

PLEYEL'S HYMNS ACROSS THE ATLANTIC:
MIGRATION, TRAVEL, AND AMERICAN PSALMODY REFORM
IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

William Robin

A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Music (Musicology).

Chapel Hill
2013

Approved by:

Philip Vandermeer

Mark Evan Bonds

Annegret Fauser

ABSTRACT

WILLIAM ROBIN: Pleyel's Hymns Across the Atlantic:
Migration, Travel, and American Psalmody Reform in the Early Nineteenth Century
(Under the director of Philip Vandermeer)

In the decades following the American Revolution, a generation of New England intellectuals and musicians attempted to reform American hymnody from its lively, William Billings-derived native style to a more deliberate, Old World solemnity. This “Ancient Music” movement proposed to return American psalmody to its European origins, but its participants also imported recently composed tunes, including two hymns by Ignace Pleyel. This thesis discusses how these Pleyel hymns—one brought to the United States via the emigration of the Carr family of publishers from England, and the other through the European travels of Boston reverend Joseph Stevens Buckminster—intersected with psalmody reform at the turn of the nineteenth century. In tracing the dissemination of Pleyel's hymns, I show how transatlantic developments in Britain and the United States fundamentally altered the direction of American hymnody.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter I The Origins of Pleyel’s First and the Carr Family in America.....	7
Pleyel’s First in Europe.....	10
The Carr Family Arrives With Pleyel’s First.....	16
The Carrs and Pleyel “Advance” American Music	19
Chapter II Pleyel’s First in America	26
Pleyel’s First as “Ancient Music”	31
Beyond Reform: Pleyel’s First in Other Contexts	34
Chapter III The Intellectual and Transatlantic Roots of “Ancient Music”	39
“Ancient Music” and Boston’s Elite.....	41
Travel and the <i>Salem Collection of Classical Sacred Musick</i>	44
Buckminster, Travel, and the Brattle Street Church	47
Chapter IV Pleyel’s Second and the Transatlantic <i>Brattle Street Collection</i>	53
The <i>Brattle Street Collection</i> ’s Origins and its Culminating Hymns	56
Transatlantic Rhetoric and Cis-Atlantic Reception	62
Conclusion	66
Appendix I: List of examined appearances of Pleyel’s First in hymnals.....	68
Bibliography	73

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Ignace Pleyel, <i>String Quartet in G major</i> (London: Merton Music, 2010), Andante, measures 1-21.....	11
2. Pleyel, “Hymn XV,” in <i>Select Hymns for the Voice and Harpsichord</i> (London: J. Carr, 1790), 16.....	12
3. Pleyel, “The Spacious Firmament,” in Samuel Arnold, <i>The Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches</i> (London: John Stockdale and George Goulding, 1791), 204.....	14
4. Pleyel, “Condolence, or Pleyel’s Hymn,” in Bartholomew Brown, <i>Columbian and European Harmony: or, Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music</i> (Boston: Isaiah Thomas, Ebenezer T. Andrews and John West, 1802), 24.....	27
5. Pleyel, “Hymn,” in <i>Sacred Harmony: a Selection of Airs, duos, trios &c</i> (Philadelphia: Carr & Schetky, 1804).....	29
6. Pleyel, “Hymn 4,” mm. 1-5, in Thomas Costellow, <i>Sunday’s Amusement</i> (London: J. Longman, 1805), 14.....	52
7. Pleyel, “Devotion,” mm. 1-4, in Oliver Shaw, Amos Albee, and Elias Mann, <i>The Columbian Sacred Harmonist</i> (Dedham: H. Mann, 1808).....	53
8. Pleyel, “Hymn 2,” in <i>LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship</i> (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1810), 48.....	58

Introduction

In 1809, a patron under the pseudonym Philo-Harmonicus wrote to the *Boston Mirror* describing a recent experience in the concert hall. Invited to a performance by a newly formed musical society, Philo-Harmonicus accepted “with musical indifference, expecting to hear the old routine of ‘Washington’s March,’ ‘Hail Columbia,’ and ‘Yankee Doodle’ played over for the nine hundredth and tenth time.”¹

He was met, however, with surprise: the concert included not that dreadful, overplayed American music but “the compositions of Haydn, Pleyel, Handel, Arne and others from the first masters in Europe.” Philo-Harmonicus basked in the “intricate scientific music” of a Haydn symphony as well as vocal music of “good taste.” But a concert of music of this caliber was an unfortunate rarity:

Alas! The great body of our American ‘*musicianers*’ seem to possess an intuitive antipathy against foreign compositions and performers, and are enraptured to hear the productions of old Billings and others of equal notoriety, sung forte, fortissimo from beginning to end; while one of Pleyel’s most delicate andantes tend only to make them yawn disapprobation.²

Numerous variations on this message surfaced across New England in the first decade of the nineteenth century.irate writers railed against homegrown American music in favor of a superior alternative: that of “scientifically-composed” music, already proven in European concert venues and churches. One name in particular, Pleyel, appeared over

¹ Philo-Harmonicus, “For the Boston Mirror,” *Boston Mirror*, 14 January 1809.

² Ibid.

and over in American newspapers, hymnal prefaces, and published music. The composer's given name—Ignace—never seemed to be invoked, placing him in the canon of greats only referred to by last name.

Pleyel's music played a major and thus far under acknowledged role in the United States at the turn of the nineteenth century. Two hymns in particular participated in major shifts in American sacred music:

1. Pleyel's Hymn, also known as German Hymn, an arrangement of a theme from the composer's 1788 String Quartet in G major (henceforth referred to as Pleyel's First)
2. Hymn 2, or Pleyel's Ps. 2, based on the 1786 Symphonie Concertante in E-flat major (henceforth referred to as Pleyel's Second).³

In the decades following the American Revolution, increased access to European compositions encouraged musicians and clergy to reform psalmody. Though the imported hymns were often relatively new, these reformers chose to call them “Ancient Music,” positing the change in repertoire as a rediscovery necessary for reasserting the relationship between sacred music and devotion. One advertisement called these hymn tunes—written by Pleyel, Handel, Arne, and others—“ancient melodies which have been long exiled from most of our temples of worship.”⁴

This thesis traces the newness of Pleyel's “ancient” melodies, their transatlantic transfer to America, and the ways in which they intersected with changes in hymnody in

³ In her bibliographic study of Pleyel's music, Rita Benton assigns the String Quartet the catalogue number B. 349 and the Symphonie Concertante B. 111. See Rita Benton, *Ignace Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1977).

⁴ Quoted in Richard Crawford, “‘Ancient Music’ and the Europeanizing of American Psalmody, 1800–1810,” in *A Celebration of American Music: Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock*, edited by Richard Crawford, R. Allen Lott, and Carol J. Oja (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 234.

Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New England. Each tells an individual story. Pleyel's First arrived with the Carr family, one of London's most prestigious music publishers, who emigrated to Baltimore and Philadelphia and opened America's first chain of music stores in the 1790s. Pleyel's Second entered the new republic via transatlantic travel, brought to Boston in 1807 with the pastor Joseph Stevens Buckminster when he returned from an extended sabbatical in Europe. The Carrs imported a variety of European compositions, both secular and sacred, to the United States; Pleyel's First initially interacted with Episcopalian sacred music before finding its way to Boston and the burgeoning "Ancient Music" movement of the Congregational church. The later arrival of Pleyel's Second guaranteed its immediate introduction into hymnody reform led by clergy like Buckminster, and this movement helped guarantee the wide dissemination of both hymn tunes. Today, Pleyel's hymns endure in *The Sacred Harp* as two of only thirteen non-American tunes in the quintessentially Southern shape-note tunebook.

Exploring how Pleyel's music reached the United States dovetails with recent attempts to view the history of American music through a transatlantic lens. In a 2011 colloquy in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, several scholars considered possibilities for pushing the boundaries of American music beyond its traditional borders and investigating what George E. Lewis called

A global perspective—not so much a comparative, border-drawing methodology, but an integrative one that implicitly recognizes the permanence of permeability, the transience of borders, and a *mestizaje* [mestizo] that draws its power from dialogue with an American trope of mobility.⁵

More recently, Glenda Goodman has connected the study of early American sacred music with the interdisciplinary field of Atlantic history as pioneered by historians such as

⁵ George E. Lewis, "Americanist Musicology and Nomadic Noise," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, no. 3 (2011): 692.

David Armitage. As a result of participating in a 2013 Society for American Music panel organized by Goodman, I have focused my analysis of Pleyel in America through Armitage's methodology, viewing the migration of the Carr family and the travel of Buckminster in the context of broader movements within the Atlantic basin. I draw upon Armitage's "cis-Atlantic" model, one that "studies particular places as unique locations within an Atlantic world and seeks to define that uniqueness as the result of the interaction between local particularity and a wider web of connections (and comparisons)."⁶ I trace the transatlantic and local significations of Pleyel's First and Second, examining their role in Europe, how they reached America, and the various roles they played following their arrival.

In studying hymnody in the context of Europe and the new United States, I contend that the actions and perspectives of active participants in the Atlantic world shaped "Ancient Music" reform. American clergy and musicians transformed European music as well as European rhetoric to their own ends, drawing not only on the music of Pleyel, but also on the good taste for which the composer's name stood, in order to shape a new path for native psalmody. The effect of the movement was immediate and long-lasting: the "Ancient Music" participants founded organizations like the Boston Handel and Haydn Society and Philharmonic Society; shaped Lowell Mason's 1830s "Better Music" agenda; and helped launch American musical institutions still in existence today.

Through examining the period from approximately 1790 to 1810, I shed light on an overlooked era in American hymnody: the transition between the age of Billings and that of Mason. Previous scholars have focused predominantly on native composers (like

⁶ David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 23.

Billings and Mason) and thus neglected the roles that non-natives like the Carrs as well as intellectuals like Buckminster played in forging a new direction for sacred music in the United States. By examining thinkers such as Buckminster, as well as his contemporaries Samuel Cooper Thacher and John Pickering (see Chapter 3), I uncover the personal motivations of specific participants in “Ancient Music” reform, a movement whose rhetoric was framed in authoritative anonymity. And by focusing on two individual hymns, I offer a perspective on how specific repertoire intersected with broader agendas of reform.

In this thesis, I follow the impact of Pleyel’s hymns chronologically. Chapter 1 begins with the origins of Pleyel’s First in London and the emigration of the Carr family to Baltimore and Philadelphia, examining how the Carrs’ commercial enterprise intersected with developments in American hymnody. Chapter 2 explores the American dissemination of Pleyel’s First; its interaction with Boston’s burgeoning reform movement; and its role in several non-worship contexts. Chapter 3 delves into the intellectual origins of the “Ancient Music” movement, investigates how transatlantic travel influenced the compilation of reform hymnals like *The Salem Collection of Classical Sacred Musick*, and details Buckminster’s trip to Europe and his role as reverend of Boston’s Brattle Street Church. Chapter 4 follows Pleyel’s Second from Europe to America, examines its role within the hymnal *LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship*, and scrutinizes the transatlantic rhetoric of reform and its reception in Boston.

By the time of Philo-Harmonicus’s indictment of American “musicianers,” native music was well on its way to being eclipsed by European compositions. The delicate

andantes of Pleyel spread quickly from Paris to London to the United States, playing a much more important role in America than they did in their countries of origin. By 1820, there was nothing surprising about hearing a concert of the “intricate, scientific” music of foreign composers: the once iconoclastic perspective of Philo-Harmonicus had become the norm. In closely tracing how these delicate andantes wove their way through the early history of American music, I show how a generation of musicians and clergy replaced those yawns of disapprobation with knowing smiles.

Chapter I

The Origins of Pleyel's First and the Carr Family in America

Before the Europeanizing of psalmody in America, of course, came the Americanizing of psalmody in America. In the 1720s, Harvard-educated clergy introduced “Regular Singing” reform in the Puritan church, an attempt to replace the Old Way of singing—in which pastors or precentors “lined out” tunes for the congregation to imitate—with hymnals that included notated music. Itinerant musicians formed singing schools to educate laypeople in reading music, with the goal of increasing the proficiency of congregational worship singing.

Prior to 1760, most of the music published for use by the singing schools and churches came from Britain; the 1761 publication of James Lyon's *Urania*, the first tunebook compiled by an American composer, marked a shift towards native hymnody. In the 1770s, composers like William Billings and Andrew Law issued collections of their own compositions, further popularizing native sacred music and tying it to the spirit of the Revolution. Richard Crawford has charted the proportion of American and European sacred music published in the United States between 1760 and 1810.⁷ In the 1780s, American and European compositions were approximately equal in publication

⁷ See Crawford, ““Ancient Music.”” For an extensive discussion of statistics in the core repertory of American hymnody, see also Crawford, ed., *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody* (Madison: A-R Editions, 1984).

numbers, but by the 1790s, American tunes outweighed European ones by a ratio of two to one.

The denigration of native hymnody started to develop in the decade in which its local production was most prominent: the 1790s. Crawford's examination of hymnal prefaces shows that the Americanization of sacred music went mostly unmentioned through the 1770s and 1780s. But beginning in 1791, composers like Samuel Holyoke and Oliver Holden began apologizing for the quality of their music, on account of their untrained status as American composers. Holyoke opened his 1791 *Harmonia Americana* with a self-effacing confession:

Advantages for studying the principles of harmony being, in this country, so limited, it cannot be expected that a composition of this nature can stand the test of criticism.⁸

Holyoke and others omitted fusing tunes and openly criticized them in their prefaces; American composers had started to recognize their differences with Europe and adopted what Crawford calls a "rhetorical etiquette" for excusing them. With the exception of Billings, who unapologetically defended his untrained style well into the 1790s, American musicians guided psalmody from a "freely-chosen, heterogeneous practice into a self-conscious, increasingly homogenous category."⁹

These discussions among composers resonated with similar developments in the Protestant church. New England clergy felt that the singing school, led by music teachers rather than pastors, fostered an environment that encouraged a form of sacred music

⁸ Crawford, *American Studies and American Musicology: A Point of View and a Case in Point* (New York: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1975), 19. Crawford points out that many of these apologetic hymnals were issued by the Boston publisher Thomas & Andrews, concluding that they comprised a kind of "house policy" for the firm.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

shaped by secular virtuosity instead of solemn worship. Though the schools were established to foster educated congregational singing, they led to the formation of church choirs, which often had more authority over music sung in service than the ministers themselves. Choirs met outside of religious services and trained to perform more complicated music, like the fugging tunes of Billings and Jeremiah Ingalls. Crawford writes of a musical culture characterized by “nonsinging congregations, aggressively outspoken choir members, and a sprightliness of choral performance that fostered competitiveness, virtuosity, and pride among ‘the singers.’”¹⁰ The authority of the singing master encroached on that of the clergy, and the nature of the singing school itself—an institution outside of the church, in which young men and women could meet, unsupervised—acquired an air of immorality.¹¹

The centuries-old tension present in sacred music between artistry and religion also played itself out in reference to the Americanness of hymnody. Clergy felt that the native composer himself, and the style of his music—as epitomized by the fugging tune—was responsible for rampant secularism. American music had drifted off-track in recent decades; only in seeking out the “Ancient Music” of Europe, with its proven track record, could psalmody be righted. In reigning in American composition, European-minded compilers of hymnals believed they were redirecting church music back towards the devotional sphere.

