

1-1-2012

Music in Print: The New-England Tunebook

Francis Russo

Trinity College, francis.russo@trincoll.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalrepository.trincoll.edu/trinitypapers>



Part of the [Musicology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Russo, Francis, "Music in Print: The New-England Tunebook". *The Trinity Papers* (2012).

Trinity College Digital Repository, Hartford, CT. <http://digitalrepository.trincoll.edu/trinitypapers/14>

Music in Print: The New-England Tunebook

Francis Russo '13

St. Augustine in his *Confessions* declared that worship and devotions were enhanced by music only when he was “moved not with the singing, but with the thing sung.”¹ Since the days of the church founding, Christians saw music that was simple and unadorned as the preferred variety of the medium most fit for worshiping God. The Council of Trent in the middle of the sixteenth century proposed banning polyphonic music from the Mass; John Calvin only allowed unharmonized singing under his reign and J.S. Bach, in his early years, contended with church authorities who advocated simplicity above all else in music.² When a number of New England ministers gathered in 1720 to reform the state of Congregational singing, their struggle was rooted in this tradition of “enforced musical simplicity.”³ The maintenance of textual clarity and musical simplicity, however, was not the only concern of the church. Music was capable of exciting emotions that should otherwise be suppressed, lest they cause the kind of sensational feelings that the church deemed sinister. About sixty years after the ministers gathered in 1720, an American soldier, upon hearing British music during the American pursuit of an English detachment, exclaimed that he had “never felt such a sensation before.”⁴ By the time of the Revolution, music was considered inspirational, used for recreation, and was the most prevalent form of cultural activity in the military.⁵ How did music in colonial America escape the firm grasp of a tradition reaching back to St. Augustine and become the sensational object of secular enjoyment? Large shockwaves from the Enlightenment surely influenced this remarkable change, but there is a much more specific force found in Colonial New England alone. The distinct eighteenth-century printed volume called a tunebook and the printed music it contained gave a physical form to a musical reformation that spanned nearly the entire century. This paper attempts to track the origin of these tunebooks, map their progress, and reveal their role in the remarkable development of colonial musical life during the eighteenth century.

The first English-language book printed in America was *The Whole Booke of Psalms Faithfully Translated into English Metre*. Published in 1640 in Cambridge Massachusetts, it was better known as the *Bay Psalm Book* and sought to give the Massachusetts Bay settlement an improved and purified

version of the psalter the Pilgrims had brought with them to the New World in 1620. In keeping with the Reformed liturgical practice, settlers sung these psalms to traditional Anglican tunes during times of worship.⁶ These tunes, however, were not to be found outside of the collective memory of the community. Even though psalm texts were metrical, editions of the *Bay Psalm Book* before 1698 contained not a single note of printed music.⁷

There is not much to say about this absence besides that it was probably for the lack of anyone in the colonies with the technical capability to print music.⁸ Indeed, challenges in the printing of music are much greater than that of simple text. Musical notation requires figures transposed on top of one another and a vast array of characters with individual variations and custom markings. This is not to mention the issues of formatting music on the printed page, which requires a delicate attention to horizontal and vertical justifications and the synchronization of notes along part lines above and below each other. It was not until 1698 that thirteen tunes in two-part harmony were included in the *Bay Psalm Book*, and although “crudely printed”, it became the earliest American musical imprint.⁹

Even with printed music, the *Bay Psalm Book* presented significant limitations. It not only maintained a narrow repertory of tunes but also created a worshipping populace that did not know how to read music.¹⁰ In order to sing in church Puritan congregations practiced “lining-out”; a “ritual” performance whereby “the minister or elder read the psalm text one line at a time, which the congregation sang back according to a tune that had been previously announced, pitched, and sung.”¹¹ The ministers usually sang a small number of tunes church members already knew, because everything had to be memorized. Even if they were familiar with the tune, however, singing was done by ear alone and the quality was conditional to the ability of the leader.¹² Despite these limitations, lining-out “admirably fulfilled” John Calvin’s “theological imperative that the Word of God must hold primacy over the musical dimension of sung praise in worship.”¹³ Frequent interruptions to the music in order to repeat lines and familiarity with only a small number of simple, unadorned tunes certainly focused congregations on the texts they were reading and away from the pleasures of communal singing and any embellishing variation.

