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## **Samuel Babcock: A New England Psalmist Suspended Between Tradition and Reform**

Samuel Babcock was one of several American composers active during the final decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth. A busy and significant time for American psalmody, this era witnessed the appearance of the native-born composer and saw the repertory of American sacred music grow exponentially. Richard Crawford's studies show that during the years from 1790 to 1810, "approximately five times as many new sacred pieces were printed as had appeared in the previous 90 years,"<sup>1</sup> and almost 60% of these were American in origin.<sup>2</sup>

The 1790s in particular were a time of growing self-awareness and self-criticism for American psalmists. Reform was in the air, but a full-fledged reform movement had not yet gained momentum. Crawford has pointed out that during this decade American psalmists tended to either continue composing

in their native, untutored idiom [while] others—Holyoke, Holden, and Kimball among them—studied European musical techniques and tried to match the florid style of later 18th-century English hymnodists like Martin Madan and Samuel Arnold.<sup>3</sup>

The compositions of many of the major composers active during this period, such as William Billings, Samuel Holyoke, Daniel Read, and Oliver Holden, have been examined.<sup>4</sup> However, these composers were not solely responsible for the substantial growth of the repertory. There were many others—not so active or only locally popular—who remain unstudied. Many of these composers' contributions are also worthy of examination for a variety of reasons. Samuel Babcock is one member of this latter group whose musical style is interesting because it seems to be the result of a mixture of the two styles described by Crawford.

Babcock is known by his eighty-one extant sacred pieces and his tunebook, *Middlesex Harmony*, which was published in two editions (in 1795 and 1803). Babcock's life fits the profile of the typical American psalmist of the period. He was born and lived in New England, he was Protestant, and he probably gleaned his musical training from the singing school. Later he composed, taught singing schools, and even published his own tunebook. What isn't typical about

Babcock, however, is that he used his considerable skill as a composer to write music unlike that of many of his contemporaries. Although he was certainly affected by the music of other American composers, Babcock seems to have been most strongly influenced by the Methodist psalmody, the florid style of Madan and Arnold referred to by Crawford.<sup>5</sup> This study looks at Babcock's life and his musical approach, and attempts to place his contributions in perspective.

That Samuel Babcock resided in Watertown, Massachusetts, during most of his adult years is one of the few established facts of his life. Relatively little else is known. He was married and had five children. He taught singing schools, was a choir leader, and published tunebooks. He probably also worked as a farmer or craftsman as his principal occupation. Obviously, these data provide only a sketch of the man, although histories of Watertown, census records, and Babcock's compositions allow us to paint a more detailed portrait.

Babcock's birth date and place are unknown. Possibly he was not born in Massachusetts. According to Babcock family genealogist Albert Welles, a branch of the family moved to Rhode Island from Massachusetts in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup> Samuel may have descended from this line, since several Samuel Babcocks were born in Rhode Island between 1756 and 1764.<sup>7</sup> Vital records (mainly church and marriage ledgers) and census reports place Babcock in Watertown from 1787 to 1810. He spent the final years of his life in French Mills, Pennsylvania, where he died on 23 November 1813.<sup>8</sup> Judging from the Watertown census reports for 1800 and 1810, Babcock must have been born between 1756 and 1764, and was therefore no older than 57 years of age at his death.<sup>9</sup>

The record of Babcock's marriage to Elizabeth Swift on 20 October 1783 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, is the earliest established vital statistic of his life.<sup>10</sup> His first son, Samuel, was also born in Cambridge on 22 May 1785.<sup>11</sup> Babcock and his young family probably lived in Cambridge for only a few years before making the short move to Watertown. His second child, a daughter named Elizabeth Swift, was born in Watertown on 30 August 1787.<sup>12</sup> Most likely the family moved directly to Watertown between 1785 and 1787.

Babcock's three other children are all recorded as natives of Watertown: Sally born on 12 September 1789, James on 25 April 1792, and Rebecca on 8 November 1794.<sup>13</sup> These three and their older sister Elizabeth Swift were baptized in Watertown on 31 August 1787, 13 September 1789, 3 June 1792, and 16 November 1794, respectively.<sup>14</sup>

According to the 1810 Massachusetts census, Babcock and his family were still residing in Watertown during that year. Marriage and other vital records for Babcock's children indicate that they continued to live in Massachusetts, despite their father's departure at about this time. The daughter Elizabeth Swift married Asa Brigham of Framingham on 8 December 1810.<sup>15</sup> James married Catherine D. Howe of Lunenburg on 23 June 1814.<sup>16</sup> Between 1810 and 1813 Samuel Babcock senior left Watertown headed for French Mills, Pennsylvania.

His motivation for moving to rural Pennsylvania remains a mystery. French Mills, which no longer exists, was located in northeastern Pennsylvania in Bradford County, and Babcock's move may have been stimulated by opportunities to profit from a land sale or simply to acquire an attractive estate on which to retire. The availability of cheap farmable land in the West motivated many migrants in those days.<sup>17</sup>

Whether or not it was a principal motive, Babcock evidently was also escaping the increasingly crowded conditions of Watertown and nearby Boston. As historian Richard Brown explains, more than a few established citizens of Massachusetts seemed eager to depart during this period:

People now left their hometowns readily to pursue careers elsewhere. . . . The development of multiple allegiances that was tied to the dissemination of urban culture permitted individuals to free themselves from local bonds. It served as one of the psychological preconditions for the great nineteenth-century migrations to the cities and to the West.<sup>18</sup>

Watertown, founded on 12 June 1630, was one of the oldest towns in Massachusetts; it was nearly two hundred years old by the time Babcock left. Its stable economy and proximity to Boston would have contributed to the urbanization of the town and its environs.

After the Revolution, Watertown, like other towns, suffered from a depreciated currency. As explained by Drake, this "caused general alarm and embarrassment. A town-meeting, held July 7, 1779, to remedy the evil, adopted fixed prices for labor and all the important articles of traffic."<sup>19</sup> As Robinson and Wheeler point out, "The financial difficulties of the people are reflected in the number of tax abatements allowed."<sup>20</sup> Since most of Watertown's citizens' capital was invested in land, they fared better than many Bostonians, who lost their wealth.

During Babcock's residency in the 1790s, Watertown's major industries were agriculture and fishing. Several Watertown historians have praised the area's fertility.<sup>21</sup> Because of its location on the Charles River, fishing was a second important source of income for the town. According to Maud deLeigh Hodges, Watertown was also enjoying the fruits of increasing industrialization by the turn of the century:

Watertown entered the nineteenth century happy with the new American freedom, its population about two thousand. The people were learning to produce their own goods instead of importing them, with manufacturing and cattle raising being two of the chief occupations. Several men made money, built fine houses, and enjoyed their newfound leisure.<sup>22</sup>

Other signs of urban life also sprang up in Watertown, as well as in nearby Boston. A subscription library (the Union Social Library) was started in 1779.

A Masonic lodge, where Babcock was probably a member, provided a venue for fraternity and civic activism.<sup>23</sup> As Brown states:

Masonry was exclusive as a matter of principle. Poverty was one barrier . . . since the masons served as a mutual insurance society. . . . Lodges resembled contemporary social clubs and the secret fraternities that were appearing at Harvard College, grouping people of similar attitudes and social rank.<sup>24</sup>

Thus the years Babcock spent in Watertown were ones of recovery, even prosperity, and increasing urbanization.

Babcock's involvement in the Watertown community is frequently confirmed in the *Watertown Records*. For example, he was named to a committee responsible for erecting a singers' pew in 1793, he served as a grand juror for the town in 1794-95, and he was paid for teaching singing schools there in 1798 and 1804.<sup>25</sup> Babcock also acted as choir leader at the Congregational Church, Watertown's largest and most important church. In her history of Watertown, Hodges recalls "a memorial service with special music composed by Mr. Babcock, the choir leader," on the occasion of George Washington's death in December, 1799.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to his musical duties in Watertown, Babcock may also have been active as an itinerant singing master. Although there is no conclusive evidence of his teaching singing schools in surrounding communities, Babcock does fit several of the elements of Nym Cooke's profile of such a figure.<sup>27</sup> It is likely that Babcock was born in a small or medium-sized town in Massachusetts or Rhode Island. He settled in a smaller town rather than a large urban center and was a Congregationalist, married with children. He was neither a printer nor engraver, although he did publish a tunebook. Moreover, Cooke has suggested that itinerant singing masters may have named their tunes after the towns in which they taught.<sup>28</sup> An examination of Babcock's tune titles shows that over twenty share their name with towns close enough to Watertown to have been possible singing school sites for him. In addition to his earnings from teaching singing schools and publishing tunebooks, Babcock probably had another, main source of income. As suggested earlier, farming is a likely possibility, and one that would have allowed him enough time for his musical pursuits and civic duties.