As these perspectives shifted, European music became increasingly available in America courtesy of a new wave of publishing firms, fostered by the migration of

¹⁰ Crawford, ““Ancient Music,”” 232.

¹¹ For a more detailed description of the morality issue in the singing school, see John Bealle, *Public Worship, Private Faith* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 51-53.

musicians from Britain in the 1790s. Thus what counted as “Ancient Music” was often not so ancient, after all: American publishers increasingly introduced the newest music possible, whether sacred or secular, in order to compete in a market not bound by European copyright protection. This dressing-up of new music as “ancient” is one of the areas in which the publication and marketing of the Pleyel hymns intersected with the emergence of hymn reform. The Carr family fits into this economic frame, as they introduced Pleyel’s First to America not so much as a work of “Ancient Music” reform—the family lived in Philadelphia and Baltimore, cities not directly connected to the Boston-based movement—than as a business move. The hymn was part of the same practice that let them publish published dozens of new European compositions in such serials as *Music Journal for the Piano Forte*. From the Carrs’ perspective, Pleyel was not only an esteemed European composer, but also an easy sell, and a cheap one: as Stephen Siek has shown, new copyright laws in the United States made it more expensive to print native compositions than to import European music.¹²

Pleyel’s First in Europe

The story of Pleyel’s First begins with the composer’s set of six string quartets dedicated to the Prince of Wales, published in 1788 in Paris and London (B. 346-351). The fourth quartet, in G major (B. 349), comprises three movements, including an Andante set of variations.¹³ By 1790, publishers had issued the Andante as a stand-alone work in a version for harpsichord or pianoforte, known as *Pleyel’s German Hymn with Variations*.

¹² See Stephen Siek, “Widening the Scope: Early American Musical Taste as Seen through a Political-Economic Lens” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for American Music, Little Rock, March 2013).

¹³ For the publication record of B. 349, see Benton, 138-45.

The first texted arrangements of the theme of the Andante were published in 1790, and it is not clear whether the theme had the title “German Hymn” before or after it received its text.



Figure 1: Ignace Pleyel, *String Quartet in G major* (London: Merton Music, 2010), Andante, mm. 1-21.

In his *Hymn Tune Index*, Nicholas Temperley lists two potential origins for the texted hymn, both published in London in 1790: *The Sacred Pocket Companion for the German Flute, Flageolet, Violin or Oboe, containing the most favorite hymn tunes* (Button & Whittaker), and *Select Hymns for Voice and Harpsichord* (J. Carr).¹⁴ I could only examine *Select Hymns*, and thus did not determine which hymnal appeared first. It is likely that *The Sacred Pocket Companion* drew upon *Select Hymns*, since it calls itself an

¹⁴ See Nicholas Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index: A Census of English-Language Hymn Tunes in Printed Sources from 1535 to 1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). Further discussions of the chronology of both Pleyel hymns will draw upon the online version of Temperley’s resource.

adaptation of “the most favorite hymn tunes” for flute solo or duo. *Select Hymns*, published by Joseph Carr’s firm, sets Pleyel’s tune to John Cenick’s 7.7.7.7 text “Children of the heav’nly king,” a poem that appears again with the tune in seven subsequent reprints, all of which were published in the United States.

The hymnal itself is rudimentary, without a preface or even individual titles (the hymns are simply numbered). Carr sets each tune for two voices, divided between bass and treble staves. Pleyel’s First concludes the hymnal, and the pitch content of the two voices is identical to the quartet’s violin 1 and cello lines, with some rhythmic discrepancies (Carr eliminates the pick-up turning gestures of the quartet, making the rhythms simpler). Though Benjamin Carr, Joseph’s son, was the composer of the family, it is likely that Joseph adapted the tune himself; Joseph, a trained engraver, wrote his own arrangements as well as organ voluntaries (Benjamin began publishing his own music in 1790).

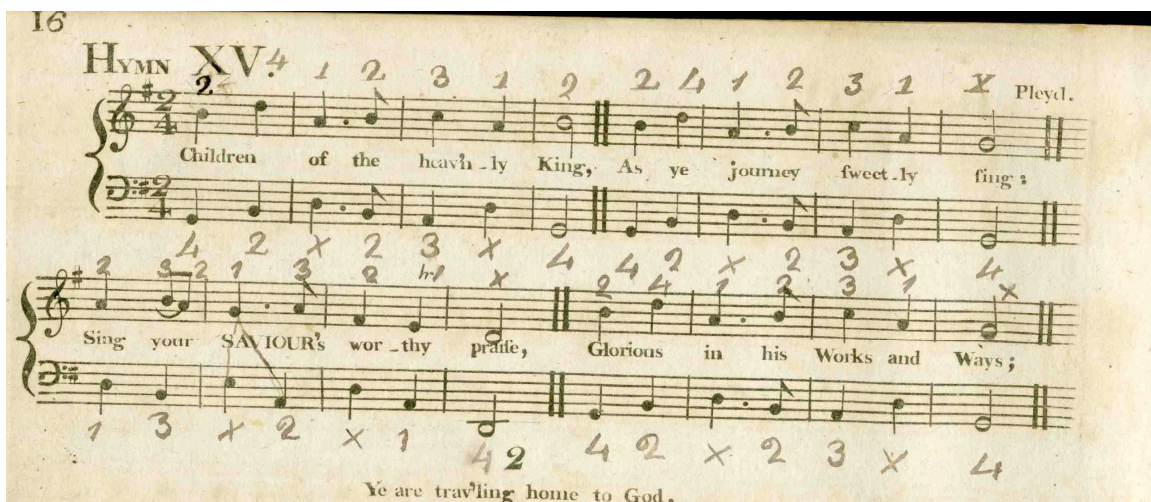


Figure 2: Pleyel, “Hymn XV,” in *Select Hymns for the Voice and Harpsichord* (London: J. Carr, 1790), 16.

The next hymnals containing Pleyel's First that I studied were both printed in London in 1791: Samuel Arnold's *The Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* and Hugh Bond's *The Psalms of David in Metre*. Arnold's adaptation introduces a pickup note to Pleyel's theme in order to set an 8.8.8.8 text, a feature common to many versions of the hymn. The three-voice setting features a melody and bass that are essentially identical to Pleyel's quartet, and the middle voice mostly resembles the quartet's second violin part, though its final phrase repeats the first phrase. Its text, Joseph Addison's "The spacious firmament on high," appears in seven subsequent reprints before 1820, all again in America.

In contrast, Bond's Pleyel hymn, titled "Communion Hymn," sets the 7.7.7.7 text "Glory be to God on high" and does not include the pickup. It is also notated on a keyboard staff and includes just melody and bass lines with figuration, which mostly resembles the quartet with minor deviations. The text received 25 reprints before 1820, but it is not a significant version for the United States, where only four of those printings were published. What is particularly interesting about Arnold and Bond's two versions is that the composers may have based them on Pleyel's original music. Both adhere closer to the quartet in their use of anticipatory eighth notes—for example, m. 7 and 11 of Figure 3, below—and furthermore, Arnold introduces a voice present in Pleyel but not in Carr.



Figure 3: Pleyel, “The Spacious Firmament,” in Samuel Arnold, *The Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (London: John Stockdale and George Goulding, 1791), 204.

I examined two other non-American versions of Pleyel’s First, neither of which were particularly important to its dissemination in the United States. William Tattersall’s 1794 *Improved Psalmody* utilizes the text “Warmth and life each thankful heart” in a three-voice setting without a pickup. “Celebrated German Hymn,” a standalone broadside published in 1800, derives its notes and text from Bond’s edition.

With the exception of Carr’s *Select Hymns*, each of these early hymnals features British reform rhetoric. Clergy and intellectuals debated hymn reform in England decades before the issue crossed the Atlantic. The dominance of singing school and parish choirs that would later spur American “Ancient Music” reform took place in England in the early eighteenth century. By the 1720s, some bishops began restricting the role of choirs in order to shift singing back to the congregation, albeit with limited success. Towns that had churches with organs fostered congregational singing, but rural country parishes kept to the choir and singing-school model through the 1760s. The

emerging Evangelical movement took up the battle against country psalmody, and attacks against its rural harmony and fusing tunes increased through the 1760s and 1770s. In the final decades of the century, Evangelical clergy published reform collections with simpler, homophonic tunes designed to reignite congregational singing in the countryside.¹⁵

Arnold, Bond, and Tattersall all trumpeted the language of reform and featured homophonic tunes by composers like Webbe, Croft, and Cooke. Arnold included an incendiary preface, declaring that recent hymnals, “with imitations and fugues, have been so incorrect and deficient, both in melody and harmony, that some among them scarce deserve the name of music.”¹⁶ His own hymnal attempted to remedy this defect in order to “assist the country choirs in their cultivation of this species of music”; the collection preserved “many excellent pieces of old and foreign music, which were sinking speedily to oblivion.”¹⁷ Arnold clearly referenced the conflict between town and country hymnody, offering “assistance” to country choirs. He also emphasized the antiquity of the tunes, a historical fallacy in the case of the three-year-old Pleyel hymn, but an aspect of the reform that acted as a main trope in the American “Ancient Music” movement.

Bond railed against country-parish psalmody, specifically drawing attention to the failures of the singing style in promoting worship. He wrote that the country choirs sing

in the worst manner, a most wretched set of Psalm Tunes in three or four parts, so complex, so difficult, and so void of all true Harmony, that it is altogether impossible for any of the Congregation to take part with them, who therefore sit

¹⁵ For a more detailed examination of the English reform movement, see Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

¹⁶ Samuel Arnold, *The Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (London: John Stockdale and George Goulding, 1791).

¹⁷ Ibid.

absorbed in silent Admiration, or total Inattention, without considering themselves as in any degree concerned in what is going forwards.¹⁸

He attested that sacred music was “originally intended to be a part of Divine Worship” and that the entire congregation should play an active and equal role in singing. Bond thus supplied “the plainest and easiest of our most ancient and popular Melodies” to serve the whole congregation as both familiar and simple to learn.¹⁹ Significantly, Bond also quoted from Dr. John Brown, a Newcastle vicar, who appeared in the prefaces of several American reform hymnals.²⁰

The Carr Family Arrives With Pleyel’s First

Unlike Pleyel’s Second, which arrived in America in various arrangements before it appeared as a texted hymn, Pleyel’s First seems not to have reached the United States in any other form before its 1799 publication as a hymn (Rita Benton lists no early American publications of the string quartets or any standalone versions of the Andante). The American debut of Pleyel’s First, in John Cole’s *Sacred Harmony; Part the Second*, includes the same text as the 1791 *Select Hymns* and may correspond to it musically (I was not able to obtain it).²¹ The connection between the two hymnals is the Carr family: *Select Hymns* was published by Joseph Carr’s London firm, and *Sacred Harmony* by

¹⁸ Hugh Bond, *The Psalms of David in Metre* (London: Preston & Son, 1791).

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Reformers frequently drew upon Brown’s 1763 *Dissertation on the Rise, Union and Power...of Poetry and Music*. The prefaces of the *Salem Collection* and *LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes* both quote Brown (see Chapters 3 and 4).

²¹ According to *The Hymn Tune Index*, it is in A major, not G, and is set for three unaccompanied voices.

Carr's new business in Baltimore, in consortium with his son Benjamin's Philadelphia store and James Hewitt's New York company.

From their arrival in America, members of the Carr family were prominent promoters and sellers of Pleyel's music. Stephen Siek has documented the family's emigration to the United States and examined the transatlantic roots of its American enterprise.²² At the end of the eighteenth century, London had become increasingly competitive for musicians, with limited demand and only seasonal employment for most performers. As many as 250,000 people emigrated from Britain to the United States from the end of the Revolutionary War to 1815, as disease and economic depression devastated the nation. Alongside new demand for instruments and musical instruction in post-Revolutionary America, recently established theaters in cities like Philadelphia also guaranteed work for musicians and composers. Various American agencies publicized new job opportunities in London, drawing immigrants dissatisfied with an economy tarnished by bankruptcies and high food costs, a downward spiral intensified by the Anglo-French war begun in 1793. Siek has shown that Alexander Reinagle, one of the earliest emigrants, may have been recruited by one of these American promoters.²³

Since the 1670s, the Carr family printed music in London, and was an early partner with the Playford family, one of England's best-known music publishing firms. In the 1790s, Joseph Carr, an engraver and organist, was in business with his son Benjamin, active as a keyboardist, opera singer, and composer. Benjamin worked with the Academy of Ancient Music, and his first opera, *Philander and Silvia*, premiered in

²² See Siek, "Musical Taste in Post-Revolutionary America As Seen Through Carr's 'Musical Journal for the Piano Forte'" (PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 1991).

²³ Ibid., 42.

1792 at Sadler's Wells. Though no documentation details why the Carrs decided to liquidate their century-old business and emigrate to America, Siek speculates that a confluence of several circumstances might have precipitated the move. Benjamin's career as a musician may have been a factor: the Academy was disbanded in 1792, and he may have thought that the United States offered more work for a freelancer. As London slid into economic depression, businesses including music printing became increasingly unstable, and Joseph probably thought that the former colonies provided a better opportunity for the family.

Benjamin made the initial voyage alone and arrived in Philadelphia in 1793. Philadelphia was an ideal place for a composer, freelance musician, and publisher. Donald Krummel has shown that only nine music-printing firms existed in the United States before 1800, and only three remained in business by 1800; there was ample room for a new company to enter the market.²⁴ Philadelphia stood as the capital of the republic and the home of the New Theatre, which featured Reinagle as music director. It is not clear whether the Carrs knew Reinagle before emigrating—the families became closer later—but Benjamin certainly recognized the opportunities available in the new establishment. He first advertised as “B. Carr & Co.” in Philadelphia newspapers in July 1793. Until the next year, Benjamin was on his own, printing from engraved plates of English music that he brought with him.

Joseph and Thomas Carr settled in Baltimore in 1794. Siek cites the yellow fever that swept through Philadelphia in late 1793, as well as that city's costly housing, as reasons why the rest of the family did not move to Benjamin's new home. Baltimore had

²⁴ See Donald W. Krummel, “Philadelphia Music Engraving and Publishing: 1800-1820” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1958), 79-80.

a satellite company of the New Theatre as well as large Catholic and Episcopalian communities: both brothers and their father served as organists in these churches. Joseph established a store in the city. In the same year, Benjamin advertised a third branch in New York, which opened in early 1795 (it was run by James Hewitt, who actually played under Pleyel in London). Benjamin commuted between New York's Old American Company and Philadelphia's New Theater. In 1797, he stopped working for both companies due to their budget and personnel cuts, and sold the New York shop to Hewitt. By 1800, Benjamin withdrew from Philadelphia publishing entirely and moved to Baltimore, possibly due to competition from a variety of new publishers in the city (including G. Willig, which printed the first version of the theme from Pleyel's Second in the United States, in the vocal setting "The Village Holy Day"; Willig acquired the Carrs' Baltimore business in 1822).

The Carrs and Pleyel "Advance" American Music

From Benjamin's earliest advertisements, "B. Carr & Co." invoked the name Pleyel. In a December 1793 issue of *Dunlap & Claypoole's Daily Advertiser*, Carr promoted a "large collection" of European music that included:

Overtures and concertos in parts, flute and violin quintets, quartets, trios, duets and solos, the compositions of Pleyel, Kozeluch, Haydn Nicholai, &c &c together with new operas, vocal and divine music for the piano forte, pocket companions, operas, &c. for the flute and guitar.²⁵

He went on to outline several collections of music imported for amateurs, including:

²⁵ Siek, "Musical Taste," 98.

