

Please share your stories about how Open Access to this work benefits you.

Secular Music in Reform and Dispersed-Harmonic Tunebooks, 1820-1850

By Erin Fulton

December 12, 2013

Senior Thesis submitted to the School of Music at the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Music in Musicology.

SECULAR MUSIC IN REFORM AND DISPERSED-HARMONIC TUNEBOOKS,

1820-1850

Erin Fulton
December 12, 2013

Introduction

In nineteenth-century America, tunebooks—collections of hymnody and psalmody in settings suitable for amateur performance—served and reflected multiple facets of musical culture. Although their most obvious purpose was to offer music for use in the church service, such collections also figured in domestic music-making and provided repertoire for recreational singing societies. In addition, they served as pedagogical aids in singing schools, the predominant vehicle of music education at the opening of the century. These same singing schools furnished a growing number of Americans with the skills to pursue vocal music inside or outside of church. A constant demand for new tunebooks by this increasingly musically literate public had already fostered a lively native school of composition, including such figures as William Billings, Daniel Read, Supply Belcher, and Joseph Stone. The repertoire of these collections includes anthems and through-composed pieces along with psalm and hymn tunes of all descriptions: plain and florid, British and American. The majority of such pieces set sacred texts. Despite their relative scarcity, however, secular songs hold a distinctive role in the tunebook repertoire and can serve to elucidate the more fundamental issue of competing styles of part-writing.¹ Examination of these atypical pieces offers a glimpse into a facet of tunebook culture currently afforded little attention.

During the time period encompassed by this study, two styles of part-writing dominated American hymnody: dispersed-harmonic and reform. Although proponents of both movements shared an interest in increasing musical literacy and improving standards of church-musical performance, the two had strikingly different ideologies and

¹ For the purposes of this study, I define secular texts as ones lacking any mention of religious subjects (God, Biblical events, sacraments, prayer, heaven, etc.)

musical characteristics, as will be described below. Such dissimilarities persist in the area of secular music. Dispersed-harmonic and reform tunebooks reflect divergent attitudes regarding the appropriate uses of secular tunes, whether secular and sacred music should be stylistically distinct from one another, the topics raised by secular texts, and the performance contexts in which secular music was sung.

The reformers, always concerned with regularizing church music, express more closely-defined views of secular song. Dispersed-harmonic compilers tend to take less prescriptive approaches to the subject, as evinced by the lack of a musically distinct secular style and the Christianization of secular pieces within the repertoire. This examination of twenty-seven tunebooks—encompassing reform, dispersed-harmonic, and mixed types—reveals differences in the two part-writing styles specific to the secular repertoire, while further clarifying the basic distinctions between the two.

Literature Review

No single monograph aptly elucidates the subject of early American hymnody, the only works of sufficient compass being outdated.² Many of Irving Lowens's articles on the subject are anthologized in *Music and Musicians in Early America*, and the wide scope of his work serves to make the volume a rough introduction to the subject.³ James William Hall's "The Tune-Book in American Culture: 1800-1820" posits a definition of

² Henry Wilder Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940); Robert Murrell Stevenson, *Protestant Church Music in America: A Short Survey of Men and Movements from 1564 to the Present* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1966).

³ Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1964).

the tunebook and, along with works of Allen Britton and Philip Perrin, has provided a valuable basis for later scholarship.⁴ *American Sacred Music Imprints, 1698-1810* remains the principal bibliography of American tunebooks.⁵ No work of equivalent scope details the period after 1810, making Phil Perrin's checklist of tunebooks up to 1860 the most complete listing.⁶

The emergence of the reform movement has been the subject of several works. Charles Hamm provides a helpful summary.⁷ Richard Crawford and James William Hall have both addressed the context out of which the schism arose.⁸ Also pertinent are studies by Nicholas Tawa and John Beale on the movement inside and outside of New England, respectively.⁹

⁴ James William Hall, Jr., "The Tune-Book in American Culture: 1800-1820" (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1967), 62-142; Allen P. Britton, "Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-Books to 1800" (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1950); Philip Perrin, "Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-Books from 1801 to 1860" (DMA dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1968).

⁵ Allen Perdue Britton, Irving Lowens, and Richard Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints, 1698-1810: A Bibliography* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1990).

⁶ Perrin, "Theoretical Introductions," appendix.

⁷ Charles Hamm, *Music in the New World* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1983), 140-172.

⁸ Richard Crawford, "'Ancient Music' and the Europeanizing of American Psalmody, 1800-1810," in *A Celebration of American Music: Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock*, edited by Richard Crawford et. al. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 225-255; Hall, "Tune-Book in American Culture."

⁹ Nicholas E. Tawa, *From Psalm to Symphony: A History of Music in New England* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001), 23-99; John Bealle, *Public*

Although such scholarship sheds light on the composers, collections, and circumstances of early American hymnody, the textual repertoire of this era has attracted less attention. Exceptions include Kay Norton's study of *Mercer's Cluster* and Richard H. Hulan's essay on hymn texts of the Second Great Awakening.¹⁰

The subject of secular music in tunebooks remains yet more obscure. Much of the mention made of interaction between secular and sacred music during this time period has centered on the use of sacred pieces outside of public worship. For example, Karl Kroeger writes of one tunebook:

The Worcester Collection [...] was designed to provide appropriate tunes and texts for nearly all religious occasions. These occasions, as we have seen, include not only regular church services, but also special occasions, for in the early years of the United States there was rarely a purely secular public occasion. Prayers and hymns were as much a part of a Fourth of July Celebration as they were part of the Sunday church service. It was the place of *The Worcester Collection* and similar tunebooks to provide for all of these occasions.¹¹

Worship, Private Faith: Sacred Harp and American Folksong (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 1-84.

¹⁰ Kay Norton, *Baptist Offspring, Southern Midwife—Jesse Mercer's Cluster of Spiritual Songs (1810): A Study in American Hymnody* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2002); Richard H. Hulan, "Frontiers of the American Hymn," in *The Makers of the Sacred Harp*, David Warren Steel (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 57-69.

¹¹ Karl Douglas Kroeger, "The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony and Sacred Music in America, 186-1803" (PhD dissertation, Brown University, 1977), 492.

Similarly, Irving Lowens notes of church music in eighteenth-century New England:

We do not usually think of church song in this way, as a religious music fulfilling many of the functions of secular song as well. Nevertheless, this is the truth of the matter, and the peculiar sacred-secular nature of early American psalmody can be fully grasped only within the context of the society of which it was an integral part. [...] This was a time when psalm- and hymn-tunes grew out of the same creative instinct that produces folk-music, when secular folk-songs and folk-dances became psalm and hymn-tunes.¹²

The adaptation of secular music to sacred texts has received considerable scholarly attention, although most studies of tunebook literature omit mention of any purely secular texts.¹³ Those that do acknowledge the subject have not addressed it in appreciable depth.¹⁴ In the conclusion to his study of *The Worcester Collection*, Karl Kroeger gives extensive consideration to pieces of a secular musical character, writing of

¹² Irving Lowens, "The American Tradition of Church Song," in *Music and Musicians in Early America*, 280-281.

¹³ The importance of such Christianized tunes received notice as early as George Pullen Jackson, "The Carnal Lover is Plundered of His Tunes," in *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands: The Story of the Fiddle Folk, Their Songs, Singings, and 'Buckwheat Notes'* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933), 65-76. A representative consideration of the subject in the context of a single tunebook is David Klocko, introduction to *Christian Harmony*, Jeremiah Ingalls (New York: Da Capo Press, 1981), pp. VIII-X.

¹⁴ For example, Charles Ellington's analysis of texts in the first edition of White and King's *Sacred Harp* notes songs on patriotic, musical, and Masonic subjects in passing; see Charles Linwood Ellington, "The Sacred Harp Tradition of the South: Its Origin and Evolution" (PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 1970), 76.

a Watts hymn, “The secular nature of the text, supported by a clearly theatrical musical setting, is undeniable. Yet the source of the text—the second chapter of the Songs of Solomon—secured its unquestioned entry into the church, where it was apparently quite popular.”¹⁵ Nonetheless, Kroeger does not remark on any wholly secular texts in *Worcester Collection*. Most mentions of secular music in the tunebook repertoire are similarly brief, making the need for research in this area evident.

Dispersed-Harmonic and Reform Music: History

Dispersed harmony and reform music were the most prominent styles in English-language American tunebooks during the period encompassed by this study. While dispersed harmony was already well-established, with roots extending back into the seventeenth century, the reform movement arose in the early 1820s and rapidly gained influence, particularly in the urban Northeast. The sharply defined ideologies of the reform movement were supported by changing ideas about music education and a desire for American church music to more closely resemble its continental European analogues. Meanwhile, Anglo-American dispersed harmony, considered unsophisticated and unscientific by the reformers, was increasingly relegated to the rural South and West.

¹⁵ Kroeger, “Worcester Collection,” 554-555. The text in question is “The voice of my beloved sounds,” a text also mentioned by Rogers. Kroeger lists four other pieces he considers to display “a decided secular flavor in both text and music,” none of which would be considered secular by the definition used in the present study: “There is a land of pure delight,” “Now shall my inward joys arise,” “Let the high heav’ns your songs invite,” and “Now shall my head be lifted high.” A similar passage may be found in Samuel Kirby Rogers, “The Social and Pedagogical Function of *The Worcester Collection*, *The Village Harmony* and *The Easy Instructor* in the Early-American Singing School” (PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 1969), 186.

This geographical and ideological division between the two styles was reinforced by their more fundamental musical differences.

On the opening of pages 60 and 61 of Allen D. Carden's *Missouri Harmony* (1834), four hymns appear (Exx. 1-2).¹⁶ The pieces on page 61, "Portugal" and "Pleyel's Hymn," seem to adhere to the standards of common practice part-writing: they are homophonic, are written in four parts, use functional tonal harmonies, and have regular phrase structures built on groupings of four bars. The melodies are reminiscent of those of the *style galant*, perhaps recalling the works of such composers as Thomas Augustus Arne or William Boyce. In both, dissonances are systematically approached and resolved, with the exception of the downbeat of m. 3 of "Portugal," which could be corrected by the substitution of *c* for *b* in the bass and is likely a simple misprint.¹⁷ "Pleyel's Hymn" carefully avoids parallel perfections.¹⁸ Overall, these tunes correspond with the familiar chorale style now taught in music schools and that still predominates in many Protestant hymnals.

¹⁶ Allen D. Carden, *The Missouri Harmony* (Cincinnati: Morgan and Sanxay, 1834). Carden's tunebook includes no attributions. However, "Portugal" is attributed to "Thorley" in *Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music* (1822). "Pleyel's Hymn" is an arrangement, most likely by Lowell Mason, of the theme of the second movement of Ignaz Josef Pleyel's string quartet B.349 (op. 7, no. 4, 1791). Note that, throughout *Missouri Harmony*, the melodies appear in the tenor, the third staff from the top.

¹⁷ The correct sounding octave of tenor and treble parts in this repertoire is a complex issue, and one that remains little understood. As a matter of convenience, I refer to all pitches as they are notated, regardless of possible octave transpositions.

¹⁸ There are several parallel perfections in "Portugal," mostly involving the alto; this may suggest that the tune was copied from a three-voice version and that Carden or another associate untrained in the reform style added the remaining part. This hypothesis is supported by the version of "Portugal" that appears in the appendix of the 1854 edition of William Walker's *Southern Harmony*; it has only three voices, but the bassline is identical to that in *Missouri Harmony*.

Example 1: "The Leperous Jew" and "Bourbon."¹⁹

60

THE LEPEROUS JEW.

Behold the lep'rous Jew, Oppress'd with pain and grief, Pouring his tears at Jesus' feet, For pity, &c. For pity, &c.

O speak the word he cries,
Compassion moves his heart,
To thee, dear Lord, I look,
But thy Almighty grace,
Can heal my lep'rous soul;

And heal me of my pain;
He speaks the gracious word:
Sick of a worse disease;
O bathe me in thy precious blood,

To make a leper clean,
And all his sicknesses cur'd,
And none can give me ease,
And that will make me whole.

BOURBON. L. M.

'Twas on that dark, that doleful night, When pow'rs of earth and hell arose Against the son of God's delight, And friends betray'd him to his foes.

Before the mournful scene began, He took the bread and bless'd and brake; What love through all his actions ran! What wondrous words of grace he spake.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. It features two main sections of music. The first section, titled 'THE LEPEROUS JEW.', consists of three staves of music with lyrics written below. The second section, titled 'BOURBON. L. M.', also consists of three staves of music with lyrics. The notation includes treble clefs, a 6/8 time signature, and various musical symbols like notes, rests, and slurs. The paper shows signs of age, including some staining and a slightly yellowed tone.

¹⁹ Carden, *Missouri Harmony*, 60.

Example 2: "Portugal" and "Pleyel's Hymn."²⁰

61

PORTUGAL. L. M.

Slow.

Praise to the Lord of hostiles night, With uncreat- ed glories bright; His pres- ence fills the world above, Thy eternal source of light and love.

PLEYEL'S HYMN. L. M.

Very Slow.

So fades the lovely bloom- ing flow- er, Frail smiling solace of an hour, So soon our transient comforts fly, And pleasure only blooms to die.

The image shows a page of a music book with two hymns. The first hymn, 'PORTUGAL. L. M.', is marked 'Slow' and features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'Praise to the Lord of hostiles night, With uncreat- ed glories bright; His pres- ence fills the world above, Thy eternal source of light and love.' The second hymn, 'PLEYEL'S HYMN. L. M.', is marked 'Very Slow' and also features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'So fades the lovely bloom- ing flow- er, Frail smiling solace of an hour, So soon our transient comforts fly, And pleasure only blooms to die.' The page number '61' is in the top left corner.

²⁰ Carden, *Missouri Harmony*, 61.

“The Leperous Jew” [*sic*] and “Bourbon,” on page 60, are very different. They are written in only three voices, each of which is independent. The harmonies are not functional, but the incidental result of the combination of those voices; in most instances, the seventh scale degree is not raised and all dominant harmonies are minor, further contributing to a dissolution of the harmonic relationships so central to “Portugal” and “Pleyel’s Hymn.” Parallel fifths and octaves abound, even extending to parallel root-position triads in m. 5 of “The Leperous Jew.” The dissonance treatment is unsystematic and at times puzzling. “Bourbon” has some particularly odd dissonant sonorities, including those on the second half-note beats of m. 2 (*a, b’, d’’*), m. 6 (*g, a’, c’’* and *e, g’, d’’*) and m. 9 (*a, b’, e’’*), none of which would be acceptable in common practice. The same piece also includes such unusual cross-relations as the *g#’* against *f* in m. 3 and the *g#’* against *g* in m. 13. These result because the seventh is consistently raised in the tenor voice, but not in the other two parts; although the use of the seventh is consistent within each melody, the three are combined with apparent indifference to the harmonic result. Whether or not this surprising dissonance would have been corrected in performance, it still points to an essentially horizontal conception of music. Nor are the grouping structures regular. Some of the phrases of “The Leperous Jew” have pickups, while others do not; each phrase in “Bourbon” is three and a half bars long. These tunes contrast with the following two harmonically, melodically, and structurally; “The Leperous Jew” and “Bourbon” seem to exist in a different musical world than “Portugal” and “Pleyel’s Hymn.”

These hymns reflect two types of part-writing used in nineteenth-century American tunebooks: dispersed-harmonic and reform. The term “dispersed harmony”—

used in nineteenth-century music theory to describe music in the upper voices did not lie within the compass of an octave—was applied by later tunebook compilers to describe the part-writing of their collections, particularly in regard to its wide spacing and frequent use of voice crossings.²¹ I use the term to encompass any pieces or collections exhibiting these musical characteristics, regardless of the time or place in which they appeared. Dispersed harmony arose in England *circa* 1700. Previously, most English psalters had been either wholly monophonic or else employed elaborate contrapuntal settings. For instance, Thomas Este’s *Whole Book of Psalmes* (1592) and Thomas Ravenscroft’s *Whole Book of Psalmes* (1621) include psalm settings that are essentially short motets; the latter was used, although probably only in private settings, in British North America.²² Dispersed harmony served as a midpoint between these two extremes of monophony and complex polyphony, probably to provide contrapuntal settings that were still simple enough to be sung by amateurs. This new style was nurtured primarily in rural England, where few parishes had organs to assist congregational singing. The prominent linear counterpoint that typifies dispersed harmony invites comparison to much

²¹ For example, Paine Denson’s theoretical introduction to an early-twentieth-century revision of B. F. White and E. J. King’s *Sacred Harp* states, “The harmony used in this Revision of the Original Sacred Harp is dispersed or free moving harmony[.]” *Original Sacred Harp (Denson Revision): The Best Collection of Sacred Songs, Hymns, Odes and Anthems, Ever Offered the Singing Public for General Use*, ed. T. J. Denson et. al. (Haleyville: Sacred Harp Publishing Company, 1936), 21. For a consideration of the term, see Wallace McKenzie, “The Alto Parts in the ‘True Dispersed Harmony’ of *The Sacred Harp*,” *Musical Quarterly* 73, no. 2 (1989): 157-160.

²² Ravenscroft’s *Psalmes* and Richard Allison’s *Psalmes of David* (1599) are listed among the belongings of some seventeenth-century colonists; see Irving Lowens, “The Bay Psalm Book in 17th-Century New England” in Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America*. Ravenscroft’s psalter was still known, at least by reputation, to Samuel Wakefield, who discusses it at some length in his survey of the history of psalmody; see Samuel Wakefield, *The Western Harp* (Pittsburg: Charles H. Kay, 1848), 4.

seventeenth-century English music, which often includes unorthodox resolutions of dissonances while maintaining independence of line, for instance in Henry Purcell's anthems.²³ Soon English dispersed-harmonic collections included newly-written pieces as well as arrangements of traditional psalm tunes.

The tunebooks of such English composer-compilers as William Tans'ur, Aaron Williams, and William Knapp were imported into British North America, and some Americans compiled and published collections of English music. Pennsylvanian James Lyons's *Urania* (1761) includes the first dispersed-harmonic pieces known to have been written in British North America, including "The 8th Psalm Tune" and "An Anthem Taken from the 150th Psalm."²⁴ Tunebooks including or devoted to newly-written music by American composers, mostly in the dispersed-harmonic style, became increasingly common between 1770 and 1800. These composers, sometimes termed the First New England School, included William Billings, Daniel Read, Abraham Maxim, and Justin Morgan.

Most American dispersed-harmonic composers of this period worked in New England; Boston quickly established itself as a center of tunebook publication. This situation would change in the early nineteenth century, when dispersed harmony began to shift towards more rural areas in the southern and western states. At this point American tunebooks lost most of their links to the earlier British repertoire, and felt increasing

²³ For discussion of Purcell's anthems, see Eric van Tassel, "Music for the Church," in *The Purcell Companion*, ed. Michael Burden (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1994), 115-142 (189); mention of representative uses of dissonance may be found on pp. 116, 175, and 185-186.

²⁴ See Nicholas Temperley, "First Forty: The Earliest American Compositions." *American Music* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 1-25.

influence from folk hymnody.²⁵ Composers also began to arrange and imitate revival hymns produced by the nascent camp meeting movement.²⁶ Some of the later dispersed-harmonic collections to be published in the North, such as Jeremiah Ingalls's *Christian Harmony* (1805, Vermont) and John Wyeth's *Wyeth's Repository, Part Second* (1813, Pennsylvania) prefigure the prominence folk hymnody would have in the later Southern repertoire.

There had always been resistance to dispersed harmony; at first, many churchgoers objected to the desertion of monophonic psalmody.²⁷ Roughly concurrent with the southward migration of the dispersed-harmonic collections, however, a movement aiming to bring church music closer to its conditions in Europe arose. Some composers of psalmody at the turn of the century—most notably Andrew Law, Oliver Holden, and Samuel Holyoke—compiled tunebooks closely allied to European models; their influences were preponderantly English.²⁸ With the publication of *The Handel and*

²⁵ Folk hymnody refers to a body of music that developed within the oral tradition and began to be transcribed around 1800, consisting mostly of religious texts sung to folk tunes.

