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## Leonard Marshall and Early American Psalmody

Among the many nineteenth-century American church music composers, few were more active and prolific than Leonard Marshall. Between 1849 and 1884, he compiled twenty-one tunebooks containing over 400 of his own hymn tunes and anthems. Additionally, he published at least twenty-two parlor songs for voice and piano. Yet, one searches almost in vain for even basic information about him in the records of his own time and later. Only John W. Moore's *Dictionary of Musical Information* (1876) and the American Supplement to *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1920) record anything of his activities, and those are just the briefest of mentions. While not a taste-maker in church music like Lowell Mason, or a propagandist for genteel discrimination like Thomas Hastings, Marshall deserves better than the obscurity in which he presently rests. He had virtues as a teacher and musician and as an advocate for early American psalmody that at the least should be recognized and appreciated.

The focus of this article is Marshall's commitment to the music of the American psalmodists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: William Billings, Daniel Read, Oliver Holden, and others. He published over 200 of their pieces in his tunebooks, most in his retrospective tunebook, *The Antiquarian* (1849), but many also in his collections intended for church and singing school use. Unlike most of his colleagues, he did not scorn this music but tried to find a place for it in the contemporary church repertory. Apparently, he found the music useful and attractive, particularly when he had reworked it to regularize the harmony and rhythm to meet the standards of the day.

Leonard Marshall was born on May 3, 1809, in Chelsea, Massachusetts, the eldest son of Elijah and Elizabeth Marshall. We know nothing of his early life and musical training; however, it seems likely that at some time he worked or studied with Lowell Mason. Singing schools were still held regularly in the Boston area in the early nineteenth century, and it seems probable that Marshall attended some of these, stirring an interest in singing and church music. Mason began teaching music in Boston in 1827, and

in 1833 he and George James Webb, an English immigrant musician, founded the Boston Academy of Music, which offered formal instruction in vocal and instrumental music with an emphasis on church music. It seems unlikely that Marshall actually attended the Boston Academy—he would have been 24 in 1833—but stylistically, his musical debt to Lowell Mason is large and distinctly evident.

In 1835, Marshall married Mary Woodward. They had three children, daughters Caroline and Maryanna, and a son, Leonard B. Marshall. The son, born in 1847, followed after a fashion in his father's footsteps, becoming an editor of school music books for the Silver, Burdette Company, and publishing *The Halcyon Song-Book* and *The Silver Song Series* through that firm in the early twentieth century.

An organization to which Marshall almost certainly belonged was the Billings and Holden Society. This association, formed in the early 1830s by "many respectable singers and musicians," was devoted to exploring the music "sung by their mothers and fathers, of which they had heard so much." They sang primarily the music of William Billings and his contemporaries, and published a tunebook—*The Billings and Holden Collection* (1836, with a supplement in 1838)—devoted largely to the music of this earlier era. Leonard Marshall contributed six hymn tunes to this collection, his earliest published pieces, which seem to establish his connection with the society. Participation in The Billings and Holden Society undoubtedly stimulated Marshall's interest in early American psalmody, some of which he may have known from his singing-school days.

During the late 1830s and early forties Marshall was also a member of the more august Handel and Haydn Society, at which he probably sang in performances of such choral masterworks as Handel's *Messiah*, Haydn's *The Creation*, and Mendelssohn's *St. Paul*. In the 1840s, Marshall published several parlor songs through Oliver Ditson, C. Bradlee, and Keith's Music Publishing House. He also contributed forty hymn tunes to Thomas Bissell's tunebook, *Boston Sacred Harmony* (Boston, 1849).

By the 1850s, Marshall was beginning to make a solid reputation for himself. He was the director of music at the Chambers Street Congregational Church, at which he probably played the organ and directed the choirs. He taught singing successfully in Boston, maintained a teaching studio at the Tremont Temple, and supplied a demand for vocal music instruction to classes and individuals. He was a developing presence in American sacred music.

His first tunebook, *The Antiquarian*, published in 1849, was commissioned by C.H. Keith, a Boston music publisher. A retrospective collection, as previously noted, it contained much music from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, along with a few newer pieces by Marshall and some of his colleagues. Three years later *The Harpsichord* (1852), his first "mainstream" tunebook, a collaboration with Henry N. Stone, appeared. In 1856, *The Hosanna* marked the beginning of a succession of church music compilations that continued to be issued for the next two

decades at the rate of one every two or three years. And he published more parlor songs, particularly in the 1870s and 1880s.

