



# The Music that George Washington Knew: Neglected Phases\*

## Previous literature

IN ANTICIPATION OF THE BICENTENNIAL William Arms Fisher (1861–1948) published *The Music that Washington Knew* (Boston: Oliver Ditson Company, 1931). Consisting of 40 pages of music preceded by a 24-page historical sketch partially republished the next year in *The Etude Music Magazine*, 1/2 and 3 (February and March, 1932) under the title, "Music in Washington's Day," this monograph by the then vice-president of Oliver Ditson Company opened with the statement that in Washington's day

music still functioned chiefly in the churches as an adjunct to worship. The principal music-makers in this period were therefore organists, for the church was the pivotal point around which the social life of the community revolved. "Going to meeting" was not only a religious duty but a mark of good breeding, of respect to a social and civic function, the neglect of which indicated a deficient sense of the proprieties.

However, after having admitted this much, William Arms Fisher abruptly dropped the subject of organs and church music. Nowhere later does he revert to it. Unless Billings's CHESTER be called church music, Fisher's musical examples<sup>1</sup> give no hint of the ubiquitous psalmody that greeted Washington during his presidential travels. Although Washington's diaries attest his habit of church attendance not only during the eight years of his presidency, 1789–1797, but throughout his lifetime,<sup>2</sup> Fisher

\*This essay, written to celebrate the 250th anniversary of George Washington's birth, grew out of a paper on organs and organists heard by him. Read June 29, 1982, during the biennial national meeting of the American Guild of Organists, held at Washington, D.C., June 28–July 2, 1982, the paper profited later by help given at the Library of Congress, Mount Vernon, and Williamsburg, Virginia. I gratefully acknowledge Dr. Eileen Morris Guenther's kindness in instigating the paper for AGO, and the assistance subsequently given by individuals itemized in text and footnotes.

<sup>1</sup>The musical examples in Fisher's 1931 monograph include THE LIBERTY SONG sung to the tune of William Boyce's *Hearts of Oak*, YANKEE DOODLE, CHESTER by William Billings, TRENTON'S TRIBUTE TO WASHINGTON ("Welcome Mighty Chief, Once More," April 21, 1789) fitted to the music of Handel's "See, the Conqu'ring Hero Comes," NEW YORK'S WELCOME TO WASHINGTON ("HAIL, THOU AUSPICIOUS DAY," April 23, 1789) fitted to the music of *God Save the King*, ADAMS AND LIBERTY (1798) to the music of John Stafford Smith's *Anacreontic Song*, NORAH, DEAR NORAH (1783) from William Shield's *The Poor Soldier*, and THE WAY-WORN TRAVELLER (1793) from Samuel Arnold's *The Mountaineers*; two solo songs with harpsichord accompaniment, MY DAYS HAVE BEEN SO WONDROUS FREE (1759) and ENRAPTUR'D I GAZE (1788), both by Francis Hopkinson; two Washington Marches of disputed authorship; and HAIL, COLUMBIA! (April 25, 1798) to the music of The President's March attributed to Philip Phile (died 1793). Concerning Alexander Reinagle's setting of the CHORUS SUNG BEFORE GEN. WASHINGTON as he passed under the triumphal arch raised on the bridge at Trenton, April 21st 1789, see O. G. T. Sonneck, *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*, rev. and enlarged by William Treat Upton (Washington: Library of Congress, Music Division, 1945) pp. 63–64.

<sup>2</sup>Concerning church attendance, see Paul F. Boller, Jr., "Washington as a Churchman," chapter 2 in *George Washington & Religion* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963), especially pp.

omits mentioning any organs or organs heard by Washington as far south as the island of Barbados in November of 1751 or as far north as Boston in October of 1789.

Following the example set by Fisher, the Music Division Chief at the Library of Congress from 1927 to 1934, Carl Engel (1883–1944), produced *Music from the Days of George Washington* (Washington, D.C.: United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission, 1931; ix + 61 pages [W. Oliver Strunk was editorial assistant]). Divided into three sections—Military and Patriotic Music, Concert and Dance Music, Songs and Operatic Music—Engel's nineteen music examples not only bar anything with a religious tinge but also exclude anything by an American-born composer, save Francis Hopkinson's *Toast to Washington* and "Beneath a Weeping Willow's Shade."

As precedent for failing to train any attention on organs or church music heard by Washington, both Fisher and Engel could invoke the example of O. G. T. Sonneck. In "The Musical Side of Our First Presidents" premiered in *New Music Review and Church Music Review* (American Guild of Organists), vi, 1907, 311–314 and 382–384, and anthologized in *Suum Cuique Essays in Music* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1916), 37–55, Sonneck avoided church music as the plague.<sup>3</sup> Instead, he excerpted Washington's reply (dated February 5, 1789, at Mount Vernon) to Francis Hopkinson's dedication of *Seven Songs for the Harpsichord or Forte Piano* (Philadelphia: T. Dobson, 1788); cited testimony to Washington's dancing skills and "convincing proof of his fondness of the theatre"; and documented Washington's attendance at concerts given as far apart in time and place as those in the Spring of 1757 at Philadelphia by the immigrant Giovanni Palma and on May 5, 1791 at Charleston, South Carolina where Washington saw "400 ladies—Number & appearance of wch. exceeded any thing of the kind I had ever seen."<sup>4</sup>

Their government ties may in part account for the reluctance of Library of Congress music chiefs to explore anything churchly. Otherwise, why nothing on church organs, beginning with the Bernard (Father) Smith three-manual heard November 11, 1751, at St. Michael's, Barbados? But also they ignore Indian war dance music heard March 23, 1748. Whatever their reasons, the silence of Sonneck and Engel on anything ethnic or religious is preferable to the misinformed remarks scattered through John Tasker Howard's *The Music of George Washington's Time* (Washington: United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission, 1931 [facsimile reprint, New York: AMS Press Inc., 1976]). Howard's introductory section on "Musical Conditions in Early America" includes misinformation of the sort scotched in Percy A. Scholes's *The Puritans and Music in England and New England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934):

28–32. After marriage in 1759 he attended approximately once a month until the Stamp Act crisis, when he began attending more frequently—twice and three times a month. While President he attended "just about every Sunday."