²⁶ See Bruce Dickson, Jr., *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974) and, for a more select case study, Terry D. Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore* (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 1986). For a study of hymnody in the Second Great Awakening, see Paul Garnet Hammond, "Music in Urban Revivalism in the Northern United States, 1800-1835," DMA dissertation (Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1974).

²⁷ Bealle, *Public Worship, Private Faith*, 8-11.

²⁸ For further information see Richard Crawford, *Andrew Law: American Psalmist* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968) and J. Lawrence Willhide, *Samuel Holyoke: American Music Educator* (dissertation, University of Southern California, 1954).

Haydn Society Collection of Church Music (1822), which drew primarily on German exemplars, the reform movement coalesced in the urban Northeast. The compiler of this collection, Lowell Mason, would become a powerful advocate for the faction, along with others including Thomas Hastings and William B. Bradbury.²⁹ Early reform collections in particular relied on arrangements of oratorio excerpts, songs, and instrumental music of well-known European composers, a practice introduced earlier in Britain through William Gardiner's *Sacred Melodies* (1812). For instance, the reform tune "Westborough" is a version of Haydn's song *Gott, erhalte den Kaiser* adapted as a four-part chorale.³⁰

The reform movement presented ideological as well as aesthetic objections to dispersed harmony. Their aim was to establish conclusively correct standards for church music; as Lowell Mason and George James Webb wrote in *Cantica Laudis* (1850), "The laws of taste as certainly exist in nature as the laws of mathematics, though they may not

²⁹ See J. E. Dooley, *Thomas Hastings: American Church Musician* (dissertation, Florida State University, 1963) and A. B. Wingard, *The Life and Works of William Batchelder Bradbury* (dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1973).

³⁰ Lowell Mason, ed. George K. Jackson, *The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music* (Boston: Richardson and Lord, 1822), 183. The same tune remains widely in use in Protestant hymnals under the name "Austria," often setting the John Newton text "Glorious things of thee are spoken." Two important reform compilers describe this adaptive process in Lowell Mason and George James Webb, *Cantica Laudis, or the American Book of Church Music* (New York: Mason & Law, 1850), [3]: "The tunes frequently found in church music-books, attributed to the great musicians, as Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and others, were not, *as tunes*, composed by those whose names they bear, for these authors did not compose psalm and hymn tunes; but, in almost all cases where the names of this class of writers are found attached to tunes, the fact is, that the leading subject, or principal musical idea, has been selected from some of their productions, and has been worked out, composed, or *put together in a tune form*, by other and inferior hands."

be so easily discoverable.”³¹ In their view, European and especially German music was “scientific,” so harmonizations using common practice part-writing were “correct” while other arrangements, including dispersed harmony, were “incorrect.” Because of this, reform collections rarely include the folk and revival hymns common in later dispersed-harmonic tunebooks. The reformers considered dispersed harmony insufficiently reverent and protested that the imitative fusing tunes common in the New England repertoire obscured the texts and emphasized musical ingenuity over devotional spirit: “[such] tunes were admired in proportion to [...] the wonderment with which the different parts were introduced, twisted about, entangled, bewildered, evolved, and at length brought out in safety.”³² They also advocated pedagogical methods modeled on Pestalozzian ideas; unlike earlier singing schools, these promoted the systematized teaching of music to young children in public schools.³³ Reform music was widely disseminated and

³¹ Mason and Webb, *Cantica Laudis*, 4.

³² Lowell Mason and George James Webb, *The National Psalmist: A Collection of the Most Popular and Useful Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (Boston: Tappan, Whittemore, and Mason, 1848), 2. The fusing tune is a subtype of psalm or hymn tune involving textual overlap; the most common variety opens with a repeated homorhythmic section and then proceeds to a group of contrapuntal entries in loose imitation, closing again with homophony. Fusing tunes would remain popular in the dispersed-harmonic repertoire through the nineteenth century and continue in use in the Sacred Harp tradition. See Irving Lowens, “The Origins of the American Fusing-Tune,” in Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1964), 237-248; Nicholas Temperley, “The Origins of the Fusing Tune,” in *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 17 (1981): 1-32.

³³ The Swiss pedagogue Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) developed educational methods that were soon applied to music education in German-speaking Europe by such figures as Michael Traugott Pfeiffer and Hans Georg Nägeli. Pestalozzi emphasized the division of complex subjects into simpler elements that could be studied separately. Pfeiffer’s methods, which had the most direct influence on American practice, introduced sounds to students before their musical equivalents and divided music into the study of rhythm, melody, and dynamics. Elam Ives, Jr., William Woodbridge, and Lowell

occasionally appears in dispersed-harmonic tunebooks; dispersed-harmonic music is found in reform collections only in expurgated versions.

Dispersed harmony enjoyed a limited revival in the Northeast around mid-century. Choirs such as Father Kemp's Company, whose collections continued in print at least as late as 1895, encouraged this trend by performing music of the First New England School for Northern audiences. While this renewed interest seems to have been largely antiquarian or nostalgic and probably had little effect on congregational song, some tunebooks compiled by Northerners in this era again anthologize dispersed-harmonic pieces, including D. H. Mansfield's *American Vocalist* (1849) and *Ancient Harmony Revived* (1850).

Both styles continue in modern use. Dispersed harmony survived in the rural South, where amateurs continued to sing for generations from William Walker's *Southern Harmony* (1835) and B. F. White and E. J. King's *Sacred Harp* (1844). In more recent years, Sacred Harp singing has spread across the country, and some singers have revived the use of other dispersed-harmonic tunebooks. New dispersed-harmonic music continues to be written and published. The reform movement petered out in the late nineteenth century, at once absorbed and supplanted by religious music stylistically closer to popular song, such as the gospel hymns of Ira D. Sankey and Fanny Crosby. Nonetheless, common practice part-writing remained standard in most American hymnals and, although increasingly perpetuated through public school music curricula rather than congregational song, German influences would continue to dominate American art music

Mason were the main early advocates of Pestalozzian methods in America. For a history of Pestalozzian music education in nineteenth-century America, see Michael L. Mark and Charles L. Gary, *A History of American Music Education* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Education, 2007), 123-154.

throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. The tunes of the reform movement have fared better than its ideologies; many hymns written or first introduced to an American audience by the reformers continue to appear in Protestant hymnals, such as Lowell Mason's "Bethany" ("Nearer, My God, to Thee") or Thomas Hastings's "Toplady" ("Rock of Ages, Cleft for Me").

Dispersed-Harmonic and Reform Music: Musical Characteristics

The clearest musical differences between reform and dispersed-harmonic part-writing are harmonic. Reform composers carefully prepare and resolve dissonances; the introduction to the reform tunebook *Evangelical Musick* (1839) explains, "Discords are sometimes admissible in musical composition. When they precede perfect chords, they greatly increase their power and beauty, but they should be seldom used."³⁴ Employment of dissonance in dispersed harmony is relatively free, and dispersed-harmonic composers write parallel perfections without hesitation. Suspensions are notably absent from the dispersed-harmonic idiom. Similarly, reform music relies on the conventional I[♯]-V⁷-I cadential progression resolving to a root-position triad.³⁵ Dispersed-harmonic cadences rarely include dominant seventh chords, often have 4-1 or 6-1 melodic motion, and may resolve to the tonic in first or even second inversion. Reform composers favor full triads,

³⁴ J. H. Hickok and George Fleming, *Evangelical Musick; or, The Sacred Minstrel and Sacred Harp United* (Philadelphia: J. Whetham, 1839), XIII.

³⁵ *Evangelical Musick* includes an outline of chordal function that indicates the importance of cadential patterns in reform music: "The first note in the Scale, is the *Key-note* or *Tonick*. It determines the pitch of the scale, and is the basis on which all the other notes rest, and from which they are reckoned. [...] The *Dominant* is the fifth note of the scale; so called from its importance and immediate connexion [sic] with the Tonick. [...] The seventh note is called the *Subtonick* or *leading note*. This is always the sharpened seventh of the scale, and, when heard, seems to point to the eighth or Octave." Ibid., XIV.

while writers of dispersed harmony frequently use open perfections, especially at cadential arrivals. The theoretical introduction of *Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music* (1826) points toward a rationale for this practice by stating, "The Third and Sixth are called *imperfect*; their chords being not so full nor so agreeable to the ear as the *perfect*[".]"³⁶

Reform music is more firmly rooted in the tonal system than is dispersed harmony, often featuring ornamental chromaticism or brief tonicizations of closely-related key areas. Wholesale modulations may appear in longer pieces, such as anthems. Dispersed harmony rarely includes tonicizations or much chromaticism, although there are exceptions.³⁷ The majority of reform pieces are in major; *Evangelical Musick* even states, "The Minor Key is considered imperfect[".]"³⁸ Those minor tunes that do appear in reform tunebooks are consistently in the melodic form of the mode. Dispersed harmony uses major and minor in roughly equal proportion and also incorporates natural minor, modal collections, and gapped scales. The use of the minor dominant chord is widespread. Some dispersed-harmonic music has ambiguous third, sixth, or seventh scale degrees, probably reflecting influences from folk hymnody.

³⁶ John Wyeth, *Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music* (Harrisburg: John Wyeth, 1826), xiv. The same statement is copied in William Walker, *The Southern Harmony and Musical Companion* (Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., 1844), xviii.

³⁷ For instance, Abraham Wood's fusing tune "Fitchburg" begins in C major and modulates to A minor before returning to C major for the imitative section; see Joseph Stone and Abraham Wood, *The Columbian Harmony* (no publisher listed, 1793), 6-7.

³⁸ Hickok and Fleming, *Evangelical Musick*, XV, footnote 3.

There are pronounced textural differences between the two styles. Reform hymnody is homophonic, and—for the sake of textual clarity—typically homorhythmic or nearly so. The melody is clearly dominant and usually lies in the treble or soprano. In dispersed harmony the melody is in the tenor almost without exception, a feature derived from earlier Anglo-American psalmody. Nonetheless, all voices except the counter (*i.e.*, alto) are independent. In *Missouri Harmony* (1834), Allen D. Carden advises students to sing all the different parts so that they will better understand harmony, which he defines as “a knowledge of the connection of the counterparts,” exhibiting an essentially contrapuntal conception.³⁹ Reform music is almost always written in four parts, while dispersed harmony may be in four, three, or two.⁴⁰ Dispersed-harmonic phrase grouping patterns are often asymmetrical, in contrast to the periodic phrases typical of reform music.

Finally, reform and dispersed-harmonic music differ in appearance and terminology. By the period examined here, most dispersed-harmonic tunebooks were printed in shape notes and most reform collections in round notes, although there are exceptions on both sides.⁴¹ Reform music employs a wide range of keys. More than three

³⁹ Carden, *Missouri Harmony*, 11.

⁴⁰ Pieces written for children’s, women’s, or men’s chorus provide an exception within the reform movement, as they often appear in only three parts. The bulk of tunebook selections are intended for mixed chorus, however.

⁴¹ Shape note systems, in which each solmization syllable is associated with a shape of notehead, arose at the end of the eighteenth century. Many reformers thought the notation precluded true command of sight-singing, but some reform tunebooks do employ shape notes. For instance, Hickok and Fleming’s *Evangelical Musick; or, The Sacred Minstrel and Sacred Harp United* (1839) is a reform tunebook printed in shape notes; although compiled in Pennsylvania, it was sold by publishers as far south as Mississippi.

sharps or flats in the signature is rare—though possible—in dispersed harmony. One potential explanation is that the tuning systems used in each style may have differed; reform hymnody, with its more frequent involvement of instrumental accompaniment, might have had had a closer connection to equal temperament.⁴² Due to the degree of rhythmic independence in the parts, each voice in a dispersed-harmonic collection must have its own stave, but the more homorhythmic reform repertoire may be written with four voices in only two or three staves. Dispersed harmony rarely includes written-out instrumental parts, although instruments may certainly have doubled the voices.⁴³ Many reform tunebooks incorporate figured bass, and some have realized keyboard parts written in smaller notes on the bass and treble staves, especially in longer and more elaborate pieces. The theoretical introductions of dispersed-harmonic tunebooks use the British four-note solfège system and names for rhythmic values (*e.g.*, crotchet, quaver); reform tunebooks usually use seven syllables and German-influenced fractional names for rhythmic values (*e.g.*, quarter note, eighth note).

⁴² Whether by accident or design, it appears that singers of dispersed harmony sang in an unequal temperament; for example, John Wyeth states that “A distinction should always be made between the two sounds of *B-me* and *C-fa*. Many are apt to strike *B-me* as high as *C-fa* in sharp-keyed tunes, which injures the composition.” In other words, the leading tone was being sung only incrementally lower than the tonic in major pieces. See Wyeth, *Repository of Sacred Music*, vii.

⁴³ Only one of the tunebooks selected mentions the possibility of instrumental doubling of the bassline: “Where this is not practicable, a Bass Viol would be of great service if it be judiciously played. It serves another valuable purpose, also, by keeping the voices on their original pitch, as well as by giving them the proper key, and preserving a perfect and uniform tone.” John Rothbaust, *The Franklin Harmony and Easy Instructor in Vocal Music: Second and Improved Edition of English and German Church Tunes* (Chambersburg: Henry Ruby, 1830), iv.

Example 3: King, "Sophronia."⁴⁴

SOPHRONIA; 10, 8, 10, 8. King.

136
Andante, Doloroso.

Forbear, my friends, forbear and ask no more, Where all my cheerful airs are fled; Why will you make me talk my

torments o'er! My life, my joy, my com-fort's dead.

2 Deep from my soul, mark how the sob's arise,
Hear the long groans that waste my breath,
And reel the mighty sorrow in my eyes,
Lovely Sophronia sleeps in death.

3 Grace is a sacred plant of heavenly birth,
The seed descending from above,
Roots in a soil refined, grows high on earth,
And blooms with life, with joy, and love,
(voice,

4 Peace, peace, my sorrows! nor, with murmuring
Dare to accuse heaven's high decree,
She was first ripe for everlasting joys,
Sophronia waits above for thee.

⁴⁴ Wakefield, *Western Harp*, 136.

Some examples will help illustrate characteristics of dispersed-harmonic music, the less-familiar style to modern ears. King's "Sophronia" is printed in shape notes (Ex. 3). There are three parts, each of which has its own staff; from top to bottom they are treble, tenor (the melody), and bass. The phrase structure is slightly uneven (3.5+3+3.5+3.5). Most of the sonorities in the piece lack either a third or fifth; the opening chord, the cadential arrivals in mm. 3 and 5, and the final two chords are all open fifths. The piece is in E natural minor; since the seventh degree is never raised throughout, all of the dominant harmonies are minor. The harmonic progressions make little functional sense; the $bVII^6-VI^6$ progression going into m. 2 when the ear expects $V^{\sharp 4}-I$ is particularly striking. The cadences are also unusual. The one in m. 6 resolves to an open fourth on B and E, suggesting a $i^{\sharp 4}$ chord missing its third. The downbeat of m. 10 appears to be a cadential arrival: it has a fermata, is followed by a rest, and concludes the first textual phrase. The underlying progression, however, appears to be either $ii^{\circ}-I$ or $bVII-I$ with a missing root. While the final cadence can be construed as a form of $i^{\sharp 4}-V-I$ progression, the initial tonic lacks a root, the dominant lacks both third and seventh, and the melody remains on the fifth scale degree instead of resolving to the first.

Unlike the tonally static "Sophronia," "Hermit" moves to the relative major (Ex. 4).⁴⁵ Instead of modulating to F major for a middle section and returning to D minor, as one might expect, the piece toggles frequently between the two; five of the cadences are in D (mm. 4, 8, 16, 24, and 32—including two half cadences), three in F (mm. 11, 21, and 28—one an unusual half cadence). These frequent changes of tonal center make progressions such as that in mm. 21-22 yet more ambiguous; neither $V-iii^6-vi$ in F major

⁴⁵ Carden, *Missouri Harmony*, 127. The tunebook offers no attribution.

nor bVII-v⁶-I in D minor is a convincing functional progression. Nor is the mode entirely clear, since the seventh and sixth scale degrees are sometimes but not consistently raised. This ambivalence of leading tone causes several cross relations between C and C-sharp, for example in bass and treble in mm. 3-4, within the treble line in mm. 15-16, or in tenor and treble in m. 16. Other aspects that would likely be omitted in a reform piece include the parallel fourths in tenor and treble in the upbeat to m. 14, and the unison in all three voices during the middle of a phrase in m. 17. Most interesting is the sonority on the last quarter note of m. 6: *Bb*, *d'*, and *b'*. This unusual dissonance, which resolves to an A minor triad, results from the independence of line central to dispersed harmony. The bass and tenor are clearly in D minor at this point, but when taken out of context the treble suggests F major, especially in light of the *b'* leading to *c''* on the downbeat of m. 7. The dissonance results when the *b'* and *Bb* in these goal-driven treble and bass voices coincide. The same dissonance suggests that “Hermit” may have been successively composed; perhaps the tenor and bass were copied from another source and the arranger supplied a new treble.

Matilda T. Durham’s “Star of Columbia” (Exx. 5-6) also has a profusion of parallel octaves, fourths, and fifths, including several sections in which all three voices are in parallel octaves (mm. 7-9, 15-16, 25-26, and 32-33). The grouping structure (8+8+9+8) is slightly unbalanced due to an unexpected rest introduced between the two strains. More importantly, “Star of Columbia” illustrates the use of unconventional scales in dispersed harmony. Although not strictly pentatonic, there are clear presentations of gapped scales (*e.g.*, tenor, m. 5 and elsewhere) and Bs and Fs appear only rarely.

Example 4: "Hermit."⁴⁶

HERMIT. 11s. 127

The image shows a page of a musical score for a piece titled "HERMIT. 11s." with the number "127" in the top right corner. The score is written on ten staves, with the first two staves in the upper system and the remaining eight in the lower system. The music is in a single melodic line, likely for a voice or a single instrument. The lyrics are written below the notes. The score includes various musical notations such as treble clefs, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a time signature of 4/4. There are several measures of rests and some notes with slurs. The lyrics are: "Tis night and the landscape is lovely no more, / For morn is approaching your charms to restore, / I mourn, but ye woodlands I mourn not for you, / Perfum'd with fresh fragrance and / Nor yet the ravage of winter I mourn, Kind nature the embryo blossoms shall save; / O when shall it dawn on the night of the grave, / But when shall spring visit the mouldering urn, / Glistening with dew;"

Tis night and the landscape is lovely no more,
For morn is approaching your charms to restore,
I mourn, but ye woodlands I mourn not for you,
Perfum'd with fresh fragrance and
Nor yet the ravage of winter I mourn, Kind nature the embryo blossoms shall save;
O when shall it dawn on the night of the grave,
But when shall spring visit the mouldering urn,
Glistening with dew;

⁴⁶ Carden, *Missouri Harmony*, 127.

Example 5: M. T. Durham, "Star of Columbia."⁴⁷

228

STAR OF COLUMBIA. 11's. Miss M. T. Durham. Words by Dr. Dwight.

1 Co - lum-bia! Co - lum-bia! to glo - ry a - rise, The queen of the world, and the child of the skies, Thy ge - nius com - mands thee, with

2 To con - quest and slaugh - ter let Eu - rope as - pire, Whelm na - tions in blood, or wrap ci - ties in fire; Thy he - roes the rights of man -

rap - tures be - hold, While a - ges on a - ges thy splen - dours un - fold: Thy reign is the last and the no - blest of times, Most

kind shall de - fend, And tri - umph pur - sue them and glo - ry at - tend. A world is thy realm, for a world be thy laws, Ea -

⁴⁷ Walker, *Southern Harmony*, 228.

Example 6: M. T. Durham, "Star of Columbia," concluded.⁴⁸

STAR OF COLUMBIA. *Concluded.*

229

frok - ful thy soil, most in - viding thy clime; Let crimes of the east ne'er en - crim - son thy name, Be free-dorn, and sci-ence, and vir-tue thy fame.
 larged as thy em-pire, and just as thy cause; On free-dom's broad ba-sis that em-pire shall rise, Ex - tend with the main, and dis-solve with the skies.

3 Fair science her path to thy sons shall unbar,
 And the east see thy merit bide the beams of her star;
 New lands and new ages unrival'd shall soar
 To fame unextinguish'd, when time is no more.
 To the last refuge of virtue design'd,
 Shall fly from all nations, the best of mankind,
 There, grateful to Heaven, with transport shall bring
 Their incense, more fragrant than odours of spring.