Whatever his occupation in addition to music, Babcock seems to have been solvent. He had sufficient means to subscribe to Holyoke's *Columbian Repository*, and he purchased no fewer than six copies of Belknap's *Evangelical Harmony*. Since tunebooks were not extraordinarily inexpensive, purchasing six copies of *Evangelical Harmony* (more than enough for personal use, but not sufficient to supply an entire singing-school) would seem to indicate Babcock's relative prosperity as well as his devotion to music. His possible membership as a Mason also suggests high community standing and secure status as either a landowner or craftsman.

Babcock published two editions of his tunebook, *Middlesex Harmony*, which included only his own compositions. The first edition was published in Boston by Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer Andrews in December 1795. In his preface, Babcock spelled out his motivation for publishing this collection:

Copies from the following Work having frequently been taken, and by passing through different hands doubtless become erroneous, the Author, therefore, after much solicitation, relying on the candour and generosity of the Public, is induced to let the following Pieces appear in print. And although he is conscious of their imperfection, he still enjoys this consolation, that gentlemen whose musical abilities, as well as every other advantage, have been vastly superiour to his, will not severely censure even what they cannot applaud. He thought it unnecessary, in so small a work, to add the Introduction, especially when the market is furnished with so great a variety of music books, almost all of which have the Introduction inserted. That the Work may prove beneficial to his fellow men, and instrumental of promoting the glory and praise of that infinitely exalted Being, whose name we celebrate, is the devout wish of The Author.<sup>29</sup>

Since Babcock had probably been composing for some time when his first published tune appeared in Law's *Select Harmony* (1779), it is likely that his pieces had been circulating in manuscript for over fifteen years.<sup>30</sup> Thus his concern about the accurate transmission of his pieces which "by passing through different hands doubtless [have] become erroneous" was probably justified.

In addition to promoting his music in its correct form, Babcock may also have been targeting an audience similar to the one Holden intended for his *Plain Psalmody, or, Supplementary Music* (1800). Like the first edition of *Middlesex Harmony*, *Plain Psalmody* did not include an introductory section on the rudiments of singing, a somewhat unusual omission. Also, both tunebooks were compiled with the intent of presenting new, or mostly new, music. Holden composed most of the new pieces in *Plain Psalmody*, and Babcock included only his own compositions in *Middlesex Harmony*. Holden explained his purpose for *Plain Psalmody* in his "Advertisement":

Performers are unwilling to throw aside their books and purchase a new edition merely to obtain a few *new tunes*. The "Supplementary Music" contains *many* new tunes adapted to the various metres, in Watts, Tate and Brady, Rippon, Belknap, &c. and is intended as a *Supplement* to the larger singing books which are or may be circulating through the country.<sup>31</sup>

With respect to their intended use, however, the similarity ends. The statement "For the use of worshipping societies and singing schools" appears on the title page of *Plain Psalmody*. But in the preface to the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony*, Babcock explained that his first edition had not been intended for singing school use, "being published without the rules, and

consisting chiefly of music not calculated for that purpose.”<sup>32</sup> Who was the intended audience for *Middlesex Harmony*?

Babcock’s choice of the term “gentlemen” and his reference to those with “advantage” is unusual. Use of status-laden language and reference to socio-economic class is not present in the typical tune book introduction compiled by an individual. Interestingly, such language is present in the prefaces to two reform collections, the *Worcester Collection* (1786) and the *Village Harmony* (1795).<sup>33</sup> In each, a society of “gentlemen” compilers is credited for their creation. Perhaps Babcock used this language because he wished to be accepted by the gentry or hoped to rise in polite society. Up until about 1830, the Boston elite was open to those who gained wealth, were highly educated or attained literary achievement.<sup>34</sup> Whether or not Babcock aspired to the rank and company of gentlemen rather than craftsmen, as psalmodists were considered, the connection between the upper class and musical reform is notable. As Crawford has pointed out, “During the 1790s, an advocacy of European psalmody came to be seen in some American quarters as a means, in Hitchcock’s phrase, of ‘cultural improvement’—a way of rising above one’s hereditary station.”<sup>35</sup> One of the styles of European music that the reformers/gentry singled out as a worthy model for American psalmodists during this time was the Methodist style of psalmody, which will be discussed in more detail below.<sup>36</sup>

*Middlesex Harmony* contains twenty-six pieces, a sizable majority of them for three voices.<sup>37</sup> The most frequently occurring form is the psalm tune with extension; all but one are in three parts.<sup>38</sup> In addition, the collection includes four plain psalm tunes (all set for three voices), three anthems (one for three and two for four voices), five set-pieces (four for three and one for four voices), and one fugal tune (scored for four voices). Babcock’s predilection for the extended psalm tune and three-part textures is clear.

Babcock’s preference for music in three parts ran significantly against the grain. The norm for four-part music was such that during this period some compilers went so far as to add a fourth part to pieces originally composed for three voices.<sup>39</sup> The *Worcester Collection* (1791) preface states, “In order to accommodate the singers of each part of sacred musick, in several instances where a fourth part has been wanting, the Editor has had the deficiency supplied by skillful persons.”<sup>40</sup>

Babcock chose to compose in a style that at least some of his contemporaries considered “deficient.” The only other American psalmodist of the period who also composed a significant number of tunes for three voices was Samuel Holyoke.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps these two composers shared a similar view of psalmody, one influenced by the Methodist style, which used three parts predominantly, and which can be understood as progressive (a point more fully explained below).

Babcock’s second edition of *Middlesex Harmony* was published in 1803, again printed in Boston by Thomas and Andrews. By stating in the preface to the second edition that the first was not intended for singing schools, Babcock

implies that the second edition was compiled with this purpose in mind. The inclusion of the rudiments section in the second edition also supports such a conclusion. In his introduction, Babcock acknowledged the kind reception his first edition had received and, hence, his motivation to make a new, expanded one:

He [Babcock] has now published a concise Introduction, together with a great variety of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, suited to the various metres now in general use. He has not consulted his own inclination entirely in introducing futing music into pieces intended for public worship: But as it has been the general practice, wherever he has given in to it, he has endeavored to preserve the sense of the lines entire, so as not to 'make a jargon of words.'<sup>42</sup>

Here the link to Samuel Holyoke is made explicit, since Babcock's reference to futing tunes making "a jargon of words" echoes the preface to Holyoke's *Harmonia Americana* (1791):

Perhaps some may be disappointed, that futing pieces are in general omitted. But the principal reason why few were inserted was the trifling effect produced by that sort of music; for the parts, falling in, one after another, conveying a different idea, confound the sense, and render the performance a mere jargon of words.<sup>43</sup>

Babcock's rhetoric in defense of futing via this quotation from the introduction to *Harmonia Americana* demonstrates that he was in all probability familiar with Holyoke's tunebooks as well as the wider discussion of the day with respect to the appropriateness of futing music.

Babcock's "Introduction to the Art of Singing" is typical in length and content. It consists of nine pages covering the gamut, clefs, rules to find "mi," notes and rests, musical characters, time, and musical terms. The second edition includes all but one of the pieces from the first, along with forty-one new compositions. Most of the first printings (73%) are for three voices, but these represent a slightly lower percentage than in the first edition (81%). As in the first edition, the tune with extension is Babcock's preferred form, represented by sixteen examples. There is one anthem for four voices. The remainder of the new pieces consist of ten plain psalm tunes, eight set-pieces, and six futing tunes.<sup>44</sup> The new pieces included in the second edition may be viewed as supplementary to those of the first, since they do not deviate radically in any stylistic respect and are distributed among the tune types in proportions roughly equal to the first edition.

Questions remain about who bore the financial burden of publishing the two editions of *Middlesex Harmony*. There is no evidence that they were published by subscription. It is unlikely that Thomas and Andrews subsidized Babcock's tunebooks. As Crawford and McKay state in *William Billings of Boston*:

though they [Thomas and Andrews] did bring out a number of collections by relative unknowns, they were not given to taking chances; there are indications that tunebooks by the likes of Babcock, Belcher, Belknap, Holyoke, Kimball, and even Holden were either paid for by the compiler, or costs were defrayed by subscription.<sup>45</sup>

Regardless of their own investment, Thomas and Andrews promoted the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony* by including it in an advertisement on the final page of the eighth edition of the *Worcester Collection*.

