, quarter, month or single time.” He also seemed to be willing to keep rare music available and affordable by offering “[m]anuscript copies of those Songs not printed in this country”, thereby avoiding having to charge for engraving.419 One of his competitors, a Monsieur Dupre, advertised lessons for fifty cents and music copying at twenty-five cents per page. That he also promised to “re-conduct every lady to their respective places of abode” underscored the centrality of women to music instruction.420

Particularly noteworthy was Carr’s musical magazine the *Musical Journal for the Piano Forte* which ran for five years from 1800 to 1804. It was published each of these years between December and May which coincided with the theater and elite social season in Philadelphia. Few previous music magazines had lasted for more than a year in any American city, and even in Philadelphia, Carr’s precursors had folded part way through their intended runs.421 Carr’s series presented 218 arrangements by over seventy-five European and American composers, 120 of which were original works of Carr’s. All these serialized publications were offered by subscription but this was of a different type than that used by Selby in Boston and by many book publishers. Selby’s

419 *Aurora*, 20 January 1800.

420 *Aurora*, 18 January 1800; Siek, “Musical Taste in Post-Revolutionary America,” 166.

421 These were *Young’s Vocal and Instrumental Musical Miscellany*, issued by British woodwind musician John Young and *Moller and Capron’s Monthly Numbers* published by French cellist Henry Capron in partnership with organist/composer Johann Christoph Moller. Young advertised monthly installments starting in February, 1793, but stopped after five months, continuing with three more months in early 1795. Capron and Moller’s periodical appears to have lasted only four months in early 1793.
form of subscription either specified, or imagined, a number of subscribers whose contribution was requisite for publication, with the added enticement of having the subscribers listed in the work. In serialized subscription, the low cost of the small-run enabled the project to begin regardless of the number of subscribers, with the intention of adding subscribers as the series proceeded. This also made it possible to publish lists of well-known subscribers as an on-going inducement to becoming one. The price of monthly numbers was double for non-subscribers and those who participated at any point in the run could still have their names listed at the end of the series. In fact, participants could mail their completed series back to the publisher to have them bound with a newly engraved title page that, for a fee, could be personalized with their name on the cover. The musicians who also engraved constantly had to invent market-savvy enticements, incorporating the general hucksterism of the age to the American music scene.

In an effort to attract non-musicians as buyers of sheet music, the growing number of amateur poets in Philadelphia were targeted by a campaign where musicians would compose music to accompany such “poetry which may be approved of.” Similarly ambitious serial publication was being attempted in England. Harrison, Cluse & Co. of London offered the *Pianoforte Magazine* between 1797 and 1802, advertising that 250 issues would eventually be issued, and that those who bought all the numbers would be given a free piano. The scheme


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reached 200 issues before it disappeared.423

Both types of subscription publishing gradually died out between 1800 and 1820 as music publishing became more profitable. However, marketing through subscription had become so endemic to American economic culture that even concert series were given by subscription. The serial subscription strategy always offered a discount of some kind and one of Carr’s earliest performance announcements reveals such details:

By Subscription. AN AMATEURS AND PROFESSIONAL CONCERT. Under the direction of Messrs. Reinagle, Gillingham, Menel and Carr, at Mr. Oeller’s Hotel, Chestnut street, for six weeks, to be held weekly.

For the 2d, 4th, 6th concert each subscriber will be entitled to two tickets, for the admission of ladies, and on the last concert night will be given a ball. Subscriptions at five dollars, will be received at Carr & Co.’s Musical Repository, No. 122 Market-street, and at Mr. Oeller’s Hotel.

Visitors can only be admitted by the introduction of a subscriber, for whom tickets may be had on the day of performance at the Musical Repository.424

Such marketing tactics disclose two key aspects of the embryonic music business conducted in the early Republic: selling a circumscribed ‘privilege’ to anyone who had the foresight, and means, to pay ahead of time and the overarching concern about verifying sufficient attendance beforehand. This anonymously based, or free market, favoritism would have resonated both with the spectacle of elitism in the theaters where these musicians were also seen performing as well as the appeal to affluent participants who could afford five dollar tickets and know the dances required at a ball. Since poorly attended concerts were remarked upon, it would suggest that concerts were not cancelled except for extreme

423 Siek, “Musical Taste in Post-Revolutionary America,” 189-190.

424 Dunlop’s American Daily Advertiser, March, 1794; Sonneck, Early Concert-Life, 94-95.

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conditions and/or that musicians would perform even for low pay.

Subscription concerts had been given in Philadelphia since the 1780s and were often presented at theaters on "dark" nights when no plays were given. Amateurs who participated with professionals at concerts were in a different category than those who merely entertained themselves at home, as implied in Carr's reference below to "first" amateurs. Earlier in the century, gentlemen amateurs were more likely to participate in the more rudimentary productions, proclaiming self-fulfillment and public spiritedness rather than pay. An advertisement for a play in 1769 had a disclaimer that "the Orchestra...will be assisted by some musical Persons, who, as they have no View but to contribute to the Entertainment of the Public, certainly claim a Protection from any Manner of Insult." Apparently the assumption was that hecklers would identify and differentiate between amateurs and professionals in the band. By the 1790s, it appears that few amateurs participated in theatrical performances, perhaps due to lessons learned from such earlier experiences. Theater bands that accompanied plays and operas usually remained professional if only because of the demanding amount of time required for that venue; there were also many more trained musicians available. However, larger concert orchestras throughout the period 1780-1825 occasionally relied on skilled amateur participation. For instance, the Russian consul in Boston, violinist Alexis Eustaphieve, along

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425 This meant there were often no dark nights at theaters. Plays were usually performed on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday nights. Alterations could be made such as at Boston's Federal Street Theater which did not put up performances on Friday nights so as not to interfere with Rev. Jeremy Belknap's regular lectures given nearby.

426 Pennsylvania Gazette, November 30, 1769.
with his talented pianist daughter, was a regular performer at concerts, and founding member of the fledgling Philharmonic Society, starting in 1809.\footnote{H. Earle Johnson, \textit{Musical Interludes in Boston 1795-1830}, 149.} Amateur musicians and actors were more likely to be found in the productions of secondary towns and cities, from Fredericksburg in 1790 to Portsmouth, New Hampshire in 1792 to Baltimore in 1796.\footnote{The instances in the southern cities are taken from advertisements and whether any plays were produced is unknown.} In the south, there was a much stronger tradition of amateur participation, in music as well as drama. This came from a tradition of replicating genteel English society in contrast to New England's Puritan origins. In the decade from 1815 to 1825, amateur contribution became much more significant as the plethora of music societies and academies encouraged early participation by a younger generation.\footnote{Oscar Sonneck, \textit{Early Opera in America}, (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1915, reprinted 1963), 25, 151, 165, 193, 209-210; nonprofessional actors were often not named in programs but identified as 'an amateur.'}

\section*{Dichotomies of Vernacular and Art Music}

Carr's eventual return to serial publishing in 1800, the \textit{Musical Journal}, provides another means to gauge the evolution of the closely tethered orbits of popular song and serious concert music in the nation's largest and most cosmopolitan city. Just as well-defined sectioning of early American society was still entertained under one roof at theaters, vernacular song and sophisticated instrumental music were initially not distant from one another. As in his 1793 journal effort, Carr promised weekly rather than monthly installments and his advertising for the
series touts both the quality of the subscribers and the composers whose works were promised:

The Subscription list...contains the names of the most eminent teachers, and some of the first amateurs in Philadelphia who have sanctioned it by their approval, the vocal part, containing those songs that the proprietors had the satisfaction of seeing become universal favorites; and the instrumental section; but here a remark would be impertinent, as the names of Haydn, Pleyel, Boccherini &c speak for themselves.430

The appeal acknowledges the divide between popular songs and European instrumental art music. How this dichotomy was received by the public was born out by changes in musical selections made later in the run of the Musical Journal, where instrumental pieces diminished in number as the Carrs found they had to favor vocal pieces. These had figured heavily in their choices from the outset. Vocal pieces with piano accompaniments to popular ballads had often been recently featured on stage by well-known actress/singers.431 Such songs, hymns, and sentimental parlor music, regardless of derivation, steadily increased in popularity with young, middle-class female consumers of these publications. This dichotomy had been evident from the earliest, important concert series and published music offered by Alexander Reinagle in 1786-89. His City Concerts featured twelve evenings of symphonies by Andre, Haydn, Lachnith, Rosetti; overtures by J.C. Bach and William Shield; concertos by Corelli and Cramer as well as chamber pieces and solo compositions by the


performers themselves. At the same time, most of Reinagle’s publishing
in the same period, including two collections issued in London in the early
1780’s, aimed at an amateur market. His division between what was
published and what was played replicated a more secularized version of
the career programs attempted by William Selby and later realized by
George K. Jackson, James Hewitt, and Benjamin Carr (who published
Reinagle’s early works). Beyond simple entertainment, this double-tiered
practice aspired to be what could be called a program of public music
education. The immigrant professionals, by simultaneously playing art
music that they admired and publishing instructional material aimed at
 imparting the skills necessary for its performance, encouraged an
amateur performing public of expectant virtuosi. This was most explicitly
carried out through the introduction of the relatively new piano forte.

Beginning in the 1790s, sacred music in America received
increasing exposure to European influences through theater musicians
and church organists. The gradual relaxation of proscriptions against
instruments, and particularly organs, used in worship services marked
the incremental abandonment of deeply entrenched Calvinist traditions.
The rise in popularity of oratorios represented a compromise with popular

432 George Washington attended Reinagle’s concerts at least twice while he was in Philadelphia
for the Constitutional Convention and hired him to give his adopted daughter, Nellie Custis, music

433 These were, in chronological order, Twenty Four Short and Easy Pieces Intended as the First
Lessons for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord (London, early 1780s), A Second Set of Twenty-four
Short and Easy Lessons for the Piano-forte or Harpsichord (London, early 1780s), A Selection of
the Most Favorite Scots Tunes for Harpsichord (1787), A Collection of Favorite Songs Arranged
for the Voice and Pianoforte (1789), and Twelve Favorite Pieces Arranged for Pianoforte or
Harpsichord (1789). All the later works were published in Philadelphia.

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taste made by Congregational clergymen that coincided with the egalitarianism and emotionalism of the Second Great Awakening. Both were part of a larger liberal reordering of spiritual life in America and this secularizing shift was not restricted to religion. Historian Steven Watts has demonstrated the changed political discourse brought about by the results of the War of 1812, which “sounded the death knell of the American faction [Federalism] most suspicious of liberalizing change.”434 Previously polarizing debate over self-interest and virtue, encumbered by older republican conceptions of personal and public disinterest, came to be understood in more elastic and negotiable terms. In fact, the war's validation of Jeffersonian political policies influenced the development of a more pluralist cast to American Protestantism. Populist preachers mixed their idiosyncratic religious tenets with Jeffersonian political philosophy but with a unifying message of “the primacy of the individual conscience.”435 Secularization was at work even within the evangelical movement as millennial expectations evolved into a Christian metaphysics, not for the hereafter, but for the here and now. Christian charity easily moved into various social reform movements, even as one of those movements, reacting to these liberalizing trends, sought to reform hymnody by purging it of secular influences. Worldly striving also became more acceptable because of the more humble origins of evangelical preachers and their flocks. American Protestantism readily adapted to


business enterprise as a social norm. And this larger transformation to more worldly cultural expectations had consequences for the types of music with which Americans would choose to amuse themselves.

436 Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution*, 250-1
CHAPTER V

THE CREATION OF A SECULAR MUSIC BUSINESS
FOR A PERFORMING PUBLIC, 1800-1820

You will please to remember that my general plan is to expunge trash and introduce something more solid, but at the same time as much as possible to meet the taste of the public...

Psalmodist Daniel Read, Jan. 6, 1807

After this I begin to think I shall leave publishing music books to you or anybody else.

Publisher Charles Armstrong, October 8, 1813

The division between sacred and secular in the early nineteenth century, although permeable, was explicitly understood as the most significant demarcator in American music. While sacred music reformers were at great pains to eliminate recognizably profane influences from worship services, secular and instrumental music proliferated at an increasing rate. A chart of music publishers and engravers from the early 1790s to the mid-1820s, most of whose work would have been secular, demonstrates this acceleration. It also emphasizes the centrality of individuals, as musicians, engravers, and music store proprietors, to the enterprise. The career totals of imprints given for each publisher mask the slow beginnings of the 1790s. For instance, of James Hewitt’s total output of roughly 600 works in New York between 1793-1810, only about ten percent were produced before 1800. Secular music publishing expanded significantly after 1800 as a result of the increased presence of music in theaters and the growing popularity of the piano in private homes, but also the increase in music publishing by musicians hard pressed by the
shortcomings of theater pay.

Enterprise was critical to doing business in this highly competitive field. One of the very few indigenous Americans to try his hand at music publishing, Allyn Bacon moved to Philadelphia from Boston to open a music publishing business after the War of 1812. In letters to Boston music store owner John Rowe Parker in 1817, he wrote that he was “happy...to show I have bro't with me from N[sic] England that spirit of industry & expedition which so much distinguishes its inhabitants from those of the middle & southern states.” Not surprisingly, his relations with other long-established music publishers in Philadelphia were somewhat chilly: “[T]he fact is I stand alone here & am opposed by Blake & Willig very powerfully - they decline excha. with me & rather as I understand conceive me to be an interloper, that I have no right to carry on the music business in this place - it is a curious idea.”

By 1810, immigrant musician/publishers had expanded the markets and the venues for secular music, and its reception depended upon the participation of both listeners and practitioners. However, the sheer quantity of publications did not cover a wide range of style or quality. Piano historian Arthur Loesser, referring to the English music scene only a few years earlier, noted that as “the music business [grew] 437

437 Allyn Bacon file in JRRP, letters of September 24, 1817 and October 21, 1817. George Blake arrived from England in 1793, opened a stationer’s store and gave flute and clarinet lessons. By 1801 he sold sheet music, eventually performing the engraving himself. By 1803, he sold London theatrical music and Vauxhall songs and by 1815 he had one of the largest music catalogues in America. George Willig was a music teacher/engraver who arrived from Europe in 1793, taking over Henri Capron and John Christopher Moller’s music store the following year, after the death of Capron. Blake and Willig’s music publishing flourished into the 1840s and 1850s, becoming two of the largest and longest lived music businesses in the country.

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wide and shallow, the piano [thrived] on it. 438 The writer of a piece in a Philadelphia magazine underscored this lack of depth in the American sense of music:

In no country of the world is the practice of music more universally extended, and at the same time the science so little understood as in America. Almost every house included between the Delaware and the Schuylkill has its piano or harpsichord, its violin, its flute or its clarinet. Almost every young lady and gentleman, from the children of the Judge, the banker, and the general, down to those of the constable, the huckster and the drummer, can make a noise upon some instrument or other, and charm their neighbors with something which courtesy calls music. Europeans, as they walk our streets, are often surprised with the flute rudely warbling “Hail! Columbia” from an oyster cellar, or the piano forte thumped to a female voice screaming “O Lady Fair!” from behind a heap of cheese, a basket of eggs, a flour barrel, or a puncheon of apple whiskey; and on these grounds we take it for granted that we are a very musical people. 439

Not only was what “courtesy calls music” played everywhere, but it was the younger generation that was responsible for its proliferation. For the hundred years preceding, each generation of youth had been responsible for making alterations in popular music. From the introduction of ‘regular’ singing to the wide participation in singing schools, from the development of a distinctly American vernacular psalmody during the Revolution to the early nineteenth-century escalation in instrumental musicality, American young people fashioned an identity distinct from that of their elders, through music as in other ways. And those that did

438 Loesser, Men, Women, & Pianos, 251. Philadelphia editor Henry C. Lewis made the same observation about American theater audiences: “They regard the actors more than the characters they represent...the dress of this actor, the voice of that, and the manner of the third will be the subjects of long conversations when not the least comment is made...of the cruelties of King Richard, the causeless jealousy of Othello, the filial piety of Hamlet, the virtue of Adromache, the reformation of Lady Townly....” Lady’s & Gentleman’s Weekly Literary Museum, and Musical Magazine, V. 3, #13, January 18, 1819: 105.

not participate were surely listening. The generational, egalitarian, and ostensibly ungendered aspect of this expansion is signified by the Philadelphian’s observation that young men and women of disparate social strata were responsible for the exuberance of popular performance. Although this writer obviously was unimpressed with young Americans’ pretensions, the generation that grew to maturity during the early nineteenth-century flowering of musicality permitted American ambitions in music to evolve in the following decades. This would be facilitated especially by the proliferation of music societies and academies.

*Secular Music Transformed*

by *Hard Times in The Theater*

Commercial zeal in the music business was at least partially prompted by downturns in the theatrical business. While the new theaters of the 1790s introduced new styles of secular music to American audiences, reductions in musical opportunities in theaters in the 1810s forced professional musicians to increase their publishing and teaching activities. The Embargo of 1807, the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809, and continued financial retaliations against Britain translated into a drop-off in theater attendance and eventual closings. So did continuing competition from circuses. A catastrophic fire in the Richmond, Virginia theater also contributed to attendance doldrums. Charles Durang noted that the

the burning of the Richmond theatre...spread a shadow over the drama throughout the country. This event, with the depressed state of commerce - the consequence of the unsettled belligerent negotiations then pending with England, which led to a declaration
of war in June, 1812...broke up theatricals in the South.\footnote{Theaters often caught fire throughout this early period but few were as horrific as the Richmond theater’s destruction on the day after Christmas, 1811. Seventy-one people died ranging from the Governor of Virginia to women, children, and slaves. Durang, *History of the Philadelphia Stage*, 94-5.}

As many theater keyboardists switched to organ playing in churches at the turn of the nineteenth century, theaters and their management policies were undergoing transformations that had serious implications for musicians. Although the Federal Street Theater in Boston had temporarily benefitted from the closing and dismantling of its rival venue, the Haymarket Theater, the managers at both New York’s Park Street Theater and Philadelphia’s Chestnut Street Theater were all but bankrupt after the turn of the century. Theater managers were squeezed by the vagaries of attendance on one hand and the demands of wealthy investors on the other. This impasse eventually undermined profits and personal financial stability. William Dunlap, who had gone through an acrimonious disintegration of his partnership with actor John Hodgkinson, was bankrupt by 1803. The managers of Philadelphia’s Chestnut Theater, actor Thomas Wignell and keyboardist Alexander Reinagle, faced the exodus of the government offices to the District of Columbia in 1800. Their response was to open the United States Theatre in what had been a new hotel in Washington later the same year.\footnote{The inauspicious start of theater in the nation’s capital was described by actor Charles Durang in his memoirs - “[t]he removal of the seat of Government took thousands of persons to Washington to seek their fortunes, among whom were many Philadelphia families, the principals of which had been employed in the public offices. In the spirit of enterprise then prevalent, Wignell and Reinagle converted a new building, called Blodget’s Hotel, or ‘Blodget’s Folly,’ by which appellation it was long known...into a theatre.” Durang, *History of the Philadelphia Stage*, 74.}

Reinagle moved to Baltimore and, after Wignell’s death in 1803, tried to keep these theaters...
operating at least on a part-time schedule but with dwindling results.