4 Nor less shall thy fair oasis to glory ascend,
 And genius and beauty in harmony blend;
 Their graces of form shall awake pure desire,
 And the charms of the soul still enliven the firm;
 Their sweetness unmingled, their manners refined,
 And virtue's bright image enstamp'd on the mind;
 With peace and sweet rapture shall teach life to glow
 And light up a smile in the aspect of wo.

5 Thy fleets to all regions thy power shall display
 The nations admire, and the ocean obey;
 Each shore to thy glory its tribute unfold,
 And the east and the south yield their voices and gold,
 As the day-spring unbounded thy splendours shall flow,
 And earth's little kingdoms before thee shall bow,
 While the ensigns of union in triumph unfurl'd,
 Hush anarchy's sway, and give peace to the world.

6 Thus down a lone valley with cedars o'erspread,
 From the noise of the town I pensively stray'd,
 The bloom from the face of fair heaven retir'd,
 The wild cease'd to murmur, the thunders expired;
 Perumes, as of Eden, flow'd sweetly along,
 And a voice, as of angels, enchantingly sung,
 Columbia! Columbia! to glory arise,
 The queen of the world, and the child of the skies.

⁴⁸ Walker, *Southern Harmony*, 229.

Example 7: John Stevenson, "Legacy."⁴⁹

73

LEGACY. 8, 10.

When in death I shall calm recline,
Tell her it lived upon smiles and wine
Of the brightest hue, while it linger'd here.

O bear my heart to my mistress dear;
Bid her not shed one tear of sorrow,
To an - ly -

heart so bril - liant and light;
But balmy drops of the red grape borrow,
To bathe the re - lie from morn to night.

14

Detailed description: This is a page of a musical manuscript for the song "Legacy" by John Stevenson. The page is numbered 73 in the top left corner. The title "LEGACY. 8, 10." is printed in the upper left. The music is written on three systems of staves. The first system consists of three staves: a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat), a piano accompaniment line in treble clef, and a bass line in bass clef. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The second system continues the music and lyrics. The third system concludes the piece with a double bar line. The page number "14" is located at the bottom right of the musical notation.

⁴⁹ Walker, *Southern Harmony*, 73.

“Legacy,” (Ex. 7) which appears in William Walker’s *Southern Harmony* (1835), has a text by Thomas Moore; it was originally set to a folk tune arranged by Moore’s regular collaborator Sir John Stevenson.⁵⁰ In *Southern Harmony* the arranger has adopted only the melody of Moore’s song and supplied new treble and bass parts. Much as in “Star of Columbia,” there is an unexpected half bar of rest between the strains, which does not appear in Stevenson’s version.⁵¹ Again, there are many parallel perfections and open fifths. In several cases, all the voices are in unison in the middle of a phrase (mm. 3-4, 7, 10-11, 12-13). Unconventional dissonances tend to accumulate on the fifth eighth note of the bar, as between tenor and treble in m. 1, bass and treble in m. 2, or bass and treble in m. 11; none of them resolve regularly. Even more puzzling is the *g, c’* and *f’* sonority on the downbeat of m. 8. None of the cadences includes a dominant seventh chord, and each resolves to an open fifth (mm. 8, 9, 13). The apparent cadential arrival in m. 9, marked by a fermata, is supported by the progression iii-ii-iii—preceded by the curious *g, c’*, *f’*—and resolves to a ii chord lacking its third. Contrast between the progressions in this arrangement and Stevenson’s far more functional original reflect the striking differences between dispersed harmony and common practice part-writing.

⁵⁰ Walker, *Southern Harmony*, 73; the arranger of this version is not identified. The name of the Moore song is properly its incipit “When in Death I Shall Calm Recline;” “Legacy,” under which it appears in several dispersed-harmonic tunebooks, is apparently the name of the traditional tune to which Moore set his text. Thomas Moore was an Irish poet and musician best known for his *Irish Melodies* (1808-1834), mostly comprised of newly-written poetry set to folk melodies, which Sir John Stevenson arranged as parlor songs. Moore and Stevenson’s collaborations saw wide reprinting in the United States, and many remain well-known, such as “The Last Rose of Summer” or “The Minstrel Boy.”

⁵¹ John Stevenson and Thomas Moore, ed. J. W. Glover, *Irish Melodies with Symphonies and Accompaniments* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1859), 68-71.

The reformers did not simply discard older pieces and attempt to impose an entirely unfamiliar body of music on choirs and congregations. Instead, they sometimes adapted dispersed-harmonic tunes, rewriting their harmonies to align with common practice. Charles Zeuner went so far as to copyright the new harmonizations he wrote of familiar tunes.⁵² This process served to smooth the transition between the two styles, and has its roots very early in the history of the movement, beginning with the *Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection* (1822) itself:

The Society are fully aware of the cautious delicacy with which variations should be admitted in to tunes that by long use have become familiar, and by the power of association with holy purposes have been in some measure sanctified. They have been careful, therefore to retain in general, the airs of the several tunes unaltered; but as the longest usage cannot reconcile science and correct taste with false harmony, it has been found indispensably necessary to introduce changes into the accompanying parts. The leading part, however, being unaltered the change will not be such as to shock even the most accustomed ear; while the increased richness of the harmony cannot fail to increase the delight of every lover of Sacred Music.⁵³

⁵² Charles Zeuner, *The Ancient Lyre: a Collection of Old, New, and Original Church Music* (New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co., 1837), [2].

⁵³ Mason, *Handel and Haydn Society Collection*, v. Much later in his career, Mason would include John Dowland's setting of "French Tune" from Ravenscroft's *Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1621) in one of his tunebooks, with the note, "This copy of the Old Hundredth is not inserted here with the expectation that it will be used as a church tune; but rather as a historical curiosity. It may also have a tendency to check the cavillings of those who are ever complaining in alterations of old tunes; for who among them will wish to have this arrangement of the Old Hundredth again restored?" Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, [33], 49.

Example 8: Timothy Swan, "China," original version.⁵⁴

33

Lutestring. Continued.

While I with ear-ly hymns of joy, Pre-vent the day, I - rest the dawning day.

China, C. M.

Why should we murmur, de-part-ing from, O shake at death, as men, 'twere but the voice which Je-fu heard, To call them to his arms.

E

⁵⁴ Timothy Swan, *New England Harmony* (Northampton: Wright, 1801), 33.

Example 9: Timothy Swan, "China," first altered version.⁵⁵

94

ST. GEORGES, C. M.

Old Melody

1. See Is - rael's gen - the sheep - herd stands, With all en - gag - ing charms; Hark! how he calls the ten - der lambs, And folds them in his arms

2. "Permit them to ap - proach," he cries, "Nor scorn their hum - ble name; For 'twas to bless such souls as these The Lord of an - gels came"

MIZPEH, C. M.

Didactic style.

1. Let all the heathen writers join To form one per - feet book; Great God, if once compared with thine, How mean their writ - ings look.

2. Not the most perfect rules they gave Could show one sin for - given; Nor lead a step be - yond the grave; But thine conduct to leave.

CHINA, C. M.

SWAN. Second edition

1. Why do we mourn de - part - ing friends, Or shake at death's alarms? 'Tis but the voice that Je - sus sends, To call them to his arms to his arms

2. Why should we tremble to con - vey Their bod - ies to the tomb? 'Twas there the sleeping Sa - viour lay, And left a rich perfume.

* Excessively sung, in former times, at funerals. The original harmony was, of course, inimitable.

⁵⁵ Thomas Hastings and William B. Bradbury, *The New York Choralist* (New York: Mark H. Newman & Co., 1847), 94.

Because—as this quotation indicates—such revisions entailed correction only of the most objectionable features of a piece, reform adaptations of dispersed-harmonic tunes highlight the differences between the two styles. Timothy Swan’s “China” first appeared in the composer’s own dispersed-harmonic collection in 1801 (Ex. 8).⁵⁷ It was reprinted in *New York Choralist* (1847), a reform tunebook compiled by Thomas Hastings and William B. Bradbury (Ex. 9). In *New York Choralist*, “China” bears the note, “Extensively sung, in former times, at funerals. The original harmony, was, of course, inadmissible.”⁵⁸ In order to make the piece conform more closely to the reform style, the editor makes extensive changes, first relocating the melody from tenor to treble. The piece is transposed a whole step down from D to C major, perhaps to make the range of the melody more comfortable for women’s voices. The editor keeps the melody intact aside from some rhythmic alterations and also preserves the general contour of the bassline, changing it only when its harmonic implications proved irreconcilable with the

⁵⁷ For further consideration of this oft-reprinted tune, see Timothy Swan, *Psalmody and Secular Songs*, ed. Nym Cooke (Madison: A-R Editions, 1997), xlii-xlix.

⁵⁸ Another reform adaptation of the same tune (Ex. 10) appears in Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, 124. This version is entitled “China: American Tune,” a subtitle the editors reserve for originally dispersed-harmonic repertoire. It bears the footnote “A queer medley of a melody, a great favorite with many old persons.” The editors remark in their “Historical, Critical, Explanatory and Descriptive Remarks” on p. 33 that “This is one of the most extensively popular, well known [*sic*], and admired American tunes. We cannot commend it for symmetry, analogy, or anything like design in its composition. Like some of the Scotch or Irish tunes, its strangeness and wildness please.” Like Hastings and Bradbury, Mason and Webb transpose the tune downwards—this time to Bb—but retain Swan’s 3/2 time signature. The editor regularizes the rhythmic motives by replacing the pickup to the final bar with a second quarter-note triplet. Although the counterpoint and bassline are different than in Hastings’ and Bradbury’s version, both adaptations have remarkably similar harmonic progressions. On the other hand, a printing differing from Swan’s by only two notes appeared in Boston as late as 1850; see *Ancient Harmony Revived* (Boston: Perkins & Whipple, 1850), 89.

functional harmonies to which he adapts it. The remaining two voices, which in Swan's original would frequently cross the outer parts where the treble and tenor parts interchanged, are replaced wholesale. These new voices conform to common practice part-writing rules. There are also a few apparently cosmetic changes, such as the substitution of 3/4 for 3/2 and the elimination of a quarter-note triplet in m. 9.⁵⁹ Curiously, the editor retains Swan's choosing notes (*i.e.*, *divisi*) in the tenor in the second ending, using the upper voice in the first ending and the lower voice in the second ending, even though this causes the melody to conclude on the fifth scale degree. The editor introduces a functional harmonic progression confirmed by multiple V⁷-I cadences. This harmonic regularization is incomplete, however; the *New York Choralist* "China" still includes progressions that seem out-of-place in a reform piece, especially those that emphasize the submediant. For instance, the third strain of the edited version cadences on V as expected, but begins with a V-vi progression that must be wrenched suddenly back toward the dominant in time for the cadence. In Swan's version, the first line of text ends on a I chord; the *New York Choralist* version ends on V/vi, a more unlikely destination for a cadence, but one that better fits the melodic motion, an arpeggiation of vi.

As these analyses show, dispersed harmony is frequently at odds with common practice, and reformers managed to reconcile dispersed-harmonic music to their own standards only with difficulty. These musical dissimilarities are complemented by equally divergent approaches to secular music.

⁵⁹ In dispersed-harmonic music of this era, time signatures (or "moods of time") are correlated with tempo. Swan's own *New England Harmony* gives 3/2 as M.M. 60 and 3/4 as M.M. 90 (Swan, *New England Harmony*, vii). The reformers had abandoned this relationship during the 1830s, however, and the change to 3/4 would have had no effect on tempo from Hastings' and Bradbury's perspectives.

Tunebook Selection

This study is based on an examination of tunebooks in the Special Collections of Kenneth Spencer Research Library at the University of Kansas. The primary group of materials involved is the Carl N. and Dorothy H. Shull Collection of Hymnals and Music Books, which includes approximately 1,500 items from the early seventeenth through the mid-twentieth centuries. These collections embrace twenty-six English-language tunebooks published between 1820 and 1850, all of which represent reform or dispersed-harmonic types. These books form the basis of the present study.

Table 1. Reform tunebooks.

Date	Tunebook	Location	Pages	No. of secular pieces
1822	Mason, <i>Handel and Haydn Society Collection</i>	Boston, MA	230	6
1825	Reed, <i>Musical Monitor</i>	Ithaca, NY	246	3
1834	Mason and Mason, <i>Sacred Harp or Eclectic Harmony</i>	Cincinnati, OH	232	2
1837	Brown, <i>The Harmonist</i>	New York City, NY	384	1
1837	Smith, <i>Church Harmony</i>	Chambersburg, PA	296	4
1837	Zeuner, <i>Ancient Lyre</i>	New York City, NY	358	4
1839	<i>Boston Academy's Collection</i>	Boston, MA	357	3
1839	Hickok, <i>Evangelical Musick</i>	Philadelphia, PA	312	4
1841	Mason and Mason, <i>Sacred Harp or Beauties of Church Music</i>	Boston, MA	352	5
1847	Hastings and Bradbury, <i>New York Choralist</i>	New York City, NY	352	3
1847	White and Gould, <i>Modern Harp</i>	Boston, MA	342	8
1848	Mason and Webb, <i>National Psalmist</i>	Boston, MA	352	6
1850	Mason, <i>New Carmina Sacra</i>	Boston, MA	380	8
1850	Mason and Webb, <i>Cantica Laudis</i>	New York City, NY	384	5

Table 2. Dispersed-harmonic tunebooks.

Date	Tunebook	Location	Pages	No. of secular pieces
1821	St. John, <i>American Harmonist</i>	Harrisburg, PA	136	6
1826	Wyeth, <i>Wyeth's Repository</i>	Harrisburg, PA	144	5
1831	Rhinehart, <i>American or Union Harmonist</i>	Chambersburg, PA	146	3
1831	<i>Stoughton Collection</i>	Boston, MA	358	6
1832	Leavitt, <i>Christian Lyre</i>	New York City, NY	216	2
1834	Carden, <i>Missouri Harmony</i>	Nashville, TN	200	11
1844	Walker, <i>Southern Harmony</i>	Spartansburg, SC	232	20
1845	Steffy, <i>Valley Harmonist</i>	Harrisonburg, VA	336	7
1848	Wakefield, <i>Western Harp</i>	Pittsburgh, PA	224	8

Most of the tunebooks surveyed fall neatly into either reform or dispersed-harmonic categories, as shown in Tables 1 and 2. Musical content is the central criterion on which to base a stylistic classification. In order to determine the type of every book, I surveyed a representative number of pieces in each and evaluated whether their part-writing was better considered common practice or dispersed-harmonic. Since the reform style is the more familiar, it proved simpler to spot deviations from common practice than to verify conformance. A successful search for the use of open fourths or fifths, abnormal dissonance resolution, non-functional chord successions, and the appearance of parallel perfections and other contrapuntal irregularities serves to suggest dispersed harmony, while the absence of these traits implies a reform origin.

Prose content in the introductions of collections is a less important indicator, and at times a misleading one. Many reform collections include remarks that align closely enough with the goals of the movement to suggest an affiliation. Since dispersed harmony was not closely associated with a specific ideology, however, the statements on musical aesthetics found in tunebook prefaces rarely prove useful in identifying that

style. Introductions to both categories of collection touch on similar subjects and are frequently indistinguishable in content. For example, the preface of the *Handel and Haydn Society Collection* (1822), a cornerstone of the reform movement, identifies one of the Society's goals as being "to furnish the public with a selection of such compositions, both of ancient and modern authors, as are considered most excellent and at the same time most useful."⁶⁰ Stephen St. John states in the preface of *American Harmonist* (1821), a dispersed-harmonic collection, "In order to recommend his work to the taste and patronage of an enlightened public, the editor of this collection has been careful to select such approved pieces of music as are both useful and pleasing."⁶¹ The parallel between these passages serves to demonstrate how similar rhetoric about music often is in reference to the two styles. Thus, although prose content occasionally proved helpful in classifying the tunebooks, musical elements remained the primary consideration.

This classification into two types necessarily involves a measure of latitude; most of the dispersed-harmonic collections print a handful of reform pieces, and some of the reform books include adaptations of dispersed harmony. One style of part-writing still remains unmistakably prominent in these cases. Three of the tunebooks, however, include a more even balance of music written in both styles. Table 3 lists these mixed collections, each of which receives further consideration below. All in all, thirteen of the tunebooks are reform, nine dispersed-harmonic, and three mixed.

⁶⁰ Mason, *Handel and Haydn Society Collection*, [iii].

⁶¹ Stephen St. John, *The American Harmonist: Containing Easy And Concise Rules of Music* (Harrisburg: William Greer, 1821), [3].

Table 3. Mixed tunebooks.

Date	Tunebook	Location	Pages	No. of secular pieces
1830	Rothbaust, <i>Franklin Harmony</i>	Chambersburg, PA	195	1
1849	Mansfield, <i>American Vocalist</i>	Boston, MA	360	12
1850	<i>Ancient Harmony Revived</i>	Hallowell, ME	276	12

John Rothbaust's bilingual *Franklin Harmony and Easy Instructor* (1830) demarcates its common practice and dispersed-harmonic repertoires more decisively than any of the other mixed tunebooks, since the distinctions of musical style correspond with those of language.⁶² Like its predecessor, the *Franklin Harmonie* of 1821, *Franklin Harmony* purports to anthologize the most distinguished German and English church music.⁶³ In this edition, German music appears without English translation, while all the originally English pieces have added German texts. In most cases these are merely hymn texts of the appropriate meter to suit each tune, although some are translations. The collection includes theoretical introductions in English and German, both versions heavily based on that of Little and White's *Easy Instructor*.⁶⁴

Rothbaust treats his two repertoires as separate entities, even providing a different index for each language.⁶⁵ The German section of the tunebook anthologizes two-part

⁶² John Rothbaust, *The Franklin Harmony and Easy Instructor in Vocal Music: Second and Improved Edition of English and German Church Tunes* (Chambersburg: Henry Ruby, 1830).

⁶³ Johannes Rothbaust, *Die Franklin Harmonie, und leichter Unterricht in der Vokal-Musik* (Harrisburg: John Wyeth, 1821).

⁶⁴ William Little and William Smith, *The Easy Instructor, or, a New Method of Teaching Sacred Harmony* (Albany: Webster & Skinner and Daniel Steele, 1807). The German introduction appears to be an abbreviated translation of the English version.

arrangements of such well-known chorales as “O Gott, du frommer Gott,” “Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern,” and “Unser Vater in Himmelreich.”⁶⁶ It would not be wholly accurate to categorize these pieces as examples of reform hymnody; they stem from an older tradition of German-language publishing within the United States that, despite a partial overlap of repertoire, appears to have had surprisingly little impact on the reform movement. The prose content of *Franklin Harmony* reveals no hint of reform ideology. Nonetheless, these German pieces do accord with the rules of common practice, and thus provide a musical contrast with the remaining selections in the tunebook not unlike that between reform and dispersed-harmonic styles in the two other mixed collections.

The “English tunes” are predominantly American dispersed-harmonic pieces from the turn of the century, with the addition of music in the folk-hymnodical vein; it is perhaps telling that Rothbaust’s collection was first published by John Wyeth, whose *Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second* (1813) is an important early source of folk hymnody. Although *Franklin Harmony* contains little original material, the one piece identified as bearing a harmonization by the compiler is an English-language revival hymn.⁶⁷ There are also pieces by such British composers of dispersed harmony as Israel Holdroyd, James Leach, and William Shrubsole.

Rothbaust’s aim was to provide an eclectic selection of music. He explains the heterogeneous nature of the collection as follows: “In this selection of tunes, the object

⁶⁵ This is not true of *Franklin Harmonie*, in which the German pieces are also provided with English translations and the two languages are indexed together.

⁶⁶ Rothbaust, *Franklin Harmony*, 3, 15, 24.

⁶⁷ “Request,” with the text “Return, O God of love, return,” found in a two-voice setting. *Ibid.*, 55.

kept in view has been, to insert some of each of the grave, plain, flowing, animated and fuguing descriptions, that the different tastes of individuals might be gratified. [...] Without any pretensions to new discoveries, the Author contents himself with having afforded the public a variety of old and new music[.]”⁶⁸ The combination of languages and musical styles in *Franklin Harmony* reflects this desire to appease disparate tastes through a single tunebook.

