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American Music Research Center  
College of Music  
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## INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

The *American Music Research Center Journal* is dedicated to publishing articles of general interest about American music, particularly in subject areas relevant to its collections. We welcome submission of articles and proposals from the scholarly community.

All articles should be addressed to Laurie J. Sampsel, College of Music, University of Colorado at Boulder, 301 UCB, Boulder, CO 80309-0301. Each separate article should be submitted in two copies, on 8½-by-11-inch paper, double-spaced, with 1" margins. If a manuscript is accepted for publication by the editorial committee, the author will be asked to supply a brief biographical paragraph and the PC file of the text (preferably in Microsoft Word) on a disk or as an electronic mail attachment.

All musical examples, figures, tables, photographs, etc., should be accompanied by a list of captions. Their placement in the paper should be clearly indicated. The preparation of camera-ready copy can be discussed with the editor.

In general the *AMRC Journal* follows the formats and guidelines of the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* and *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003). For instructions on notes, bibliography, discographic references, etc., please consult this volume or the research assistants.

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*Am  
Arc*

Deane L. Root

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## The “Myth-Story” of Stephen C. Foster, or Why His True Story Remains Untold

*Editor’s note: An earlier version of this paper was presented during the opening ceremonies for the AMRC in 1990 and was subsequently published in the inaugural volume of this Journal. It has been updated and is reprinted here in anticipation of the papers to be presented as part of the Center’s upcoming Fink Lecture Series on American Music.*

According to syndicated columnist George F. Will, Stephen C. Foster (1826–1864) was “arguably the father of American music.”<sup>1</sup> His songs, therefore, are important to the general public as well as to music historians and other scholars. This paper attempts to illustrate the new directions and insights that are possible in working with a research center such as the American Music Research Center at the University of Colorado at Boulder or the Center for American Music, which is part of the University Library System at the University of Pittsburgh.

In the entry on Foster in the *New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (*AmeriGrove*), H. Wiley Hitchcock says, “[Stephen Foster] was essentially self-taught as a musician.”<sup>2</sup> He also says that Foster “managed his finances badly” and that his was “a northerner’s notion of [plantation life].”<sup>3</sup> These factors, Hitchcock feels, are important for an understanding of Foster’s music. In the same dictionary, an entire section of the article on popular music, written by Charles Hamm, is also devoted to Foster. Hamm says: “[Foster’s] texts, which he wrote himself, are rarely topical, and usually nostalgic. They reflect the longing for a return to a simpler era that was the dominant mood of the period before the Civil War.”<sup>4</sup>

These statements are representative of the scholarship on Foster through the 1980s. Is their assessment correct? Or might it be possible that Foster, and perhaps an important aspect of the entire antebellum period, has been misunderstood? Even in the face of unanimous opinion, it behooves historians to pose several questions. Are the original source materials for the topic complete? How directly do they stem from the composer? Have some relevant materials been overlooked or undervalued? Have the materials been altered in any way to affect their content, and, if so, how and why were they changed? Is current perception of the subject



skewed by intervening authors who tried to influence the way we view it? Can the varying interpretations that, layer upon layer, have been applied to the composer's life and works over succeeding generations be stripped away? And ultimately, are Foster's original works understood in the context of his own time?

The answer to these questions is that very little is known about Foster, even though he is the best-known American songwriter of the nineteenth century, and he is still the most familiar American composer in many foreign countries today. He wrote songs that most Americans have known since childhood. He appears on charts of great composers in schoolrooms around the world. He is the only individual consistently given entire chapters in histories of American music.

In spite of his status, historians have only recently begun to discover what Foster's music meant to him, a fundamental question. The title of this paper is more than a play on the contrasted notions of myth and history. A set of myths surround Foster, popular beliefs and traditions that embody ideals or prevalent attitudes within wider American culture, but which may be false or misleading. What are these myths, what are their origins, and how have they been nurtured? There is a bit of detective work involved in searching for clues in the effort to uncover the truth; therefore, there is a bit of mystery as well.

The core myths, as reflected in the passages above from *AmeriGrove*, are that Foster was an untutored genius who succeeded through sheer will and inspiration; when one left him, so did the other. He longed for the old order, the Old South. And because he had an artist's mind, he was incapable of handling finances.

Other personal myths are not so central to understanding his music. One is that his career declined because he was a drunkard; in truth, he did not die of alcoholism but rather from weakness as the result of a fever and a fall in his room. Another is that he was a southerner. Actually, he was a Pittsburgher, a northerner. These myths persist, but they are debunked very easily by the facts.

But the core myths about his music, which are harder to deal with, are ultimately more important to American history. What are the sources that can lead to the truth? The Foster Hall Collection at the Stephen Foster Memorial, now part of the Center for American Music, is in the extraordinary position of having nearly all the extant original sources for this subject collected in one library. For biographical data and insights into his personality that can be drawn from archival materials, historians have his letters. There are only about twenty preserved, fewer than for other famous persons of his era and far fewer than for other members of his family. His family's letters in the Collection run into the hundreds, from the 1820s into the twentieth century, but especially from the 1840s and 1850s, the central period of his career. The Collection also includes scrapbooks, deeds, and other legal documents to draw upon.

Other documents in Foster's own hand include his account book, which he kept for a few years. It records how much he paid for laundry, how much

for rent, and how much he got from his publishers—piece by piece, title by title. The Collection also contains notes he scrawled in books or gave to friends, and contracts with his publisher. Some other artifacts survive: musical instruments such as a flute, a melodeon, and three pianos; personal effects like his coin purse containing a little scrap of paper on which he had written “Dear Friends and Gentle Hearts”; silver spoons that were given to him and his wife for their wedding; original photographs; and oil portraits, which seem to be based on the five poses in the photographs.

As for the music itself, only sixteen music manuscripts in his hand are known to have survived. Nearly all of them are publishers’ fair copies (copies that he sent off to the publisher) that even have the ends of the lines marked for the engraver. Thousands and thousands of first and early editions of his music are assembled in the Foster Hall Collection in an attempt to locate every copy that is in some way bibliographically distinct, even if only the price on the cover or an advertisement on the back had changed, or especially if a note had been altered in the musical score. There are tens of thousands of arrangements of his music by other musicians, from his own lifetime to the present.

Among the most revealing items in the Foster Hall Collection is the composer’s manuscript sketchbook.<sup>5</sup> The book is about eight inches by twelve inches, 113 leaves, and contains drafts of song lyrics, unpublished verses, a few musical sketches, doodles, and miscellaneous notes. Forty-four out of the forty-eight song lyrics that he published between 1851 and 1860, the most productive period of his life, are found here.

Historians should also keep in mind what is known to be lost. Most of the music manuscripts, of course, are lost. Foster sent music manuscripts to publishers, but the publishers never returned them to the family or deposited them in a library. A few that survived were given to expositions during the Civil War as curiosities and found their way into private collections. A few came back to the family, and a few went to the Library of Congress. One turned up 140 years after it was written, a previously unknown piano piece called “Autumn Waltz” bound into a binder’s volume, a collection that belonged to a young woman from a town near Pittsburgh. I was able to authenticate it by matching it with the paper and ink in other manuscripts in the Collection. It dates from approximately 1847, before Foster was a professional songwriter. Perhaps others will eventually be found.

Nearly all the drafts of Foster’s lyrics (except those in his sketchbook) are lost, as are all but one musical sketch. The Collection includes almost nothing from the last four years of his life when he was in New York City, surviving by selling new songs outright to the publishers rather than collecting royalties. Most of his own letters written as an adult are gone. Nothing that he or his wife wrote to each other survives. There is no glimpse of their domestic life that could tell historians something about his ambitions or events that could have affected his music. Having so little biographical source material is unusual for such a well-known figure in American cultural history.

Comments in other family members' letters indicate that Foster was a prolific letter writer, and yet almost no letters survive in which he commented on his career, his work, or individual songs. Why? After Foster's death in 1864, his older brother, Morrison Foster, served, in effect, as his literary executor and filled any requests for copies of photographs, the composer's autographs, manuscript pieces of music, and biographical or other information.

Morrison Foster recognized the demand for an authoritative account of the composer's life and, in the 1890s, attempted to fix a permanent version through a biography and collected edition (see Figure 1).<sup>6</sup> Morrison's is the only biography by someone who knew Stephen Foster. What's more, it served only as a preface to his edition of about two-thirds of Foster's original songs, which number over 200. Musicologist William Austin published the most objective assessment of Morrison Foster's role in his book, "*Susanna*," "*Jeannie*," and "*The Old Folks at Home*." Austin also identifies many literary sources for Foster's cultural views and the themes of his song lyrics.<sup>7</sup>

Foster left no autobiographical statement, and, until the 1990s, most biographies were prepared from secondary sources derived largely from Morrison Foster's publication and from earlier articles and reminiscences of Foster, which are highly colored by their authors' sensationalist or self-aggrandizing accounts. The alcoholism myth, for example, stems from one such account by another songwriter, George W. Birdseye, who was professionally jealous of Foster's success and wrote of seeing him in bars in New York City. Morrison's daughter, Evelyn Foster Morneweck, inherited the family's papers from her father and several decades later prepared a very thorough account of the Foster family history and a genealogy that is still the most reliable available.<sup>8</sup>

John Tasker Howard, a prominent music historian in the 1920s and 1930s, worked with the same materials once they had come to the Foster Hall Collection to write *Stephen Foster: America's Troubadour*, the only documentary biography.<sup>9</sup> Not until Ken Emerson's *Doo-dah!: Stephen Foster and the Rise of American Popular Culture* did a biographical treatment look beyond the myths to understand the songs' influence on American history.<sup>10</sup> Emerson's is also the first book-length study based on scholarly research conducted at the Center for American Music.

Prior to Emerson's, though, Foster's biographical treatment was shaped by Morrison Foster or his daughter. How did they represent Foster's life and works? According to the founding curator of the Foster Hall Collection, Fletcher Hodges, Jr., "The biographical section of Morrison's book must be considered a series of biographical anecdotes, rather than a biography. Its importance lies as much in its presentation of the personality of the composer as its factual statements."<sup>11</sup>



STEPHEN C. FOSTER.

# LIFE AND WORKS

OF

## STEPHEN C. FOSTER.

A work that must possess deep interest, not only for Pittsburghers, but for Americans in general, is the "Biography, Songs and Musical Compositions of Stephen C. Foster." This book has been written by the only surviving brother of the composer, the Hon. Morrison Foster, of "Oliver Plaza," Edgeworth, on the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway, and the publishing house is the Percy F. Smith Printing and Lithographing Company, of Pittsburgh, Pa. The book is a handsome and complete volume, well illustrated. It is the only full and complete life of a man whose genius bestowed immortality upon his compositions; whose songs will be sung long after men high in other professions and notable in achievement have been forgotten. In giving to the world a life of his famous brother, Mr. Foster has yielded to a pressure long withstood, brought to bear by his friends, as well as to the conviction that no other living person was so well equipped with recollections and with material to produce a full and authentic life of Stephen C. Foster, and a narrative of the songs that have made his name familiar to the world.

Stephen Collins Foster was born July fourth, 1826, in what was then known as Lawrenceville, and which is now that portion of Pittsburgh surrounding and adjacent to the United States Arsenal. His father, William Barclay Foster, was an enterprising and prominent merchant of Pittsburgh, of Scotch Irish descent, and whose wife was Eliza Clayland Tomlinson, a native of Wilmington, Delaware.

Foster's songs, whether ballads or negro melodies, touch a chord in human hearts that until the Pittsburgher appeared, had lain dormant. He wedded to homely words, in the dialect of the Southern negro, music full of simple pathos, peculiar to itself, and winning a place not granted to the work of other composers.

The "Biography, etc.," will contain all the compositions by Foster, from the "Ting-a-Watts," produced in 1840, to "Beautiful Dreamer," written shortly before his death, including "Where is Thy Spirit, Mary?" The music of these compositions and the words of the songs are given, and the total number is over one hundred and sixty. The demand for the book is very large. Mr. Andrew Carnegie has ordered one hundred copies, and the subscriptions of prominent Pittsburghers for over five hundred copies range from five to fifty copies each.

Stephen C. Foster's songs are all popular and all good. Some of the best known are the following, viz: "Old Folks at Home," sometimes called "Swanee Ribber;" "Old Kentucky Home;" "Mosses in de Cold Ground;" "Hard Times Come Again No More;" "Uncle Ned;" "Oh Susanna;" "Old Black Joe;" "Candy Annie;" "Old Dog Tray;" "Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming;" "Nelly Was a Lady;" "Nelly Bly;" "Lovers Lee;" "Ellen Bayne," etc.

The work is in one volume of three hundred pages, 6x10. It is sold at \$1.00 per copy, handsomely bound in cloth and ornamented in gilt. There are 279 pages of music, and the remainder of the book is made up of biography, illustrations, index, etc.

MORRISON FOSTER, PROPRIETOR,  
Shields P. O., Pa.

PERCY F. SMITH PRINTING AND LITHOGRAPHING CO., PUBLISHERS,  
204 and 206 Wood Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Figure 1. Advertisement for Morrison Foster's 1896 biography of Stephen Foster. (Foster Hall Collection, uncataloged)

Morrison's book presents his brother as: "A man of genius who, however modest in his demeanor, was accustomed to look deep into the thoughts and motives of men."<sup>12</sup> As for Stephen's musical training, Morrison explains:

He had but few [music] teachers. . . . Stephen . . . needed only elementary instruction, for his rapid brain and quick perception scorned slow progress by the beaten path, and he leaped forward to a comprehension of the whole scope of the instrument by the force of his great musical genius.<sup>13</sup>

He then ties Foster to the great European masters, although he did not mention Schubert:

But he was not content to rely on inspiration alone for his guidance in music. He studied deeply, and burned much midnight oil over the works of the masters, especially Mozart, Beethoven and Weber. . . . They were his delight, and he struggled for years and sounded the profoundest depths of musical science. The simplest melodies which he gave to the public were not the accidental rays from an uncultured brain, but were the most thorough and laborious analyses of harmonies, and when he completed them and launched them on the world, he knew they would strike favorably the ear of the most critical as well as the unlearned in music.<sup>14</sup>

So posterity is assured by his brother that Stephen was a musical genius, untutored and self-guided. But then Morrison offers a surprise, stating "that Stephen also became a most creditable artist in water colors as an amusement."<sup>15</sup> Such a talent seems curious; all the surviving doodles in Stephen's hand are rather crude, and the visual arts are not mentioned anywhere by a family member or friend, nor does any artwork survive.

Morrison continues about Foster's personality:

It was difficult for him to go into society at all. He had a great aversion to shams and glitter. . . .<sup>16</sup> He was always indifferent about money or fame. It was perhaps fortunate for him that he had several older brothers, who, being practical business men, advised him on matters which he would not have realized the importance of.<sup>17</sup>

In fact, many of the family letters—and nearly all the surviving letters from his brother, Dunning Foster—are about money. Dunning was a partner in a steamship company in Cincinnati, and Stephen worked for him as a bookkeeper before returning to Pittsburgh to launch his music career. Morrison writes that Stephen "found . . . he had no taste for business life."<sup>18</sup> He thus separates Stephen from the pragmatic world, painting him as an artist unwilling to deal with reality.

Then Morrison practically confers sainthood:

He would sit at home in the evening at the piano and improvise by the hour beautiful strains and harmonies which he did not preserve, but let them float away like fragrant flowers cast upon the flowing water. . . .<sup>19</sup> At times tears could be seen on his cheeks as he sang, so sensitive was his nature to the influence of true poetry combined with his music.<sup>20</sup>

To complete the picture Morrison writes, "His love for his mother amounted to adoration. . . . There is not one reference to mother in . . . his ballads but came directly from his heart and symbolized his own feelings."<sup>21</sup> While Morrison no doubt believed that what he was writing was the truth, he created a portrait steeped in the deep faith of mother-worship, family loyalty, and sentiment of the genteel society in late Victorian America. He was writing, after all, in the 1890s, at the end of his own life and thirty years after Stephen's death.