This downturn in the fortunes of America’s theaters had several repercussions on the American music scene. Theater managers were finally forced to give up their preference for the high volume, and expense, of musical productions in order to mimic London opulence. While not abandoning them altogether, they began to produce mainly older plays of proven popularity. Strict attention to the latest English productions fell by the boards. Coupled with the dramatic change in the conduct of party politics after the election of Thomas Jefferson in 1800, this appears to have encouraged performance of more American-written plays. Elites in general, and Federalists in particular, had typically favored English stage fashion over American productions. New themes emphasized sentimentalism, unsophisticated virtue, and American ingenuity, precisely the motifs pilloried in Royall Tyler’s *The Contrast* nearly two decades before.\(^442\) An increasingly democratic economy directly abetted secular music growth while political change indirectly influenced music culture. By Jefferson’s second term, Federalist political impotence was reflected in cultural sniping from the sidelines, often in reviews and commentary acknowledging the ascendancy of populist cultural preferences.\(^443\) Amateur organist and successful sacred tunebook compiler Nahum Mitchell was a Federalist Congressman from Massachusetts in the Eighth Congress from 1803-1805. In letters to two politically sympathetic friends, Mitchell captured the despair of his party:

\[\text{The prospect of increasing democracy around you seems to add}\]


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to your gloom. You must tell your good people they are too late. Democracy is quite out of fashion. Here, at headquarters, we are all becoming Aristocrats and Monarchists...Having thus set up royalty temporarily [Jefferson], we have altered the Constitution in order the more easily to render it permanent [a reference to the Louisiana Purchase]...I am consoling myself daily with the hope that there is force and influence enough in the steady habits and sound principles of New England to arrest the whole country in its threatened progress to democracy and licentiousness. But should Massachusetts fall before the pestilential breath of revolution and change, we shall have no hope left...446

The transcendence of democratic values was not simply political; it appeared as well in contemporary literature, especially popular novels. Multi-talented players such as actress, playwright, song composer, and women’s academy founder Susanna Rowson (1762-1824) embraced many of the new opportunities offered by the American expansion of markets and redefinition of social hierarchies.445 For Rowson, this included fiction, and her novel *Charlotte Temple* became a best seller, generating forty-five editions before her death. Principally a morality tale warning young women against predatory males, *Charlotte Temple* captured the sense of “alienation and betrayal...devasting loneliness, and...sense of powerlessness” that resonated with many working-class young women.446 The broad popularity of her novel earned Rowson the scorn of literary Federalists like Joseph Dennie of the Port Folio who discounted the legitimacy of popular, American-published (and proto-feminist) writers

444 Letters of January 19, 1804 to K. Whitman, Esq. and February 12, 1804 to Dr. Orr in Nahum Mitchell Papers, MHS.

445 Lawrence Buel has pointed out that more writers of the Federal era were playwrights than writers of fiction, as interest in the theater made it “the likelier field of literary accomplishment until the vogue of Walter Scott.” Rowson wrote extensively in both genres. Buel, *New England Literary Culture*, 26, fn. 403.

like Rowson. According to Dennie, the rationale for all such literature was merely "the emolument of the proprietor of a circulating library." For Dennie, there were two kinds of music, just as there were two levels of reading: the ephemera of the demos and the genuine learning of the republic of letters. When William Cobbett, writing as Peter Porcupine in *A Kick for a Bite* (1795), dismissed Rowson's feminism and Democratic tendencies in her novel *Slaves in Algiers*, she responded accordingly: the "literary world is infested with a kind of loathsome reptile [which] has lately crawled over the volumes, which I have had the temerity to submit to the public eye. I say *crawled* because I am certain it has never penetrated beyond the title of any." Rowson, also captivated by music, wrote popular songs such as "America, Commerce, and Freedom," published by Benjamin Carr in 1794. She left acting during the theater doldrums of 1797 to form the Young Ladies Academy in Boston, where piano playing for *personal* enjoyment was part of an enlightened feminine curriculum.

Another response by theaters to their financial straits, with unanticipated long-term effects on popular music, was the introduction of what was then a new concept - the 'star' system. Famous English actors, some of whom also had fine voices, began to tour American cities, serially employed by each theater using the indigenous stock company to back them. These American itineraries were centrally contracted by Stephen Price, a shareholder in New York's Park Street Theater by 1806 and sole

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448 Rowson, writing in her introduction to *Trials of the Human Heart* (1795), found in *Charlotte Temple*, Davidson ed., introduction, xxv.
manager by 1816. The control that Price exerted is highlighted in an 1819 letter from English star singer Thomas Phillips to John Rowe Parker, stating that he would not consider terms from the Boston managers outside of those that Price had set. "I shall subscribe to no others particularly as...it might derange my plans and Mr. Price's...& the money I shall have taken from his theater is a strong point of consideration."449

Early stars such as James Fennell, James Chalmers, Thomas Cooper, and Frederick Cooke performed a narrow selection of plays that featured themselves to great advantage. They commanded extravagant salaries that made it even more difficult for managers to meet their regular payroll obligations. One particularly callous manager responded to an actor's request for his pay: "What, ask for a salary when the blackberries are ripe?"450

The preference for British stars who sang, such as Thomas Phillips in the years after the War of 1812, tended to marginalize American singers of ability, just as it did indigenous actors. Henry C. Lewis, editor of a Philadelphia magazine and American cultural nationalist, sarcastically apologized for devoting a number to sacred rather than popular music, "thus interrupting the rage of taste of nothing but Philipps' Songs with the occasional introduction of 'grateful notes.'" Although full of praise for Phillips' style, Lewis preferred to promote American singers like Mrs. De Luce.

When the public is called upon to reward native talents, it requires some responsible person to answer...in favour of the

449 Thomas Phillips folder, letter of March 25, 1819, JRPP.


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person who has been thrown upon the fluctuating billows of popular opinion...Indeed, we know there are too many in this favored country, who would rather go fifty miles to encourage a foreigner, than one square to benefit an aspiring Native!451

However, the careers of some of these English stars were sometimes slow to catch fire. Thomas Cooper (1777-1849), the first actor-star, who never did become known for his singing, had refused a contract for backing roles at Covent Garden to work for the Chestnut Theater in Philadelphia in 1796. He performed his first benefit to a house of four seats in the late 1790s. The following night, he hired an elephant to accompany him and filled the theater - a mammoth strategy.452

The theater musician’s well-being was closely connected to the precarious employment of the stock actors. After the turn of the century, professional musicians’ listings in city directories frequently shifted from simply “musician” to hyphenated or altogether different occupations. For instance, George Ulshoeffer was listed as a “musician” in New York from 1789 to 1795 but afterwards as “musician & grocer.” Isaac Samo was listed as a “music teacher” in 1800 but “grocer” from 1804-1810. He returned to his status as solely a musician starting in 1817, which coincided with the revived fortunes of the music business in the postwar economic boom. Victor Pelissier was an outstanding composer, arranger, and horn player in New York throughout the 1790s, but starting in 1802 he was listed as “prof. of music and millinery store.”453 In 1811, the


452 Benefits were traditional performances given at the end of the regular theater season, in late spring. Each prominent member of the company had a benefit night where they performed their best work, singing and/or acting, and they kept the night’s receipts except for a small percentage for the theater. Porter, With an Air Debonair, 196-202, 206.

453 Loesser, Men, Women, and Pianos, 456.
number of musicians in the Philadelphia theater orchestra was cut in half after the introduction of an organ in the pit.⁴⁴ These circumstances could work against being taken seriously as a professional musician; some proudly advertised that music was their only vocation. However, these career alterations were just one example of the ease of changing or combining different lines of work that had become a hallmark of the nation and the age. Economically, the only favorable options for dispossessed non-keyboard musicians lay in lessons, occasional subscription concerts, and ephemeral secular music publishing. This last was directly aided by the celebrity of the singing actor-stars, whose repertory created favorites that sold well. Particularly in the economic boom that followed the War of 1812, sheet music issued soon after the appearances of these stars always featured the name of the singer in the largest block letters, dwarfing the names of the composers, arrangers, or publishers. However, even comparatively low-risk sheet-music publishing required a modicum of investment and depended on the fickle taste of the performing public. And competition was fierce. A testament to the low fortunes of the music business during the War of 1812 is a letter from Philadelphia music merchants Bradford and Inskeep to John Rowe Parker in Boston as they tried to sell sixteen pianos he had shipped to them on consignment. “The Piannos [sic] will not sell. Seventy two have been lately sold at auction at New York & the fear that they may be sent here prevents the music sellers from purchasing.” Ten days later they notified Parker they had sold the pianos to another company at “sixty per cent advance, not being willing to take them ourselves on those terms” with balance on credit for six to nine

⁴⁴ Porter, With An Air Debonair, 401.
months. As Parker would again find during the sharp depression of 1819, the music business, as a purveyor of luxury items, was one of the first lines of commercial traffic to wither.  

Between 1810 and 1815, the rising number of sacred music performances of oratorios and a few associated new musical societies continued to expose many Americans to Europeanized orchestral music. For immigrant musicians, these performances hardly replaced the income, however sporadic, formerly derived from theater employment. They did, though, provide a venue that was artistically satisfying and more popular with the public than the unappreciated interludes favored by the Europeans at the theater. Although the theaters had nurtured the influx of European music and musicians during the economic expansion of the 1790s, it was the relative failure of the theaters to support its bands in the 1810s that forced the creation of new outlets for the musicians’ more creative performances. That these occasions were often well-attended sacred music concerts suggests a larger religious audience that subsumed the performing public interested in popular piano music.

**A Program of Musical Education**

**Through Concerts and Theater Interludes**

Unlike twentieth-century popular music, whose consumption generally has been predicated on a passive, listening experience (“canned” music according to John Philip Sousa) or as the catalyst for dance, the incipient sheet music industry of the early nineteenth century focused its appeal on a public of performers: amateur pianist/singers who were

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455 Bradford & Inskeep folder, letter of April 12, 1813, JRPP.
generally of limited ability. This factor inevitably limited the type of music which could gain widespread currency in this format. It created a distinction between two-page sheet music published for profit, and the art music heard in concert programs that appealed to professional musicians. In fact, this more complex repertory was presented by Europeans to their American audience with a self-consciously prescriptive intent. The American public's general lack of familiarity with European art music, sacred or secular, before the 1790s, was widely perceived by Europeans. Oscar Sonneck, in his still-unrivalled account of concertizing in America before 1800, lists the travel journals of “Anburey, De Beaujour, Boyle, de Crevecoeur, Davis, Kalm, Fontaine, Dunton, De Pontbigand, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Smyth, thomas, V. Bulow, Wiederhold, Burnaby, etc” as unanimously having “nothing favorable to say about their impressions” of music in America. He quotes Brissot de Warville’s 1788 account that “[m]usic, which their teachers formerly proscribed as a diabolic art, begins to make part of their education” while the Prince de Broglie observed that “some of them [women in Boston] are pretty good musicians, and play agreeably on several instruments.”

When musicians arrived from England in the early 1790s, many of

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465 Sousa expressed his belief that phonographs and player pianos represented a “mathematical system of megaphones, wheels, cogs, disks, cylinders, and all manner of revolving things...without soul or expression” in an article, “The Menace of Mechanical Music,” *Appleton’s Journal*, September 1906: 278-284. He eventually capitulated and made some recordings of his band music.

their initial concerts were announced with much fanfare, as previously noted with concert series by Selby and Reinagle in the late 1780s in Boston and Philadelphia, respectively. When James Hewitt arrived in New York in 1792 with "professors of music from the Opera House, Hanover Square, and Professional Concerts under the direction of Haydn, Pleyel, etc. London," his advertising emphasized the novelty of the music, as well as the credentials of its famous composers. European musicians were keenly aware of the 'virgin soil' of America and were hoping to plant the seeds for a better market than what they had left in London.

Published music was often intended to be sung by the piano instrumentalist simultaneously, so that accompaniments were simplified, almost universally restricted to a two-stave format of simplified left hand accompaniment in the bass clef, with the melody in the right hand treble clef. This replication of simple melodies was critical to disseminating tunes in an age where novices would otherwise have had only their memories to aid them in recapturing the 'air' of a favorite song heard publicly performed. Playing and singing the melody simultaneously also helped amateur singers stay in pitch. The emphasis on simple ballad songs increased during the 1810s, as an overview of material used in Carr's successful *Journal of Music* demonstrates. Carr's pages of vocal music outnumber instrumental pages nearly two-to-one (290/162), with the former becoming increasingly prominent over the five year run of the periodical (1800-1804). Although Carr's advertisement claimed that the names of Haydn, Pleyel, and Boccherini spoke for themselves (page 59, Chapter 4), he included only one piece by Boccherini, a small sampling of
simplified pieces by Haydn, and a similar smattering of Pleyel.458

The two- to four-page format for sheet music publishing had built-in limitations of length and structural complexity.459 The availability of simplified versions of complicated European works appears to have been a promotional technique from the very beginnings of music commodification. More challenging instrumental works were readily available but were not usually best sellers. Longer pieces that were popular, such as Frantisek Kotzwara’s (1750-1791) Battle of Prague, were commonly printed in two versions, complicated and simplified. These much longer ‘programatic’ works were conspicuously segmented into sections that musically represented physical, martial activities such as cannonades, with interludes of drastically altered feel, like dances or marches. In Hewitt’s 1792 New York debut concert, his own Overture, in 9 movements, descriptive of a battle and Jean Gehot’s Overture, in 12 movements, expressive of a voyage from England to America, are examples.

To help keep the interest of the audience, programs would identify the topics of the several movements (thus ‘programatic’). While it would be intriguing to hear in Gehot’s Overture how some of the implied activity was musically expressed, Gehot’s motivation for removing to the new


459 Commodification of music, as with cultural artifacts in general, often consists of such simplifying reductions. Twentieth-century popular music commodification in the form of gramophone cylinders and records, with time limitations of three to four minutes inherent in the media, created format boundaries that endured for the entire century. This constraint, institutionalized by radio stations’ increasing use of prerecorded music instead of live performances after World War II, imposed qualifications of style, lyricism, and cultural meaning within the music business that reverberated far beyond a simple time limit. See David Morton, Off The Record: The Technology and Culture of Sound Recording in America, (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 2000).}

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world was unequivocal in the program.\textsuperscript{460} Louisa Wait, a piano teacher in prosperous Litchfield, Connecticut, ordered the \textit{Battle of Prague} in two formats from music dealer John Rowe Parker, one duet copy “for four hands...and one copy...simple.”\textsuperscript{461} With a price of twenty-five cents for most two-page songs, or twelve and a half cents per page, the cost of this music limited buyers. At a time when the average wage-laborer after the turn of the century made about seventy-five cents a day, keeping up with popular trends was generally a middle-class endeavor. However, there is evidence that reducing costs through manuscript copying and circulation


\textsuperscript{461} Louisa Wait folder, letter/order to Parker c. 1822, JRPP; The Battle of Prague was a perennial favorite for many decades. Mark Twain gave this description of a new bride in Arkansas in 1880:

The bride fetched a swoop with her fingers from one end of the keyboard to the other, just to get her bearings, as it were...Then, without any more preliminaries, she turned on all the horrors of the “Battle of Prague,” that venerable shivaree, and waded chin deep in the blood of the slain...The audience stood it with pretty fair grit for a while, but when the cannonade waxed hotter and fiercer, and the discord average rose to four [notes] in five, [and] when the girl began to wring the true inwardness out of the “cries of the wounded,” they struck their colors and retired in a kind of panic. There never was a completer victory...This girl’s music was perfection in its way; it was the worst music that had ever been achieved on our planet by a mere human being.

of songs was widespread.\textsuperscript{460}

An alteration in American music publishing that Carr helped pioneer was the gradual shift to three-staff from two-staff arrangements. The first British pieces to appear in the more complex form were published in England in the late 1780's.\textsuperscript{463} Starting in 1800, some of Carr's pieces, published in the \textit{Journal of Music}, used three staves. This was initially an arpeggiated right-hand version, complementing the melody, that provided an easy, full sound for the piano after the melody had been learned vocally. He had printed the ever-popular \textit{Blue Bells of Scotland} twice in volume one of the \textit{Journal}, the second time in three staves with this comment: "N.B. The superior effect that will be produced by those who can sing one part and play the other as here adapted will make an apology unnecessary for the reinserting it in this form." By 1810 piano publishing in general began gradually adopting the more complicated three-staff format, though it did not become common until the 1820s. This introduced an alternative right-hand version of variations on the melody with a greater quantity of verbal and symbolic directions. These more subtle and dynamic versions of songs were intended as instrumental

\textsuperscript{460} National average daily wages published in the \textit{Boston Repertory} c.1804 with other national statistics include these figures where declining wages follow in the wake of the economic recession of the late 1790's:

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1799 - 100 cents
  \item 1800 - 90
  \item 1801 - 80
  \item 1802 - 75
  \item 1803 - 75
\end{itemize}


\textsuperscript{463} Siek, "Musical Taste in Post-Revolutionary America," 189
interludes between verses or stanzas, requiring a higher level of technical accomplishment. The implication was that a growing number of amateurs of higher ability constituted a new market for the format.464

The distinction between simple ballad songs for amateurs and more challenging art-music pieces preferred by professionals could be maintained within concert performances. The program of a concert in Boston in 1801 displayed a duality between the serious instrumental pieces and the consistently light vocal offerings (see Appendix T). Each part of the concert was bracketed by sophisticated instrumental works by Sacchini and Pleyel, which may have served as non-vocal preludes and postludes. On the other hand, the contrast could sound noticeably disjointed, or at least illustrative of two very different styles as in the theaters, where the bands chose the music to play between acts of operas, or interludes. Their choices often had nothing in common with the song pieces which were featured in the musicals themselves. This incongruity could be construed as a purposeful program of musical education, not always appreciated by the audience. A letter to the editor of a theater magazine in Philadelphia in 1805 lodged this complaint against the band:

I cannot help thinking that the Musicians at the theatre appear to pay more attention to their own gratification than to that of a great part of the audience, in their continual repetition of the sonatas, and other airs, which they usually play...it surely would...conduce more...if some of our patriotic airs, or other popular tunes, were oftener introduced...I have observed very few people in the theatre pleased with the music generally given. No person could help being interested at the sudden and pleasing effect produced yesterday evening by the playing of one of our favorite marches, after being entertained, in the interludes, between the first three acts, with the usual tunes. The gentlemen in the orchestra may act from the best motives, and they do not

now appear to be inattentive to their duty; but they should pay
more attention to popular opinion in this instance.\footnote{The Theatrical Censor 4 (December, 1805) : 32, original emphasis.}

This reviewer acknowledged the conscious policy of the musicians’
program as well as their technical abilities, but the problem was that they
were ignoring the will of the people. By 1805, there was no need to justify
demands to please the taste of the audience’s majority; popular opinion
had created a legitimacy of its own outside the political realm. Even
critics with some evidence of sophistication and tolerance shared the view
that theater music could be inconsistent. Stephen Cullen Carpenter, who
became editor of the \textit{Monthly Register and Review of the United States}
(1805-1807) in cosmopolitan Charleston and later the \textit{Mirror of Taste}, a
theatrical review in New York, commented in 1803 that “[t]he music
introduced between the acts, if it cannot be made to increase and enliven
the feelings excited by the piece [play], ought at least to be so contrived as
not to break their continuity.”\footnote{Charleston Courier, November 16, 1803.}

However, public dissatisfaction ran much deeper than an objection
to a lack of continuity with the rest of the opera. The musicians’ program
of educating audiences was the real problem. As early as 1796, a Boston
newspaper complained of the orchestra’s obstinacy during a theater
disturbance in Philadelphia where the band had refused to play the
\textit{President’s March} (and this during Washington’s’ administration):

\begin{quote}
What then are we to think of an orchestre [sic] which almost
invariably refuses to comply with the requisitions of the
audience, however general the demand, however easy an
acquiescence may be? Which hardly ever plays those song
tunes that are calculated to give universal satisfaction, but
\end{quote}
confides [sic] itself to set pieces of music, from the chief part of which it is requisite to be a connoisseur to derive any pleasure?

Listeners knew what they wanted, and the simple preferences of a free public needed to be accounted for. The same shift in the conduct of popular politics, outlined by historians Simon Newman and Jeff Pasley for Independence Day and New Year’s Day celebrations, respectively, was here being applied to the fine arts. The tastes of elites were being called into question and the untutored musical preferences of plain folk had to be taken into account. The tyranny of the majority could reign in theaters as well as in government.467

Another complaint took at face value the apparent inability of the orchestra to sight-read their favorite music:

If the gentlemen musicians cannot read at sight we wish they would employ their leisure time in committing to memory a few easy and popular airs...And while they are engaged in this much to be desired employment, it will increase the obligation if they will add to their stock of country dances; we never having, during the last seven years, been treated to any music of this sort excepting the single air of La Belle Catherine.468

James Hewitt had been directing this band since 1798, “the last seven years.” He was again roundly criticized the following year for playing the

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468 New York Evening Post, December 7, 1805. Susan L. Porter misreads this as a fact of musical incompetence. It is very unlikely that these musicians could not sight read a country dance since they routinely put up operas and musicals on extremely short notice. There is a long tradition of professional musicians refusing to play a too-popular tune with which they cannot say they are unfamiliar, but would rather die than play, by stating that they have not prepared it. Porter, With An Air Debonair, 365-9.
“same old symphonies” and the reviewer had “never failed to recognize the same, same tiresome, disgusting sounds.” Clearly, the musicians’ program for public education was meeting determined resistance, and Hewitt was forced to change his style when he moved to Boston in 1811. As the director of the Federal Street Theater band he was commended for his “judicious and popular arrangements” and “his selection of well known and favourite pieces for interludes, in preference to the ‘sinfonia’ and ‘sonata’,” were “highly deserving of approbation.” Complaining about the music had became such a commonplace by 1812, that a wag of a reviewer could satirize the aggrieved:

Speaking of the Theatre, - it is more entertaining than when you was here, because they play pantomines, and the musicianers of the orchestra play marches and song tunes, instead of them horrid pieces, that nobody can’t understand, and that sounds like tuning a million of fiddles at once.