<sup>3</sup>Nathan Broder's article on Sonneck in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, xxi (1965), 911–913, includes a comprehensive list of his writings. Church music and musicians never engaged Sonneck's attention—the one exception being a book more fallible than his reputation would demand, *Francis Hopkinson, the first American poet-composer (1737–1791) and James Lyon, patriot, preacher, psalmodist (1735–1794)* (Washington: H. L. McQueen [for the author], 1905).

<sup>4</sup>O. G. Sonneck, *Suum Cuique*, p. 47. Sonneck does not add that at the Charleston concert "an excellent band of music played in the orchestra, and were accompanied in the vocal strain by the choir of St. Philip's Church." See *The Diaries of George Washington*, ed. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979), vi, 131.

In New England the music of song had a difficult road to travel. She was viewed suspiciously by the Puritans, who at first would allow no musical instruments, and would tolerate singing only as an aid to divine worship, and then only after bitter arguments as to the propriety of singing Psalms in church. . . . In 1770, the year Beethoven was born, William Billings of Boston (1746–1800) published a book called *New England Psalm Singer*, in which he included A NUMBER OF HIS OWN COMPOSITIONS, among them some “fuguing pieces”, as he called them, CRUDE ATTEMPTS AT THE FUGUES OF THE MASTERS.

As if the capitalized phrases in the last sentence did not sufficiently convict Howard,<sup>5</sup> he continued with another paragraph:

William Billings' *Chester* has been termed the “Over There” of the Revolution, and while *Yankee Doodle* was no doubt the most used marching song, *Chester* was certainly sung by the troops throughout the Continental Army. Billings had ORIGINALLY WRITTEN THE MELODY AS A HYMN TUNE, but when his second book, *The Singing Master's Assistant*, appeared in 1778, it contained *Chester* as a war song, with new words.

In this latter paragraph, Howard wanders when he calls CHESTER “originally a hymn tune” in the *New-England Psalm-Singer* (Boston: Edes and Gill, 1770), page 91, but a “war song” in *The Singing Master's Assistant* (Boston: Draper and Folsom, 1778), page 12. Despite Howard, the music in both 1770 and 1778 continues identical—the only 1778 changes being octave doublings in the bass at measures 2–3, 9–12, and two choosing notes at the counter's close.<sup>6</sup> In order to free Billings's original from parallel fifths, Howard changes the voice-leading (last beat of measure 13).<sup>7</sup>

#### *Music at St. Michael's, Barbados, 1694–1756*

Any 250th-birthday attempt at recalling the organs and church music heard by Washington—let alone anything ethnic—must therefore transcend evidence

<sup>5</sup>Irving Lowens, “The Origins of the American Fuging Tune.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vi/1 (Spring 1953), 43–44, spiked three errors perpetrated by Howard: (1) “that the fuging tune was merely a crude attempt by incompetents to write a fugue,” (2) that “the fuging tune is a uniquely American development,” and (3) “that the fuging tune idiom was conceived and carried to full fruition by Billings”—no other contemporary fuging-tune writers being worthy of mention. See Lowens's *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1964), pp. 237–239, for his reprinted article.

<sup>6</sup>For the 1770 version, see either Frédéric Louis Ritter, *Music in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890), p. 509; or Louis C. Elson, *The History of American Music* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1925), p. 14. For the 1778 version, see *The Complete Works of William Billings*, ed. Hans Nathan (American Musicological Society & The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Boston, 1977), II, 72–73 and 346. In 1778 Billings added four new four-line topical stanzas to the single stanza published in 1770.

<sup>7</sup>In his attempt to link Billings with Washington, Howard would have been well advised to consider Billings's “last public act as a musician. . . . a piece commemorating Washington's death.” See David P. McKay and Richard Crawford, *William Billings of Boston, Eighteenth-Century Composer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 184. Hans Nathan, *William Billings: Data and Documents* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1976), p. 60, identified “‘A Hymn’ (or perhaps only its ‘Chorus’), No. V in *Sacred Dirges, Hymns, and Anthems, COMMEMORATIVE OF THE DEATH OF GENERAL WASHINGTON* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews [1800])” as Billings's PIECE ON THE DEATH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

<sup>8</sup>On Wednesday, March 23, 1748, while on a surveying trip into what is now West Virginia and adjacent Maryland, he saw an Indian war dance. After the preliminaries to the dance described by sixteen-year-old Washington, “then begins there Musicians to Play the Musick is a Pot half of Water with a Deerskin stretched over it as tight as it can & a gourd with some Shott in it to Rattle & a Piece of an horses

gathered by Sonneck, Engel, Fisher, and Howard, all of whom interested themselves almost solely in his contacts with Europeanized secular music. Washington's diaries document his church attendance. Just as the diaries enabled Paul Leicester Ford to begin a "masterly monograph" on Washington and the Theatre (New York: The Dunlap Society, 1899) with the news that at Bridgetown, Barbados,<sup>9</sup> Washington on November 15, 1751, heard George Lillo's *The London Merchant, or the History of George Barnwell*,<sup>10</sup> so also the same diaries reveal Washington's having heard Evening Service at St. Michael's Church, Bridgetown, November 11, 1751.