No. 1 to 45, of Blands collection of harpsichord music, each number containing 10 pages of sonatas from Pleyel, Haydn, Hoffmeister, &c²⁶

Significantly, Pleyel's name came before all others, including Handel and Haydn. Carr probably did not yet know what was popular in the United States, but assumed (or had become aware) that Pleyel was a name associated in America with esteemed, European composition.

Benjamin's interest in Pleyel remained consistent through the family's publishing career. Siek has closely examined how the family participated in American musical taste-making in their *Musical Journal for the Piano Forte*, the largest serial publication of music of its time, issued from 1800 to 1804. From its beginning, the *Musical Journal* advertised "Men of Genius" and claimed that "but here a remark would be impertinent, as the names of Haydn, Pleyel, Boccherini &c speak for themselves."²⁷ The Carrs' journal formulated its marketing in this rhetoric of genius, but the family also favored European composers because of issues of copyright. Congress introduced federal copyright statutes in 1790, but they did not include any protection for overseas publications. Music printers could freely publish European works but had to seek new music, since anything popular was immediately reprinted by multiple firms and thus lost its value.²⁸

Siek has totaled the numbers of works published by known European composers, and Pleyel far exceeded Haydn and Boccherini in representation in the *Musical Journal*. Of the eight composers that Siek lists in a table—J.C. Bach, Boccherini, Cimarosa, Clementi, Corelli, Haydn, Mozart, and Pleyel—had the same number of instrumental

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 183.

²⁸ Siek, "Widening the Scope," 8-9.

works in the *Journal* as the other seven composers combined (10 in total as well as one vocal work).²⁹ Siek also shows, however, that this kind of “cultivated” European music was still a minority within the journal. Less than one eighth of the pages in the *Musical Journal* represented esteemed European composers like those that Siek lists, and most of the *Journal* consisted of works by composers of less demanding music like Stephen Storace, Michael Kelly, and John Braham. Though the *Journal* promoted the more “advanced” music of Pleyel and Haydn, if the works of those composers were already available in the United States, the Carrs had less incentive to print them; they constantly sought out obscure music not yet accessible in America in the hope that it could quickly become popular.

To what degree were the Carrs advocating a European-minded agenda consistent with “Ancient Music” hymnody reform? Certainly the rhetoric, if not the musical content, of the *Musical Journal* and the family’s other publications resembled that of the reform movement. The *Musical Journal* attempted to appeal to “those who are desirous to forward the advancement of music in this country.” Only 20% of its content consisted of American works, and after subtracting compositions by Benjamin Carr himself, the amount of native music in the serial was negligible.³⁰

Comments made by Benjamin later in his life make clear his dissatisfaction with native music and hymnody. In an 1821 letter to John Parker, the editor of the Boston music magazine *The Euterpiad*, Carr wrote that:

I do not approve of musical works being edited by those who are not professors of the art—Therefore, I have been speaking disinterestdly [sic] it seems as if the

²⁹ Siek, “Musical Taste,” 246.

³⁰ Siek, “Widening the Scope,” 6.

whole mass of sacred music in this country is committed to Clerks of Churches, while the works of those who have made music a study is scorned by Clergy— Trustees-choirs & congregations & every organ loft groans under the weight of piles of books replete with “*dreadful harmony*” the production of these self taught Handels When I kept store upon being asked for Sacred Music I would hand down books of Dr. Arnold & other church Masters which I had brought from England which the enquirer would throw down with disgust & ask Adgate, Billings & other names I did not then even know.³¹

He asked Parker to author an article on the subject and address his woes. Carr did not mention a problem with the liturgical character of native music; nor did he state that the “self taught Handels” had tarnished the religious experience of American sacred music (at so late a date as 1821, nearly a decade after European music had reasserted its control over American hymnody, it seems that Carr himself may have been behind the times). Carr was not concerned with religious sentiment, but with professionalism. For Carr—unlike reformers like Joseph Stevens Buckminster—the improvement of sacred music seemed to focus on making the music better and guaranteeing work for trained musicians, not crafting a worship experience closer to God.

Carr certainly contributed to the development of this experience. He served as musical director of St. Augustine’s Roman Catholic Church from 1800 until his death in 1831 and composed liturgical music for the American Catholic and Episcopal traditions. Joseph and Thomas were active musicians in Baltimore’s Old Saint Paul’s Parish. American Episcopal and Catholic churches had organs beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, and thus did not have the same issues as the Congregationalists in terms of the dominance of the fugal tune. Carr’s collections like the 1805 *Masses, Vespers, and Litanies...for the Use of Catholic Churches in the United States* consisted of more ornate music than dissenter hymnals and featured a variety of set-pieces, chants, psalms, and

³¹ Quoted in Carroll James Lehmann, “Benjamin Carr: His Contribution to Early American Solo Vocal Literature” (DMA diss., University of Iowa, 1975), 166-167. Carr’s letter is dated 4 October 1821.

through-composed works for organ and chorus. But in the United States, immigrant musicians also composed simpler works than what they wrote in Europe. John Cuthbert points out that the American music of Carr's colleague Raynor Taylor—an organist at the St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Philadelphia—was less complex than his European sacred compositions:

Gone is the ornate, polyphonic, rhythmically complex, and sequence-laden style of the English cathedral school. In its place we find short, simple, strophic, and basically homophonic pieces in straightforward rhythms.³²

The simpler music was tailored to the technical level of the local singers, one of the motivations for Carr's attempts at musical advancement.

The British rhetoric of reform did not apply to the Carr hymnals, despite it being quickly adapted to Pleyel's First in England, as shown above. The 1803 collection *Sacred Harmony*, which the *Hymn Tune Index* attributes to Carr since it shares plates with the 1805 *Masses, Vespers, and Litanies*, did not include a preface though it does feature primarily European music. Carr's 1805 collection contained a lengthy preface that outlines some of its compiler's ideas about American music but in a Catholic context, a different set of parameters from the Protestant agenda of "Ancient Music." Carr wrote that

Should they [the "sheets" of the collection] be the humble means of improving the choirs in general, by adding *harmony* to their *melody*, the author will not think his labour ill bestowed.³³

Carr later added that

³² John A. Cuthbert, "Raynor Taylor and Anglo-American Musical Life" (PhD diss., West Virginia University, 1980), 369.

³³ Benjamin Carr, *Masses, Vespers, Litanies, Hymns, Psalms, Anthems & Motets. . . . For the use of the Catholic churches, in the United States of America* (Baltimore: J. Carr, 1805).

Should he [the organist] employ a little industry in this way, he will in the end be rewarded by hearing a flow of harmony round him, instead of that dull, disagreeable, horrid monotony of all singing the same tone, alike disgusting to the hearers, and disgraceful to those who indulge in so idle, vulgar, and childish a method.³⁴

Carr addressed here the issue of musical training among Catholic choir singers: the organist has a responsibility to teach the choir to sing more than simply the melody. This may have been more of an issue in Catholic and Episcopalian choirs than Puritan ones, since the former emphasized liturgical chant. Certainly, with the fusing tunes that dominated Congregational churches, reformers emphasized eliminating polyphony, not monophony.

Recommending other collections of sacred music published in London, Carr wrote that “the continent of Europe must be able to supply numberless publications of this kind of genuine merit” and named Handel, Purcell, Blow, and Arnold as valuable composers of English-texted hymns. He described “the study of choral music, now in its infancy in this country” and gave advice to organists for assisting in training the choir.³⁵ The actual content of the collection was divided equally between American and non-American vocal works, but the American music consisted entirely of compositions by Carr and Taylor. Carr asserted his interest in improving devotional music, but there is no mention of the function of the music itself as devotional; introducing European music and reforming “horrid monotony” appears to be a musical, not a religious, decision.

Though Carr occupied himself with improving American music, he did not demonstrate the same fervor for reform of his Congregational contemporaries in Boston. Comfortable arranging Pleyel’s First for Catholic worship, playing organ for the

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

Episcopalian and Catholic churches, and publishing secular music for the masses, Carr was a businessman and musician first and foremost. Pleyel's First went on to be one of the many "Ancient Melodies" of New England reform, but when it arrived in America, it was a commercially-minded product indistinct from the *Musical Journal for the Piano Forte* or any other secular publication.

Chapter II

Pleyel's First in America

Pleyel's First made its first American appearance in John Cole's 1799 *Sacred Harmony; Part the Second*. Cole emigrated from England with his family at age nine, served as an organist and choirmaster at St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Baltimore, and ran a music store in the city from 1822 to 1839. Joseph Carr published both parts of Cole's *Sacred Harmony*. I could not examine the hymnal, but according to *American Sacred Music Imprints*, neither part contains a preface.³⁶ Nineteen of the twenty tunes of Part II originated outside of America, suggesting an affinity with the Carrs' interest in "musical advancement" (an advertisement for Part I includes the note that "Care has been taken in this collection, to select the most approved and easy tunes, both ancient and modern").³⁷

According to the *Hymn Tune Index*, Cole's printing of Pleyel's First shares the same title and text – "German Hymn" and "Children of the heav'nly king" – as the earliest, 1790 Carr publication in *Select Hymns*. It is in G major rather than A major, though, and set for three voices without keyboard. It is hard to say to what degree Benjamin Carr might have been involved in the arrangement of the hymn, but certainly

³⁶ See Allen Perdue Britton, Irving Lowens, and Richard Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints, 1698-1810: A Bibliography* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1990), 231-32.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 231.

Cole acquired the tune from Joseph or Benjamin and either reworked it with their permission or asked one of them to adapt it in a new setting.

Fortunately, I had access to the next printed version of Pleyel's First in America, one of the most important publications in terms of the hymn's dissemination: its appearance in the first edition of Bartholomew Brown, Benjamin Holt, and Nahum Mitchell's 1802 *Columbian and European Harmony: or Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music*. The *Bridgewater Collection* marks the hymn's earliest four-voice appearance and also its first setting to the poem "So fades the lovely blooming flower," a key text for exploring the American dissemination of Pleyel's First. Though its author, Anne Steele, was English, "So fades" has no precedent in the European tradition of the tune, and Brown's hymnal is the earliest musical setting of this text. It bears the title "Condolence, or Pleyel's Hymn" and cites H. 228, a reference to Jeremy Belknap's *Sacred Poetry*, the 1798 edition of which adds that the text is "on the death of a child."³⁸ The *Bridgewater Collection* was the first hymnal to utilize the name "Pleyel's Hymn," which appears in 46 subsequent printings before 1820, mostly associated with the "So fades" text.



³⁸ Jeremy Belknap, *Sacred Poetry: Consisting of Psalms and Hymns, Adapted to Christian Devotion, in Public and Private* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1797), 183.

Figure 4: Pleyel, “Condolence, or Pleyel’s Hymn,” in Bartholomew Brown, *Columbian and European Harmony: or, Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas, Ebenezer T. Andrews and John West, 1802), 24.

Brown’s setting includes the 8.8.8.8 pickup and transposes the key to B-flat major. Its melody and bass are almost identical to the original Pleyel quartet. Significantly, though, Brown’s added alto line resembles the viola of Pleyel’s original, suggesting that the hymnal’s compilers may have returned to some version of the untexted music. Given the compilers’ active role as musicians and hymn reformers (see Chapter 4), it is likely that they obtained Pleyel’s quartet or one of the arrangements of its Andante.

“So fades” is noteworthy because it exists exclusively in the American tradition of Pleyel’s First, perhaps demonstrating that in this strain of hymnody, transatlanticism was a one-way street. Eighty-four printings of Pleyel’s First utilized “So fades” before 1820, making it by far the most popular text in the tradition, and possibly assigning a specific devotional or poetic function (or connotation) to the music as well, with the original associations to the death of a child (this may play a role in why David Vinton chose the hymn tune to accompany Masonic funeral processions; see below).

The next printing of Pleyel’s First that I examined ties back to the Carr family. *Sacred Harmony: a Selection of Airs, duos, trios &c.* was published in Philadelphia in 1803 by Carr & Schetky, Benjamin’s firm at the time (in partnership with George Schetky). The *Hymn Tune Index* notes that it shares plates with Carr’s 1805 *Masses, Vespers, Litanies*, suggesting that Benjamin probably compiled the 1803 hymnal as well. The *Sacred Harmony* version utilizes the same “Children of the heavn’ly king” text as the

previous Carr printings, but in a through-composed setting for chorus and keyboard, probably designed for the Episcopal or Catholic church. It included an introductory instrumental hymn, a texted chorus, and variations for keyboard, duet, and solo, followed by a return of the chorus and an instrumental coda.

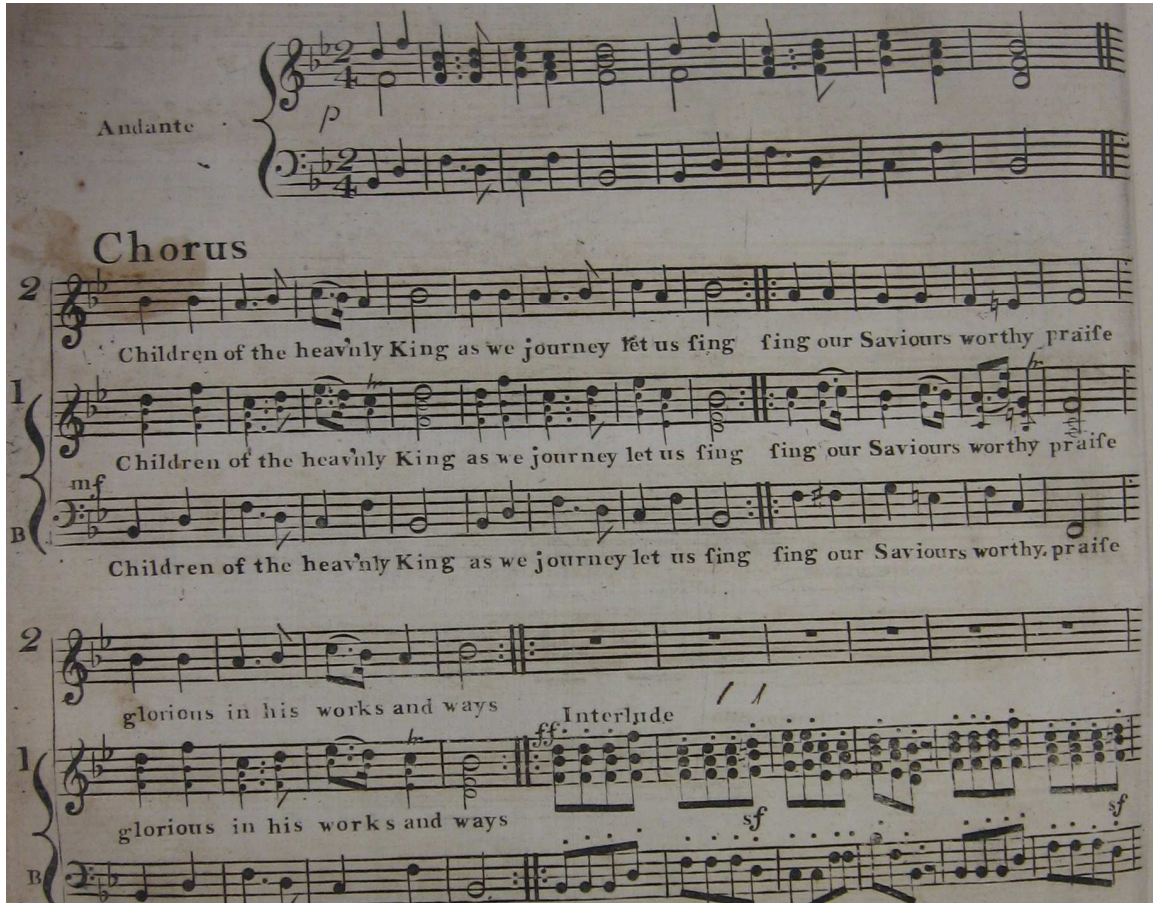


Figure 5: Pleyel, “Hymn,” in *Sacred Harmony: a Selection of Aires, duos, trios &c.* (Philadelphia: Carr & Schetky, 1804).