Eighty-one extant compositions by Babcock survive.<sup>46</sup> As mentioned above, Babcock's first tune, if authentic, was published in Andrew Law's *Select Harmony* (1779). All twenty-six pieces in the first edition of *Middlesex Harmony* (1795) were first printings; forty-one of those in the second edition (1803) were first printings. The remaining thirteen pieces were first published in six tunebooks compiled by others: Oliver Holden's *Union Harmony* (1st edition, 1793); Joseph Stone's *Columbian Harmony* (1793); Daniel Belknap's *Evangelical Harmony* (1800); the seventh edition of the *Worcester Collection* (1800); Belknap's *Village Compilation* (1806); and Abijah Forbush's *Psalmody's Assistant* (2nd edition, 1806). Five of the thirteen pieces were first printed in *Columbian Harmony*, three from *Evangelical Harmony*, two from *Worcester Collection*, and one each were first published in the other three tunebooks.<sup>47</sup> Babcock's relationships with some of the compilers of these tunebooks will be discussed below.

This article began with a reference to two distinct musical styles: the native or traditional style and the Methodist (and more recent European) style of Madan and Arnold, and with the suggestion that Babcock consciously chose to combine elements of the two in his music. Before considering the details of Babcock's musical synthesis, a description of the two styles alluded to in the introduction is in order. Two tunes identified by Crawford as part of the "core repertory" will be used to illustrate the differences: Daniel Read's WINDHAM and Martin Madan's DENMARK. Both were most popular during the period Crawford identifies as "Stage 3: 1791-1810," the period of Babcock's greatest activity.<sup>48</sup>

The native/traditional style was based on English parish psalmody. Typically in four parts with the melody or "air" in the tenor, these tunes were composed by an additive process of combining parts using the rules of consonant counterpoint. As a result of this combination of lines, incomplete triads and open perfect intervals are common, as are parallel perfect intervals. Dissonant clashes sometimes crop up. The style is not bound by harmonic direction or motion towards harmonic goals. The texts come chiefly from Watts and most typically use Short Meter, Common Meter, Long Meter, Hallelujah Meter, and various Particular Meters.<sup>49</sup> The melodic style is often described as "folklike" or modal. Typical musical meters are 2/2 and 3/2. Daniel Read's WINDHAM represents a good example of this type (see Figure 1). This plain tune in duple

time (2/2) and minor mode provides a setting of a dactylic text by Watts in Long Meter. Although first printed in 1785, Crawford has suggested that the tune may have been composed as early as 1775.<sup>50</sup>

The musical score is presented in four systems, each consisting of a treble and bass staff joined by a brace. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat), and the time signature is 2/2. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across measures. The first system ends with a long horizontal line, and the second system ends with a semicolon. The fourth system ends with a double bar line.

Broad is the road that leads to death, ———

— And thou - sands walk to ge ther there; ———

— But wis dom shows a nar row path, ———

— With here and there — a — tra vel er.

Figure 1. Daniel Read, "Windham," *The American Singing Book*, 4th ed. (New Haven, CT: printed for the author, [1793]), 55.

The Methodist style, one of the styles advocated by musical reformers beginning in the 1790s, differs significantly from the traditional style. It typically consists of three parts with the melody on top and the two treble voices moving predominantly at intervals of thirds and sixths. The melodic lines are frequently florid and often highly ornamented. The bass part appears to be instrumentally conceived, containing large leaps and numerous repeated notes, in effect a close copy of the characteristic Italian trio sonata texture of the seventeenth century. Influenced by Italian opera and dance music, the style is not unlike more secular forms of the time. The musical language uses common practice European-style harmonies; the parts are composed together. Open intervals are rare except at final cadences. Common musical meters include 2/4, 3/4 or 4/4, and the tempi are typically on the fast side. The texts set tend to be trochaic with lines of uneven numbers of syllables.<sup>51</sup> Weak phrase endings are common. Major mode predominates. Repetition of text, music, or both is common. Martin Madan's DENMARK illustrates this style (see mm. 22-41 of the tune in Figure 2). This set piece, which was printed ninety-three times, first appeared in America in Law's *Select Harmony* (1781). A major mode tune in three parts, it sets a Wesley paraphrase of Watts Psalm 100 in Long Meter. The contour of the top voice typifies the highly ornamented melodies associated with the style. The following discussion of Babcock's musical style will point out the presence of elements common to both traditional psalmody and Methodist psalmody as well as some characteristics rare in both.

Besides preferring the extended psalm tune, or psalm tune with extension, to the plain psalm tune, and favoring three-part settings, Babcock generally used an ABB form and tended towards duple meters, particularly 2/4. By the time of the second edition of the *Middlesex Harmony*, he was composing all of his extended psalm tunes in an ABB form and duple meter.

Harmonically, these psalm tunes are comparable to others of the period, with a few notable exceptions. Like many of his contemporaries, Babcock's counterpoint is often characterized by parallel perfect fifths and octaves and incomplete triads at cadence points. However, unlike many psalmodists, Babcock typically wrote bass lines that were instrumental in style, filled with large leaps and repeated notes. Evidently he was striving to compose in a common practice, thoroughbass-influenced style, as opposed to a linear, additive one. Babcock's counterpoint is often characterized by parallel thirds or sixths between the tenor and treble. While some of the earlier pieces utilize imitative counterpoint, most of the later extended tunes shun imitation, and rely instead upon sectional solos, duets, and trios to create textural variety.

Most of Babcock's melodies are conjunct; many are scalar or triadic. The later melodies are often less florid than their earlier counterparts, displaying much less sixteenth-note motion and fewer ornaments. Babcock's later melodies in MORNING HYMN, NATIVITY, and EPHRATAH are much "catchier" but less figural and less rhythmically complex than his earlier attempts.

His sov' reign pow'r— with out— our aid, —

Made us of clay and formed— us men, And when— like

wan d'ring sheep— we stray'd, He brought us— to— his

fold— a gain, He— brought us— to— his fold— a gain.

Figure 2. Martin Madan, "Denmark," in Oliver Holden, *The Union Harmony*, vol. II (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1793), 77-80, mm. 22-41.

Rhythmically, the use of syncopated rhythms or hemiola is not uncommon in general. Breaks and rests between lines and sections are introduced frequently, despite the problems they may have caused for congregational singers.

Babcock strove for textual variety. While most texts are in Common Meter, examples in Long Meter, Short Meter, Hallelujah Meter, and a variety of Methodist and Anglican Particular Meters are also represented. Babcock's tendency towards variety in the use of meter increased in his later psalm tunes.

Babcock's plain psalm tune settings are similar to the extended psalm tunes in many ways. Among the eighteen he composed, Babcock chose three-voice settings twice as often as four voice settings. Again, we see the attempt to set a variety of text meters, including four Methodist meters. Here too, the same standardization of formal design and compositional preferences are found in the later works; Babcock again chose ABB form and duple meter, as well as instrumental-style bass lines.<sup>52</sup>

Harmonically, the plain tunes are also similar.<sup>53</sup> The use of parallel thirds and sixths between the upper voices is also present, as well as the common Methodist cadence pattern of I6/4-V-I.<sup>54</sup> The four-voice plain psalm tunes display a greater use of textural variety as well as a higher percentage of triadic melody lines and ornamentation than do the tunes with extension. Despite the growing movement against fusing music, Babcock published seven new fusing tunes after 1800 (he had only published one before that date).<sup>55</sup> All eight have integrated fusing sections, as opposed to detachable fusing choruses. All are in 2/2, with a variety of metrical texts represented. Six are set for three voices, while one is set for four voices.

As with the extended and plain tunes discussed above, Babcock employed a formulaic approach to the fusing tune. The fusing sections range from four to eight measures to present one to three lines of text. The invariable order of imitative entries is bass, followed by tenor, then treble for the three-voice pieces. In the four-voice tune, the order of entries is bass, tenor, treble, and counter. Babcock also uses the same means to bring the voices back together in all but one of the tunes. Typically, he prolongs the bass's final note for two measures or longer, while the tenor reaches its final pitch one measure after the bass and holds until the treble catches up. The imitative motive is usually both rhythmic and tonal, but is sometimes only rhythmic. Two tunes, ELEVATION and LUBEC, have canons at the octave in all three voices. In GRATITUDE and PALMER, only two of the voices participate in canon at the octave.