St. Michael's at Bridgetown was consecrated September 10, 1665. Describing its appearance while Washington was on the island, John Orderson, parish clerk in 1780, wrote as follows:<sup>11</sup>

Amongst all the buildings that were in this place [Bridgetown<sup>12</sup>], none struck the spectator so forcibly as that noble structure, Saint Michael's Church, a building of one hundred feet in length, and sixty feet wide within the walls, exclusive of a very large chancel, and, which often held more than 3,000 souls at one time, in which was an excellent organ, (maker Bernard Smith), worthy of a place in the largest church in the world.

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Tail tied to it to make it look fine. the one keeps Rattling and the other Drumming all the While the others is Dauncing." See *Diaries*, I (1748-65), 13.

Washington saw the dance at what is presently Oldtown. Settled in 1741 by Thomas Cresap on old Indian trail, Oldtown is now a village in Allegany County, western Maryland, on North Branch of the Potomac, eleven miles southeast of Cumberland, Maryland. Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington, A Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), I, 218, made no attempt to identify the Indian tribe. Instead, he disdainfully decreed that the "savages" drum for the dance witnessed by Washington was "one of Cresap's pots half filled with water." Washington's account permits of no such assumption. Freeman refused to credit western Maryland Indians with their own drum, the pitch of which was regulated by water filled to desired height.

<sup>9</sup>George Washington accompanied his elder half-brother Lawrence to Barbados on a voyage that began September 28, 1751. They reached Carlisle Bay November 3. Vainly hoping for recovery from the tuberculosis that had driven him to Barbados, Lawrence, who was George's senior by fourteen years, remained five months in Barbados after George sailed for Virginia on the *Industry* Sunday, December 22, 1751. Lawrence died July 26, 1752, at Mount Vernon.

<sup>10</sup>Concerning this play, George Washington wrote under date of November 15: "was treated to a play ticket by M<sup>r</sup>. [James] Carter to see the Tragedy of George Barnwell acted. the characters of Barnwell and several others was said to be well perform'd. there was Musick a Dapted and regularly conducted by M<sup>r</sup>. [Thomas Pierce, jr.]." See facsimile of this entry in *The Diaries of George Washington*, ed. Donald Jackson and others (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), I (1748-65), 81. Washington first wrote "there was a band of Musick" but crossed out "a band of." He treated "adapted" as two words, the second word capitalized.

Concerning the John Moody Company from Jamaica credited with acting at Bridgetown in 1751, see Hugh F. Rankin, *The Theater in Colonial America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960 [1965]), pp. 44-45.

<sup>11</sup>Quoted in *Barbados Diocesan History*, ed. J. E. Reece and C. G. Clark-Hunt (London: The West India Committee [1925]), p. 76. Orderson described the 1665 church as it existed prior to the disastrous hurricane of October 10, 1780. Among other details he mentioned "a very fine clock" at the top of the 124-foot high steeple that "chimed every quarter of an hour, and a peal of eight bells."

<sup>12</sup>According to Richard Hall (*Barbados Diocesan History*, p. 111), Bridgetown in 1755 consisted of "about 1200 dwelling-houses and stores, mostly of brick or stone, and the remainder of timber, and all of them covered with tiles or shingles. Many of them are three, and some four, stories high, the windows glazed, and many of them sashed. The principal streets broad and paved, and there are about 120 small wooden shingled tenements, not included in the above number. . . . The trade of this Island may employ 380 vessels of 130 tons each, exclusive of sloops, etc., and small vessels, now about 20, owned here."

Ample confirming documentation for the Bernard Smith organ "worthy of a place in the largest church in the world" is found in *Records of the Vestry of St. Michael* that "with almost unbroken continuity have been preserved from the year 1655."<sup>13</sup>

John Mills (= Milles), Comptroller of Customs at Barbados who from 1686 was a vestryman and sidesman of St. Michael's, made a will July 10, 1693, bequeathing £300 for purchase of an organ to be "done within ye space of three years after my decease."<sup>14</sup> According to vestry minutes of August 28, 1694, the vestry that day ordered that the executors

of the last will and testament of Mr. John Mills, late of this Island decd. do forthwith pay the sum of three hundred and fifty pounds current money left by the sd. Mills for the purchase of an organ for the use of the parish of St. Michael to be set up at the charge of the sd. parish . . . ye money to be paid into the hands of Wm. Brooke, Merchant in London, and that he be ordered forthwith to purchase the said Organ and shipped on board some good ship bound for this Island and that the same be insured out of the said sum of £350.<sup>[15]</sup>

In September 1695, the vestry "agreed with Mr. Latimore Richards<sup>16</sup> that he should build the Organ Loft in the Parish Church of St. Michael of twentysix feet long, being at the west end of said Church . . . with a convenient ascent and stairs on each side of sd. gallery . . . ye sd. staires to be railed on each side with twisted or waived worked banisters."<sup>17</sup>

On October 23, 1697, the vestrymen ordered an immediate remittance of £50 to the London merchant William Brooke, whom they had chosen in 1694 as their business agent in "purchasing an organ for the Parish of St. Michael."<sup>18</sup> That same day the vestry

further ordered that the sd. Cryer,<sup>[19]</sup> Duboys and Gardner, direct Mr. Brooke to insure the full value of said organ, and procure some able person to come over with said organ, who understands the setting up of such an instrument.