I studied nine other hymnals containing Pleyel’s First compiled before 1810, when it appears in *LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes*, which is where the story of Pleyel’s Second begins (see Chapter 4). Each shows some aspect of the American dissemination of the tune, though none requires detailed discussion. The diagram in Appendix 1 outlines the

main features of each of these eleven iterations of the hymn, showing their relationship to the American streams of Pleyel's First.

Unlike Pleyel's Second, which almost exclusively employs a single text, Pleyel's First has been adapted to a variety of poems, though the bulk of the pre-1820 versions underlie the tune with "So fades." Another important text in the early tradition is "Children of the heav'nly king" because it is connected directly to the tune's transfer from London to Baltimore and appeared in the various Carr-affiliated publications of Pleyel's First. Only seven prints, however, actually utilized this text, and all but one relate to the Carr family. None appeared after 1813, so while "Children of the heav'nly king" is important in charting the dissemination of the tune, it did not seem to survive past the Carrs' own publication history with the hymn.

Versions of the text "Angels roll the stone away" accompany twelve iterations of Pleyel's First in American hymnals between 1805 and 1820. This text tradition launched with *The Salem Collection of Classical Sacred Musick*, an important New England "Ancient Music" hymnal (see Chapter 3), and reappeared in four other Boston hymnals compiled before 1813 by reformers like Gottlieb Graupner and Solomon Warriner. The remaining seven printings employ the variant "Angels roll the rock away" and appeared in quick succession, between 1815 and 1820, with the exception of an 1806 appearance in *The Sacred Minstrel*. The tune-books of this 1815-1820 set were all published in Utica, New York. Thomas Hastings, a collaborator with Lowell Mason in leading the "Better Music" movement of the 1830s, compiled four of the six. This demonstrates not only the spread of the reform movement from the Boston area to upstate New York, but also the

transition to the next generation of reformers; Pleyel's First acts as a lens through which to track these chronological and geographical movements.

The other principal text variants of Pleyel's First remained mostly in Europe: "Glory be to God on high," which makes twenty-six appearances total but only four in the United States; and "Hark! The herald angels sing," present in eight European hymnals and only one American one. The main issue in pairing a text with the Pleyel tune was 7.7.7.7 versus 8.8.8.8: hymnal compilers chose whether or not to add a pick-up to the original quartet music. The tradition before 1820 was fairly balanced between these two options: the *Hymn Tune Index* lists 113 iterations of 7.7.7.7 texts and 137 of 8.8.8.8 hymns, a dominance secured by the ubiquity of "So fades."

Pleyel's First as "Ancient Music"

It remains difficult to parse out how the Carr and Cole-compiled appearances of Pleyel's First tie into broader issues of hymn reform, and changes in musical taste within the American Episcopal and Catholic churches are beyond the scope of this thesis. The Carr family concerned itself with the betterment of music in the United States, a goal it achieved by introducing a new wave of European compositions (this included, of course, an important commercial component). Certainly Cole, a participant in Baltimore's Cecilian Society (which performed *The Messiah* and *The Creation* as early as 1803) shared similar aims. It is not clear to what degree these musicians interacted with Boston-area reforms, besides the important fact that the New England movement took up and championed the music they published.

Every one of the Boston hymnals I examined containing Pleyel's First was part of the "Ancient Music" movement and sported a reform-minded preface. Crawford cites the 1802 *Bridgewater Collection*, the second American appearance of Pleyel's First, as one of the earliest reform hymnals.³⁹ It received twenty-six reprints, most under the title *Templi Carmina: Songs of the Temple, or, Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music* (the final edition of the hymnal was published in 1839). Its compilers – Brown, his brother-in-law Nahum Mitchell, and Benjamin Holt – all participated in the Europeanizing of American music (Brown and Mitchell were original members of the Boston Handel and Haydn Society, and helped create the *Brattle Street Collection*; see Chapter 4). The *Bridgewater Collection* contains 30 American tunes compared to 106 non-American ones. Its preface referred musicians interested in composing to the 1795 *Massachusetts Compiler*, an important early theoretical treatise (see Chapter 3 and 4). The compilers did not mention the fugal tune, but they laid out the aims of the reformers in their concluding lines:

A great proportion of it is the production of the greatest Masters, both modern and ancient, in Europe; and has the sanction of general use and approbation. None will object, that the Music is too dull and antiquated; for, after passing through all the grades of improvement, men will at last come to admire the old slow church Music, and will consider the use of *Old Hundred* and *Windsor*, as evidence of a correct taste.⁴⁰

The compilers of the 1802 *Essex Harmony*—another early appearance of Pleyel's First—wrote of an "attempt to improve the style of music in this country," and the hymnal included "a selection from the best authors, ancient and modern" (it contains 77 non-American tunes and eight American ones). Both the 1805 *Salem Collection* and the

³⁹ See Crawford, "Ancient Music," 240.

⁴⁰ Britton, Lowens, and Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 201.

1807 *Middlesex Collection* – the later of which identified itself as “Ancient Psalmody Revived” – contained Pleyel’s Hymn. Nathaniel D. Gould documented the shifts in American psalmody in his 1853 *Church Music in America*, and identified the Salem and Middlesex societies as the first agents in the reform movement:

The Salem and Middlesex societies were put in operation about the same time [1806]. New England books and shelves were ransacked, and every piece and parcel of old music-books was brought forward at their meetings.⁴¹

Of the other pre-1810 hymnals I examined, *The First Church Collection of Sacred Musick* (1806), *The Sacred Minstrel* (1806), and *The Massachusetts Collection of Sacred Harmony* (1807) all contain prefaces articulated in the language of reform. The compilers of *The First Church Collection* wrote that “the psalmodists of the elder continent are vastly superior to those of America,” but actually took a somewhat even-handed approach: “Instead therefore of ridiculing the productions of our age and country, and indiscriminately condemning to oblivion the incipient effort of the American composer, let us, while we reject his worth, commend his best.”⁴² The breakdown of the tunes supports this balanced perspective: *American Sacred Music Imprints* identifies 50 American compositions and 76 non-American ones. The *Massachusetts Collection*, compiled by composer Elias Mann, called for “the daily improvement of taste in sacred music” via the promotion of “correctness, simplicity, and sentiment.” Mann noted that his hymnal contains no “wild fugues, and rapid and confused movements, which have so

⁴¹ Nathaniel D. Gould, *Church Music in America* (New York: AMS Press, 1972), 69. In Chapter 3, I will deal with the Salem society and the specifics of “Ancient Music” in greater detail.

⁴² Britton, Lowens, and Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 197.

long been the disgrace of congregational psalmody, and the contempt of the judicious and tasteful amateur.”⁴³

The *Bridgewater Collection* fixed Pleyel’s First in the canon of New England reform and helped guarantee its numerous printings well past 1820. In introducing vast quantities European music to the United States, Benjamin and his family allowed for it to spread to new and unanticipated contexts. Cis-atlanticism here represents not only the interaction between a single American city and its counterpart across the ocean, but also the effect of the migration of a commercial enterprise from London on an entire network of American musical communities – the three Carr firms in New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia; the Episcopal and Catholic churches in which the family participated; and the New England reformers who adopted Pleyel’s tune as an antidote to native traditions. To conclude, I will briefly touch upon a few other intriguing contexts for the hymn and show how its transatlanticism spread beyond the world of Protestant sacred music.

Beyond Reform: Pleyel’s First in Other Contexts

A variety of post-revolutionary newspapers attested to the prominence of Pleyel’s First in American life outside the church. The hymn appeared in multiple descriptions of the celebrations of national holidays. Following a major commemoration like Independence Day, newspapers printed summaries of the events that took place at local celebrations, including lists of all the toasts made and the music that followed them.

Pleyel’s Hymn appeared in twelve of these descriptions between 1808 and 1820 in Essex, Boston, Newburyport, Salem, and New Haven. Six of the events celebrated the

⁴³ Ibid., 449-50.

anniversary of Independence Day, but other commemorations included the 1809 presidential inauguration of James Madison, an 1811 celebration of George Washington's birthday, and the 192nd anniversary of the landing of the first settlers in New England. Several of the toasts were in memory of George Washington and the heroes of the American Revolution, and it is possible that Pleyel's First had associations with honoring veterans of war who had passed away (this might resonate with "So fades," though the newspapers do not mention specific texts).

One particularly interesting example emerges in a September 1812 anniversary celebration of the Salem Light Infantry Company, commemorating the very recent deaths of a particularly volatile political situation:

Gen. Lee's 1st ave garrison at Baltimore – less fortunate than that at Detroit, they surrendered to Madisonian savages, who murdered the prisoners in cold blood.
*German Hymn.*⁴⁴

This referred to the Baltimore riots of July 1812, initiated by a Federalist protest against the war led by newspaper editor Alexander C. Hanson. General Lee, a friend of Hanson, attempted to protect the outspoken editor from the mob. The general and Hanson's federalists first surrendered to the police, but then tried to escape jail; in the attempt, the pro-war mob tortured and killed them (the mention of Detroit is a bitter reference to the peaceful surrender of the American forces to the British in August 1812). If Pleyel's First represented the heroes of the Revolution in previous contexts, here it commemorated the victims of later, internal political turmoil, equating the bravery of Lee and Hanson with that of Washington and the revolutionaries.

⁴⁴ "Military," *The Repertory & General Advertiser*, 22 September 1812.

Another use of Pleyel's First was within the American masonic movement. Pleyel himself, like many of his European musical contemporaries, was a member of a masonic lodge: "Zum goldenen Hirschen," founded by the brother of his German employer, Count Erdödy. In 1816, David Vinton, an American mason based in the South, compiled the *Masonic Minstrel*, a collection of "songs, duets, glees, canons, rounds, and canzonets" for the use of the fraternity.⁴⁵ Intriguingly, the Dedham-based H. Mann. & Co., an important music publisher in the New England reform movement, printed the collection. Pleyel's First appeared in the *Minstrel* as a "Dirge, *To be sung at the grave of a deceased Brother.*" Vinton set the hymn to a text he wrote himself in 1813, "Solemn, strikes the fun-ral chime."⁴⁶ A three-voice, 7.7.7.7 setting in G major, the music is straightforward, with no significant discrepancies from other 7.7.7.7 iterations of the tune. Following the music, Vinton printed all seven verses of the text, which also includes a note that specifies the hymn's role in the funeral procession:

Note: The first two verses may be sung on entering the grave yard, (while moving in procession,) and the third and last, during the ceremonies at the grave.⁴⁷

Perhaps Vinton knew of the hymn's association with the death of a child in its "So fades" setting, or perhaps he banked on the tune's status as a well-known hymn by a composer associated with European masonry. The collection sold more than 12,000 copies, and the tradition that Vinton attempted to establish in the *Minstrel* evidently found favor within American masonry. A 1915 publication of *Builder Magazine*, a journal for students of masonry, includes an article titled "Solemn Strikes the Funeral Chime" which opened:

⁴⁵ See David Vinton, *The Masonick Minstrel* (Dedham: H. Mann & Co., 1816).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 326-27.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 327.

How many tender memories these old familiar words evoke in the mind of a Mason. Often in the open lodge—alas, all too often beside the open grave—he has heard them march with slow, majestic step to the measure of the Pleyel Hymn. Never were words and melody more fitly blended, and they induce a mood pensive indeed, but not plaintive, rich in pathos without being poignant—a mood of sweet sadness caught at that point where it stops short of bitter, piercing grief.⁴⁸

The author went on to describe the origins of the *Minstrel*, comparing Pleyel's First to the 90th psalm, "that mighty funeral hymn of the human race."⁴⁹ He vividly described the sorrows of death before transforming the discussion into an affirmation of faith in God and masonry; Pleyel's First functioned as a confirmation of the values of the brotherhood, asserting a community of masons in their funeral gatherings. The writer concluded with four of the verses of Vinton's text, preceded by a proclamation of belief:

Masonry rests its hope upon the ultimate Reality, the first truth and the last, and it is therefore that its singer sees, amidst the fluctuating shadows of this twilight world, an august, incomprehensible destiny.⁵⁰

Pleyel's First acquired a myriad of associations, from its origin as a string quartet dedicated to the Prince of Wales to its role in 20th century masonic funerals. The middle part of that story is the most interesting: how the tune emigrated from England to America and transformed in meaning from the Carr family to the "Ancient Music" movement. In introducing a wide variety of European music as part of an ambitious commercial enterprise, Benjamin Carr and his family shaped not only the direction of American music but also the reform of native hymnody. In Chapters 3 and 4, I will trace the intellectual origins of the reform movement and how another transatlantic

⁴⁸ "Solemn Strikes the Funeral Chime," *Builder Magazine: A Journal for the Masonic Student* 1, no. 3 (1915): 62.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

phenomenon—that of travel—helped bring Pleyel’s Second to Boston and launch a new wave of “Ancient Psalmody” practices.

Chapter III:

The Intellectual and Transatlantic Roots of “Ancient Music”

In 1809, Joseph Stevens Buckminster, the prodigious preacher of Boston’s Brattle Street Church, called the young thinkers of New England to arms. In an address to Cambridge’s Phi Beta Kappa Society titled “The Dangers and Duties of Men of Letters,” Buckminster bemoaned America’s current state of cultural affairs: “Our poets and historians, our critics and orators, the men in whom posterity are to stand in awe, and by whom they are to be instructed, are yet to appear among us.” But in this room of Harvard-educated scholars, a budding collection of New England Federalists, Buckminster saw promise: “You, my young friends, are destined to witness the dawn of our Augustan age, and to contribute to its glory.”⁵¹

Buckminster’s speech—reprinted in Boston’s *Monthly Anthology*, the house journal of this intellectual movement—resonated for the new generation of men-of-letters. Scholar George Ticknor heard in them “the sound of a trumpet” that would rescue Bostonians “from the enthrallment and degradation of party politics and party passions.” Edward Everett, who would go on to serve as Governor of Massachusetts and Secretary

⁵¹ Excerpts from Buckminster’s speech are printed in the memoirs compiled by his sister; see Eliza Buckminster Lee, *Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminster, D. D., and of his son, Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster* (Boston: W.M. Crosby & H.P. Nichols, 1849), 388.

of State, witnessed the first moment in which he “felt the power of Mr. Buckminster’s influence.”⁵²

The power of that influence resonated in the world of American hymnody. Less than a year after his lecture, Buckminster gathered local musicians and members of his congregation to compile *LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes*, the collection of European music responsible for disseminating Pleyel’s Second through the United States. This chapter explores the roots of the “Ancient Music” movement, and how Buckminster and his Boston cohort transformed native hymnody.