Here, then, is evidence of the two-part operation of the secular music profession that was unfolding after the turn of the century, as a democratization of consumerism was taking effect. The immigrant professionals were publishing music for a performing public that was usually of lesser ability and restricted in the scope of their repertory. These consumers of sheet music had their own private audiences of family, friends, and acquaintances for whom this limited repertory constituted all the music they needed. Marches, dances, sentimental tunes, songs in


470 *The Comet, December 7, 1811*: 93.

471 *Polyanthos, I, no.2 (March 1812): 111*. Pantomimes were given as a popular type of musical interlude. The emphases on malpropisms and double negatives are original and the main intent of the letter was to demonstrate the spread of “vulgarisms” in Bostonian expression.

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Scottish dialect, and patriotic pieces had easily recognizable melodies and comparatively brief arrangements. These private performers were also one of the chief conduits for this music to reach the larger listening public. The larger audience demanded that professionals play their simple published productions rather than try to popularize more challenging material from Europe, or their own compositions. The artistic freedom, and the financial necessity, of the European musicians to publish one kind of music and perform another in concert presented the American public with choices that proved to be disappointing, not just to the musicians but to cultural nationalists as well.

The Piano: A Public of Performers and the Acquisition of Refinement

In the last two decades of the eighteenth century, the harpsichord had been gradually replaced in popularity in Europe by the new keyboard instrument that struck three-string courses for each note. The sound of the pianoforte, literally "soft/loud", was revolutionary in its power and liveliness compared to the harpsichord whose single-string picking mechanism had weak volume dynamics. At first, as with organs, all pianos in America were imported. After 1800, American manufacturing of keyboards competed with European imports for a market share of middle and upper class Americans aspiring to possess this hallmark of gentility and refinement.472

As with the popularity of theater, interest in pianos was not confined

to urban areas. Because of its cost, maintenance, and bulk, the introduction of pianos into the hinterlands was sporadic and driven as much by regional financial cycles as evolving taste. Benjamin Carr’s advertisement for services in 1800 cited above included tuning in “town or country.” John Rowe Parker’s Musical Warehouse in Boston was doing a land office business in piano sales in the economic boom immediately following the War of 1812. The firm of J & H Meacham, music dealers in the regional hub of Albany, New York wrote to him in 1818 and 1819:

The peanno [sic] is much liked! and I sold that on Friday cost at 90 days...we should like of you to ship us two Peanno Fortes the same as the last...Please to inform us...whether you can send the Peannos or not & in haste...

[a year later] We feel anxious to no [sic] whether we can depend on getting a Peanno forte of you or not...If you do not send us one or two we must no it, that we may get them elsewhere...dont fail of sending one immediately - I expect to go to New York and Phila in a few days and must no what to depend on before I go - in Haste" 373

It is possible that part of the Meachams’ anxiety was brought about by the impending financial crisis of 1819 and extended depression of business in general that followed for several years. The short term extension of credit for a luxury item was not unusual but timing credit with business cycles was critical. Parker’s letters indicate that he sold new pianos for $270 to $275 and, not surprisingly, there was a strong market for used pianos as well as rentals. Letters to Parker from piano teacher Louisa Wait of Litchfield, Connecticut in the early 1820s reveal a process of musical refinement well underway in this affluent community but tempered by the high cost:

I am in want of a good piano to give lessons on...there

373 Letters from John and H. Meacham File, music dealers, Albany, New York, November 2, 1818 and October 27, 1819, JRPP.
are two or three young ladies who think of getting low priced pianos...my object at present is to hire one & if possible one with extra additional keys - I cannot engage that one would sell here...I...ought further to state that there is quite a large number of scholars...there is a man in the neighborhood who tunes well & it should be kept in good repair.

Apparently renting a piano from Parker was not an option as Louisa writes later:

I notice in the Euterpeiad...a collection of Scotch tunes for the flute & violin - I will thank you to send me the two volumes not bound...let me know upon what terms you could sell a new piano with additional keys...if I purchase a piano I should wish one entirely plain with sweet tones that would keep in tune & at the least possible expense.

The “extra additional” keys were an option, later made permanent, of having pianos with an extended half octave in the treble and in the bass which gave a range of six octaves instead of five. Stitching music together was customized at the music store as well as by amateur players at home so Louisa Wait was probably asking for unbound volumes to make it easier to redistribute pieces to her pupils. Extant collections of sheet music from the period, stitched together to form personal repertories, exhibit the handwritten names of the owners which consistently begin with “Miss.”

It is possible that Wait taught piano at Sarah Pierce’s school for girls in Litchfield, which she started in 1792 in her home and incorporated as

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674 Letter from Louisa Wait folder, January 24, 1821, JRPP.

675 Letter from Louisa Wait folder, n.d. (c.1822), JRPP.

676 Gottlieb Graupner and His Descendants, Ms. S-78, Manuscripts, Massachusetts Historical Society.

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Litchfield Female Academy in 1827.\textsuperscript{477}

Evidence suggests that much of the amateur performing public were young women who learned to play the piano as part of a new female educational imperative. The post-Revolutionary era witnessed a marked increase in educational efforts for young men and women, what Yale President Ezra Stiles called a "Spirit for Academy making" in 1786.\textsuperscript{478} But these efforts, where they included young women, had inherently separate agendas. The curriculum for boys included mathematics, reading, writing, and basic bookkeeping to prepare them for participation in business. Academies prepared for higher learning those with the inclination and the ability to pay for college. The debate over the extent and appropriateness of girls' education was widespread and critics believed that educating women unfitted them for their duties as wives and mothers. Reformers such as Benjamin Rush, in his \textit{Thoughts on Female Education} (1787), wanted to abolish British models of female fashionableness as corrupting and advocated more 'useful' education for women that would make them better mothers. This ideal of 'republican motherhood' was the conceptual impetus for including girls in coeducational settings, with a curriculum modified for their utilitarian rationale.\textsuperscript{479} However, in addition to its basic familiarity with mathematics, reading, and penmanship, the program still allowed for a

\textsuperscript{477} Catherine Beecher, sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe, was enrolled there in 1810 and was offered, besides grammar, arithmetic, geography, and history, 'accomplishments' that included piano lessons. Nancy F. Cott, \textit{The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835}, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977),115.

\textsuperscript{478} Opal, "Exciting Emulation," \textit{JAH}: 448.

variety of 'accomplishments' that included piano playing. Introduction of this sort had been available to upper-class girls in the colonial period in urban 'adventure schools' but in small numbers for limited times. Both the girls and their parents had to be disposed to the extra effort and expense.480 As J.M. Opal's analysis of the academy movement articulates, the educational program was available to a broader range of social classes extending into the countryside starting in the 1790s. At the same time, music was playing a more prominent part within this agenda.481

Englishman John Lambert, traveling in the United States between 1806 and 1808, observed that the same social conventions were occurring in England as in America:

> It would be a curious subject for research to investigate the progress and influence of music on the morals, manners, and disposition of society in England, for it never was so much in vogue as at the present day: it almost seems to supersede many other branches of female education, which are more necessary to the cultivation of the mind. A fine shape, a good voice; and a sufficient knowledge of the piano for "O lady fair," appear to be the chief requisites for young ladies, and all that engross the attention of indulgent parents...Refinement is the shrine at which all classes of the community now sacrifice.482

While the expense of such refinement made it primarily the preserve of the elite, it was a consistent object of attainment for the middle-classes as well. However, refinement in America was not intended to be simply an

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481 Mary Beth Norton includes music with the traditional ornamental accomplishments such as needlework and dancing whose importance was reduced in the curriculum of the new women's academies. However, the evidence suggests that music was made more widely available to young women at the academies and was seen as consistent with the newly elevated, if utilitarian, views of women's education. Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 273-4.

482 "O lady fair" was one of most popular songs at the time. Lambert, *Travels*, 329.
inventory of goods nor an impermeable barrier to social success. It was understood to reflect an inner poise fostered by education, the financial self-sufficiency of the family, and benevolence - a state of being available to virtually any American who could live so. At the same time, this repose in women came to be understood as an innate gender characteristic. This was reinforced as much by men's nuanced conception of their own place in a changing workforce of increasingly industrial orientation and marginalized family participation as by women's self-image.

Christian revivalism associated with the Second Great Awakening was not unconnected to high moral expectations of women. Rev. Joseph Buckminster rhetorically asked in an 1810 sermon in Boston, concerning Christian women, whether it should be surprising that "the most fond and faithful votaries of such a religion should be found among a sex destined by their very constitution, to the exercise of the passive, the quiet, the secret, the gentle and humble virtues?" The diffusion of belief in human perfectibility implicitly privileged change. The proliferation of evangelical denominations that began in the early nineteenth century was inextricably linked with social and political change as well. Domestic musical cultivation, and the expense of a piano, became legitimized by placing itself at the service of moral improvement. Piano parts for psalms and hymns meant that they could be played and sung at

483 Bushman, *The Refinement of America*, 182.


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home as well as at church. Oliver Shaw (1779-1848) of Providence, Rhode Island was perhaps the first indigenous American composer to achieve relative success in publishing his own compositions. A writer of sacred music and patriotic pieces, as well as parlor music, his most successful work was a hybrid of religiously sentimental piano pieces. "Nothing True but Heaven," "Mary's Tears," and "All Things Fair and Bright" were requested by publishers in Philadelphia and Baltimore.\textsuperscript{487}

As the quest for musical refinement spread into middle- and working-class households, disjunctions became noticeable. Lambert mentioned entering an oil-man's shop in London where his senses were overwhelmed by the conflicting impressions of trade and expectant fine art:

[M]y attention was suddenly arrested by the dulcet strains of the oilman's daughter, who was practicing her lessons on the piano in a little room adjoining the shop...My sight was regaled by the mops, brushes, and brooms that hung over my head; my nose was assailed by the effluvia of train oil, turpentine, and varnish; while my ears were delighted with the melodious sounds of vocal and instrumental music.\textsuperscript{488}

The transcendent quality of music in unexpected settings, whether a tradesman's shop or artificially arranged public gardens, created moving experiences, which removed barriers to the acceptability of experiencing new venues. The pastoral idyll of American reproductions of English pleasure gardens gained acceptance through the sublime musical meditation they offered. John Lambert described those in New York

\textsuperscript{487} For instance, Baltimore music publisher John Cole was interested in buying a quantity of Shaw's publications from John Rowe Parker in 1821: "I wish to get all Mr. Shaw's sheet publications, about ten copies of the most popular and so on down to four or five." John Cole folder, October 9, 1821, JRPP.

\textsuperscript{488} Lambert, \textit{Travels}, 329-330.
around 1808:

New York has its Vauxhall and Ranelagh; but they are poor imitations of those near London. They are, however, pleasant places of recreation for the inhabitants. The Vauxhall garden... is a neat plantation, with gravel walks adorned with shrubs, trees, busts, and statues. In the centre is a large equestrian statue of General Washington. Light musical pieces, interludes, &c. are performed in a small theatre...: the audience sit in what are called the pit and boxes, in the open air. The orchestra is built among the trees, and a large apparatus is constructed for the display of fire-works. The theatrical corps of New-York is chiefly engaged at Vauxhall during summer. The Ranelagh is a large hotel and garden, generally known by the name of Mount Pitt, situated by the water side, and commanding some extensive and beautiful views of the city and its environs. The theatrical corps of New-York is chiefly engaged at Vauxhall during summer. The Ranelagh is a large hotel and garden, generally known by the name of Mount Pitt, situated by the water side, and commanding some extensive and beautiful views of the city and its environs.489

In America, as in England, the impetus for refinement extended to the countryside as well, creating further ‘incongruities.’ In engravings by John Lewis Krimmel appearing in the New York Analectic Magazine successively in the November and December issues of 1820, comparisons were made before and after a farmer’s daughter left for an education at an academy, and the piano figured as the largest, most expensive emblem of the transformation (see Appendix U). She left a simply dressed rural girl, bidding farewell to a local boyfriend, while her father counts out piles of money. She returned, spurning her former boyfriend, displaying the latest hair and dress fashion, a lapdog, a new beau pictured in a locket, and assorted literature. She sat at her piano with what remains of her spinning wheel under her heel. Meanwhile, her father gasps at the bill. These depictions and moralizing commentary are intentionally cartoonish. This was a more cynical view of new trends in feminine education exemplified by conservative Federalist anglophiles like

489 Lambert, Travels, 61.
Washington Irving, editor of the Analectic Magazine from 1812 to 1814. The text in the magazine that accompanied The Return highlights this “metamorphosis effected by the ill-advised experiment” caused by “the mistaken pride and fondness of her parents.” The detritus of her “improved taste” casts an “incongruity however, not infrequently to be seen in the parlours of our wealthy farmers.” The criticism, ultimately, falls not just along lines of gender but also of class in the well-worn, Federalist deconstruction of Jeffersonian valorization of agricultural pursuits through the corrupting influence of a democratic marketplace.

New wealth in American coastal cities in the 1790s underwrote the increasing pursuit of musical accomplishment by middle-class and elite youth. The steep rise in shipping construction and acquisition of carrying trade by United States vessels brought a “golden age” of American shipping from 1793-1807. Between 1790 and 1808, American ship owners tripled the tonnage of the American commercial fleet, from 355,000 to 1,089,000 tons. American bottoms increased their share of trade with Britain from 50 percent in 1790 to 95 percent in 1800. American shipping also dramatically increased in trade with Europe, suffering from the extended Napoleonic wars, and with the far east. For the new American republic emerging from the economic doldrums, debt, and social upheaval connected with revolution, this commerce was propitious. Success in shipping had much wider implications for a burgeoning economy than just moving freight. The spread of shipbuilding yards brought prosperity to working class families in port cities along the Atlantic coast but particularly in the northeast. The 1790s also saw the
vast expansion of American exports: wood products from the northeast, grains from the mid-Atlantic states, and rice, tobacco, indigo and eventually cotton from the south.\footnote{Nettels, The Emergence of a National Economy, 1775-1815, 205-229, 232-235.}

Another cultural consequence of the intersection of political and religious democratization with a thriving economy was the emergence in the decorative arts of a style called Fancy. Much more than simply the fancywork created in needlework, Fancy was a solidly middle-class aesthetic that privileged the several meanings of ‘fancy,’ including individual taste or inclination. The bright, vivid colors, the personalized subjects, and the focus on enhancement of home furnishings testify to the wide accessibility that Fancy valorized. It thrived in its distinction from the austere, scholastic tenets of Greek Revival that so captivated upper-class architecture and furnishings after 1800. American artists painted landscapes on chair backs that depicted an idealized, or fanciful, conception of wilderness or rural scenes. Artist Rembrandt Peale said of landscape artist Francis Guy that he painted “wherever a scene of interest offered itself to his fancy.”\footnote{Stiles Tuttle Colwill, Francis Guy: 1760-1820, (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1991), 20.} The aesthetics of Fancy dovetailed with the rise in women’s education, with all its attendant accomplishments of imagination. While reactionary attitudes towards women’s education tended to the practical, newer learning models recognized creativity as the fount of invention, which was increasingly invoked in the early nineteenth century as a quintessentially American attribute. Fancy aesthetics also honored the new preeminence of the home as the primary
locus of improvement in religion, morals, child rearing, and, by the 1820’s, social reform.\textsuperscript{492}

This egalitarian valuation of the commonplace helped to legitimize the rejection of the program for musical education as promoted by the immigrant musicians in public performance. This did not, of course, stop immigrant musician/publishers from trying to cash in on the prevalence of Fancy culture. James Hewitt composed and published the ‘favorite’ song “Delighted Fancy Hails the Hour” ‘as sung with the greatest applause by Mr. Darley’ in 1807. Similarly, Benjamin Carr utilized his erudition to highlight the amorphous nature of Fancy aesthetics as he quoted William Shakespeare’s \textit{Measure for Measure} in titling his 1794 composition “Tell Me Where Is Fancy Bred.”\textsuperscript{493} These sensibilities of popular culture informed the tastes of the American youth who were in the process of redirecting American instrumental music.\textsuperscript{494}

The letters of Eliza Southgate, a fifteen-year-old newly enrolled in Susanna Rowson’s Boston academy for girls, details the attraction of music and the piano in particular. The daughter of a doctor who practiced law in Scarborough, Maine, she was also the niece of Rufus King (1755-1827), signer of the Constitution, U.S. senator, and diplomat. She came from a durably middle-class background whose family’s financial security derived from her father’s success with professional opportunities in Maine’s


\textsuperscript{494} The non-musical aspects of this discussion of Fancy is indebted to Sumpter Priddy’s commentary throughout \textit{American Fancy: Exuberance in the Arts 1790-1840}. 317
frontier expansion, but with the benefits of Boston culture near at hand. "I learn embroidery and geography at present, and wish your permission to learn music. You may justly say... that every letter of mine is one which is asking for something more,—never contented."\textsuperscript{495} Two years later she evidently had received permission and was laboring under the superiority of her sister Octavia to whom she wrote:

I am learning my twelfth tune, Octavia. I almost worship my instrument. It reciprocates my sorrows and joys and is my bosom's companion...I have hardly attempted to sing since you went away. I am sure I shall not dare to when you return. I must enjoy my triumph while you are absent. My musical talents will be dimmed when compared with the luster of yours...No, I will excel in something else, if not in music. Oh, nonsense! this spirit of emulation in families is destructive of concord and harmony...If you outshine me in accomplishments, will it not be all in the family?\textsuperscript{496}

From these excerpts it is clear that playing the pianoforte was linked to singing along with it. This automatically placed restrictions on the complexity of music learned on the new instrument. Singing was soon introduced as an accompaniment and but the piano eventually accompanied the voice. Eliza mentioned that she neglected her singing, probably as much because of its interference in learning to play the 'instrument' as intimidation by her sister's better voice. Noting the piano's ubiquity by referring to it as 'the instrument' was common in the literature of the time. When Jane Austen's heroine, also Eliza, in \textit{Pride and Prejudice}, visited an aunt and uncle "of little account," her assessment was emphasized by the absence of an "instrument."

\textsuperscript{495} Southgate, \textit{Letters of Eliza Southgate, Mrs. Walter Bowne}, (New York, The De Vinne Press, 188-?) Boston, February 13, 1798.

\textsuperscript{496} Southgate, \textit{Letters of Eliza Southgate}, Boston, June 12, 1800.
Eliza Southgate’s nonfictional experience was complicated by her insecurity about her skills, even though the ‘instrument’ was her bosom companion when she was alone. This reflected an underlying anxiety common among the many who did not feel like born performers. They attended professional performances of European keyboardists at opera houses or concert halls, where the intentionally challenging agenda of the musicians was on display. These young women faced these same intimidating professors as personal instructors and, often, the competition of female siblings and friends. Austen depicted the unnerving stress of performance when Charlotte, Eliza’s sister, forces Eliza to play in front of guests. “I am going to open the instrument, Eliza, and you know what follows.” Eliza responds: “You are a very strange creature by way of a friend! — always wanting me to play and sing before anybody and everybody! If my vanity had taken a musical turn, you would have been invaluable, but as it is, I would really rather not sit down before those who must be in the habit of hearing the very best performers.” She proceeds to play diffidently, followed by a technically better, and much longer, concert by her more determined and plainer sister Mary. But the lesson from this, according to Austen, is that Eliza, “easy and unaffected, had been listened to with much more pleasure, though not playing half so well....” The popular preferences for brevity and familiarity are reinforced against length and sophistication when Mary “at the end of a long concerto, was glad to purchase praise and gratitude by Scotch and Irish airs....”