Morrison could be vicious on this point of family loyalty. When his niece, Mary Crosman, filed a lawsuit against other family members, Morrison wrote to her in 1883 (thirteen years before he wrote his brother's biography):

In that deposition you spit upon the grave of my sister (your sainted mother), you drag from the grave the body of your beautiful sister Lidie, and expose it dishonored and naked to the vulgar comments of a . . . courthouse rabble. . . . You cast dishonor upon me, upon yourself and upon our whole family. My heart almost ceased to beat and tears almost blinded my eyes as I read this deposition.<sup>22</sup>

Other family letters talk about having to keep up appearances of the family. Given his highly charged mind-set about the saintliness of mother and the sanctity of the family, the accuracy of Morrison's portrait of Stephen is difficult to judge. Moreover, he made certain that no other sources survived from the family that could cast a shadow of doubt on his portrait of Stephen. He altered or destroyed any documents that might have given a countering version. When Morrison became the head of the family in Pittsburgh after his parents' deaths in 1855, he burned most of the family letters. Those that survived, the ones that he kept, support his protective view of his parents and siblings. This is doubtless the reason the Collection has none of those letters between family members or from Foster himself that discuss his financial difficulties, career ambitions, or marital strife.

There was no love lost by Morrison for Stephen's wife Jane or her family, probably for political reasons, as is shown below. Morrison mentions Jane in his book only in passing. Jane and Stephen lived apart briefly in the early 1850s, about three years after they were married, and then again for about the last three or four years of Foster's life when he was in New York City. Morrison avoids this topic, which one might expect to be rather important in a biography. But Morrison is more than silent on this point.

Two family letters remain that mention this estrangement, and Morrison did not want the information in these to survive. Before saving a letter from his sister, Henrietta, written during Stephen and Jane's first separation, he

scrawled through a portion with a heavy-tipped pen (see Figure 2). Henrietta wrote in the fifth line down, “How sorry I feel for dear Stevie. Though when I read your letter I was not at all surprised of the news it contained in regard to him and [word scrawled through]. I last winter felt convinced [words scrawled through] though I never wrote a word of the kind to Stevie for I thought he had trouble enough already.”<sup>23</sup>

Morrison would not even let Jane’s name remain in the letter. What this letter actually says, as has been deciphered, is about her: “Though when I read your letter I was not at all surprised of the news it contained in regard to him and Jane. I last winter felt convinced that she would either have to change her course of conduct or a separation was inevitable though I never wrote a word of the kind to Stevie. . . .”<sup>24</sup> What conduct? The mention of a separation was something that Morrison apparently felt he had to hide. There is one other letter with a brief reference to marital difficulty.

Morrison also went to great pains to downplay Foster’s collaboration with the poet, Charles Shiras, who was his lifelong friend. Shiras is the first person Foster describes in his own poem briefly characterizing some of his closest friends, the “Five Nice Young Men.”<sup>25</sup> Mutual friends claimed that Foster and Shiras wrote several songs together. They wrote a play with music called *The Invisible Prince*, which received a public performance and was reviewed by the Pittsburgh newspaper. Morrison never mentions the play, and he says that Shiras only wrote the lyrics to one of Foster’s songs, the one in which Shiras’s name appears on the published cover. The play was not among the items that Morrison passed down. Historians have been unable to find any trace of the score or script.

Why might Morrison have sought to erase Shiras from Foster’s creative life? The motives for obscuring Foster’s personal relationships lie, perhaps, in both the cult of family loyalty, for which Morrison was the high priest, and the family’s politics. Their father, William Barclay Foster, had been a very prominent member of the Democratic Party in Pennsylvania. He served in the state legislature, and most of his livelihood was derived from political appointments. So too had other members of the family enjoyed political careers through appointments, even in Washington, D.C. Foster’s sister, Ann Eliza, was married to the Reverend Edward Buchanan, whose brother, James Buchanan, was the last Democrat to sit in the White House before the Civil War. The family naturally took great pride in their connection to the White House and their visits there during Buchanan’s presidency.

But to be a staunch Democrat in the 1850s meant not only supporting states’ rights and anti-federalism but also at least tacit support for the institution of slavery and the old order. In contrast, Jane’s father and therefore Stephen’s father-in-law, Dr. Andrew McDowell, a prominent physician in Pittsburgh, sponsored the first black medical student from southwestern Pennsylvania to attend Harvard Medical School; he wrote a letter to gain his admission and helped pay his tuition.<sup>26</sup>

Charles Shiras wrote progressive poetry highly critical of the Democratic Party platform. He published—and this was the ultimate embarrassment for Morrison—an abolitionist newspaper in Pittsburgh called *The*



do I doubtly pray that your best Blessings may  
 rest upon you. I can imagine too how kind he has  
 been, & I wish we could see him, if he comes off  
 to Pittsburg I hope he will come out here.  
 How long I feel for dear old Poppy, though when  
 I read your letter, I was not at all surprised  
 at the news it contained in regard to him and  
 his children. I last winter felt convinced <sup>that</sup>  
 my mother <sup>was</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>be</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>same</sup> <sup>as</sup> <sup>she</sup> <sup>was</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>time</sup> <sup>she</sup> <sup>died</sup>  
 aged <sup>was</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>time</sup> <sup>she</sup> <sup>died</sup> <sup>was</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>time</sup> <sup>she</sup> <sup>died</sup> <sup>was</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>time</sup> <sup>she</sup> <sup>died</sup>  
 I wish to be a part of the kind to Poppy, for  
 I thought he had been <sup>long</sup> <sup>ago</sup> <sup>dead</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>was</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>time</sup> <sup>she</sup> <sup>died</sup>  
 to come out and stay a while with me, we have

Figure 2. Letter to Morrison Foster from his sister. (Henrietta Thornton, autograph letter to Morrison Foster, 21 June 1853, Foster Hall Collection #C532)



*Albatross*. When Frederick Douglass visited Pittsburgh, he invited Shiras to accompany him. Morrison could not abide the politics of his brother's friends and relations.

What does all this mean for understanding Stephen Foster? Scholars can believe that he never wished to offend his family, and before the Civil War he certainly never wrote or set any lyrics that openly opposed Democrats' political views. (At least none have survived. There is no evidence that Morrison destroyed any.) He did participate in a local club to support Buchanan during the presidential campaign of 1856; he wrote songs and led rehearsals of the glee club for Buchanan. A couple of these efforts have survived, but only in manuscript; they were never intended for publication, and Foster wrote them in support of his family. Morrison even added his own verses to these songs. Not until after his parents' deaths, and at the height of the Civil War, did Foster write any political songs for publication, and then they were in support of Lincoln and restoration of the Union.

If Foster sought not to offend his family, he likewise could not violate the trust of his friends and in-laws. He could neither openly embrace nor deny the politics of abolition. For his songs in the Anglo-Irish parlor tradition—"Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair" or "Beautiful Dreamer"—this was not a problem. But he had to find a way to avoid the derogatory nature of the minstrel songs, from which he earned his living. And he had an additional incentive; he aspired to the acceptance of his career by his own family and friends of polite society. He was not, after all, a wage earner, business owner, or land speculator, the acceptable occupations for men in Pittsburgh's economy.

For the textual themes for his minstrel songs, whether of the comic or tragic style, the surviving evidence in the Foster Hall Collection suggests that he drew on four principal sources. In reverse order of importance these are, first, the stories of travel and conditions that appeared in the popular press. The family subscribed to magazines such as *Godey's* and *The National Magazine* that contained travelers' accounts of the South. Second were his own observations of southerners, black or white, while he lived in Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. His only trip to the South was a riverboat trip with his wife to New Orleans in 1852 after he had written most of his "songs of the South." His third source was first-person accounts of the South, stories told either by his own family or by friends who visited there. His father and Morrison traveled there many times on business; his sisters Charlotte and Ann Eliza visited the plantation at Bardstown, Kentucky (what is now "My Old Kentucky Home" State Park). And fourth, probably most important, is what he learned from the black community of Pittsburgh. In the 1830s and 1840s, when Foster was a boy at home, Pittsburgh was a major stop on the Underground Railroad. It had a sizable black community. The Fosters had more than one bonded servant from the black community—one in particular, Lieve (Olivia) Pise, was said to have taken Foster to black religious services and told him stories and sang him songs from the black traditions.<sup>27</sup> So what Foster knew of the South, what he knew of blacks under slavery, he learned directly from the freedmen, the escaped slaves, and the families of slaves who were living in Pittsburgh.

Some of the song lyrics he wrote before he became a professional songwriter in 1849, including "Lou'siana Belle" and "Away Down Souf," are, to our ears, demeaning to African Americans. None of them is outrageously caricaturing like "Jump Jim Crow," "Zip Coon," or the other eccentric parodies that were favored by the minstrel troops of that time. But in 1848, the same year "Oh! Susanna" appeared, his song "Uncle Ned" was published. It is the first song in his output presenting the grim side of slavery to the public from the minstrel stage. "Uncle Ned" is an elderly slave who was literally worked to death, with no medical care, no teeth, and no possessions.<sup>28</sup> The only way he will find rest and peace is in heaven, not on this earth. These lyrics were revolutionary for the minstrel stage.

A year later he wrote "Nelly was a Lady," a tragedy (see Figure 3). The protagonist of the song is on the Mississippi River loading cottonwood (as fuel for the steamboats) and singing, "Now I'm unhappy and I'm weeping, / Can't tote de cottonwood no more; / Last night, while Nelly was a-sleeping, / Death came a knockin at de door." And then he remembers that when he saw his Nelly, her warm and radiant smile "Seem'd like de light ob day a dawning." But now, "Close by de margin ob de water, / Whar de lone weeping willow grows, / Dar lib'd Virginny's lubly daughter; / Dar she in death may find repose."<sup>29</sup> She is in Virginia; he is on the Mississippi River. He had obviously been sold away from his wife. Separation has killed her, and it is about to kill him. That's not the image normally associated with the minstrel stage.

"Nelly Was a Lady" is perhaps the earliest song in which a black woman is called a "lady," a term that was usually reserved for well-born whites at the time. His songs increasingly challenged the minstrel stereotypes, but was he doing so intentionally? Did he have some sort of mission in mind?

The only surviving documents in his own hand that actually state something of Foster's intention are two letters to the minstrel leader E. P. Christy (which apparently were out of Morrison's control). Foster was supplying Christy with new songs before publication; he sent one in 1850 with a letter saying, in effect, that he was going to have this published next month and Christy could bring it to the stage beforehand, which would create a sensation and spur the sheet music sales.<sup>30</sup> That shows rather savvy business sense, but he made a big mistake in 1851 when he sent Christy "Old Folks At Home" and let Christy put his own name on it, thinking this would boost sheet music sales even more. He underestimated the power of his own name.

He writes to Christy about another song in 1851 and says, "Remember it should be sung in a pathetic, not a comic style."<sup>31</sup> Even after several years of their association, he had to caution Christy not to cut capers with his song but to perform it as tragedy. When he writes to Christy trying to get his own name back on "Old Folks at Home," he says:

As I once intimated to you, I had the intention of omitting my name on my Ethiopian songs, owing to the prejudice against them by some, which might injure my reputation as a writer of another style of music [genteel household songs of the "Jeanie" type], but I find that by my efforts I have done a great deal to build up a taste for the Ethiopian

songs among refined people by making the words suitable to their taste, instead of the trashy and really offensive words which belong to some songs of that order.<sup>32</sup>

This is the only evidence that survives from Foster's own hand about his understanding of his songs' social meaning.

Historians also have the evidence of the songs themselves in the editions Foster could control. By the time he wrote the letter above he was no longer using the term "Ethiopian Melodies" on the sheet music, as he had done on "Nelly Was a Lady." He now used the term "Plantation Melodies" instead (see Figure 4). Why this change? It more subtly conveys the notion that the songs no longer deal with some exotic setting on another continent, but rather with real people in real places within the United States.

The sheet music covers are also important for what they do not show. Most minstrel sheet music from this period bear cartoons of prancing and grotesque figures of blacks, but these images are absent from Foster's authorized editions. Indeed, on most of his covers there are no illustrations at all. When he did have a picture on the cover of a minstrel music edition that he authorized his publisher to issue, it was the portraits of the performers themselves in formal dress, not in black face. By 1854, as illustrated on the cover of "Ellen Bayne" (see Figure 5), one year after "My Old Kentucky Home," his minstrel music had evolved away from depicting the South or actors portraying southerners; rather, the images represented his sentimental songs "Old Dog Tray," "Ellen Bayne," "Little Ella," "Old Memories," and "My Old Kentucky Home."

Foster gradually dropped the use of terms that could be deemed offensive from his song lyrics. But the term "darks," which still appears in "My Old Kentucky Home" and "Old Folks At Home," was apparently used by the black community in Pittsburgh at the time. He must have felt it to be the most endearing term available, roughly the equivalent of "brother" or "comrade." He also softened the dialect, which, in any case, had been an attempt to replicate the speech rather than to caricature it. By the time "My Old Kentucky Home" was published in 1853 the dialect was gone, and the merger between minstrel song and refined parlor song was complete.

Foster's most lastingly popular songs stem from his effort to clean up the minstrel stage by writing music and words that elevated it to a higher plane. As Charles Hamm shows in his book, *Music in the New World*, Foster was able to create original, distinctively American music by combining elements from various national or ethnic styles that were circulating in the country. The result was music that was not unfamiliar to any one of those groups, that everyone recognized as being American, and that could not conceivably have been created in any other country that lacked America's cultural mix.<sup>33</sup> In other words, Foster—who relied on sheet music sales for his livelihood—was trying to reach the widest possible audience. He was not a naive channeller of inspired melody, but a pioneering songwriter on a mission to balance his personal ideals with his family's and society's expectations and constraints.

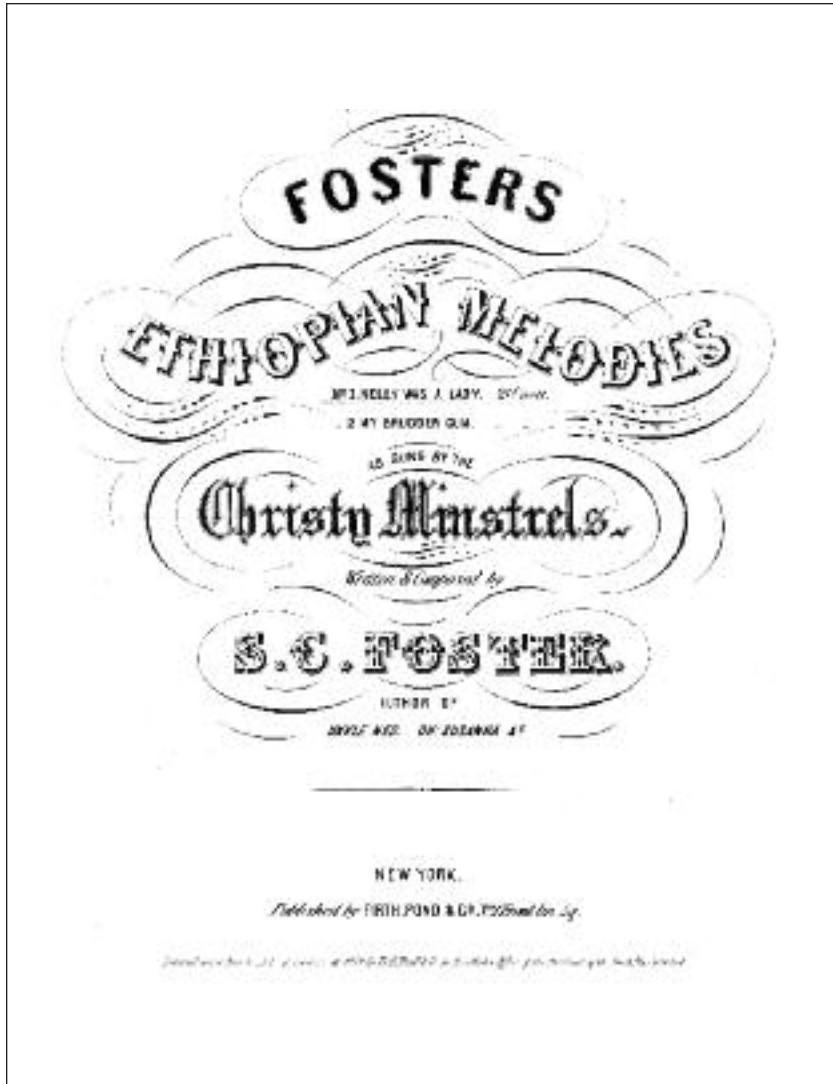


Figure 3. Cover of "Nelly Was a Lady." (New York: Firth, Pond, & Co., 1849)



Figure 4. Cover of "My Old Kentucky Home." (New York: Firth, Pond, & Co., 1853)



Figure 5. Cover of "Ellen Bayne." (New York: Firth, Pond, & Co., 1854)



Foster created a similar American blend with his song texts. He studied the themes of imported styles, for example, the Irish songs, English ballads, Italian operas, and African American spirituals. He found their common themes: the pain of leaving loved ones back home and coming to a new land (even if in “Nelly Was a Lady” the new land was the Mississippi River) perhaps never to see each other again; the longing for self-determination, free from political oppression; the right to live in dignity and to die in peace; and the longing to be surrounded by family amidst the oppressive lonesomeness of life. These were the themes of his songs, whether ostensibly about a wife waiting for a husband lost at sea or about a slave in the South. To label them simply as nostalgia or sentiment, as most scholars do, is to underestimate them.