Two years before giving his speech, Buckminster had traveled through Europe, visiting Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, London, and Paris. Transatlantic experiences opened the eyes and ears of young New England literati, who felt a new, almost dizzying sense of inadequacy for their prized Boston in the broader context of the Atlantic world.

In his study of Federalist writers, Marshall Foletta has written of this period that

By this time [1823], this theme of disaffection had become a familiar refrain. European and domestic travel, personal crises, unsatisfying careers, and family differences had yielded a widespread awareness among these young Boston intellectuals that the world of New England Federalism was far from perfect. Its career options were too narrow, its institutions were overblown, its provincial biases were restrictive, and its conceits were ill founded. As men of letters they were embarrassed by the resulting mediocrity of Boston’s cultural institutions. As sons of Federalist activists, they were embarrassed by the resulting myopic partisanship of their fathers’ politics.⁵³

Upon their return, figures like Buckminster—as well as Ticknor, John Pickering, and Samuel Thacher—sought to improve the cultural life of New England based on what they witnessed in Europe. Though an anti-American rhetoric had developed in hymnals through the 1790s, it was an attitude shaped primarily by musicians. Beginning in 1805,

⁵² Responses printed in Marshall Foletta, *Coming to Terms with Democracy: Federalist Intellectuals and the Shaping of an American Culture* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), 71.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 59.

with the publication of the reform hymnals *The Salem Collection of Classical Sacred Musick* and *The Middlesex Collection of Church Music*, academics and clergy with recent experiences abroad took up this cause with new fervor. Tracing these transatlantic experiences from 1805 to 1810 reveals the intellectual origins of “Ancient Music.”

“Ancient Music” and Boston’s Elite

Chapters 1 and 2 explored one of the ways in which the commercial products associated with “Ancient Music” reached the United States: the immigrant Carr family, and other music publishing firms, were spurred to bring European music by financial reasons as well as in an attempt to raise the musical caliber of American psalmody. In Boston, native-born amateur musicians also looked to Europe as an ideal source of music and thought. This literate elite grew up in a Federalist tradition that had diminished in political force but maintained a hold on the learned culture of New England. Foletta describes the close links between these European-minded contemporaries, whom he calls “Federalist sons of privilege”: they met frequently for wide-ranging scholarly discussions at Buckminster’s home or the clubhouse of the Anthology Society, and published together in the *Monthly Anthology* and its successor, the *North American Review*.⁵⁴

The sons of privilege broke with their fathers. Joseph Stevens Buckminster, for example, rejected his father’s doctrinal Calvinism and became a Unitarian preacher. Many of these figures travelled to Europe to witness foreign culture firsthand, and their experiences reshaped their perspectives on their home. Foletta cites the case of George Ticknor, a friend of Buckminster whose encounters with European universities in the

⁵⁴ Ibid., 47.

1810s shook his faith in American exceptionalism. Studying in Göttingen, Ticknor felt newly ashamed of the great Harvard library, calling it a “closetful of books” in comparison; he saw a “mortifying distance” between the scholarship of America and Europe.⁵⁵

When Buckminster himself travelled to Europe in 1806, he was struck by the pettiness of his home country:

I only wish I could let my friends in political life in America know how mortifying, how disgusting, how low, how infamous, appear the animosities and wicked calumnies, with which our American papers are filled. I am called every day to blush for the state of society among us, and attempt, but in vain, to say something in our defence. There is nothing I have more at heart than to impress upon the minds of my countrymen the grievous injury which we suffer in Europe from the complexion of our newspapers, and the brutality of our party spirit, the infamy of our political disputes. Of what advantage is our boasted freedom if it is only consistent with such a state of animosity as now exists in New England?⁵⁶

The sharpness of this anti-American invective shaped the institutions that Buckminster formed upon his return; Buckminster and his friends’ cosmopolitan educations created an inferiority complex about American cultural life that spilled over into the world of sacred music.

Crawford bases his examination of the “Ancient Music” movement on Nathaniel D. Gould’s 1853 *Church Music in America*, the most detailed description of the shifts in hymnody at the turn of the nineteenth century. Gould called the Billings era a “dark age” for devotional music, comparing the inappropriateness of the fugging tunes to the tumultuous era of the Council of Trent: “ministers and churches who ought to have had a voice, if not the direction, in this part of public worship, suffered it to be wrested from

⁵⁵ Ibid., 52.

⁵⁶ Lee, *Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminster*, 279.

them, and to be managed and executed generally by those who apparently had no higher object in view than to please, astonish, and amuse.”⁵⁷ He identified Andrew Law, Oliver Holden, Samuel Holyoke, Jacob Kimball, and others as musicians who helped shift the style of native hymnody.

But what of those involved who were not composers or professional musicians? Gould wrote specifically of the “decided and efficient exertions” in the towns of Salem and Middlesex, led by reverends Samuel Worcester and Daniel Chaplin respectively.

The comment that followed is particularly interesting, given the climate of the time:

Clergymen and other professional men taking an active part, made the associations appear rather formidable; and no wonder that the whole movement was denounced as aristocratic, by those who had previously managed the public singing; and as most of the members, when they came together, were found to be of a political party called Federalists, their meetings were pronounced by many as a political combination.⁵⁸

Whether or not the “Ancient Music” movement was itself part of a Federalist political conspiracy, its participants grew out of the elitist culture of the Federalist party in New England.

In Chapter 1, I briefly outlined the emergence of an apologetic attitude in the 1790s among hymnal compilers, who began publicly documenting their insufficiencies as American psalmodists. But in the first decade of the nineteenth century, the musicians were augmented by the group of public intellectuals in circles like those of Buckminster, who felt a new fervor for reform that ran parallel with broader interests in reshaping the culture of New England within and beyond the walls of the church.

⁵⁷ Gould, *Church Music in America*, 59.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 69.

Crawford notes the importance of the “collective and anonymous authorship” of the *Salem Collection* and *Middlesex Collection*, a communal voice that granted a sense of ancient authority to the tunebooks.⁵⁹ But an examination of contemporary memoirs and correspondence not only reveals the authors responsible for compiling the *Salem Collection*, but also grants insight into their motivations beyond the rhetoric-laden preface of the hymnal itself.

Travel and the *Salem Collection of Classical Sacred Musick*

Gould mentioned Reverend Samuel Worcester, who preached at Salem’s Tabernacle Church from 1803 to 1821. A biography of Worcester, written by the minister’s son, attests to an interest in music: Worcester’s family sang sacred music recreationally at home, and he apparently led a singing school as a minister at New Ipswich Academy in the 1790s.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, the memoir offers no insight into Worcester’s involvement in sacred music in Salem itself, and does not mention the *Salem Collection*.

The biography and correspondence of another figure active in the area help enlighten aspects of Salem music reform. John Pickering (1777-1846), a linguist and one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, played music recreationally and, according to a eulogy by Daniel Appleton White, “became so well versed in the science of music, that in later life he took much pleasure in explaining its

⁵⁹ Crawford, *America’s Musical Life: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001), 133.

⁶⁰ See Samuel Melancthon Worcester, *The Life and Labors of Rev. Samuel Worcester, D.D.* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1852), 210.

principles to his young friends.”⁶¹ He studied at Harvard several years before Buckminster; lived in Portugal and England from 1796 to 1801; traveled through Paris, Brussels, and Amsterdam; and returned to Salem for the remainder of his life, where he practiced law and philology. In Lisbon, Pickering enjoyed Italian opera, attended orchestra concerts, and played flute in amateur chamber music. Pickering’s daughter wrote in a biography that “in this school of practice he acquired the correct taste and cultivation which were at the time impossible to be obtained in his own country.”⁶² Upon his return, Pickering attempted to apply that taste and cultivation to Salem’s church music.

An 1806 exchange between Pickering and his father Timothy, who served as Secretary of State under George Washington and James Madison, reveals John’s involvement in the *Salem Collection*. Timothy wrote to John having read a recent issue of the *Boston Repository* that printed two articles about church music, one of which was the preface to the *Salem Collection*.⁶³ He bemoaned the “light and paltry compositions” of native sacred music to his son:

My disgust has been so great, I have wished for the expulsion of psalmody, unless an entire change of music can be effected. Many years past I have thought that the only means of rendering church music generally pleasing and useful would be to practice plain, solemn compositions.⁶⁴

He objected to the organ playing at his son’s church, remarking that sacred music should be unaccompanied, since the organ virtuosity interrupts “the sense of the sacred hymn”;

⁶¹ Daniel Appleton White, *Eulogy on John Pickering, LL. D.* (Cambridge: Metcalf and Company, 1847), 30.

⁶² Mary Orne Pickering, *Life of John Pickering* (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1887), 152.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 226. Timothy Pickering refers here to the 31 December 1805 issue of the *Boston Repository*.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 226-227.

this is a notable distinction between the older generation of conservative Congregationalists and their sons.⁶⁵ Timothy pointed out that John had joined his church's choir and wished that his son would introduce his ideas in Salem, in the hope of hearing "some rational music" in the future.

In his startling response, Pickering announced to his father that he himself wrote the preface to the *Salem Collection*: the only direct admission of authorship I have found for one of these "anonymous" hymnals. He continued:

We are endeavoring to extirpate the vile compilations now in vogue here, and to correct the taste in music; and this Collection is the first step in our plan. I send you one of them...that you might introduce it to the notice of some gentlemen whose influence might be of service to those very deserving men, the publishers; at the same time that their countenance of this work might, I should hope, have a tendency to promote a just musical taste.⁶⁶

Among the documentation of the "Ancient Music" movement, this is a smoking gun. Previous scholars have not investigated Pickering's role in hymnody reform or attempted to identify the specific participants who shaped "Ancient Music." The linguist's active statement—making crystal clear his intention to replace native hymnody with a more cultivated European alternative—reveals the personal motivations behind a supposedly anonymous movement. And like those of Buckminster, Pickering's musical tastes were shaped by his extended visit abroad, a cis-Atlantic example of the local, Salem result of interaction between Europe and the United States.

These discoveries are important contributions to understanding the context of the "Ancient Music" movement, but the *Salem Collection* did not contain Pleyel's Second, though it printed Pleyel's First and numerous other European hymns. Pleyel's Second

⁶⁵ Ibid., 227.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 227-28.

reached America and spread throughout the reform movement in the 1810s through the work of Joseph Stevens Buckminster, responsible for the wide dissemination of the tune via his collection *LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes*.

Buckminster, Travel, and the Brattle Street Church

The Brattle Street Church, one of Boston's most illustrious Congregational meeting houses, had a long tradition of music since its establishment in 1698; its founder, Thomas Brattle, had bequeathed it New England's first organ in 1713, though its congregants actually refused it, a typical move for dissenting churches of the time.⁶⁷ In the 1720s, Brattle Street became one of Boston's first churches to host a singing school, and when it finally accepted an organ in 1790, purchased from England, it was Boston's first Congregational Church to acquire one. Its organist, Hans Gram, was an important figure in transatlantic reform. A Dutch émigré, Gram compiled America's first major music treatise with Samuel Holyoke and Oliver Holden: the 1795 *Massachusetts Compiler of Theoretical and Practical Elements of Sacred Vocal Music*.

Gram died in 1804, a year before the twenty-year-old Buckminster became pastor of the Brattle Street Church. The prodigious son of a New Hampshire minister, Buckminster studied theology and literature at Harvard, organized literary periodicals as a member of the Anthology Club, and helped introduce German Biblical textual criticism to the United States. He was also invested in music from an early age: Buckminster's father had held his own congregation's choir rehearsals at his home, and Joseph Stevens learned flute, violin, cello, and organ.

⁶⁷ See Barbara Owen, *The Organs and Music of King's Chapel Boston: 1713-1993* (Boston: King's Chapel, 1993).

At age 19, before he took the Brattle Street position, Buckminster broke with his father's strict Calvinism and became a Unitarian. Skeptical of the Calvinist elevation of tradition into dogma, the younger Buckminster believed that religious truth lay in a scholarly examination of the Bible. In 1809, he convinced Harvard to publish Johann Jakob Griesbach's New Testament, the first critical edition of the Greek New Testament in the United States. Though textual criticism was well known in Europe, it had not yet reached this country, and Buckminster became the subject of controversy when journals like *The Panoplist* attacked his approach to religious studies. In an 1809 review of Charles Thomson's translation of the Septuagint, Buckminster asserted the idea that textual criticism was important to all Christians as a method for discovering the true foundations of faith.⁶⁸ Buckminster had encountered these concepts during his earlier travel in Europe, a period that also influenced his perspective on hymnody in New England upon his return.

Buckminster suffered from epilepsy, and in May 1806—a little over a year after his appointment to the Brattle Street Church—he embarked on an extended sabbatical abroad to rest and recover from his illness. Buckminster traveled through Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, London, and Paris and acquired a library of almost three thousand volumes. This library would become an important part of New England cultural life, sought out by cognoscenti across the East Coast (the contents included several musical

⁶⁸ Buckminster wrote that "Nothing can more satisfactorily illustrate the extreme folly of a bigoted adherence to the Received text and version of the Scriptures, and of that horror of alteration which has been of late so industriously propagated among us, than the study of the Septuagint." Joseph Stevens Buckminster, "Thomson's Septuagint," *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review* 7 (1809): 193. See also Michael J. Lee, "American Revelations: Biblical Interpretation and America, Circa 1700-1860" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2009), 275.

treatises, including Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*).⁶⁹ Buckminster's voyage brought new insights into European cultural life and his study of textual criticism; he met with numerous well-known European writers and clergy and absorbed ideas that would influence his later work in Boston. Chapter 4 will examine a meeting that Buckminster had in Paris with Helen Maria Williams, which may be responsible for the dissemination of Pleyel's Second in America.

Accompanying Buckminster on his voyage was a close friend, Samuel Cooper Thacher, who became the reverend of Boston's New South Church in 1811. Both Thacher and Buckminster frequently contributed to the Anthology Society's *Monthly Review*, which published several articles on hymnody during its brief existence (1803-1811). The *Journal of the Proceedings of the Anthology Society* detailed that the society assigned Thacher to review the *Salem Collection* in November 1806, and accepted his review in March 1807; the journal published the article in its issue of 1 April 1807.⁷⁰ This timeframe corresponded with Thacher and Buckminster's extended stay in Paris and London (they visited Paris in fall and winter 1806 and traveled to London in February 1807, returning to Boston in September of that year; Buckminster met with Helen Maria Williams in January 1807). That Thacher reviewed the *Salem Collection* while abroad is particularly fascinating: he gained (and offered) insights into the benefits of the Europeanizing of American psalmody while actually traveling through Europe.

⁶⁹ The contents of Buckminster's library are partially listed in an auction catalog compiled after the minister's death; see *Catalogue of the Library of the late Rev. J.S. Buckminster* (Boston: John Eliot, 1812)

⁷⁰ See *Journal of the Proceedings of the Anthology Society* (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1910), 104 and 109.