Continuing: the vestry on that same day "ordered that the sum of ten pounds sterlg. out of the subscriptions above mentioned be laid out in double refined sugar<sup>[20]</sup> and sent as a present to Dr. John Blowe, whose advice and directions to the Organ maker, is desired in making thereof."

<sup>13</sup>St. Michael vestry minutes began being published in *The Journal of The Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, xiv/3 (May 1947), 123-138. Thereafter instalments appearing through xxvii/1 (November 1959) carried the vestry minutes up to October 9, 1756.

<sup>14</sup>Gerald Hudson, "The Organs and Organists of the Cathedral Church of St. Michael, Barbados." *The Organ* [Musical Opinion Ltd.], xxix, no. 116 (April 1950), 169. See also "Records of the Vestry of St. Michael," *The Journal*, xvi/4 (August 1949), 206.

<sup>15</sup>*The Journal*, xvii/2 & 3 (February & May 1950), 129.

<sup>16</sup>In 1679 Latimore Richards owned 12 acres in St. George's parish and eight Black slaves. See John Camden Hotten, *The Original Lists of Persons of Quality; Emigrants; religious exiles; political rebels; serving men* [etc.] (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1974), p. 461.

<sup>17</sup>*The Journal*, xvii/2 & 3, 133; Hudson, pp. 169-170.

<sup>18</sup>*The Journal*, xvii/4 (August 1950), 191.

<sup>19</sup>Cryer became Minister (or Rector) of St. Michael's upon the death of Randolph Vaudrey July 24, 1696. On December 10, 1696, James Hull was "admitted Curate and lecturer" to assist Cryer. On November 30, 1699, the vestry rewarded curate Hull with £80 "for diligent and prudent behaviour."

<sup>20</sup>Throughout the century, muskovadey sugar served more frequently as medium of exchange than currency. See *The Journal*, xv/2 (February 1948), 91 (September 27, 1663), 93 (January 18, 1664), and constant later references to sugar.

As encyclopedias readily attest, John Blow (1649-1708) was Westminster Abbey organist from 1668 to his death, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal from July 23, 1674, and one of the three Chapel Royal organists after October 1676. Created Lambeth Doctor of Music on December 10, 1677, he was a chief supporter of Bernard (Father) Smith (1629-1708) in Smith's 1684 competition with Renatus Harris to build the Temple Church organ. Jointly with Bernard (Father) Smith, Blow in 1695 succeeded Henry Purcell as "tuner of the regals, organs, virginals, flutes and recorders" used at court. Not only because he was the most eminent English composer in 1697<sup>21</sup> but also because he was Father Smith's partner and chief supporter, Blow served as an ideal consultant to the St. Michael vestry during the further two years before the sumptuous Smith organ could at last be shipped to Bridgetown in October 1699.

During the waiting period for the organ, the vestry on January 25, 1698

ordered that Benjm. Cryer Esq., Thomas Duboys Esq. and Mr. Christianus Gardner do forthwith write to Mr. Wm. Brooke merchant in London and to procure an able Organist for the Parish of St. Michael and to agree with him on the best terms for the space of four years not exceeding fifty pounds per annum.

The next month, on February 18, 1698, the vestry "further ordered and desired that Benjm. Cryer Esq., Thomas Duboys Esq., and Christianus Gardner Esq. do continue their farther correspondence with Mr. Wm. Brooke Merchant in London concerning the Organ and Organist as by a former order is directed." On August 29, 1698, the vestry authorized three of its sixteen members to "employ a workman to make the loft fit and convenient to receive and set up the organ in."

According to a notice in the *London Gazette* of October 4, 1699, found by Andrew Freeman, Smith's organ for Bridgetown, Barbados, duplicated the organ completed by Smith in the autumn of 1699 for the Banqueting House Chapel at London. Freeman in *Father Smith otherwise Bernard Schmidt, being an Account of a Seventeenth Century Organ Maker, edited, annotated and with new material by John Rountree* (Oxford: Positif Press, 1977), page 38, gave the following specification for the Banqueting House Chapel organ ("the echo organ was placed between the keyboards and the great organ: it was not enclosed in a box").

GREAT (G, [no G, #] to c<sup>2</sup>), six registers of 53 pipes each: Open diapason, Hohl Flute, Principal, Nason, Twelfth, Fifteenth; Block flute (to middle c#), 24 pipes; Sesquialtera (3 ranks), 159; Cornet (3 ranks to middle c#), 72; Trumpet, 53

CHAIRE (G, [no G, #] to c<sup>2</sup>), four registers of 53 pipes each: Stopped diapason, Principal, Cremona, Vaux humane; Flute (to middle c), 25 pipes

ECHO (fiddle G to c<sup>2</sup>): Open diapason, 29 pipes; Principal, 29; Cornet (2 ranks, 12, 17), 58 pipes; Trumpet, 29

<sup>21</sup>Blow's pupil Jeremiah Clarke (ca. 1673-1707), who opened Bernard Smith's organ for St. Paul's Cathedral December 2, 1697 (at a service celebrating the peace of Ryswick), composed an ode "for ye Gentlemen of ye Island of Barbadoes . . . performed to them at Stationers' Hall" (annotation in Tenbury MS 1232). Concerning Clarke's "Barbadoes Song" in nine sections, six with countertenor solo, see Thomas F. Taylor, "The Life and Works of Jeremiah Clarke," Northwestern University Ph.D. dissertation, 1967, pp. 76-80. Clarke's ode, scored for paired trumpets, oboes, timpany, strings a 4, bc, satb, and SATB, sets a poetical thanksgiving that begins, "No more, great rulers of the sky." A hurricane now over, the island poet ends with praise of Barbados' climate ("no cold winter here").