D. H. Mansfield’s *The American Vocalist* (1849) was published in Boston. Mansfield personally entered the copyright in the District of Massachusetts, suggesting he lived in the area; nevertheless, the collection occupies an unusual position for a Northern tunebook.⁶⁹ One need look no further than the subtitle to detect influences incompatible with reform ideology: *from the Compositions of Billings, Holden, Maxim, Edson, Holyoke, Read, Kimball, Morgan, Wood, Swan, &c., &c., and Eminent American Authors Now Living, As Well As From Distinguished European Composers, Embracing a Greater Variety of Music for Congregations, Societies, Singing Schools, and Choirs, Than Any Other Collection Extant.*⁷⁰ As this roll of composers indicates, dispersed harmony is the primary focus of the collection. The tunebook even includes the text of “An Opening Ode, for an Old Folks’ Concert” devoted to music of the First New England School. Intended to be sung to “Auld Lang Syne,” the first stanza runs:

⁶⁸ Rothbaust, *Franklin Harmony*, iii.

⁶⁹ D. H. Mansfield, *The American Vocalist* (Boston: Brown, Taggard, and Chase, 1849).

⁷⁰ The composers referenced are William Billings, Oliver Holden, Abraham Maxim, Lewis Edson the elder, Samuel Holyoke, Daniel Read, Jacob Kimball, Justin Morgan, Abraham Wood, and Timothy Swan; with the exception of the English-influenced Holden and Holyoke, they all wrote in a dispersed-harmonic idiom.

Should ancient music be forgot,
And never brought to mind?
Should we forget the strains we sung
In days of Auld Lang Syne—
When gathered round our fathers' hearth,
Where kindred hearts entwine;
Or in the temple of our God,
Engaged in Songs divine?"⁷¹

Mansfield defines the goal of *American Vocalist* in his preface: "The design of the compiler in adding another to the numerous musical publications now in use, is, to preserve in a single volume, the most valuable music now in existence; much of which had been crowded from our churches, by the soulless and unmeaning harmony of the present day."⁷² As Mansfield's choice of verb suggests, most of the dispersed-harmonic music in the tunebook stems from the First New England School, although there are some more recently written revival hymns as well. Abraham Maxim is particularly well-represented.⁷³ The theoretical introduction resembles that of many reform tunebooks, with some Pestalozzian influences; the collection is printed in round notes.

Mansfield's preface levels heavy criticism against reform music, which he terms "the scientific gingling [*sic*] of imported discord[.]"⁷⁴ He claims that the music he

⁷¹ Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, tipped in between 276 and 277.

⁷² *Ibid.*, [ii].

⁷³ Maxim (1773-1829) was a schoolteacher and singing master active in Massachusetts and Maine.

⁷⁴ Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, [ii].

presents is “more generally admired” than that of the reform movement, saying that, while reform music has gained acceptance in congregational worship, singing societies and devotional groups prefer to sing more contrapuntally complex music.⁷⁵ Mansfield criticizes the “‘improvement’” of dispersed-harmonic music in reform collections, and states that dispersed harmony is better suited to worship because it appeals more strongly to the emotions:

Some tunes, as well as poetry, have been admitted, not so much because they accord with the taste of the compiler, as with the belief, (and I beg the literati to consider this,) that they have been and will be useful to thousands of illiterate persons, who know more of God’s pardoning love, than of Mozart, Beethoven, or the British poets, and whose songs of praise are most assuredly acceptable to Him, though they should prefer the music of old ‘Caanan,’ to that of Haydn’s ‘Creation.’⁷⁶

Despite this diatribe on “scientific music,” *American Vocalist* nonetheless includes a selection of reform hymns alongside dispersed harmony and early gospel. The perspective of the compiler, however, scarcely aligns with the ideological aims of the reformers.

⁷⁵ Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, [ii].

⁷⁶ Ibid. The meaning of “literati” is unclear in this context, but the connotation of scholarly attainment suggests it may be intended as a jab at the reform movement and more specifically its focus on “scientific music.”

Ancient Harmony Revived (1850), like *American Vocalist*, is a product of the midcentury Northern revival of dispersed harmony.⁷⁷ The tunebook was issued in Boston by Perkins & Whipple, but co-published with Masters, Smith, & Co. of Hallowell, Maine. Copyright was granted by the District of Maine in 1847 to G. W. Fargo and Jesse Pierce, who were likely the compilers. The inclusion of the fusing tune “Hallowell” by Abraham Maxim—who had spent most of his mature life in nearby Turner, Maine—is probably not coincidental and again implies that the tunebook had closer connections to Maine than to Massachusetts.⁷⁸

Inviting further comparison with *American Vocalist*, *Ancient Harmony Revived* bears a subtitle listing some of the composers featured in the collection: *Taken from Old and Approved Authors as Holden, Holyoke, Maxim, Morgan, Goff, Kimball, Reed, Swan, Wood, West, and Others, and from Several European Authors, Particularly from W. Tansur’s Original Works*.⁷⁹ The editors explain their motivation for compiling the volume as follows: “we offer no other apology for sending forth our Aged Harmony to contend with the almost indefinite number of singing books that flood our country with their scientific, cold and heartless chords that make no lasting impression on devotional

⁷⁷ *Ancient Harmony Revived: Being a Selection of Choice Music for Divine Worship* (Boston: Perkins & Whipple, 1850). The same collection is also known under the title *Symphonia Grandæva Rediviva*.

⁷⁸ *Ancient Harmony Revived*, 93; David Warren Steel, *The Makers of the Sacred Harp* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 135. Theron Brown records an anecdote of unknown provenance concerning this piece; see Theron Brown and Hezekiah Butterworth, *The Story of the Hymns and Tunes* (New York City: Blessing, 1906), 119.

⁷⁹ “Goff” refers to Ezra Whiting Goff and “West” to Elisha West, also Northern dispersed-harmonic composers.

feelings.”⁸⁰ As suggested by the subtitle, the majority of the pieces in *Ancient Harmony Revived* are again by composers of the First New England School. A sizeable minority, however, are of English origin. These include dispersed-harmonic tunes, but also pieces by urban composers whose work frequently appears in reform tunebooks, such as Martin Madan, Charles Lockhart, and Samuel Arnold. The collection includes some pieces adapted from European composers and again typical of reform tunebooks, such as “Trinity” and “Sicilian Hymn.”⁸¹ Finally, there are a handful of newly-written examples of dispersed harmony: three by J. Gould, three by John L. Clapp, and two by John Maxim.⁸²

The theoretical introduction exhibits a *mélange* of characteristics despite its brevity. The explanation of solfège includes both seven- and four-syllable versions.⁸³ Most musical characters are referenced by typical dispersed-harmonic names: “figure 3” for a triplet, “point” for a dot, and so on. Sometimes reform and dispersed-harmonic terminologies blend together, however. For example: “Other modes of time are now frequently used, designated by fractional figures, as 12/4, 12/8, &c. The upper representing the number of notes taken in a measure, and the lower figure, the particular

⁸⁰ *Ancient Harmony Revived*, [2].

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 162, 171.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 219, 243, 248, 270, 272. All these pieces are dated 1848 or 1849, after the first edition of *Ancient Harmony Revived* was published.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 4. The reformers tended to favor seven-syllable solmization systems (do, re, mi, sol, la, ti or si, do), while dispersed-harmonic compilers more frequently advocate the four-syllable fasola or “Lancashire sol-fa” system (fa, sol, la, fa, sol, la, mi, fa), long in use in Britain. Although Samuel Wakefield himself favored the four-syllable system, his “Brief Remarks on Solmization” helpfully summarizes arguments surrounding the two systems; see Wakefield, *Western Harp*, [217]-220.

note taken, as half, quarter, eighth, &c.”⁸⁴ “Mode of time” is the usual dispersed-harmonic name for a time signature, but the note values are fractional names derived from German usage and not the minims, crotchets, and quavers still used in Southern collections of this era. The book is printed in round notes.

The unusual succinctness of the theoretical introduction—five pages in large type, fully half of which are figures—and the omission of such common topics as time beating and the names of the vocal parts make it unlikely that *Ancient Harmony Revived* could have been used by either churches or singing schools. The collection seems to address more experienced singers for whom the inclusion of such rudiments would have been unnecessary.⁸⁵ This limited sphere of use is compounded by the particularly antiquarian bent of the collection. For example, the compilers note that they have attempted to transcribe as many pieces from their original sources as possible.⁸⁶ Such concern for accurate transmission would be unexpected in either a reform or a dispersed-harmonic source; neither musical culture placed much value on attempts at preserving the first form

⁸⁴ *Ancient Harmony Revived*, 7. The use of the term “mode of time” is little more than a formality in this case, since there is no correlation between time signature and tempo. The instructions on identifying the tonic on the same page is another example; the process given is one advocated by many dispersed-harmonic compilers, but it is rewritten to accommodate the seven-syllable solfège.

⁸⁵ Examples of such collections from the First New England School repertoire include Billings’ *Psalm-Singer’s Amusement* (1781) and Timothy Swan’s *New England Harmony* (1801).

⁸⁶ *Ancient Harmony Revived*, [3]. Mansfield does note that “the old church music remains unaltered” in his volume; see Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, [ii]. This statement, however, seems to indicate nothing more than the absence of the corrections frequently imposed upon dispersed harmony by reform editors, without the element of bibliographical pursuit in which the editors of *Ancient Harmony Revived* seem to have taken delight.

of a work. Aside from such perennial favorites as “Old Hundredth” and “St. Martin’s”—mentioned and appearing in many a reform collection—few of the pieces in *Ancient Harmony Revived* would still have been familiar to choirs in Maine or Massachusetts by 1849. Thus, the book would likely have seen use by singing societies or individual enthusiasts who had the leisure to indulge in musical antiquarianism on their own time.

This narrow appeal suggests that the inclusion of dispersed harmony in such collections as *American Vocalist* and *Ancient Harmony Revived* would have had little impact on the musical culture of the urban Northeast. Nostalgia is predominant in their compilers’ prose; the connection Mansfield draws between dispersed harmony and a vanished Puritan society exemplifies the retrospective focus of both collections.⁸⁷ Hence their best market was the specific but ultimately limited audience of singers for whom dispersed-harmonic music was a fond memory. As early as 1831, not yet a decade after the emergence of the reform movement, the Massachusetts editors of the *Stoughton Collection* had written: “The tunes which we were accustomed to hear in our infancy will always awaken in us interesting sentiments and agreeable associations, and it is but doing justice to the subject and to the public, in having them corrected and put in a proper state

⁸⁷ “[Daniel Read’s] old ‘Windham,’ and [Timothy Swan’s] ‘China,’ have acted as pall bearers for half a century and were it not for ‘Old Hundred,’ and tunes of like character, there had been no music suitable either for a Doxology, or a Benediction upon surviving friends. The fact is, the old composers were probably better acquainted both with God and man. They had studied human nature as well as scientific theories. Many of them were holy men, and *their* music, composed among the hills and forests of *Puritanic* New England, is but an embodiment of pious devotion.” Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, [ii]. The emphases are Mansfield’s.

and form for use.”⁸⁸ Such sentiments would come into greater prominence by the time of *American Vocalist* and *Ancient Harmony Revived*. By the late 1840s and early 1850s, an entire generation of Northern singers had matured during the dominance of the reform movement; as dispersed harmony was increasingly relegated to the realm of memory, tunebook compilers became more aware of the nostalgic value of earlier music.⁸⁹ The Old Folks’ Concerts that arose in the same decade juxtaposed dispersed-harmonic psalmody with songs of the Revolutionary War, an event rapidly passing out of living memory.⁹⁰ Like such contemporaneous concerts—given in period costume and with antiquated performance practices that further emphasized the quaintness of their programming—*American Vocalist* and *Ancient Harmony Revived* preserve an increasingly foreign musical culture. The repertoire may have invoked pleasant memories for some and been a curiosity to others, but its appeal and influence remained limited.

⁸⁸ *Stoughton Collection of Church Music, Selected and Arranged by the Stoughton Musical Society: Being a Compilation of the Most Approved Sacred Music, By Ancient and Modern Authors* (Boston: Marsh, Capen and Lyon, 1831), [3].

⁸⁹ Nor was this element of nostalgia limited to compilers with a suspicion of the reform movement. Mason and Webb include a handful of edited dispersed-harmonic pieces in their *National Psalmist* (1848), citing the popularity of such tunes with older singers. They write of Billings’ “Majesty:” “We have inserted this and some other tunes of the same general class, so much sung and admired thirty or forty years ago, not because we consider them good church tunes, but because they may be interesting to choirs, under certain circumstances, and especially pleasing to many persons of forty or fifty years of age or upwards, who, having been accustomed to them in their youthful days, will be delighted to hear them again.” Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, 34.

⁹⁰ For a consideration of this phenomenon, including further mention of *Ancient Harmony Revived*, see Judith Steinberg, “Old Folks Concerts and the Revival of New England Psalmody,” *Musical Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (Oct. 1973).

Secular Music in Tunebooks

Although use in worship and private devotion remained the central purpose of both reform and dispersed-harmonic tunebooks, they also include secular selections. Indeed, by the early nineteenth century, tunebooks wholly devoid of secular repertoire had become rarities. Most collections offer a unique selection of secular music; no core repertoire seems to have been established. While certain sacred pieces appear in nearly every tunebook, secular selections rarely saw reprinting, and only a handful achieved wide representation. Table 4 shows the twelve most frequently occurring secular pieces within this selection of tunebooks. Only a single secular piece, “German Hymn,” appears in both reform and dispersed-harmonic collections.

Table 4. Most frequently reprinted secular pieces.

Tune Name	Composer	Number of printings
“America”		6
“Germany”	arr. from Beethoven	5
“Liberty”	Stephen Jenks	5
“German Hymn”	arr. from Pleyel	4
“Ode on Science”	Jazaniah Sumner	4
“Pastoral Elegy”	Knapp	4
“Whitestown”	Howell? Ward? Howd?	4
“Bunker Hill”	Law or Ripley	3
“Indian’s Farewell”		3 ⁹¹
“Knaresborough”	[James?] Leach	3
“Mount Vernon”	Lowell Mason	3
“Palmyra”	arr. from Bononcini	3

Secular music in these styles also appeared in other types of sources. Some eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century dispersed-harmonic composers edited songsters

⁹¹ Including one appearance of the same tune and text under the alternate name “Parting Friends.”

as well as tunebooks; examples include Timothy Swan's *Songster's Assistant* (ca. 1786) and *Songster's Museum* (1803), Daniel Belknap's *Middlesex Songster* (1809), and Stephen Jenks's *Jovial Songster* (1805) and *Whistle* (1818).⁹² Barring a mutual concern for patriotic sentiment, pieces included in these songsters generally deal with different subjects than do the secular selections of dispersed-harmonic tunebooks. Ballads, pastoral pieces, and "national songs"—especially Irish and Scottish—are among the most common. Secular music by reform composers appeared in music textbooks, as exemplified by Lowell Mason's *Manual of the Boston Academy of Music*. Other sources for secular music within the reform tradition include collections of glees and all-secular tunebooks like G. J. Webb and Lowell Mason's *Odeon* (1837) or Edward L. White's *Boston Melodeon* (1850). Like the dispersed-harmonic songsters, these collections include folksong arrangements, in addition to sentimental pieces similar to parlor songs.

Attitudes Concerning Secular Music

Perhaps unsurprisingly, secular dispersed harmony is often stylistically close to popular music of the time. Some evidence suggests that reformers, on the other hand, deliberately avoided similarities to popular music in both their sacred and secular church pieces, creating a further stylistic distinction between reform and dispersed-harmonic hymnody. The feasibility of instituting unquestionably correct musical standards was a

⁹² Songsters are pocket-sized collections of secular song lyrics. They were usually printed without their settings, but some—including those mentioned here—include music. I am unaware of any dispersed-harmonic songsters published during the scope of this study. See Irving Lowens, *A Bibliography of Songsters Printed in America Before 1821* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1976).

central tenet of reform ideology; establishing different standards for sacred and secular styles was but a further step in the process.

Multiple reform compilers refer to the necessity of musical differentiation between secular and sacred pieces. For instance, John Hoyt Hickok and George K. Fleming claim in their introduction to *Evangelical Musick* (1839) that they “have laboured throughout to choose such [pieces] as combine variety of character with those peculiar qualities so requisite in all musical compositions intended to be used in religious worship.”⁹³ This alone suggests that there are stylistic qualifications that distinguish church song from other types of music. The fact that Hickok and Fleming note in the previous sentence their inclusion of a large number of tunes suitable to congregational performance in particular further serves to emphasize the point. In *Cantica Laudis* (1850), Lowell Mason and George James Webb remark on their selection of a number of folk melodies adapted for choir and set to hymn texts. They assure their readers that they have been careful to avoid “all such as are of too light and frivolous a character for religious purposes [... and] all such as approximate to the low, coarse or vulgar, alike offensive to religious taste and musical propriety.”⁹⁴ While these statements at first suggest an aversion to tunes with less than savory textual associations, the allusion to “musical propriety” indicates a consideration of musical style as well. Thomas Hastings and William B. Bradbury write in *New York Choralist* (1847), “Style in devotional music is a very different thing from style in the secular department of the art. Professional men are prone to forget this distinction, and some will even deny its existence. But it needs no

⁹³ Hickok and Fleming, *Evangelical Musick*, [II]-III.

⁹⁴ Mason and Webb, *Cantica Laudis*, 4.

argument to show that music intended for religious edification ought to have a style of its own.”⁹⁵

As the preceding quotation indicates, reform writers rarely feel compelled to define exactly what might constitute—or impede—an appropriate church-musical style.

A rare example is Mason and Webb’s stated aversion to dactylic feet:

It has not been thought desirable to include a greater variety of Particular Metres in this table [of pieces simple enough to be sung by congregations], for in general the hymns themselves are unworthy of a place in the exercises of public worship. This is especially the case with the more fanciful metres, and in particular with the Anapestic and Dactylic hymns, which are all of them, from the very *tum, te, te, tum, te, te, tum*, character of the poetic feet, quite below the dignity and solemnity in worship.⁹⁶

The “Historical, Critical, Explanatory and Descriptive Remarks” of *National Psalmist* offer apologies for a number of pieces in compound meter or to peculiar texts, as of the 6/4 “Hewitt:” “Dangerous kind of time, not much to be approved or used.”⁹⁷

In addition, the “Historical, Critical, Explanatory and Descriptive Remarks” identify a number of pieces as being in an ecclesiastical or church style, and others as being in a secular style. For example, Mason and Webb write of “Greenville:” “Nothing ecclesiastical about this tune; very secular; but yet it is not only popular but useful, and is

⁹⁵ Hastings and Bradbury, *New York Choralist*, 33.

⁹⁶ Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, 31.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, [33].

often sung with truly devotional effect.”⁹⁸ Particularly interesting is their note on “Pleyel’s Hymn.” Although the piece frequently appears with a secular text intended for funerals, and indeed is one of the most frequently printed secular pieces in the selection, Mason and Webb append sacred lyrics and write: “A beautiful but feeble and secular melody. The idea of playing this tune as a dead march, is quite absurd; it is altogether too deficient in solemnity and dignity for such a purpose.”⁹⁹ Despite the acknowledged secular character of the tune, the editors still considered it better suited to be supplicatory hymn rather than a funeral song.

The pieces identified as secular are a diverse group, but share a number of musical commonalities that may clarify Mason and Webb’s understanding of the secular style. A number of them include one or more phrases in the middle of the piece that are set as duets or trios, sometimes with a concertino scoring indicated.¹⁰⁰ More prominent are similarities to gospel. “Caldwell” has a line of antiphony in the gospel style, and “Saviour, Source of Every Blessing” includes a similar effect in its codetta.¹⁰¹ Two of the pieces use V⁷/IV in their final phrases, a feature unusual in the reform style but typical of

⁹⁸ Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, 34.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, [33].