Thacher asserted in the opening of his review that it is “the duty of good men to be watchful over each other for the general edification” and declared his “unqualified approbation” of the collection’s Pickering-authored preface:

We wish that psalmody was more generally a subject of attention with Christians, especially with those whom nature has given a taste for the delights of harmony, and a voice to aid in its performance.⁷¹

He critiqued glees and songs for their inability to “elevate the mind, and to inspire a taste for the science,” calling them “mere tinsel” of “little value.”⁷² Thacher cited the same passage by Dr. Miller that the *Salem Collection*, and later Buckminster’s *Brattle Street Collection*, also quoted (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed analysis of the American appropriation of Miller). The objective of psalmody should be devotional praise, and the current state of sacred music restricted the participation of the congregation due to the “ballad-like and indecorous compositions of many ignorant modern composers,” whom he hoped to banish from worship.⁷³

Notably, Thacher specified repertoire. He made the typical comment that “The noble ancient melodies might be recalled from exile, and restored to their just rights and privileges,” but went on to remark that the “quick and complicated melodies” of Pleyel, Haydn and Costellow also should not be excluded.⁷⁴ This is the only acknowledgement I have found of the fact that much of the “Ancient Music” was not actually ancient. It is significant that Thacher here cited three composers that appear in Thomas Costellow’s hymnal *Sunday’s Amusement*, one which I propose that Buckminster brought back with

⁷¹ “Art 21. *The Salem Collection of Classical Musick*,” *Monthly Anthology* 4 (1807): 213.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 214.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 215.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

him from Europe (see Chapter 4). Thacher, however, also offered critique of the *Salem Collection*; he pointed out that 27 of its tunes were incorrectly harmonized, and some “have been cruelly mangled by almost every American composer.”⁷⁵ Thacher’s willingness to attest to the deficiencies in the reform collection points to a current engagement with European hymnals, one that he may have actively sought while abroad.

Unfortunately, there is no further documentation of Thacher’s role in the hymn reform movement in Boston. But Buckminster actively took up the cause that his friend had outlined in the *Monthly Review*. Upon the pair’s return in fall 1807, Buckminster launched several projects, including a new edition of hymn texts that expanded the classic Tate & Brady psalm collection (it included Helen Maria Williams’s poem “While Thee I Seek, Protecting Power,” the text for Pleyel’s Second). By September 1808, he had founded the “Brattle Street Social Singing Society.”⁷⁶ Buckminster had a chamber organ at his house, and the Brattle Street choir practiced and performed concerts there.⁷⁷ In January 1810, he met with several congregants and local musicians to plan the publication of a hymnal with texts and music, and later that year the Boston firm Manning & Loring published *LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship*: the

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ An invitation reads: “Boston, 29 Sep 1808. Sir, The members of the Brattle-Street Social Singing Society, will meet at Mr. Coffins of Bennet St on Friday Evening [...]. Your attendance is particularly requested. Tho. Burley Sec’ry.” According to the church records, Thomas Burley was a member of the Brattle Street congregation; Coffins was not listed. See The Manifesto Church, *Records of the Church in Brattle Square Boston* (Boston: The Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, 1902).

⁷⁷ See Lee, *Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminster*, 205.

second-ever American hymnal to contain both Pleyel's First and Pleyel's Second, and the one responsible for the widespread dissemination of the later tune.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ The first collection to contain both Pleyel hymns was the 1808 *Columbian Sacred Harmonist*.

Chapter IV

Pleyel's Second and the Transatlantic *Brattle Street Collection*

The story of Pleyel's Second begins nearly a quarter-century before the publication of *LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship* (henceforth referred to by its more commonly-known title, the *Brattle Street Collection*). According to Benton, Pleyel's *Symphonie Concertante in E-flat B. 111*, the work from which the hymn derives, premiered in 1786 in Paris. First published in 1788, by 1790 the piece was available in London in keyboard arrangement and known as the composer's "celebrated Concertante."⁷⁹ The Andante of the work, a set of variations, was particularly popular, and was published throughout Europe in various arrangements. In 1794, Philadelphia firm G. Willig issued "A Village Holy Day," a texted song arrangement of the Andante theme and its first documented American appearance.

Thomas Costellow, a London organist and composer, transformed the theme of Pleyel's Andante into a hymn tune in his 1801 collection *Sunday's Amusement* (reprinted in 1805 with revisions and additions). Subtitled "A Selection of Sacred Music as Sung at Bedford Chapel, Selected from Handel, Haydn, Pleyel and Dr. Boyce," *Sunday's Amusement* printed hymn settings of relatively new music alongside tunes by Costellow himself, in arrangements for voice and pianoforte designed for home use. Costellow set Pleyel's music to a text by British poet Helen Maria Williams, "While Thee I Seek, Protecting Power."

⁷⁹ For the full publication record, see Benton, 11-17.



Figure 6: Pleyel, “Hymn 4,” mm. 1-5, in Thomas Costellow, *Sunday’s Amusement* (London: J. Longman, 1805), 14.

Pleyel’s Second appeared next in 1808, in the Boston hymnal *The Columbian Sacred Harmonist*, compiled by Oliver Shaw, Amos Albee, and Elias Mann. It remained, essentially, an American tune: of the 77 reprints between 1808 and 1820, only seven appear outside the United States.⁸⁰ *The Columbian Sacred Harmonist* was a composer-compiled reform hymnal in the tradition of *The Bridgewater Collection*. Shaw’s setting of Pleyel’s Second includes the marking “Hy. 284” and the title “Devotion.” This refers

⁸⁰ Foreign reprints, all published in England: William Russell, *Psalm Hymns and Anthems for the Foundling Chapel* (London: Luke Hansard & Sons, 1809); T. Curtis, *Divine Amusement* (London: J. Balls, 1810 and 1812); J. Wardle, *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (London: C. Chester, 1810); Ralph Guest, *Hymns & Psalms* (London: Goulding & Co., 1816); and two editions of *The Beauties of Mozart, Handel, Pleyel, Haydn, Beethoven, and other celebrated composers* (London: Samuel Leigh, 1820).

to Belknap's *Sacred Poetry*, in which Williams's text appears by 1804 with the "Devotion" heading.⁸¹ The addition of these references points towards the compilers not only utilizing Costellow's hymnal—from which they must have acquired the tune, since no other British hymnal prints it until after 1808—but also an American compilation of hymn texts. The musical setting is almost identical to that of Costellow but with the important distinction of dividing the keyboard arrangement into three voices.

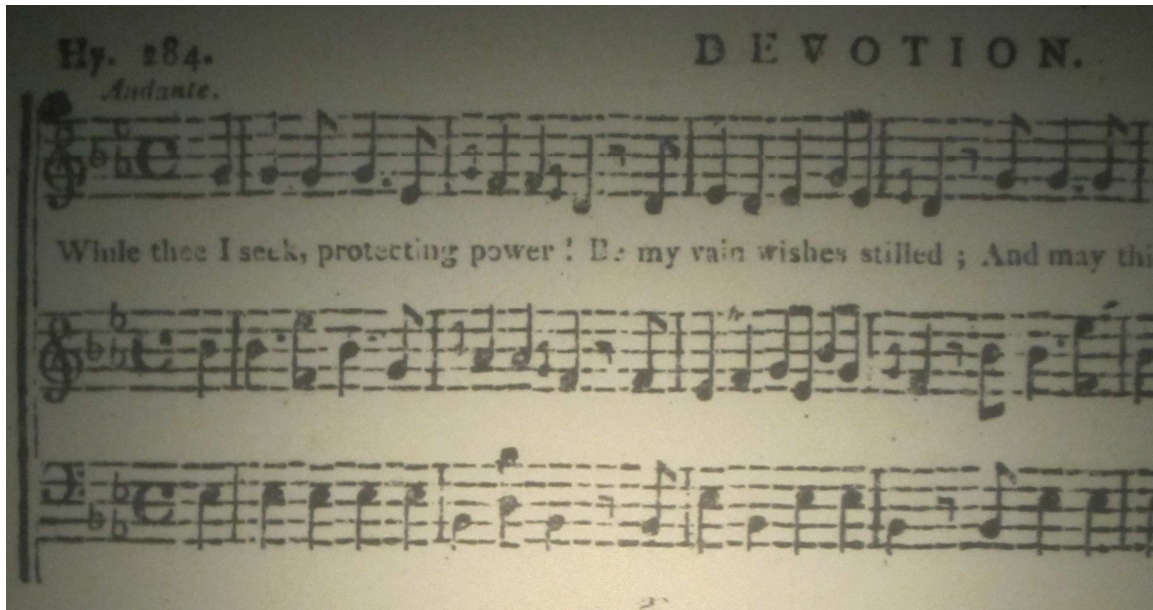


Figure 7: Pleyel, “Devotion,” mm. 1-4, in Oliver Shaw, Amos Albee, and Elias Mann, *The Columbian Sacred Harmonist* (Dedham: H. Mann, 1808).

The Columbian Sacred Harmonist also included Pleyel's First, the earliest appearance of both hymns in the same publication.

How did the compilers of *The Columbian Sacred Harmonist* obtain Costellow's hymnal? It is certainly possible that Boston music shops imported popular British collections like *Sunday's Amusement*. It is also likely that, as I will show below, that the

⁸¹ See Belknap, *Sacred Poetry: Consisting of Psalms and Hymns, Adapted to Christian Devotion, in Public and Private* (Boston: Thomas & Andrews and D. West, 1804), 229.

acquisition of the hymnal was the result of transatlantic travel. Elias Mann went on to help compile the *Brattle Street Collection*; in 1807, Buckminster met with Helen Maria Williams while traveling abroad and likely obtained Costellow's hymnal from her. Before working with Mann on the *Brattle Street Collection*, Buckminster may have shared *Sunday's Amusement* with Mann, who incorporated its tunes into the 1808 *Columbian Sacred Harmonist*.

The appearance of Pleyel's Second in *The Columbian Sacred Harmonist*, however, is a dead end: the American tradition of the hymn draws almost exclusively upon a later source. None of the American reprints that I have examined derive from the 1808 hymnal.⁸² In their dotted-note bassline and harmony (see below), all other iterations of Pleyel's Second trace back to its appearance as "Hymn 2" in the *Brattle Street Collection*. Their titles attest to a common origin: 21 share the "Hymn 2" title, 13 transform it into Pleyel's Ps. 2, and 11 even assume the name of the hymn's source, Brattle Street.⁸³

The *Brattle Street Collection*'s Origins and its Culminating Hymns

The *Brattle Street Collection* was one of the many projects launched by Buckminster in the years following his return to the United States in fall 1807, and his travels directly influenced its creation. While in Paris, Buckminster met Williams, an encounter he documented in a January 1807 letter:

⁸² I examined 13 American reprints: ten derive from the *Brattle Street Collection*; one derives from Costellow; and two are new arrangements, not clearly based on either source.

⁸³ Other titles include Vienna (2), Bengal (2), Springfield (4), Evening Hymn (1), Retirement (8), Sabbath (4), Whitsunday Hymn (1), Bremen (1). Only two other hymnals share the "Devotion" title, which probably comes from Jeremy Belknap's *Sacred Poetry: Consisting of Psalm Hymns Adapted to Christian Devotion*, the first American hymnal publication of Williams's text.

I have had the pleasure of passing an evening with Helen Maria Williams. She has a literary coterie every Sunday evening. She is now rather advanced in years, and certainly homely, but a very interesting woman.⁸⁴

Though earlier scholars have asserted that Buckminster acquired a manuscript copy of Pleyel's Second from Williams, I would suggest instead that Williams provided him with Costellow's hymnal.⁸⁵ The expansion of Tate & Brady's psalm collection that Buckminster worked on immediately following his return to the States—*Hymns for Public Worship Part II*—included Williams's "While Thee I Seek, Protecting Power."⁸⁶ Additionally, several of the hymns of the *Brattle Street Collection* adapted tunes printed exclusively in Costellow's *Sunday's Amusement*, and the correspondence between the two hymnals suggests that the *Brattle* compilers drew upon Costellow as a key source.⁸⁷

One of the Library of Congress's two copies of the *Brattle Street Collection* contains a handwritten note from its authors.⁸⁸ This print includes revealing marginalia and corrections throughout the hymnal and appears to have been owned by the church's clerk, Peter O. Thacher. The note reads:

At a meeting of the standing committee of the church in Brattle Square, January 14, 1810, voted that Mr. Bryant P. Tilden, Mr. Bartholomew Brown, and Mr.

⁸⁴ Lee, *Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminster*, 288.

⁸⁵ An 1885 article in the *Unitarian Review* mentions that General H.K. Oliver proposed that Buckminster brought the hymn to America, but that the article's author found the text in the Belknap collection as early as 1795 (the author here may be mistaken; no editions of Belknap that I have examined contain Williams's text before the 1804 printing of the collection). See "A Story of Some French Liberal Protestants," *The Unitarian Review* 23 (1885): 217-29. In a *Massachusetts Historical Society* essay of 1914, Dr. De Normandie writes that Buckminster brought a manuscript copy of the hymn to the states after visiting Williams, and that this was its first appearance in America. See *Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings* 47 (1913-1914): 230-31.

⁸⁶ See *Hymns for Public Worship Part II: For the Use of the Church in Brattle Street* (Boston: Andrews and Cummings, 1808), 27.

⁸⁷ The compilers must have drawn on Costellow's 1805 revision of the collection, since the *Brattle Street Collection* prints hymns that do not appear in the earlier 1801 edition.

⁸⁸ The second, intriguingly, is held within the collection of the famous judge Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Ebenezer Withington be a committee with the advice and assistance of the Rev. Mr. Buckminster to have a small selection of sacred music to be used in the public worship of the society and to cause the same to be published and distributed in the several pews. At a meeting of the church in Brattle Square January 14, 1810 voted that the society approve of the above vote, and that Elias Mann be added to the said committee. Attest, Peter Thacher, clerk.⁸⁹

Two of these figures—Brown and Mann, discussed in Chapter 2 in conjunction with other reform hymnals—were active hymnal compilers. Brown, a lawyer, worked with Nahum Mitchell on editions of *The Bridgewater Collection* for twenty years, and Mann was a composer and printer as well as a member of the Massachusetts Musical Society, a predecessor to the Boston Handel and Haydn Society. Tilden, a tea-merchant, was involved in music throughout the Boston area; he served as treasurer of the Boston chapter of the St. Cecilia Society in 1805, and became vice president of the Philharmonic Society in 1820. Withington started his career as a Unitarian clergyman but left the church due to ill health and became a businessman; he was also an original trustee of the Handel and Haydn Society in 1815.

Another professional musician (and congressman), Nahum Mitchell, was almost certainly involved in the creation of the hymnal. Though the collection's note does not mention him, an 1853 obituary of Mitchell includes the information

About the year 1810, Mr. Mitchell, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. Buckminster, compiled a small volume of church music, bearing the title of the *Brattle Street Collection*. The tune "Brattle Street" was here first introduced for sacred purposes, the melody being adapted by Mr. Buckminster, and harmonized by Mr. Mitchell.⁹⁰

Not only did he participate in the collection's compilation, but Mitchell may have been responsible for resetting Pleyel's Second (of course, the obituary writer was clearly

⁸⁹ *LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship* (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1810).