The problems associated with ‘lining-out’ eventually became troublesome enough for a group of church leaders to launch a major campaign against the practice. This battle was fought and won through the significant introduction of printed music and would inadvertently challenge greater social forces and structures of church authority in the colonial world. By 1720, psalmody by the practice of lining-out had broken down so badly that congregations faced a “great confusion regarding the tunes themselves and the manner of rendering them.”¹⁴ Because the tunes relied on memory and required singing by ear, members of the congregation would forget tunes and sing them

incorrectly or sing different tunes simultaneously in different tempos and keys. To address this problem a group of ministers led by Cotton Mather, Thomas Walter, John Tufts, and Thomas Symmes began the “regular-singing movement” or the method of “singing by rule.”¹⁵ The “rule” these clergymen advocated was ensemble singing based on printed musical notation rather than uncoordinated singing by ear. This would require an increase in musical literacy and basic vocal training, which would be achieved by the use of printed music taught in singing schools. This presentation of “regular singing” took the physical form of the eighteenth-century tunebook, a printed volume with “theoretical and pedagogical instructions” for both the understanding of music and the teaching of it.¹⁶

These books would retain a remarkably consistent format through the entire century. Introductions and prefaces hailed the reasons for publication or praised the heavenly qualities of music, followed by a lengthy instruction section with extraordinarily detailed essays and diagrams explaining music theory and practice. The last section would be a compilation of musical tunes, printed in full. These books were printed in America for a specific situation and although the music in them was British, the format and layout were colonial creations. Almost a genre in themselves, the tunebooks were made possible from a technical standpoint by the increasing market for printed music in both England and the colonies.¹⁷ By 1750, the combination punched and engraved music plate “was recognized as the medium used by the majority of English and European publishers for printing music.”¹⁸ Still, however, an active publishing industry did not exist in America, especially not for music. Instead the printer of music exemplified the early American artisan “who worked in a multiple of crafts in order to earn his daily living.”¹⁹ In the absence of any organized effort, printed music was achieved by assembling utilities that were directly on hand and finding engravers or silversmiths to produce the necessary plates for a publication. Joel Knott Allen, born in Southington Connecticut in 1755, typifies the craftsman who took on music engraving as another one of his many jobs. Allen considered himself a “spoonmaker, engraver, brass worker, carpenter, general storekeeper, and tinker.”²⁰

It was craftsmen such as Allen who first engraved and printed the two most influential tune books of the period: John Tufts’ *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes* and Thomas Walter’s *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*. Both colonists published their tunebooks in 1721, and for the churches of New England these printed volumes would become the “canonical manuals of sung praise” for next forty years.²¹ Before this “canonical” status, however, the leaders of the “regular singing” movement faced significant opposition to their method of printed music and singing schools. Any number of charges could be heard from the opposition—conservative members could not learn more challenging music, did not want to learn new methods, or resented what

they considered the arrogance of those who were trained in singing schools.²² These concerns are evident in the prefaces and instructions of Tufts' and Walter's early tune books. Tufts stresses in his "plain introduction" that his "plain and easy method" will allow any reader, after "a little practice," to be "able to sing all the Tunes in this Book in any of their parts, with Ease and Pleasure."²³ Tufts is sensitive to the difficult challenge of learning the new "rules" in his presentation of the music as well. He actually creates a unique hybrid oral/print form of musical notation. His collection of tunes is written out on staves as any piece of music would be, but instead of traditional circles as note heads Tufts uses the letters F, S, L and M, corresponding to the orally familiar syllables *Fa*, *So*, *La* and *Mi* (See Appendix I).