¹⁰⁰ These include “Bartlett,” “Chapman,” and “Greenville;” see *ibid.*, 122 134 210.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 219, 298. If the editors of *National Psalmist* disapproved of the secular style in the context of the church service, the note to “Caldwell” may point to another, less formal performance context: “This hymn was originally written for the Monthly Concert Prayer Meeting in Park Street Church, Boston, by H. Y., Dec. 1841.”

gospel.¹⁰² Another two, “Rochdale” and “Crowell,” are to all appearances examples of early gospel hymns.¹⁰³

Other editors give more elaborate explanations as to why they consider the distinction necessary, and *New York Choralist* is one of the most helpful sources. The first point Hastings and Bradbury raise is the numerous changes in fashion to which popular music is subject:

The style of secular music is perpetually changing, because it is governed by fashion rather than by taste: but the true principles of taste as applied to the subject of devotional music, it should be remembered, are fundamentally always the same. The one grand object with the composer and performer of church music, should be to preserve at all times such an unvarnished style of fervent, chaste simplicity, as shall secure in the congregation of worshipers the great ends contemplated by the All-wise Founder of the institution.¹⁰⁴

In other words, by establishing an appropriately austere standard for devotional song, Hastings and Bradbury hope to protect it from the vicissitudes of changing public taste. Not only would this institution of a distinct and static style prevent unseemly implications of pandering, but it would also result—ideally, at least—in a church-musical style as ageless as the object of its devotion. Other reformers make similar statements. In

¹⁰² These are “Bartlett” and “Furth;” see Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, 122, 160.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 212, 214.

¹⁰⁴ Hastings and Bradbury, *New York Choralist*, [3].

National Psalmist (1848), Lowell Mason and George James Webb devote considerable attention to the cultivation of congregational singing, a practice that had largely foundered with the introduction of rehearsed choirs more than a half-century previous. They insist, however, on the necessity of employing a choir—well-versed in appropriate performance practice and the laws of good taste—to serve as guide, in part because the uncultivated tastes of the community may leave them impressionable to shifting fashions: “to leave congregational singing unaided by the ministrations of a well regulated choir, is to leave it to be moulded into any shape that the passions of a changing world may please to impress upon it[.]”¹⁰⁵

This concern for stabilizing the style of music intended for public worship may well be a reason why the reformers tended to adapt and imitate music somewhat earlier than their own time, along with more practical concerns of the accessibility of contemporary European music and the inherently limited length of the hymn tune genre. To take the latest trends as models would have been out of place in an aesthetic valuing austerity and immutability. Another variation on this idea is the admiration of reformers for music of earlier periods, and especially that of the Renaissance. For example, the editors of *National Psalmist* quote William Henry Havergal, the English composer and historian of psalmody, on the subject of Elizabethan cathedral music:

‘They clearly discerned the requisites of divine worship, and self-denyingly aimed to fulfill them. Instead of indulging in a wanton fancy, or allowing their genius such scope as would fire passions, captivate imaginations, or *turn auditors into*

¹⁰⁵ Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, 4.

applauders, they confined themselves to a style, which of all styles contains the most art with the least ostentation.’¹⁰⁶

The appeal of this image to Mason and Webb—long-dead composers denying the unrefined tastes of their listeners in favor of a nobler style—is scarcely surprising; they considered themselves engaged in a similar mission.

The second reason Hastings and Bradbury give for demarcating secular and sacred styles is the inappropriateness, in public worship, of musical complexity for its own sake. Here they construct an elaborate metaphor comparing the study of music to that of rhetoric. In school and in competitions, the young orator should exploit all his strengths to advantageously present his own skill as well as the argument at hand. A sermon, however, requires a more conservative approach, in which “the orator must be lost sight of in the greatness of his subject.”¹⁰⁷ Regardless of his technical skill, the preacher must allow the weight of the topic its full due, lest he steal attention away from the all-important subject: “The man who would be exhibiting himself, while pretending to worship his Maker, is committing a capital offence. He may have a reputation to support, and talents which are worthy of commendation, but he has chosen the wrong time and place for display; and is virtually endeavoring to rob the Master of Assemblies of that homage which is exclusively due to Him.”¹⁰⁸

The editors take a permissive view of elaborate and virtuosic music, provided it is restricted to an appropriate arena: “thus in the eloquence of music, there must of course

¹⁰⁶ Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, 2.

¹⁰⁷ Hastings and Bradbury, *New York Choralist*, 33.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

be professional practice, and there will be amusement and display. This should be allowed in its proper place, but not in immediate connection with the office of religious song.”¹⁰⁹ Similarly, Lowell Mason and George James Webb write in *National Psalmist* (1848), “The singing of a Quartett [*sic*], Trio, or Duet, is most beautiful in its place, but it belongs rather to the concert room or to the parlor, than to the church.”¹¹⁰ Thus, music intended for use outside of the church service—including not only truly secular pieces but also performative sacred pieces like oratorios—may conscionably admit of display, which is strictly to be avoided in music for public worship. In this case, the division of styles is less a matter of musical principle than the result of a more central consideration, the preservation of solemnity and humility in the church service.

Hastings and Bradbury’s final consideration is a related one: because of the vital importance of textual content in devotional song, musical elements must take a background role. They write:

In secular music the words are comparatively of little moment, and will often be sacrificed to sound[.] In religious music the words are momentous; and the office of the singer is to illustrate them and enforce their meaning. In the one case the music is the sole object of attraction; in the other it is to be made the specific instrument of religious edification. Objects so different, demand of course, corresponding differences in style. Laying aside the specific maxims of the secular department; let us inquire how the meaning

¹⁰⁹ Hastings and Bradbury, *New York Choralist*, 33.

¹¹⁰ Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, 5.

and spirit of the words we utter, can be best set forth in the eloquence of song.¹¹¹

As with their earlier insistence on avoiding display, the restriction of church song to a supporting function demands simplicity and unobtrusiveness in musical style. Hastings and Bradbury note that this austerity—besides its contribution of appropriate dignity to the act of worship—is a benefit to singers and congregants. By choosing simpler music, choristers can check their own vanity and also expend less concentration on their parts, better allowing them to cultivate the devotional spirit inspired by the text. To stress the importance of choristers being moved by the text, the editors draw a comparison between church music and secular song. They remind their readers that, even when performing oratorios and secular pieces, a vocalist is expected to appear sympathetic to her subject. Because of the relative immateriality of the words in secular music, the perceived effect of the piece on the performers may only be artifice. In the context of public worship, however, music is valueless when sung without conviction of its importance: “So much as this is expected of the vocalist at the oratorio, and the secular concert [...] secular music may admit of feigned emotion: not so, the music which is devotional.”¹¹² In other words, if secular music is expected to move the emotions, how much more so pieces with religious significance? Since Hastings and Bradbury specifically mention oratorios as admitting of “feigned emotion,” despite their sacred subjects, it appears that the primary difference is again that of performance context. As with avoidance of display, the subjugation of music to text is strictly a concern of the

¹¹¹ Hastings and Bradbury, *New York Choralist*, 33.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 35.

church service. In genres intended to be performed and not offered, more elaborate or indulgent music is apropos.

An article in the periodical *The Family Minstrel* stands in contrast to the more restrictive stances on secular style espoused in *New York Choralist* and *National Psalmist*.¹¹³ This item was submitted to Charles Dingley, the editor of the reform-leaning journal, by an anonymous correspondent; it consists of an excerpt from a letter of Charles Wolfe, introduced by the editor of Wolfe's ephemera and accompanied with glosses by both Dingley and the submitter.¹¹⁴ Wolfe suggests adapting religious poetry to national music in an attempt to encourage better morals.¹¹⁵ He seems to reference a secular repertoire by repeatedly denying the existence of any "religious feeling" in the music concerned; the correspondent states that he supplied the article in response to and encouragement of the secular pieces occasionally reprinted in *Family Minstrel*. Wolfe defines the aim of his plan as being "to make popular music a channel, by which religious feeling may be diffused through society, and thus, at the same time, to redeem the

¹¹³ "On National Songs," *The Family Minstrel: A Musical and Literary Journal* 1, no. 6 (15 April 1835): 42.

¹¹⁴ Charles Wolfe, *Remains of the Late Rev. Charles Wolfe, A.B., Curate of Donoughmore, Diocess of Armagh, with a Brief Memoir of His Life*, ed. John Abraham Russell (Dublin: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1825), vol. 1: 251-257. Wolfe was an Irish clergyman and poet. Although the reform movement did not extend to Britain, the reprinting and apparent approval of his views by Dingley suggests that his ideas were representative of some reformers.

¹¹⁵ Although Wolfe does not define precisely what he means by "national music," his statements tend to imply a reference to folksong. The only specific piece of music mentioned in the article is the Scottish "I'm Wearing Awa', John;" Dingley remarks this as one of the few "national songs" to aptly express a religious sentiment.

national music from the profaneness and licentiousness, to which it has been prostituted.”¹¹⁶

As the preceding quotation implies, Wolfe takes a mildly denigrating view of national music, while also acknowledging its popularity and hence usefulness as a tool of evangelism. His mention of improvement in national music itself, however, tends to suggest that such pieces enjoy a degree of intrinsic value. More surprisingly, Wolfe only suggests altering the textual content of songs, making no reference to musical changes.¹¹⁷ He denies the efficacy of a strictly sacred style even in text: “A song intended to make religion popular, should not be *entirely* of a religious cast; [...] The *strain* and *ground-work* of the words can hardly be spiritual; but a gleam of religion might be every now and then tastefully admitted[.]”¹¹⁸ Although Wolfe discusses musical content only briefly, his perspective is analogous to the stance he takes on text:

I think we shall come to the same conclusion, if we consider the reformation of the national music as the primary object. The

¹¹⁶ “On National Songs,” 42.

¹¹⁷ The implication is that Wolfe wishes to alter the texts of such songs, not replace them wholesale. He mentions that the only text he knows to exemplify this blend of human appeal and religious implication is William Cowper’s poem “The Solitude of Alexander Selkirk.” Given such a dearth of appropriate texts, his approach apparently relies on the insertion of moral sentiment into preexisting poetry. Such a process can be considered analogous to the Spanish *a lo divino* tradition, whereby secular poems were Christianized through textural revision. For example, Francesco Guerrero’s *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* (1589) includes a number of originally amatory pieces with modified texts and generally without musical alteration; see Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 218-219.

¹¹⁸ “On National Songs,” 42. The emphases are Wolfe’s.

predominant feelings excited and expressed by our national airs, however exquisitely delightful, are manifestly *human*. And it is evident, that, in order to do them justice, we must follow the prevailing tone.¹¹⁹

These statements do not presume a stylistic distinction between sacred and secular music, suggesting a comfort with blending the two that is at odds with Hastings and Bradbury's more prescriptive statements on the subject. Several factors make Wolfe's perspective an unusual one, and may contribute to his adoption of this atypical view. He writes as an evangelist, not a church musician. His advice is couched in explicitly pragmatic terms; he paints this concession to worldly style as a "vehicle of popular instruction," stating that national songs of this character will best appeal to listeners who are neither particularly learned nor particularly pious. Finally, there is no indication that these pieces would be intended for use in public worship; the evangelical element in their design tends to evoke the more informal atmosphere of the revival meeting. Nonetheless, Wolfe's willingness to adapt secular music to sacred uses suggests a broader spectrum of opinion among reformers than those stated by tunebook compilers alone.

¹¹⁹ "On National Songs," 42.

Example 11: "Hinton New."¹²⁰

280 ALLEGRO. HINTON, NEW* ELEVENs. M #

The Lord is our shep-herd our guardian and guide, Whatev-er we want he will kind-ly pro-vide;

To sheep of his pas-ture his mercies a-bound, His care and pro-tec-tion his-flock will sur-round.

* Remark. Hinton, (the old tune,) was too much like a common vulgar song, and therefore improper for the House of Worship.

¹²⁰ Zeuner, *Ancient Lyre* (1833), 280.

Example 12: "Hinton."¹²¹

280 ALLEGRETTO. HINTON. M #

Hymn or Short Anthem.*

94 TREBLE.

The Lord - is our shep - herd, our guardian and guide, What - ev - er we want - he will kind - ly pro - vide;

To sheep - of his pas - ture his mer - cies abound, His care - and pro - tec - tion his flock - will surround.

* Example. If such a part pieces are used as Anthems, the second part may always be repeated.

¹²¹ Charles Zeuner, *The Ancient Lyre* (New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co., 1833), 280.

Certainly some of the reformers' hostility toward adapting secular pieces into hymn tunes—a practice widespread in the dispersed-harmonic tradition—stemmed simply from the associations those pieces bore. In describing the folk-tune arrangements from *Cantica Laudis* (1850) already mentioned above, Lowell Mason and George James Webb note that they have not adapted any pieces “such as may have acquired any association unfavorable to the purposes of worship.”¹²² The same compilers remark in *National Psalmist* (1848) that “light popular melodies, intended for secular purposes, and associated with secular thoughts, although they may have been united to unexceptionable words, must always have an unfavorable tendency in the formation of devotional habits” of Sunday school students.¹²³ These statements seem to suggest that the original words or performance contexts of the tunes, and not their musical features, are the true point of objection.

An insistence on separate styles for sacred and secular music, however, is occasionally borne out by the reform repertoire, suggesting that both musical and textual considerations influenced Mason and Webb's caution when adapting popular song. The most telling proof of this is that—by the reformers' definitions—a piece with a sacred text could still be considered secular because of its musical features. In Charles Zeuner's *Ancient Lyre* (1837), “Hinton New” (Ex. 11) bears the note, “Hinton, (the old tune,) was too much like a common vulgar song, and therefore improper for the House of

¹²² Mason and Webb, *Cantica Laudis*, 4.

¹²³ Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, 5.

Worship.”¹²⁴ Both “Hinton” and “Hinton New” set a sacred text, the anonymous “The Lord is my shepherd, my guardian and guide.” Zeuner does not further clarify his objections to “Hinton” (Ex. 12), although its AA’BA’ structure might be considered overly repetitious.¹²⁵ The remark does, however, indicate that Zeuner drew a clear distinction between music appropriate for worship and “common vulgar song.” At the opening of the volume, Zeuner assures readers of the superiority of the fifth edition over the fourth: “In presenting this new edition, it is proper to state what are considered its improvements. It will be seen, that every Note has been carefully examined, and that corrections have been made, to render the harmony of each piece as perfect as possible. A great number of new pieces have been substituted, and will be found under their former titles[.]”¹²⁶ Although “Hinton New” does not appear in the list of replaced tunes, it certainly seems to be one of them: it substitutes for a tune of the same name, on the same page, and with the same text. The fact that Zeuner appears to have disposed of a piece purely because its music was in too secular a vein, and that “Hinton New” is tacitly grouped with tunes discarded due to irregular part-writing—an almost unpardonable offense in a reform tunebook—indicate the weight Zeuner put on an appropriate church style.

¹²⁴ Zeuner, *Ancient Lyre* (1837), 280. The “Advertisement to the Fifth Edition” on [iv] states, “In presenting this new edition, it is proper to state what are considered its improvements. It will be seen, that every Note has been carefully examined, and that corrections have been made, to render the harmony of each piece as perfect as possible. A great number of new pieces have been substituted, and will be found under their former titles[.]”

¹²⁵ “Hinton New” first replaced “Hinton” in the 1834 edition of *Ancient Lyre*.

¹²⁶ Zeuner, *Ancient Lyre*, “Advertisement to the Fifth Edition,” [2].

Lowell Mason and George James Webb offer a more detailed discussion of secular style in church music in *National Psalmist* (1848). Under the heading “Sacred and Secular,” the editors write:

This distinction is often made, not only according to the obvious meaning of the terms, but also with reference to church music, for it is acknowledged on all hands that a secular style prevails extensively in the church. [...] In the choral service of the Church of England, there is the old and the new school, or the sacred and the secular style; and in Psalmody and Hymnody there seems to be quite good ground for the distinction. We are sorry, however, to be obliged to say that in this country the necessity for the distinction seems to be in a considerable degree done away by the almost universal prevalence of the secular only. A taste for ballad-like tunes, for oratorio and opera extracts, for *pretty* taking melodies, has almost driven away all that is sober, chaste, devout, spiritual and heavenly in Church Music. Ear-pleasing, or musical entertainment, has to a great extent taken the place of devout worship, and of course a different character of tunes is sought for, from that which stoops not to minister to mere outward or sensuous gratification. We hope we have done somewhat in this work to throw light on this subject, and especially to restore to its proper place the most beautiful, effective, and devotional style of psalmody which has ever been known.¹²⁷

Several of Mason and Webb’s complaints about this secular style overlap with those of Hastings and Bradbury from *New York Choralist* (1847). They all disapprove of music aimed more at entertainment than worship, and at pieces written to please the

¹²⁷ Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, 5.

public taste. The mention of “oratorio and opera extracts” suggests a distrust of performative genres adapted to church settings, again similar to views expressed by Hastings and Bradbury. Despite Mason and Webb’s disapproving stance on the secular style, they nonetheless anthologized a handful of such tunes. The “Historical, Critical, and Explanatory Remarks” in *National Psalmist* identify a number of pieces as being of the secular type with remarks such as “a beautiful but feeble and secular melody,” “quite secular [...] and under proper circumstances may be sung with excellent effect, but by no means fit for a common church tune,” “secular, but highly pleasing,” and “another secular tune, but without unfavorable associations.”¹²⁸ All of these pieces appear with sacred texts.

If, as these examples from *National Psalmist* show, the reformers identified secular style as extending to music with sacred texts, it follows that secular texts could be set to music of an unobjectionably sacred style. This may go some way in explaining why secular pieces appear even in reform tunebooks intended primarily for church use, such as Hickok and Fleming’s *Evangelical Music* (1839), which includes five pieces with secular lyrics. Since the reformers saw the distinction between sacred and secular styles as one based primarily on musical criteria, such pieces were acceptable in the tunebook repertoire. At the same time, tunes with sacred texts showing too much influence from popular music were considered secular and usually inappropriate for inclusion in

¹²⁸ Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, [33]-34. The pieces referred to are Ignaz Joseph Pleyel’s “Pleyel’s Hymn” (“Heavn’ly Father, sov’reign Lord”) on 193, Carl Maria von Weber’s “Betah” (“Brightness of the Father’s glory!”) on 203, F. Herald’s “Saviour, source of every blessing” (with alternate text of “Light of those whose dreary dwelling”) on 298, and Mazzinghi’s “Rochdale” (“Guide me, O thou great Jehovah”) on 212. In this instance “Pleyel’s Hymn” does not appear with the secular text with which it is most frequently united, “See the lovely blooming flow’r.”

tunebooks. The lack of parlor song adaptations in reform collections further supports this idea; even when united with a hymn text and arranged for choral performance, the musical features of a parlor song in the style of Thomas Moore or Stephen Foster would have remained out-of-place.

In contrast to reform music, dispersed harmony readily absorbed features of popular song and folk hymnody. Correspondingly, although many writers in this style stress the importance of gravity and devotion in the performance of sacred music, they do not insist it be stylistically distinct from secular song.¹²⁹ Perhaps most similar to the reform view is John Wyeth's assertion in *Repository of Sacred Music* (1826) that most collections contain pieces "which neither do honour to the authors, nor credit to the taste of the compilers, being considered generally improper for divine worship, and seldom used as such[.]"¹³⁰ Even so, Wyeth does not claim the existence or necessity of musical differentiation between sacred and secular pieces, as the reformers quoted above do. In fact, the reverse is sometimes true for dispersed-harmonic compilers. In his summary of the history of psalmody, Samuel Wakefield notes, without apparent distaste, that sacred music has frequently absorbed features of secular song.¹³¹ In his *American Vocalist* (1849), D. H. Mansfield states that the newly-harmonized pieces he includes were

¹²⁹ A representative example of such a statement is, "[affectation] is disgusting in the performance of sacred music[.]" See Carden, *Missouri Harmony*, 11. The same passage is quoted by Walker, *Southern Harmony*, xxix.

¹³⁰ Wyeth, *Repository of Sacred Music*, [iii]. Samuel Wakefield also writes, "The author does not believe that all the music in this volume is truly meritorious: several tunes have been inserted because of their utility; and others, as the people's particular prejudices seemed to dictate." See Wakefield, *Western Harp*, 4-[5].

¹³¹ Wakefield, *Western Harp*, [3]; the author writes in reference to both plainchant and Clement Marot's psalter.

arranged “with the design of suiting the popular taste, and thus being useful, rather than of pleasing a few scientific ears, and thus being, in many instances, totally unfitted for general use.”¹³² This suggests an acceptance of musical connections between dispersed harmony and popular song, unlike the discrete style of sacred music the reformers attempted to cultivate.