⁹⁰ L., "Hon. Nahum Mitchell," in C.M. Cady, ed., *The Musical Review and Choral Advocate* 4 (1853): 150.

unaware of the Costellow and Shaw precedents for the tune). It is significant that in the 1850s, Pleyel's Second had enough ubiquity to earn a mention, without its original composer's name attached, in a prominent obituary.

Only one of the eighty tunes of the *Brattle Street Collection* originated in the United States; of the hymnals discussed so far, it is the most heavily European. The tunes are mostly simple and homophonic, by composers including Handel, Arne, Arnold, Tansur, and Costellow himself. Buckminster and his compilers included Pleyel's First, in a three-voice setting titled "German Hymn" to the 7.7.7.7. text "God of mercy, God of love." The setting of Pleyel's Second resembles the one printed in *The Columbian Sacred Harmonist*, but with several important distinctions. Though the tenor melody remains the same, *Brattle* raises the top part by an octave, alters many of its notes, and makes it more rhythmically active. *Brattle* gives the bass-line the same dotted rhythms as the other two voices, making the hymn homorhythmic (in Shaw, this may have been a printing error, or an indication for the keyboard); the compilers alters the bass in the first two beats of m. 2 and the final two beats of m. 5 from a B-flat to an A. All of these changes appear in the subsequent printings of the hymn that I examined, demonstrating that the *Brattle Street Collection*, not *The Columbian Sacred Harmonist*, stood as the primary disseminator of Pleyel's Second.



Figure 8: Pleyel, “Hymn 2,” mm. 1-7, in *LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship* (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1810), 48.

Pleyel’s Second appears at the end of the *Brattle Street Collection*, as “Hymn 2” in a sequence of four numbered hymns. The compilers explained this unusual conclusion in the opening paragraph of the *Brattle* preface:

The four Hymn Tunes at the close of the book, are given as a specimen of a more graceful style of psalmody than that to which we have been accustomed; and these, with a very few others, which the intelligent Choister will easily discover, are suitable rather to extraordinary occasions, when the Choir have had previous time to prepare themselves, than to the habitual use of the whole congregation.⁹¹

⁹¹ “Advertisement,” in *LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship*.

All four hymns derive from Costellow's *Sunday's Amusement*: Hymn 1 is Costellow's own "When rising from the bed of death"; Hymn 2 is Pleyel's Second; Hymn 3 is Handel's "The spacious firmament on high," and Hymn 4 is William Mason's "Lord of all pow'r and might."

The more "graceful style" alludes to the hymns' European origins and stateliness, but also to their relative difficulty in comparison with the other tunes in the collection. Though still mostly homophonic, all four are slightly more ornate than the earlier hymns, with more complicated rhythms. The preface suggests that Brattle's Singing Society, not its congregation, performed these four tunes: the trained choir would thus demonstrate the most refined form of the new "Ancient Music" idiom for the rest of the churchgoers. Dynamic markings as well as performance indications like "sotto voce" are printed only in these final four hymns, supporting the idea that they were meant for a rehearsed ensemble. Thacher's handwritten notes also included a marking for a "Duet" within Hymn 1, suggesting a performance setting.⁹²

The compilers here attempted to strike a balance between the disparaged, secular virtuosity of the native fusing tune and the proficiency required for these particular European hymns, still beyond the skill level of the congregation itself. They suggested that such musical proficiency was a goal for worshippers to aspire to while still maintaining the scientific and religious ideals of their movement. Singing societies and choirs could exist in such contexts, but under the supervision of the clergy rather than that of the itinerant singing master (the Brattle choir met in Buckminster's home). Pleyel's Second and the "more graceful" hymns served a pedagogical purpose; the compilers wrote of their wishes that

⁹² *LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship*, 47.

the principal melodies in it [the hymnal] may soon be familiar to the whole congregation; and that religious musick may receive encouragement “again to enter into the recreation of domestick leisure, and thus contribute to revive the sentiments of primitive religion.”⁹³

Transatlantic Rhetoric and Cis-Atlantic Reception

The preface of the *Brattle Street Collection* participated wholly in this revival, indulging in the rhetoric of “Ancient Music” reform:

“Singing masters,” (here as well as in England) “fondly attached to compositions in many parts, and those chiefly composed by unskillful men, abounding in ill-constructed *fugues* and false harmony, are apt to treat with contempt the simple, but elegant melodies used in parish churches.”⁹⁴

This anti-nativist invective actually came from a non-native: Dr. Edward Miller, an English organist and composer at Doncaster in York. Almost half of the *Brattle* preface was excerpted from the 1790 edition of Miller’s *Psalms of David* hymnal, printed first in London and widely disseminated. At the time, Miller directed his words against the English fugging tune, as part of an ongoing British conflict between town and country psalmody: issues of class not necessarily present in American devotion.

For the *Brattle* compilers, Miller represented European high standards and scientific musical thought, and his twenty-year old argument adapted easily to their goals.⁹⁵ The *Brattle Street Collection* was not the first to utilize Miller’s oratory; in 1805, the *Salem Collection* also quoted from his preface (Thacher reprinted this passage in his review of the *Salem Collection*; see Chapter 3). But unlike the *Salem Collection*, *Brattle*

⁹³ “Advertisement” in *LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship*.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Though Miller first published *Psalms of David* in 1775, this note appeared first in the 1790 edition of the hymnal. See Edward Miller, *The Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (London: W. Miller, 1790).

placed strong emphasis on the use of the organ. It quoted Miller's remarks that simpler, non-fugal melodies "when *properly performed* by a large congregation, and *judiciously accompanied* on the organ, their effect is perhaps as great in exciting sublime emotions, as we experience from more elaborate musick."⁹⁶ The preface concluded with a quotation from Dr. John Brown, a passage that also appeared in Miller's *Psalms of David*:

In great towns where a good organ is *skillfully* and *devoutly* employed by a sensible organist, the union of the instrument with the voices of a well-instructed congregation, forms one of the grandest scenes of unaffected piety that human nature can afford.⁹⁷

The Salem Collection included Miller's remark but without the Italics emphasizing the organ, and left out the Brown quote (I have not been able to find exactly when Salem's Tabernacle Church acquired an organ, but it was most likely after the publication of the *Salem Collection*).⁹⁸

Buckminster and his fellow compilers utilized Miller's words for their own purposes: a judicious organ accompaniment for a congregation that acquired one in 1790. Newly-obtained organs meant emphasizing simply harmonized melodies, like Pleyel's Second, over unaccompanied futing tunes. This transformation of European reform to American soil, the transatlantic migration of a set of ideas, remains one of the overlooked aspects of the "Ancient Music" movement.

⁹⁶ "Advertisement" in *LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship*.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Barbara Lambert writes that the First Church Society of Salem acquired an organ in 1798, as the first Congregational Church in the town to acquire one; Lambert's examination of organ-building in New England goes up to 1803 and does not mention the Tabernacle Church. See Barbara Lambert, "Eighteenth-Century Organs and Organ Building in New England," *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1680*, edited by Barbara Lambert (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1973), 655-714.

The local response to these transatlantic ideas is well documented in a newspaper spat that emerged soon after the *Brattle* publication, re-discovered by Crawford in 1984.⁹⁹ A December 1810 letter to Boston's *Columbian Centinel* cited the Brattle Church's singing society as exhibiting "such specimens of taste and judgment in their selection of tunes and performance as are worthy of the undertaking," and hoped that other churches would take on Brattle's mission to improve psalmody.¹⁰⁰ In response, a writer to the *New England Palladium* admitted that he visited the Brattle Church recently and found the tunes "not the most appropriate to the psalms and hymns" and the singing "slow and dull."¹⁰¹ In early 1811, a writer under the pseudonym Ichabod Beetlehead weighed in, again in the *Columbian Centinel*. In a grand parody of the *Palladium* writer, he too defended the music of native hymnody, cited the *Brattle Street Collection* as a "little pestiferous Pamphlet," and declared that a country cousin of his recently compiled a tunebook without any previous knowledge of music:

'Tis all a hum then, to talk about the mighty labours of European composers; and tell how many have spent their whole lifetimes in studying Musick scientifically, and then, having but just arrived at the threshold of the science. Shame on such ninny-hammers as HANDEL, CROFT, PURCEL, ARNE, ARNOLD, &c. My cousin has outstript them all!!!¹⁰²

Beetlehead's parodic hyperbole responded to Miller's "unskillful men" and "ill-constructed fugues and false harmony." "Let us adopt the old tunes," Beetlehead declared, "place suitable leaders over each Singing Society, and keep out every scientific intruder.—We may then hope to have the true, rational, and genuine Musick once more

⁹⁹ Quoted in Crawford, "The Beetlehead Testament," in *Newsletter of the Institute for Studies in American Music* 13, no. 2 (1984): 10-12.

¹⁰⁰ *Columbian Centinel*, 19 December 1810.

¹⁰¹ Crawford, "The Beetlehead Testament," 10.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 11.

heard in our Churches.”¹⁰³ In co-opting the jargon of Miller and the *Brattle* compilers, Beetlehead poked holes in the language of scientific reform, while also mocking the provincialism of nativists. The movement of ideas and music from Europe to the United States had become entirely localized, a transatlantic exchange embedded within Boston public discourse enough that it earned its own satire.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

Conclusion

The name Ignace Pleyel has lost the resonance it carried two centuries ago in the United States, when Philo-Harmonicus propagandized for the composer's delicate andantes. But it still appears in unusual places, like the famed shape-note tunebook *The Sacred Harp*. Since its earliest printing in 1844, the Southern tunebook—which conspicuously features the “ill-constructed fugues and false harmony” of composers like Billings, Ingalls, and others—has included both Pleyel's First and Pleyel's Second. Of the 554 tunes included in the 1991 revision of *The Sacred Harp*, thirteen originated outside the United States; the two Pleyel hymns mark the only appearances of a non-American composer more than once.

There is no great mystery to how Pleyel's name found itself in the archetypal tunebook of Southern music. In 1812, William Little and William Smith printed Pleyel's First in *The Easy Instructor*, as part of the Europeanizing process that the earliest shape-note tunebook underwent in the first twenty years of its life.¹⁰⁴ Two years later, *The Easy Instructor* added Pleyel's Second, as “Pleyel's Ps. 2.” Through the 1820s, the hymns wove their way through shape-note collections like *Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music*, the *Pittsburgh Selection of Psalm Tunes*, and the *New-Brunswick Collection of Sacred Music*.

¹⁰⁴ In its initial 1802 publication, *The Easy Instructor* contained five tunes of European origin and 100 of American origin; by 1812, the proportion had shifted to 30 American works and 75 European ones. See Irving Lowens and Allen Britton, “*The Easy Instructor* (1798-1831): A History and Bibliography of the First Shape Note Tune Book,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* 1 (1953): 30-55.

As the shape-note tradition migrated South and West—shedding the European aspects of later editions of *The Easy Instructor* in favor of folk hymns, fusing tunes, and rustic, Billings-inspired harmony—Pleyel’s music oddly remained. In 1844, the two hymns appeared in the first edition of *The Sacred Harp*, where they remain today, in a confusing form: Pleyel’s First is incorrectly titled “Pleyel’s Hymn (Second),” and Pleyel’s Second bears the name “Pleyel’s Hymn (First).” The tunes have become entirely detached from their origins and early significance, with the “first” and “second” appearing to refer to their page numbers in the actual tunebook.

Pleyel’s hymns have popped up in various intriguing circumstances since their adaptation as contrafacta. Benjamin Carr discovered Pleyel’s Second several years after its first American publication and transformed it into the elaborate set-piece for chorus and organ, “Hymn for Whitsunday,” in his 1820 collection *The Chorister*. During the American Civil War, the First Rhode Island Cavalry adapted Pleyel’s First into a battle hymn, proclaiming “Break each false Confederate league” instead of “Softly fades the blooming flower.”

That two tunes by a relatively obscure Austrian composer have endured in American hymnals well into the twentieth century reveals unexplored aspects of the history of early American psalmody. The narrative of sacred music in the United States typically emphasizes the Revolutionary-era, Yankee hymnody of Billings before jumping several decades forward to the story of Lowell Mason and the “Better Music” movement: the expected result of a historiography that focuses on American composers. But American music, as Irving Lowens and Richard Crawford have shown, is as much about

music performed by Americans as it is about music composed by Americans.¹⁰⁵

Composers, intellectuals, and clergy played critical roles in the “Ancient Music” movement, and a cis-Atlantic approach to understanding how New England, Philadelphia, and Baltimore co-opted European music and rhetoric helps fill in an important gap in the history of American music.

In Chapters 1 and 2, cis-Atlanticism acted as a framework to understand the movements of the Carr family and Pleyel’s First, from London to Philadelphia and Baltimore, and how emigration affected those local particularities within a wider web of transatlantic connections. Chapter 3 documented the European travels of a young generation of intellectuals including Samuel Thacher, John Pickering, and Joseph Stevens Buckminster and how those experiences shaped their reform of American hymnody upon returning to New England. In Chapter 4, those figures applied their transatlantic perspectives to transatlantic music, bringing Pleyel’s Second to America and disseminating it through “Ancient Music” hymnals in Boston and beyond.

Pleyel’s hymns allow insight into the transatlantic nature of turn-of-the-century psalmody, demonstrating how commercial enterprises like the Carr family as well as intellectual and religious endeavors like the *Salem* and *Brattle Street* collections changed the direction of native sacred music. The reforms outlined by figures like Thacher, Pickering, and Buckminster had long-lasting ramifications; the rhetoric they adopted fueled the creation of institutions like the Boston Handel and Haydn Society and Philharmonic Society.

¹⁰⁵ See Irving Lowens, *Music in America and American Music* (New York: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1978). In the introduction to *America’s Musical Life: A History*, Crawford writes that he takes “performance rather than composition as a starting point.” Crawford, *America’s Musical Life*, ix.

Buckminster died tragically young, of epilepsy, in 1812, but befriended and evidently influenced the young Lowell Mason in the same year that he compiled the *Brattle Street Collection*; Mason later married Buckminster's cousin.¹⁰⁶ The delicate andantes of Pleyel help us fill in the gaps between the Carrs, the Buckminsters, and the Masons of American music and understand the origins of the role that Europe would play in the next two centuries of the American musical landscape.

¹⁰⁶ According to Carol Pemberton, Mason met Buckminster through Hannah Adams, a mutual friend. See Carol A. Pemberton, *Lowell Mason: His Life and Work* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 9. Pemberton also suggests that Mason met his wife, Abigail Gregory, through the Buckminster connection: "They may have met through his friend, Joseph Stevens Buckminster, Abby's cousin, while Lowell was in Boston the winter of 1810-11. It is also possible that the Buckminsters and the Gregorys were Mason family friends of long standing." *Ibid.*, 23.