Walter expands on the same rhetoric in his work that is found in Tufts. In his "brief and very plain instructions" Walter bluntly criticizes the "old way" of singing and his opponents arguments, clearly pointing out the disorder and confusion resulting from the lack of printed music and the 'lining out' system. "Our tunes", he declares, "are, for want of a Standard to appeal to in all our Singing, left to the Mercy of every unskillful Throat to chop and alter, twist and change". Walter says that he himself has,

heard (for Instance) *Oxford* ²⁴ Tune sung in *three* Churches (which I purposely forbear to mention) with as much difference as there can possibly be between *York* and *Oxford*, or any two other different Tunes. Therefore any man that pleads with me for what they call the *Old Way*, I can confute him only by making this Demand, *What is the OLD WAY?* Which I am sure they cannot tell.²⁵

In terms of his musical notation, Walter employs diamond shaped note heads in his tune section (See Appendix II). While this is more traditional, it is more reminiscent of medieval music notation than the modern and universal standard of circular shaped note heads. This lack of attention to a unifying depiction of musical notation in these early two tune-books speaks to larger points about their role in the "regular singing" movement and society. Tune-books and their related singing schools were responses to the decline in clarity and purity of church singing. Traditional church singing, however, placed the importance of the act on the text instead of the music. In *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, Walter includes a "Recommendatory Preface" signed by leaders of the reform movement that specifically states, "we would above all Exhort, That the *main Concern* of all may be to make it not a meer *Bodily Exercise*, but *sing with Grace in their Hearts*, & with Minds Attentive to the *Truths* in the PSALMS which they Sing, and affected with them, so that in their *Hearts they may make a Melody to the LORD*."²⁶ The attention to uniform musical notation was not stressed in the tune books because music as an individual art did not exist. The tunes contained in both Tufts' and

Walter's work were still the plain tunes that had been sung for decades, in no more than two or three homophonic parts. At this point, it was the goal of the reformers to remedy the breakdown of church singing and reinstitute the purity of song, which was not to be enjoyed as music in its own right but as the vehicle for the clear understanding of Psalms and the direct action of praising the Lord.

Despite initial opposition, the progressive reform movement won out and singing societies were ultimately formed throughout New England.²⁷ As we have seen, the original purpose of the singing schools and tunebooks was to renew the entire congregation's praise by improving musical literacy and practice. These new methods, however, had unintended consequences and by the 1760's a new set of tunebooks were published that indicate a tremendous shift in the musical, social, and religious life of the American colonies.

The original tunebooks and singing schools succeeded in creating more accomplished and professional congregational singers who wanted "more difficult music" and "begged for well-trained teachers."²⁸ There was also a new church interest in fresh, more advanced music and a wisdom of training church members "up to the level of proficiency which it demanded."²⁹ Eventually, the singing schools had produced a group of trained singers who could sing music that was too difficult for the rest of the congregation and "church by church," the 1760-70's saw the best singers "separated from the congregation and seated together in the gallery."³⁰ The creation of gallery choirs was a revolutionary development. The idea of an isolated and specialized choir "violated the Congregational idea which, apart from Communion, demanded full participation of everyone in all aspects of church life."³¹ It also ushered in new instruments previously forbidden in the Church to supplement vocal singing and caused social controversy when the choristers pushed to sit in the center gallery. For their purposes the location was the most acoustically efficient, but it was also the second-most prized location in the meetinghouse. Choristers, "often young and propertyless," asked leading families "to give up the gallery foreseats that were potent symbols of their perceived standing in the community."³² In this sense gallery choirs created a local social revolution that "pitted the traditional social hierarchy of New England parishes against the youthful new ritual communities created by the singing schools."³³