Austen’s cultural sidebar captured the discomfort associated with
performance that often was understood to have ulterior motives of matrimony. As William Thackeray inquired rhetorically about young women in *Vanity Fair* set in 1815, “What causes them to labour at pianoforte sonatas, and to learn four songs from a fashionable master at a guinea a lesson...but that they may bring down some ‘desirable’ young man with those killing bows and arrows.....?” By 1821, John Rowe Parker was inserting into his newly feminized music magazine such articles as “Scheme for Getting a Husband” or “Pleasures of a Married State.” This aspect of domestic performance dovetailed with the larger point of the observer writing in 1810 for the *Mirror of Taste and Dramatic Censor*, quoted earlier on the ubiquity of youthful music-making in Philadelphia, that the American understanding of music was superficial. The writer compared this attitude towards music with Samuel Johnson’s quip “as food in a town besieged; everyone has a mouthfull, but no one a bellyfull.” And they continued by underscoring the ulterior motive of music to be romance: “[t]hus music as a science lags in the rear, while musical instruments in myriads twang away in the van: and thus the window cobweb having caught its flies for the season is swept away by the housemaid.” However, the point is also made that lack of free time for music after marriage is the real reason that pianos stood idle.

*Popular Sentimental Songs and Ballads*

A letter of Eliza Southgate’s, written while she was traveling, conveys ways in which popular tunes could be encountered in daily life outside of the parlor, teacher’s salon, or academy.

497 *Mirror of Taste and Dramatic Censor*. 1810.
About eleven o'clock, or, rather, twelve, I was surprised by some delightful music,—a number of instruments, and most elegantly playing "Rise, Cynthia, rise." I jumped up, and by the light of the moon saw five gentlemen under the window. To Mr. Westerlo, I suppose, we are indebted. "Washington's March," "Bluebells of Scotland," "Taste Life's Glad Moments," "Boston March," and many other charming tunes played most delightfully. I have heard no music since I left Salem till this, and I was really charmed.498

By 1820, contemporary discussions of American music typologies included a trilogy of styles: sacred music, theater music, and songs for the piano. Stage vocalists, male and female, specialized in sentimental ballads that rapidly became a third type of very popular music in American cities, promoted through concerts and sheet music publishing.499 Compared with publishing in songster collections, sheet music of individual pieces was inexpensive to print and became a staple product traded between music publishing houses and retailers in different American cities.500 In the 1790s, these favorites had been taken from ballad operas whose music was composed by London stage luminaries like Charles Dibdin (1745-1814),

498 Southgate, Letters of Eliza Southgate, Albany, August 8, 1802.

499 For instance, a glowing review in John Rowe Parker’s Euterpeiad of musician John Bray’s (1782-1822) musical abilities, in anticipation of a concert to be given by him in Boston in 1820, announced that the “unlimited powers of his genius embraces every species of musical composition...[i]n sacred music he has adopted an expressive style blending voice parts with instruments...[i]n compositions for the Theatre, he is most eminently qualified...[a]nd in the several species of piano-forte music, consisting of Songs, Ballads, &c. he appears to have been equally happy in taste and effect.” Bray, an English actor/musician recruited for the Philadelphia theater for the 1805-6 season from the Royal Theatre at York, had composed the music for the melodrama The Indian Princess in 1808. Euterpeiad, April 15, 1820; Victor Fell Yellin, “Two Early American Musical Plays”, liner notes for The Indian Princess/The Ethiop, CD 80232-2, New World Records, 7.

500 In 1819, Philadelphia music publishers Bacon & Hart wrote to John Rowe Parker in Boston, asking him to send whatever he might recommend but emphasizing Philadelphia’s sophisticated market: “we prefer rather light compositions not however to say trash - these are among some of those you sent us - excellent compositions yet they will hardly bear publication in this country”. Bacon & Hart folder, letter of November 28th, 1820, JRPP.
William Shield (1748-1829), Steven Storace (1762-1796), Michael Kelly (1762-1826) and James Hook (1746-1827). In American music theater, contemporary popular songs that were not connected to the opera were inserted into plays by singers wanting to better showcase themselves. For instance, Mrs. Melmoth, performing in the perennial favorite *The Children of the Wood*, composed by Samuel Arnold, at the John Street Theater in New York in 1795, wrote and inserted into the opera “The Delights of Wedded Love”, probably with music accompaniment by Benjamin Carr, who later published the piece.\(^{501}\) Audiences often encouraged singers to reprise favorite pieces spontaneously during plays. Benefit nights for individual actors at the end of the season usually consisted of a pastiche of favorite scenes, soliloquies, and songs. Actor William Wood, reminiscing in the 1850’s about his years as a theater manager in Philadelphia and Baltimore after 1800, noted that

> As most of the operas had been composed with a view to the peculiar powers and voices of some original representative, it frequently happened that these pieces were not suited to the ability of later singers, and it became necessary to omit much of the composer’s music, substituting such popular and approved airs as were most certain of obtaining applause. As a natural consequence, each artist insisted on a share of this privilege, until the merciless introduction of songs, encored by admirers of the several singers, protracted the entertainment to so late an hour, as to leave the contending songsters to a show of empty benches, and a handful of tired-out hearers; the audience preferring to retire at a reasonable hour.

The theater, and its related genres of public gardens and circuses, was the central venue for performing this new category of musical entertainment

\(^{501}\) Sonneck/Upton *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*, 105. The melody of this “original” song, also called *Mark My Alford*, was known in the United states as *Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star*. Originally a French folk song *Ah, vous dirae-je Maman*, Mozart used this in his *Variations in C*, K. 265. *Mark My Alford* was published by James Hewitt and others five times between 1808 and 1827.
that was to have many implications for the growth of music as a commercial pursuit in American business rather than in fine arts.

The paper ephemera generated by these theater hits enabled newly-presented theater pieces to reach more socially diverse, as well as distant rural, markets, sustaining longer periods of popularity. Maintaining popularity created the rationale for not dating printed songs, as mandated by copyright law. On the other hand, after 1800 it also promoted a rapid turnover in songs that remained in the public ear and encouraged the solo celebrity of many actors with exceptional voices. The effect of such market demands on careers is illustrated by that of Mrs. French, an American classically-trained rising star in the period after the War of 1812. She had been personally coached by Benjamin Carr while she attended a women's academy in Philadelphia. Commentary by Carr describing his mentorship of the then-Miss Halverson at Mrs. Rivardi's Seminary for Young Ladies in Philadelphia, offers insights into the intersection of amateur training, stylistic hierachies, and career compromises that the business of music came to entail. The publication of Carr's *Lessons and Exercises in Vocal Music* (c. 1811) probably followed from his instruction at Rivardi's seminary. Carr wrote a letter to John Rowe Parker (see Appendix V) in the fall of 1821 that begins by describing his much earlier tutoring at the Seminary. Parker had recently (1821) written a review of a concert by the very popular Mrs. French in which he criticized her singing for its lack of a trained European style. This letter provides a glimpse of the circumstances of an advanced amateur, given

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special attention by a master musician perhaps a decade earlier, who became a professional performer. It was the rare case of an expectant virtuosa realizing her dreams but noting the compromises made to do so. Carr's training emphasized works by some of the best European composers and the Italian vocal style, what Carr called the "oratory of singing." The context also implies that his instruction might have been more for voice than piano, although this may have been just the case for the former Miss Halverson. Carr agreed with Parker that she was currently bringing "such goods to market as forced a ready sale" and had urged her to "higher sources." She defended herself to Carr by pointing out that she was unable to accompany herself on the piano with more complicated pieces and that "simple ballads & popular songs were all that was in demand."

Although Mrs. French, as an amateur who became professional, was an exceptional case, this description allows us to triangulate between an initially typical music education, the business ramifications of art music, and popular song choices. Benjamin Carr could hardly be too critical of the motivations of his former pupil (and he was not) since he, and his fellow musician/publishers, were in precisely the same position. And Parker's high-mindedness as an influential Boston critic anticipated the intensity of continuing sacred music reforms carried out in Boston in the 1830s by Lowell Mason and Nathaniel Gould. These changes were particularly successful in their connection to educational reforms in public school programs instituted by Horace Mann.
general - "I regret that it is not more decidedly in support of music in America...[y]ou have also many musical people of talent in your city whose abilities on their respective instruments and whose works would furnish paragraphs beneficial to them...." Six months later he noted that there already was enough imported works published in other periodicals - "[e]xtracts from European works in any magazines & newspapers in common would supply much matter & I think the music of this country should be particularly noticed & cherished." Again, six months hence, Carr wrote that "I wish...that domestic musicians & their home manufacture was more noticed...excuse my repeating a remark I made some time since, it arises from zeal to the cause." Of course, Carr was referring to his own efforts as much as any other immigrant musician's. His frustration is barely contained as he comments on other aspects of the American music business in 1820. However, as the measure of foreign musicians is taken in this study, it should not be too surprising that, after having lived in the United States for nearly thirty years, some of them considered themselves Americans.

The convening of state legislatures appears to have had significant influence on the timing of some events within the music business. The arrival of legislators in state capitals meant a large influx of local leading men who required extended lodging, sustenance, and entertainment. In letters from William French, the singer's husband, to John Rowe Parker in 1819, he divulges details of his arrangements for his wife's touring schedule. Between April and August, Mrs. French appeared in

504 Benjamin Carr folder, letters of September 8, 1820; May 30, 1821; and October 4, 1821, JRPP.

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Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Montreal, with at least one excursion to Salem, Massachusetts, certainly an ambitious timetable. Writing from Philadelphia, he says that his wife "wishes to have as much time here & New York as possible. Should it be important she will make every haste possible to be in Boston early in May. I am thinking that the Legislature meet in May but do not know what week. It perhaps would be important for us to be there at that time." He also inquired about "some genteel boarding house where we can have a chamber & a parlour which Mrs. F could be accomodated in to practice without being interupted by the boarders...." It undoubtedly was understood that an 'instrument' would be located in the parlor. While Mrs. French may not have been practicing her more demanding operatic pieces, apparently she still devoted rehearsal time to the popular songs that supported her career.505

Legislative sessions also provided a market for musical instruments. The company of J & H Meacham in Albany, whose enthusiasm for piano sales has been previously noted, wrote John Rowe Parker that "we should like of you to ship us two Peanno [sic] Fortes the same as the last - you now [sic] our Legislature will be in session in Jany [sic] and then I should like one at least on hand...." Having a demonstration piano on the floor would hopefully generate orders. Legislators were assumed to be cultural exemplars of their communities, at least by salesmen in the state capital, and as such could be prime candidates for purchasing impressive tokens of refinement in their districts. The connection of music sales with government also took place at the national level as theater historian Charles Durang explained in the decision of the partners of Philadelphia's

505William French folder, letters of April 9, 1819 and May 5, 1819, JRPP.
premier Chestnut Street Theater, Alexander Reinagle and Thomas Wignell, to open a theater in the new national capital:

In 1800 the public offices were removed from Philadelphia to Washington City. At the infant capital, magnificent buildings had been erected for the reception of the President, public officers, and the Congress...The removal of the seat of Government took thousands of persons to Washington to seek their fortunes, among whom were many Philadelphia families...In the spirit of enterprize [sic] then prevalent, Wignell & Reinagle converted a new building, called Blodget's Hotel, or 'Blodget's Folly'...into a theatre. This... was the first theatre in the Federal city.506

Not only were the Philadelphia theater managers trying to recapture a critical portion of their customary audience lost to the move but they also saw a steady market for opulent entertainment in the same way that music purveyors viewed state legislatures. Although there were many calls for government support of the arts in this period, this may be as close to achieving such patronage as the times would allow.

Thomas Phillips, an English singer/actor who enjoyed great fame in England as well as America, had been given vocal training in England by the legendary Samuel Arnold. He had been introduced to the American public in 1817 through the intercession of Charles Incledon, an older English singer, who shortened his engagement at the Park Street Theater in New York to allow Mr. Phillips to appear there. His popular style was reviewed by Henry C. Lewis, editor of the Lady's Literary Museum; or Weekly Repository in Philadelphia:

Mr. Phillipps' [sic] delivery of the simple ballad is allowed to be the most perfect of any singers of the present day. However, he too frequently sacrifices to a false taste which prevails on both sides the Atlantic, (but not so fully here as in England) and embellishes too frequently and too highly. In defence it may be

506 Charles Durang, History of the Philadelphia Stage, 74.

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urged that the performer must please the public, and that the public are too frequently led away by glare and tinsel from the path of true taste and nature. The professors of high class and favoritism have...the power by degrees to recall them to the relish of their melody and simple poetry...  

Lewis commented on the primacy of vocal entertainment in America, that “[s]inging is the best...the most favourite amusement of all ranks in society; but especially of the genteel classes in town, and the plebeans in the country: the lower classes in the city, and the higher in the country, seeming to have less taste for it.” This information begs the question of what circumstances prompted the observation. However, it was probable that the music favored by wealthy urbanites and poor farmers were of two different types: sentimental parlor ditties for urbane elites and unrefined hymnody for agrarian workers.

Starting in the 1790s, favorite songs had been performed in theaters during musical plays, in the interludes between the customary multiple dramas, or standing alone during benefits given at the end of each year’s theater season. Eventually, actors who were better singers, like Thomas Phillips, found concerts less taxing and more lucrative than acting. The financial incentive of American tours were well-known. Henry Lewis, with his usual affinity for punning, quoted a London paper when he quipped that “Mr. Incledon is said to have ‘improved his NOTES, by crossing the Atlantic, and yet SINGS no better than when he went away.’ The remark will be much more appropriate to the saving Mr. Philipps.”

507 Ladie’s Literary Museum; or Weekly Repository, Vol. 2, #17, May 2, 1818: 147-8. Henry Lewis engaged in extensive music criticism in his publications but was more of an American cultural nationalist than either Joseph Dennis at the Port Folio or John Rowe Parker of the Euterpeiad.

508 Lady’s & Gentleman’s Weekly Literary Museum, V.3, #11, January 1, 1819.

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Phillips made his preference for eschewing drama clear to John Rowe Parker as he considered going to Boston from Charleston on his 1819 tour of American cities: "I confess only from the strong wish I have to see Boston & its inhabitants again before my departure [to England] would I think of the journey & labour of a theatrical engagement - a few concerts would be easier..." He much preferred to give lectures on music history and taste instead. In remarks to Parker on the subject of his lectures, Phillips admits he must tailor his theme to a Boston audience since "I found I had much to do to perfect the set of lectures for Boston as I am aware one full lecture on sacred and ancient music would be required...." His main purpose was public improvement in singing sacred music and his career as a popular singer figured prominently in the cause - "[y]ou want principal singers as models for your oratorios (in America) & a system more effective than that of the English Choir for your singing schools."

By the time of the post-war economic boom of 1816-1818, stage stars were aware of the profitability of publishing and tried to capitalize on their share of their own work. Possession of the engraved plates, much like ownership of tape recordings in a later age, represented the key to maximizing publishing profits. In 1818, Thomas Phillips mentioned in a letter to John Rowe Parker that

I have possession of the plates of the three songs that are my property "The Blarney Bron", "Hunter's Horn", and "Lochens Bower" which I would not let Mr. Geib [a New York publisher and music dealer] have on his terms. I have no objection to take

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509 Thomas Phillips folder, letter of March 25, 1819, JRPP.

510 Thomas Phillips folder, letter of October 1, 1818, JRPP.
a fair American (not London) price for these one or all.\textsuperscript{511}

These were some of his most popular pieces. Phillips was holding out for the best publishing deal he could get, and that was to be had in the United States rather than Britain. The plates signified opportunity beyond the performance of his songs, which are already his property. Phillips differentiated between American and British markets, where his plates were probably worth less because of intense competition from other stage stars and the larger London music publishing business. Europeans were acknowledging the different circumstances found in American cultural life than that of Europe, even though this remained essentially about financial opportunity. The popularity of Phillips's music was assisted by the recent affordability of the parlor piano, emblematic of a new spirit of emulation and cosmopolitanism that reached through urban centers into American villages as well.\textsuperscript{512}

\textit{Regionalism Musically Redefined}

When European musicians arrived in America in numbers in the early 1790s, regionalism on the Atlantic littoral was measured, at least by urban print sources, by proximity to a handful of cities: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. Each had distinct cultural flavors and each had particular political songs associated with it, more as the source of their subjects (Washington, Jefferson, Adams) than a stylistic consideration. By the 1820s Benjamin Carr, and probably many other immigrant musicians, considered themselves Americans and felt that the telescopic

\textsuperscript{511} Thomas Phillips folder, letter of October 1, 1818, JRPP.

focus on European music by many American cultural commentators ignored what, by the 1820s, was an American heritage of European influence. American cultural nationalists, like Henry Lewis, had begun sniping at British styles and fashions on technical grounds, rather than simply as a way of advocating 'home manufactures.' Similarly, the new west of the expanding nation saw itself as culturally, as well as politically, distinct from the society, and musical preferences, of the established east. Thomas Hastings (1784-1872), composer of the lyrics for the iconic hymn “Rock of Ages,” was an upstate New York reformer of American hymnody who has usually been lumped together with eastern urban reformers such as Lowell Mason, Nathaniel Gould, and Samuel Dyer. However, Hastings, while advocating the more 'scientific' approach to singing instruction and hymn composition, viewed the adaptations of necessity in the spare musical refinements of frontier living to be a crucible of improvement. In a letter from Albany attributed to Hastings to John Rowe Parker in 1821, Hastings alerted him to the superior conditions of hymnody in western New York of which Parker was unaware.

There is at the west of this, more taste than you are aware of. I could name many places where I have heard vocal church musick that was very much superior to any that I have ever heard east of here. There is more wish for vocal harmony, but in your region you have instruments of which, as a new country, we are destitute -- still the majority of your organs are wretchedly played as you yourself are well aware. Their chords and unwarrantable suspensions and transitions etc. etc. are perpetually grating ones ears, and then your organs overpower the voices in such a manner that they scarcely feel the effect of different harmony. Our western singers on the contrary derive from this source their greatest satisfaction. Thus we are compelled to be particular in our arrangement of harmony...They make little pretensions to the orchestral style for the reasons above stated...Yes, I have
heard a choir of 50 to 100 singers, nearly half females who could sing specimens much more difficult every way than I heard while I was at Boston and in much more accurate style, too...513

Whether Hastings’s observations were as dramatic as he professes is less important than the regional distinction that he made. It seems wishful to have considered the American West, as late as 1821, beginning in New York but, more to the point, for Hastings, and probably many other westerners, the East ended in Massachusetts. Rapidly growing northeastern urban centers and their dynamic markets were increasingly perceived as distinct from the vast rural and agricultural remainder of the country. This impression was abetted by the profusion of opinions in magazines being generated from urban centers advocating European culture and fashion in ways that explicitly or implicitly deprecated American qualities. For many easterners, the westward expansion had been problematic from the beginning. Federalist Congressman and musician Nahum Mitchell related to a friend in 1804 that

The purchase of Louisiana is a troublesome thing, and will drain the southern states of their inhabitants and of their money, as well as lessen the value of their own public lands. In fact the United States will expend its treasure and population to build up Louisiana; and as soon as that is done, they will ask for independence, and self-government and if denied will take it... The great object of administration was to cause the white settlements on the other side to remove over among us & to have their place supplied by the Indian tribes on this side. The southern politicians had also pleased themselves with an idea of pouring all their black population into that country, whenever they became too numerous and troublesome. But they begin to find all their

513 Thomas Hastings (attributed) folder, letter of June, 1821, JRPP. The credible basis for Hastings’ authorship is that so much of the letter is devoted to a spirited and personalized defense of the psalmbook Musica Sacra, compiled by Hastings, against Parker’s promotion of the Templi Carmina; or Bridgewater Collection in the Euterpeiad.
objects the mere reveries of Philosophes and Visionaries.\textsuperscript{514}

On the other hand, musicians like Bohemian native Anthony Philip Heinrich, America’s first symphonic composer, found inspiration, not in the concert halls of Boston or Philadelphia, but in the forests of the American west. His early advertisements in Philadelphia for subscriptions to his publications emphasize the attraction of regionality in his unique creations. “As the proposer has been chiefly inspired by the Muses of Kentucky he would feel particularly gratified to find sufficient patronage here, to exhibit to the public at large the strains of the Backwoods.” These “firstling Compositions” included “original Songs, and Airs, for the voice and Piano Forte, Waltzes, Catillions [sic], Minuets, Polonaises, Marches, Variations, with some pieces of a national character....” Heinrich understood that this was “a novel undertaking in the West” that required him to “proceed to one of the large cities, to make the necessary arrangements for the Edition.” And Heinrich had not ended up in Louisville, Kentucky by accident. In mourning for his wife, who had died in Boston, he sought inspiration by living in Indian villages and through friendship with painter and naturalist John James Audubon. How that inspiration was translated will be taken up in the next chapter. Heinrich, as a foreigner, shared the view of many westerners (and easterners as well) that at the very least, that which quintessentially defined Americanness was wilderness.