Appendix 1: List of examined appearances of Pleyel's First in American hymnals, 1800-1810

Hymnal	Publication Date	Publication	Title	Text	7777 or 8888	Voicing, Key	Other details
Brown, Bartholomew; <i>Columbian and European Harmony; or, Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music</i>	1802	Boston: Isaiah Thomas, Ebenezer T. Andrews, and John West	Condolence (first appearance of this title)	"Softly fades the blooming flower"	8888	4; B-flat major	
[attrib. Carr]; <i>Sacred Harmony; a Selection of Airs, duos, trios &c.</i>	1803	Philadelphia: Carr & Schetky	Hymn	"Children of the heav'nly king"	7777	3; B-flat major	-Identical to 1805 Carr <i>Masses, Vespers, Litanies</i> -Through-composed set-piece with keyboard
Cole, Samuel and John; <i>Sacred Music; Published for the Use of the Cecilian Society</i>	1803	Baltimore: St. Paul's Parish	Pleyel's German Hymn	"Praise o praise the name divine"	7777	3; G major	-Includes 4 bar coda for keyboard
Carr, Benjamin; <i>Masses, Vespers, Litanies...</i>	1805	Baltimore: J. Carr	Hymn	"Children of the heav'nly king"	7777	3; B-flat major	-Identical to 1803 Carr <i>Sacred Harmony</i>

Hill, Uri; <i>The Sacred Minstrel</i>	1806	Boston: Manning & Loring	Pleyel's German Hymn	"Angels roll the rock away"	7777	3; G major	-Newly-introduced middle voice
<i>The First Church Collection of Sacred Musick</i>	1806	Boston: Thomas & Andrews	Germany	"Angels roll the stone away"	7777	3; G major	-Middle voice identical to Hill (both probably derive from unexamined 1805 <i>Salem Collection</i>)
<i>The Middlesex Collection of Church Music; or, Ancient Psalmody Revived</i>	1807	Boston: Manning & Loring	Pleyel's Hymn	"So fades"	8888	4; B-flat major	-Identical to 1802 <i>Bridgewater Collection</i>
Mann, Elias; <i>The Massachusetts Collection of Sacred Harmony</i>	1807	Boston: Manning & Loring	Condolence	"So fades"	8888	4; B-flat major	-Identical to 1802 <i>Bridgewater Collection</i>
Sanger, Zedekiah; <i>The Meridian Harmony</i>	1808	Dedham: H. Mann	Condolence or Pleyel's Hymn	"So fades"	8888	4; B-flat major	-Identical to 1802 <i>Bridgewater Collection</i>
Gillet, Wheeler, and Co.; <i>The Maryland Selection of</i>	1809	Baltimore: Henry S. Keatinge	Pleyel's German Hymn	"But O, how peaceful is the soul"	8888	4; B-flat major	-Identical to 1802 <i>Bridgewater Collection</i> , but with new text

<i>Sacred Music</i>							
<i>LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship [the Brattle Street Collection]</i>	1810	Boston: Manning & Loring	German Hymn	“God of mercy, god of love”	7777	3; G major	

Bibliography

- “A Story of Some French Liberal Protestants.” *The Unitarian Review* 23 (1885): 217-29.
- Anthology Society. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Society Which Conducts The Monthly Anthology & Boston Review*. Boston: Boston Athenaeum, 1910.
- Armitage, David, and Michael J. Braddick, eds. *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*. Basingstoke: Pasgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Bailyn, Bernard. *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Bealle, John. *Public Worship, Private Faith*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997.
- Belknap, Jeremy. *Sacred Poetry: Consisting of Psalms and Hymns, Adapted to Christian Devotion, in Public and Private*. Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1797.
- , *Sacred Poetry: Consisting of Psalms and Hymns, Adapted to Christian Devotion, in Public and Private*. Boston: Thomas and Andrews and D. West, 1804.
- Benton, Rita. *Ignace Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions*. New York: Pendragon Press, 1977.
- Britton, Allen Perdue. “Theoretical Introductions in American Tune-Books to 1800.” PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1949.
- Britton, Allen Perdue, Irving Lowens, and Richard Crawford. *American Sacred Music Imprints, 1698-1810: A Bibliography*. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1990.
- Broyles, Michael. *Music of the Highest Class: Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Buckminster, Joseph Stevens. *Sermons by the Late Rev. J.S. Buckminster With a Memoir of His Life and Character*. Boston: John Eliot, 1814.
- , *The Works of Joseph Stevens Buckminster With Memoirs of His Life*. Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1839.
- Buechner, Alan Clark. “Yankee Singing Schools and the Golden Age of Choral Music in New England 1760-1800.” PhD diss., Harvard University, 1960.

- Catalogue of the Library of the Late Rev. J.S. Buckminster*. Boston: John Eliot, 1812.
- Cooper, James F. *Tenacious of their Liberties: The Congregationalists in Colonial Massachusetts*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Crawford, Richard. *American Studies and American Musicology: A Point of View and a Case in Point*. New York: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1975.
- , *Andrew Law, American Psalmodist*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1981.
- , "The Beetlehead Testament." *Newsletter of The Institute for Studies in American Music* 13 (1984): 10-12.
- , *The American Musical Landscape*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- , *America's Musical Life: A History*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001.
- Crawford, Richard, ed. *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody*. Madison: A-R Editions, 1984.
- Crawford, Richard, R. Allen Lott, and Carol J. Oja, eds. *A Celebration of American Music: Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990.
- Cressy, David. *Coming Over: Migration and Communication Between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Cuthbert, John A. "Raynor Taylor and Anglo-American Musical Life." PhD diss., West Virginia University, 1980.
- Foletta, Marshall. *Coming to Terms with Democracy: Federalist Intellectuals and the Shaping of an American Culture*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.
- Garrett, Charles Hiroshi, and Carol J. Oja, convenors. "Colloquy: Studying U.S. Music in the Twenty-First Century." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64 (2011): 689-719.
- Games, Alison. *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Goodman, Glenda. "'The Tears I Shed at the Songs of Thy Church': Seventeenth Century Musical Piety in the English Atlantic World." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65, no. 3 (2012): 691-725.

- Gould, Nathaniel D. *Church Music in America*. New York: AMS Press, 1972.
- Hall, James William Jr. "The Tune-Book in American Culture: 1800-1820." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1967.
- Hatchett, Marion J. *A Companion to The New Harp of Columbia*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003.
- Hood, George. *A History of Music in New England*. Boston: Wilkens, Carter & Co., 1846.
- Hymns for Public Worship Part II: For the Use of the Church in Brattle Street*. Boston: Andrews and Cummings, 1808.
- Johnson, H. Earle. *Musical Interludes in Boston, 1795-1830*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.
- , *Hallelujah, Amen! The Story of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston*. Boston: B. Humphries, 1965.
- Klooster, Wim, and Alfred Padula, eds. *The Atlantic World: Essays on Slavery, Migration, and Imagination*. Upper Saddle River: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2005.
- Krummel, D.W. "Philadelphia Music Engraving and Publishing, 1800-1820: A Study in Bibliography and Cultural History." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1958.
- L. "Hon. Nahum Mitchell." In Cady, C.M., ed. *The Musical Review and Choral Advocate* 4 (1853): 147.
- Lambert, Barbara, ed. *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1680*. Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1973.
- Leavenworth, Peter S. "Accounting for Taste: The Early American Music Business and Secularization in Music Aesthetics, 1720-1825." PhD diss., University of New Hampshire, 2007.
- Lee, Eliza Buckminster. *Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminster, D. D., and of his son, Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster*. Boston: W.M. Crosby & H.P. Nichols, 1849.
- Lee, Michael J. "American Revelations: Biblical Interpretation and America, Circa 1700-1860." PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2009.
- Lehman, Carroll James. "Benjamin Carr: His Contribution to Early American Solo Vocal Literature." DMA diss., University of Iowa, 1975.
- Lothrop, Samuel Kirkland. *A History of the Church in Brattle Street, Boston*. Boston: W. Crosby and H.P. Nichols, 1851.

- Lowens, Irving. *Music and Musicians in Early America*. New York: Norton, 1964.
- , *Music in America and American Music*. New York: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1978.
- , *Haydn in America*. Detroit: College Music Society, 1979.
- Lowens, Irving, and Allen Britton. "The Easy Instructor (1798-1831): A History and Bibliography of the First Shape Note Tune Book." *Journal of Research in Music Education* 1 (1953): 30-55.
- MacDougall, H.C. *Early New England Psalmody: An Historical Appreciation, 1620-1820*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1969.
- Marshall, Madeleine Forell. *English Congregational Hymns in the Eighteenth Century*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982.
- Massachusetts Historical Society. *Proceedings* 47: 1913-1914.
- McKay, David P. and Richard Crawford. *William Billings of Boston*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Metcalf, Frank. *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music*. New York: The Abington Press, 1925.
- "Military." *The Repertory & General Advertiser*, 22 September 1812.
- Noll, Mark A. *The Work We Have To Do: A History of Protestants in America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Osterhout, Paul R. "Music in Northampton, Massachusetts to 1820." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1978.
- , "Andrew Wright: Northampton Music Printer." *American Music* 1, no. 4 (1983): 5-26.
- Owen, Barbara. *The Organs and Music of King's Chapel Boston: 1713-1991*. Boston: King's Chapel, 1993.
- Pemberton, Carol Anne. *Lowell Mason: His Life and Work*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985.
- Perkins, Charles C. *History of the Handel and Haydn Society, of Boston, Massachusetts*. Boston: A Mudge, 1893.
- Philo-Harmonicus. "For the Boston Mirror." *Boston Mirror*, 14 January 1809.

- Pickering, Mary Orne. *Life of John Pickering*. Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1887.
- Rivers, Isabel, and David L. Wykes, eds. *Dissenting Praise: Religious Dissent and the Hymn in England and Wales*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Records of the Church in Brattle Square Boston*. Boston: The Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, 1902.
- Sanjek, Russell. *American Popular Music and its Business: The First Four Hundred Years*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Siek, Stephen. "Musical Taste in Post-Revolutionary America As Seen Through Carr's 'Musical Journal for the Piano Forte.'" PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 1991.
- , "Widening the Scope: Early American Musical Taste as Seen Through a Political-Economic Lens." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for American Music, Little Rock, March 2013.
- Smith, Ronnie L. "The Church Music of Benjamin Carr (1768-1831)." DMA diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1969.
- "Solemn Strikes the Funeral Chime." *Builder Magazine: A Journal for the Masonic Student* 1, no. 3 (1915): 62-65.
- Sonneck, Oscar. *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music, 18th Century*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1964.
- Spann, C. Edward, and Michael E. Williams. *Presidential Praise: Our Presidents and Their Hymns* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2008).
- Stowe, David W. *How Sweet the Sound: Music in the Spiritual Lives of Americans*. Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Temperley, Nicholas. *The Music of the English Parish Church*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- , *Fuging Tunes in the Eighteenth Century*. Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1984.
- , *The Hymn Tune Index: A Census of English-Language Hymn Tunes in Printed Sources from 1535 to 1820*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- , *Bound for America: Three British Composers*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.
- , *Studies in English Church Music, 1550-1900*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.
- White, Daniel Appleton, *Eulogy on John Pickering, LL. D.* Cambridge: Metcalf and Company, 1847.

- Worcester, Samuel Melancthon. *The Life and Labors of Rev. Samuel Worcester, D.D.* Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1852.
- Wilson, Ruth M. *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America 1660 to 1820.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Wolfe, Richard J. *Early American Music Engraving and Printing.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980.

Tunebooks and Scores Examined:

- A Collection of Sacred Music designed principally for the use of churches which sing without a choir.* Albany: E.F. Backus, 1817.
- A Collection of Sacred Musick; more particularly designed for the use of the West Church in Boston.* Boston: Buckingham & Titcomb, 1810.
- Albee, Amos. *The Norfolk Collection of Sacred Harmony.* Dedham: H. Mann, 1805.
- Arnold, Dr. Samuel. *The Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches.* London: For John Stockdale and George Goulding, 1791.
- Brown, Bartholomew. *Columbian and European Harmony; or, the Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music.* Boston: Isaiah Thomas, Ebenezer T. Andrews, and John West, 1802.
- . *Templi Carmina...or, Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music.* Boston: West and Richardson, 1816.
- Bond, Hugh. *The Psalms of David in Metre.* London: Preston & Son, 1791.
- Carden, Allen D. *The Missouri Harmony.* St. Louis: Morgan, Lodge & Co., 1820.
- Carr, Benjamin. *Masses, Vespers, Litanies, Hymns, Psalms, Anthems & Motets. . . . For the use of the Catholic churches, in the United States of America.* Baltimore: J. Carr, 1805.
- . *The Chorister, a collection of chants and melodies adapted to the psalms and hymns of the Episcopal Church.* Philadelphia: B. Carr, 1820.
- Cole, Samuel and John. *Sacred Music; Published for the Use of the Cecilian Society.* Baltimore: St. Paul's Parish, 1803.
- Curtis, T. *Divine Amusement.* London: J. Balls, 1812.

- Dyer, Samuel. *A New Selection of Sacred Music, comprising...psalm and hymn tunes*. Baltimore: Joseph Robinson, 1819.
- The First Church Collection of Sacred Musick*. Boston: Thomas & Andrews, 1806.
- Gillet, Wheeler, and Co. *The Maryland Selection of Sacred Music*. Baltimore: Henry S. Keatinge, 1809.
- Hastings, Thomas, and Solomon Warriner. *Musica Sacra: or Springfield and Utica Collections United*. Utica: William Williams, 1818.
- Hewitt, James. *Harmonia Sacra*. Boston: Joseph T. Buckingham, 1812.
- Hill, Uri. *The Sacred Minstrel*. Boston: Manning & Loring, 1806.
- Holyoke, Samuel. *The Columbian Repository of Sacred Harmony*. Exeter: Henry Ranlet, 1803.
- LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship*. Boston: Manning & Loring, 1810.
- Mann, Elias. *The Massachusetts Collection of Sacred Harmony*. Boston: Manning & Loring, 1807.
- Maxim, Abraham. *The Northern Harmony*. Hallowell: E. Goodale, 1819.
- The Middlesex Collection of Church Music; or, Ancient Psalmody Revived*. Boston: Manning & Loring, 1807.
- The New Haven Collection of Sacred Music*. Dedham: Daniel Mann, 1818.
- Pleyel, Ignace. *Pleyel's celebrated German hymn for one, two or three voices to which is added variations for the harpsichord*. London: Preston & Son, 1800.
- *Pleyel's celebrated concertante, arranged for the piano-forte with an accompaniment for the violin*. Boston: G. Graupner, 1820.
- Psalm and Hymn Tunes, selected for the use of the Hollis-Street Society, in Boston*. Boston: J.T. Buckingham, 1811.
- Sacred Harmony; a Selection of Airs, duos, trios &c*. Philadelphia: Carr & Schetky, 1803.
- Sanger, Zedekiah. *The Meridian Harmony*. Dedham: H. Mann, 1808.
- Tattersall, Rev. William Dechair. *Improved Psalmody*. London: Messrs. Rivingtons and Leigh & Sotheby, 1794.
- Tenney, Samuel. *The Hallowell Collection of Sacred Music*. Hallowell: E. Goodale,

1817.

The Village Harmony; or, Youth's Assistant to Sacred Musick. Newburyport: E. Little & Co., 1812.

The Village Holyday. A Favorite Song. Boston: G. Graupner, 1810.

Vinton, David. *The Masonic Minstrel.* Dedham: H. Mann, 1816.

Warriner, Solomon. *The Springfield Collection of Sacred Music.* Boston: Warriner and Bontecou, 1813.

Wesleyan Selection, being a supplement to David's Companion. New York: Abraham Paul, 1820.

Worcester, Rev. Samuel. *Select Harmony: The fourth part of Christian Psalmody.* Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1813.