As a result, it seems that secular pieces may have had a more fluid existence in the dispersed-harmonic repertoire, neither wholly relegated to private contexts nor wholly excluded from church use, but occupying some ill-defined region in between. Since compilers of dispersed-harmonic tunebooks rarely concern themselves with guidelines on musical taste, there is considerably less evidence on which to draw than in the reform case. J. W. Steffy provides one helpful piece of information. He remarks that some singers object to the inclusion of sacred texts in rudimentary musical exercises, writing that “an idle or inconsiderate use of sacred words is certainly very objectionable and should in all instances be avoided as much as possible[.]”¹³³ Although Steffy himself attempts to alleviate such qualms, and does include hymn texts for the exercises in his theoretical introduction, his statements indicate that others were not so thoroughly at ease with the use of sacred words in a didactic context. Secular pieces may have been used as teaching tools by those who preferred to confine hymn texts to more explicitly devotional use.

¹³² Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, [ii].

¹³³ J. W. Steffy, *The Valley Harmonist: Containing a Collection of Tunes from the Most Approved Authors* (Harrisonburg: Henry T. Wartmann, 1845), [iii].

Statements in D. H. Mansfield's *American Vocalist* (1849) suggest other contexts in which secular dispersed harmony may have been sung. Mansfield divides the volume into three sections, writing, "The First, contains Church Music; the Second, the more important Vestry Music; and the Third, the lighter kind of Vestry music, or that which is more appropriate to particular occasions."¹³⁴ Mansfield does not specify the meaning of the unusual term "vestry music" any further; the phrase does not appear in any of the other tunebooks selected. The association of the vestry with extra-liturgical religious functions, such as prayer meetings and parochial business, may be a clue. Mansfield's subtitle indicates that the collection is "designed for the Church, the Vestry, or the Parlor," further suggesting that "vestry music" might refer to devotional song used in informal religious meetings and in the home.

The first section of *American Vocalist* anthologizes psalm and hymn tunes suitable for public worship, including both plain tunes that could be sung by the congregation and florid exempla more appropriate for choral performance. The later sections, on the other hand, are dominated by revival hymns, again implying that "vestry music" refers to tunes intended for use outside of church. Many of the melodies in this section of the tunebook are of an early gospel character. Adaptations of parlor songs—some sacred, some secular—are particularly prominent in the second section of the book.¹³⁵ It is difficult to identify any clear musical distinction between the two types of vestry music.

¹³⁴ Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, [ii].

¹³⁵ For a more detailed consideration of one of these pieces, "The Burial of Mrs. Judson at St. Helena, Sept. 1845," see pp. 87-88.

The preface indicates that “The Vestry music has been harmonized expressly for this work,” suggesting that the pieces may have been ones in common use but not available in notated form. The selections themselves corroborate this hypothesis; many appear to be transcribed variants of pieces, not unlike the independent iterations of folk hymns that so frequently appear in the Southern repertoire. For example, “The Garden Hymn” comprises a distinct version of a tune type that had been appearing in dispersed-harmonic collections since least 1805.¹³⁶ “Friendship” is a variant of a reform piece, “When Shall We Meet Again?”¹³⁷ Although there is a clear connection between the two pieces, “Friendship” is no mere reharmonization of its model, as Mansfield’s editorial statement may at first suggest. The piece appears in the minor rather than major, and there are significant differences in grouping structure. Due to the widespread use of rehearsed choirs in Northern churches during this period, a body of music widely sung but rarely—or variously—transcribed would more likely have seen use outside of public worship.

¹³⁶ Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, 322; Jeremiah Ingalls, *The Christian Harmony, or Songster’s Companion* (Exeter: Henry Ranlet, 1805), 63-64, x. David Klocko identifies the dance “Nancy Dawson” as the basis of this tune family. The most common iterations are “Nashville” or “Indian Convert” as arranged by Alexander Johnson and “Kingwood” as arranged by R. D. Humphreys. Other names under which the tune appears include “Springhill,” “Baltimore,” and “Love Divine.”

¹³⁷ Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, 191; “When Shall We Meet Again: A Parting Hymn,” in *The Family Minstrel: A Musical and Literary Journal* 1, no. 3 (2 March 1835): 23. “Friendship” appears with Mansfield’s editorial siglum “D. H. M.,” “When Shall We Meet Again?” is unattributed. Neither of these pieces are to be confused with the anonymous setting of the same text—anonymous, but marked “Composed for the Anniversary of the Charlestown Female Seminary, July, 1845”—also titled “When Shall We Meet Again?” in Edward L. White and John E. Gould, *The Modern Harp or Boston Sacred Melodist: A Collection of Church Music* (Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey & Co., 1847), 230.

Much of the secular music in *American Vocalist* appears in the second section, that of “the more important Vestry music;” as mentioned above, parlor songs are the most prominent type. Since the vestry music seems to have been meant to fill a need for devotional song in informal religious settings, these secular pieces may have been sung in similar contexts.

The lack of a distinction between sacred and secular styles seems to be one reason behind the reformers’ distaste for dispersed harmony, which they often characterize as being in an overly popular vein. One of the most telling pieces of evidence for this supposition is the historical overview of American church music that appears in Lowell Mason and George James Webb’s *National Psalmist* (1848). After listing some colonial tunebook publications, the editors write:

Other works followed, in which the peculiar style of which Billings has sometimes been called the American father, was more fully developed. This consists in an easy and popular (though often low and vulgar) flow of melody for Tenor voices, with harmony parts for a Treble and Alto above, and a Bass below [...] The tunes were admired in proportion to the popular taking character of the melodies[.] [...] Devotion, appalled, fled from the presence of such unhallowed strains, and her place was occupied by admiration, wonder, and curiosity. The worship of God seems no longer to have been regarded as the object of psalmody, which had now become a matter of mere entertainment.¹³⁸

The language Mason and Webb use to describe the First New England School in this passage is strikingly similar to that with which they criticize secular-sounding church

¹³⁸ Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, 2.

music of their own time, especially the parallel between “pretty taking melodies” and “the popular taking character of the melodies.” Both are seen as pandering to a congregation that would prefer to be musically entertained rather than encouraged toward devotional feeling. The editors have similarly derisive comments toward a number of eighteenth-century English tunebooks, especially Martin Madan’s *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (1760), which they describe as “often secular and extravagant in its melodies.”¹³⁹ Since these English collections, unlike dispersed harmony, mostly ascribe to common practice, the perceived similarity to secular music seems to be Mason and Webb’s central objection to both repertoires. Indeed, they may have included dispersed harmony in their categorical disapproval of church music written in an overly secular fashion.

Reform and dispersed-harmonic compilers took dissimilar views toward secular music, reflecting the more fundamental differences between the two styles. The reformers demanded a strict division of secular and sacred pieces based on musical content. Tunes in a secular style were considered appropriate in some contexts, but not for use in public worship—or for inclusion in tunebooks, for which church use remained a key purpose. Because this distinction was based on musical criteria, it was possible for sacred texts to be unsuitable for church use because of the secularity of their musical style; such pieces may have been relegated to singing schools and societies, as well as to the home. For a

¹³⁹ Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, 2, footnote. Above, Mason and Webb quote an unidentified English author as saying that Martin Madan’s Lock Hospital Collection, the Magdalen Collection, and Miller’s Foundling Hospital Collection “‘gave an unhappy impetus to that taste for ballad-like hymn-tune[s] that has since pervaded choirs and congregations.’”

secular text to be set in a sacred style was equally feasible; it seems likely that most pieces with secular words in the tunebooks surveyed belong to this class.

The relative lack of distinction between sacred and secular styles in dispersed-harmonic tunebooks is evinced by the many popular musical influences discernible in such music. Since writers of dispersed harmony had less rigid views on the proper and improper uses of secular music, information is comparatively scarce. Nonetheless, by virtue of compilers' silence on the subject, the place of secular music in the tunebook repertoire seems to have been accepted more or less without question. Some evidence suggests that secular dispersed harmony may have been associated with both singing schools and such informal devotional settings as singing societies and prayer meetings.

The objections the reformers leveled against the use of a secular style in music intended for public worship are related to more fundamental goals of the movement. The idea that church song should not be influenced by changing musical fashions is fully in accord with the educational and improving aims of the reformers, who had always been willing to go against prevailing trends to promote good taste. Their efforts at limiting the musical complexity of hymn tunes align with such central values as dignity, austerity, and consistency. Dispersed-harmonic views of secular music are less prescriptive and more permissive. The lack of concern for proscribing the spheres in which secular music is or is not acceptable reflects the lively interchange dispersed harmony enjoyed with popular music.

Types of Secular Texts

Secular pieces in tunebooks encompass a limited selection of topics, which vary between reform and dispersed-harmonic collections. Patriotic songs represent the most common secular subject in the dispersed-harmonic tunebooks surveyed, and are also common in reform collections. The most frequently reprinted secular piece in all of the collections included in the study is a patriotic tune, “America.” Despite the rarity of remarks by dispersed-harmonic compilers concerning secular repertoire, patriotic music does receive occasional mention. The preface of J. W. Steffy’s *Valley Harmonist* (1845) notes the popularity of patriotic songs: “If room will admit, we have selected a few popular airs and patriotic pieces, which every lover of his country delights to rehearse in their proper time and place.”¹⁴⁰ One such piece in Steffy’s collection is Stephen Jenks’s “Liberty,” a First New England School fugging tune that is among the most widely reprinted secular pieces:

No more beneath th’ oppressive hand
Of tyranny we mourn;
Behold the smiling, happy land,
Which freedom calls her own.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Steffy, *Valley Harmonist*, [iv].

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 127; also appears in Stephen St. John, *The American Harmonist* (1821); Allen D. Carden, *Missouri Harmony* (1834); William Walker, *Southern Harmony* (1844); and, under the title “Land of Liberty,” Samuel Wakefield, *The Western Harp* (1848). “Liberty” first appeared in *The Musical Harmonist* (1800); see Steel, *Makers of the Sacred Harp*, 197.

The majority of patriotic pieces do not invoke God, but some do, particularly in reform collections. The only example in the dispersed-harmonic collections is a piece on religious freedom, H. T. Wartman and Miss Browne's "Pilgrim Fathers" in J. W. Steffy's *Valley Harmonist* (1845):

They sought a Faith's pure shrine.
Aye! Call it holy ground,
The spot where first they trod—
They have left unstained what there they found,
Freedom to worship God!¹⁴²

A typical reform example is the fifth stanza of T. B. White's "American Hymn" in *The Modern Harp or Boston Sacred Melodist* (1847):

Lo! the dove, the olive bearing,
Plants it on Columbia's shore!
Every breast its branch is wearing,
Where the buckler shone before!
Praise th'Eternal! He is reigning!
Praise Him! Praise Him, evermore!¹⁴³

¹⁴² Steffy, *Valley Harmonist*, 329. Miss Browne contributed the air, which Wartmann harmonized. The text is attributed to Miss Browne's sister, Mrs. Hemans. Surprisingly, the same piece appears in an expurgated version in Mason and Webb's *National Psalmist* under the title "The Breaking Waves Dashed High: New England Song." The arrangement makes use of only the opening and closing sections of the *Valley Harmonist* version, expanding them into a four-voice setting in common practice part-writing; see Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, 301.

¹⁴³ White and Gould, *Modern Harp*, 191. The text is credited to Miss H. F. Gould.

Other secular pieces seem to have been written for performance under specific circumstances. As already noted, D. H. Mansfield sets apart the third section of *American Harmonist* (1849) for “the lighter kind of Vestry music, or that which is more appropriate to particular occasions.”¹⁴⁴ Many occasional pieces—such as those for baptisms or church dedications—are sacred, but some are secular, especially funeral songs. Such pieces represent nearly a third of the reform secular repertoire and nearly a fifth of the dispersed-harmonic. Most of these funeral songs were written for specific people; examples include Stephen Jenks’s “Funeral Dirge: Words on the Death of Miss Catharine Barringer, Supposed to have been Poisoned by John Bruner,” or the anonymous “Funeral Dirge on the Death of Mr. E. G.” in *Stoughton Collection* (1831).¹⁴⁵ Jenks’s “Mount Vernon” is a less personalized funeral ode written on the death of George Washington; since the text does not mention Washington by name, it could have been easily recycled for the deaths of other presidents.¹⁴⁶ A Lowell Mason piece also titled “Mount Vernon” bears the note, “Originally written on the occasion of the death of a young Lady, a member of Mount Vernon School, Boston.” This remark and the deliberately simple setting for soprano and alto alone suggest the piece may have been written for performance by the young woman’s schoolmates:

¹⁴⁴ Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, [ii].

¹⁴⁵ St. John, *American Harmonist*, 83-87; *Stoughton Collection*, 244-246.

¹⁴⁶ “Mount Vernon” first appeared in Jenks’s *The New-England Harmonist* in 1799, the year of Washington’s death; see Steel, *Makers of the Sacred Harp*, 193. It is misattributed to “Sounders” in Rothbaust, *Franklin Harmony*, 123. “Mount Vernon” was still being printed as late as M. L. Swan’s *The New Harp of Columbia* (1867).

Sister, thou wast mild and lovely,
Gentle as a summer breeze,
Pleasant as the air of evening
When it floats among the trees.

Peaceful be thy silent slumber,
Peaceful, in the grave so low;
Thou no more wilt join our number,
Thou no more our songs shall know.¹⁴⁷

The text “A View of the Temple” by the Irish poet James Eyre Weeks represents a different sort of occasional song, one intended for a Masonic meeting. J. H. Rollo provides a reform setting and Daniel Belknap a dispersed-harmonic one, both titled “Masonic Ode.” In Rollo’s version, the first section runs:

Sacred to Heav’n, behold the dome appears,
Lo! what august solemnity it wears:
Angels themselves have deign’d to deck the frame,
And beaut’ous Sheba shall report its fame.
Open ye gates, receive a queen who shares,
With equal sense, your happiness and cares;
Of riches much, but more of wisdom see,
Proportion’d workmanship and masonry.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ *The Boston Academy’s Collection of Church Music* (Boston: J. H. Wilkins and R. B. Carter, 1839), 208. Optional outer parts are included in small notes; a note above the tune explains that “The Tenor, or the Tenor and Base may be omitted.” The same piece appears in Mason’s own *The Sacred Harp, or, Beauties of Church Music* (1841) and D. H. Mansfield’s *American Vocalist* (1849).

¹⁴⁸ Ephraim Reed, *Musical Monitor, or New-York Collection of Church Musick* (Ithaca: Mack & Andrus, 1825), 167-169. Belknap’s “Masonic Ode” appears in John Wyeth’s *Repository of Sacred Music* (1826) and Allen D. Carden’s *Missouri Harmony*

Although some earlier tunebooks include secular occasional songs for weddings, none appear in the collections surveyed here.¹⁴⁹

Many hymn texts refer to nature, usually as a reflection of God's creative power or protection of humankind. Some nature songs, however, are not explicitly religious. For instance, H. E. More's "Merimack," a reform tune included in *The Stoughton Collection* (1831), runs:

Scatter'd round the verdant vale,
Notes of lowing herds prevail.
From the lofty mountain's brow,
Bleating flocks are heard below.¹⁵⁰

The line between sacred and secular readily blurs in nature songs, as "Knaresborough," also from *Stoughton Collection*, demonstrates. This unusual piece abides by neither reform nor dispersed-harmonic conventions of part-writing, bearing closer similarity to an eighteenth-century English "florid tune."¹⁵¹ The harmonies are

(1834). Belknap's setting is known to have been written specifically for the 1795 installation of the Middlesex Lodge of Framingham, Massachusetts; see Steel, *Makers of the Sacred Harp*, 86.

¹⁴⁹ An example is the wedding ode "Harmony" in Stone and Wood, *Columbian Harmony*, 92-93. The piece is attributed simply to "Hall," possibly Massachusetts composer Amariah Hall (1758-1827); an anonymous setting of the same text appears under the name "Northborough" in Nehemiah Shumway, *The American Harmony* (Philadelphia: John M'Culloch, 1793), 160-161.

¹⁵⁰ *Stoughton Collection*, 347.

¹⁵¹ The florid tune arose in rural English churches around 1720, following the widespread introduction of parish choirs. Although serving the same functions as the older body of psalm tunes—the setting of metrical psalm versifications—such pieces

functional and the part-writing devoid of parallelisms, but it is less homorhythmic and has a more independent bass part than most reform tunes. The text runs:

Hark, how the feather'd warblers sing,
'Tis nature's cheerful voice:
Soft music hails the lovely spring,
And woods and fields rejoice.¹⁵²

While this stanza could be read simply as a secular poem celebrating the beauties of nature, the use of the word "rejoice" instead suggests a depiction of the entire earth praising God.

Nature songs seem to belong exclusively to the reform and mixed collections. In the reform repertoire, nature and occasional songs are the most common types of secular piece, each representing nearly a third of the repertoire. Similar but simpler pieces about nature, frequently modeled on folksongs, are staples of music textbooks written by reformers, often serving as children's first introduction to part-singing. Perhaps the secular nature songs in reform tunebooks are more musically complex extensions of such pedagogical pieces.

feature livelier rhythms and greater variations in texture than tunes written with congregational performance in mind; see Nicholas Temperley, *Music in the English Parish Church* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 170-176. Similar features in "Knaresborough," as well as its attribution by Mansfield to "Leach," suggest an English origin.

¹⁵² *Stoughton Collection of Church Music*, 101. The tune also appears in Bartholomew Brown's *Templi Carmina* (1819) and D. H. Mansfield's *American Vocalist* (1849). Mansfield ascribes the piece to "Leach," probably the English Methodist composer James Leach (1761-1791); *Stoughton Collection* attributes the text to John Rippon's *A Selection of Hymns from the Best Authors* (1787).

Another group of secular texts describes parting, including “Parting Friends” in Joshua Leavitt’s *Christian Lyre* (1832):

When shall we all meet again?
When shall we all meet again?
Oft shall glowing hope aspire,
Oft shall wearied love retire,
Oft shall death and sorrow reign,
Ere we all shall meet again.¹⁵³

As with nature songs, the distinction between sacred and secular parting pieces is not always clear, especially in cases when the text could refer to death rather than a brief absence. For instance, the first line of D. H. Mansfield’s “Friendship” seems to be that of a typical parting song: “When shall we meet again? Meet ne’er to sever?” By the final verse, however, the text clearly reveals itself as sacred:

Soon shall we meet again, meet ne’er to sever;
Soon will peace wreath [*sic*] her chain round us forever:
Our hearts will then repose, secure from worldly woes;
Our songs of praise shall close,
Never, no, never!¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Joshua Leavitt, *The Christian Lyre* (New York: Jonathan Leavitt, 1832), 212-213. The same text appears in William Walker’s *Southern Harmony* (1844) and D. H. Mansfield’s *American Vocalist* (1849) with the title “Indian’s Farewell.” Although these “Indian’s Farewell” settings differ significantly from Leavitt’s “Parting Friends,” the melodies are clearly related. None of these tunebooks provide an attribution for the piece.

¹⁵⁴ Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, 191. Some sacred pieces in this vein appear in reform collections, including distinct settings of this same text in the Mason brothers’ *Sacred Harp or Eclectic Harmony* (1834) and White and Gould’s *Modern Harp or*

Parting songs appear only in the dispersed-harmonic and mixed collections. Tunebook introductions are silent concerning the performance contexts of such music. Perhaps pieces like these were sung at the end of singing society meetings, much as William Walker's "Parting Hand" closes modern-day Sacred Harp singings.¹⁵⁵

Some pieces are moralistic without being explicitly sacred, a category that frequently overlaps with funeral songs. Lowell Mason's "Norwich" from *Sacred Harp, or Beauties of Church Music* (1841) is an example:

Gently glides the stream of life,
Oft along the flowery vale;
Or impetuous down the cliff,
Rushing roars when storms assail.¹⁵⁶

Some tunebooks include parlor songs that typically would have been accompanied, in rearrangements for voices alone. D. H. Mansfield provides "Those Evening Bells" from Thomas Moore's *National Airs* as an alternate text to the tune "The Gospel Feast." Although the music is not that originally arranged for Moore's text by John Stevenson, the lyrics are the same:

Boston Sacred Melodist (1847), both titled with the incipit "When Shall We Meet Again?"