Babcock's thirteen set-pieces and four anthems are musically similar to each other as well as to the psalm tunes described above,<sup>56</sup> including an increasing similarity among the later compositions.<sup>57</sup> The set-pieces and anthems use frequent ornamentation, changes in texture, changes of meter, internal sectional repeats, chromaticism, marks of distinction<sup>58</sup>, and syncopated rhythms. Babcock also repeats words, phrases, and lines of text more freely than in the other forms.

Babcock paid careful attention to descriptive text setting. In his article on

word painting in the music of William Billings, Karl Kroeger has pointed out that, “Overt word painting of the text . . . is rare in Anglo-American psalm tunes of the eighteenth century,” although word painting is more commonly found in anthems, set pieces, and fusing tunes.<sup>59</sup> Babcock employed each of the five word painting devices that Kroeger found in Billings’ music, although his use of these devices is often quite subtle and unobtrusive.<sup>60</sup> Babcock’s use of word painting increased in his later compositions.

In the psalm tunes, Babcock used melodic direction, onomatopoeia, pace and tempo, and texture to better convey the meaning of the text being set. For example, in CHRISTMAS Babcock used onomatopoeia for the word “Shout” in the first measure of the tune by setting off a held chord with rests. “Hail” at the beginning of the second line is treated similarly. Changes of pace and tempo illustrate the text “To bleed and die for thee. ’Tis done, ’tis done, the precious ransom’s paid” in RESIGNATION (see Figure 3), with the slower tempo and note values representing Jesus’ death on the cross and the livelier tempo and quicker notes celebrating salvation.

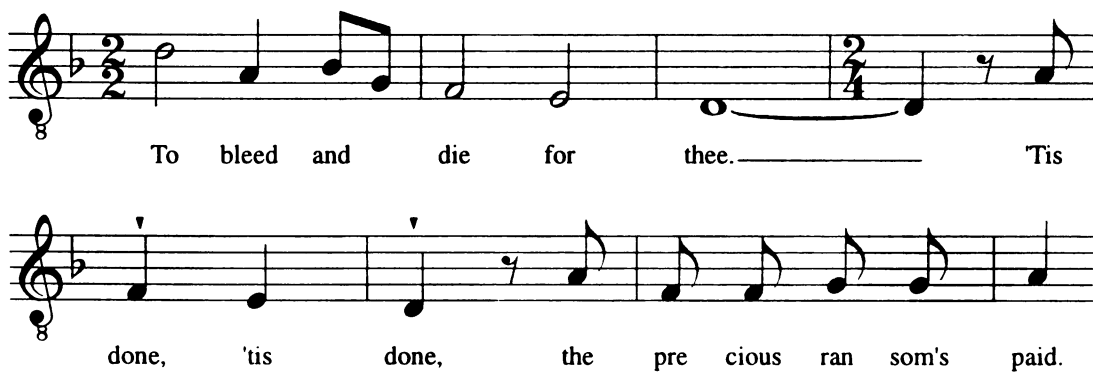


Figure 3. "Resignation," *MH2*, 13-14, mm. 10-17, tenor only.

Babcock painted the texts in MENOTOMY and NORFOLK via use of texture. In the second verse of MENOTOMY, dynamics and texture combine to relate the meaning of the text (see Figure 4). A treble solo, marked “piano,” is enough for “weak and languishing” “mortals.” Then three voices re-enter “forte” to express “warm affections” and “grateful love.”



*Forte*

low; Then let our warm af fec tions

move In glad re turns of grate ful love.

Figure 4. "Menotomy," *MH2*, 105, mm. 18-33.

A similar effect is created in the four-voice extended psalm tune NORFOLK. Here a piano duet between treble and tenor on the text “Awake, my voice, in heav’nly lays,” is followed by a four-part shout, “Tell the loud wonders he hath done,” reinforced with the instruction “forte.”

In ELIM, Babcock used a combination of melodic direction and tessitura to illustrate the text “For his blessings far extend.” At the beginning of this phrase, the voices are in close position, and the treble “extends” upward while the bass’ descent “knows no end” (see Figure 5). At the widest point, the treble and bass are separated by two octaves and a fifth.

For his bless ings far ex tend,

Figure 5. "Elim," *MH2*, 58, mm. 9-12.

In *QUINCY*, onomatopoeia is used to emulate the sound of a trumpet call for the text “The trumpet sounds;” all parts “sound” like a bugle call.

One of Babcock’s most obvious uses of melodic direction is present in the fusing tune *ELEVATION*. All three voices enter with imitative entries portraying the heavenly location of “Celestial grace.” (The tenor and treble entries are precisely canonic.) The triadic motive rises through three octaves (see Figure 6).

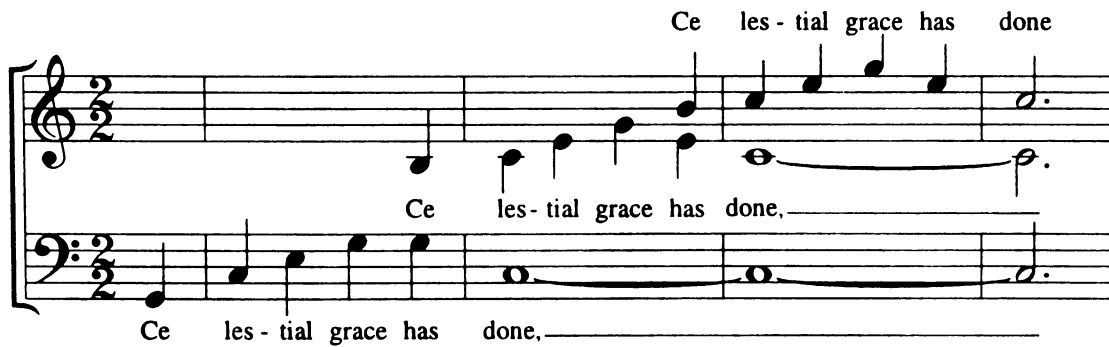


Figure 6. "Elevation," *MH2*, 96, mm. 8-11, fugal entries.

As one would expect in set-pieces and anthems, word painting is even more clearly present than in the psalm tunes. The three voices of *CONSECRATION* each display different types of melodic activity; the tenor and treble consistently move in opposite directions while the bass repeats the same pitch, suggesting the “sweet variety” of linear directions (see Figure 7).



Figure 7. "Consecration," *MH2*, 106, mm. 21-24.

Changes of pace, meter, and tempo are combined in *CAMBRIDGE* to illustrate the text “To endless ages shall endure” (see Figure 8). The beginning of the line is clipping along in a brisk 3/8, at the words “shall endure,” however, the tempo is marked “slow,” the meter changes to 6/8, and the note values lengthen.

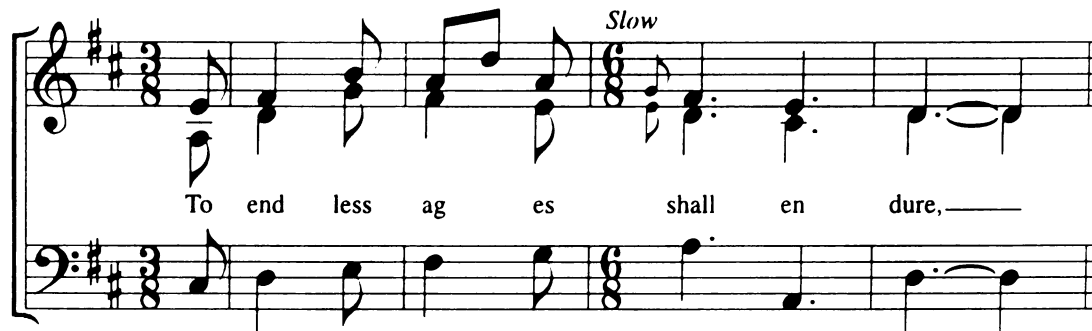


Figure 8. "Cambridge," *MH2*, 63-65, mm. 93-96.

The changes of mode and tempo in *SMYRNA* reflect the changing emotions of the text. The piece opens in D major with the text "Now let my Lord, my saviour, smile." The tempo slows and the mode changes to minor for the text "But O! it swells my sorrows high" and then returns to a lively D major section for the final "Yet why, my soul, Why these complaints? . . . Still on his heart he bears his saints, And feels their sorrows and his love." The embellishment matched fittingly to the word "hallelujah," a melisma in the anthem "O Come Let Us Sing Unto the Lord," provides one final example of Babcock's use of the technique (see Figure 9).