These observations about Foster’s music and letters run counter to the image Morrison left for posterity. The original sources contain no evidence that Foster was ever a proponent of the old-order South or (as other authors have claimed) an apologist for, or even a glorifier of, plantation life.

As to the myth that his artist’s mind was incapable of prudent fiscal management, historians have but to know his account book, his success as a bookkeeper for his brother Dunning, and his contracts in his own hand that set out the royalties and details of his publisher’s relationship—exactly which titles were going to give him a ten-percent royalty, and which titles fifteen percent. Fortunately the publishers did not return those contracts to the family but deposited them in the Library of Congress. Yes, it is true that he borrowed from family and from his publisher, and that he died with only thirty-eight cents in his pocket. But he was the first American to attempt to earn a living solely from the sale of his music to the public, at a time when there were no performing-rights organizations or agents to collect fees for his songs if they were performed in public.

Recordings and radios, of course, were devices yet to be invented. They are very lucrative media for modern-day composers. And copyright laws were of little help. For example, the Foster Hall Collection has editions of “Susanna” by twenty-eight different publishers issued during Foster’s lifetime. Only one of them was the authorized publisher; only one of them paid for the song.

The myth of Foster as an untutored genius is the hardest to disprove, since the relationship between genius and good sense, between tutoring and practice, is impossible to delineate. Foster did have a composition mentor in Pittsburgh, Henry Kleber, who received musical training in Germany. Foster was not well-versed in the terminology of music theory, but other evidence demonstrates that he had a very wide acquaintance with the European masters, especially his selections for arrangement in *The Social Orchestra*.<sup>34</sup> He reveals much through his sketchbook, which came to the Collection through his wife Jane, who gave it to her daughter, who in turn gave it to the Foster Hall Collection in the 1930s. It was outside Morrison’s reach. It provides evidence that Foster rented an office in 1851 right after he was married, rented a piano for it, and spent his days there writing out drafts and contacting his publishers, a very business-like approach to song writing.

All this makes it hard to accept the image that Morrison presents. Foster was creating a profession for himself that did not yet exist. He understood what he wanted to accomplish, and sometimes he succeeded far beyond his expectations; more often the results were mediocre. He wrote, after all, over two hundred works; about thirty achieved real success. But what songwriter has not had such a share of disappointments over an entire career?

The control of the source materials and the impressions created by the earliest publications stemming from Foster's family have allowed scholars to see only certain aspects of his character and motivations, only selected glimpses of his life events, only modulated or even sharply polarized social interpretations of his music and poetry. Foster's history, as a result, has been as much myth as fact. This would perhaps be of little significance if the composer were not so important to American music. He was and is arguably the most famous American composer of the nineteenth century. As Hamm points out, "Never before, and rarely since, did any music come so close to being a shared experience for so many Americans."<sup>35</sup> Foster still affects our lives today. He is the best-known American composer in Japan and China, one of our greatest cultural exports. Historians must understand Foster better in order to understand American culture, and scholars must read historical sources, all of them, carefully, to push beyond myth to fuller understanding.

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## The Tune GOSPEL TRUMPET: Its Origin and Transmission in American Tunebooks

The anonymous tune GOSPEL TRUMPET first appeared in print in 1799.<sup>1</sup> Though published much too late to achieve “core repertory” status in American tunebooks issued before 1811, the tune did see at least moderate use in early-nineteenth-century sacred collections.<sup>2</sup> The tune is interesting for a number of reasons, including the variety of versions in which it appeared and the different names by which it was known. Even so, some features of the melody and its setting were remarkably uniform during the course of its publication history. Versions of GOSPEL TRUMPET were published in both northern and southern United States tunebooks and in at least one Canadian collection. The tune also appeared in volumes of both urban and rural character by compilers as diverse as Lowell Mason and B. F. White. Furthermore, the tune has retained its popularity into the twenty-first century as a staple in *Sacred Harp* singings. The wide dissemination of the tune, the variety of versions in which it appeared, and its continued use make this a most interesting piece to study. The purpose of this article is to identify the various versions of GOSPEL TRUMPET, note the relationships between them, and examine their possible origin and transmission through oral tradition.

### The Text

The anonymous text that was invariably used with GOSPEL TRUMPET in American tunebooks was “Hark, How the Gospel Trumpet Sounds.” According to John Julian’s classic *Dictionary of Hymnology*, “Hark, How the Gospel Trumpet Sounds” was written by a British Baptist minister, Charles Cole, and published in his *A Three-Fold Alphabet of New Hymns . . . to Which is Added a Supplicatory Supplement* (1792).<sup>3</sup>

Cole’s *Three-Fold Alphabet* did in fact contain a hymn with the first line “Hark, How the Gospel Trumpet Sounds” (no. 8), but this was not the text employed in American tunebooks with GOSPEL TRUMPET (see Figure 1). Indeed, Cole’s hymn, a four-line Long Meter text of seven stanzas, could not be sung with GOSPEL TRUMPET, which requires a text with the rather unusual Particular Meter 8.8.8.8.4.<sup>4</sup>

The hymn text that became standard in American tunebooks apparently originated shortly before the publication of Cole’s *Three-Fold Alphabet*. In

1. Hark! how the Gospel Trumpet sounds, Christ and Free Grace therein abounds! Free Grace to such as Sinners be! And if Free Grace, why not for me?	5. The peaceful Note of Gospel sound In Christ alone is to be found; Made by his Blood, divinely free:— And why not Peace, my Soul, for thee?
2. The Gospel Notes how full of Bliss! Pardon, and Peace, and Righteousness! Life, Light, and Joy, and Rest divine Are free thro' Christ; and why not mine?	6. Thus Jesus came the Poor to bless, To cloath them with his Righteousness; The Robe is spotless, full, and free;— And why, my Soul, why not for thee?
3. The Saviour dy'd, and by his Blood Brought rebel Sinners near to God: He dy'd to set the Captives free:— And why, my Soul, why not for thee?	7. Eternal Life, by Christ, is given, And ruin'd Rebels rais'd to Heav'n: Then sing of Grace so rich and free,— And say, my Soul, why not for thee?
4. The Blood of Christ, how sweet it sounds! To cleanse and heal the Sinner's Wounds: The Streams thereof are rich and free;— And why, my Soul, why not for thee?	

Figure 1. "Hark, How the Gospel Trumpet Sounds," from Charles Cole, *A Three-Fold Alphabet of New Hymns* (London: C. Cole, 1792)

Britain, the text was available at least as early as the ninth edition of Robert Spence's *Pocket Hymn Book* (1789), while in America it appeared in two collections in 1791, the Methodist *Pocket Hymn-Book* and Joshua Smith's *Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs*.<sup>5</sup> None of these collections gave an attribution or source for the text.

Figure 2 places the 1791 American *Divine Hymns* and 1789 British *Pocket Hymn Book* printings of "Hark, How the Gospel Trumpet Sounds" alongside each other.<sup>6</sup> Notice the version in Smith's volume is two stanzas longer than the one in the *Pocket Hymn Book*, and that there are a number of variants between the two publications.<sup>7</sup> Most early-nineteenth-century American tunebook compilers seem to have followed the *Pocket Hymn Book* version for their settings of GOSPEL TRUMPET, perhaps due to the fact that several of them were intended to accompany Methodist hymnals, but a few made use of the Smith reading. There is also evidence in some musical sources of mixing between the two text versions.

### The Tune Gospel Trumpet in American Tunebooks

Many American tunebook compilers of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries made use of the "Hark, How the Gospel Trumpet Sounds" text. Occasionally, they printed an original setting of the text, but most often the hymn was set to one of the five versions of the tune GOSPEL TRUMPET described below.<sup>8</sup>

Joshua Smith, <i>Divine Hymns</i> (1791)	Robert Spence, <i>Pocket Hymn Book</i> (1789)
<p>1. Hark, how the gospel trumpet sounds, Thro' all the world the echo bounds, And Jesus Christ's redeeming blood Is bringing sinners home to God. And guides them safely by his word to endless day.</p>	<p>1. Hark! how the Gospel Trumpet sounds, Thro' all the earth the echo bounds! And Jesus, by redeeming blood, Is bringing sinners back to God; And guides them safely by his word To endless day.</p>
<p>2. Hail all victorious conquering Lord, By all the heavenly hosts ador'd, Who undertook for fallen man, And brought salvation thro' thy name, That we with the[e] might live and reign in endless day.</p>	<p>2. Hail all-victorious conqu'ring Lord, Be thou by all thy works ador'd, Who undertook for sinful man, And brought salvation through thy name, That we with thee may ever reign In endless day.</p>
<p>3. Fight on, ye conquering saints, fight on, And when the conquest you have won, Then palms of victory you shall bear And in his kingdom have a share, And crowns of glory you shall wear in endless day.</p>	<p>3. Fight on, ye conqu'ring souls, fight on, And when the conquest you have won, Then palms of vict'ry you shall bear, And in his kingdom have a share, And crowns of glory ever wear In endless day.</p>
<p>4. Thy blood, dear Jesus, once was spilt, To save our souls from sin and guilt And sinners now may come to God, And find salvation through his word, And sail by faith upon that flood, to endless day.</p>	
<p>5. Thro' storms and calms by faith we steer, By feeble hopes and gloomy fears, Till we arrive at Canaan's shore, Where sin and sorrow are no more, We shout our trials there all o'er to endless day.</p>	
<p>6. Then we shall in sweet chorus join With saints and angels all combine To sing of his redeeming love, When rolling years shall cease to move; And this shall be our theme above in endless day.</p>	<p>4. There we shall in sweet chorus join, And saints and angels all combine To sing of his redeeming love, When rolling years shall cease to move, And this shall be our theme above. In endless day.</p>

Figure 2. Two early printings of "Hark, How the Gospel Trumpet Sounds," from Joshua Smith, *Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs* (Portsmouth, N.H.: J. Melcher, 1791) and Robert Spence, *Pocket Hymn Book*, 9th ed. (York: R. Spence, 1789)

Figure 3 lists printings of various versions of GOSPEL TRUMPET in American tunebooks from this period. The tunebooks are listed in chronological order.<sup>9</sup> The title of the tune in each collection is given, followed by an indication of the tune family to which it belongs (to be discussed in more detail below), and the form of the tune.<sup>10</sup> The last column indicates whether the tune was printed in round or shape notes.

An examination of Figure 3 reveals that each of the first four publications of the tune used a different name: TRUMPET, VERMONT, GOSPEL TRUMPET, and ENDLESS DAY. Three of the titles—TRUMPET, GOSPEL TRUMPET, and ENDLESS DAY—were derived from the text with which the tune was associated; there appears to have been no special reason for the name VERMONT. However, after 1805 the tune was almost invariably known as GOSPEL TRUMPET, regardless of the melodic version selected. Perhaps this reflects the influence of two publications in particular: Lewis and Thaddeus Seymour's *Musical Instructor* (1803), apparently the first to name the tune GOSPEL TRUMPET, and James Evans's *David's Companion* (ca. 1809). The employment of the same title for different versions of the tune in these two collections, plus the occasional use of the title "The Gospel Trumpet" for the text in words-only hymnals (e.g., Smith's *Divine Hymns*), undoubtedly influenced later compilers to use the title GOSPEL TRUMPET, regardless of the version of the melody they chose. Figure 3 also reveals that the initial six publications were all in round note form. Thereafter the tune appeared in both shape note and round note guise as its use spread to both rural (shape note) and urban (round note) constituencies.

The tune appeared in at least five different versions. Some of these vary only slightly from one another; others are more widely divergent, while still being recognizable as the same basic melody. The specific differences and similarities between these versions and their relationships to one another are explored below.

### The Cole Version

The initial American publication of the text "Hark, How the Gospel Trumpet Sounds" in two hymnals of the same year is paralleled by the fact that GOSPEL TRUMPET was issued in two different United States tunebooks of 1799, John Cole's *Sacred Harmony; Part the Second* (Baltimore: J. Carr, 1799) and Amos Pilsbury's *United States' Sacred Harmony* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1799).<sup>11</sup> It is difficult to establish which of these printings came first. Cole's was advertised as "lately published" in August 1799, while the title page of Pilsbury was dated "Nov. 1799." However, Pilsbury's preface was dated "July 1799," suggesting that it was complete before the publication of Cole's book.<sup>12</sup> The short time frame between the issuing of these two collections and the significantly different versions of the tune included make it doubtful that either compiler borrowed it from the other. It is possible that they derived the tune from an undiscovered print or from circulating manuscript copies.<sup>13</sup> However, it seems more likely that these were independent transcriptions of a piece from oral tradition, as noted below.

TUNEBOOK	TUNE TITLE	MELODIC VERSION	TUNE TYPE	FORMAT
John Cole, <i>Sacred Harmony, Part the Second</i> (1799)	TRUMPET	Cole	Plain	Round note
Amos Pillsbury, <i>United States' Sacred Harmony</i> (1799)	VERMONT	Pillsbury	Fuging	Round note
L. and T. Seymour, <i>Musical Instructor</i> (1803)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Pillsbury	Fuging	Round note
Jeremiah Ingalls, <i>Christian Harmony</i> (1805)	ENDLESS DAY	Ingalls	Plain	Round note
James Evans, <i>David's Companion</i> (ca. 1809)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Evans	Plain	Round note
Azariah Fobes, <i>Delaware Harmony</i> (1809)	VERMONT	Pillsbury	Fuging	Round note
John Wiyeth, <i>Repository . . . Part Second</i> (1813)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Cole	Plain	Shape note (4-shape)
Stephen Humbert, <i>Union Harmony</i> , 2d ed. (1816)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Pillsbury	Fuging	Round note
Emanuel Kent, <i>David's Harp</i> (1818)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Cole	Plain	Round note
James M. Boyd, <i>Virginia Sacred Musical Repository</i> (1818)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Cole	Plain	Shape note (4-shape)
Allen D. Carden, et al., <i>Western Harmony</i> (1824)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Evans	Plain	Shape note (4-shape)
David L. Clayton & James P. Carrell, <i>Virginia Harmony</i> (1831)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Evans	Plain	Shape note (4-shape)
Joshua Leavitt, <i>Christian Lyre</i> (1831)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Evans	Plain	Round note
Joseph Funk, <i>Compilation of Genuine Church Music</i> (1832)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Cole/Evans	Plain	Shape note (4-shape)
Samuel Wakefield, <i>Christian's Harp</i> (1832)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Cole	Plain	Shape note (4-shape)
Lowell Mason, <i>The Choir</i> (1832)	URMUND	Mason	Plain	Round note
Henry C. Eyer, <i>Union Choral Harmonie</i> , 10th ed. (1839)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Evans	Plain	Shape note (4-shape)
Anon., <i>Revival Melodies, Part 2</i> (1842)	THE GOSPEL TRUMPET	Mason	Plain	Round note
B. F. White & E. J. King, <i>Sacred Harp</i> (1844)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Pillsbury	Fuging	Shape note (4-shape)
William Walker, <i>Southern and Western Pocket Harmonist</i> (1846)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Cole	Plain	Shape note (4-shape)
Jesse Aikin, <i>Christian Minstrel</i> (1846)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Evans	Plain	Shape note (7-shape)
Jesse Aikin, <i>Christian Minstrel</i> (1846)	URMUND	Mason	Plain	Shape note (7-shape)
William Hauser, <i>Hesperian Harp</i> (1848)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Cole	Plain	Shape note (4-shape)
M. L. & W. H. Swan, <i>Harp of Columbia</i> (1848)	URMUND	Mason	Plain	Shape note (4-shape)
Eli Ball, <i>Manual of the Sacred Choir</i> (1849)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Evans	Plain	Shape note (7-shape)
Charles Dingley, <i>Devotional Harmonist</i> (1850)	GOSPEL TRUMPET	Evans	Plain	Shape note (4-shape)
				Round note

Figure 3. Printings of GOSPEL TRUMPET versions in American tunebooks

Cole titled the tune TRUMPET, used the first stanza of text as found in the *Pocket Hymn-Book*, and claimed that it was “harmonized by I. [i.e., J.] Cole,” (see Figure 4).<sup>14</sup> The music appears in three parts with the melody in the top voice. The setting is homophonic throughout, with the two upper parts moving mostly in thirds and the bass singing mainly chord roots. The harmonization makes primary use of full chords (i.e., chords with thirds), except on the final chords of three of the four cadence points. Cole’s version also includes a dynamic marking, instructing singers to perform the third phrase, and presumably the subsequent ones as well, piano. In short, Cole’s

Hark how the joyful trumpet sounds

That all the earth the echoes bounds

*p* And Jesus by descending blood is

bringing sinners back to God *And*

guides them safe by his word To endless day.