¹⁵⁵ It is unknown when this tradition arose, although an account of an 1891 Sacred Harp singing near Carroll, Georgia describes "Parting Hand" as being the final selection; see Steele, *Makers of the Sacred Harp*, 85.

¹⁵⁶ Lowell Mason and T. B. Mason, *The Sacred Harp, or, Beauties of Church Music: A New Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Sentences and Chants* (Boston: Shepley and Wright, 1841), 172.

Those evening bells—those evening bells,
How many a tale their music tells
Of youth and home, and native clime,
When I last heard their soothing chime.¹⁵⁷

Similarly, the melody of H. T. Wartmann’s “Thou art Passing Away” derives from Henry Russell’s parlor song “Wind of the Winter Night” (1836).¹⁵⁸ Wartmann arranged a fragment of the song for three voices and may have also have provided the sentimental text. One parlor song adopted wholesale into the tunebook repertoire is “Legacy,” already discussed in light of its prototypically dispersed-harmonic features.¹⁵⁹ Some secular pieces without known parlor song analogues still hold connections to the genre through sentimental imagery and a musical style close to popular song. Boyd’s “The Female Convict After Receiving Pardon in the Sight of God, Thus Address Her Infant” in William Walker’s *Southern Harmony* (1844) is an example:

O sleep not, my babe, for the morn of to-morrow
Shall soothe me to slumber more tranquil than thine;
The dark grave shall shield me from shame and from sorrow,
Though the deed and the doom of the guilty are mine.

¹⁵⁷ Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, 250. “The Gospel Feast” is anonymous.

¹⁵⁸ Steffy, *Valley Harmonist*, 290; Henry Russell, *Wind of the Winter Night, Whence Comest Thou?* (New York: Firth and Hall, 1836), 6-7. Russell was an English composer of parlor song who worked in the United States between *ca.* 1835 and 1845; see Johannes Riedel, “Henry Russell’s American Experience,” in *Festival Essays for Pauline Alderman*, ed. Burton L. Karson (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 209-225.

¹⁵⁹ Carden, *Missouri Harmony*, 148; Walker, *Southern Harmony*, 73.

Not long shall the arm of affection enfold thee,
Not long shalt thou hang on thy mother's fond breast,
And who with the eye of delight shall behold thee,
And watch thee, and guard thee, when I am at rest.¹⁶⁰

Parlor songs are apparently specific to the dispersed-harmonic and mixed tunebooks examined. Lowell Mason and George James Webb's *National Psalmist* (1848) indicates a context in which choral arrangements of parlor song were sung, as well as a reason why such pieces are notably absent in the reform repertoire. Of the question "How should the singing in a Sunday school be conducted?" the editors write:

The introduction of 'Auld Lang Syne,' 'Drink to me Only,' or other similar pieces that might be named, is, educationally considered, most pernicious and destructive of all that is desirable and good in psalmody. Light popular melodies, intended for secular purposes, and associated with secular thoughts, although they may have been united to unexceptionable words, must always have a most unfavorable tendency in the formation of devotional habits in this exercise. It is to be deeply regretted that for the mere purpose of amusing the pupils, such unworthy tunes should be adopted, in an exercise which should ever be regarded as one of worship. This practice is not only most unhappy in its influence on the religious habits and associations of the young, but it lays the foundation for all the secular abuses of psalmody of which good men complain, and under the burden of which it is bowed down even unto death.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Walker, *Southern Harmony*, 160.

¹⁶¹ Mason and Webb, *National Psalmist*, 5.

If Southern Sunday school classes sang “light popular melodies” in this fashion, then pieces like “Those Evening Bells” and “The Female Convict” may well have been turned to the purpose. If an analogous practice existed in regions where the reform style dominated—and the reproving tone of these remarks suggests that it did—then Mason and Webb’s disparagement provides a rationale for the omission of parlor song in their tunebooks, and those of compilers with similar convictions. Crucially, the editors decry parlor song only in the specific context of Sunday school music. The implication is that such pieces, intended as they were “for secular purposes,” were welcome as repertoire for secular concerts or domestic music-making, but not in a devotional environment like the Sunday school. An outright enthusiasm for the genre is evident in the inclusion of parlor song arrangements in reform collections devoted to secular music.¹⁶²

Songs about music and the pleasure of singing would have held obvious attractions for singing school students. Some pieces about music indulge in text-painting and are deliberately showy in their musical construction, such as “Canon Four in One:”

Welcome, welcome, ev’ry guest,
Welcome to our music feast:
Music is our only cheer,
Fill both soul and ravish’d ear:
Sacred nine, teach us the mood,
Sweetest notes to be explor’d.
Softly swell the trembling air,

¹⁶² For examples selected by the same compilers, see “The Last Rose of Summer” and “The Bucket” in G. J. Webb and Lowell Mason, *The Odeon: A Collection of Secular Melodies*, 52, 68.

To complete our concert fair.¹⁶³

The first stanza of “Musical Society” in Steffy’s *Valley Harmonist* (1845) runs:

Well met my loving friends of art,
In concert let us sing;
Each bear with me his vocal part,
And tuneful voices ring.
Each join with me his well tuned harp,
In concert sweet I say,
We’ll set our key on either sharp,
And sing sol, la, mi, fa.¹⁶⁴

The last line recurs in each stanza; since the final measure and its anacrusis are in unison, the syllables sung by each voice are indeed sol-la-mi-fa in four-note solfège. The remaining stanzas iterate the characteristics of each vocal part and mention Biblical instances of music-making; a footnote refers to music-making in Solomon’s temple as a validation of singing schools, a subject also considered at length in the preface of the tunebook. This piece occupies a prominent place as the first selection after the theoretical introduction, perhaps reminding singers of the important function of music in worship before they proceed to the remainder of the tunebook.

¹⁶³ Walker, *Southern Harmony*, 19. The canon also appears in John Wyeth’s *Wyeth’s Repository of Sacred Music* (1826) and as part of the title page of Stephen St. John, *The American Harmonist* (1821). Canons are not uncommon in eighteenth-century tune-books; many school music textbooks influenced by the reform movement introduce canons as a first step before singing in distinct parts. “Welcome, welcome,” however, is a rare example in the later dispersed-harmonic repertoire.

¹⁶⁴ Steffy, *Valley Harmonist*, 53-54. No composer or lyricist is listed.

Songs about music appear only in the dispersed-harmonic collections surveyed. Some reform pieces, however, use similar imagery in a sacred context, as does R. Cook's "Charleston" in Hickok and Fleming's *Evangelical Musick* (1839):

From vocal air, and concave skies,
Let wafted hallelujahs sound;
And let the sacred triumphs rise,
Till vaulted Heav'n the notes rebound.¹⁶⁵

Questionable Cases

Some texts, while clearly secular, do not fall neatly into any of the types outlined above. "Pastoral Elegy" is among the most widely represented secular pieces, appearing in four dispersed-harmonic tunebooks.¹⁶⁶ Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music* (1826) attributes the piece to Knapp. The text, which describes the mourning of Caroline for Corydon, evokes the bucolic backdrops common in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English parlor song:

Ye shepherds, so blithsome [*sic*] and young,
Retire from your sports on the green,
Since Corydon's deaf to my song,

¹⁶⁵ Hickok and Fleming, *Evangelical Musick*, 152. Pieces about music also appear in all-secular collections of reform music; Webb and Mason's *The Odeon* opens with an "invitation to the singing school," not unlike *Valley Harmonist*; see Webb and Mason, *Odeon*, 1.

¹⁶⁶ Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music* (1826), Rhinehart's *American, or Union Harmonist* (1831), Carden's *Missouri Harmony* (1834), and Walker's *Southern Harmony and Musical Companion* (1844).

The wolves tear the lambs on the plain[.]
Each swain round the forest will stray,
And sorrowing, hang down his head
His pipe then in symphony play
Some dirge to young Corydon's shade.¹⁶⁷

The music, however, is not at all characteristic of a parlor song. The two- and three-voice versions of "Pastoral Elegy" show no sign of having been expanded from a song with piano accompaniment; in both cases all the voices are equally active. The music is emphatically dispersed-harmonic. More surprising is the metric structure. Although notated in 6/8, the piece uses the rhythmic pattern of a bar of eighth notes followed by a bar of a half note and quarter note, suggesting a constant alternation between 6/8 and 3/4. The text and music of the piece seem to be at odds, as a lyric suited to art song competes with a tune scarcely typical of the genre. Further, the same tune is attributed to Rollo in Mansfield's *American Vocalist* (1849), where it sets the Charles Wesley hymn "Ah! lovely appearance of death."¹⁶⁸ Despite the substitution of a sacred text, Mansfield re-titles the tune "Corydon," evidently alluding to the lyric more frequently printed with the tune. This choice of title points to a close association of the piece with this text, in spite of their incongruity. Although "Pastoral Elegy" bears

¹⁶⁷ Wyeth, *Repository of Sacred Music*, 119. This is the fourth stanza of the piece as it is printed in Wyeth. The text is from a poem, "Edwin: An Elegy on a Friend," which first appeared in the *Connecticut Courant* for 16 February 1795 ascribed to "Caroline." English songs to which the rustic scenery of this piece may be compared include James Hook's "Pastoral" and Pleyel's "Henry's Cottage Maid," texts reproduced in part in Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), 14, 24.

¹⁶⁸ Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, 154.

similarities to a parlor song, its atypical music prevents it from exemplifying the category.

Similarly, other secular texts display characteristics of multiple categories. For example, in “The Burial of Mrs. Judson” by L. Heath, appearing in Mansfield’s *American Vocalist* (1849), both title and text suggest a funeral song:

Mournfully, tenderly, solemn and slow,
Tears are bedewing the path as ye go;
Kindred and strangers, [*sic*] are mourners today,
Gently, so gently, O! bear her away.¹⁶⁹

The piece first saw publication, however, as a song for voice and piano.¹⁷⁰ The subjects of funeral pieces seem often to have been acquaintances of the composer. For instance, Stephen Jenks’ “Funeral Dirge” is subtitled “Words on the death of Miss Catharine Barringer, supposed to have been poisoned by John Bruner,” while “Parsons” in Joshua Leavitt’s *Christian Lyre* (1832) has the more specific note “Composed January 1, 1823, by Rev. Jonas King, to be sung at the grave of Parsons.”¹⁷¹ In this case, however, the subject would have been more widely recognized; the titular figure, Sarah Hall Boardman, was the second wife of Adoniram Judson, a celebrated early missionary to

¹⁶⁹ Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, 301. This is the second stanza.

¹⁷⁰ L. Heath and George Hews, *The Burial of Mrs. Judson at St. Helena, Sep. 1, 1845* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1846). Mansfield claims to have printed the piece by permission, although the *American Vocalist* version is in 4/4 rather than 6/8, as well as being arranged for four voices rather than voice and piano.

¹⁷¹ St. John, *American Harmonist*, 84-87; Leavitt, *Christian Lyre*, 202-203. There is also a later, unrelated setting of the text of “Parsons” by L. Marshall in White and Gould, *Modern Harp*, 226.

Burma; Boardman herself was instrumental in translating hymns and the Bible into Burmese. The image of a famous evangelist dying in an exotic location is certainly the stuff of parlor song, but the text itself is not materially different from those of many more mundane funeral pieces. Thus “The Burial of Mrs. Judson” can reasonably be said to fall within both the funeral and parlor song categories, by virtue of its text in the first case and its initial appearance in the second.

The border between sacred and secular song appears to have been relatively elastic in the dispersed-harmonic repertoire. American dispersed-harmonic tunebooks have long included pieces that exist in both sacred and secular versions; James Lyon’s *Urania* included a Christianized adaptation of “God Save the King” as early as 1761.¹⁷² One piece that exemplifies this fluidity of genre is Jazaniah Sumner’s “Ode on Science,” written in 1797 for the opening of the Bristol Academy in Taunton, Massachusetts.¹⁷³ This piece is an oft-reprinted secular work within dispersed-harmonic collections, appearing in four of the tunebooks surveyed here. Samuel Gilman’s *Memoirs of a New England Village Choir* (1834), a fictionalized account of music-making in a small town in the Merrimack Valley between 1795 and 1805, confirms the currency—if not respect—Sumner’s ode enjoyed when describing an instrumental performance by one of the choristers:

¹⁷² James Lyon, *Urania: A Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems, and Hymns* (Philadelphia: no publisher listed, 1761), 190-191. Lyon names the tune “Whitefield’s” and uses it to set the recently-published Charles Wesley text beginning “Come, Thou Almighty King.”

¹⁷³ Steele, *Makers of the Sacred Harp*, 157. Sumner also wrote the text.

[Young Williams] was scarcely out of mere boyhood, before he grasped the violoncello—or, as we term it in New England, the bass-viol—with a kind of preternatural adroitness [...] Now he would make every soul burn, and every cheek glow with lofty rapture as he executed the splendid movements of Washington’s March, Belleisle March, Hail Columbia, or the much less admirable, but equally popular Ode to Science.¹⁷⁴

Most of the other pieces Gilman mentions here are well-known patriotic songs of the turn of the century, suggesting that “Ode on Science” was comparably popular.¹⁷⁵ Sumner’s original text is secular, celebrating the blessings of science and freedom upon the United States. As reprinted in Wyeth’s *Repository of Sacred Music* (1826), it runs:

The morning sun shines from the east,
And spreads his glories to the west,
All nations with his beams are blest,
Where’er the radiant light appears.
So science spreads her lucid ray,

¹⁷⁴ Samuel Gilman, *Memoirs of a New England Village Choir, with Occasional Reflections* (Boston: Benjamin H. Greene, 1834), 17, 19. Gilman’s novella was first published in 1829; the author describes the setting of his account on pp. 1-2. “Ode on Science” was still referred to as “well-known and still popular” in 1878; see *The Stoughton Musical Society’s Centennial Collection of Sacred Music: Consisting of Selections from the Earliest American Authors* (Boston: Ditson & Company, 1878), 304.

¹⁷⁵ Philip Phile’s “Hail, Columbia” was written for George Washington’s first inauguration; it appears in some dispersed-harmonic tunebooks, including Carden’s *Missouri Harmony* (1834) and Walker’s *Southern Harmony* (1844), and long served as an unofficial “national anthem.” Two marches known as “Washington’s March” and “Washington’s March at the Battle of Trenton” were widely reprinted in America in the 1780s and 1790s; the latter is sometimes attributed to James Hewitt, who arranged the tune as one movement of his *Battle of Trenton Sonata* (1797). “Belleisle March” may refer to the Morris dance tune of that name.

O'er lands which long in darkness lay;
She visits fair Columbia,
And sets her sons among the stars.
Fair freedom her attendant waits,
To bless the portals of her gates,
To crown the young and rising states
With laurels of immortal day:
The British yoke, the Gallic chain,
Was urg'd upon our necks in vain,
All haughty tyrants we disdain,
And shout long live America.¹⁷⁶

However, a different version appears in Allen D. Carden's *Missouri Harmony*. Through the appending of three stanzas of a sacred text by the English hymnodist Benjamin Bedomme to Sumner's opening lines, this version becomes a hymn. Since Sumner's text anthropomorphizes the sun, and Bedomme's hymn draws comparisons between the sun and Jesus, the two correspond well:

The morning sun shines from the east,
And spreads his glories to the west;
All nations with his beams are blest,
Where'er the radiant light appears.
Ye worlds of light that roll so near
The Savior's throne of bliss,
Oh tell how mean your glories are,
How faint and few compared with his.

¹⁷⁶ Wyeth, *Repository of Sacred Music*, 130-131. This three-part version eliminates the counter voice. Sumner's text also appears in Walker's *Southern Harmony* (1844) and Mansfield's *American Vocalist* (1849).

We sing the bright and morning star,
Jesus, the spring of light and love;
See how its rays diffused from far,
Conduct us to the realms above.
Its cheering beams spread wide abroad,
Point out the puzzled christian's [*sic*] way;
Still as he goes he finds the road
Enlighten'd with a constant day.
When shall we reach the heavn'ly place,
Where this bright star shall brightest shine?
Leave far behind these scenes of night,
And view a lustre so divine.¹⁷⁷

“Bunker-Hill” is another tune that entered the dispersed-harmonic repertoire as a secular piece but was later Christianized. The text was first published as a broadside by Nathaniel Niles in 1775 under the title “The American Hero: Made on the Battle of Bunker-Hill and the Burning of Charlestown.” Andrew Law would later provide a well-known dispersed-harmonic setting.¹⁷⁸ Niles’s text is in unrhymed Sapphic stanzas, a poetic form suited to the classicist references he includes:

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,

¹⁷⁷ Carden, *Missouri Harmony*, 138-139. Carden’s printing adds a repeat to the final strain to accommodate the extra four lines of text.

¹⁷⁸ Unlike much of Law’s mature work, this early piece is thoroughly dispersed-harmonic in style; Sylvanus Ripley has been suggested as another possible composer. The tune sometimes appears under the names “The American Hero” or “Warning.”

Sounding with death groans.¹⁷⁹

Joshua Leavitt's *Christian Lyre* (1832) provides this alternate sacred text:

Ah, guilty sinner, ruined by transgression,
What shall thy doom be, when array'd in terror,
God shall command thee, cover'd with pollution,
Up to the judgment?¹⁸⁰

Unlike the adaptation of "Ode on Science" in *Missouri Harmony*, Leavitt's version of "Bunker Hill" does not incorporate the original words of the piece to any degree. It seems plausible that this sacred text was written specifically to match Law's tune, especially since Sapphic stanzas are not a standard hymn meter. Sapphic texts are not wholly unknown in Anglo-American hymnody; Isaac Watts's hymn "The Day of Judgment" is one rare example. Although "The Day of Judgment" did not receive as many settings as most of Watts's other texts—perhaps in part because of its unconventional meter—it was known in America as early as Lyon's *Urania* (1761), which includes an English two-voice setting entitled "Judgment."¹⁸¹ Watts's subtitle, "An Ode Attempted in English

¹⁷⁹ St. John, *American Harmonist*, 120. Law's tune and Niles's text also appear together in Rhinehart's *American or Union Harmonist* (1831) and Carden's *Missouri Harmony* (1834).

¹⁸⁰ Leavitt, *Christian Lyre*, 204. Some later collections of sacred texts credit this verse to the Connecticut hymnodist Charles Beecher (1815-1900), an attribution made unlikely because of his youth at the time of the appearance of the text in the 1830 edition of *Christian Lyre*; most of Beecher's publications were issued in the 1850s. The same text in conjunction with the Law tune is also printed in Mansfield's *American Vocalist* (1849), under the name "The Warning."

¹⁸¹ Lyon, *Urania*, 188-189. The piece had appeared in the English tunebook *Harmonia Sacra* (ca. 1760). A related tune, usually tellingly titled "Sappho" and

Sapphick,” further hints at the eccentricity of the meter. Furthermore, Law’s setting repeats the first five syllables of the third line of each stanza, potentially allowing it to set an “elevens” text and again suggesting that the use of peculiar meter was a calculated choice.

Well-known songs were also candidates for Christianization. Thomas Moore’s poetry enjoyed considerable popularity in nineteenth-century America, often in conjunction with musical settings by Sir John Stevenson. Clearly arranged with a single singer in mind, these songs lend themselves only awkwardly to choral adaptation. Their wide familiarity nonetheless encouraged tunebook compilers to include them, sometimes in Christianized versions. One example is the nostalgic “Oft in the Stilly Night.” In Moore and Stevenson’s version, it runs:

Oft in the stilly night, ere slumber’s chain has bound me,
Fond mem’ry brings the light of other days around me.
The smiles, the tears of boyhood’s years,
The words of love then spoken,
The eyes that shone, now dimm’d and gone,
The cheerful hearts now broken!
Thus in the stilly night, ere slumber’s chain has bound me,
Sad mem’ry brings the light of other days around me.¹⁸²

occasionally misattributed to Billings, appears in some later dispersed-harmonic tunebooks, including Wyeth’s *Wyeth’s Repository of Music, Part Second* (1820) and *Ancient Harmony Revived* (1850). The Anglican hymnodist William Cowper also wrote a well-known religious poem in Sapphic meter, beginning “Hatred and vengeance, my eternal portion” and sometimes known by the title “Lines Written during a Period of Insanity,” but the poetic style is considerably more elaborate than that of his hymn texts and it seems unlikely that he intended it to be sung.