Figure 9. Anthem, "O Come Let Us Sing," *MH2*, 36-41, mm. 126-130, tenor only.

This brief discussion of Babcock's composition begs the question of influence. Evidently he had connections with a number of important figures of the time. If *SPRINGFIELD* is authentic, Andrew Law was the first to publish a psalm tune by a young and unknown Babcock in 1779. Crawford has suggested that Law purchased *SPRINGFIELD* directly from the composer.<sup>61</sup> What was the nature of the relationship between the two? If Babcock was a Rhode Island native, as has been suggested, perhaps he was in or near Providence in the 1770s and studied in one of Law's singing schools. This would certainly explain Babcock's exposure to music in the Methodist style, since Law included several pieces from the *Lock Hospital Collection* in editions of *Select Harmony* published after 1782.

As noted above, Babcock quoted Samuel Holyoke's preface to *Harmonia Americana* (1791) in the second edition of the *Middlesex Harmony* (1803), but Babcock may have been influenced by more than just Holyoke's preface. As mentioned above, *Harmonia Americana*, like *Middlesex Harmony*, included mostly three-voice settings. Like Holyoke, Babcock included only his own compositions in his tunebook. Even more compelling, however, are the musical style similarities of tunes in which both composers set the same text.

In Holyoke's HAGUE (from *Harmonia Americana*, 1791) and Babcock's DISSOLUTION (from *Middlesex Harmony*, 1795) both composers set the text ("Stoop down, my thoughts") by Watts in a three part setting with quarter note declamation. Both set two verses of the text, both chose a minor key, and both set the opening melody in the tenor in similar contours (see Figures 10a and 10b).

Two other tunes from these two tunebooks further suggest that one knew the other's work. Holyoke and Babcock each set the DOXOLOGY in plain tune settings with major keys. While Holyoke's is a four-voice setting and Babcock's is in three parts, some similarities are noteworthy. Not only do both composers approach the dominant in a similar fashion (see mm. 6-7 of each), but their settings of the text "be honor and glory" also show a resemblance (see Figures 11a and 11b).<sup>62</sup> These similarities strongly indicate the possibility that Babcock's style was indebted to Holyoke's.

Babcock himself may have influenced other psalmodists in turn. For example, the first edition of *Middlesex Harmony* (1795) could have inspired others to create independent tunebooks without introductions. One example is Holden's *Plain Psalmody* (1800). Like Babcock, Holden not only omitted the rudiments section, but also compiled a tunebook in which almost all of the pieces included were new, and most composed by the compiler.

Also, as asserted earlier, Babcock's pieces reflect a familiarity with the stock style features of Methodist psalmody. He may have been exposed to this music via Holyoke, "the American Madan," or perhaps he knew the music itself, from either the *Lock Hospital Collection* or *Harmonia Sacra*, volumes readily available in New England.<sup>63</sup> Babcock's settings for three voices display more of the features of the Methodist style in American psalmody than do his four-voice settings. The former are characterized by faster tempi and time signatures (typically 2/4, 3/4, and 3/8) as well as faster note values, such as sixteenth notes. A greater percentage of the texts set for three voices are in Methodist meters. Also, these pieces show a greater use of melodic ornamentation, marks of distinction, and rhythmic techniques such as syncopation and hemiola. Many of the three-voice settings are treble dominated. They also demonstrate triadic melodies and more use of the final cadence pattern I6/4-V-I than in the works for four voices. Elements of both the Methodist style and the more traditional style are apparent in POMFRET, for example (see Figure 12). POMFRET is a three-voice plain tune setting of one verse of a Long Meter text. The air is in the

Stoop down, my thoughts that used to

The first system of musical notation for the song 'Hague' by Samuel Holyoke. It consists of a treble and bass staff in 2/2 time, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics 'Stoop down, my thoughts that used to' are written below the treble staff. The melody begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note B-flat, and continues with quarter notes D, E, F, G, A, and B-flat.

rise, Con verse a while with death,

The second system of musical notation. The lyrics 'rise, Con verse a while with death,' are written below the treble staff. The melody continues with a half note B-flat, followed by quarter notes A, G, F, E, D, and C. The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with whole and half notes.

Think how a gasp ing mor tal lies,

The third system of musical notation. The lyrics 'Think how a gasp ing mor tal lies,' are written below the treble staff. The melody continues with a half note B-flat, followed by quarter notes A, G, F, E, D, and C. The bass staff continues with whole and half notes.

And pants a way his breath.

The fourth system of musical notation. The lyrics 'And pants a way his breath.' are written below the treble staff. The melody continues with a half note B-flat, followed by quarter notes A, G, F, E, D, and C. The bass staff continues with whole and half notes, ending with a double bar line.

Figure 10a. Samuel Holyoke, "Hague," *Harmonia Americana* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1791), 80.

Stoop down my thoughts that used to rise,— Con - verse a while with

death,— Think how a gasp - ing mor - tal lies, And pants— a - way his

breath,— And— pants— a way his breath. His

quiv' ring lips hang— feeb ly down, His

Figure 10b. Babcock, "Dissolution." *MH*, 5-6.

pulse are faint and few, Then speech less

*Forte* *Piano*

with a dole ful groan, He bids this

world a dieu, He bids this

1 2

world a dieu, dieu.

Figure 10b. Babcock, "Dissolution," cont'd.

Now un to the King e ter nal, im

mor tal, in vis i ble, the on ly wise

God, be hon - or and glo ry. through

Je sus Christ for ev er and ev er. A men.

The musical score is written for voice and piano in 4/4 time, key of B-flat major. It consists of four systems of music. Each system has a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (bass clef). The lyrics are: 'Now un to the King e ter nal, im', 'mor tal, in vis i ble, the on ly wise', 'God, be hon - or and glo ry. through', and 'Je sus Christ for ev er and ev er. A men.' The piano part provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines in the bass.

Figure 11a. Samuel Holyoke, "Doxology." *Harmonia Americana* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1791), 102.

*Slow*

Now un to the King e ter nal, im mor - tal, in -

vis - i - ble, the on ly wise God, — be

glo - ry, and hon or through Je sus Christ for

ev er and ev er — a men, — men.

Figure 11b. Babcock, "Doxology," *MH*, 55.

treble and the bass is instrumental in style. Although the meter is 2/2 rather than the more typically Methodist 2/4, the rhythmic motion is mostly in eighth notes peppered with a few sixteenth notes, thirty-second notes, and sixteenth-note triplets. This tune is typical of Babcock.

Let ev - er - last ing glo ries — crown, Thy

head, my — Sav ior and — my Lord, Thy hands have brought sal

va tion — down, And  $\frac{3}{3}$  writ the bless ings in thy word.

writ the bless - ings

Figure 12. Babcock, "Pomfret," *MH*, 31.

Regardless of the influences upon him, two of Babcock's pieces are very unusual, and deserve special note. NEEDHAM exemplifies an atypical three-part tune with extension (see Figure 13). Most striking is that Babcock's setting of this Particular Meter text (10.11.10.11.) alternates between two textures. The first and third lines are homophonic, while the second and fourth lines are set in imitative counterpoint first and then repeated in a homophonic setting.

Slow

O tell me no more of this world's vain store, The time for such

such tri - fles,

tri - fles, The time for such tri fles with

such tri - fles,

me now is o'er. A coun - try I've found where

To dwell I'm de-ter-mined,

true joys a-bound, To dwell I'm de-ter-mined,

To

on that hap-py ground, To dwell I'm de-ter-mined on

dwell I'm de-ter-mined,

Figure 13. Babcock, "Needham," *MH*, 28.

Figure 13 shows a musical score for two systems. The first system is marked with a '1' and the second with a '2'. The lyrics are 'that hap py ground, that hap py ground.' The music is written in a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is simple, with the words 'that hap py ground' repeated. The second system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Figure 13. Babcock, "Needham," cont'd.

CALEDONIA is probably the most unusual set piece Babcock composed, due to both its text and setting (see Figure 14). This 7.7.7.7. Particular Meter text by John Newton is rare; no other setting of this poem has been identified. Babcock's unique setting includes a quasi-ostinato use of the bass for the text "I will praise thee."