Figure 4. TRUMPET from John Cole, *Sacred Harmony; Part the Second* (Baltimore: J. Carr, 1799), edited by the author

setting reflects many of the features of the British urban parish style of psalmody that was beginning to take root in America during the late eighteenth century as part of a reform movement in sacred music. On the other hand, the second half of the melody also seems to fit Karl Kroeger's description of pieces that were in "fuging spirit style," a feature that is of more than passing interest in view of some of the other versions of the melody to be discussed presently.<sup>15</sup>

The next printing of GOSPEL TRUMPET closely related to Cole's is a three-part setting in John Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second* (Harrisburgh, Pa.: J. Wyeth, 1813). The melody and the first stanza of text are included as in the earlier volume, except for one pitch and some differences in punctuation.<sup>16</sup> Wyeth also titled the tune GOSPEL TRUMPET and placed the melody in the tenor rather than the treble. He included three additional stanzas below the tune; these also follow the *Pocket Hymn-Book*. Wyeth took considerably more liberty with the harmonization, but even here much of the material is similar to that in Cole's book. Of course, in Wyeth's hands, the music was also printed in shape notes.

At least one later tunebook, Emanuel Kent's *David's Harp*, 2d ed. (1818), seems to have combined elements of the Cole and Wyeth printings. The text and melody (in the tenor) are identical to the Cole version except for the rhythm of the first measure. Kent's version also includes Cole's piano marking at the third phrase, as well as an indication that the tune be sung "with spirit" (a designation not found in Cole). The bass part is apparently new, but is somewhat similar to Wyeth. The treble's first two phrases are also similar to Wyeth, while the third is exactly the same as Cole; the fourth is unlike either Cole or Wyeth.

Most other compilers following the Cole version relied primarily on Wyeth's *Repository* rather than directly on Cole's *Sacred Harmony*. James M. Boyd's *Virginia Sacred Musical Repository* (1818) includes an exact duplicate of GOSPEL TRUMPET from Wyeth (minus the extra stanzas). In Samuel Wakefield's *The Christian's Harp* (1832), the tune is credited to "Wyeth's Coll.," though it contains a few variations from the *Repository* version, including reversing the positions of the treble and tenor parts.<sup>17</sup> William Walker's printing of the tune in his *Southern and Western Pocket Harmonist* (1846) varies only slightly from Wyeth's, while William Hauser's *Hesperian Harp* (1848) contains a version that is melodically identical to Wyeth's but with what appear to be newly written harmony parts, including a counter (alto), a part that had not previously been used in any known publication of the Cole version. None of these later printings of the Cole/Wyeth version copied Cole's piano dynamic indication.

The melody of GOSPEL TRUMPET as printed by John Cole demonstrates few of the typical characteristics of an American folk hymn: it appears to be tonal rather than modal, it makes no use of a gapped scale, and it is not known to be a contrafactum (changing the words while keeping the music essentially intact). On the other hand, there is strong evidence of centonization (incorporating a phrase from an earlier melody into a new one), a common feature of folk hymnody. This is particularly evident in the third phrase



(beginning in m. 9), which is remarkably similar to the parallel phrase in the folk hymns FEW HAPPY MATCHES, FAIRFIELD (though in minor rather than major), and—at least in general outline—WESLEY.<sup>18</sup> While the internal evidence of folk origin is not overwhelming, it is substantial and allows for a strong presumption of oral transmission when linked with the variant versions of the tune that circulated in the early nineteenth century.

There is little reason to suspect that post-1799 publications of the Cole version represent independent transcriptions from oral tradition, given the lack of significant variants between them. Rather, it seems probable that the melody (and to some degree the harmonization) was passed directly from one tunebook to another.

### The Pilsbury Version

Though published the same year as Cole's TRUMPET and obviously related to it, the setting of "Hark, How the Gospel Trumpet Sounds" (VERMONT) printed in Amos Pilsbury's *United States' Sacred Harmony* presents a striking contrast to Cole's version in *Sacred Harmony* (see Figure 5). Pilsbury likewise employed only the first stanza of "Hark, How the Gospel Trumpet Sounds," but in a version that seems to be an amalgamation of the *Divine Hymns* and *Pocket Hymn-Book* forms. It follows *Divine Hymns* in using "world" in line two and "home" in line four (instead of "earth" and "back"), but it also employs "by" (rather than "Christ's") in line three as in *A Pocket Hymn-Book*. VERMONT was published without attribution.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the contrasts, it is evident that the melodies of TRUMPET and VERMONT came from the same root (see the comparisons in Figure 6). Aside from employing a common text, they are also in the same key (A major, a feature that became standard in later printings of GOSPEL TRUMPET) and use a similar format, compressing a six-phrase text into four musical phrases. VERMONT is somewhat more rhythmically varied than TRUMPET, but both give prominence to half-note and dotted-quarter-eighth-note patterns in the opening section of the tune, and to quarter-note and eighth-note motion in the concluding portion. Finally, the second halves of the two melodies are nearly identical; the chief difference between them is the omission of a few eighth-note passing and neighbor tones from one or the other.

Pilsbury's setting, however, is unlike Cole's by being in four parts, complete with choosing notes (more than one note within a part), and having the melody in the tenor. More significantly, Pilsbury cast the music in fusing tune form. The bass begins the third phrase, which is imitated by the other parts (preceded by rests), creating an overlap of the text.<sup>20</sup> As is typical of many fusing tunes in eighteenth-century America, the fusing section of VERMONT is repeated.

There are also some remarkable differences between the melodies of TRUMPET and VERMONT. For example, TRUMPET takes only one measure for the first three words of the text, while VERMONT spreads them out over two measures, principally through the use of a gathering note. The first phrase of music climaxes on the pitch D in both publications, but Pilsbury reaches it through a sequential pattern and a reiteration of the climactic note, while

Hark how the gas-pel trump-et sounds.

Thro' all the world the ech-o bounds.

And

And Je-sus by re-deem-ing blood, Is

Je-sus by re-deem-ing blood, Is bring-ing sin-ners

home to God, And

bring-ing sin-ners home to God, And

home to God, And guides them safe-ly

guides them safe-ly by his word To end-less day, day.

by his word To end-less day, day.

Figure 5. VERMONT from Amos Pilsbury, *United States' Sacred Harmony* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1799), edited by the author

Cole 1799 (TRUMPET)

Hark how the gos - pel trump - et sounds Thro' all the earth the ech - o bounds And Je - sus, by re -

Pishury 1799 (VICARAGE)

Hark how the gos - pel trump - et sounds Thro' all the world the ech - o bounds, And Je - sus by re -

Ingalls 1802 (FIRST CLASS DAY) [transposed up a whole step]

Hark, how the gos - pel trump - et sounds, Thro' all the world the ech - o bounds. And Je - sus Christ's re -

Twains ca. 1809 (GOSPEL TRUMPET)

Hark how the gos - pel trump - et sounds, Thro' all the earth the ech - o bounds, & Je - sus by re -

Wyeth 1813 (GOSPEL TRUMPET)

Hark! how the gos - pel trump - et sounds, Thro' all the earth the ech - o bounds; And Je - sus by re -

Mason 1832 (DIABOND)

Hark! how the gos - pel trump - et sounds, Thro' all the world the ech - o bounds! And Je - sus, by re -

The figure displays six staves of musical notation, each representing a different version of the 'Gospel Trumpet' melody. The notation is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words underlined to indicate specific phrasing or emphasis. The lyrics for each staff are as follows:

- Staff 1: deem-ing blood is... bring-ing sin - ners... back to God And... guides them safe - ly... by his word... To... end-less day.
- Staff 2: deem-ing blood is... bring-ing sin - ners home to God... And guides them safe - ly... by his word To... end-less day.
- Staff 3: deem-ing blood is bring-ing sin - ners come to God... And guides them safe - ly by his word, To... end-less day.
- Staff 4: deem-ing blood, is... bring-ing sin - ners back to God, And guides them safe - ly... by his word, To... end-less day.
- Staff 5: deem-ing blood, is... bring-ing sin - ners... back to God, And... guides them safe - ly... by his word... To... end-less day.
- Staff 6: deem-ing blood, is... bring-ing sin - ners... back to God, And guides them safe - ly by his word, To... end-less day.

Figure 6. Comparison of versions of GOSPEL TRUMPET melody

Cole's setting moves rather directly up to the D and immediately off it. Similar rhythmic and melodic variations can be seen in the second phrase.

The use of full chords in the harmonization of VERMONT is almost exactly the reverse of that in TRUMPET: thirds appear in the closing chord of every cadence, while chords without thirds are employed at several significant points in the phrase interiors; e.g., the last chord of the second measure ("the") and the penultimate chord of the first phrase ("et").<sup>21</sup> VERMONT also contains a number of parallel and hidden octaves and fifths (tenor/bass, mm. 3-4, 7, 11, 12).

Thus, from the beginning of its known publication history, GOSPEL TRUMPET appeared in two obviously related, but nevertheless significantly varied, versions. Such pronounced differences in what are manifestly versions of the same basic piece—coupled with their near-simultaneous publication—are evidence that oral transmission of the melody was probably involved in both settings. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that Pilsbury's tunebook contained the first known printings of several American folk hymns.<sup>22</sup> The differences in placement of the melody, rhythm, and form (plain tune versus fusing tune) may be generally characterized as a contrast between the suave gracefulness of contemporary European ideals of musical composition, with the melody in the top part accompanied by functional harmony in the lower voices (Cole), and the rugged vigor of the eighteenth-century American fusing tune, with its rhythmic drive and relative equality of voices (Pilsbury).

At least four later tunebook compilers followed Pilsbury's version of the tune. Four years after Pilsbury published the *United States' Sacred Harmony*, Lewis and Thaddeus Seymour issued their *Musical Instructor* (1803). They included VERMONT—now retitled GOSPEL TRUMPET—in a setting identical to Pilsbury's except that the empty measure at the beginning was eliminated and the counter was placed in G clef and transposed up an octave. Azariah Fobes borrowed the tune directly from Pilsbury for his *Delaware Harmony* (1809). He retained the name VERMONT and printed it in the same form, apart from the correction of a couple of misprints and the elimination of one choosing note (treble, penultimate measure). Both the Seymours and Fobes apparently used the *Pocket Hymn-Book* version of the text rather than the "mixed" version of Pilsbury. The second edition of Stephen Humbert's *Union Harmony* (1816), the earliest extant tunebook published in Canada, probably borrowed the tune from the Seymours.<sup>23</sup>

Perhaps the most intriguing later publication of Pilsbury's version of the melody was in B. F. White and E. J. King's *Sacred Harp* (1844), the only known printing of this version in shape notes. That White and King borrowed the melody of GOSPEL TRUMPET directly from Pilsbury is evident from the text (which follows Pilsbury's wording exactly) and the fact that the melodies of the two publications differ only in the *Sacred Harp*'s breaking up of one quarter note into two eighth notes (m. 10) and changing a dotted-eighth-sixteenth-note pattern into even eighths (m. 13). Like the Seymours, White and King also deleted the empty opening measure, but it is doubtful that the later compilers needed to use the *Musical Instructor* as a model for this.<sup>24</sup>

The *Sacred Harp* attributes GOSPEL TRUMPET to “E. J. King,” probably indicating that B. F. White’s co-compiler provided the harmony parts, which bear little resemblance to those by Pilsbury. One of the changes King made was the elimination of the counter, giving the work a three-part setting that is typical of folk hymns in the *Sacred Harp*. King’s most significant alteration occurred in the fugal section. Like Pilsbury, King began the imitation with the bass, but whereas the earlier compiler began on the tonic and moved to the dominant, King reversed the pattern, starting on the dominant followed by the tonic. Furthermore, Pilsbury truncated the fugal section by bringing in all the upper voices at the same time. King, on the other hand, separated the entrances of the tenor and treble, delaying the latter by two measures. While this did not really create another fugal voice (since it caused no overlap of text with the tenor), it certainly leaves the impression of a full-fledged three-part fugal tune, a perception that is strengthened by the general shape of the treble entry. This feature, plus the liberal use of open fifths and parallel octaves and fifths, gives the King setting an even more robust character than Pilsbury’s original.

As in the case of the printings that followed the Cole version of GOSPEL TRUMPET, the tunebooks by the Seymours, Fobes, Humbert, and White and King undoubtedly relied not on oral tradition, but on Pilsbury’s publication of the piece. Even though these compilers might have encountered the work in an oral setting, they evidently found it expedient to utilize the South Carolina compiler’s printing as a model for their own publication of the work.

### The Ingalls Version

A version of GOSPEL TRUMPET whose substantial differences from other versions cause it to fall outside the main parameters of this tune’s publication was issued by Jeremiah Ingalls in his *Christian Harmony; or, Songster’s Companion* (Exeter, N.H.: H. Ranlet, 1805) as ENDLESS DAY. Ingalls’s three-part setting is unusual for many reasons, not the least of which is his use of the textual reading published by Joshua Smith in *Divine Hymns*.<sup>25</sup> It also differs from all other known versions of this tune by appearing in G major instead of the more common A major, and by using different time signatures for the first and second halves of the tune. Perhaps most importantly, the Ingalls publication contains only hints of the opening melody as found in Cole, Pilsbury, and the Evans version to be discussed presently.

In Ingalls’s setting, the first two phrases of music are cast in 3/2, while the remainder of the tune is in duple meter. The second phrase is an exact repetition of the first in all three parts, a feature not found in other versions of GOSPEL TRUMPET. These opening phrases bear no evident relationship to any other known version of the tune.<sup>26</sup> With the beginning of the third phrase, the resemblance to other printings of GOSPEL TRUMPET becomes stronger, but even here the melody begins a third too low (on the tonic rather than the mediant), though the appropriate notes do occur in the treble voice. By the second measure of the third phrase the melody finds its “proper” pitch and from this point on shows considerable similarity to the versions already discussed, though the harmony parts demonstrate little

affinity with the earlier settings. It is doubtful that Ingalls's version of GOSPEL TRUMPET became widely known, and it does not appear to have achieved any subsequent publications.

The significant discrepancies between the Ingalls printing and those by Cole and Pilsbury (as well as the ones published by compilers who followed the Cole and Pilsbury models) make it almost certain that Ingalls transcribed the tune from an oral version. The *Christian Harmony* publication gives the impression of a half-remembered melody whose opening has become garbled in transmission. Further, the use of the text as printed in Smith's *Divine Hymns* suggests that the music was not taken from one of the earlier tunebooks (which almost invariably used the *Pocket Hymn Book* form). Ingalls quite probably knew the tune from oral tradition and, encountering the text in Smith, decided to include it in his tunebook clothed in his own recollection of the melody.

### The Evans Version

James Evans of New York published yet another version of the piece as GOSPEL TRUMPET in his *David's Companion* (New York: J. Evans, ca. 1809). The subtitle of the book shows that *David's Companion* was "Adapted to the Words and Measures in the Methodist Pocket Hymn-Book." Thus, it is no surprise that the single stanza printed by Evans followed the wording of the text as found in that hymnal.

The chief melodic distinctions between the earlier publication by Cole and that by Evans are the latter's use of a dotted-quarter–eighth-note pattern in the first measure (instead of even quarter notes), an A as the third pitch of the tune (rather than G-sharp; this might have been a misprint), a C-sharp to begin the second phrase (instead of E), and the omission of some passing and decorative notes in the second half of the melody. The half-measure rest between the second and third phrases is also omitted. In addition to the variations in the melody, Evans gives only a single harmonizing part, the bass, which bears little resemblance to the one published by Cole.

Figure 6 shows that the differences between the Cole and Evans versions of the melody are relatively few. The Evans melody is even closer to Wyeth's variant of Cole, particularly if the third note in the first measure of Evans is dismissed as a misprint. Thus, the Evans version of the melody may well be considered a minor variant of the Cole version, which was probably not a result of oral transmission, but a conscious revision of the piece. On the other hand, the elimination of the half-measure rest between the second and third phrases, the consequent rebaring of the tune, and other features give the Evans publication a distinct character that set it apart from the earlier printings. Furthermore, later compilers were fairly consistent in their use of one or the other of these forms. In fact, it was the Evans arrangement that seems to have been the most widely used in settings following this version of the melody.