At the heart of these changes was the new, more advanced music found in tune-books of the 1760's. This new style of sacred music that arrived from across the Atlantic was known as the English Parish Style and was most widely circulated in America through William Tans'ur's tunebook *The Royal Harmony Complete*. Tans'ur's work kept the format of earlier tune books, but was musically filled with "melodically ornamented, harmonically adventurous, and rhythmically arresting psalm tunes, fusing tunes, and anthems."³⁴ Simply put, the music was more advanced and varied. The other major tunebook of the time was James Lyon's *Urania, or a Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes*,

Anthems, and Hymns. This too introduced into America “a style of elaborate, modern British music” unlike anything heard previously.³⁵ Almost all of the tunes were in full four-part harmony with intricate lines and musical notations. They were also printed cleanly in the modern musical format of round note heads and clearly synchronized lines. Most importantly, however, was the addition of what was called a “fuging tune”. These tunes, which came to dominate tune collections, were similar but not identical to traditional fugues that were being written by composers in Europe at the time. A fuging tune in the American tunebook contained a section where a solo line would sing a melody and other lines would enter at different times in imitation. This would create a web of polyphonic counterpoint only reorganized at the every end when the music would cadence in a final homophonic gesture.

In addition to complexity, the music’s variety and level of ornamentation would bring a new wave of changes in church and society. The inclusion of hymns and anthems set to increasingly difficult music “was a key step in a process that subtly separated Presbyterian and Congregational vocal music from its scriptural subject matter and gave the music an independent esthetic existence.”³⁶ The excitement in more complex songs and fuging tunes and the enjoyment of musical embellishment gave new attention to music as an enjoyable recreation away from religious control. James Lyon begins *Urania*, for example, with a clear distinction between the clergy and himself. His second page reads, “To The Clergy of every Denomination in *America*. / Reverend Sirs, Relying on the evident Propriety of your patronizing this Publication, permit me to lay *Urania* at your Feet.”³⁷ He asserts his tunebook is something completely distinct from the clergy who a half century before had complete control over musical-religious life. These changes were partly “a byproduct of the long, complex development of eighteenth-century rationalism” which imagined a merciful God.³⁸ A justification of musical embellishment no longer tied to the strictures of text was found in the happiness complex music brought to man, because “to a God who loved him, man signified his obedience by being happy.”³⁹ In his preface to *The Royal Harmony Complete* Tans’ur says music is “the *Gift of GOD*... given to us as a *Temporal Blessing*, both for his Service, and our own Recreation [underline added].”⁴⁰ Composers and compilers like Tans’ur ventured “to speak of the pleasures of singing” in ways others had not done before.⁴¹ Indeed, the church had long been concerned with the effects of music, “for its emotional and sensuous appeal was legendary.”⁴² This new appeal of more complex music was found not only in the printed tunebooks but their singing school counterparts. It was almost universally acknowledged that music was good for the moral health of the young, but music also kept the young attached to the church, “if only nominally, by bringing the sexes together.”⁴³ One Yale undergraduate wrote in 1782 that “I am almost sick of the World & were it not for the Hopes of going to singing-meeting tonight & indulging myself a

little in some of the carnal Delights of the Flesh, such as kissing, squeezing &c. &c. I should willingly leave it now.”⁴⁴

Singing schools in the Revolutionary Era presented a profound challenge to the traditional authority of local ministers and for the “first time in the long history of New England Congregationalism, unordained laymen exercised significant control over a major aspect of ritual practice.”⁴⁵ Inherent in this challenge was the major influence singing schools had over youths like the Yale undergraduate mentioned above. Young people were often the target of singing reform rooted in the ritual instruction of music masters. This sort of “pedagogical ritual is amply documented in the instructional rules or ‘rudiments’ prefaced to singing school tunebooks.”⁴⁶ Learning to sing by note—the chief intention of tunebooks—was intended as a public display for the entire community. Becoming a choir member meant passing trials and accomplishing tasks, and for young people singing schools were “unquestionably an experience of ritual initiation.”⁴⁷

All of these strands of thought culminate in a man named William Billings. When his *The New-England Psalm Singer* was published in 1770—the year of Beethoven’s birth—Billings launched his career that would bring the new style of singing into full realization, assert music as an independent art and, because he composed the music in his tunebooks himself, make him the first professional American composer. The frontispiece to the *Psalm Singer* depicts a group of men in a circle, singing from tunebooks (See Appendix III). This scene comes from a tunebook of complex, individual, and personal music that embodies the singing school culture that had undermined religious authority and created new forces in colonial society affecting the rich and poor, young and old. But it also represents the fundamental impact of printed music and the physical objects of printed material without which the revolutions in New England church music could not have happened.