Figure 14 shows a musical score for three systems. The music is written in a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is simple, with the words 'I will praise thee' repeated. The second system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The third system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Figure 14. Babcock, "Caledonia," *MH*, 29-31.

day, Now thine an ger's turn'd a  
praise thee,  
way, ev' ry day, I will praise thee  
I will praise thee ev' ry day.  
ev' ry day. Com fort  
a ble thoughts a rise, From the bleed - ing

Figure 14. Babcock, "Caledonia," cont'd.

sac ri fice, Ev' ry day I will—

praise thee ev' ry— day, I will praise thee ev' ry—

day, Now thine an ger's turn'd— a way, ev' ry

I will praise thee

day, I will— praise thee ev' ry— day.

Figure 14. Babcock, "Caledonia," cont'd.

The present study represents a first attempt at examining the life and music of Samuel Babcock. A number of questions remain unanswered, and much work remains to be done. Many of the details of Babcock's life, for example, might be ferreted out with further research. The full preparation of modern editions of his music would encourage additional study and performance. This continued work is justifiable on several counts. First, Babcock was a talented and skilled psalmist. His attempts at subtle, yet expressive text setting are just one indication of his facility as a composer. Both editions of *Middlesex Harmony* include only Babcock's own pieces, a powerful statement about his confidence, independence, and creativity. He left a relatively high number of extant compositions (eighty-one) in a style that differed from many of his contemporaries. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, his music provides an opportunity to study a composer who created his own style by combining elements from both native New English and old English, especially Methodist, practices. Trained in traditional psalmody, yet familiar with the reformers in his midst, Babcock was not content simply to imitate either. Instead, he managed to achieve a distinctive synthesis.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Crawford, *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody*, Recent Researches in American Music, vol. 11-12 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1984), x.

<sup>2</sup> 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* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 227.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Crawford, "A Hardening of the Categories: 'Vernacular,' 'Cultivated,' and Reactionary in American Psalmody," in *American Studies and American Musicology* (New York: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1975), 28-29.

<sup>4</sup> The most significant work on Billings includes the following: David McKay and Richard Crawford, *William Billings of Boston: Eighteenth-century Composer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), Karl Kroeger and Hans Nathan, eds. *The Complete Works of William Billings* (Boston: American Musicological Society and The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1977-1990), and Kroeger, *Catalog of the Musical Works of William Billings* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991). Kroeger has also written a number of articles on Billings. Literature devoted to Holyoke includes: J. Laurence Willhide, "Samuel Holyoke: American Music Educator" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1954) and Relford Patterson, "Three American 'Primitives': A Study of the Musical Style of Hans Gram, Oliver Holden, and Samuel Holyoke" (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 1963). An edition of selected works by Holyoke is forthcoming in the series *Music of the New American Nation*, Karl Kroeger, General Editor (New York: Garland, 1995-). Harry Eskew will edit the Holyoke works included in volume 12 of the series. A number of authors have studied Read and his music: Irving Lowens, "Daniel Read's World: The Letters of an Early American Composer," *Notes* 9, no. 2 (March 1952): 233-248; rev. in *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: Norton, 1964), Richard Crawford, "Connecticut Sacred Music Imprints, 1778-1810" *Notes* 27, no. 3 (March 1971): 445-452, Vinson Bushnell, "Daniel Read of New Haven (1757-1836): The Man and His Musical Activities" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1979), and Karl Kroeger, *Collected Works in Music of the United States of America*, 4 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1995). Work on Holden includes: David McCormick, "Oliver Holden, Composer and Anthologist" (S.M.D. diss. Union Theological Seminary, 1963), Patterson dissertation (cited in full above), Karl

Kroeger, "'The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony' and Sacred Music in America, 1786-1803" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1976), and a forthcoming edition of Read's music will be edited by David W. Music as vol. 13 of the series *Music of the New American Nation*. See also Allen Britton, Irving Lowens, and Richard Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints, 1698-1810: A Bibliography* for detailed information about the music of each appearing in published tunebooks.

<sup>5</sup> The Methodist style was introduced to this country from England predominantly from two collections, the *Lock Hospital Collection* and *Harmonia Sacra*.

<sup>6</sup> Albert Welles, *The Babcock Family* (Albany, N.Y.: Munsell & Rowland, [1900?]), 2-3.

<sup>7</sup> *International Genealogical Index* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Genealogical Dept., 1992), 683.

<sup>8</sup> Babcock's death was reported in the *Columbian Centinel*, 15 Dec. 1813.

<sup>9</sup> U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Population Schedules of the 2d Census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Census Office, 1800) and *Population Schedules of the 3d Census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Census Office, 1819).

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Baldwin, comp. *Vital Records of Cambridge, Massachusetts to the Year 1850* (Boston: Wright & Potter Print. Co., 1914-15) v. 2 "Marriages and Deaths" states that Elizabeth Swift was from Dorchester, Massachusetts. Dorchester was incorporated into Boston in 1870.

<sup>11</sup> *Vital Records of Cambridge, Massachusetts to the Year 1850*, 1:31.

<sup>12</sup> *Watertown Records. Second Book of Births, Marriages and Deaths from 1738 to 1822* (Watertown, Mass, etc., 1894-), 3:170.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:170-171, 179-180.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:172-175. N.B. Elizabeth Swift's birth and baptism dates seem to have been accidentally switched in the records; she was certainly not baptized the day before she was born.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:236.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:206.

<sup>17</sup> See for example, Tamara Plakins Thornton, *Cultivating Gentlemen: The Meaning of Country Life among the Boston Elite: 1785-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989): 44-50 on rural retirement as a reputable and financially desirable option during this period.

<sup>18</sup> Richard Brown, "The Emergence of Urban Society in Rural Massachusetts, 1760-1820," *Journal of American History*, 41 (1974): 50.

<sup>19</sup> *History of Middlesex County*, 447.

<sup>20</sup> G. Frederick Robinson and Ruth Robinson Wheeler, *Great Little Watertown: A Tercentenary History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Watertown Historical Society, 1930), 66. Samuel Babcock was refunded a poll tax in April 1793; see *Watertown Records*, v.4.

<sup>21</sup> For example, Samuel Drake wrote in 1880 that "The soil, with the exception of a portion at its south-eastern extremity, is remarkably good." See Samuel Adams Drake, *History of Middlesex County, Massachusetts* (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1880), 433.

<sup>22</sup> Maud deLeigh Hodges, *Crossroads on the Charles: A History of Watertown, Massachusetts* (Canaan, N.H.: Published for the Watertown Free Public Library by Phoenix Pub., 1980), 77. Brown has pointed out the demographic minimums necessary to support a variety of voluntary social and service organizations at the time as a population between 1,000 and 2,000 persons with about twenty percent of the men employed in non-agricultural occupations. See Brown, "Emergence of Urban Society," 42. Late 18th- and early 19th-century Watertown exceeded both of these requirements.

<sup>23</sup> Babcock composed a Masonic song for the Anniversary of St. John the Baptist dated 24 June 1802, published in the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony* in 1803, and "at the request of a number of gentlemen of that Fraternity . . . by their particular desire, and for their use." Even if Babcock were not an actual member, he evidently sympathized with Masonic values and aspirations and proudly participated in the burgeoning town's cultural life as it was embodied in this group.

<sup>24</sup> "Emergence of Urban Society", 42.

<sup>25</sup> *Watertown Records*, 7:36, 79, 94, 191, 345.

<sup>26</sup> *Crossroads on the Charles*, 77. No piece fitting this description is extant.

<sup>27</sup> Nym Cooke, "Itinerant Yankee Singing Masters in the Eighteenth Century," in *Itinerancy in New England and New York*, The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife: Annual Proceedings 1984 (Boston: Boston University, 1986), 23.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 31

<sup>29</sup> Samuel Babcock, *The Middlesex Harmony: Being an Original Composition of Sacred Music, in Three and Four Parts* (Boston: Thomas & Andrews, 1795), Preface.

<sup>30</sup> See Richard Crawford and David McKay, "Music in Manuscript: A Massachusetts Tune-book of 1782," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 84 (1974): 47. This is one of six pieces which might possibly be by Lemuel Babcock, see below. Crawford and McKay also discuss the dissemination of the psalmody repertory in manuscript.

<sup>31</sup> Oliver Holden, *Plain Psalmody, or Supplementary Music: An Original Composition, Set in Three and Four Parts* (Boston: Thomas & Andrews, 1800), Advertisement.

<sup>32</sup> Samuel Babcock, *The Middlesex Harmony: Being an Original Composition of Sacred Music, in Three and Four Parts*, 2d ed. (Boston: Thomas & Andrews, 1803), Preface.