\textit{Limitations of Sales}

As much as sheet music sales expanded during the period from 1800 to 1820, this aspect of the music business was restricted by a variety of

\textsuperscript{514} Letter to Dr. Orr, February 12, 1804, Nahum Mitchell Papers, MHS.

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consumer considerations. The most significant was the difficulty in holding to the fine line between music that was not too intricate and that which was 'trash.' In 1820, the large Philadelphia music publishing firm of Bacon and Hart wrote John Rowe Parker in Boston asking him to choose some music to round out an order, but emphasized their preference:

We have to request you will select us a few more pieces say from 5 to 10 dolr [sic] or such things as you think will answer; we should prefer light works & not too long...permit us again to observe that we prefer rather light compositions not however to say trash - these are among some of those you sent us, excellent compositions yet they will hardly bear publication in this country...

Not only was simplicity preferred but also it was necessary to avoid serious compositions that were not 'light' enough, even though 'excellent compositions'. This underscores the limits to Europeanization that the nascent American music publishing business could bear. By 1820, Boston had developed a reputation for both sacred and serious music, since they were being fused in the frequently presented oratorios of the Handel and Haydn Society, founded in 1815. The music originally sent to Bacon and Hart was either too religious or too complicated; or it may also have been that Parker, given the opportunity to choose, sent pieces that were not selling well in Boston either. Regional stylistic preferences could intervene since the Philadelphia publishers had earlier sent a note declining to co-publish a collection of sacred music with Parker since "you must no doubt be aware that the Taste for such compositions is much more in advance in your place than here...." About the same time, Benjamin Carr also commented to Parker that "Sacred Music seems much in vogue in Boston -

515 Bacon & Hart folder, letter of November 28, 1820, JRRP.
perhaps the work entitled the 'Chorister' might find a purchaser or two, as he tried to flog copies of his latest sacred music production in a more receptive climate.516

The perceived taste of the public could prevail even if transgressed a composer's better judgement. In 1804, New Haven psalmodist Daniel Read acknowledged to his brother that "[s]ome of the tunes I should be ashamed to print in so incorrect a form had they not already appeared in print and gained a degree of popularity. But you will consider that I do not consult my own taste so much as that of the public." Read re-cast his editing guidelines in a more positive light when writing to a young, and opinionated, colleague "[y]ou will please to remember that my general plan is to expunge trash and introduce something more solid, but at the same time as much as possible to meet the taste of the public...."517 "Trash" existed in both sacred and secular music.

Judge Nahum Mitchell, the previously cited Federalist representative from Massachusetts to the Eighth Congress from 1803 to 1805, was co-compiler of the Templi Carmina, or Bridgewater Collection, one of the most-published sacred music collections of the early nineteenth century. He shared a boarding house with other Congressmen and roomed with other Massachusetts legislators. Regionalism played a part in defining where certain music would find favor and the stereotype of New England religiosity was current in Washington. Mitchell wrote his wife

516 Bacon & Hart folder, letter of April 24, 1819, JRRP; Benjamin Carr folder, letter of September 8, 1820, JRRP; For Boston’s unique reputation, see Broyles, Music of the Highest Class, 13,15, 22-3.

517 Letter to Joel Read, September 8, 1804 and Letter to Ezekiel W. Morse, February 16, 1807 in Bushnell, "Daniel Read," 281, 325.

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that "we are all considered as very

serious men. By our neighbours on each side, who are separated only by brick partitions, we are called the Saints. There are four Houses under the same roof with us. We obtain this name from our constancy at meeting, and from the circumstance of our singing a Psalm or Hymn every Saturday and Sunday evening. We are all singers, and above all of us Col. Pickering is extravagantly fond of it. You will hardly be made to believe that any one would be too much so for me: but it is true with respect to him. It may be partly owing to his not being very well acquainted with the rules, although a very good performer."

Mitchell refused to attend balls in Washington in general, and one in particular celebrating the acquisition of Louisiana. "You will know without my informing you, that I was not present at this Ball. The thing itself, in my present situation, would afford me but little pleasure and the occasion of it is such as would under any situation prevent my attending." His restricting 'situation' may have been financial or his single status while in Washington. Nevertheless, it was their vocal musicality that in part defined Mitchell and his fellow New Englanders for representatives from other sections of the country.

With the introduction of a magazine of music criticism in Boston in 1820, the *Euterpeiad, Or Musical Intelligencer*, reviews began to have an effect on music distribution. The editor, John Rowe Parker, was a musical version of anglophile Joseph Dennie at the *Port Folio* - an uncritical devotee of British and European music. At the end of the second volume of his magazine, the best reason he could formulate for studying music is that "music, supported by other liberal attainments, has frequently formed the best introduction to the best company...." Parker's readership only

518 Letter of February 26, 1804 in Nahum Mitchell Papers, MHS.

numbered a few hundred subscribers at most but the magazine was circulated from Montreal to Charleston and west to Louisville. The magazine offered a compendium of information about the state of public music in America during the period of its brief run (1820-1823). It also gave ample evidence of additional restrictions on sheet music sales. A non-musician and Episcopalian advocate of the new ‘ancient music’ reform, Parker depended for his more technical analysis of published music on an anonymous “professional gentleman of celebrity.” Since many of the reviews were of large, popular collections of church music that were dominating sacred music publishing, this unidentified expert had particular expertise in this type of music. This may have been George K. Jackson, the taciturn English organist. Jackson was identified in Parker’s letters as a reviewer and some of the reviews in the Euterpeiad were rather more declamatory than Parker would have preferred. In fact, Parker believed that fractious disagreement among professors of music was one of the main barriers to the improvement of music in the United States. However, some of the most prominent displays of these composers’ thin skins were prompted by their reviews in the Euterpeiad.

Sacred music reformer and singing school master Thomas Hastings wrote

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520 Subscribers included a cross section of musicians and composers, sacred and secular.

521 Parker’s editorial attempts to ameliorate some of the sharp remarks, as well as a note to Jackson from Parker attempting to patch up a ‘misunderstanding,’ suggest a longstanding if turbulent friendship. “As I have ever been actuated by the purest motives of friendship towards you, since the commencement of our acquaintance, to value as well as esteem your society, permit me to ask you if there has ever occurred any circumstance in my conduct in any manner exceptionable, that could induce you to send me such an answer relating to your chants... I am not disposed to cherish the least...resentment as well as to bury in oblivion any unpleasant impressions in what has passed....” George Jackson folder, undated letter c. 1820-1, JRPP.

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to Parker, in anticipation of having his popular collection *Musica Sacra* ‘noticed’ in the magazine, that “I wish you to be a little careful how you notice it.” He also responded to Parker’s lengthy review of a rival popular collection, the *Templi Carmina, or the Bridgewater Collection*, which was serialized over three issues. After Parker’s gentleman of celebrity panned the collection in extreme detail, Parker inserted a rejoinder that the collection, with corrections recommended by his reviewer, “stood foremost” among current music publications. Hastings’ private response was “how is it possible that the Reviewer has told the truth respecting T.C.- ah yes that, that work ‘is the best extant?’ ” While Hastings’ comment cited the mixed message that all readers of the *Euterpeiad* must have noticed, the vehemence of his subsequent criticism stemmed from financial considerations. Hastings lived in Albany, working throughout upstate New York, to which he refers as “the western country.” His defensiveness is territorial as well: “if T.Ca. is crowded into this country, with all its petitious[sic] reputation attatched[sic]...at a catch-penny price, too, both duty and influence and usefulness and interest compel me to speak.”

Outspoken reviews of current publications in the *Euterpeiad* became a touchy topic within the relatively small community of American musician/publishers. Benjamin Carr wrote to Parker, thanking him for a mostly favorable review of his *Chorister* and that “it has found some favour in the opinion of Dr. Jackson...especially from a man of his high talent.” However, he expressed hope that “you will not think me ungrateful...if I

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522 Thomas Hastings folder, letter of June, 1821, JRPP, attributed to, but not signed by, Thomas Hastings.
say that I am not a little disappointed that there was not a fair and candid review of the whole work - provided the balance in its disfavour would not have been sufficient to injure the sale - [as] the work has not yet [paid for] itself (after which I would not have minded so much).” In response to criticism that the Chorister was scored with three parts, rather than the more harmonically challenging four, Carr cited the difficulty of finding counter tenors in Philadelphia. “In all my little endeavors at choral...composing or arranging, I have generally used 3 parts only as a matter of necessity, not of choice...[t]he best reason I can give...is..."cut your coat according to your cloth." A few months later, Carr responded to detailed criticism of his Seraph by saying that the review was “in some parts rather too severe....” He could not find the alleged consecutive fifth, found only one consecutive eighth, and “noticed the unprepared 7th mentioned...,” admitting that it was:

the most unpleasant & least used of the dischords, a flat 7th with a minor 3rd: - I may also offer some apology...for doubling part of the chord that may prevent the harmony from being so complete as it otherwise would - perhaps the very note that would add a richness to that particular chord, may interfere with the smoothness of diction & that kind of subordinate melody which even the interior & bass parts ought to possess to make an easy flow of harmony &...may form a distance difficult to it with the voice...as we all arrange with a view to amateur choirs...

As with the simplified secular sheet music format, typographic collections of sacred choral work, even by the Europeans themselves, could be constrained by the limitations of the performing public.523

Parker sold music books wholesale from his warehouse and three years earlier had sold two dozen of an earlier edition of the Tempti Carmina

523 Benjamin Carr folder, letter of June 30, 1821; letter of October 4, 1821, JRPP.
to James Swindells, an organist in Norfolk, Virginia and later subscriber to the *Euterpeiad*. Swindells noted that “I could most probably dispose of near 100 copies” since “that appears to be the best and cheapest extant.” Parker’s 1821 corrective to his reviewer’s panning of the collection may not have been uncolored by the work’s sales figures. Favorable notice plus low price could outweigh technical discussions of defects in this new forum of print.524 Thus, the seemingly contradictory reviews of current music in the *Euterpeiad* could do less to correct and instruct public taste than to confuse its readership; and this could happen even when written by musicians, who added the emotional complexity of a personal financial stake in the outcome.

Parker began his second volume in March, 1821 by more directly addressing his periodical to women. The new title was *The Euterpeiad...and Ladies’ Gazette, Devoted to the Diffusion of Musical Information, Polite Literature, and Belle Lettres*. This seems to have been a reasonable marketing ploy, given the prominence in women in the amateur public of performers. However, only a handful of women’s names appear in lists of subscribers, and only two letters from women (one of whom is his sister) appear in Parker’s letter collection.525 The new format did not please some of his regular subscribers, like Alwyn Harvey of Bridgewater, Massachusetts. Harvey remained interested in music since he “would still

524 James Swindells folder, letter of January 26, 1818, JRPP. Other tempests caused by reviews are evident in Parker’s letter collection, such as the disgruntled but unidentified Baltimore reviewer connected with comments about Cristopher Meinecke’s *Te Deum*. Meinecke folder, Baltimore February 10, 1822, JRPP.

525 This refers only to the early letters connected with music and not to later letters (after c.1825) connected with Parker’s involvement with a semaphore system of harbor and shipping communication. John Rowe Parker Papers, Rare Book Room, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania.

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pay homage to Euterpe and patronize a good musical paper” but he had to discontinue his subscription “when that paper becomes changed not only in name but in matter, useless to all, except that sex for which it is designed.” Like George K. Jackson’s selling soaps and perfumes in his small Boston music shop, the ladies’ department of the Euterpeiad had little to do with music. A year later, following a request from one of his few female subscribers, the ladies portion was detached and given a separate magazine called the Minerviad. Given the growing field of women’s journals in the 1820’s, Parker’s subscribers, including the number of women who must have read it in subscriber households, wanted the Euterpeiad to stay focused on music.526

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By 1820, secular music, both sentimental popular songs and European concert music, had asserted itself in the American public to an extent not previously imaginable. Although segments of the listening audience rejected the complicated music that the immigrant musicians preferred, public concerts were far more prevalent than in the colonial period. This followed trends in Europe from earlier in the eighteenth century and the tactic of concertizing by subscription allowed high-minded musicians to winnow casual listeners from their audiences. It was this pool of interested amateurs and listeners, either willing to be challenged or to appear to be so, that created the basis for the bifurcation of high- and low-class venues that Lawrence Levine traces so incisively for later in the nineteenth century.


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The proliferation of popular simple and sentimental songs created the beginnings of an indigenous American music business with the interdependent commodification of sheet music and pianos. Starting out more as indirect advertising for professional performances, sheet music sales began to take on a profitable life of their own after 1800 for those publishers who could anticipate the whims of popular fancy. Strategies and market-savvy approaches to presenting music to the American public, although changed in details and media along the way, has never stopped since these early beginnings.
CHAPTER VI

MUSIC SOCIETIES,
AMERICA'S FIRST ORCHESTRAL COMPOSER,
AND CONCLUSION

But what can be said of the music of the Americans? A country yet young, but extremely extensive, composed of all nations, kindreds, and tongues, still adhering to their former customs and manners. It is yet like a mirror without a backing, that takes in all objects but reflects none.


The English will hear the best music as long as they are willing to pay for it; but the Americans will soon be able to make it themselves. The English will always remain great consumers of musical talent; but the Americans will produce it.

Francis J. Grund, English tourist, 1837

Musical Societies

At some point in the career of each immigrant professional musician who chose to remain in the United States, they surely began to think of themselves as Americans in the present tense, if not in origin. In Benjamin Carr’s comments to music critic John Rowe Parker of Boston, asking Parker to take more notice of American music, he meant “domestic musicians & their home manufacture,” not European compositions played by Americans. With few exceptions during this early period, compositions by either indigenous or immigrant American musicians were not well-received compared to imported works. The need for deception or pandering was paramount, as in the theaters’ advertisement of American-composed musicals as being of British origin, or Benjamin

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527 Benjamin Carr folder, letter of October 4, 1821, JRRP.
Carr's original, and brief, Rondo of Variations on Yankee Doodle.\textsuperscript{528} Piano forte manufacturers worked hard to convince middle-class households that they needed pianos in their parlors. The Germans called a person who practiced this exaggerated commercialism "marktschreyer" - a marketscreamer.\textsuperscript{529} Immigrant musicians formed musical societies to foster native composing as well as to encourage amateur performance. These were established in all major cities and many large towns after 1815 with a very few having been established in the previous decades. While little is known about many of the smaller organizations beyond their printed rules, regulations, and constitutions, the concerts, programs, and minutes of meetings of the larger urban societies have provided much information about their members' intentions.

One of the most important purposes of these larger organizations was to promote instrumental and choral instruction, particularly to young students. This appears to have naturally developed from the societies' beginnings as simple gatherings of both professional and amateur musicians to play and sing together. Throughout many of the records of the membership of these organizations, from Portland to Charleston, young women who were the daughters of well-known professional musicians, such as Miss Taws, Miss Mallet, Miss Hewitt, were mentioned in performances. Sometimes the societies simply served as clearinghouses for lesson referrals from professional members. On the other end of the

\textsuperscript{528} The rondo was the last section of his battle piece \textit{The Siege of Tripoli, An Historical Naval Sonata for Piano Forte}, published in 1804. Noel Lester, CD liner notes for \textit{Piano Portraits from Nineteenth-Century America}, (Louisiana: Centaur Records CRC 2250, Baton Rouge, 1995).

\textsuperscript{529} I am indebted to Edward Larkin of the German Department at the University of New Hampshire for translation and context.
spectrum, the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia went to great lengths to build, staff, and maintain a music academy. Taken together, the work of these music organizations helped to give music education a permanent place in the new curricula for urban public schools by the 1830s.

Most of the societies began with an emphasis on sacred choral performance. In New England this could be founded either in the mold of the indigenous Yankee tunesmiths or, after 1815, in the interest of promoting oratorio performances. The oldest choral group was the Stoughton Musical Society, found in 1786 as a collection of the several choirs from the churches in Stoughton Massachusetts. This was also the town where William Billings started his career as a singing master and, not surprisingly, records of their concerts demonstrate a predilection for the American psalm styles of such composers as Billings, Oliver Holden, Daniel Read, Timothy Swan, and Jacob Kimball.

The earliest societies appear to have developed from a confluence of several local choirs and/or instrumental groups. Small, informal groups of singers and musicians would pool their efforts in order to implement European composers’ original concepts for larger choral and orchestral work. The impression, if not the fact, of large musical groups was derived from the English cathedral tradition, but in the early United States these early large performances were usually ad hoc collections of singers and musicians that began in the late 1780s. Such was the case in the 1789 performance in Boston, where the band of the visiting French fleet joined with the instrumentalists of the Musical Society to supply the orchestra for an oratorio at the Stone Chapel.
European-influenced indigenous singing masters like Andrew Law were also interested in grouping as many singers as possible, an innovation that, according to Rev. William Bentley of Salem, appealed mostly to young people. Bentley mentioned in his diary that in 1795 all “the other Societies [churches] have come under the instructions of Mr. Law. We alone are apart. The old Singers are more fond of patronizing us in our present situation.” By the following year, although Law had not taken over teaching music in Bentley’s parish, the minister acknowledged that combined choirs were a benefit. However, he seems to have thought that Andrew Law was in some way not up to the task. Bentley observed that “[o]ur singers are generally self taught & sing best alone. By learning music upon a large scale, real advantages are to be hoped. Mr. Law has not the extent of the plan.” Bentley cannot have meant that Law could not handle large groups of young singers since only a few months earlier he had hosted a ‘Musical Exhibition’ of Law’s singing pupils where the “greatest good order prevailed, & the visiting company was respectable.” Law instituted alterations that made “his music very soft, & the Treble is the leading part, not one note of tenour was heard...In their attempts to sing soft, many of the voices do not accent the notes so as to enable the ear to distinguish the strains from soft murmurs. He must have had above one hundred Scholars.” By 1797, Samuel Holyoke organized The Essex Musical Association, which included all of Essex County in order to admit enough instrumental musicians. Even then, the “instruments used at present” were only the bass viol, violins, and flutes.530 Rev. Bentley duly

530 Constitution of the Essex Musical Association, Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1798 (Evans 33699), 12. Samuel Holyoke is listed as “Director.”
commented that “this day we were assured of the assistance of the Musical Society who have formed to promote instrumental music.” He then disparaged the general practice of choral music “being chiefly mangled from the old Psalmody.” This was altered when “Mr. Billings, with more genius than taste, introduced new composition....” Bentley then juxtaposed the efforts of two local musicians:

[Andrew] Law was calculated for solemn, slow & soft music, but it could not well succeed to the noise to which we had been accustomed. [Samuel] Holyoke was more indulgent to the common taste, tho’ far above it in his genius. Holyoke introduced much instrumental music & from his instructions has commenced the society now forming. Every effort of this kind has been short, but this is more general than any other, being not formed for any choir but for all the societies for private amusement.531

In these brief notices over only a two year period, the movement from individual choirs, to conglomerated singing schools, to instrumental accompaniment outside of worship services were linked with the formation of an instrumental musical association. While the minister identified the society as instrumental in character, the 1798 constitution of the Association, printed in Newburyport, announced its performances as “Vocal and Instrumental.” This process was paradigmatic for the establishment of many other small, local music societies throughout New England after 1800.532

Some music societies were formed without such specific reference to sacred music in more Anglicized urban centers such as Charleston, South


Carolina. The St. Coecilia Society dates to 1762, though its published Rules were not “agreed upon and finally confirmed” until 1773. The society organized concert programs at irregular times of the year and an annual concert on St. Cecilia’s Day, November 22. These orchestras were a combination of gentleman-amateur and professional musicians, some of the latter from as far away as New York and Boston. As previously noted in the first chapter, Charleston’s culture was in its own category when compared to other American colonial cities. In 1737, the city had hosted Charles Theodore Pachelbel (1690-1750), son of German baroque composer Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706) where he had ended his tour through the colonies from Boston, Newport, and New York and spent the remainder of his life. Charleston had become the southern terminus or starting point for many musicians’ travels through the American colonies. Although the rules of the Society do not mention their musical intentions or policies, advertisements show that concerts consisted of secular instrumental and vocal music. The rules are clear that “No Boys are to be, on any Account admitted.” One wonders what mischief they might have wrought when elite concert audiences in the mid-eighteenth century were already consistently noisy. An advertisement for a 1767 concert in Charleston mentions that it will be the only performance by the musician “unless by the particular desire of a genteel company” and further requests that “silence may be observed during his performance.” This performer may have been confronting what British music commentator and historian Charles Burney observed in London where “the best operas and concerts are accompanied with a buzz and murmur of conversation.