The *London Post* of October 2-4, 1699 (quoted in Freeman and Rountree, 140<sup>22</sup>) states that the Barbados organ was just then sitting in boxes packed up and ready for shipment: "A new organ set up in the Banquetinghouse Chappel, with a Dial in the middle of it, this being the first of that make; the other is packt up in Boxes there, in order to be sent to Barbadoes."

At the close of 1699, the long-awaited Bernard Smith reached Barbados in the care of John Henry Norring, who was sent to set it up. With him he brought the two extra stops, "Trumpet and Voice humane," not specified in Smith's contract. The Vestry reacted as follows:

At the meeting of the Gentlemen of the Vestry this 21st of March 1699 [1700], it was agreed and ordered as followeth. That the two extraordinary stops for the Organ (sent by Mr. Bernard Smith more than his contract) being the Trumpet and Voice humane, at the price of one hundred and thirty pounds sterly. and the exchange at ye price of seventy pounds sterly. to be kept and added to ye Organ for the use of the parish and that the said Smith be accordingly paid for them provided he has complied with his contract and completed the other part of the Organ as he ought to do.

Also agreed at the same time with John Henry Norring his workmanship and care in putting up the said extraordinary stops that he shall receive and be paid forty pounds current money with which he is content and has promised to undertake it.

By May 1, 1700, the vestry agreed that "Edwd. Wilbone be allowed six pounds per annum for the constant attendance and blowing of the bellows belonging to the Organ, and that his salary be reckoned from Whitsunday next."<sup>23</sup> On September 2, 1701, the vestry instructed churchwarden William Heysham to "pay or cause to be paid to Mr. Bernard Smith in London the sum of two hundred pounds sterling in full for the extraordinary stops the said Smith sent over to the Parish at the said price." On that same day, the vestry "ordered that Mr. John Henry Norring be allowed five and twenty pounds a year for keeping the organ in very good order."

By that same date, September 2, 1701, had arrived Edward Jordan, recruited in England to be the parish organist.<sup>24</sup> Possibly related to the London organ builders, Abraham Jordan, senior and junior, who advertised in the *Spectator* of February 8, 1712,<sup>25</sup> Edward Jordan occupied the organ bench at St. Michael's, Barbados, 21 years. From the outset, his duties exceeded mere organ playing. On October 3, 1702, the vestry "ordered that Mr. Edward Jordan receive twenty five pounds pr. annum for keeping the Organ in tune and good order to commence from this day." On January 17, 1704, "for his salary and taking care from time to time to keep the organ in tune" he was allotted £65 sterling, a sum raised to £75 strlg. March 6, 1704.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup>See also Edgar Sheppard, *The Old Royal Palace of Whitehall* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1902), p. 46.

<sup>23</sup>*The Journal*, xvii/4, 198. On May 1, 1700, the vestry also ordered "that a new pair of Bellows be made and added to the Organ for which Mr. Norring is to receive twenty pounds sterlg. the Parish standing to the charge of all materials." In 1700 the organ loft accommodated in addition to the organ at least two commodious family pews (*ibid.*, p. 199).

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 201: "At a meeting of the Gentm. of the Vestry this day Ordered that Mr. Wm. Brooke deliver up or cause Mr. Edward Jordan's Bond, Organist of this Parish, being for thirty pounds sterling money d.d: him in England."

<sup>25</sup>Edward J. Hopkins and Edward F. Rimbault, *The Organ, its history and construction* (London: Robert Cocks and Co., 1855), p. 97.

<sup>26</sup>*The Journal*, xviii/1 & 2 (November 1950 and February 1951), 65 and 67.

Benjamin Cryer, rector since 1695, died on May 10, 1705. To replace him Sir Bevill Granville, governor of the island, appointed Samuel Beresford (1677-1715), son of Thomas Beresford, a large landholder on the island.<sup>27</sup> Among his qualifications, Samuel Beresford had graduated from Oxford (where he had enrolled at age 17; B.A., February 26, 1698; M.A., 1700).<sup>28</sup> On August 30, 1705, Edward Jordan obtained eight months' home leave to visit England.<sup>29</sup> The vestry minutes document his continuing to earn £75 sterling per annum ("fifty pounds for his salary and twenty five pounds for keeping the organ in tune"<sup>30</sup>) from 1707 through 1710, and £100 ("seventy five pounds for his salary and twenty five pounds for his care and pains in keeping the organ in tune, to commence from the 25th. of March next"<sup>31</sup>) from 1711 through 1722.<sup>32</sup> On June 24, 1715, Jordan succeeded in obtaining an order "that no persons shall walk in the organ loft in the time of Divine Service, it being represented by the organist that many irregularities have been committed there."<sup>33</sup> Beginning in 1720 his social status was confirmed by his election to the Vestry, and on March 25, 1722, by his being chosen to be a sidesman.

Jordan died later that year and was buried in the west end of St. Michael's under the organ gallery, with a stone to his memory. His successor, Edmund White, served from March 25, 1725,<sup>34</sup> to death at Bridgetown December 4, 1738.<sup>35</sup> In 1728 White irked the Irish in the parish by refusing<sup>36</sup>

the use of the Church organ to be played on to the Gentlemen on the last St. Patrick's day. The Vestry has taken the same into consideration and order that for the future any Vestrymen for the parish shall have liberty of the sd. organ when he shall require the same.