At the end of his life, Leonard Marshall could look back over a productive career that had brought him a comfortable living if not fame and fortune. He died in Hudson, New Hampshire—his family's summer home—on July 1, 1890, at the age of eighty-one. His estate was valued after his death at over \$17,000, a sizable sum for a music teacher and church musician of that day.

During the decades surrounding the Revolutionary War, church music in New England broke away from the staid musical style inherited from the Puritan fathers and struck out on new paths of expression. The music became more rhythmic and vital and more concerned with expressing the emotions of the text, with greater emphasis on the products of native composers. A leader in this development was William Billings, whose popular hymn and fusing tunes strongly influenced younger psalmodists, such as Daniel Read, Jacob French, and Oliver Holden. Because American composers had little musical training, they adapted a method of composing that emphasized tuneful melody over standard tonal harmony, combining their melodic strains into four-part choral settings by rules of consonant counterpoint, rather than with orthodox harmonic progressions. Their music did not sound like European music of the day, and, consequently, the composers and their products were looked on with some suspicion and skepticism in educated circles.

In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, a reform movement in church music caused most American pieces to be expunged from tunebooks intended for use in the urbanized areas of the eastern seaboard. Hymn tunes by European composers, some adapted from instrumental music and opera, replaced them, along with newer tunes by Lowell Mason and his younger colleagues written in a similar style. Strong objections had been raised by clergymen, educated laymen, and some younger singing masters to both the techniques and the aesthetics of Federal-era church music. To its critics, this music was artistically coarse and unrefined because it did not follow the harmonic norms of European art music. Others objected to an allegedly irreverent spirit in such popular forms as the fusing tune, a polyphonic type of hymn tune that was a favorite among many church singers of the time. The music of the Billings era was generally ridiculed and its composers derided as bunglers and frauds.

Yet, the older American music did not die out completely. Retrospective collections devoted to this repertory, such as the *Stoughton Collection of Church Music* (1829) and the *Billings and Holden Collection of Ancient Psalmody* (1836), kept some of this music available, and they sold well. A few editors, such as Charles Zeuner in *The Ancient Lyre* (1834), attempted to improve the harmony and rhythm of the old pieces by giving them a new musical dress. However, these collections were aimed at specialized users, and the music in them did not often reach compilations used in the vast majority of churches, assemblies, and singing schools in the 1830s.

The few early American pieces that did survive the purge, such as Daniel Read's WINDHAM, Lewis Edson's LENOX (in defuged form), and Oliver Holden's CORONATION, made only sporadic appearances in mainstream tunebooks, often in special sections labeled "Congregational Music."

Unlike other tunebook compilers who rarely included old American tunes in their mainstream collections, Marshall reprinted many of them in his, revising while altering their settings to make them more agreeable to current musical tastes. He changed harmony, rhythm, melody, meter, and other musical elements to bring them into conformity with users' expectations and the mores of the times. In *The Vestry Melodies* (1873) he defends the reharmonization of old tunes with the statement that "while the melody is unchanged, their scientific construction will not offend the ear or the taste of the educated musician."

In eleven of the tunebooks that Marshall compiled between 1849 and 1878, he printed 206 early American compositions. Of these, 57 were by William Billings, 28 by Oliver Holden, and 17 by Daniel Read—composers who may be characterized as the "Big Three" of early American psalmody. All were very popular in their days, and their music circulated widely, not only in their own tunebooks but also in those of most other compilers. In addition, the music of 38 other composers is found in Marshall's tunebooks but in numbers not approaching those of Billings, Holden, and Read. Jacob Kimball with 8 pieces, John Cole with 7, and Oliver Shaw with 6, head the list of those who follow.

As expected, the great majority of the early tunes (153) are found in *The Antiquarian*, which focused on that repertory. However, a significant number also appear in Marshall's mainstream tunebooks: *The Harpsichord* (1852) has 26, *The Hosanna* (1856), 44, and *The Sacred Star* (1861), 30. After these, the numbers generally fall off over time until by 1877 and 1878 only a handful of early pieces are found.

He published most tunes just once, again often only in *The Antiquarian*, though some pieces saw multiple printings: Lewis Edson's LENOX, for example, appears in eight of Marshall's tunebooks; Oliver Holden's CORONATION and Timothy Swan's CHINA in seven. In all, fifty-seven of the pieces are found in two or more tunebooks, and most of these are not simply reprints from an earlier source. Marshall often reworked the settings, suggesting that these pieces were selected with some thought and purpose, and not as perfunctory repetitions of earlier work.