¹⁸² Thomas Moore and John Stevenson, “Oft in the Stilly Night, a Favorite Scotch Air” (Boston: James L. Hewitt & Co., n.d. c. 1820), 1-2.

A printing of “Oft in the Stilly Night” in Mansfield’s *American Vocalist* (1849) includes the song as a choral piece, also altering the central quatrain:

The joys, the tears, of early years,
The vows to Heaven then spoken,
Those youthful hopes now dimmed and gone,
Those sacred vows now broken.¹⁸³

Similarly, the second stanza of this adaptation laments friends lost to sin, rather than death. In this case, musical and textual alteration go hand in hand: the change from “boyhood’s years” to “early years” renders the piece suitable to be sung by a group of mixed sex, as does the choral arrangement in four parts.

Summary and Conclusions

The nineteenth-century tunebook repertoire—contrary to the assertions of some scholars—encompasses secular as well as sacred music. Not only do such pieces exist, but, during the time period covered in the study, it was unusual for a collection to wholly lack secular selections. Since no central repertoire of secular tunes became established, the usually unique selection of secular pieces in tunebooks seems to closely echo the ideas and tastes of individual compilers, thus reflecting those editors’ positions within the reform or dispersed-harmonic ideologies.

¹⁸³ Mansfield, *American Vocalist*, 304. Mansfield’s collection includes a second secular text by Moore, “Those Evening Bells,” given as an alternate text to the tune “The Gospel Feast” on p. 250; the tune is unrelated to the Stevenson setting first published with Moore’s poem.

Compilers of reform tunebooks tend to express stronger opinions as to the proper uses of secular music. Although their opinions vary somewhat, many demand a strict separation of sacred and secular styles, a distinction they based on musical and not textual content. The existence of pieces stylistically sacred but with secular texts reflects this idea. Only the sacred style was considered appropriate for use in public worship, one of the main purposes tunebooks attempted to serve. Thus, secular music in reform tunebooks rarely displays influences from popular music, instead being in the chaste, austere sacred style. Dispersed-harmonic collections do not musically differentiate between secular and sacred styles, and both types of text often show influences from popular music. Some evidence indicates that secular dispersed harmony may have been particularly associated with informal devotional institutions such as prayer meetings.

The topics of secular texts tend to fall within a limited number of categories, and also differ between the two styles, likely reflecting the dissimilar contexts in which such pieces saw use. For example, nature songs—often used as teaching pieces in musical textbooks of the era—seem to be largely specific to the reform repertoire. Adaptations of parlor songs, however, only appear in dispersed-harmonic sources; regardless of whether or not they appeared with sacred texts, parlor songs were too popular in style to be considered acceptable fare for a reform collection. Patriotic pieces and pieces for funerals are common subjects in both styles.

Despite the dearth of attention paid to secular music in the nineteenth-century tunebook repertoire, the topic has proven a rich and useful one. Dispersed harmony and reform music arose from different historical backgrounds, reflected different ideologies, and made use of different musical techniques. Their approaches to secular music are

equally individual, suggesting that it served disparate purposes in the two styles. While this study has served to shed a modicum of light on the subject, many avenues of approach remain unexplored, including the role of secular music earlier in the history of dispersed harmony, and the secular content of reform and dispersed-harmonic songsters, music textbooks, and glee books. Doubtless the subject of secular music will continue to shed further light on the history of reform and dispersed-harmonic music.

Bibliography

Tunebook Selection

Ancient Harmony Revived: Being a Selection of Choice Music for Divine Worship, Taken from Old and Approved Authors, as Billings, Belcher, Edson, Holden, Holyoke, Maxim, Morgan, Goff, Kimball, Reed, Swan, Wood, West, and Others, and from Several European Authors, Particularly from W. Tansur's Original Works. Boston: Perkins & Whipple, 1850.

The Boston Academy's Collection of Church Music: Consisting of the Most Popular Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Sentences, Chants, &c., Old and New, Together with Many Beautiful Pieces, Tunes and Anthems, Selected from the Masses and Other Works of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Pergolesi, Righini, Cherubini, Romberg, Winter, Weber, Nägeli, Kübler, and Other Distinguished Composers, Arranged and Adapted to English Words Expressly for This Work; Including, Also, Original Compositions by German, English and American Authors. Boston: J. H. Wilkins and R. B. Carter, 1839.

Brown, William C. *The Harmonist: Being a Collection of Tunes from the Most Approved Authors, Adapted to Every Variety of Metre in the Methodist Hymn-Book, and, for Particular Occasions, a Selection of Anthems, Pieces, and Sentences.* New York: T. Mason and G. Lane, 1837.

Carden, Allen D. *The Missouri Harmony, or, A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems: Selected from the Most Eminent Authors and Well Adapted to All Christian Churches, Singing Schools, and Private Societies, Together with an Introduction to the Grounds of Music, the Rudiments of Music, and Plain Rules for Beginners.* Cincinnati: Morgan and Sanxay, 1834.

Hastings, Thomas, and William B. Bradbury. *The New York Choralist: A New and Copious Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Adapted to All the Various Metres in General Use with a Large Variety of Anthems and Set Pieces.* New York: Mark H. Newman & Co., 1847.

Hickok, J. H., and George Fleming. *Evangelical Musick, or, The Sacred Minstrel and Sacred Harp United: Consisting of a Great Variety of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Set Pieces, Anthems, &c., &c., &c.* Philadelphia: J. Whetham, 1839.

Mansfield, D. H. *The American Vocalist: A Selection of Tunes, Anthems, Sentences, and Hymns, Old and New, Designed for the Church, the Vestry, or the Parlor, Adapted to Every Variety of Metre in Common Use, and Appropriate to Every Occasion Where God is Worshipped and Men are Blessed, from the Compositions of Billings, Holden, Maxim, Edson, Holyoke, Read, Kimball, Morgan, Wood, Swan, &c., &c., and Eminent American Authors Now Living, As Well As From Distinguished European Composers, Embracing a Greater Variety of Music for*

Congregations, Societies, Singing Schools, and Choirs, Than Any Other Collection Extant. Boston: Brown, Taggard, and Chase, 1849.

Mason, Lowell. *The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music: Being a Selection of the Most Approved Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Together with Many Beautiful Extracts from the Works of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Other Eminent Modern Composers Never Before Published in This Country, the Whole Harmonized for Three or Four Voices, with a Figured Base for the Organ or Piano Forte, Calculated for Public Worship or Private Devotion.* Edited by G. K. Jackson. Boston: Richardson and Lord, 1822.

———. *The New Carmina Sacra, or Boston Collection of Church Music: Comprising the Most Popular Psalm and Hymn Tunes in General Use, Together with a Great Variety of New Tunes, Chants, Sentences, Motetts, and Anthems, Principally by Distinguished European Composers, the Whole Being One of the Most Complete Collections of Music for Choirs, congregations, Singing Schools and Societies, Extant.* Boston: Wilkins, Carter, & Co., 1850.

Mason, Lowell, and George James Webb. *Cantica Laudis, or, the American Book of Church Music: Being Chiefly a Selection of Chaste and Elegant Melodies from the Most Classic Authors, Ancient and Modern, with Harmony Parts, Together with Chants, Anthems, and Other Set Pieces, for Choirs and Singing Schools, to Which Are Added Tunes for Congregational Singing.* New York: Mason & Law, 1850.

———. *The National Psalmist: A Collection of the Most Popular and Useful Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Together With a Great Variety of New Tunes, Anthems, Sentences, and Chants, the Whole Forming a Most Complete Manual of Church Music for Choirs, Congregations, Singing-Schools, and Musical Associations.* Boston: Tappan, Whittemore, and Mason, 1848.

Mason, Lowell, and T. B. Mason. *The Sacred Harp, or, Beauties of Church Music: A New Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Sentences and Chants, Derived from the Compositions of About One Hundred Eminent German, Swiss, Italian, French, English, and Other European Musicians, Also, Original Tunes by German, English and American Authors, Many of Them Having Been Arranged or Composed Expressly for This Work.* Volume I. Boston: Shepley and Wright, 1841.

———. *The Sacred Harp or Eclectic Harmony: Consisting of a Great Variety of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, &c., Original and Selected, Including Many New and Beautiful Subjects from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, Harmonized and Arranged Expressly for This Work.* Cincinnati: Truman and Smith, 1834.

Reed, Ephraim. *Musical Monitor, or New-York Collection of Church Musick: To Which Is Prefixed, the Elementary Class-Book, Being an Introduction to the Science of*

- Musick, Arranged and Systematized by William J. Edson.* Ithaca: Mack & Andrus, 1825.
- Rhinehart, William R. *The American, or Union Harmonist, or a Choice collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems, Selected from the Most Approved Authors, and Well Adapted to All Christian Churches, Singing-Schools and Private Families.* Chambersburg: Henry Ruby, 1831.
- Rothbaust, John. *The Franklin Harmony and Easy Instructor in Vocal Music: Second and Improved Edition of English and German Church Tunes Selected from the Most Eminent and Approved Authors in That Science, for the Use of Christian Churches of Every Denomination, Singing Schools and Private Societies, Together with a Copious and Plain Introduction to the Grounds of Music, and Rules for Learners.* Chambersburg: Henry Ruby, 1830.
- Smith, Henry. *The Church Harmony: Containing a Selection of Approved Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Set Pieces, and Anthems, Adapted to the Divine Worship of the Various Religious Denominations, and a Concise Introduction to Music, with Additions and Improvements.* Chambersburg: H. Ruby, 1837.
- St. John, Stephen. *The American Harmonist: Containing Easy And Concise Rules of Music, Together with a Collection of the Most Approved Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Fitted to All the Various Metres, Together with Odes, Anthems, and Set Pieces: Many of Which Were Never Before Published.* Harrisburg: William Greer, 1821.
- Steffy, J. W. *The Valley Harmonist: Containing a Collection of Tunes from the Most Approved Authors, Adapted to a variety of Metres, Also a Selection of Set Pieces and Anthems.* Harrisonburg: Henry T. Wartmann, 1845.
- Stoughton Collection of Church Music, Selected and Arranged by the Stoughton Musical Society: Being a Compilation of the Most Approved Sacred Music, By Ancient and Modern Authors.* Boston: Marsh, Capen and Lyon, 1831.
- Wakefield, Samuel. *The Western Harp: Containing a Collection of Sacred Music, Original and Selected, and Adapted to the Use of Worshipping Assemblies in General, Together with a Concise Introduction to the Art of Singing.* Pittsburgh: Charles H. Kay, 1848.
- Walker, William. *The Southern Harmony, and Musical Companion: Containing a Choice Collection of Tunes, Hymns, Psalms, Odes, and Anthems, Selected from the Most Eminent Authors in the United States, Together with Nearly One Hundred New Tunes, Which Have Never Before Been Published, Suited to Most of the Metres Contained in Watts's Hymns and Psalms, Mercer's Cluster, Dossey's Choice, Dover Selection, Methodist Hymn Book, and Baptist Harmony, and Well Adapted to Christian Churches of Every Denomination, Singing Schools, and Private Societies; Also, an Easy Introduction to the Grounds of Music, the Rudiments of*

- Music, and Plain Rules for Beginners*. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., 1844.
- White, Edward L. and John E. Gould. *The Modern Harp or Boston Sacred Melodist: a Collection of Church Music, Comprising, in Addition to Many of the Most Popular Tunes in Common Use, a Great Variety of New and Original Tunes, Sentences, Chants, Motetts, and Anthems, Adapted to Social and Religious Worship, Societies, Singing Schools, &c.* Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey & Co., 1847.
- Wyeth, John. *Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music: Selected from the Most Eminent and Approved Authors in that Science, for the Use of Christian Churches of Every Denomination, Singing Schools and Private Societies, Together with a Plain and Concise Introduction to the Grounds of Music, and Rules for Learners*. Harrisburg: John Wyeth, 1826.
- Zeuner, Charles. *The Ancient Lyre: a Collection of Old, New, and Original Church Music, Under the Approbation of the Professional Musical Society in Boston*. New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co., 1837.

Other Primary Sources

- Brown, Bartholomew, Benjamin Holt, and Nahum Mitchell. *Templi Carmina: Songs of the Temple, or, Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music*. Boston: West and Richardson, 1819.
- Gilman, Samuel. *Memoirs of a New England Village Choir, with Occasional Reflections*. Boston: Benjamin H. Greene, 1834.
- Heath, L. and George Hews. *The Burial of Mrs. Judson at St. Helena, Sep. 1, 1845*. Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1846.
- Ingalls, Jeremiah. *The Christian Harmony, or Songster's Companion*. Exeter: Henry Ranlet, 1805.
- Little, William and William Smith. *The Easy Instructor, or, A New Method of Teaching Sacred Harmony*. Albany: Webster & Skinner and Daniel Steele, 1807.
- Lyon, James. *Urania: A Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems, and Hymns*. Philadelphia: no publisher listed, 1761.
- Moore, Thomas and John Stevenson. "Oft in the Stilly Night, a Favorite Scotch Air." Boston: James L. Hewitt & Co., n.d. [c. 1820].

- Original Sacred Harp (Denson Revision): The Best Collection of Sacred Songs, Hymns, Odes and Anthems, Ever Offered the Singing Public for General Use.* Edited by T. J. Denson, et al. Haleyville: Sacred Harp Publishing Company, 1936.
- Rothbaust, Johannes. *Die Franklin Harmonie und leichter Unterricht in der Vokal-Musik: enthaltend, die vornehmsten deutsch und englischen Kirchen-Melodien, die bey allen Religions-Verfassungen gebräuchlich, auf drey und vier Stimmen gesetzt, und mit den neuesten und vornehmsten musikalischen Stücken, von verschiedenen Dichtern und Componisten, sammt hinreichendem Unterricht verstehen, eingerichtet für Singschulen.* Harrisburg: John Wyeth, 1821.
- Russell, Henry. *Wind of the Winter Night, Whence Comest Thou?* New York: Firth and Hall, 1836.
- Shumway, Nehemiah. *The American Harmony: Being a Collection of the Most Approved Church Music and Anthems from the Different Authors Published in America Together with a Variety of Pieces Either Entirely New or Never Before Published.* Philadelphia: John M'Culloch, 1793.
- Stevenson, John and Thomas Moore. *Irish Melodies with Symphonies and Accompaniments.* Edited by J. W. Glover. Dublin: James Duffy, 1859.
- Stone, Joseph and Abraham Wood. *The Columbian Harmony.* No publisher listed, 1793.
- Swan, Timothy. *New England Harmony.* Northampton: Wright, 1801.
- The Stoughton Musical Society's Centennial Collection of Sacred Music: Consisting of Selections from the Earliest American Authors, as Originally Written, Together with a Few Selections from European and Modern Composers.* Boston: Ditson & Company, 1878.
- Webb, G. J. and Lowell Mason. *The Odeon: A Collection of Secular Melodies, Arranged and Harmonized for Four Voices, Designed for Adult Singing Schools, and for Social Music Parties.* Boston: J. H. Wilkins and R. B. Carter, 1843.
- Wolfe, Charles. *Remains of the Late Rev. Charles Wolfe, A. B., Curate of Donoughmore, Diocess of Armagh, with a Brief Memoir of His Life.* Edited by John Abraham Russell. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1825.
- Zeuner, Charles. *The Ancient Lyre: A Collection of Old, New and Original Church Music, under the Approbation of the Professional Music Society in Boston.* New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co., 1833.

Secondary Sources

- Adams, Martin. *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of His Musical Style*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Bealle, John. *Public Worship, Private Faith: Sacred Harp and American Folksong*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997.
- Billhartz, Terry D. *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening: Church and Society in Early National Baltimore*. Rutherford: Associated University Presses, 1986.
- Britton, Allen Perdue. "Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-Books to 1800." PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1950.
- Britton, Allen Perdue, Irving Lowens, and Richard Crawford. *American Sacred Music Imprints 1698-1810: A Bibliography*. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1990.
- Brown, Theron and Hezekiah Butterworth. *The Story of the Hymns and Tunes*. New York City: American Tract Society, 1906.
- Bruce, Dickson, Jr. *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974.
- Crawford, Richard. "'Ancient Music' and the Europeanizing of American Psalmody, 1800-1810." In *A Celebration of American Music: Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock*. Edited by Richard Crawford et. al. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993. 225-255.
- . *Andrew Law: American Psalmist*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968.
- Dooley, J. E. "Thomas Hastings: American Church Musician." PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 1963.
- Ellington, Charles Linwood. "The Sacred Harp Tradition of the South: Its Origin and Evolution." PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 1970.
- Eskew, Harry Lee. "Shape-Note Hymnody in the Shenandoah Valley, 1816-1860." PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1966.
- Foote, Henry Wilder. *Three Centuries of American Hymnody*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940.

- Hall, James William. "The Tune-Book in American Culture: 1800-1820." PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1967.
- Hamm, Charles. *Music in the New World*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1983.
- Hammond, Paul Garnet. "Music in Urban Revivalism in the Northern United States, 1800-1835." DMA dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1974.
- Holman, Peter. *Henry Purcell*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Jackson, George Pullen. *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands: The Story of the Fasola Folk, Their Songs, Singings, and 'Buckwheat Notes.'* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933.
- Klocko, David. Introduction to *Christian Harmony*. Jeremiah Ingalls. New York: Da Capo Press, 1981.
- Kroeger, Karl. "The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony and Sacred Music in America, 1786-1803." PhD thesis, Brown University, 1976.
- . "Word Painting in the Music of William Billings." In *American Music* 6, no. 1 (Spring, 1988): 41-64.
- Lowens, Irving. *Music and Musicians in Early America*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1964.
- . *A Bibliography of Songsters Printed in America Before 1821*. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1976.
- Mark, Michael L., and Charles L. Gray. *A History of American Music Education*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Education, 2007.
- McKenzie, Wallace. "The Alto Parts in the 'True Dispersed Harmony' of *The Sacred Harp*." *The Musical Quarterly* 73, no. 2 (1989): 153-171.
- Norton, Kay. *Baptist Offspring, Southern Midwife—Jesse Mercer's Cluster of Spiritual Songs (1810): A Study in American Hymnody*. Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2002.
- Pemberton, Carol A. *Lowell Mason: A Bio-Bibliography*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988.
- . *Lowell Mason: His Life and Work*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985.

- Perrin, Philip. "Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-Books from 1801 to 1860." DMA dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1968.
- Rogers, Samuel Kirby. "The Social and Pedagogical Function of *The Worcester Collection*, *The Village Harmony* and *The Easy Instructor* in the Early-American Singing School." PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 1969.
- Riedel, Johannes. "Henry Russell's American Experience." In *Festival Essays for Pauline Alderman: A Musicological Tribute*, edited by Burton L. Karson, 209-225. Provo: Brigham University Press, 1976.
- Steel, David Warren. *The Makers of the Sacred Harp*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010.
- Steinberg, Judith T. "Old Folks Concerts and the Revival of New England Psalmody." In *The Musical Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (Oct. 1973): 602-619.
- Stevenson, Robert Murrell. *Protestant Church Music in America: A Short Survey of Men and Movements from 1564 to the Present*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1966.
- . *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961.
- Swan, Timothy. *Psalmody and Secular Songs*. Edited by Nym Cooke. Madison: A-R Editions, 1997.
- van Tassel, Eric. "Music for the Church." In *The Purcell Companion*, edited by Michael Burden, 115-142. Portland: Amadeus Press, 1994.
- Tawa, Nicholas E. *From Psalm to Symphony: A History of Music in New England*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001.
- Temperley, Nicholas. "First Forty: The Earliest American Compositions." *American Music* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 1-25.
- . "John Playford and the Metrical Psalms." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25, no. 3 (Autumn, 1972): 331-378.
- . "The Origins of the Fuging Tune." *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 17 (1981): 1-32.
- . *The Music of the English Parish Church*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

———. “The Old Way of Singing: Its Origins and Development.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34, no. 3 (1981): 511-544.

Willhide, J. Lawrence. *Samuel Holyoke: American Music Educator*. PhD dissertation, University of Southern California, 1954.

Wingard, A. B. *The Life and Works of William Batchelder Bradbury*. DMA thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1973.