With one eye, a deformed arm, lame in one leg, and possibly addicted to snuff, William Billings of Boston would emerge as America’s first professional composer and create a musical oeuvre that would come to characterize a unique American sound. Despite his physical defects, by all accounts Billings had a booming voice and eccentric spirit. Born in 1746, extraordinarily little is known about his life. It is clear that Billings originally pursued work as a tanner and received little education. He seems to have taught himself music, using as his guide the tunebooks of Tans’ur and others. Born in the heart of New England, it would have been nearly impossible to escape exposure to tunebooks and singing schools that the reformed singing movement had promoted since the 1720’s. By 1769, Billings began to teach in singing schools and a year later he published the *The New-England Psalm Singer*. His 1770 debut into the musical society of New England would transform him from a product of the tradition from which he grew into a leader of musical life in New England and the colonies.

We most obviously encounter Billings' defiant and freestanding nature in his approach to composition. Dismissing the old rules of Europe, he insisted that "concerning the Rules for Composition... *Nature is the best Dictator*, for all the hard dry studied Rules that ever was prescribed" there were no better rules than those of nature or natural genius.⁴⁸ Indeed, compared to European standards of the time, Billings' music is filled with violations of the "rules". However, these violations are a large part of what has made his music lasting and important. Billings' characteristic use of parallel fifths and octaves—musical dissonances that contemporary Europeans would have despised—contribute to the open, clear, and fresh sound that today strikes us as distinctly American. The extent to which the sound Billings created was the result of his own intention or the consequence of a self-trained composer will forever remain unknown. It is clear, however, that Billings' work was the result of his independent, extravagant, and American personality. He dismissed Old World rules and defined a path for himself according to the strength of his own will and the guide of nature. He always remained true to his assertions, writing that, "I don't think myself confin'd to any Rules for Composition laid down by any that went before me."⁴⁹ If nothing else:

His career tests the power of American life to nurture the arts as clearly as do those of Poe or Whitman or Henry James. They faced the same lack of a native tradition, the same problem of using folk material for high artistic purposes, and similar material conditions affecting development and success.⁵⁰

It is no surprise that by the time of the Revolution Billings was a fervent supporter of the Patriot cause. His unfortunate conditions, however, prevented him from assuming any combat position in the army. The "only situation his physical misfortunes would allow" was a "conductor of the baggage."⁵¹ Nonetheless, Billings would make his greatest contribution to the war effort through music. An advertisement in Billings' second tunebook, published in 1778 as *The Singing Master's Assistant*, offers an apology: "the Book of Anthems which I promised [the public] was just upon the point of publication, when hostilities commenced between Britain and the Colonies; which Unhappy War was the sole motive that induced me to 'hang my harp upon the willows' and suppress the publication."⁵² Billings' remark displays the only real challenge the Revolution presented to his musical life. Although the lack of paper during the war years made printing difficult, the operation of singing schools "never really faltered."⁵³ Indeed, with a predominantly Calvinist church still hostile to extravagant singing, no court life, and theatrical music that remained sporadic during the Revolution, singing schools were the "only institution at hand to foster the gifts of the musically inclined."⁵⁴ By this time also, the tunebooks of New England had made their way down to the southern colonies. Thomas Jefferson, for example, had musical instruction