*The Antiquarian* is Leonard Marshall's major collection of early American psalmody. The publisher, C.H. Keith, apparently provided the motivation for compiling the tunebook and commissioned Marshall to edit it. The circumstances surrounding this relationship are unknown, but the preface to the tunebook makes clear that Marshall acted at Keith's invitation. Marshall must have had some reputation in the area of early American psalmody before undertaking this project, as well as access to a collection of early tunebooks from which to take pieces.

*The Antiquarian* closely resembles the standard tune collections of the

day. Its 311 pages are in an oblong format, approximately nine inches long and five inches tall. The title page is laid out as follows:

The / **A N T I Q U A R I A N**, / A COLLECTION OF THE MOST  
 POPULAR AND USEFUL / **A N C I E N T C H U R C H M U S I C**. /  
 CONTAINING THE GEMS OF / BILLINGS, HOLDEN, KIMBALL, HOLYOKE,  
 READ, SWAN, EDSON, INGALLS, ARNOLD BELKNAP, HOLT, BROWN,  
 KNAPP, BRODERIP, / DR. MADAN, DR. ARNE, MAXIM, LOCKHART,  
 MILGROVE, WILLIAMS, DALMER, SACCHINI, MITCHELL, TANSUR, /  
 GIARDINI, STEPHENSON, SMITH, LUTHER, PLEYEL, WOOD, AND  
 OTHERS. / CALCULATED FOR THE USE OF / **C H O I R S**, **S I N G I N G**  
**S C H O O L S**, **M U S I C A L A S S O C I A T I O N S**, AND  
**C O N G R E G A T I O N A L S I N G I N G**, / CAREFULLY SELECTED AND  
 NEWLY HARMONIZED AND ARRANGED, WITH AN ACCOMPANIMENT  
 FOR THE PIANO FORTE AND ORGAN, / **B Y L E O N A R D M A R S H A L L**,  
 FOR THE PUBLISHER. / [ horizontal line ] / **B O S T O N**: / PUBLISHED BY  
**C. H. KEITH**, COURT STREET, / 1849.

A copyright notice in the name of the publisher appears on the verso of the title page, followed on the next page by brief statements from both the publisher and the editor regarding the purpose of the collection and methods of selection and assembly.

Pages 4 through 25 contain the theoretical introduction, entitled “The Elements of Vocal Music.” The presentation is divided into three parts: “Rhythm,” “Melody,” and “Dynamics.” Part I—Rhythm—consists of chapters I through VIII and discusses the divisions of time, notes and their proportions, and rests. Part II—Melody—consists of chapters IX through XIX and offers an explanation of the staff and scale, clefs, transposition, modulation, and miscellaneous musical symbols. Part III—Dynamics—comprising chapters XX through XXII discusses degrees of loudness, the symbols for indicating loudness, and musical expression in general. Each chapter ends with questions that a teacher can use to review the materials presented in that section and to catechize the students. Most chapters also include musical examples and exercises for students to practice. Following the theoretical introduction is a short “Dictionary of Musical Terms,” which presents a basic vocabulary the student may encounter in the course of using the tunebook.

The music begins on page 27 with a collection of seventy-six tunes in Long Meter (L.M.). The tunes are further arranged by key. Except for the first piece, OLD HUNDRED, in the key of A, the order of keys proceeds from C major and A minor, through G major and E minor, D major, A major, to E major, then from F major and D minor through B-flat major and G minor, ending with E-flat major and C minor. Within each key group no

particular order seems to exist. There are usually two pieces per page. The seventy-four Common Meter (C.M.) tunes begin on page 74 and follow the key arrangement set out in the L.M. tunes. Similarly, twenty-nine Short Meter (S.M.) tunes begin on page 129 with a like sequence of keys. Following the tunes in the standard poetic meters are ninety-six pieces in thirty-six different Particular Meters. Since there are seldom more than a half-dozen tunes in any Particular Meter—often only one or two—no pattern of keys is used here, but the tunes are entered so that those in the same meter appear together. Concluding the musical section are nineteen anthems and set pieces.

Of the 298 pieces in the collection, 168 are by American composers, 103 are by British tunesmiths, and 27 by Europeans other than British. William Billings, with 54 pieces, leads the American group of 37 composers, followed by Oliver Holden with 28, and Daniel Read with 13. Jacob Kimball and Timothy Swan, with 6 pieces each, head the list of those who follow, with no other American composer having more than 3 tunes; most have only 1 or 2. Aaron Williams with 8 tunes, and Isaac Smith with 6, lead the roster of 46 British composers. William Tans'ur and William Arnold follow with 4 each, and the remaining British musicians are represented by only 1 or 2 tunes each. Felice Giardini with 4 tunes and Martin Luther with 3 head a list of 13 continental composers represented in the collection. Of the various types of pieces included, 13 are anthems (9 American, 3 British, and 1 European), 6 are set pieces (3 American, 2 British, and 1 European), 49 are fugal tunes (40 American, 7 British, and 2 European), and 230 are psalm and hymn tunes (117 American, 90 British, and 23 European).