In addition to later editions of Evans's own book, three post-1808 printings of GOSPEL TRUMPET—Allen D. Carden, S. J. Rogers, F. Moore, and J. Green's *Western Harmony* (1824); David L. Clayton and James P. Carrell's



*Virginia Harmony* (1831); and Eli Ball's *Manual of the Sacred Choir* (1849)—duplicated Evans exactly (including the bass part), except that Carden and Ball corrected the third note of the melody to G-sharp.<sup>27</sup> Joshua Leavitt's *Christian Lyre* (1831) also incorporated the melody as given by Evans (again with the correction of the third note to G-sharp) but made several changes in the bass part.

Henry C. Eyer's publication of GOSPEL TRUMPET in the tenth edition of *Die Union Choral Harmonie* (1839) is unusual in several respects. Here the tune was set to a German text that was not a translation of "Hark, How the Gospel Trumpet Sounds," though the English words were also included. The melody is similar to Evans, differing from the earlier compiler principally in the use (or non-use) of passing and neighbor tones. Eyer printed the tune in four parts but rested the counter all through the third phrase, creating a contrast in texture. He also added several fermatas, as well as newly composed (or very loosely adapted) treble, counter, and bass parts.

The four-part version printed by Charles Dingley in his *Devotional Harmonist* (1850) duplicates the melody of the Evans version, apart from a couple of slight rhythmic alterations and the addition of two fermatas. The harmonizing parts appear to have been newly written. The beginning of the third phrase is marked by a reduction to two voices, tenor and alto; the soprano and bass double these but are printed in smaller type. The melodic version in Jesse Aikin's seven-shape *Christian Minstrel* (1846) is also similar to Evans, except that it breaks up the second quarter note in m. 12 into two eighth notes; the bass appears to be a revision of Evans, while the treble and counter parts are new.

One publication of GOSPEL TRUMPET that seems to present a coalescing of the Cole/Wyeth and Evans versions is Joseph Funk's three-part setting in *A Compilation of Genuine Church Music* (1832). The tenor and treble parts of Funk's opening phrase correspond exactly with those of Wyeth; the bass part, though not identical to Wyeth, is obviously based on the same material. After the initial phrase, the two lower parts in Funk are identical to Evans until the antepenultimate measure, when they again revert to the Wyeth form (phrases 2–4 of the treble appear to consist of new material).

Thus, the Evans version, though similar in many respects to Cole/Wyeth, seems to have taken on a life of its own. Significantly, the Evans version appeared in round note, four-shape, and seven-shape collections, in books of both urban and rural orientation, and in volumes of both northern and southern provenance, giving this the greatest geographic and cultural spread of any form of the piece.

### **The Mason Version**

Ten years after publishing his influential *Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music* (1822), the musical reformer Lowell Mason issued *The Choir; or, Union Collection of Church Music* (Boston: Carter, Hendee and Co., 1832), which according to the title page contained "A Great Variety of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, &c. Original and Selected." One of the tunes in *The Choir*, URMUND, is a four-part setting of



“Hark, How the Gospel Trumpet Sounds.” Three stanzas of text are included, attributed to the “Methodist Hymn Book.”

URMUND is unsigned, but some later collections attribute it to Lowell Mason himself.<sup>28</sup> In his *Hymn-Tunes of Lowell Mason: A Bibliography*, Henry L. Mason confusingly lists URMUND both as an original hymn tune by his grandfather and as an arrangement from an unknown source.<sup>29</sup>

At first glance, URMUND (which in later tunebooks is sometimes called URMOND) appears to bear little relationship to GOSPEL TRUMPET. As with Ingalls’s ENDLESS DAY, the first two phrases of URMUND show no evident resemblance to any other known publication of GOSPEL TRUMPET. In fact, all the other settings of these phrases (including Ingalls’s) are rather active, with few if any repeated notes. In contrast, URMUND’s beginning employs only three pitches. In addition to the rhythmic drive of the melody and the homophonic nature of the other parts, this gives the opening phrases a fanfare-like character, certainly an apt depiction of the sounding of the “gospel trumpet,” and a bit of musical symbolism that is essentially missing from all the other forms except perhaps that by Pillsbury.

With the opening of the third musical phrase the tune is back on familiar ground, and the melody nearly duplicates the same section of Cole’s setting, though the harmonizing parts are completely different. The last phrase of the melody and the harmonization appear to have been composed of entirely new material.

The distinctive differences between URMUND and the other versions of GOSPEL TRUMPET discussed here might lead to an assumption that this is yet another transcription from oral tradition were it not for the fact that Lowell Mason was not known as a collector or transcriber of folk hymns, and, indeed, was generally unfavorable toward this repertory. However, on at least one occasion, he made arrangements of folk hymns (which he labeled “Western tunes”) such as GOLDEN HILL and ST. LOUIS. Most of the time Mason probably drew these tunes from other published collections, rather than from oral tradition. In the case of URMUND it appears doubtful that this was his procedure, because only the text and the third musical phrase are common to other published settings.

However, Mason was also capable of rather extensive reworking of a melody to create an entirely new one, so much so that in many instances the original melody is barely recognizable beneath the revision. This is especially characteristic of tunes to which he gave a new title (as appears to be the case with URMUND), unless Mason took the version he printed from an undiscovered source, which seems unlikely.

URMUND appeared in a number of northern and urban tunebooks of the middle and late nineteenth century. While it would be pointless to list or describe all of these, three publications that exhibit unusual features are worth mentioning. In *Revival Melodies, or Songs of Zion. Part II* (1842), an anonymously compiled collection of songs “as they were originally sung at the meetings of the Rev. Mr. Knapp” as well as “others, not before published,” URMUND was included in a three-part setting (omitting Mason’s

soprano part) but was titled THE GOSPEL TRUMPET.<sup>30</sup> URMUND also appeared in Jesse Aikin's *Christian Minstrel*, as did the Evans version of GOSPEL TRUMPET, making this one of the few collections to include both pieces. Finally, while URMUND does not appear to have become popular in southern and rural tunebooks, it did find a place in W. H. and M. L. Swan's *Harp of Columbia* (1848), a seven-shape tunebook from East Tennessee, which probably derived the tune from Aikin's *Christian Minstrel*.<sup>31</sup> M. L. Swan carried the tune over into his *New Harp of Columbia* (1867), a successor to the original book that is still in use today at singings in the East Tennessee region. Needless to say, all of these printings ultimately owe their origin to Mason's arrangement of the tune and not to oral transmission.

## Conclusion

An analysis of the five known versions of GOSPEL TRUMPET in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American tunebooks reveals several interesting features. At least four of them seem to have been published without direct borrowing from other printed versions: Cole, Pilsbury, Ingalls, and Mason. The greatest disparity between the various forms of the tune occurs in the first two phrases. Indeed, the only musical feature that is common to all five versions is the second half of the melody, particularly the third phrase.

Such differences between tunes that are obviously related to one another can often be explained by oral transmission. The principal authorities for the identification of American folk hymns, George Pullen Jackson and Dorothy D. Horn, both apparently believed GOSPEL TRUMPET was based on folk material, but neither gave a secular source for the tune.<sup>32</sup> A possible antecedent for the second half of ENDLESS DAY was discovered by David Klocko in the "favorite Scotch song" "(For There's) Nae Luck about the House" (see Figure 7).<sup>33</sup> While, as noted above, the second half of ENDLESS DAY (and "There's Nae Luck") varied somewhat from the other publications of GOSPEL TRUMPET, there is enough correspondence to suggest that all five variants of the last two phrases of GOSPEL TRUMPET were derived from this melody.

Oral transmission is further suggested by the near-simultaneous publication of different versions of the tune by Cole and Pilsbury. Additional circumstantial evidence for a folk origin include the facts that most compilers printed the tune anonymously and that GOSPEL TRUMPET seems to have been fairly popular in tunebooks of rural and/or southern orientation. The only known claims made for this tune by the compilers themselves were Cole's statement that he "harmonized" it and the attribution to E. J. King in the *Sacred Harp*, which, as noted above, seems to indicate his work as an arranger. Cole, Evans, and Mason are not known for having been compilers of folk hymns, but Pilsbury and Ingalls were both pioneering figures in the early publication of this genre. While the mere fact of publication in a rural or southern tunebook does not necessarily indicate folk origin (these collections often included non-folk pieces as well), appearance in such a venue does lend support to an oral transmission theory when combined with other factors.

Ingalls 1805 (ENDLESS DAY) [transposed up a whole step]

And... Je-sus Christ's re-deem-ing blood bring-ing sin-ners.

"(For There's) Nae Luck" (1787) [transposed up a fifth]

home to God... And guides them safe-ly by his word. To our-lless day.

Figure 7. Comparison of the second halves of Ingalls, *ENDLESS DAY* and “(For There’s) Nae Luck about the House.” *ENDLESS DAY* is from Jeremiah Ingalls, *Christian Harmony; or, Songster’s Companion* (Exeter, N.H.: H. Ranlet, 1805) and “(For There’s) Nae Luck about the House” is from John Aitken, *The Scots Musical Museum* (Philadelphia: J. Aitken, 1797)

It is certainly possible that the tune also circulated in manuscript copy, perhaps even before the earliest publications in 1799, and it has already been observed that some compilers seem to have taken the tune from earlier printed collections and introduced their own variants. Indeed, it is likely that there were often a combination of factors at work in the transmission of the tune. For example, a compiler who knew the tune from oral tradition saw a manuscript or printed copy and incorporated it into his own collection, altering it to bring it more in line with the version he knew. Whatever the path of the various transmissions, *GOSPEL TRUMPET* ultimately has its roots in oral tradition.

Generally speaking, folk hymns were derived from secular oral antecedents either by way of contrafactum or centonization. In the former case, the entire original melody was kept in more or less recognizable form but with different words, and in the latter an individual phrase from one song could end up as part of another. The Cole, Pilsbury, and Evans forms of *GOSPEL TRUMPET* are similar enough to one another that they might be considered contrafacta, except that they cannot be contrafacta of “There’s Nae Luck” because the first two phrases of these settings bear no evident relationship to the Scotch song. Assuming that the second half of these tunes is a centonization from “There’s Nae Luck” makes sense in some respects, because this would also explain the similarities with the Ingalls and Mason versions. On the other hand, this ignores the first phrases of the Cole, Pilsbury, and Evans forms, which are obviously based on the same material. Perhaps additional sources for the opening phrases of *GOSPEL TRUMPET* will ultimately be discovered in traditional folk song.

Another feature that makes the various GOSPEL TRUMPET versions of interest is the fact that all are settings of essentially the same text. Contrafacta of folk songs or other folk hymns employ texts that are different from the original (this is actually one of the defining characteristics of the device), and centonization is applied (probably unconsciously) in most folk hymns to create new melodies that are set to texts other than the one used in the model (e.g., the melodies mentioned earlier—FAIRFIELD, FEW HAPPY MATCHES, and WESLEY). For all these reasons, GOSPEL TRUMPET seems to inhabit a sort of middle ground between folk hymnody and composed piece, between oral and written transmission.

GOSPEL TRUMPET also adds to the small store of folk hymn melodies that appeared in fusing tune form. George Pullen Jackson was one of the first to point out this phenomenon when he compared the folk hymn tunes GOOD OLD WAY and BEHOLD THE WRETCH with the fusing tunes JERUSALEM and ALABAMA, respectively.<sup>34</sup> That the melody of GOSPEL TRUMPET should have appeared as a fusing tune is perhaps not surprising because, as noted earlier, even the plain form of the tune was in “fusing spirit style.” Nevertheless, the actual working-out of the piece in fusing tune form by Pillsbury and E. J. King must be recognized as a significant and unusual contribution to the repertory.

Though GOSPEL TRUMPET did not seem to find a significant place in mainstream twentieth-century American hymnals, the tune still lives on in the 1991 edition of the *Sacred Harp*, which includes the E. J. King setting with an added counter part.<sup>35</sup> Though this was one of the least common settings of GOSPEL TRUMPET, it is still sung and heard regularly by hundreds of shape note singers and enthusiasts each year.

## Notes

1. Throughout this article the title GOSPEL TRUMPET will be used generically to indicate pieces in the “GOSPEL TRUMPET family,” as well as printings that specifically employ this name.

2. See Richard Crawford, *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody*, Recent Researches in American Music, vols. 11–12 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1984), lxxvii. Crawford identified the 101 sacred pieces published most often (between 44 and 226 times) from 1698 to 1810; only one tune in the *Core Repertory* received its initial American printing after 1796, ADESTE FIDELES.

3. John Julian, ed., *A Dictionary of Hymnology* (New York: Dover Publications, 1957; reprint of 2d rev. ed., 1907), 242, 1569. Some sources attribute the text to Samuel Medley, but the words have not been found in Medley’s own publications and the reason for this attribution is unclear. See also David Grover Klocko, “Jeremiah Ingalls’s *The Christian Harmony; or, Songster’s Companion* (1805)” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1978), 432.

4. The poetic meters are defined by the number of syllables per line. Short Meter (S.M.) has four lines of 6.6.8.6. syllables; Common Meter (C.M.), four lines of 8.6.8.6. syllables; Long Meter (L.M.), four lines of 8.8.8.8. syllables; Hallelujah Meter (H.M.), eight lines of 6.6.6.6.4.4.4.4. syllables; and Particular (or Peculiar) Meters (P.M.), with any other combination.

5. Though the Smith collection was undated, it was probably identical with one advertised by the publisher, Melcher, in the 6 October 1791 edition of the *New Hampshire Gazette*. Melcher listed the book as “Divine Hymns or Spiritual Songs, for the Use of Religious Assemblies, and Private Christians: Being a Collection by Joshua Smith and Others, Corrected and Enlarged,” and claimed it was “just published, by the printer

hereof." Four years later, Melcher advertised another edition of "Divine Hymns or Spiritual Songs . . . Being a Collection by Joshua Smith & Samuel Sleeper, a New Edition Corrected and Enlarged," which was said to be "lately published, and for sale" (29 September 1795). The only known copy of an edition of *Divine Hymns* bearing a Melcher imprint is in the New Hampshire Historical Society's Tuck Library. Several facts seem to indicate that this undated publication is the 1791 edition. The 1791 and 1795 advertisements both use the phrase "corrected and enlarged" (the title page of the extant edition is said to be "corrected with additions"), but the 1795 notice further calls it "a new edition," a phrase that does not appear in any form on the extant volume's title page. Another telling point is that the 1791 advertisement lists the compilers as "Joshua Smith and others," which is the exact wording used on the Tuck Library copy. On the other hand, the 1795 advertisement credits the publication to "Joshua Smith & Samuel Sleeper." Finally, the available Melcher edition copy has precisely the same contents as the earliest extant dated edition of 1793, except for a number of hymns appended to the end of the latter, which implies that the Melcher printing probably came before the 1793 publication. (The 1793 edition was published at Exeter by Henry Ranlet and was described on the title page as the "fifth Exeter edition," "to which are added thirty-two hymns"; see E46875.) Thus, the weight of the evidence suggests that the copy in the Tuck Library is the 1791 edition. For further discussion of this edition see the author's forthcoming article on Smith's *Divine Hymns* in a Festschrift for Harry Eskew.

6. Because American tunebook compilers typically included only the first stanza of the text, it is seldom possible to determine whether they used the *Pocket Hymn Book* in the 1789 British, 1791 American, or a later printing, or, indeed, whether they followed a completely different hymnal that employed the same version. Except where otherwise made evident, references in this article to the "*Pocket Hymn Book*" or "*Pocket Hymn Book* version" are used in a generic sense to indicate the basic form of the text, not the specific book from which the text might have been drawn.

7. The 1791 American *Pocket Hymn-Book* differed from the British edition published by Spence only in a few minor details of spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and the like.

8. Nicholas Temperley, assisted by Charles G. Manns and Joseph Herl, *The Hymn Tune Index*, 4 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) and its online version (<http://hymntune.music.uiuc.edu>) list a number of tunes that use the "Hark, How the Gospel Trumpet Sounds" text but are unrelated to the subject of this study. Among these are tunes titled BIRMINGHAM, CELICIA, COOS, NEW TRUMPET, PROSPERITY, ROTTERDAM, VICTORY, as well as Samuel Holyoke's THE GOSPEL TRUMPET (published in his *Christian Harmonist*, 1804), which, despite its similarity in title, bears no musical relationship to the tune discussed here. A third version of the text, with the opening lines "Hark, hark, the gospel trumpet sounds; / Through the wide earth the echo bounds" was used in some collections.