533 Rules of the St. Coecilia Society, Charlestown, 1774 (Evans, 13196), 3.

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equal to that of a tumultous [sic] crowd.\textsuperscript{534}

The musical importance of the new eighteenth-century intersection of public space with private living areas is confirmed by many concerts given “by permission of the St. Coecilia Society” in “Mr. Stotherd’s Long Room behind the Beef Market” or “Mr. Valk’s Long Room.” These were large halls in the homes of the Charleston elite, many of whom were amateur musicians, dedicated to public balls and concerts. An advertisement for a subscription concert series in Baltimore in 1786 announced that the music would “be held at Mr. William Page’s large room in Gaystreet, which room is extremely adapted for the purpose. There are already provided, several well-toned instruments and suitable music with eight capital performers.” It was hoped that this series would meet with the “encouragement of those ladies and gentlemen who are friends of the polite arts.” Thus, in the more Anglicized microcosm of the upper-class, eighteenth-century south, music societies had a purpose and tone different from those found in New England.\textsuperscript{535}

In the economic boom that followed the War of 1812, music societies in New England began to reflect the influence of the oratorio performances that had become so popular. In northeastern Massachusetts, the Essex South Musical Society was established in 1814, consisting of ‘ministers and gentlemen’ from area churches. Its sixty members included musicians from the earlier Essex Musical Association and addresses on music were occasionally given at performances. In 1817, the Handel Society was established in Salem and initially gave concerts of Handel’s chamber


\textsuperscript{535} Sonneck, \textit{Early Concert-Life in America}, 22-23, 44.
music of duets, trios, and choral pieces. Later performances presented oratorios and the group lasted about three years. In the same area, a Haydn Society was established in 1821, and a Mozart Association in 1825. This society benefited from the membership of foreign nationals employed in European commission houses in Salem, who were also polished singers and musicians. Joseph Keller, leader of the Salem theater orchestra, also played violin for the association's concerts. Most of these organizations rehearsed regularly and put on occasional concerts in halls, theaters, and churches. When the Mozart Association played in public, they were joined by instrumentalists from the Boston theater.536

Similar music societies grew almost simultaneously throughout the northeast. The Hans Gram Musical Society was formed in 1810 in the Fryeburg area of Maine, honoring the Boston organist and tunebook compiler from Denmark. The Handel Society of Maine was organized in Portland in 1814. Horatio Southgate, older brother of the piano-playing sisters, Octavia and Eliza, was the treasurer and Dr. Samuel Emerson, who had delivered a lecture in in Portland in 1800 “On Oratorio and Music,” was vice president for the section in York. In 1819, the Beethoven Musical Society was established in Portland, taking over for the apparently short-lived Handel Society.537 John Rowe Parker's Euterpeiad became something of a clearinghouse for information concerning music societies. The Bath (Maine) Handel Society wrote in 1820 to say that “your paper was truly gratifying to every member of our Society” and a


vote of gratitude was presented to the editor “for his politeness and liberality in presenting us with a number of his papers.” The New Hampshire Musical Society sent a notice and program in May, 1821 for a June concert since “this is a season when many Gentlemen are taking excursions into the country and it being a beautiful ride to Charlestown.” A writer from Albany in 1820 notes the formation of a “Handel & Madan Society, for the express purpose of correcting the public taste for Sacred Music & the performance thereof.” A member of the Canandaigua, New York Oratorio Haydn Society wrote to say that the group had voted to receive the *Euterpeiad* and asked “are any of the celebrated Oratorios, viz. Messiah, Creation, Intercession, &c. to be had in complete score...have you any new Oratorio music that is extraordinary?” These three pieces constituted all the concert work performed by the Boston Handel and Haydn Society in its first ten years.

For his part, Parker noted in May, 1821, under “Musical Excitement,” that in one week’s time oratorio and sacred music concerts were taking place in Portland by the Beethoven Society, in Augusta, Georgia by James Hewitt, in Providence, Rhode Island by the Psallonian Society, in Philadelphia by the Musical Fund Society, in Baltimore by the

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538 Bath Handel Society folder, letter dated November 22, 1820, JRPP; New Hampshire Musical Society folder, letter dated May 7th, 1821, JRPP; Sylvanus Pond folder, letter dated April 12, 1820, JRPP.

Harmonic Society, in Hanover by the New Hampshire Musical Society, and in Boston for the benefit of Mr. Ostinelli. Paul Louis Ostinelli was a violinist working out of Boston, a graduate of the Paris Conservatoire, and husband of keyboardist Sophia Hewitt, daughter of James Hewitt. Using sacred music concerts as personal benefits was not altogether approved of; a letter to Parker from Portland, possibly in September of the same year, mentioned that “Mr. Ostinelli has made some overture towards getting up a benefit Oratorio in Portland for himself. The scheme is not much wished here, and I am afraid he won’t succeed.”

In 1823, the Boston Handel and Haydn Society offered to commission a composition by Ludwig von Beethoven through banking connections in Vienna. The composer had just completed the *Ninth Symphony* and was considering other possible commissions, which did not materialize. Beethoven drew attention to the offer as an indication of his world renown and the Boston commission was listed in a German language article among three projected works by the composer. Within two years he had written the *Missa solemnis* (Mass in D) for the Boston Society, and, even though they never performed the piece, the composition drew international attention to the Handel and Haydn Society. The unusual commission was a mark of distinction for both composer and patron.

In the early 1830s Englishman Francis Grund found the Boston Handel and Haydn Society remarkable in that it “consists in most of its members being mechanics, cultivating music for no other purpose than

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because they are really fond of it, and wish to introduce it into their churches.” If the members of the society were not put off by Grund’s class consciousness, they would certainly have resented his patronizing comment that their “taste is certainly laudable, and the more so as it is peculiar to a class of men which are unjustly supposed to be incapable of refinement.” The flip side of entering onto a world stage by commissioning a European composer’s work was exposure to a critic who did not fully understand to whom he was listening. He remarked that “I should judge the musical talents of Americans superior to those of the English, especially in the middle and southern States, where they have been constantly improving by emigrants from the continent of Europe.” Grund seemed unaware that Boston had experienced the same influx of European professional musicians that other American cities had. It appears that Grund was confusing the earlier Yankee psalm composers with the thoroughly Europeanized orchestra of the society.  

Anticipating the Future:  
The Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia

The most ambitious music society established in this era was the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia. Founded in 1820, it had extensive support from both professionals and amateurs and it vigorously pursued several musical agendas. The minutes of the joint board of directors for January 7, 1820 show that the primary reason for establishing the organization was “of forming a fund for the relief and support of decayed musicians and their families.” Two doctors were retained by the society

“to visit at the request of the committee of distribution such members or
their families as may need medical advice or assistance and shall prescribe
in all such cases gratuitously.”\textsuperscript{543} Members had to have paid professional
level dues for three years before being eligible for assistance. Accordingly,
in May, 1823, the committee of distribution voted to grant relief at the
rate of $200 per year to Rayner Taylor since “he is in want and disabled
by age & infirmity from attending to his business.” The committee
regretted his misfortune but expressed “satisfaction that so conspicuous a
proof of the usefulness of our institution” would go to an “individual so
amiable in private life & so distinguished in his profession.”\textsuperscript{544}

The economy had been devastated with the recession of 1819, which
depressed American business until at least 1822. Professional musicians
were quickly affected by financial collapse; their offerings in theaters,
concerts, lessons, and sheet music were among the first nonessential/expenses given up by households. Other music societies also expressed part
of their purpose to be a safety net for marginally solvent musicians in hard
times. The New York St. Cecilia Society moved “toward forming a Fund
for affording relief to such Members of the Society as are Professors of
Music...who shall by misfortune become indigent” in 1797, just as the
national economy was experiencing one of its first downturns.\textsuperscript{545} It is not
evident how successful the New York organization was in supplying relief
in the late 1790s, but it was not available to musicians by 1821. Musician

\textsuperscript{543} “Minutes of the Joint Board of Officers,” January 7, and April 18,1820, Papers of the Music
Fund Society, Rare Book Room, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

\textsuperscript{544} “Minutes of Joint Board of Officers,” July 1, 1823.

\textsuperscript{545} Constitution and Bye Laws of the New-York St. Cecilia Society, New York, 1797, 3-4.  
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Richard Hough of New York addressed John Rowe Parker in the editor's capacity as a booster of music societies in 1821. Hough made a direct link between societies and financial relief by pointing out that "I have tried [sic] hard to get up a society in this place similar to the one in Boston but the people here [sic] are all selfish each one for himself, and generally they are stupid as it respects a Bankrupt Law." These statements suggest that competition among musicians in America's largest city remained keen even in disastrous markets, when musicians might be desperate to stave off creditors. The first federal legislation to deal with bankruptcy, the Bankruptcy Act of 1800, a belated reaction to the speculative land collapse of 1797, applied only to elite commercial debtors. It gave no relief to poor musicians, being, as one economic historian has called it, "a last expression of a dying Federalist order, even as it embraced the thoroughly modern concept of economic risk."546 Richard Hough was particularly enthusiastic about forming a musical society for financial help since "as I am situated I can just support my family and I feel thankful for that."547

Other rules of the Philadelphia society were that "no nomination of a female professor be received without a written certificate from some lady of established character in this city." This must have been intended for women unknown to members, since several daughters and wives were

546 Bruce Mann emphasizes the mediated nature of the 1800 Bankruptcy Act, straddling eighteenth-century mercantile values of reputation as well as newer commercial expediencies. Elite prerogative and moral obligation figured prominently, although the latter more rhetorically than actually. Not until the Bankruptcy Act of 1841 would universal federal protection become available. Mann, Republic of Debtors, 258.

547 Richard Hough folder, letter of November 13, 1821, JRPP.
listed among the original sixty-eight professionals. However, several of the ladies appear to have resigned the following year after “vague and uncertain” attendance. These desertions were addressed by the Committee on Vocal and Instrumental Reinforcement in January, 1822 where it was admitted that “there were seven ladies...whose attendance was considered as certain” and whose contributions were considered “substantial, and in some instances in a very superior style.” However, during the “present winter...resignations, absence, suspension of vocal exertions through indisposition, has reduced the number to only two.” Over the ensuing years, these and other shortcomings in personnel were rectified by inviting amateur, and hiring nonmember, vocalists and instrumentalists to assist. In 1824, the large sum of $150 was voted to attract vocalists, and word of the society’s desperation must have spread. However, when member Benjamin Cross “reported that Mr. Pearman would sing for the Soc’t for a compensation of $100...his engagement was declined by Mr. C.” Another musician from Baltimore had also been solicited for his required fee, but the board decided that “it was not in their power to accede” to the price of $130. While these sums may have been intended as refusals, the music directors nonetheless appropriated an additional fifty dollars, perhaps to adjust for unanticipated inflation.

Also mentioned in the earliest entries was a commitment by the Society “to the elevation of instrumental music with vocal.” Their first

548 These were Miss Blaney, Mrs. DeLuce, Mrs. Gilles, Miss Eliza Laforque, Miss Caroline Schetky, and Miss Henrietta Taws. List of Professional Members, Papers of the Music Fund Society.

549 “Minutes of the Joint Board of Officers,” November 15, 1820, Papers of the Music Fund Society; “Minutes of the Board of Directors of Music,” January 4, 1822; March 2 and 7, 1824, Papers of the Music Fund Society.
concert did not take place until April, 1821 where “a Grand Selection of Instrumental Music, interspersed with Glee & Choruses” was performed. They had intended to perform Haydn’s *Creation* but the instrumental music could not be obtained in time from Baltimore, New York, or Boston. The music was finally loaned to them by the United Brethren of Bethlehem. It appears that the society had to rely on considerable goodwill from the Germans “as the trumpet parts of Creation belonging to the good people of Bethlehem and duplicate part to Chaos...have been lost.” It was ordered that new copies be made and “that any injury sustained by instruments borrowed be repaired and that they be returned.” While *Creation* was then performed repeatedly, the society soon was communicating with the Handel and Haydn Society of New York to obtain music for Beethoven’s *Mount of Olives*, with a Mr. Peters in Leipzig for “Overtures & Sinfonias,” and prepared Handel’s *Serenata of Acis & Galatea*. They allocated funds for a “sett of trombones,” “a pair of excellent kettle drums,” “two horns, two trumpets, one bassoon and instruction books.” The music directors also instituted fines for “any performing member refusing or neglecting to perform the parts assigned to him or for leaving his desk during any of the practisings, joint rehearsals or Concerts.” Under orchestral regulations in 1826 the music directors established that “[t]he instruments shall as far as practicable be tuned before they are brought into the orchestra and all unnecessary tuning and preludising shall be avoided.”

550 “Minutes of the Joint Board of Officers,” November 15, 1820; May 3, 1823; Papers of the Music Fund Society. “Minutes of the Board of Directors of Music,” April 6, 1821; June 12, 1822; October 3, 1820; February 12, 16, 1821; April 7, 1824; January 7, 1826; Papers of the Music Fund Society.
Besides healthcare and a guild-like safety net for impecunious professionals, the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia made the establishment of a music academy a priority, which "owing to the progressive decay of our orchestra, has become almost necessary to our existence." The society originally used Carpenter's Hall for rehearsals and Washington Hall for performances. After Washington Hall was destroyed some time before mid-1823, presumably by fire, the Society held performances at St. Andrew's Church and the theater. The construction of an Academy of Music was begun in May, 1824 and finished by December 24th of that year. The Board of Directors of Music divided performance preparations among three vocal conductors and three instrumental conductors. The cost of life subscriptions for professors of music was increased from fifty to seventy-five dollars, and the society were ordered two double basses built by a Mr. Caslin "provided he will take a life subscription in part payment thereof." The Academy was officially opened for sessions in September, 1825. Among its rules and regulations was that pupils had to sign up for at least a year, divided into four sessions. Pupils "sufficiently advanced...shall assist in giving instruction to the younger pupils" but such duties "shall not detain them beyond the hours of their regular attendance." Pupils were required to attend rehearsals of the orchestra and to perform with it when "sufficiently advanced." The "great expense and difficulty of acquiring instruction in the performance of those instruments" was justified because of "the many embarrassments to which we were subjected in consequence of their neglect...." In the first year, the Academy had fifteen students in woodwinds and horns and
twelve students in stringed instruments. Although the Academy began strongly, it closed its doors in 1833, reportedly because of the loss of some of the senior members of the organization. However, the needs of the orchestra appear to have been met through private instruction.55

**Fashioning Exclusivity**

Some of the most significant policies of the Musical Fund Society were intended to eliminate lower social orders from attending concerts. At a September, 1823 meeting, members considered limiting tickets by directing that "none but the members and the Ladies introduced by them be admitted." The reasoning behind limiting sales was "the increased attraction which the concerts would possess by the adoption of this exclusive plan." In the spring of 1824, the rector and vestrymen of St. Andrew's Church allowed the Musical Fund Society to use their vestry for an oratorio performance with the stipulation that ticket sales be limited to 1200. At the same time, when the society planned a concert at the theater, they directed that the "box sheet at the Theatre to be opened on Monday morning that members & ladies tickets be taken...at its established prices." Theater tickets in the early 1820s normally adhered to the old price scheme of the 1790s with box seats at one dollar, pit seats seventy-five cents, and the gallery fifty cents. Two days later, the directors changed their policy, making all tickets one dollar "without distinction as regards pit & boxes" and "that the gallery be closed." Therefore, the directors were making no cheap seats available and

privileging membership in the society. At the same time, the society raised its price for an amateur life subscription from twenty-five to fifty dollars.

In his influential essay "The Sacralization of Culture," historian Lawrence Levine traced the growing isolation of European opera in America in the latter third of the nineteenth century as the preserve of the elite. He pointed out that, with increasing frequency, "opera in America meant foreign-language opera performed in opera houses like the Academy of Music and the Metropolitan Opera house, which were deeply influenced if not controlled by wealthy patrons whose impresarios and conductors strove to keep the opera they presented free from the influence of other genres and groups." Opera had been a popular art form in the 1850s and 1860s, attended and enjoyed by a broad spectrum of American society. Not only were "parlor songs sung in the opera house but operatic songs were sung in the parlor" and "the people who performed it in their parlors felt as free to pencil in alterations to the music of Mozart and Verdi as they did to the music of Stephen Foster." In the records of the Musical Fund Society in Philadelphia, the same impetus to exclusivity appears much earlier. While the Society's Music Academy was not long-lived, the Society itself was, and music academies were permanently established in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston within two decades of the demise of the original model in Philadelphia. What Levine saw as a late nineteenth-century development was occurring much earlier. It may be more accurate to see this impulse as cyclical, an inherent feature of class formation that repeatedly seeks to shape performance to allow privilege to

Levine, High Brow, Low Brow, 102, 96.
replicate itself. Laboring classes in Federal era theaters were as anxious to
denounce appearances of false gentility as elites were to appropriate it.
Similarly, as many in the listening public had rejected the professional
immigrant musicians' programs for music education through
performance, the musicians were only too happy to fashion a venue where
it would be appreciated on their own terms.

Anton Philip Heinrich and the Founding of
An American Romantic Style

The establishment of music societies throughout the United States
between 1815 and 1825 was a grassroots response to incorporate the
European music that had been introduced in the two decades previous. A
consequence was the appearance of increasingly complex original music,
featuring the introduction of distinctly American themes of more
substance and sophistication than the ubiquitous nationalist anthems.
The musician who brought this to fruition was a recently arrived
European, but Anton P. Heinrich (1781-1861) was unique in quickly
assimilating American sensibilities to his musicianship, composing, and
publishing. Unlike his predecessors, Heinrich stayed briefly in Boston and
Philadelphia before moving to Lexington, Kentucky, and into the
surrounding frontier area from there. An exuberant iconoclast, he
embraced solitude, artistic concentration, and America's natural beauty.
He lived in an isolated cabin and visited Native American villages. He
befriended his neighbor John James Audubon, whose painting and
appreciation for wildlife observation influenced his larger symphonic
work.
Heinrich was born in Bohemia and inherited a prosperous commodities business from his uncle in 1800. His business involved extensive travel in Austria, Italy, France, England, Spain, and Portugal. By 1810, Heinrich came to America, ostensibly seeking business opportunities, but taking a position without pay as music director at the Southwark Theater in Philadelphia. He had training in piano and violin, owned a Cremona, and enjoyed himself at the Southwark, the original barn-like theater built by David Douglass in 1766. Heinrich was wealthy enough not to need compensation, but in 1811, the Austrian economy collapsed and his business and fortune were lost. By 1813, he had married a woman in Boston and they left the United States to visit Bohemia. While there, his wife gave birth to a daughter, Antonia, but Heinrich and his now ailing wife returned to America without the baby. His wife died in Boston soon after their return.