Where did Marshall find the tunes he included in *The Antiquarian*? Many British and European pieces remained popular and were available in a variety of sources dating back to the prior century. Most were reprinted in current tunebooks by such compilers as Lowell Mason, Thomas Hastings, Samuel Dyer, and others. American tunes, on the other hand, were more difficult to come by in the middle of the nineteenth century. As noted earlier, before *The Antiquarian* only two retrospective tunebooks had been published in the previous thirty years: *The Stoughton Collection* (1829; 4th ed. 1831) and *The Billings and Holden Collection* (1836, with a supplement in 1838). Both of these tunebooks presented the music in versions identical or very close to the original publications. It seems likely that Marshall owned copies of or had access to both tunebooks. He included Oliver Holden's MYRTLE, Edward French's HUMILITY, and Nahum Mitchell's PILESGROVE, which were published only in *The Stoughton Collection*. As a member of the Billings and Holden Society, Marshall would almost certainly have had a copy of its collection, particularly since his first hymn tunes were published there. These two collections could have been the sources for 123 of the 168 American tunes.

It also seems likely that Marshall had access to William Billings's *The Singing Master's Assistant* (Boston, 1778). While most tunes by Billings were available in the two retrospective collections, a few were not, and two—

NORTH PROVIDENCE and BOULTON—could only be found in Billings's tune-book. Indeed, most of Billings's pieces in *The Antiquarian* came originally from *The Singing Master's Assistant*. Those that did not were available from other sources, such as various editions of *The Worcester Collection* (eight eds., 1786-1803), Oliver Holden's *The Union Harmony* (three eds., 1793-1803), and *The Village Harmony* (17 eds., 1795-1821—but useful for American pieces only through the 10th ed. of 1810). These are probably among the tune-books that Marshall used to compile the American pieces he printed in *The Antiquarian*.

Marshall's *The Sacred Star* (Boston, 1861) is typical of his tunebooks intended for mainstream Protestant church singers. It contains thirty early American tunes along with a great quantity of music by many other composers, both ancient and modern. Like *The Antiquarian*, it is an oblong end-opener of identical dimensions. Following the title page, preface, and dictionary, the theoretical introduction (pages[4]-25) is virtually identical with that found in *The Antiquarian*. Apparently, Marshall was satisfied with his earlier effort and saw no need to alter it. The music, found on pages 26-380, is presented in essentially the same way as in the earlier tunebook: all tunes in the same meter are gathered together and further arranged by keys in the same order. A general and a metrical index conclude the volume.

Although he failed to attach his name to any of the pieces, most of the melodies in *The Sacred Star* were probably composed by Marshall himself. Several tunes, known from other tunebooks to be by Marshall, are included there without attribution. Anonymous tunes, for which he did not claim authorship, are captioned with the note: "arr. by L.M." The authorial name most often encountered in *The Sacred Star* is that of Charles Zeuner (1795-1857), who had been organist at the Park Street Church in Boston and for the Handel and Haydn Society. Twenty-one tunes, three anthems, and a chant by Zeuner are included in the tunebook. Other Boston musicians named in Marshall's tunebook are Thomas Bissell (six tunes, an anthem, and a chant), S.P. Morse (eight tunes), and Henry N. Stone (Marshall's collaboration in *The Harpsichord* [1852], three tunes). One also finds many tunes attributed to famous European masters such as Mozart, Haydn, Handel, Beethoven, Pleyel, and Mendelssohn.

William Billings, with five pieces, leads the list of nineteen composers found among the thirty early American tunes in *The Sacred Star*, followed by Oliver Holden with four, and Daniel Read with three. Most of the remaining sixteen composers have only a single tune, with Lewis Edson and Timothy Swan having two each. As noted earlier, many of these tunes are similar but not identical to those found in *The Antiquarian*. Marshall had rethought and revised the settings.

Just how did Marshall alter the early American pieces to make them acceptable to the users of his tunebooks? Nearly all aspects of a tune were subject to modification. Most often the harmony was changed, since that was the musical element usually at greatest variance with standard practice. Early American psalmody used an additive method of composition

based on practices passed on to them from the Renaissance by earlier British tunesmiths. Individual melodic lines were joined by the rules of consonant counterpoint into a four-part *a cappella* choral setting. The resulting harmony did not usually conform to the principles that governed tonality.