taught to him by “playing ‘by book’ rather than by ‘rote or ear’.”⁵⁵ The genteel culture of southern plantations was much different than that of New England singings schools and congregations, and focused far more on the social role of music. For example, Thomas Jefferson learned the violin (a non-vocal instrument which would have faced church opposition in the north) not for any religious reason but because a proper “young gentleman” learned a stringed instrument rather than “puff out the face in a vulgar fashion” with a wind instrument.⁵⁶ Despite the differing musical world in the south, it is clear that the tunebooks of William Billings’ New England brought their music into a broad colonial context. What originated as religious tools intended to fix church singing were now secular publications seeking audiences far beyond the physical domain and ideological control of New England congregations. Billings’ passion for the Revolution and the music he printed in his tunebooks would therefore manifest itself throughout the colonies.

The two greatest examples of Billings’ wartime efforts are his two songs “Lamentation over Boston” and “Chester”. Published in *The Singing Master’s Assistant*, his “Lamentation” began with the words, “By the waters of Watertown we sat down & wept when we remember’d thee, O Boston.” The song refers to the British occupation of Boston in 1774, but the song was published well after the British had left the city. This after the fact publication served to “keep alive the fires of patriotism among Bostonians.”⁵⁷ The tangible action of singing would surely appeal to an imagined community or a collective sympathy for Boston and the Revolutionary cause for any person who came in contact with Billings’ song. This would be even truer for his most famous song “Chester”. Included in his first publication in 1770, the first stanza makes Billings’ sympathies clear: “Let tyrants shake their iron rod, And slavery clank her galling chains.” Chester would become “one of the most famous of all revolutionary war songs”, second only to Yankee Doodle.⁵⁸ It is also a prime example of the extended limits of tunebook material after the appearance of Billings, as “Chester” was originally printed as a piece for chorus in *The New-England Psalm-Singer* and then transcribed for military bands to play all over the colonies. Other tunes with such titles such as “Philadelphia,” “Columbia,” “Washington,” and “America” provided patriotic morale and “in effect are musical versions of the New England view of the Revolution.”⁵⁹ It is a poignant observation that although Billings’ could not walk as a soldier, he composed the tunes to which thousands of Continental regulars marched.

After the Revolution, the popularity of tunebooks would continue into the 1790’s but wither away soon after. Billings’ last tunebook, *The Continental Harmony*, was published in 1794. Ironically, the musically educated populace in the colonies that had been trained by tunebooks left the printed volumes behind in favor of the wave of European music immigrants would bring over in the early 1800’s. Despite this deflated status at the turn of the century, the life of the eighteenth century tunebook was long and varied. One could find a

nervous minister in the 1720's eager to utilize a new pedagogical tool, hoping to save the purity of Congregational church singing. A tunebook might also be found throughout the 1730's and 40's in the hands of singing masters, pointing out examples and asking singing school students to repeat the printed lines. Many students themselves would have books, setting their eyes on musical notation for the first time and often adding hand written indexes or tunes into the blank end pages of their copies. In the 1760's and 1770's trained gallery choirs were excited to get a taste of the extravagant new music arriving from England and to put their abilities to the test. In the 1770's and 1780's, one can imagine a musically inclined Continental soldier, inspired at his first hearing of "Chester," rip out the page from Billings' *The Singing Master's Assistant* and run it over to the military band or drum and fief core. Leaving the eighteenth century behind, one can also hear traces of Billings in the twentieth century. Composers like Aaron Copland and Charles Ives found the distinct tunebook sound to be an indelible part of the American musical past and incorporated it into their own quests to further capture an "American sound." The American tunebook, then, was a unique phenomenon. It was not only the physical vehicle through which American music was born and disseminated, but also the tool that trained the American populace that would eventually abandon it.