After moving to Philadelphia again, Heinrich was offered the post of leader of the Pittsburgh theater orchestra. After walking across Pennsylvania to reach his new position, he soon lost it due to the financial insecurity of the theater. From Pittsburgh he went down the Ohio River to Lexington, Kentucky where he led a concert of professional and amateur musicians in November, 1817, including orchestral pieces by Beethoven, Mozart, Pleyel, and Haydn interspersed with songs. Heinrich played piano as well as violin but included no compositions of his own. Apparently realizing that he needed to improve his musical abilities, but not having instruction available, he moved to an abandoned log cabin in Bardstown, Kentucky. He began composing music to the poetry of friends and
acquaintances from Bardstown as well as those he had met earlier, including Henry C. Lewis, editor of the Philadelphia *Ladies Museum*. He also composed music for poems by Burns and Byron. By early 1819, he had moved into a house on the property of new friend, Judge John Speed in Farmington, six miles outside of Lexington. Speed's sister and her husband had John James Audubon as tenant and he and Heinrich became close friends.

During his days at the Speeds he composed songs such as "The Birthday of Washington," "Farmington March," "Visit to Farmington," and "Farewell to Farmington." He wrote many other light pieces, some dedicated to people and places in Austria. He even wrote a chamber ensemble he named "Yankee Doodleiad." He gathered these and other compositions in 1829 and sent two collections of his work to Philadelphia, to be published by music dealers Bacon and Hart: *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky, or The Pleasures of Harmony in the Solitudes of Nature* and *The Western Minstrel*. While not compellingly serious compositions, they were at least comparable to popular works of the time, and they were unique in that they were, like William Billings' first publication fifty years earlier, all composed by a single musician. Like Billings' initial compositions, Heinrich's unusual, personalized style and subjects were influential. The highly illustrated cover of *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*, featuring an antlered deer against a wilderness landscape with sunlight breaking through clouds, marked a new use of complex graphic images to help convey musical themes and sell copies. Heinrich, not a product of the London music scene as so many of his European contemporaries in
America, was less attached to English tastes and tropes in secular or theatrical styles. There were no battle pieces, for instance, although Heinrich produced several personalized, programmatic pieces such as his "Minstrel's March or Road to Kentucky." Here, his own trip to Kentucky was vividly described in themes interpreted through music, anticipating his longer symphonic works. He printed dedicatory letters with these publications to Charles and John Hupfeld, violinist friends in the Philadelphia theater orchestra, and Charlotte Augusta, Empress of Austria. They exuded an extravagant sentimentalism that attracted attention to his work, as well as his misfortunes.

By the spring of 1821, Heinrich made his way back to Philadelphia where he presented his own melodrama, *Child of the Mountain, of The Deserted Mother*, at the Walnut Street Theater. It has been assumed that the musical was written in the English operatic style, but nothing of the play has survived besides a couple of songs from it that appeared in *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky*. In May, Heinrich gave a concert at the Masonic Hall featuring some of Philadelphia's finest musicians, all members of the newly formed Music Fund Society. Unlike his concert in Lexington three years earlier, most of the pieces were his own compositions. These covered many different styles, from overtures to pastoral songs, from duets on harp and piano to full orchestra. While in Philadelphia, Heinrich wrote to Boston's John Rowe Parker to introduce himself as "an honest warm hearted spirited national minstrel," one who

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553 "The Minstrel's March, or Road to Kentucky. A temp giusto (da Filadelfia -- Post horn--Market St. hill--Toll Gate--Schuylkill Bridge--Turnpike--Lancaster (stop ad libitum), March--Alleghanies--Fort Pitt--Embarcation--Salute--Passage on the Ohio--The rapids--Standing in for port--Casting Anchors--Side steps--Landing and cheers-- 'Sign of the Harp.'"

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has worked "under privations... which might almost raise me to a musical martyr of patience and sufferance...thus destitute, I must allow the field of victory...to a great many others who call themselves professors of music, but who actually have little music in or about them." He noted he had sought government support for his art "beginning with the governor of Kentucky, the Speaker of the House, the Honorable Mr. Clay and ending with the President in the capitol of the Nation." However, since he had received "neither a token of politeness nor any sympathy or regard for the art," he vowed to "take my flights shafts of imaginations and care a trip to Europe" to see what their reaction might be to "a suffering backwoods minstrel."

Parker cooperated with a lengthy puff in the *Euterpeiad* the following spring, presumably after hearing some of Heinrich's music performed. Parker, perhaps responding to Benjamin Carr's complaint about ignoring American musicians, underscored that Heinrich's work was an "*American production.*" The editor, seeming to recognize the composer's quirky style, announced that Heinrich explored "with fearless security the mysterious labyrinth of harmony" and pontificated that he may "justly be styled the Beethoven of America...." The review also noticed a ballet written by Heinrich and performed in New York, *La Belle Peruvienne*, "which has so delighted the public" but "was passed over in silence by the New York criticks." A year later, Parker was a little more circumspect, acknowledging that his work had been "disdained by Professors for their very originality, breaking forth in all the wildness of native grandeur...they need only the pruning knife and a more frequent

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554 Heinrich folder, letter of September, 1820, JRPP.

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reprieve from intense labour to become popular....” Heinrich was aware of the limitations of his “firstling” work and vowed “in future...to furnish more important publications, provide I do not get crushed to pieces by some merciless critics....”

Parker invited him to return to Boston “with a view to permanent residence” and offered to arrange a benefit concert for him. The composer complied and began a period of concertizing in cooperation with the professional members of the Handel and Haydn Society. He continued to receive favorable notices from the Euterpeiad, but when he began to play the organ at the South Church, he ran into trouble. Apparently the singers were happy with his playing but, according to a letter he sent the church committee,

I have been treated rather roughly by some super-refined Critics, lurking in ambush like fell-destroyers or puny insects, not to say beasts of prey. To them I would observe,

Those are never the worst blossoms or fruits, On which the Wasps are gnawing;

Always alert to criticism, Heinrich nonetheless seemed to ignore the advice that he received consistently over the course of his thirty-year career: to simplify his melodic invention. The enormously popular Irish poet Thomas Moore responded in the late 1820’s to some music that Heinrich had sent him by suggesting he “keep your science a little more in the back-ground...[and that] the perpetual variety of your modulations...disturb too much the flow of the melody, and render your compositions rather learned exercises than songs.” When the composer published the Sylviad, a collection of work dedicated to the newly

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555 Euterpeiad, April 13, 1822; February, 1823. Heinrich folder, letter of August 3, 1820, JRPP.
established Royal Academy of Music in London, these comments by the
editor were included:

all his compositions are filled with difficulties and beauties of
every sort...they are specimens of the German school, constant
enharmonic changes, abstruse harmony, some melodious passages,
and a never-ending search after lofty, grand, and sometimes
obscure and darkened sentiments.

Heinrich left Boston to return to Prague to reunite with his
daughter, now ten years old. He only got as far as the Drury Lane Theater
in London and was employed there for five years. While in London he
matured as a performer and composer, preparing for the larger symphonic
works he would create. These were composed in the 1830's and 1840's and
included pieces with themes of nature: The New England Feast of
Shells...“Clam Bake”; The Columbiad or, Migration of American Wild
Passenger Pigeons; Mocking Bird to the Nightingale; and The Ornithological
Combat of Kings, or The Condor of the Andes and the Eagle of the Cordilleras.
Other pieces featured romanticized treatments of native American topics:
Complaint of Logan, the Mingo Chief, Last of His Race; The Indian Carnival,
or The Indian's Festival of Dreams; The Indian War Council; Manitou
Mysteries, or, The Voice of the Great Spirit; and The Mastodon, A grand
symphony in three parts...(1) Black Thunder, the Patriarch of the Fox Tribe (2)
The Elkhorn Pyramid, or, The Indians' Offering to the Spirit of the Prairies (3)
Shenandoah, a Celebrated Oneida Chief. He returned to Boston in 1830 but
made several more trips to England, and later Prague. He lived to preside
over a concert consisting solely of his own work in the Czech capital in
1853, a dramatic homecoming finally on a par with his own
Heinrich was the first American composer to offer his productions in Europe, although their reception was evidently mixed. His contemporary, Francis Johnson (1792-1844), a black cornetist, violinist, composer, and leading dance band conductor from Philadelphia, also toured Europe in the 1830s and appears to have made a greater impression with dance music. Heinrich was nevertheless a significant icon in the evolving American music scene, if only for the audacity of his publishing. The composer announced from his first publication that if he was able “to create but one single *Star of the West*, no one would be more proud than himself, to be called an *American Musician*.” He did not so much introduce themes of Romanticism into America’s music as represent its embodiment flowing unfiltered from its source in central Europe. He set music to Schiller’s poetry and supplied intensity and anarchic power, though his compositions lacked measured, rational construction. Obsessed with self-directed energy, his curative isolation in a Kentucky log cabin became self-mythologized later in life, depicted on sheet music covers nearly thirty years later. Heinrich publicized his difficulties to such an extent that his public persona of a tormented creator may have been as prominent as his music. He was a proto-nationalist composer, antedating, but not directly related to, later European nationalist composers. Most importantly, he was an *American* cultural nationalist, using distinctly native themes regardless of their relative success.


557 A.P. Heinrich, Preface to *Dawning of Music in Kentucky, or the Pleasure of Harmony in the Solitudes of Nature*, (Philadelphia: Bacon & Hart, 1820).
Dissertation Conclusion

Francis Grund, the British tourist who praised American music as he unwittingly insulted the musicians, may have had A.P. Heinrich in mind when he presciently remarked that the “English will hear the best music as long as they are willing to pay for it; but the Americans will soon be able to make it themselves. The English will always remain great consumers of musical talent; but the Americans will produce it.” More likely, Grund was aware of something in the music he heard in America, something like the unapologetic, youthful exuberance of notes that the observer from the Mirror of Taste heard between the Delaware and the Schuylkill in 1810, that led him to predict originality on such a scale. Grund was also undoubtedly influenced by the depths to which English composing and originality had sunk during the four decades on either side of 1800.

A.P. Heinrich, perhaps pushed to overreach himself by the extremities in his life, adopted his new avocation of music, and his new country, with an outsized zeal. In many ways, the idiosyncrasies of his musicianship made him well-suited to capture the self-made quality of American western imagery. He decided to become a composer when he was in his late thirties, following the new American penchant for changing careers at will. Although lacking William Billings’ natural sense of humor, Heinrich bore many resemblances to Billings’ in his experimental imagination, self-taught confidence, and prolific inspiration. They also both lived in poverty for most of their professional lives. Billings was probably more influential in his day, but together they form a


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variation on a theme that characterizes an idiosyncratic, but inspired strain of American composing that runs throughout the national experience. Later composers such as George Chadwick (1854-1931), Charles Ives (1874-1954), Amy Beach (1867-1944), George Gershwin (1898-1937), Aaron Copland (1900-1990), and even John Adams (1947-) share a widely varied but self-conscious reference to earthy American culture in much of their work. Ives, for example, was swayed by his father's belief that a composer “could keep his music-interest stronger, cleaner, bigger and freer, if he didn't try to make a living out of it”-- and worked in the insurance business. Marginally professional, many American composers relied on teaching, or other vocations, to support themselves for most of the nineteenth century. Heinrich had once allowed that he derived his income from “teaching little misses on the pianoforte, for small quarter money, often unpaid.” America lacked European sources of support for fine arts whether from aristocratic, court, and church patronage. The American music business thus became that much more important to art-music development, simultaneously shaping both cultivated and popular music in unique ways. Part of this effect came from the enormous place taken in popular culture by vernacular music, first in sheet music and parlor entertainment in the nineteenth century, then in the commodification of recordings and the influence of jazz in the twentieth century. By the 1890s, the United States presided over a plethora of ethnic musical subcultures, even if not often recognized by the dominant cultural media. This impressive variety affected visiting European nationalist musicians like Antonin Dvorak, who was hired by Hitchcock, Music in the United States, 62.
the American National Conservatory for the express purpose of divining
an American style, based on indigenous folk music of black spirituals and
native-American melodies. This grand experiment was made possible by
paying the Czech composer twenty-five times what he was paid at the
Prague Conservatory.

The underappreciated American music scene of the Federal and
early national era represents a critical bridge from the provincialism of
the colonial period to the bustling variety of musical genres in American
venues by the middle third of the nineteenth century. Immigrant
European musicians were responsible for introducing, not just the range of
secular music emanating from Britain's cosmopolitan venues, but the
very idea, and availability, of rapidly changing fashion and taste in
commodified music. By the 1820s and 1830s, from the many subgenres
of hymnody, to rural New England brass bands, to widely available
minstrel shows, and to urban orchestras organized around new dance
styles or Europeanized art-music, American public music was redefining
itself in the hands of an ambitiously diversified people.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

Table A.1. Frequency of named tunes and associated Psalms in Samuel Sewall’s Diary, 1709-1724

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TUNE</th>
<th>EVENTS</th>
<th>PSALMS USED ON DIFFERENT OCCASIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Winsor</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>68; 119 &amp; 34; 27; 113; 132; 13 &amp; 90; 27; 119; 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. David’s</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>141; 23 &amp; 18; 115; 127 &amp; 28; 23-26, 73; 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>128; 20; 121; 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Dutch</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26; 111; 68; 116; 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litchfield</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>84; 122; 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Dutch</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unnamed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>90; 147; 45; 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.2 Locations of Psalm-singing Events in Samuel Sewall’s Diary 1709-1724

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCASION</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church meeting/ lecture</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wedding</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Court / Governor’s Council</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinner</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House-raising</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private prayer meeting</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvard overseers’ meeting</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL NUMBER OF EVENTS</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of events where confusion affected singing</td>
<td>7 (22%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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APPENDIX B
List of Regular Singing Tracts in Chronological Order
For Regular Singing

Symmes, Thomas 1720 Boston The Reasonableness of Regular Singing, or,
Singing by Note; To Revive the true and Ancient Mode of Singing Psalm-
Tunes, according to the Pattern in our New-England Psalm-Books; the
Knowledge and Practice of which is greatly decay'd in most
Congregations

Mather, Cotton Boston, 1721 The Accomplished Singer...How the Melody of
Regular Singing, and the Skill of doing it, according to the rule of it, may
be easily arrived unto

Mather, Cotton Boston, 1721 Singing Sermon (unpublished sermon on
singing)

Symmes, Thomas 1722 Discourse

Walter, Thomas 1722 Boston The Sweet Psalmist of Israel. A Sermon
Preached at the Lecture held in Boston, by the Society for promoting
Regular and Good Singing, and for reforming the Depravations and
Debasements our Psalmody labours under

Rowe, J 1722 Singing of Psalms by Seven constituted Sounds, Opened and
Explained, on the Occasion of Differences in many congregations, with
Reference to the Old and New Way of Singing Psalms. Composed by a
council of Divines and Musicians, chosen for the mediate the Matter,
and make Means to reconcile the Differences

Symmes, Thomas 1723 Boston Utile Dulci. Or Joco-Serious Dialogue,
concerning Regular Singing

Thacher, Peter, John Danforth, and Samuel Danforth 1723 Boston An
Essay Preached by several Ministers of the Gospel For the Satisfaction
of their pious and Consciencious Brethren, as tot sundry Questions and
Cases of Conscience, Concerning the Singing of Psalms

Mather, Cotton 1724 Boston A Pacificatory Letter About Psalmody, or
Singing or Psalms
Dwight, Josiah 1725 Boston  *An Essay to Silence the Outcry That has been made in some Places against Regular Singing. In a Sermon Preached at Framingham*

Eliot, John 1725  Boston  *A Brief Discourse Concerning Regular Singing, Shewing from the Scriptures, The Necessity And Incumbency thereof In The Worship of God*

Wightman, Valentine 1725  *A Letter to the Elders*

Mather, Cotton 1726 Boston  *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum Nov-Anglorum. A Faithful Account of the Discipline Professed and Practiced in the Churches in New England*

Woodbridge, Timothy 1727 New London, Connecticut  *Duty of GOD'S Professing People*

Chauncey, Nathaniel 1728 New London, Connecticut  *Regular Singing Defended, And Proved to be the Only True Way of Singing the Songs of the Lord*

Hammett, John 1739  *Promiscuous Singing No Divine Institution. Having neither President nor Precept to support it, either from the Musical Institution of David, or from the Gospel Dispensations*

Seccombe, 1741  *Essay*

Noble, Oliver 1774 Newburyport, Sermon: *Regular and Skilful Music*
APPENDIX C

Table C 1. American Sacred Music Imprints by Decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DECADE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1690s</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1700s</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1710s</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1720s</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
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<td>1730s</td>
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<td>1740s</td>
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<td>1750s</td>
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<td>1760s</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>1770s</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>1780s</td>
<td>58</td>
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<tr>
<td>1790s</td>
<td>107</td>
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<tr>
<td>1800s</td>
<td>222</td>
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</table>

APPENDIX D

Seventeenth-century sacred melodies as they appeared in
Thomas Walter's Grounds and Rules (Boston, 1726 edition)

Windsor Tune

York Tune

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APPENDIX E

CHRISTMAS, from James Lyon's Urania (Philadelphia, 1761)
APPENDIX F

New England Psalmodist Revolutionary Texts

Example 1. RETROSPECT, William Billings, The Singing Masters Assistant (1778)

Was not the day dark and gloomy?
The Enemy said, let us draw a line even from York to Canada.
But praised be the Lord, the snare is broken and we are escaped.
Hark, Hark, Cursed be the man that keepeth back his sword.
Oh! Dismal! Oh! Horrible! Oh! Dismal!
My Bowels, My Bowels, I am pained at my very heart,
My heart maketh a noise within me. For thou hast heard,
O my soul, the sound of the trumpet, the Alarm of War.
See my Father, Behold my Brother, hear him groan, see him die.
O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet?
Put up thyself into thy Scabbard.
Rest, rest, rest and be still. Cause us to hear with Joy thy Kind,
forgiving Voice, that so the Bones, which thou hast broke,
may with fresh strength rejoice. Hark, hark, my Soul,
catch the Sound, Hear and rejoice.
Beat your Swords into Plowshares and your Spears into Pruning Hooks,
And learn War no more. How Beautiful, How Beautiful, How
Beautiful upon the Mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good
tidings, that Publisheth Peace, Peace, Peace.
Peace be on earth, good will towards men. Halleluiah, for the Lord
God Omnipotent reigneth.

Example 2.

This hymn my Daughter Susa sent to me in a letter from Milford: in
the time of her great troubles.

1. Altho I suffer here Below, & bare [sic] reproach & shame,
may I still contentment know and bless my makers name.
2. Altho the busy sons of men against me rage with lies,
may I a spirit still retain, to pray for enemies.
3. I know my fortune in this world is but of low degree,
and if contempt on me is hurl'd, contented may I be.
4. but may I on the Lord rely, for all things with content, 
& for my sins, before I die, most heartily repent.
5. May I be turned to virtues ways, from vice & malice free, 
& if troubles crown my days, may I contented be.
6. O may I view the hand of God acknowledge him as just, 
in smiting sinners with his rod, & turning them to dust.

Example 3. MODERN MUSIC by William Billings, The Psalm-Singers
Amusement (1781)  M.M.= metronome markings; bracketed comments are 
by editor Karl Kroeger

N.B. After the Audience are seated and the Performers have taken 
the pitch slyly from the Leader the Song begins

[tempo begins at 60 M.M., 2/2 time, in key of E]
  We are met for a Concert of modern Invention;
  To tickle the Ear is our present Intention.
  The audience are seated Expecting to be treated
  With a Piece of the Best
  And since we all agree To set the Tune on E
  The Author's darling Key He prefers to the Rest

[fuging section each part staggered by two beats, the parts reunited at the end]
  -Let the Bass take the Lead And firmly proceed, Till the Parts are 
    agreed To fuge away, To Fuge away.
  -Let the Tenor succeed And follow the Lead, Till the Parts are agreed
    To fuge away.
  -Let the counter inspire The Rest of the Choir, Inflam'd with Desire
    To fuge away.
  -Let the Treble in the Rear No longer forbear, But expressly declare
    For a Fuge away

[tempo doubles to 120 M.M., time switches to 2/4]
  Then change to brisker Time And up the Ladder climb,
  And down again; Then mount the second Time And end the Strain

[tempo changes back to 60 M.M., time changes to 3/2, key changes to E minor]
  Then change the Key to pensive Tones and slow In treble Time;
  the Notes exceeding low Keep down a While, then rise by slowDegrees;
  The Process surely will not fail to please.