In early American compositions, the “air” or main melody was normally found in the tenor voice, but this began to change in the early nineteenth century when some composers, following European practice, assigned it to the treble voice, where it has remained to the present day. Marshall placed the air in the treble and reworked the accompanying voices to bring them in line with harmonic implications of the melody.

Next, the musical meter was frequently changed. The psalmists employed a metrical system they called “Moods of Time,” in which the time signature included a suggestion of tempo, or a tactus. By the 1850s this method was long out of date, and time signatures governed only the metrical disposition of the measures with tempo suggested by directive words, such as Allegro, Moderato, Adagio, etc. Marshall frequently changed the original time signatures: e.g., 3/2 time often became 3/4; cut-time sometimes became 4/4; 2/4 time was sometimes changed to 4/4 or 2/2.

The rhythm of the music was occasionally altered in order to bring the often irregular musical phrases of early American psalmody into the two-measure uniformity that was the contemporary norm. For example, in Daniel Read’s WINTER the original note values are not only doubled but some notes are also shortened or lengthened to achieve this regularity. Similarly, in Jacob Kimball’s TUNBRIDGE note values are doubled, with the meter changed from 2/4 to 4/4.

The musical texture was also sometimes modified, most often in pieces that were originally fugging tunes. The fugue was transformed into four-part homophony or into contrasting two-voice antiphonal phrases to eliminate the clash of words caused by the separate entry of the parts. In other cases, parts were added to fill in rests where the original had a solo or duet texture. An example of this procedure is seen in Billings’s STOCKBRIDGE, which paints the Isaac Watts text:

From all who dwell below the skies,  
Let the Creator’s praise arise;  
Let the Redeemer’s name be sung  
Through ev’ry land, by ev’ry tongue.

Billings had set the first line for bass voices alone, the second for tenor and bass, the third for alto and bass, and the fourth for treble and bass, so that the melody line rises successively from phrase to phrase as the text progresses. On the first line, Marshall has all voices sing in octaves; followed by the next three lines set in four-part harmony, negating Billings’s carefully constructed aural imagery. In some pieces, originally in only three parts, a fourth has been composed to make a full four-voiced setting.



The main melody of the work usually retains something like its original form, although it, too, may have metrical and rhythmic alterations. An example of the extent of such alterations is seen in Billings's COLUMBIA. Here the meter has been changed from duple (2/2) to triple time (3/4), with the rhythm regularized into two-measure phrase patterns. This, of course, negates Billings's thoughtfully regulated musical pulse, but it is quite in line with what many mid-nineteenth-century hymn tune composers did in their own pieces. In addition, the harmony has been reworked, with some inverted seventh chords added, and the whole adapted to regular tonal harmony.

**Billings's Original Version** **Columbia**

Not all the pow'rs on earth, Join'd in a league with hell, Can dis-concert our plan, Which  
 [Melody]  
 nothing can ex-cel. Since such a friend In God we find, A-dieu to fears Of ev'-ry kind.

**Marshall's Version** **Columbia** **Wm. Billings**

*Allegro Moderato*

Not all the pow'rs on earth, Join'd in a league with hell, Can dis-concert our plan, Which  
 no-thing can ex-cel. Since such a friend In God we find, A-dieu to fears Of ev'-ry kind.

A second work that shows how Marshall modified the early music is Timothy Swan's CHINA. This was one of the most popular pieces of the late eighteenth century, particularly suited for use at funerals. Here, except for a triplet in the penultimate measure, the melody is unchanged, but the key has been lowered a major third from D major to B-flat major. This transposition is in keeping with practices found in American church music of the mid-nineteenth century, where the melody rarely ranges higher than  $d^2$  or  $e^2$ . The harmony, however, has been thoroughly altered so that

**China**

Swan's Original Version

Why should we mourn de part ing friends, Or shake at death's a larms? 'Tis  
[Melody]

but the voice which Je sus sends To call them to his arms.

**China**

Marshall's Version  
Andantino

Swan

Why do we mourn de part ing friends, Or shake at death's a larms?

'Tis but the voice that Je sus sends To call them to his arms

Swan's rather poignant modal emphasis on the supertonic and submediant triads has been eliminated.

Daniel Read's VICTORY (1785), another extremely popular piece, is a fugging tune, albeit an atypical one. Nonetheless, the brief and minimal textual overlap in mm.11-12 would have been sufficient to mark it for scorn by most compilers. Perhaps the most notable feature of the tune is Read's madrigalistic emphasis in mm.13 and 16 on the word "sound" by suspending briefly the rhythmic flow with unexpected long notes.