As a result of either this "liberty of the sd. organ" or some other mischances, vestry minutes of August 10, 1738 (only a few weeks before White's death), record this action:<sup>37</sup>

<sup>27</sup>John Camden Hotten, *The Original Lists*, p. 471.

<sup>28</sup>Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis. The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714* (Oxford: James Parker & Co., 1891), I, 112. Concerning Samuel Beresford, see Autobiography of the Rev. John Barnard, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3d ser., v (1836), 197. Arriving at Bridgetown, July 30, 1709, Barnard remained about five weeks, "constantly attending public worship at church. Mr. Beresford, the chief minister upon the island, kindly invited me to dine with him, and entertained me with great civility. He was a gentleman of considerable learning, sobriety, and virtue."

<sup>29</sup>*The Journal*, xviii/1 & 2, 70: "Forasmuch as Mr. Edward Jordan has applyed himself to the Gent. of the Vestry this day, setting forth that he is going off to England for his health, they do consent that the place be kept vacant till his return, provided he shall return in eight months."

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, 74 (vestry minutes of March 4, 1707).

<sup>31</sup>*The Journal*, xviii/3 & 4 (May & August 1951), 170.

<sup>32</sup>*The Journal*, xix/4 (August 1952), 182.

<sup>33</sup>*The Journal*, xix/1 (November 1951), 39.

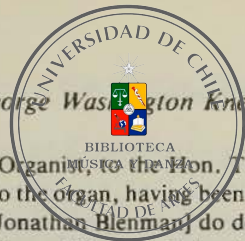
<sup>34</sup>Hudson, "The Organs and Organists," p. 171. See also *The Journal*, xx/1 (November 1952), 46: "Ordered that Mr. Edward [sic] White be established Organist of this parish that he be pd. the sum of £75 pr. annum for playing on the Organ, and the usual sum of £25 for keeping (or causing it to be kept) in tune, as also the sum of £6 pr. annum for blowing the organ bellows." In the similar entries that follow in vestry minutes of March 25, 1726; March 25, 1727; July 25, 1732; and April 16, 1733, White's Christian name is given as Edmund, not Edward.

<sup>35</sup>Hudson, p. 171; *The Journal*, xxii/3 (May 1955), 142.

<sup>36</sup>*The Journal*, xx/4 (August 1953), 198 (vestry minutes of April 11, 1728).

<sup>37</sup>*The Journal*, xxii/3, 141.





A letter from Mr. Edmund White, Organist to the Hon. Thos. Harrison Esq. [vestryman], complaining of damage lately done to the organ, having been this day laid before the Vestry, it is ordered that the Churchwarden [Jonathan Blenman] do desire Mr. Robert Whiteing to inspect the organ, and that the sd. White and Pierce Jr.<sup>39</sup> do attend the sd. Mr. Whiteing at such inspection and also that the Churchwarden desire the sd. Mr. Whiteing do give his opinion in writing of the present condition of the sd. organ and what damage it may have lately received and by what means.

The "Pierce Jr." instructed to join White in witnessing Robert Whiteing's inspection of the damaged organ, had been named White's assistant the preceding March 25 [1738]. On that date, the vestry had

Ordered that Mr. Edmd. White, Organist be allowed £54 per annum for playing upon the organ and £6 per annum for an able Negro to blow the bellows upon all occasions. Ordered that Mr. Thos. Pierce Jr. be allowed £46 for playing on the Organ by turns with Mr. Edmund White on Sundays etc.

On December 9, 1738, the Vestry

Ordered that Thos. Pierce Jr. be sole organist, and that he be allowed the whole salary from the death of Edmund White to the 25th March next.

Thenceforth Thomas Pierce, Sr., parish clerk since March 25, 1724, received £20 less annual salary for his several duties than did Thomas Pierce, Jr., who continued as organist at the annual rate of £100 plus £6 for bellows blower until death March 2, 1793.<sup>39</sup> From 1738 to 1756, Robert Dymond or William Bateman received an annual £20 "for ringing the bells." On October 15, 1741, the vestry ordered that the "Churchwarden do send for a sett of Bell Ropes for eight bells" making the octave peal.

In 1752,<sup>40</sup> the year after George Washington's Barbados visit, "Mr. Thos. Pierce, Organist, did agree that such parts of the organ as required repair, and could not be done here, should [be] immediately sent to London."<sup>41</sup> On September 18, 1752, the vestry "directs that the organ be immediately taken down, and Mr. Thody is desired to make proper boxes to lay the pipes in, which are to be lodged in the lower room of the Free School." By March 11, 1754, all needed repairs had been made and the organ again restored to its loft.<sup>42</sup> On May 23, 1754, "Mr. John Thody & Mr. Thomas Ibbott attended with their several Plans and Proposals for building the Galleries, Organ Loft & Pews . . . the Floor of the Organ Loft, Galleries and Pews

<sup>39</sup>Thomas Pierce, Jr., the son of St. Michael's parish clerk, was to succeed his teacher Edmund White as parish organist on the latter's death.

<sup>39</sup>Hudson, p. 171. See also *The Journal*, xxvii/1 (November 1959), 31. In 1756 Thomas Pierce, Sr., continued as parish clerk at "the Salary of sixty pounds per annum, and Clerk of the Vestry at twenty pounds per annum."