[temp changes to 80 M.M., time changes to 6/4, key reverts to E major]
  Thro' Common and Treble we jointly have run;

380
We'll give you their Essence compounded in one.
Altho' we are strongly attached'd to the Rest,
Six four is the Movement that please us best,
and now we address you as Friends to the Cause;
Performers are modest and write their own Laws.
Altho' we are sanguine and clap at the Bars,
Tis the Part of the Hearers to clap their Applause.

APPENDIX G

Table G 1. Proportion of American to Non-American Compositions
Found in American Sacred Editions, 1760-1810

(% of American to Non-American pieces)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1760-1769</td>
<td>3/88</td>
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<tr>
<td>1770-1779</td>
<td>17/80</td>
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<tr>
<td>1780-1789</td>
<td>50/47</td>
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<tr>
<td>1790-1799</td>
<td>55/41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800-1810</td>
<td>55/41</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Five-year breakdown of last decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800-1805</td>
<td>67/30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1806-1810</td>
<td>44/51</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Tables 1 and 2 in "'Ancient Music' and American Psalmody, 1800-1810", in Crawford et al. eds., A Celebration of American Music, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 227, 229; The percent needed to make 100 are unidentified compositions.
APPENDIX H

*Table H 1. Chart of Composition of English and American Orchestras*

562

<table>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oboes</td>
<td>2*</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Clarinets</td>
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<td>Bassoons</td>
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<td>Trumpets</td>
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<td>Trombones</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violins</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12-16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12-16</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>Violas</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2-4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cellos</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>3**</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Double Bass</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drums</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Keyboard</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33-38</td>
<td>57</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Oboists doubled on clarinet.

** No differentiation between cellos and double-basses.

562 Table from Porter, *With an Air Debonair*, 370.

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APPENDIX I

*Table I 1. Theater Building in the Early Republic*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Theater Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>New Exhibition Room</td>
<td>1792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Federal Street Theater</td>
<td>1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Haymarket Theater</td>
<td>1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>John Street Theater</td>
<td>1767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greenwich Street Circus</td>
<td>1797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Park or New Theater</td>
<td>1798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Southwark Theater</td>
<td>1766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chestnut or New Theater</td>
<td>1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rickett's Circus</td>
<td>1795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Circus, Walnut Street, Olympic Theater</td>
<td>1809</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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APPENDIX J

Theater Musicians' Salaries
Weekly Expenses for the Band at the Federal Street Theater in Boston for 1796-9

Mr. [R.] Leaumont, Conductor [Violinist] $14
Mr. Scavoye [Unknown] 14
Mr. Brook[e] 12
Mr. Muck 12
Mr. [William] Priest [English bassoonist] 12
Mr. Austin [Unknown] 10
Mr. Stone [English flutist, oboist, etc.] 10
Mr. [Johann Georg Christoff] Schetky German-born violinist, etc. from Edinburgh] 10
Mr. [Frederick] Granger 10
Mr. [B.] Glaan 10
Mr. Anderson [Clarinetist] 10
Mr. [Henry] L'Epouse [Unknown] 10
Mr. Layerne [Unknown] 10
Mr. [Louis] Boullay [French violinist, etc.] 15
Mr. [Trille] Labarre, Composer 16

$175

Estimated Musicians Expenses for the Park Street Theater, 1798-1799

Mr. [James] Hewitt, 1st violin leader $14
Everdel do
Nicolai 2nd violin
Samo do
Henri 1st clarinet
Libichiski 2nd do
Pelesier, [Victor] 1st horn
Dupuy 2nd do
Nicolai Junr bass
Adet do
Hoffman bassoon
Dangle double bass

[Total for orchestra] $140


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APPENDIX K

Program of a French Concert at Oeller's Hotel,
Philadelphia, November 15, 1795

Grand Concert Vocal et Instrumental, au benefice de M. Gautier
Dans lequel on executera les pieces suivantes:

Premier Acte
Overture de Demophon, a grand orchestre.
Concerto de violon de Jarnewick, par M. Collet
Sonate de Pleyel, pour le forte-piano, par Madame Sully.
Allegroto de Paesiello.
Concerto de clarinette, compose et execute par M. Gautier.

Second Acte.
Grande Symphonie de Stamitz.
Concerto de Vanhall, execute sur le forte-piano par Madame Sully.
Ariete par Madame la Rue.
Concerto de clarinette, compose par Lefebure et execute par M Gautier.
Ce concert aura lieu le Mardi 1er Decembre 1795,
dans la salle de l' Oellers.
Il commencera a 7 heures precises.
Le prix des billets est d'une gourde.
On en trouve a l'imprimerie de cette feuille.

---

66 Courrier de la France et des Colonies, November 18, 1795 from Childs, French Refugee Life in the United States, 110-111.
APPENDIX L

Table L. 1 Longevity of Prominent American Magazines, 1741-1825

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Magazine Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1741</td>
<td>American Magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1742</td>
<td>General Magazine and Historical Chronicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1743</td>
<td>American Magazine and Historical Chronicle</td>
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<td>1744</td>
<td>American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle</td>
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<td>1745</td>
<td>Monthly View</td>
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<td>1746</td>
<td>New England Magazine</td>
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<td>1747</td>
<td>Boston Weekly Advertiser</td>
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<td>1754</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Talking of concerts reminds me of that given a few nights since by Mr. Wilson, at which I had the misfortune of being present. It was attended by a numerous company, and gave great satisfaction, if I may be allowed to judge from the frequent *gapings* of the audience; though I will not risk my credit as a connoisseur, by saying whether they proceeded from wonder, or a violent inclination to doze. I was delighted to find, in the mazes of the crowd, my particular friend Snivers, who had put on his cognoscenti phiz - he being, according to is own account, a profound adept in the science of musick. He can tell a crotchet at first sight, and, like a true englishman, is delighted with the plumpudding rotundity of a semibreve; and, in short, boasts of having incontinently climbed up Paff's musical tree, which hangs every day upon the poplar, from the fundamental-concord, to the fundamental major-discord, and so on from branch to branch, until he reached the very top, where he sung “Rule Britannia,” clapped his wings, and then - came down again. Like all true transatlantick judges, he suffers most horribly at our musical entertainments; and he assures me that what with the confounded scraping, and scratching, and grating of our fiddlers, he thinks the sitting out one of our concerts tantamount to the punishment of that unfortunate saint, who was frittered in two with a hand-saw.

Mr. Wilson gave me infinite satisfaction by the gentility of his demeanour...On the whole, however, I think he has a fine voice, sings with

---

567 Probably Joseph Wilson (or Willson), a British singer, musician, teacher, organist, and music publisher who had arrived in the late 1790's. He lived in New York and served as organist at Trinity Church from 1804 to 1809. He came to rival John Paff as New York's leading music publisher between 1812 and 1816. He eventually moved to Roxbury, Massachusetts to play organ in a local church in the 1820's. Richard J. Wolfe, *Early American Music Engraving and Printing*, 54-55.

568 crotchet (English) = quarter note (American).

569 semibreve = whole note, also perhaps implying a slow pace.

570 John and Michael Paff, New York's leading music supply house and sheet music publishers between 1798-1810.

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great taste, and is a very modest good-looking little man; but I beg leave to repeat the advice so often given by the illustrious tenants of the theatrical sky-parlour, to the gentlemen who are charged with the "nice conduct" of chairs and tables - "make a bow Johnny - Johnny make a bow!"  

I cannot, on this occasion, but express my surprise that certain amateurs should be so frequently at concerts, considering what agonies they suffer while a piece of musick is playing. I defy any man of common humanity, and who has not the heart of a Choctaw, to contemplate the countenance of one of these unhappy victims of a fiddle-stick without feeling a sentiment of compassion...Nor does the hero of the orchestra seem less affected: as soon as the signal is given, he seizes his fiddle-stick, makes a most horrible grimace, scowls fiercely upon his musick-book, and grins every little trembling crotchet and quaver out of countenance. I have sometimes particularly noticed a hungry looking gaul, who torments a huge bass-viol, and who is doubtless the original of the famous "Raw-head-and-bloody-bones," so potent in frightening naughty children.

The person who played the french horn was very excellent in his way, but Snivers could not relish his performance, having sometime since heard a gentleman amateur in Gotham play a solo on his proboscis, or nozzle, in a style infinitely superior...  

---

571 I.e., the gallery gods shouting at stage hands who changed sets; theater carpenters were generically called "John" or "Johnny". Porter, With an Air Debonair, 118.

572 quaver = eighth note


APPENDIX N

Reform Lectures for Sacred Music at Singing Societies 1800-1820

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Association</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emerson, Samuel</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Essex Musical Assoc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dana, Daniel</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>Essex Musical Assoc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woods Leonard</td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>Essex Musical Assoc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emmons, Nathaniel</td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>Essex Musical Assoc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubbard, John</td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>Middlesex Mus. Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore, Humphrey</td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>Wilton Musical Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerson, Caleb</td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>Handelian Mus. Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitman, Z.G.</td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>Harmonick Club, Boston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livermore, Solomon</td>
<td>1809</td>
<td>Middlesex Mus. Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, Francis</td>
<td>1809</td>
<td>Handel Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parish, Elijah</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>Handel Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcester, Samuel</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>Handel Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crane, John</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>Handel Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willard, S.</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>Handel Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster, Joel</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>Handel Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bray, O.</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>Hans Gram Mus. Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodbury, Levi</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>Handel, Middlesex, Handelian, and Central Musical Societies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dana, Daniel</td>
<td>1813</td>
<td>Rockingham Music Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerson, Reuben</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>Rockingham Music Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffin, Charles</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>Rockingham Music Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willard, S.</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>Rockingham Music Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French, Jonathan</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>Rockingham Music Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Thomas</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>Rockingham Music Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gould, Nathaniel</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>Hubbard Mus. Soc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Buechner, Yankee Singing Schools, Table 6, 125.

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APPENDIX O

Concert Program for Salter Family New Haven, December 21, 1796

Concert.
Friday Evening...a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, at Boothe's Assembly-Hall...For the Benefit of Mr. Salter

Act 1st

Sonata on Piano Forte, Master Salter
Violin Accompaniments, Mess. Ives & Salter
Duetto, two violins, Mess. Salter & Ives
Song, When William at Eve, Miss Salter
King of Prussia's March
Air, How imperfect, &c.
Duetto, Farewell ye Green Fields, Master Salter & Miss Salter
on Piano Forte
Washington's Grand March.

Act 2d.

Concerto on Piano Forte, Mr. Salter accompanied by Mr. Ives, on violin
Song, Waxen Doll, Miss Salter
Duetto, on Piano Forte Master & Miss Salter
Sonata, Piano Forte Master Salter
Governor Jay's March.
Favorite Air, Yankey [sic] Doodle.
Battle of Prague, on the Piano Forte.
Handle's Water Piece

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APPENDIX P

Description of choosing an organist c.1815-1825

Some years ago...in a certain parish in New England...[t]here was so little talent in the choir...that...the parish though it advisable to procure an organ...It was now time to look for a player. The first one who offered was "a natural musician." He knew nothing of rules but depended wholly upon his ear...The organ groaned under its hard treatment, and the people responded till the seat of the executant was vacated. The next performer had but a slight knowledge of musical characters. He was a perfect smatterer. At some former time he had taken six or eight lessons of a distinguished master. But such playing! He...expected in due time, no doubt, to become a distinguished player. Happily for the the choir and congregation, he soon changed his mind...Several changes ensued, which were less noticeable. One player knew so little of the stops as to produce bad combinations. Another had a great abhorrence of interludes, chiefly, as was supposed, because he was deficient in invention. A third would play such merry voluntaries, as were ill in keeping with the solemnities of the place...But at length there came to reside in the village a foreigner, who, though ignorant of American music, was well acquainted with the organ. This, after so many scenes of disquietude, was a joyous event.

APPENDIX Q

List of secular music published by William Selby, Boston, 1786-1791^77

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Songs</th>
<th>Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To musick be the verse addrest</td>
<td>Massachusetts Magazine (1789)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farewell my Pastora, no longer your swain (Psalemon to Pastora)</td>
<td>Gentlemen and Ladies Town and Country Magazine (1789)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shady groves and purling mills (The Rural Retreat)</td>
<td>Massachusetts Magazine (1789)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O lend, dear maid, thy patient ear (The Lovely Lass)</td>
<td>Massachusetts Magazine (1789)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The fair Eliza's living grace (Addressed to Miss D. by a Lady, both of Boston)</td>
<td>Apollo and the Muses (1791)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choral Odes</th>
<th>Performance</th>
<th>Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Washington the hero's come (Ode to Columbia's Favorite Son)</td>
<td>April 27, 1786</td>
<td>Massachusetts Magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hail! sublime she moves along (Ode to Independence)</td>
<td>July 4, 1787</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behold the Man whom virtues raise (Ode performed before the President of the United States)</td>
<td>October 17, 1789</td>
<td>Apollo and the Muses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hark! notes melodious fill the skies (Ode for the New Year, January 1, 1790)</td>
<td>Massachusetts Magazine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^77 From Temperley, Bound For America, 41,43.
## APPENDIX R

*List of music published by George K. Jackson, New York 1800-1811*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publ. Title/ Songs</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Miscellaneous Musical Work</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cricket; Waft me; Huzza! for Liberty;</td>
<td>1800?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet are the banks; American Serenade;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cancherizante; A Winter's Evening; New York Serenade;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ah! Delia; Dirge for Gen. Washington; The Fairies;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentle Air</td>
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<tr>
<td>I Rudimenti di Musica</td>
<td>1800?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>A Prey to Tender Anguish</em></td>
<td>1800?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bagatelles</td>
<td>1801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Alphabet; Numberation Table; Addition Table;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtraction Table; Multiplication Table; Pence Table;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>President Jefferson's New March</em></td>
<td>1801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immortal Jefferson (Mrs. Jackson)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Freedom and Our President</em></td>
<td>1801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immortal Jefferson (Mrs. Jackson)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close Canon for Six Voices</td>
<td>1801-2?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come, lads, your glasses fill</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Task. A Whimsical Canon</em></td>
<td>1801-2?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack knows his merit</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Dr. Jackson's Selection</em></td>
<td>1803?</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Sylph; March &amp; Quick Step</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Verses for the Fourth of July</em></td>
<td>1803?</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Ode for the Fourth of July</em></td>
<td>1803?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Once more has the morn (Townsend)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>David's Psalms</em></td>
<td>1804</td>
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<tr>
<td>35 psalm tunes</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Ode for Gen'. Hamilton's Funeral</em></td>
<td>1804</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ye midnight shades</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>A New Musical Score of Easy Canons</em></td>
<td>1804-6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Praise the Grand Master; Two Masonic Canons;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genius of Masonry; Two Masonic Canons; The Task;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>May all the Universe be Free; Behold how good and</td>
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<tr>
<td>pleasant; O 'twas a joyful sound; Sit lux; O God, the</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Father of heaven</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Thanksgiving Anthem by Dr. Nares</em></td>
<td>1806-7?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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O 'twas a joyful sound

*Sacred Music for the Use of Churches*  
2 chants; Arise, O Lord; Gloria Patri; 3 psalm tunes

*Pope's Universal Prayer and Celebrated Ode*  
Father of all (Pope); Vital spark of heav'nly flame (Pope)

*Petits Duos*  
1807-8

*The Fairies to the Sea Nymphs*  
Hasten from your coral caves (Miss Seward)

*The Entered Apprentices Song*  
When quite a young spark

*A Musical Coalition*  
1808-11

*Content. A favorite Canzone*  
Halcyon nymph with placid smile

*A favorite Canzone*  
Soft pleasing sighs are love's delight (Mrs. Jackson)

1807?

1808?

1807-8

1808

1808-11

1808-11

1808-11

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APPENDIX S

Table S1. Provenance of Two Psalm Styles in Rev. Samuel Gilman’s Memoirs of a New England Village Choir

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tune</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>No. of Printings</th>
<th>1st Printing /Am. or Br</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Daniel Read</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>1786 Am.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainbow</td>
<td>Timothy Swan</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1785 Am.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jerusalem</td>
<td>Jeremian Ingalls</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1796 Am.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northfield</td>
<td>Jeremian Ingalls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 46</td>
<td>Amos Bull</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1778 Am.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Martin’s</td>
<td>William Tans’ur</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>British</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Marlboro</td>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>British</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mear</td>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>British</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habakkuk</td>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>British</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Hundred</td>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>British</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath</td>
<td>anon.</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>British</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wells</td>
<td>Israel Holdroyd</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>British</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windham</td>
<td>Daniel Read</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1785 Am.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>Oliver Brownson</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>1782 Am.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Sebastian’s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>British?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX T

Program for Boston Concert, 1801

Mr. Story, respectfully informs his Friends, and the Public, that Tomorrow Evening, Nov. 6, A Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music Will be given at the Conservatory Hall, Rowe’s Lane, For that Night only.

Part I

1. Overture to Lodoiska,                         Mr. Story
2. Song, (the Hare Hunt)                         Mrs. Graupner
3. Song (Blue Bells of Scotland)                 Rosetti
4. Harmony                                       Mrs. Graupner
5. Song, (Sweet Maid at whose melodious lay)     Messrs. Story and Mallet
6. Duet, (Bid me when forty winters)             Pleyel
7. Simphonic

Part II

1. Overture de Chemene                         Sacchini
2. Song, (The sweet little Girl that I Love)    Mr. Story
3. Song, Oboe                                  Mr. Graupner
4. Song, (the Fashions)                        Mrs. Graupner
5. Song, (when freedom on the foaming main)     Mr. Story
6. Full piece                                  Pleyel
7. Triumphant Glee of the Red Cross Knights    Mrs. Graupner,
       returning from the Holy Land             Mr. Story and Mr. Mallet

578 Boston Gazette, Nov. 5, 1801.
Leaving for Boarding School

Returning from Boarding School
APPENDIX V

Excerpt of a letter from Benjamin Carr to John Rowe Parker,
Boston, October 4, 1821 concerning the singing of
Mrs. French (original emphases)

[Y]ou are kind enough to request my opinion of your remarks upon
Mrs. French... - Mrs. F___ is nearly entirely my own scholar...I only dissent
from one of your statements and that arises solely from your not having
had the opportunity of hearing her in the same situations I have - it is that
“she possesses neither superior dignity of conception or of elocution”...to
explain away this idea I must mention that some years ago Mrs. Rivardi...
kept a school here - a female college I may term it - among other
accomplishments music was carried to a high pitch - Sunday evening
concerts of sacred music were held at which were performed pieces of
Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Sacchini & other great masters & secular concerts
were also occasionally given - thus Mrs. French (then Miss Halverson) was
in the constant habit of singing the air of Handel to classical Italian songs
of Sarti... &c &c besides continually joining in scientific duetts, trios &
chorusses, while her lessons were almost daily - not only myself at all
times to accompany, but also more than one young lady at the school able
for the office - I think could you then have heard her sing ‘Comfort ye my
people’ - ‘Miriam the prophetess’...& many others, you would have been
delighted with what I always term the “oratory of singing.”

After she had married & settled in Baltimore, upon my paying her a
visit when I travelled that way, she regreted that she could not keep up
the practice of certain songs, as they were too difficult for her to
accompany herself in & she had no one at command for that office - shortly
after she received some lessons from a professor of acknowledged taste &
talent in that city, with whom she undoubtedly improved herself in
“sweetness, delicacy, variety” &c &c yet this gentleman being a foreigner
totally disapproved of every note of English music, of course that great
source of all that is sublime in singing, Handel, was banished from their studies and when circumstances made a public life indispensable, she had of course to bring such goods to market as forced a ready sale & once upon my urging her to higher sources for her selection, she told me, they would not answer, that simple ballads & popular songs were all that was in demand - This fully explains why "her selections are common and familiar" as also for the "same level sweetness and uniformity of manner".

- It is a known fact that the style of singing embracing either sublimity or great brilliancy must be kept in constant practice, but as you may now perceive Mrs. F has been for years void of this & thus perhaps tho as a professional woman she has gained "uncommon ease" in all that she does, & is very deservedly the delight of auditors, yet most likely in the vocal excellence you regret the absence of, she may not equal herself when she was Miss Halverson - These sentiments are private ones for your own perusal - and perhaps, to speak confidentially I do not entirely depart from your opinion of her in her present walk of vocalism - if I may use such a coinage...
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