**Read's Original Version** **Victory**

Now shall my head be lifted high Above my foes a round, And songs of joy and

[Melody]

vic-to-ry With-in thy temples sound, sound, With-in thy temples sound, With-in thy temples sound.

With-in thy temples sound.

**Marshall's Version** **Victory** **D. Read**

**Allegro**

Now shall my head be lifted high, Above my foes a round; And songs of joy, and

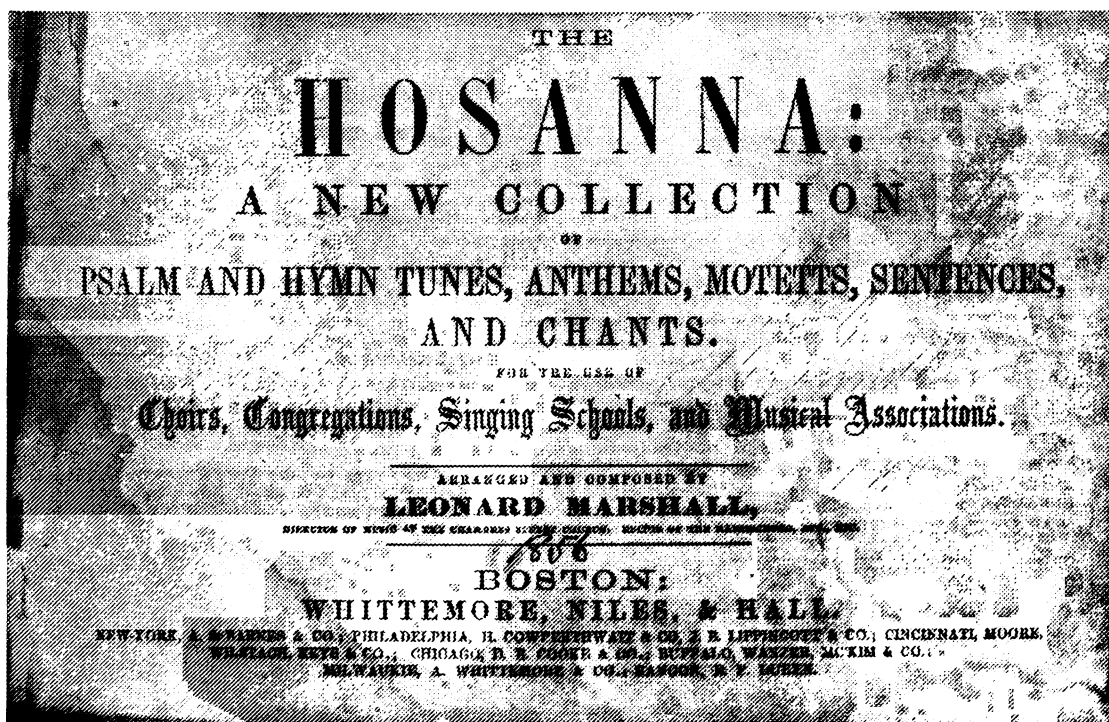
With-in thy temple sound,

vic-to-ry, With-in thy temple sound, With-in thy temple sound.

Soli Tutti

ting eliminates both the fugue and the word-painting. Instead of the fugue, we are given two antiphonal phrases of contrasting vocal timbres. The key has been lowered half a step (although the melody still ranges to a high F#) and the harmony has been altered. One phrase of the melody (mm.14-16) has been omitted in Marshall's setting, perhaps because it anticipates the melodic shape of the cadential gesture.

Marshall was diffident in expressing his feelings about early American psalmody and never made a direct verbal statement concerning it. Yet, there can be little doubt that he was fond of the old tunes, perhaps for their strength, energy, nostalgia, and spiritual associations. In the Preface of *The Hosanna* (1856), he credits the "suggestion of friends" for the inclusion of "several American compositions popular a quarter of a century ago." There is no evidence, however, that the idiosyncratic musical settings of eighteenth-century American psalmodists in any way influenced his own compositions, which are very much in the accepted style of his day. He was a church musician of his own time, bound by its mores, tastes, and social values. But it is to his credit that he saw worth in music that most of his colleagues ignored or derided and tried to preserve some of the better pieces by bringing them into line with current musical practices.



Cover page from Marshall's *The Hosanna*.

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## Notes

1. Alan L. Rich, *Lowell Mason: The Father of Singing Among the Children* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946), 101, lists Leonard Marshall among the associates and pupils of Mason.