<sup>40</sup>As a footnote to Barbados musical history: on September 25, 1752, died Mehir a Cohen Belinfante, aged 48. From 1742 to 1752 he served *com sua meliflua e suave voz como Hazan* ("with his mellifluous and sweet voice as cantor") of the Barbados synagogue. The first Jews on Barbados came from Brazil in about 1654. By 1710 approximately 680 persons, or eight percent of the total white population, was Jewish. See Eustace M. Shilstone, *Monumental Inscriptions in the Burial Ground of the Jewish Synagogue at Bridgetown, Barbados* (Privately printed, 195?), pp. vii, xvii, 141.

<sup>41</sup>*The Journal*, xxiv/3 (May 1957), 141 (August 3, 1752).

<sup>42</sup>*The Journal*, xxiv/4 (August 1957), 196.

to be of pitch pine & deal boards." Very minutes during the next several months reek with repairs. On November 6, 1760, Mr. Abbott undertook to make "a new case for the Organ of Cypress, to repair the pipes eaten by the Wood Ants and to make a bellows-room, and an additional key to the Organ, according to the directions he shall receive from Mr. Thomas Pierce Junior, and also to remove the [rotten] part of the Organ." All these repairs and replacements proved vanity when a hurricane struck the island October 10, 1780, "tumbling into one heap" the entire church structure. During rebuilding the "old Father Smith organ was sold to St. Philip's Church" on the island. In 1788 rebuilt St. Michael's replaced the Father Smith organ with a Longman & Broderip costing £766.<sup>43</sup>

### *Williamsburg Musical Life, 1750-1800*

After returning from Barbados, Washington next visited Williamsburg—there delivering letters in late January 1752 to Robert Dinwiddie (1693-1770), appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia in July 1751.<sup>44</sup> Washington's fifty-odd visits to Williamsburg between 1752 and 1770 lasted usually less than a week each.<sup>45</sup> Only rarely, as in November and December of 1762 when attending sessions of the Burgesses, did he spend as long as 52 consecutive days in the Virginia colonial capital. Nevertheless, as often as possible while there, he attended plays, balls, and concerts, as well as Bruton church.

His expense accounts certify "Sundrie Tickets for ye Ball £4" on November 8, 1755; "Tickets to the Concert 16/3" on November 21, 1757; "Capitol Ball 35/" on November 10, 1759; "Play Tickets at Sundry times £7.11.3" on October 8, 1760; play tickets bought for 5/, 10/, 12/6, 8/9 and 5/ on April 26, 29, May 2, 3, and 19, 1763; tickets "to hear the Armonica 3/9" on May 2, 1765; "Ticket to the Concert 5/" on April 10, 1767; and play tickets at £1.7.6. bought May 2, 1768.<sup>46</sup> The players seen by Washington at Williamsburg in 1760 and 1763 belonged to the American company of Comedians managed by David Douglass (died aged about 70 at Spanish Town, Jamaica, August 9, 1789).<sup>47</sup> The players at Williamsburg in 1768 calling

<sup>43</sup>*Barbados Diocesan History*, p. 76. In 1923 St. Michael's [Cathedral] purchased a three-manual J. W. Walker & Sons (London) for £5000. For further organ details see Hudson, pp. 173-179. Hudson provides a complete list of St. Michael's organists from 1701 to his own appointment in 1921. Widow Katharine Wharton, the only woman in the list, served from March 4, 1793, to her death in 1801. On her death, William T. Wall was appointed organist at £100, besides a sum of £25 "for his care and instruction of the children to chaunt part of the Church service." Timothy William Wall served 1807-1858; Alexander F. Thorne 1858-1872; Martin E. Doorly, Mus. Bac. 1872-1876 and 1887-1889; Edwin Gubb 1876-1880; Norman J. D. Cummins 1880-1887; B. A. N. Cogwell, F.R.C.O., 1890-1891; Ernest Bedford, A.R.C.O., 1891-1895; Ernest P. Sibthorpe 1896-1899; Charles Packer Bowen 1899-1920.

<sup>44</sup>*The Daily Journal of Major George Washington in 1751-2*, ed. J. M. Toner (Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1892), pp. 75-76. Dinwiddie, previously customs collector in Bermuda and surveyor for the southern part of America, served until January 1758, when Francis Fauquier succeeded him.

<sup>45</sup>For Washington's visits to Williamsburg, 1753 to 1763, see John C. Fitzpatrick, *George Washington Colonial Traveller 1732-1775* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1927), pp. 42, 50, 62-63, 74, 81, 89, 95, 109, 116, 125-128, 131, 144, 151-152, 154, 158-159, 161, 163-165, 167. Later trips up to 1775 turn up every other page or so.

<sup>46</sup>Paul Leicester Ford, *Washington and the Theatre* (New York: The Dunlap Society, 1899), p. 19, listed sample entries.

<sup>47</sup>Concerning Douglass, see Richardson Wright, *Revels in Jamaica 1682-1838* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1937), pp. 28-29. Starting in Jamaica as a printer, he there married the widow of Lewis Hallam, sr., whose troupe of Comedians from London had played Williamsburg in 1752, Charleston, South Carolina, in January 1755. For a summary of Douglass's American career, see Phyllis Hartnoll, *Oxford Companion to the Theatre*, 3rd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 246.



themselves the Virginia Company of Comedians were an offshoot of Douglass's American Company.