<sup>33</sup> Crawford refers to these collections, among others, as reform-minded in "'Ancient Music,'" 242-43.

<sup>34</sup> Thornton, *op. cit.*, 16-17. The issue of class status of psalmodists is discussed in Gillian Anderson, "Eighteenth-Century Evaluations of William Billings: A Reappraisal," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 35, no. 1 (Jan. 1978): 48-58.

<sup>35</sup> Crawford, "'Ancient Music,'" 237.

<sup>36</sup> See Crawford's writings, including "'Ancient Music'" and "'A Hardening of the Categories'" cited in full above, and Andrew Law, *American Psalmist* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968), 263-66.

<sup>37</sup> A more detailed discussion of musical style follows this section.

<sup>38</sup> For the purposes of this study, the following have been used as definitions of the forms. The plain psalm tune is a setting of one verse of a psalm or hymn with no repetition of words or music. Tunes which include the repetition of an entire section (indicated with repeat signs) have also been classified as plain tunes. The psalm tune with extension or extended psalm tune includes repetition of words, music, or both and often involves a setting of more than one verse of text. (See Crawford, *Andrew Law*, 16.) The set-piece is a through-composed setting of either an entire poem or a setting in which one or more of the verses of text will not "fit" the music with correct accentuation. The anthem is a through-composed setting of a prose text, often Biblical in origin. The fusing tune employs imitative contrapuntal entries with overlapping text in at least one phrase.

<sup>39</sup> This was done by Hans Gram, for example, to pieces included in the third edition of the *Worcester Collection* (1791).

<sup>40</sup> *The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony*, 3d ed. (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1791), Preface.

<sup>41</sup> Holyoke's *Harmonia Americana*, which included more works for three parts than four, was published in 1791, the same year as the 3d ed. of the *Worcester Collection*.

<sup>42</sup> *Middlesex Harmony*, 2d ed., Preface.

<sup>43</sup> Samuel Holyoke, *Harmonia Americana* (Boston: Thomas & Andrews, 1791), [4].

<sup>44</sup> Seven of the set pieces, six of the plain psalm tunes, and five of the fusing tunes are set for three voices.

<sup>45</sup> David McKay and Richard Crawford, *William Billings of Boston: Eighteenth-century Composer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 165-66.

<sup>46</sup> Six pieces are of dubious attribution and may have been composed by Lemuel Babcock. SPRINGFIELD was first printed in Andrew Law's *Select Harmony* (1779), and its attribution to Samuel Babcock seems more certain. SPRINGFIELD, along with SOLITUDE, ADMIRATION, WARREN, WESTBOROUGH, and WRENTHAM were attributed to "Babcock" in Joseph Stone's and Abraham Wood's *Columbian Harmony* (1793). SOLITUDE was attributed to Lemuel Babcock by Solomon Howe in the third edition of *The Young Man's Instructive Companion* (1804-10). This tune was also attributed to "L. Babcock" in the Waterhouse mss. See Crawford and McKay, "Music in Manuscript: A Massachusetts Tune-book of 1782," p. 54. Only further research will clarify the attribution of these six pieces. Lacking conclusive evidence one way or the other, the author has excluded these pieces in the following discussion of musical style.

<sup>47</sup> For a complete list of Babcock's extant compositions, first printings, later printings, forms, and number of voices, see Appendix.

<sup>48</sup> Richard Crawford, ed. *The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody* (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1984).

<sup>49</sup> The poetic meters are defined by the number of syllables per line. Short Meter (S.M.) has four lines of 6.6.8.6. syllables, Common Meter (C.M.), four lines of 8.6.8.6. syllables, Long Meter (L.M.), four lines of 8.8.8.8. syllables, Hallelujah Meter (H.M.), eight lines of 6.6.6.6.4.4.4.4. syllables, and Particular (or Peculiar) Meters (P.M.), with any other combination.

<sup>50</sup> Crawford, *Core Repertory*, lxiv.

<sup>51</sup> Poetic meters of the Methodist texts, for example those by Wesley, include 7.7.7.7. and 8.7.8.7.

<sup>52</sup> TRURO does not have a sectional repeat as the others do, but the last line of text is repeated with rhythmic repetition.

<sup>53</sup> SOLITUDE employs a larger vocabulary of non-harmonic tones than is present in most of these pieces. Accented passing tones and suspensions are two examples. This may be an indication that this piece is actually by Lemuel Babcock rather than Samuel.

<sup>54</sup> Nicholas Temperley has called this the standard Methodist meter. See Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1:212.

<sup>55</sup> Four additional futing tunes are among the dubious attributions from Stone & Wood's *Columbian Harmony*. These tunes, ADMIRATION, WARREN, WESTBOROUGH, and WRENTHAM, display some stylistic characteristics unlike those known to be by Samuel.

<sup>56</sup> Although three set-pieces are similar in form to the extended tunes described above. In each, Babcock has set only one or two verses of a metrical text, and one or more of the other verses will not fit the setting.

<sup>57</sup> Babcock's preference for three-voice settings is apparent in the set-pieces (only two of the thirteen are for four voices), but in the anthems, four voices settings were preferred three to one.

<sup>58</sup> In the Preface of the second edition of *Middlesex Harmony*, marks of distinction are used to indicate that certain words should be sung very distinctly. See Babcock, *Middlesex Harmony*, 2d ed., v.

<sup>59</sup> Karl Kroege, "Word Painting in the Music of William Billings," *American Music* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 44.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>61</sup> Crawford, *Andrew Law: American Psalmist*, 310.

<sup>62</sup> Babcock reversed the line of text to "be glory and honour."

<sup>63</sup> Holyoke was described as the American Madan in William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley* (Gloucester, MA: P. Smith, 1962), 1:233.

Appendix

Compositions of Samuel Babcock

Tunename	Length/ Key (in mm.)	Type/No. Voices	Text Meter	First Printing	First Line	Text
ADMIRATION	22/D, d	F/4	LM	CH	Infinite grace! almighty charms!	Watts Horae Lyticae
ANDOVER	45/e	P/3	PM 7.6 7.6.7.8 7 6	MH	My redeemer let me be	James Rely
ASHFORD	110/D	E/3	PM 7 7 7.7	MH	Jesus is become at length	John Newton
AUSPICIOUS MORN	41/D	E/3	CM	VC	Again the Lord of life and light	Anna Barbauld
BABEL	20/a	E/3	PM 7.7.7.7.7	MH	Sitting by the streams that glide	Psalms 137
CALEDONIA	87/D	S/3	PM 7.7.7.7	MH	I will praise thee ev'ry day	John Newton
CAMBRIDGE	116/D	S/3	LM	MH2	With one consent let all the earth	New Version Psalms 100
CANA	24/F	P/3	PM 7.7.7.7	MH2	Praise to God, immortal praise	Anna Barbauld
CHARITY	64/e	S/4	LM	MH2	Had I the tongues of Greeks and Jews	Watts Hymns I
CHINA	24/D	P/4	LM	UH	Nature with all her pow'rs shall sing	Watts Hymns II
CHRISTIAN'S HOPE	49/a	S/3	CM	MH2	Hear what the voice of heav'n proclaims	Watts Hymns I

Tunename	Length/ Key (in mm.)	Type/No. Voices	Text Meter	First Printing	First Line	Text
CHRISTMAS	73/D	E/3	CM	MH	Shout, shout for joy, rejoice, O earth	George Richards
COMFORT YE, MY PEOPLE	191/D	A/4	---	MH	Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people	Isaiah 40
CONSECRATION	42/C	S/3	PM 8.8.6.8.8.14	MH2	Change me, O God, my flesh shall be	Watts Horae Lyricae
CRETE	47/a	E/3	PM 8.8.8.8.8.8	MH2	In deep distress I oft have cry'd	New Version Psalm 120
CRUCIFIXION	42/a	E/3	LM	MH2	Now let our mournful songs record	Watts Psalm 22
DELAWARE	51/D	E/3	CM	MH	In awful state the conq'ring God	Watts Horae Lyricae
DISSOLUTION	52/e	E/3	CM	MH	Stoop down my thoughts that us'd to rise	Watts Hymns II
DORCHESTER	51/e	F/4	LM	MH	My God permit me not to be	Watts Hymns II
DOXOLOGY	22/D	P/3	PM 8.12 6.12	MH	Now unto the King eternal	Unlocated
ELEVATION	25/C	F/3	SM	MH2	Raise your triumphant songs	Watts Hymns II
ELIM	24/G	P/3	PM 7.7.7.7	PP	Lift your voice, and thankful sing	James Merrick
EPHRAIM	25/G	E/3	CM	MH2	While shepherds watch'd their flocks	Nahum Tate
FLANDERS	21/d	E/3	CM	MH	Since I have plac'd my trust in God	New Version Psalm 11