2. Nathaniel D. Gould, *Church Music in America* (Boston: A.N. Johnson, 1853), 238-240, lists Gould's singing schools, many of which in the 1820s were in Boston and its environs. There were few opportunities for gaining a musical education in early nineteenth-century New England. By far the most common means was attendance at a singing school, at which the rudiments of musical notation and choral singing were taught. From this beginning, the talented student might seek private instruction from one of the few trained "professors of music" in Boston, like Lowell Mason. This is probably the path that Marshall took to acquire competence in the field.

3. *Ibid.*, 190.

4. No membership records are known to exist for the Billings and Holden Society, and Marshall's association with it is presumed from the appearance of his tunes in the Society's tunebook. Since the tunebook is devoted almost exclusively to older American music, it seems unlikely that the compilers would have included music by a young, unknown composer who was not also a Society member.

5. *History of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston, Massachusetts*, v.1 (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1883-93), 82.

6. In the preface to his tunebook, *The Sacred Star* (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1861), Marshall notes that "for more than a quarter century he has devoted a large portion of his time to practical instruction of classes and Associations, and to the careful study of the wants of American choirs." ([2]) Marshall maintained a residence at 169 W. Newton St. in Boston. The *Boston Almanac* for 1868 gives his address as 12 Tremont Temple. The Tremont Temple was a professional building containing offices and studios.

7. See the Appendix for a bibliography of Marshall's publications.

8. Leonard Marshall's will was probated on December 1, 1890, showing an assessed worth of \$15,865 in real estate and \$1425 in personal effects. (E. George, *Index to the Probate Records of the County of Sussex, Massachusetts* (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, 1895), 1890, Will No. 85215.)

9. For a summary of this style, see *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. "Psalmody" by Richard Crawford, in particular section 3, "Musical Style."

10. For more on the reform movement see Richard Crawford, "'Ancient Music' and the Europeanizing of American Psalmody, 1800-1810," in *A Celebration of American Music* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 225-55.

11. The remarks of Daniel Dana are typical: "One fact is readily admitted. If the musical productions generally prevalent in our country are genuine, those which Europe has admired for ages are worthless: for the two classes possess no single attribute in common. If our American composers have actually discovered and seized the great principles of melody, of harmony, and of the human heart, they have succeeded where Burney, Calcott, Madan, Arne, and Handel have failed. Indeed, we must, on this supposition, pronounce those celebrated authors, mere children and drivellers." (Daniel Dana, *An Address on Sacred Musick*. Exeter: Charles Norris, 1813, 13-14.)

12. Some early American tunes continued to be included in the southern and western shape-note tunebooks, such as *The Missouri Harmony* (1820-48) and *The Sacred Harp* (1844 and many later editions to the present day), but these were local productions and not widely available in New York and New England.

13. The two major compilers of tunebooks between 1830 and 1850, Lowell Mason and Thomas Hastings, included very few early American tunes. An informal survey of

a dozen mainstream tunebooks published in Boston and New York during this period shows few early American pieces, all of which had been severely revised from their original settings. Only Thomas Whittemore's *Songs of Zion* (Boston: The Trumpet Office, 1837), with 26 pieces, contains what may be viewed as a significant number.

14. Leonard Marshall, *The Vestry Melodies* (Boston: Andrew F. Graves, 1873), [3].

15. Other sources were, of course, available, but because of the wide-spread popularity of these series in their day, many copies would probably have been available both in public collections as well as in some private hands.

16. On the title page of *The Sacred Star*, Marshall claims that the music was "arranged and composed" by him. It was not unusual for tunebook compilers to omit their names from their pieces in their collections; many did so before Marshall, dating back into the eighteenth century.

17. Zeuner published a collection of his own tunes, *The American Harp* (1832), and, as noted earlier, *The Ancient Lyre* (1834) contains many early American tunes revised and reharmonized. He was apparently the first to do this systematically.

18. Also included is one hymn tune by Leonard B. Marshall, who is identified as "son of the editor, age 13 years."

19. For a discussion of the contrapuntal style of early American psalmody, see the editor's introduction to *The Complete Works of William Billings*, v.3 (Boston: American Musicological Society and The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, distributed by the University Press of Virginia, 1986), xxxix-xlii.

20. Isaac Watts, Psalm 117. From *The Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New-Testament, and Applied to the Christian State and Worship* (Boston: Peter Edes, 1787), 223.