9. Thanks to sources such as Temperley, *Hymn Tune Index*, the listing of sources for GOSPEL TRUMPET through 1820 may be considered comprehensive. Post-1820 sources are representative rather than exhaustive. Publications of GOSPEL TRUMPET in subsequent editions of the tunebooks listed here are not noted.

10. For the purposes of this study, the following have been used as definitions of the forms. The plain tune is a setting of one stanza of a psalm or hymn with no repetition of words or music. Tunes that include the repetition of an entire section (indicated with repeat signs) have also been classified as plain tunes. The fusing tune employs imitative contrapuntal entries with overlapping text in at least one phrase.

11. Cole's volume is not listed in Charles Evans's *American Bibliography*, 13 vols. (Chicago: Blakely Press, 1903–1955) nor in Clifford K. Shipton and James E. Mooney's *National Index of American Imprints through 1800: The Short-Title Evans*, 2 vols. (n.p.: American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers, 1969); it is no. 152 in Allen Perdue Britton, Irving Lowens, and Richard Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints 1698–1810: A Bibliography* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1990). A copy is located in the library of Kansas State University. Pilsbury's collection is no. 36119 in Evans and no. 406 in Britton, Lowens, and Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints*.

12. See Britton, Lowens, and Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints*, no. 152, no. 406.

13. Whether or not the two compilers were aware of each other's work in 1799, it is evident that Cole soon found out about Pilsbury's book. In the "Miscellaneous Remarks" of his *Beauties of Psalmody* (1804), Cole referred disparagingly to the music collections

of “Benham, Law, Adgate, Pillsbury [sic] [,] Shumway, &c.” (See Britton, Lowens, and Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints*, no. 142). Because *The United States’ Sacred Harmony* was the only tunebook Pillsbury published, Cole must have been referring to this volume.

14. The title page of Cole’s book notes that it contained tunes “Adapted to All the Peculiar Metres in the Methodist Pocket Hymn Book.” He gave his source for the text of “Hark, How the Gospel Trumpet Sounds” as “Hymn 294,” which is the number of the hymn in the 1791 edition of the *Pocket Hymn-Book*. Despite the fact that they shared a last name and that the tunebook compiler was a native of England, there is no known evidence that Charles and John Cole were related. Furthermore, John Cole was evidently an Episcopalian, while Charles was a Baptist.

15. Karl Kroeger, “The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony and Sacred Music in America 1786-1803” (Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1976), 264-266.

16. The musical alteration is in m. 12 on the syllable “sin.” In Wyeth this was a quarter note on C-sharp while Cole gave it as two eighth notes on C-sharp and D. See the facsimile of the second edition published as John Wyeth, *Wyeth’s Repository of Sacred Music Part Second*, with new introduction by Irving Lowens (New York: Da Capo Press, 1964), 27. This differs from the first edition as regards this piece only in using a cut-time signature rather than a reversed C.

17. Wakefield, like Cole, placed the melody in the top voice. He also altered a few notes in the bass and third part, as well as printing only one stanza of text.

18. For modern editions of these tunes see David W. Music, ed., *A Selection of Shape-Note Folk Hymns from Southern United States Tunebooks, 1816-61*, Recent Researches in American Music, vol. 52 (Middleton, Wisc.: A-R Editions, 2005), nos. 19, 20, and 80. See also the discussions of these tunes on pp. x and xxx. WESLEY appeared in some folk hymn collections in a contrafactum version known as JERUSALEM. A possible secular antecedent for the third phrase of GOSPEL TRUMPET is noted below.

19. Twenty-five pieces in Pillsbury were listed as first printings, but VERMONT was not one of them. Britton, Lowens, and Crawford identify it as a first American printing. See *American Sacred Music Imprints*, no. 406.

20. VERMONT is listed as a fugal tune in both Nicholas Temperley and Charles G. Manns, *Fugal Tunes in the Eighteenth Century*, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography, no. 49 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1983), no. 838, and Karl Kroeger, *American Fugal-Tunes, 1770-1820: A Descriptive Catalog*, Music Reference Collection, no. 41 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994), no. 74.

21. Throughout this discussion the opening empty measure of VERMONT is ignored.

22. See Karl Kroeger, “A Yankee Tunebook from the Old South: Amos Pillsbury’s *The United States’ Sacred Harmony*,” *The Hymn* 32, no. 3 (July 1981), 154-162, and David W. Music, “Seven ‘New’ Tunes in Amos Pillsbury’s *United States’ Sacred Harmony* (1799) and Their Use in Four-Shape Shape-Note Tunebooks of the Southern United States before 1860,” *American Music* 13, no. 4 (Winter 1995), 403-447. Like the folk hymns in the *United States’ Sacred Harmony* VERMONT contained no attribution. VERMONT has not previously been posited as a folk hymn, probably because of its fugal tune form.

23. The first edition of Humbert was published in 1801, but no copy of this printing is known. See Nicholas Temperley, “Stephen Humbert’s *Union Harmony*, 1816,” in *Sing Out the Glad News: Hymn Tunes in Canada* (Toronto: Institute for Canadian Music, 1987), 57-87. Temperley observed that the only deduction he could make about the content of the first edition was “that it was probably quite different from the second” (57). Temperley also suggested the *Musical Instructor* as Humbert’s immediate source for GOSPEL TRUMPET (66).

24. There can be little doubt that B. F. White was familiar with Pillsbury’s tunebook. In addition to GOSPEL TRUMPET, the tune MORNING was probably also borrowed directly from the *United States’ Sacred Harmony* (see David W. Music, “Seven ‘New’ Tunes”). B. F. White had been a resident of South Carolina, where Pillsbury lived when he published the *United States’ Sacred Harmony*, before he relocated to Georgia; he probably acquired a copy of Pillsbury’s tunebook before his move.

25. *Divine Hymns* appears to have been one of Ingalls’s chief text sources. See Klocko, “Jeremiah Ingalls’s *The Christian Harmony*,” 128, and the author’s forthcoming article on Joshua Smith and *Divine Hymns*.



26. Klocko raised the possibility that the opening phrases might have been “a variant of Pilsbury’s first two phrases for VERMONT” (“Jeremiah Ingalls’s *The Christian Harmony*,” 432) but did so with a question mark. There seems to be no relationship between these phrases in the two tunes.

27. Nicholas Temperley observed that Evans’s *David’s Companion, or, The Methodist Standard . . . Adapted to . . . the Large Hymn Book* (1810) is not a second edition, but an independent collection (*Hymn Tune Index*, I, 239). However, the printing of GOSPEL TRUMPET in the 1810 book is identical to the earlier one, and was surely taken over from that collection; thus, it is not treated separately here.

28. For example, *The Baptist Hymn and Tunebook: Being “The Plymouth Collection” Enlarged, and Adapted to the Use of Baptist Churches* (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 1858), 301.

29. Henry L. Mason, *Hymn-Tunes of Lowell Mason: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1944), 44, 61, 75.

30. “Note” on the title page verso. Jacob Knapp was a Baptist evangelist who preached an extended revival in Boston during 1842.

31. Marion J. Hatchett, *A Companion to The New Harp of Columbia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 28, 57, 220.

32. Jackson printed Ingalls’s ENDLESS DAY as one of the “Folksongs of Praise” in *Another Sheaf of White Spirituals* (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1952), 104, while Horn’s *Sing to Me of Heaven* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1970), 164, listed GOSPEL TRUMPET as one of the folk hymns found in *The Methodist Collection of Hymns and Tunes* (1849).

33. Klocko, “Jeremiah Ingalls’s *The Christian Harmony*,” 427–432. For a recent study of oral transmission, particularly as it relates to the performance practice of shape note tunes, see Kiri Miller, “‘First Sing the Notes:’ Oral and Written Traditions in Sacred Harp Transmission,” *American Music* 22, no. 4 (Winter 2004), 475–501.

34. See Jackson, *Another Sheaf*, 201–206. See also Music, ed. *A Selection of Shape-Note Folk Hymns*, lvi (WESLEY).

35. Hugh McGraw, gen. ed., *The Sacred Harp 1991 Revision* (Bremen, Ga.: Sacred Harp Publishing Company, 1991), 99. During the fusing section the counter enters simultaneously with the treble.

Jonathan Elkus

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## Defining the Sousa March: Its Formal and Stylistic Constants

*Editor's note: An earlier version of this paper, titled "Sousa's The Liberty Bell and His Anomalous Quicksteps," was presented on 11 March 2004, at the Society for American Music's session John Philip Sousa: A Sesquicentennial Reevaluation, organized by Patrick Warfield and chaired by Thomas L. Riis.*

*Author's note: This article is dedicated to Paul E. Bierley, Sousa's indefatigable cataloger, biographer, publisher, and performer, as a token of the indebtedness of present-day Sousa scholars to his work.*

This study of the Sousa march starts at the very place where form and style are inseparable. That place is the trio, whose musical dimension and dramaturgy Sousa expanded over the two decades following his first march publication in 1873. The trio is also the place where Sousa the composer and Sousa the bandmaster became inseparable. In 1875 G. F. Patton confirmed the trio's pride of place in the American quickstep march: "It is . . . desirable to have the first strain a little lively, and moderately *forte*, so as to contrast with the serious and *piano* air heard in the Trio . . . played in a Key a fifth lower than the first."<sup>1</sup>

Both the formal and stylistic genesis of the Sousa march lies in the Civil War quickstep march and dance, the dance being typically a polka step or, if 6/8, a variant of the Irish jig. The 2/4 polka-march "patter" conveyed both a welcome lightness and a "move-along" pace to the infantry, while the lilting 6/8 of the jig provided a natural accompaniment for the jounce of parading cavalry. After the trio, on street parade and at dances, quicksteps were repeated from the beginning (*da capo*), although actual practice on parade seems to have varied from band to band. Figure 1 shows the plan of Sousa's first published march, *Review*.<sup>2</sup> Note that the *da capo* rounds off its musical design and that both its opening head and trio are simple binaries.

Although Sousa's "short" or "modified quickstep" trios date from 1881, with *Right Forward* and *The Wolverine March*, he continued to use the simple binary for the head of the march for the rest of his career. Sousa omitted the introduction to the trio, and the *da capo* following it, leaving the fourth strain to conclude the march. At its most dramatic, the last, or "capstone," strain realizes finality in the way that a Sousa trio often does:



through broader note values that climb to the highest pitch of the march. Figure 2 shows the short trio form as exhibited by *Manhattan Beach* (1893).<sup>3</sup> Sousa's sister quickstep marches from the same period include *The High School Cadets* (1890), *The Belle of Chicago* (1892), *The Directorate* (1894), and *El Capitan* (1896).

HEAD					TRIO				
intro.	1st strain		2nd strain		intro.	3rd strain		4th strain	
4 mm.   :	16 mm. :  :	20 mm. :  :	4 mm.   :	16 mm. :  :	16 mm. :  :				
6/8 B <sup>b</sup>	B <sup>b</sup>	F	B <sup>b</sup>	B <sup>b</sup>	E <sup>b</sup>	E <sup>b</sup>	B <sup>b</sup>	E <sup>b</sup>	E <sup>b</sup>
FINE					D.C.				
tonic					subdominant			[al fine]	

Figure 1: Sousa's da capo march form (*Review*, 1873)

HEAD					TRIO		capstone	
intro.	1st strain		2nd strain		3rd strain		4th strain	
4 mm.   :	16 mm. :  :	16 mm. :  :	16 mm. :  :	16 mm. :  :	16 mm. :  :			
♩ F	F	C	F	F	B <sup>b</sup>	B <sup>b</sup>	B <sup>b</sup>	B <sup>b</sup>
dominant					tonic			

Figure 2: Sousa's "short" trio form (*Manhattan Beach*, 1893)

From the 1880s, Sousa's trios increasingly included a contrasting interlude familiar in European operatic grand marches. This interlude, actually an extended half cadence, is also called the "break strain," "battleground," "battlefield," "battle," or "dogfight." This form is called Sousa's "long" trio form below. *The Gladiator* (1886) provides an example (see Figure 3). Note that the trio is expanded into an extended binary, or ||: A :||: B + A' :||. Other famous Sousa marches that follow this trio form are *The Thunderer* (1889), *The Washington Post* (1889), *King Cotton* (1895), and *Hands Across the Sea* (1899).

The immediately successful *Liberty Bell*, published in 1893, introduced Sousa's 32-measure "extended" trio form, derived from the grand march (see Figure 4). Sousa compensated for the doubly long trio by discontinuing its initial repeat. Figure 5, the Solo B-flat Cornet part, shows how quickstep-sized plate engraving was squeezed to its limit to accommodate the expanded form. Other Sousa marches with the extended trio form include *The Stars and Stripes Forever* (1896), *The Invincible Eagle* (1901), *The Glory of the Yankee Navy* (1909), *The Black Horse Troop* (1924), and *George Washington Bicentennial* (1930).

Sousa employed all three of these trio forms throughout his nearly fifty years of march composition.<sup>4</sup> About a quarter of Sousa's nearly 120 marches are short trios (though these for the most part predate 1895), about half

HEAD			TRIO		battle	triumphal return	
intro.	1st strain	2nd strain	trio A	interlude	trio B + final trio		
4 mm.   :	16 mm. :  :	16 mm. :  :	16 mm. :  :	15	16 mm. :		
♩ c	c	E <sup>b</sup> E <sup>b</sup>	A <sup>b</sup> A <sup>b</sup>	f f	A <sup>b</sup> A <sup>b</sup>		
<i>mediant</i>		<i>dominant</i>		<i>tonic</i>			

Figure 3: Sousa’s “long” trio form (*Gladiator*, 1886)

HEAD			TRIO		battle	triumphal return	
intro.	1st strain	2nd strain	trio A	interlude	trio B + final trio		
4 mm.   :	16 mm. :  :	16 mm. :  :	32 mm.   :	24 mm.	32 mm. :		
6/8 F	F C	F C F	B <sup>b</sup> B <sup>b</sup>	g B <sup>b</sup>	B <sup>b</sup> B <sup>b</sup>		
<i>dominant</i>			<i>tonic</i>				

Figure 4: Sousa’s “extended” trio form (*Liberty Bell*, 1893)

SOLO B<sup>b</sup>CORNET. THE LIBERTY BELL MARCH. JOHN PHILIP SOUSA.

Copyright, 1894, by The John Church Co.

Figure 5: John Philip Sousa, Solo B-flat Cornet part, *Liberty Bell*. Cincinnati: The John Church Co., 1894. 1st edition. Courtesy of “The President’s Own” United States Marine Band, Washington, D.C.

are long trios, and another quarter are extended trios. To be sure, Sousa's elasticity within these three plans is frequently evident through his interpolation and occasional layering of military drum and bugle strains or other ceremonial or referential material.<sup>5</sup>

Harmonically, the function of all three forms of Sousa's mature trios is the tonic.<sup>6</sup> The trio is prepared by a "spirited air" in Sousa's march heads. This dance-like binary in the dominant prepares the anticipated release to the tonic and the trio's "serious and *piano*" melodic content.<sup>7</sup> It is exactly here, where certain expectation is fulfilled and further expectation raised, that Sousa's own performances underscored the dramatic qualities of his marches by intensifying their musical contrasts. Having teased the audience's appetite for the trio during the head of the march, through striking dynamic refinements and sometimes the omission of a repeat, Sousa waved out his heavy brass and launched the trio with a hushed pickup beat. The cumulative effect toward the inevitable capstone or "triumphal return" strain, with its heavily accented drumming, could bring down the house even before the music stopped. And Sousa's audience loved how he made his familiar thematic layerings "visible" by having obbligato players stand or come to the front. In short, Sousa added an overwhelming dimension of musical drama to his trios, where form, style, and performance were inextricable.<sup>8</sup>

The first place to look in the marches for interest and appeal is Sousa's melodies. His melodic writing lies sufficiently in the staff to be played by an amateur cornetist or whistled by an average listener. The tunes are predominantly conjunct and sometimes disarmingly penta- or hexatonic (and note the tetratonic phrase in Figure 6). The ending note of a strain is always the tonic, approached virtually without exception by an on-beat second degree or leading tone, like species counterpoint. Strategically placed wider leaps often signal the approach to a cadence and, like all lyric composers, Sousa frequently made climactic use of the melodic octave (see Figure 6).<sup>9</sup> Sousa's melodies also freely employ chromatics, not confined to his "battlefields," which serve over and over as lead-ins and passing tones. His trademark melodic chromatic ornament is the lower neighbor tone—both accented and unaccented.