Tunename	Length/ Key (in mm.)	Type/No. Voices	Text Meter	First Printing	First Line	Text
FLORENCE	37/F	E/3	HM	MH2	Immense compassion reigns	Unlocated
GIHON	21/G	P/4	PM 6.6.8.6.6.8	MH2	The Lord Jehovah reigns	Watts Psalm 93 ii
GRATITUDE	25/a	F/3	CM	MH2	What shall I render to my God	Watts Psalm 116 ii
HAMBURG	55/E <sup>b</sup>	E/3	LM	MH	Rise, saith the prince of mercy, rise	Watts Horae Lyricae
HARVARD	44/C	S/3	PM 8.8.8.8.8.8	MH2	Sing to the Lord, exalt him high	Watts Psalm 147
HOREB	33/d	E/3	PM 7.7.7.7.7.7	MH	Hearts of stone, relent, relent	Charles Wesley
HUMILITY	21/a	P/3	CM	MH2	God of my life, look gently down	Watts Psalm 39 ii
IMMANUEL	48/G	E/3	PM 8.7.8.7	PP	Hail! thou once despised Jesus!	John Bakewell
INTERCESSION	48/e	S/3	LM	MH	Pardon and grace and boundless love	Watts Horae Lyricae
LEXINGTON	25/e	E/3	CM	MH2	Indulgent God! with pitying eyes	Philip Doddridge
LIMA	24/G	E/3	SM	MH2	To God, the only wise	Watts Hymns I
LORD, THOU HAST BEEN OUR DWELLING PLACE	112/a	A/3	---	MH	Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling place	Psalm 90 (Auth. version)

Tunename	Length/ Key (in mm.)	Type/No. Voices	Text Meter	First Printing	First Line	Text
LUBEC	32/C	F/3	SM	MH2	Let all our tongues be one	Watts Hymns III
MEDFORD	16/D	E/3	SM	MH2	Hosanna to the King	Watts Psalm 118
MENOTOMY	50/D	E/3	LM	MH2	To Jesus, our exalted Lord	Anne Steele
MILTON	82/F	E/3	LM	MH	My flesh shall slumber in the ground	Watts Psalm 17
MINORCA	18/b	P/3	PM 8.8.6.8.8.6	MH2	Almighty King of Heav'n above	Unattr. Belknap
MORNING HYMN	36/1; <sup>b</sup>	E/3	CM	EH	Once more, my soul, the rising day	Watts Hymns II
NATIVITY	32/D	E/3	CM	MH2	Thus Gabriel sang, and straight around	Watts Horae Lyrica
NEEDHAM	25/F	E/3	PM 10.11.10.11	MH	O tell me no more of this world's vain store	Unlocated
NEWTON	26/C	E/4	CM	UH	My savior God, no voice but thine	Philip Doddridge
NORFOLK	46/A	E/4	LM	EH	Now for a tune of lofty praise	Watts Hymns II
NORTH-KINGSTON	44/D	E/3	CM	MH2	Sing to the Lord Jehovah's name	Watts Psalm 95
O COME LET US SING UNTO THE LORD	145/C	A/4	---	MH	O come let us sing	Psalm 95
OMICRON	32/F	P/3	PM 8.7.8.7.7.7	MH	Let us love and sing and wonder	John Newton
PALMER	25/C	F/3	LM	MH2	I'll lift my hands, I'll raise my voice	Watts Psalm 63

Tunename	Length/ Key (in mm.)	Type/No. Voices	Text Meter	First Printing	First Line	Text
PALMYRA	127/e	S/3	LM	MH	When I survey the wondrous cross	Watts Hymns III
PLACENTIA	23/F	P/3	PM 8.8.8.8.8.8.8	MH2	How tedious and tasteless the hours	John Newton
POMFRET	8/G	P/3	LM	MH2	Let everlasting glories crown	Watts Hymns II
PRETORIUM	116/e	S/3	CM	MH2	Infinite grief, amazing woe!	Watts Hymns II
QUINCY	43/G	P/4	PM 10.10.10.10.11.11	MH2	The God of glory sends forth his summons	Watts Psalm 50 ii
RAMA	18/a	P/4	LM	MH2	Dost thou my earthly comforts slay	Unlocated
RANDOLPH	35/C	P/3	PM 8.8.8.8.8.8	MH2	Loud hallelujahs to the Lord	Watts Psalm 148
REMEMBER NOW THY CREATOR	98/a	A/4	---	MH2	Remember now, remember now	Ecclesiastes 12
RESIGNATION	50/d	E/3	CM	MH	Behold the savior of mankind	Samuel Wesley Sr.
RESOLUTION	25/a	F/3	SM	MH2	Let sinners take their course	Watts Psalm 55
ROXBURY	20/F	P/3	HM	PA2	The Lord, he reigns above	Unlocated
SABBATH	37/C	E/4	LM	MH2	Lord of the sabbath hear our vows	Philip Doddridge
SMYRNA	75/D, d, D	S/3	LM	MH2	Now let my Lord, my savior smile	Watts Hymns II

Tunename	Length/ Key (in mm.)	Type/No. Voices	Text Meter	First Printing	First Line	Text
SOLIITUDE	13/e	P/4	LM	CH	See where he languished on the cross	Watts Horae Lyricae
SONG FOR THE ANNIVERSARY OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST	49/G	S/3	PM 11.12.11.12.12.12	MH2	Begin now the song the occasion requires	Rev. Mr. Harris
SPRING	12/G	P/3	LM	MH2	How sweetly along the gay mead	Unattr. Belknap
SPRINGFIELD	32/b	P/4	PM 7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6	SH	Jesus drinks the bitter cup	Charles Wesley
STOW	21/G	E/3	PM 5.5.5.5.6.5.6.5	MH	The birds without barn are fed	John Newton
STRATTON	28/E <sup>b</sup>	E/3	CM	MH2	O magnify the Lord with me	Unlocated
SUNDAY	28/G	F/3	CM	EH	This day is God's, let all the land	Psalm 138
TRIUMPH	23/C	P/4	HM	MH2	All hail, triumphant Lord!	Thomas Cotterill
TRURO	20/D	E/4	PM 10.10.11.11	MH2	O praise ye the Lord, Prepare your glad voice	New Version Psalm 149
VERNON	23/G	E/3	LM	MH2	Now be my heart inspir'd to sing	Watts Psalm 45 i
VIENNA	29/E <sup>b</sup>	F/4	HM	MH2	Ye boundless realms of joy	New Version Psalm 148
WALTHAM	32/D	E/4	LM	MH2	Now to the pow'r of God supreme	Watts Hymns I

Tunename	Length/ Key (in mm.)	Type/No. Voices	Text Meter	First Printing	First Line	Text
WARREN	41/a	F/4	LM	CH	Sleep, downy sleep, come close my eyes	Thomas Flatman
WATERTOWN	56/F	S/3	CM	MH	Jesus my shepherd and my friend	John Newton
WESTBOROUGH	46/C, c	F/4	CM	CH	Sing to the Lord, ye heav'nly hosts	Watts Hymns II
WESTON	30/b	S/4	SM	MH	Jesus the savior stands	Watts Horae Lyricae
WILMINGTON	18/e	E/4	CM	MH2	'Tis God that lifts our comforts high	Watts Hymns I
WRENTHAM	40/F	F/4	LM	CH	Me-thinks I hear the heav'ns resound	Unlocated
Abbreviations						
P = Plain tune	F = Fuging tune	SH = Law <i>Select Harmony</i> , 1779	MH = <i>Middlesex Harmony</i> , 1795	MH2 = <i>Middlesex Harmony</i> , 2d ed., 1803		
E = Tune with extension	S = Set piece	CH = Stone & Wood <i>Columbian Harmony</i> , 1793	EH = Belknap <i>Evangelical Harmony</i> , 1800	PA2 = Forbush <i>Psalmody's Assistant</i> , 2d ed., 1806		
	A = Anthem	UJH = Holden <i>Union Harmony</i> , 1793	PP = Holden <i>Plain Psalmody</i> , 1800	VC = Belknap <i>Village Compilation</i> , 1806		