21. Leonard Marshall, *The Hosanna* (Boston: Whittemore, Niles, & Hall, 1856), [2].

## Appendix The Musical Publications of Leonard Marshall

### Tunebooks & Music Collections

*The Antiquarian: A Collection of the Most Popular and Useful Ancient Church Music.*  
Boston: C.H. Keith, 1849.

Marshall, Leonard and H.N. Stone. *The Harpsichord, or Union Collection of Sacred Music.* Boston: Tappan & Whittemore, 1852.

*The Hosanna.* Boston: Whittemore, Niles, & Hall. 1856.

*The Sacred Star, or Union Collection of Church Music.* Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1861.

*The Clarion.* Boston: Russell & Patee, 1862.

*The Church Organ: A Collection of Music for the Choir, the Home Circle, and the Singing School.* Boston, 1863.

Silloway, Thomas. *Cantica Sacra: an Aid to Devotion.* Music arr. by Leonard Marshall. Boston: Universalist Publishing House, 1865.

*The New Sacred Star, or Union Collection of Church Music.* Boston: O. Ditson, 1865.

*A Collection of Sentences Designed for the Opening and Closing of Public Worship.*  
Boston: the author, 1868. [1858?, LC cataloging says 1868, but the call number includes 1858]

Marshall, Leonard, J.C. Proctor, and Samuel Burnham. *Sabbath Songs for Children's Worship: A New Book of Hymns and Tunes for Sabbath Schools.* Boston, 1869.  
[Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1871?]

*The Fountain of Sacred Song: A Collection of New Church Music.* Boston: White, Smith, & Perry, 1871.

- The Vestry Melodies: A Collection of Hymns and Tunes for Social and Family Worship.* Boston: Andrew F. Graves, 1873.
- Marshall's Anthems: A Collection of Anthems and Sentences, Designed for the Opening and Closing of Public Worship, also for the Use of Conventions.* Boston: White, Smith, & Co., 1874.
- The Harp of Praise: A New Collection of Church Music.* Boston: White, Smith, & Co., 1875.
- The Echo: A Collection of Secular and Sacred Music, for Singing Schools, Day Schools, and Conventions.* Boston, 1877.
- Marshall, Leonard, and D. F. Hodges. *The Dulcet: A New Collection of Church Music.* Boston: White, Smith, & Co., 1878.
- The Song Champion.* Boston: White, Smith, & Co., 1879.
- The Choir Bell: A New Collection of Church Music.* Boston: White, Smith, & Co., 1880.
- The Choir Favorite: A New Collection of Sacred Music for Choirs.* Boston: White, Smith, & Co., 1883.
- Sparkling Diamonds: A Collection of New Music for Sabbath Schools, Gospel Meetings, and the Home Circle.* Boston: White, Smith, and Co., 1884.
- The Power of Praise, A New Collection of Sacred Music, arranged and composed for Male Voices, either quartet or chorus.* [n.p., n.d.]

## Songs

- The Mountaineer: A Song.* Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1845.
- Hurrah for the Swelling Sea.* Boston: C. Bradlee, 1846.
- Carry Me Back Where My Father Lies: Ballad.* Boston: Keith's Music Publishing House, 1847.
- Two Mutual Hearts.* [notice in *Dwight's Journal*, 17:80 (June 2, 1860)].
- Saw Up and Saw Down.* [notice in *Dwight's Journal*, 17:216 (September 29, 1860)].
- I Am Thinking of My Mother.* [notice in *Dwight's Journal*, 18:256 (November 3, 1860)].
- Sleep, Darling, Sleep.* Boston: White, Smith, & Perry, 1870.
- The Welcome Meeting.* Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1878.
- O God, Our Father.* Boston: White, Smith, & Co., 1880.
- Isobel's Soliloquy.* Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1881.
- Cock-a-doodle-doo.* New York: C.H. Ditson, 1881.
- Hear Our Petition.* [notice in *Musical Herald*, v.2, no.6 (September 1881)].
- Longing To Be at Rest.* Boston: White, Smith, & Co., 1881.
- A Sister's Love.* Boston: [?], 1882.
- Angels from the Realms of Glory: Christmas Anthem.* Boston: J.M. Russell, 1882.
- Pigs Are in the Clover.* Boston: White, Smith, 1882.
- Sweet Bonny Mary.* New York: C.H. Ditson, 1883.
- Celestial Choirs.* Boston: J.M. Russell, 1885.
- Don't Forsake Your Father, John.* New York: C.H. Ditson, 1885.
- The Golden Age.* Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1885.
- My Mother's Smile.* New York: C.H. Ditson, 1885.
- Summer Breezes.* New York: C.H. Ditson, 1885.