Figure 6: Climactic use of the melodic octave (*Manhattan Beach*, 1st B-flat Clarinet, second strain, mm. 11–16)

*Liberty Bell* generously represents Sousa's chromatic writing, though the best known lower neighbor tone examples occur in the trio of *Stars and Stripes Forever* and throughout *Washington Post*—where they were danced as "the dip" and may ever remain the trombonist's delight. Functional leading-tone chromatics often cinch Sousa's cadences through the insistence of a repeated pattern (see Figure 7), and of course non-functioning lower

neighbor tone chromatics are essential to the grace notes that often give bite to his melodic line (see Figures 8 and 9).

A word is in order about Sousa’s sustaining bass parts, for which their players revere him. Beyond their obligatory contribution to patter and brave exchange in battle (see Figure 10), Sousa’s bass parts often emerge with a lyrical countermelody during sustained melodic notes (see Figure 11), and as downward motion against ascending treble (that is, “fanning out,” as exemplified in the second strain of *El Capitan*).<sup>10</sup> Sousa was as much the contrapuntist in the detail of his bass lines as he was in his upper obbligos, broad middle countermelodies, and accumulative layers.

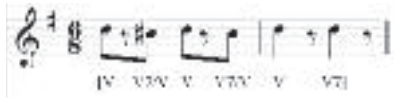


Figure 7: Use of repeated cadential pattern (*Liberty Bell*, Solo B-flat Cornet, first strain, mm. 15–16)



Figure 8: Use of grace notes in the melodic line (*Liberty Bell*, Solo B-flat Cornet, second strain, mm. 9–12)



Figure 9: Use of grace notes in the melodic line (*Manhattan Beach*, 1st B-flat Clarinet, first strain, mm. 1–3)



Figure 10: “Battle” exchange (*Liberty Bell*, Piano version, trio interlude, mm. 1–7)



Figure 11: Moving bass overlapping staccato and held notes at half cadence (*Liberty Bell*, Piano version, first strain, mm. 3–4)

Further, the texture of Sousa's melodies is always clearly defined. At their most spartan, they sound forth in unaccompanied octaves (see Figure 12.).<sup>11</sup> Routinely, Sousa coupled his accompanied treble melodies in octaves, often upper and occasionally lower. After *On the Tramp* (1879) he eschewed the traditional Italianate melodic intervals of sixths and thirds so characteristic of the earlier quickstep (but see Figure 11 for an exception).<sup>12</sup> (Italian opera itself was concurrently experiencing a parallel trend toward octaves.) And even the laughter effect in the third strain of *Belle of Chicago* descends in plain octaves rather than thirds. Sousa's upper octave scoring for the higher clarinets can be stratospheric, similar to the clarinet scoring by his most admired predecessor, D. W. Reeves. That intense clarinet timbre is guaranteed to carry outdoors, though such passages were played an octave lower when Sousa the conductor signaled piano dynamics. In addition to the melodic and parallel octaves, Sousa frequently used the decorative octave for its crisp embellishment of a melody or for patter (see Figure 13).



Figure 12: Melody presented in unaccompanied octaves (*Liberty Bell*, Piano version, intro, mm. 1-4)



Figure 13: Use of decorative octave to embellish melody (*Liberty Bell*, Piccolo [sounding one octave higher], Solo B-flat Cornet, trio, mm. 1-4)

Sousa's traditional cadential approaches also contribute to the sum of his musical personality. The subtle variation among these solid-oak cadences can be appreciated by working backwards from their closure on the tonic (or on the dominant at an interior cadence). When Sousa's cadences resolve on an odd-numbered measure, the tonic repose occurs at the penultimate measure of the period (see Figures 14 and 15; also Figure 6 and 17); when on an even-numbered measure, at the last measure (see Figure 16; also Figure 18).<sup>13</sup> Together with the implications of the melody, these cadential patterns determine the length of the preceding dominant.



Figure 14: Tonic repose in the penultimate cadential measure (*Liberty Bell*, Solo B-flat Cornet, trio, mm. 30-32)



Figure 15: Tonic repose in the penultimate cadential measure (*Manhattan Beach*, 1st B-flat Clarinet, fourth strain, mm. 14–16)



Figure 16: Tonic repose in final cadential measure (*Manhattan Beach*, 1st B-flat Clarinet, third strain, mm. 14–16)

Sousa's cadential dominants are almost always preceded by I 6/4, which is approached in turn by a chord ranging from a ii or IV construct (see Figure 17) to a chromatic, or "scientific," chord like a diminished or half-diminished seventh, an augmented sixth, or a Phrygian-approached III (see Figure 18).<sup>14</sup> Cadences approached by the barbershop secondary dominant formula so characteristic of ragtime seldom find their way into Sousa's marches (however, an exception can be seen in Figure 19). By such cadential possibilities, Sousa found fresh ways to approach the final two pitches of a melody, even within the harmonic restraints he sets for his marches. (Both functional and colorful chromatic elements are far more prevalent in his songs and descriptive pieces.)



Figure 17: Cadential approach via traditional subdominant preparation (*Liberty Bell*, Piano version, trio, mm. 29–32)



Figure 18: Cadential approach via "scientific" (here Phrygian) harmonic construct (*Liberty Bell*, Piano version, second strain, mm. 11–16)



Figure 19: “Barbershop” secondary dominant; harmonic accent to signal cadence (*Manhattan Beach*, 2nd & 3rd B-flat Clarinets, second strain, mm. 12–16)

In fact, the variety of harmonic rhythm throughout Sousa’s marches, not just in the cadences, contributes to the interest and variety of his marches overall, as a survey of the beat-by-beat harmonic rhythms of seven of his most famous marches demonstrates.<sup>15</sup> Excluding “battle” and bugle strains and introductions, an examination of the twenty-one 16- or 32-measure strains found that the harmonic rhythms of no two proved alike. Further, within each Sousa march there is a balance between active and relaxed harmonic rhythms, the active found characteristically in his first two strains and the relaxed in his trio themes—the signature content of any Sousa march. The metric values generally follow a parallel division into active and relaxed.

**MANHATTAN BEACH MARCH.**

1<sup>st</sup> B<sup>b</sup> CLARINET. SOUSA.

 A multi-staff musical score for the 1st B-flat Clarinet part of the Manhattan Beach March. The score is written in 2/4 time and consists of six staves of music. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings such as 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte). The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs.

John Philip Sousa, 1st B-flat Clarinet part, *Manhattan Beach*. Cincinnati: The John Church Co., 1894. Reprint, 1st ed. Courtesy of “The President’s Own” United States Marine Band, Washington, D.C.





Autograph manuscript, John Philip Sousa, *The Liberty Bell March*, 1893. Courtesy of "The President's Own" United States Marine Band, Washington, D.C.



The rhythms of Sousa's march melodies retain the classic metrics of their dance models. Sousa's polka derivatives move in dactyls, anapests, and spondees (sparked often by simple syncopes, dotted figures, and Scotch snaps), while his jig derivatives move in trochees and tribrachics (with occasional iambs for snap).<sup>16</sup> Heavily accented up-beats on a dominant or more chromatic construct are Sousa's propelling force, whether to introduce a melodic period or to signal a cadence (see Figure 19, m. 12). Just as there is practically no barbershop in the Sousa marches, nor is there cakewalk or ragtime syncopation, whose virtual absence left his most famous duple-metered marches as *tabula rasa* for modish stylization by a legion of ragtime pianists.<sup>17</sup>

The implicit virtue in all Sousa marches is—following Patton—their disciplinary function: “to regulate the steps of men marching on the street.”<sup>18</sup> As in centuries past, the heartbeat of Sousa's marches is their patter, played by middle and lower brass, drums, and occasionally reeds. Sousa's clean, clear texture is attributable to his care in moving the pitched patter carefully to avoid clashing with the melody. The rhythmic elements of Sousa's patter are entirely traditional; probably all are found in Schubert's celebrated *Marche Militaire*, Johann Strauss's *Radetsky March*, or the 6/8 of Suppé's Overture to *The Light Cavalry* (and, for that matter, the rondos of the Mozart horn concertos).<sup>19</sup> The patter instruments are freed in the “battle” to come into their own as fighting forces, from which the drums emerge the final time with their triumphant, visceral on-beats. By all accounts, Sousa himself kept a brisk but constant tempo, never extreme either way, with no ritard for the final trio.

No consideration of Sousa's marches and their character would be satisfactory without mention of his musical imaging—which ranges from the brash (gunfire in *The Rifle Regiment* introduction, chimes in the *Liberty Bell* trio) and the cunning (the rippling of water of *Manhattan Beach* in Figure 20), to the exotic (*Gladiator*, first strain, and *Nobles of the Mystic Shrine*, first strain—both minor). Signifiers are often confirmed or implied by Sousa's titles, which reflect the national, the military, the regional, the institutional, the commercial, the social, the sporting, and the violent. But considering his roles both as composer and performer, Sousa's most momentous and characteristic gesture is the one that concludes three-quarters of his marches: the triumphal, arm-swinging return from “battle.”



Figure 20: Musical image of rippling water (*Manhattan Beach*, 2nd & 3rd B-flat Clarinets, third strain, mm. 1–2)

In fact, Bierley describes the final strain of the Sousa trio as his “most significant contribution to march standardization.”<sup>20</sup> Following *Liberty Bell*, every march composer adopted Sousa’s extended trio form. Its dramaturgy became the formal bulwark for the breakneck virtuosity of the barbershop-chorded and ragtime-syncopated circus screamers of Karl L. King and Henry Fillmore. Later, from New York, came the Joseph Schillinger-modeled art deco chromatics and Broadway foxtrot syncopes of Edwin Goldman’s marches, and from Chicago the football halftime pageant marches of Harry Alford—lots of appliqué flourishes, loaded chromatics, and grandiosos. All great indeed—all to be preserved, studied, and (above all) played—but not cut from Sousa’s bolt of cloth.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, Sousa’s marches have held their interest and appeal by being unmistakably and virtuously his own, “familiar, but by no means vulgar.”<sup>22</sup>



An 1898 photo of Sousa in the uniform of the Sousa Band, the civilian organization he formed after leaving the Marine Band in 1892. Photo courtesy of “The President’s Own” United States Marine Band, Washington, D.C.

## Notes

1. G. F. Patton, *A Practical Guide to the Arrangement of Band Music* (New York: John F. Stratton & Co., 1875), 87. Patton confirms his preference for the trio being in the key a fifth lower than the strain preceding it, although some pieces (especially those written in sharps) have the trio in the key a fifth higher. (The author is grateful to Keith Brion, who many years ago brought the *Practical Guide* to my attention.) For a concise historical description of the American march, see H. Wiley Hitchcock, ed. *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (New York: Macmillan, 1986), s.v. "March," by Pauline Norton.

2. Four measures is the norm for Sousa's introductions, although their lengths do range from zero to twenty-one measures.

3. Sousa in his own performances styled this capstone uniquely as a "patrol"—by beginning it softly, gradually crescendoing to the climax, and fading gradually to the end.

4. Within six weeks of composing *Liberty Bell* with its extended trio form, Sousa brought the short trio form to quintessential perfection in *Manhattan Beach*. And nearly forty years later, among his final marches—all composed in 1931—are *The Northern Pines* (extended trio form), *Kansas Wildcats* (long trio form), and—Sousa's very last—*The Circumnavigators Club* (remarkably, with the short trio form—what goes around, comes around). (The author is indebted to Frank Byrne for making available his unpublished database of the Sousa march plans.)

5. Some examples of interpolation and layering are found in *Semper Fidelis*, *Sabre and Spurs*, *The Gallant Seventh*, *The Pathfinder of Panama* (whose final trio layers against its own augmentation), and *New Mexico*.

6. "Subdominant" is typically the term used to describe the relationship of a Sousa trio key to the head of the march, but because subdominant is meant to describe a key's hierarchical function within a tonal framework, its application here is at best misleading. The key of virtually all of Sousa's mature trios, which make up two-thirds of the total weight of the entire march, is the tonic. Edward A. Berlin quotes a letter from Sousa on the matter of the da capo, in which Sousa says that he "wrote with the idea of making the last strain of the march the musical climax, regardless of the tonality." *Ragtime: A Musical and Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 100–101. A later letter of Sousa's on the same subject is quoted by Paul E. Bierley, *John Philip Sousa: An American Phenomenon* (New York: Appleton, 1973), 124. The author proposed the dominant-tonic polarity of the Sousa march in *Charles Ives and the American Band Tradition* (Exeter: American Arts Documentation Centre, 1974), 20.

7. Quotations from Patton, *Practical Guide*, 87.

8. Although Sousa's was indeed a concert band, his march scores, both in holograph and as first printed, are doubled from top to bottom to sound full and loud outdoors. As mentioned, his concert presentations were far more refined, and those refinements were integral to the cumulative drama of his marches. As Edward T. Cone writes about a composer whose music Sousa frequently programmed, "It would perhaps be an exaggeration to say that Berlioz's orchestration creates form; but it certainly reveals it." *Music: A View from Delft* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 248. Certainly Sousa's marches, played as unannounced treats between "heavier" works by Karl Goldmark, Henry Hadley, Anton Rubinstein, Camille Saint-Saëns, and Richard Wagner, gave a distinct, predictable "ritornello" plan to each of Sousa's concerts.

9. All part examples are from scores used courtesy of "The President's Own" United States Marine Band, Washington, D.C. (*The Liberty Bell March*, first ed. [Cincinnati: The John Church Co., 1894]; *Manhattan Beach March*, reprint, first ed. [Cincinnati: The John Church Co., 1894]).

10. All piano version examples are from *The Liberty Bell March* (Cincinnati: The John Church Co., 1893).

11. Perhaps Sousa's most striking unaccompanied octaves are those that link the fanfare interlude in *Imperial Edward* to the capstone strain of its hybrid trio.

12. Exceptional instances in a later march are the thirds and sixths in the head of *Glory of the Yankee Navy* (1909).

13. Of Sousa's full cadences in the marches, about 57% occur on an odd-numbered measure, and 43% on an even-numbered measure. The former is the stronger of the two,

considering that the stresses of two measures of a 2/4 or 6/8 quickstep march correspond to one measure of a grand march in 4/4 or 12/8. The odd-numbered measures correspond to the downbeat, while the even-numbered measures correspond to beat three. The midpoint half-closes (or, dominant tonicizations) in his 32-measure trio strains resolve predominately on odd-numbered measures. (The author is grateful to Daniel Balestrini for these findings.) As though to tag the conclusion and to affirm that there is to be no da capo, over two-thirds of Sousa's marches end with a short, accented tonic chord on the upbeat of their final measure, called the "stinger" or "button." Interestingly, the majority of Sousa's stingerless marches conclude with the tonic resolution on an odd-numbered measure—indicating perhaps that this cadence's penultimate measure of tonic is more likely to obviate our need for the finality of a concluding tag.

14. The word "scientific" is applied from Patton, *Practical Guide*, 30, who uses it in the context of modulation. The word is apt here because it lends a contemporaneous perspective to Sousa's learned side. Sousa's use of chromatic chords in the 1870s and 1880s would have put his work in a different class from much parlor sheet music and arrangements for amateur band. For a discussion of the functioning of chromatic chords in Sousa's marches, see Jim Chesebrough, "Harmonic Content in the Work of John Philip Sousa," *Journal of Band Research*, 39, no. 1 (Spring 2004), 46.

15. The following marches were surveyed by the author: *Washington Post* (1889), *Liberty Bell* (1893), *El Capitan* (1896), *Stars and Stripes Forever* (1896), *Fairest of the Fair* (1908), *Sabre and Spurs* (1918), and *George Washington Bicentennial* (1930). These marches span the forty years of Sousa's worldwide fame. A thorough study of the interplay of harmonic rhythm in Sousa's marches would inevitably shed light on problems of criticism that the large quantity and variety of his marches present. Such a study might well begin with the climactic capstone strain of *High School Cadets*, with its aggressively isometric, climbing melodic sequence and its underpinning of slow-moving, tension-building harmonic changes on even-numbered measures.

16. In the capstone strain of *Manhattan Beach*, Sousa catches us off-guard with a metric pun: what we have begun to realize is dactylic turns out to be anapestic.