WORKS CITED

- Billings, William. *The New-England Psalm-Singer* (Boston: 1770)
- Billings, William. *The Singing Master's Assistant* (Boston: 1778)
- Cripe, Helen. *Thomas Jefferson and Music* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1974)
- De Jong, Mary Gosselink. "Both Pleasure and Profit': William Billings and the Uses of Music," *The William and Mary Quarterly* Third Series, Vol. 42, No. 1 (1985): 104-116.
- Lyon, James. *Urania, or a Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes* (Philadelphia: 1761)
- McKay, David Phares., and Richard Crawford. *William Billings of Boston: Eighteenth-century Composer* (Princeton, N.J., 1975) 75.
- Marini, S. A. "The New England Singing School: Ritual Change and Religious Culture in Revolutionary America," *Religion Compass* (2011): 247-259.
- Ogasapian, John. *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004),
- Silverman, Kenneth. *A Cultural History of the American Revolution: Painting, Music, Literature, and the Theatre in the Colonies and the United States from the Treaty of Paris to the Inauguration of George Washington, 1763-1789*. (New York: T.Y. Crowell, 1976).

- Tans'ur, William. *The Royal Melody Complete* (Boston: M'Alpine, for Bayley and Williams, 1767)
- Tufts, John. *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes* (Boston: 1726)
- Walter, Thomas. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick* (Boston: 1721)
- Wolfe, Richard J. *Early American Music Engraving and Printing: a History of Music Publishing in America from 1787 to 1825 with Commentary on Earlier and Later Practices*. (Urbana: Published in Cooperation with the Bibliographical Society of America by the University of Illinois, 1980)

ENDNOTES

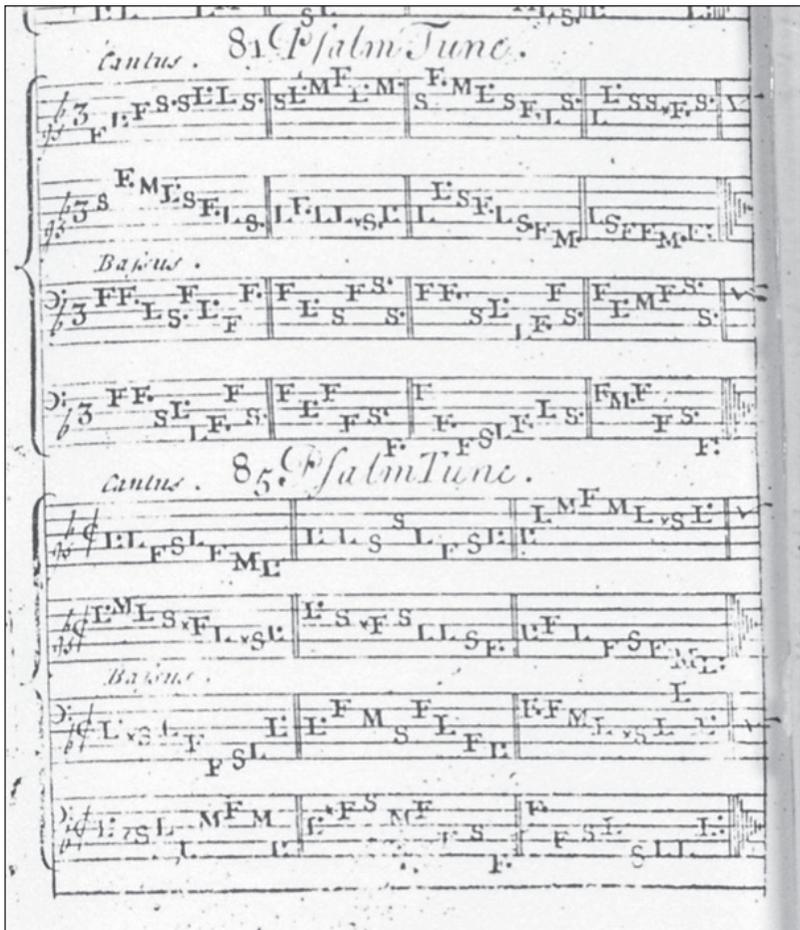
1. David P. McKay and Richard Crawford. *William Billings of Boston: Eighteenth-century Composer* (Princeton, N.J., 1975) 4.
2. McKay, *William Billings of Boston*, 5.
3. McKay, *William Billings of Boston*, 5.
4. Kenneth Silverman. *A Cultural History of the American Revolution: Painting, Music, Literature, and the Theatre in the Colonies and the United States from the Treaty of Paris to the Inauguration of George Washington, 1763-1789*. (New York: T.Y. Crowell, 1976) 46. 352.
5. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 352.
6. S.A. Marini, "The New England Singing School: Ritual Change and Religious Culture in Revolutionary America," *Religion Compass* (2011): 248.
7. Richard J. Wolfe, *Early American Music Engraving and Printing: a History of Music Publishing in America from 1787 to 1825 with Commentary on Earlier and Later Practices*. (Urbana: Published in Cooperation with the Bibliographical Society of America by the University of Illinois, 1980), 14.
8. Wolfe, *Early American Music*, 14.
9. Wolfe, *Early American Music*, 14.
10. Wolfe, *Early American Music*, 14.
11. Marini, "The New England Singing School", 248.
12. Wolfe, *Early American Music*, 14.
13. Marini, "The New England Singing School", 248.
14. Wolfe, *Early American Music*, 14.
15. Marini, "The New England Singing School", 248.
16. Mary Gosselink De Jong. "'Both Pleasure and Profit': William Billings and the Uses of Music," *The William and Mary Quarterly* Third Series, Vol. 42, No. 1, (1985): 105.
17. Wolfe, *Early American Music*, 10.
18. Wolfe, *Early American Music*, 10.
19. Wolfe, *Early American Music*, 19.