17. Of Sousa's famous marches, *Fairest of the Fair* (1908) comes closest to embodying elements of the cakewalk style, and *High School Cadets* (1890) perhaps lends itself best to ragtime. According to Berlin, "Ragging marches, and in particular Sousa marches, was apparently common." Ragtimers liked Sousa's chromatic passages, contrary motion, and interior modulations. After all, Berlin concludes, "It is clear that all of the structural and harmonic practices of ragtime stem from the march. The rhythmic character of the rag, too, except for the one defining character of syncopation, has its precedents in the march." Berlin, *Ragtime*, 99–104. Three instances of ragtime syncopation in Sousa's marches come to mind: *Invincible Eagle* (1901; second strain, euphonium, mm. 3, 5, 7, 11); *The Lambs' March* (1914; second strain, solo cornet, mm. 3–4); *Nobles of the Mystic Shrine* (1923; final trio, trombones, mm. 16–17). But then, that rakish hint rings true, as these marches originated with the Buffalo exhibition, the showbiz Lambs Club, and a national Shriners convention, respectively. The ragtime-syncopated trombone countermelody in later editions of *Manhattan Beach* (second strain, mm. 7–8) was contrived by the publisher soon after Sousa's death. (The author is grateful to Loras Schisel for this information.)

18. Patton, *Practical Guide*, 87.

19. Patton illustrates traditional 6/8 "accompaniment," *Practical Guide*, 101–102, and 2/4 "'after time' figures," *Practical Guide*, 120. About the rhythmic integrity of Sousa's marches, it might be further noted that meters do not change within a strain, nor are duplets introduced into his 6/8 strains or half- and whole-measure triplets into 2/4 and 3/4 strains.

20. Bierley, *John Philip Sousa*, 123.

21. Sousa's allegiant successors in the march genre were the post-Reeves New Englanders like E. E. Bagley, R. B. Hall, and Charles Ives, as well as the Pennsylvanian Roland Seitz. Post-Edwardian British marches that perpetuate Sousa's classic ideal are exemplified by Kenneth Alford's *Army of the Nile* (1941) and George H. Willcock's incomparable *Sarafand* (1937).

22. *Hamlet* 1.3.61. *Ed.*

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## Music Review

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**Daniel Read.** *Musica Ecclesiae, or Devotional Harmony*. Edited by Karl and Marie Kroeger. (Recent Researches in American Music, 48–50) Middleton, Wis.: A-R Editions, 2004. [Pt. 1: Common Meter Tunes. Acknowledgments p. ix; introd. p. xi–xxi; 4 plates [2] p.; score p. 1–196; crit. report p. 197–211. ISBN 0-89579-560-4. \$98. Pt. II: Long Meter Tunes and Short Meter Tunes. Acknowledgments p. ix; score p. 1–197; crit. report p. 199–215. ISBN 0-89579-561-2. \$98. Pt. III: Particular Meter Tunes. Acknowledgments p. ix; score p. 1–210; crit. report p. 211–227; indexes p. 231–256. ISBN 0-89579-562-0. \$98.

Daniel Read (1757–1836) composed and compiled American sacred music for more than half a century during a period that saw a dramatic shift in musical styles and tastes. The majority of Read’s original compositions are four-part choral settings of sacred texts—plain tunes, extended tunes, fugal tunes, set pieces, and anthems—usually rendered without instrumental accompaniment. Performed by singers with limited musical training, but with more than ample dedication and enthusiasm, Read’s music graced churches, singing schools, and informal devotional gatherings throughout Federalist New England. Like other largely self-taught American composers of his time, Read employed a musical vocabulary grounded in the basic principle of consonant contrapuntal motion, a practice learned for the most part from the theoretical introductions to tunebooks by British composers such as William Tans’ur (c. 1700–1783), but with roots that can be traced back to the church polyphony of the Renaissance. Adopted and adapted by Read and other composers of the First New England School writing in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, this musical idiom was indeed quite removed from the standard tonal harmonic procedures prevailing in European art music at the time.

Read’s pieces first appeared in print in other compilers’ tunebooks. Eventually, his ninety-plus compositions enjoyed distribution in the three sacred collections he compiled himself: *The American Singing Book* (five editions, 1785–96), *The American Musical Magazine* (issued in collaboration with engraver Amos Doolittle, 1786), and *The Columbian Harmonist* (four editions, 1793–1810). (See Allen Britton, Irving Lowens, and Richard Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints, 1698–1810* [Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1990].)

Around 1810 the tide of American sensibilities shifted in favor of the harmonic practice prevalent in European art music (often referred to as “scientific music” in its day), and an effort to reform American sacred music

(spawned by the clergy) ensued. In 1818 Read's church (The United Society of New Haven) asked him to compile a tunebook for its own purposes. The result, *The New Haven Collection of Sacred Music* (1818), a collection that Read anonymously assembled in collaboration with Simeon Jocelin, contained predominantly British tunes. The six tunes by Read that were included in the compilation (GREENWICH, JUDGMENT, LISBON, STAFFORD, WINDHAM, and WINTER) underwent considerable harmonic revision in order to make them stylistically consistent with the other compositions in the collection. Clearly, Read began to take stock of his own music. He looked with increased interest at the works of Handel, Haydn, and Mozart, and to the younger church musicians in America, including Lowell Mason and Thomas Hastings. In the years after he retired from the mercantile he had successfully operated for many years, Read embarked on a project that would be his final and largest tunebook, *Musica Ecclesiae, or Devotional Harmony*. In it, Read demonstrated that his style and sensibilities likewise had shifted.

With the completion of Volumes 48–50 of A-R Editions' Recent Researches in American Music, editors Karl and Marie Kroeger have accomplished what Daniel Read was unable to achieve in his own lifetime, the publication of Read's final tunebook. For primarily market-related reasons, the project that Read began in April 1828 and brought to fruition in 1832 was left in manuscript at the time of his death. Viewed within the context of Read's life, as well as within the broader perspective of the musical climate of his time, the editors posit several compelling reasons for bringing *Musica Ecclesiae* to light in a modern edition. "First . . . it completes the life's work of a significant early American composer and church musician; second . . . it allows us to evaluate better Read's musical growth and the evolution of his thought; and, third, . . . it represents the beginnings of a new era in the ecclesiastical musical ethos of America" (1: xix). (See Karl Kroeger's other critical editions of Read's music in Daniel Read, *Collected Works*, Recent Researches in American Music, 24 and *Music of the United States of America*, 4 [Middleton, Wis.: A-R Editions, 1995]; and *Early American Anthems*, Recent Researches in American Music, 36–37 [Middleton, Wis.: A-R Editions, 2000].)

This critical edition of *Musica Ecclesiae*, prepared from the manuscript housed at the New Haven Historical Society, is published in a three-volume set. The editors have remained true to the original source in the arrangement of the music in the critical edition. Tunes are organized by meter and by mode. Part I contains Common Meter, Major Mode tunes and Common Meter, Minor Mode tunes. Part II contains Long Meter and Short Meter tunes in Major and Minor Modes, while Part III is comprised of tunes in meters other than the standard poetic types, i.e., Particular Meters. Parts I, II, and III each contain a critical report listing composer, text sources, and deviations from the original source. Part III provides comprehensive metrical, composer, lyricist, and topical indices, along with a table of first lines for all tunes in the entire set. While there is no discussion of performance practice per se, much can be inferred from the "Editorial Methods" section found at the end of Part I (pp. 198–201), which is helpful because the pieces



in this compilation represent a departure from Read's earlier compositional style.

Part I includes a well-documented introduction that contextualizes Read within the milieu of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century New England. A long-time resident of New Haven, Connecticut, Read was a successful merchant with an entrepreneurial spirit, maker of combs fabricated from horn and ivory, singing master, tunebook compiler, and composer, whose "musical reputation in America was perhaps second only to that of Boston's illustrious psalmist, William Billings" (1: xi).

Organized around the history, purpose, preface, music, and texts of *Musica Ecclesiae*, the introduction is liberally supported with excerpts from Read's correspondence with his pastor, Samuel Merwin, and with the American Home Missionary Society, which Read hoped would sponsor the publication of his compilation. The introduction chronicles the efforts of the composer to bring his final tunebook to the public, but all of those deliberations were to no avail. The market into which Read hoped to release his music—the music that represented the culmination of his life's work—was flooded with many comparable collections available in "rapid & extensive circulation" (1: xiii, letter to Read from Absalom Peters, Corresponding Secretary for the American Home Missionary Society). Thus, Read was unable to secure a willing guarantor to provide financial support for the publication of *Musica Ecclesiae*.

The introduction also includes four plates with pages from Read's original manuscript. They illustrate the care and resolve with which Read entrusted his music to paper. The plates include the title page, the opening page of the rudiments of music, and the tunes MEAR and INFANT'S HYMN in the compiler's own hand.

In addition to the well-documented historical narrative found in the introduction, the editors provide an especially illuminating comparative analysis, examining the original version of William Billings's tune HARTFORD, and Read's reworked version as it appeared in *Musica Ecclesiae*. "By the time he compiled *Musica Ecclesiae*, Read had almost five decades of musical experience behind him as a singing master, church choir leader, and tunebook compiler, and the editorial methods he applied in creating *Musica Ecclesiae* attest to the musical skill he had acquired throughout his long career" (1: xvi–xvii). Read's adaptations of some of the early works within the American idiom clearly demonstrate his understanding of and competency with the "scientific" methodology, thus *Musica Ecclesiae* is distinct among Read's output and "stands out as the culmination of Read's development as a 'scientific musician'" (1: xvii).

Following the editors' introduction, the tunebook proper opens with the usual recommendations, acknowledgements, and a preface detailing Read's aim in preparing the work for publication, that is, "to furnish the churches of Christ in the United States with a collection of approved psalm and hymn tunes suitable for the purposes of public and social worship, and which may also afford to the devout Christian a great variety for his private devotions" (1: 5). There follows an "Introduction to the Rudiments of Music," for which



Read gives full credit to “Dr. Callcott’s Musical Grammar.” A glossary of terms concludes the set of thirteen lessons, and in a final message to singing masters and choristers, Read affirms that “One good old tune which has borne the test of centuries is worth more than twenty untried new ones” (1: 29).

The musical content of the collection is vast. There are 405 numbered pieces, “almost all of which were intended for singing by the worshipping congregation as a whole” (1: xv). British tunesmiths penned 302 of the compositions in this collection, with works by William Tans’ur, Martin Madan, and Isaac Smith receiving the greatest representation. Of the works by American composers, Read contributed the greatest number himself, a total of thirty-two; twenty-six of these were new. William Billings, Amos Bull, and Samuel Holyoke are among the Americans whose works are included in *Musica Ecclesiae*, each of whose works were altered in some way by Read, from reharmonization, to the addition of figured bass numerals, to, in some cases, the setting of an entirely different text with a completely different poetic meter. There are also works by at least three women in the collection: #142 STRETTONS by Mary Hudson, #12 HOWARD’S by Mrs. Cuthbert, and two works by Mrs. Horne, #45 SAFETY and #282 RANELAGH. Texts by over sixty lyricists are included in *Musica Ecclesiae*, with versifications by Isaac Watts favored in 236 of the pieces. Texts by Charles Wesley, John Newton, Philip Doddridge, and the collaborative works by Nicholas Brady and Nahum Tate, are among those employed most frequently in the remaining compositions.

The works included in *Musica Ecclesiae* are an eclectic mixture. All of the tunes are in strophic form, with additional stanzas of texts provided. The pieces range from duets for two treble voices with keyboard accompaniment, such as #29 WAREHAM and #347 CARLISLE, to accompanied five-part voicings (First Treble, Second Treble, Alto, Tenor, and Bass), for example #202 OAKHAM, #268 WIRKSWORTH, and Read’s own #349 EPWORTH. Most of the pieces, however, are written in a four-part vocal arrangement with the treble voice carrying the main melody. Stylistically the pieces run the gamut from standard plain tunes such as #1 MEAR, updated by Read to include figured bass numerals and keyboard accompaniment, to ornate works such as #150 NANTWICH by Martin Madan, to slightly melismatic compositions such as #140 FUNERAL DIRGE by George Frideric Handel. NEWTON, #231, includes organ interludes, as do several other pieces in the collection. John Cole’s popular fugal tune #42 GEVENA is included with thoroughbass figures added.

Of special note is Read’s INFANT’S HYMN, #373. Out of Read’s setting of this anonymous hymn unfolds a touching dialogue between mother and child, with the child asking, “Who made the sun to shine so far, / The moon, and ev’ry twinkling star,” to which the mother replies, “’Twas God, my child, who made them all.” Read indicated that the first, second, and fourth verses be sung by the “Child,” while the remaining third and fifth verses are assigned to the “Mother.”

The scores in this modern edition have been painstakingly prepared from a manuscript that, from all description, sounds somewhat unusual in its arrangement. Yet here readers will find them informative and eminently

accessible, and in them a music that is “quite different from any that he [Read] had produced earlier, . . . fully representative of the musical tastes and thoughts of the day, filtered through Read’s own point of view” (1: xi).

In bringing Daniel Read’s *Musica Ecclesiae, or Devotional Harmony* to scholarly attention, Karl and Marie Kroeger have supplied the final chapter in the life and works of one of America’s most prolific and noteworthy composers of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Meticulously researched and prepared for ease of accessibility to a variety of users, this edition will be of interest to scholars of American sacred music, performers, and choral directors. Viewed now within the scope of Read’s complete output, this final opus offers specific examples of, and valuable insights into, the style traits that were indeed at issue during the large-scale reform that swept through American sacred music at the dawning of the nineteenth century.

Maxine Fawcett-Yeske  
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## Robert R. and Ruth J. Fink Lecture Series on American Music

The Robert R. and Ruth J. Fink Lecture Series on American Music was established by the former dean of the College of Music and his wife to enhance the presence of the American Music Research Center on the University of Colorado campus and in the Boulder community. Dean Emeritus Fink was instrumental in the move of the AMRC from Dominican College to the University of Colorado at Boulder in 1988, and currently serves on its Advisory Board. A lecture will be presented annually by a nationally distinguished speaker on a topic relating to American music that is appropriate for a general audience. Papers presented in the lecture series may be included in future AMRC publications. The inaugural lecture will be presented by eminent Americanist H. Wiley Hitchcock on 8 November 2006 at 7:30 P.M. in Grusin Recital Hall on the University of Colorado campus. It will be preceded by a recital featuring the songs of Charles Ives on the evening of 7 November 2006.



H. Wiley Hitchcock

H. Wiley Hitchcock is Distinguished Professor of Music Emeritus at the City University of New York, having been founding director (1971–93) of the Institute for Studies in American Music at Brooklyn College, CUNY. He has also taught at the University of Michigan (1947–61), Hunter College (1961–71), New York University (1962–67, 1987–88, 1997, and 1998), Yale University (1994–95), and Columbia University (1997–98).

He has published studies and editions of French and Italian Baroque-era music (especially by Marc-Antoine Charpentier and Giulio Caccini), is the author of *Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (Oxford University Press, 1990), and compiled *Les Œuvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier: A catalogue raisonné* (Picard, 1982). He is the author of *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction* (1969; 4th ed., rev. & enl., 2000) and other books and articles on American music, especially the music of Charles Ives (notably *Ives: A Survey of the Music*, 1977; 2d ed. 1983). His critical edition, *129 Songs*, by Ives was published in 2004 as Volume 12 in the MUSA series (of the American Musicological Society), with a prefatory essay on “Ives as Songwriter and Lyricist.”

He was chief contents editor (co-editor with Stanley Sadie as administrative editor) of the multi-prizewinning *New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (4 vols., MacMillan, 1986). He is series editor of the Prentice-Hall

History of Music Series (11 vols., 1964–91) and the music-score facsimile-reprint series *Earlier American Music* (32 vols., 1972–95); and was founding editor of the music-score critical-edition series *Recent Researches in American Music* (17 vols., 1973–95). He also edited the *I.S.A.M. Monographs, 1973–93* (32 volumes), and the biannual *I.S.A.M. Newsletter* (1971–93).

He was granted Guggenheim, NEH, and Fulbright fellowships, and was a Getty Scholar at the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities (Santa Monica, 1985–86). In 1990–91 he was Visiting Scholar at Harvard's Center for Italian Renaissance Studies (Villa I Tatti, Florence).

He was elected president of the Music Library Association (1966–67), the Charles Ives Society (1973–93), and the American Musicological Society (1990–92). He serves on the boards of directors of the Ives Society and the Virgil Thomson Foundation and the editorial boards of *The Musical Quarterly* and *American Music*. In 1994 he was named an Honorary Member of the American Musicological Society. In 1995 he was named Chevalier of the French Republic's *Ordre des Arts et des Lettres*. In 1999 he was elected to the American Classical Music Hall of Fame. In 2003 he was awarded the Lifetime Achievement Award by the Society for American Music.

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