20. Wolfe, *Early American Music*, 23.
21. Marini, "The New England Singing School", 249.
22. De Jong, "'Both Pleasure and Profit': William Billings", 106.
23. John Tufts. *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes* (Boston: 1726)
24. The song names of "York" and "Oxford" were arbitrary and kept with a common practice of assigning place names to tunes often at random. Both Tufts and Walter were from New England, and used British place names trivially.
25. Thomas Walter. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick* (Boston: 1721)
26. Walter, *Grounds and Rules*.
27. Wolfe, *Early American Music*, 15.
28. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 46.
29. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 190.
30. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 194.
31. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 195.
32. Marini, "The New England Singing School", 254.
33. Marini, "The New England Singing School", 254.
34. Marini, "The New England Singing School", 250.
35. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 43.
36. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 43.
37. Lyon, James. *Urania, or a Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes* (Philadelphia: 1761).
38. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 39.
39. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 39.
40. Tans'ur, William. *The Royal Melody Complete* (Boston: M'Alpine, for Bayley and Williams, 1767).
41. De Jong, "'Both Pleasure and Profit': William Billings", 109.
42. De Jong, "'Both Pleasure and Profit': William Billings", 110.
43. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 192.
44. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 193.
45. Marini, "The New England Singing School", 251.
46. Marini, "The New England Singing School", 251.
47. Marini, "The New England Singing School", 252.
48. William Billings, *The New-England Psalm-Singer* (Boston, 1770): 19.
49. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 203.
50. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 198.
51. McKay and Crawford, *William Billings of Boston*, 75.
52. William Billings, *The Singing Master's Assistant* (Boston: 1778): 3.

- 53. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 395.
- 54. McKay and Crawford, *William Billings of Boston*, 25.
- 55. Helen Cripe, *Thomas Jefferson and Music* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1974) 46.
- 56. Cripe, *Thomas Jefferson and Music*, 13.
- 57. John Ogasapian, *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 127.
- 58. McKay and Crawford, *William Billings of Boston*, 60.
- 59. Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*, 396.

APPENDIX

I. John Tufts, *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes* (Boston: 1726).



II. Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick* (Boston: 1721)



III. William Billings, *The New England Psalm Singer* (Boston: 1770)