On June 3, 1768, the Virginia Company gave *The Beggar's Opera* at Williamsburg with William Verling acting Captain Macnearth, Henrietta Osborne doubling as Mrs. Peachum and Lucy Lockit, and James Godwin playing Filch and dancing the "Drunken Peasant."<sup>48</sup> Peter Pelham, organist of Bruton Parish Church and the leading musician in Virginia during the second half of the eighteenth century, conducted the music.<sup>49</sup> According to the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, xii/4 (April 1904), 236:

In 1771 the Hallam Company once more appeared in Williamsburg, under the name of the American Company of Comedians. Lewis Hallam [1740?-1808] was now at his best, and the main support was his cousin, Miss Sarah Hallam. The diary of General Washington shows that he was a constant attendant at the theatre in Williamsburg during this season. At these entertainments, Peter Pelham, the organist at Bruton church, furnished the musical accompaniments.

Because Washington saw not only numerous theatrical performances at Williamsburg with "musical accompaniments by Peter Pelham" but also attended church there<sup>50</sup> the Pelham in question deserves better identification than he has thus far received in dictionaries.

Meredith B. Colket, Jr. published numerous family details in "The Pelhams of England and New England VII. Peter Pelham of Boston, Massachusetts," *The American Genealogist*, xx/2 (October 1943), pp. 68-69.

#### PETER PELHAM III

Peter Pelham III (born at London, England, December 9, 1721, baptized at St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, December 21, 1721; died at Richmond, Virginia, April 28, 1805) was the eldest surviving son of the London-born Peter Pelham II (1697-1751), noted mezzotint engraver who emigrated to Boston when Peter Pelham III was five years of age. In Boston, the Pelham home "was the center of a highly cultured group and the only one in New England at that time where painting and engraving were the predominant pursuits."<sup>51</sup>

On his own admission, Peter Pelham III studied nine years with Charles Theodore Pachelbell,<sup>52</sup> who reached Boston in about 1732. On February 25, 1734, Pachelbell

<sup>48</sup>Hugh F. Rankin, *The Theater in Colonial America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), pp. 144-145.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, facsimile of the playbill opposite p. 113, containing this legend at the bottom: "The Musick of the Opera will be conducted by Mr. Pelham."

<sup>50</sup>Sample entry in his *Diaries*: "Sunday Apl. 27th. [1760] Went to Church." See Donald Jackson, ed., *The Diaries of George Washington*, 1, 274.

<sup>51</sup>For biographical details concerning Peter Pelham (1697-1751), the father of Peter Pelham III, see George C. Grace and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), 497. Born in London, the mezzotint engraver Pelham emigrated in 1727 to Boston, whence he moved after his first wife's death in 1734 to Newport, Rhode Island. Three years later he reestablished himself in Boston. In 1748 he married his third wife, who was the mother of John Singleton Copley (1738-1815).

<sup>52</sup>Son of Johann Pachelbel[?], Carl Theodor Pachelbell was baptized at Stuttgart November 24, 1690. Virginia Larkin Redway, "Charles Theodore Pachelbell, Musical Emigrant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vi/1 (Spring 1952), 33, gave February 25, 1733, as the date that the churchwardens of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, invited Pachelbell to "come assist us in putting up the [Richard Bridge] organ" sent from England by Dean Berkeley. Her source, George Champlin Mason,

was invited to come play the two-manual Richard Bridge organ donated to Trinity Church, Newport, the year previous by Dean George Berkeley.<sup>31</sup> With his family, Peter Pelham III lived some two years in Newport, Rhode Island, 1734–1735. Pachelbell quit Newport before December 26, 1735. After harpsichord concerts in New York City January 11 and March 9, 1736, Pachelbell settled at opulent Charleston, South Carolina. The young Peter Pelham III again followed his teacher there. On February 16, 1738, Pachelbell married a local resident, in February 1739 was elected organist of St. Philip's, on September 10, 1739, fathered a son, on March 6, 1749, advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette* his intention to open a singing school, in September 1749 fell seriously ill, and on September 15, 1750 was buried at St. Philip's.<sup>34</sup>

Peter Pelham III remained at Charleston from at least 1740 to 1742, there earning a livelihood as harpsichord teacher of aristocratic pupils.<sup>35</sup> Pelham returned to

*Annals of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island. 1698–1821* (Newport, R.I.: G. C. Mason, 1890), p. 57, gave February 25, 1733, old style = February 25, 1734, new style, as date of the invitation.

<sup>31</sup>Orpha Ochse, in her extremely valuable *The History of the Organ in the United States* (Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1975), p. 465, quotes from *The Organ* [London], VIII/29 (July 1928), the specifications of the Berkeley-donated organ, as the organist in 1840 knew it. But she errs at p. 29 in claiming that Berkeley first gave the organ to the town of Berkeley, Massachusetts. She continues with these further errors: "considering the organ to be an instrument of the Devil, the town asked Berkeley to take it away. He then gave it to Trinity Church, where, evidently a more liberal view of instrumental music was held." For the true facts contradicting this tissue of falsehoods, see Benjamin Rand, *Berkeley's American Sojourn [1729–1731]* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932), pp. 59–60.

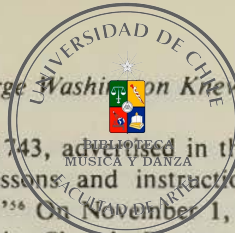
The religious interest of Berkeley in America was exhibited further in gifts to individual churches. His benefactions were made mostly through the agency of Henry Newman, the agent of Harvard College Corporation in London, who was also Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge from 1708 to 1743. Among these gifts was that of an organ to Trinity Church in Newport. Newman writes in a letter dated October 1733 to the Rev. Mr. James Honyman [rector of Trinity Church, Newport, 1704 to 1750, the year of his death] as follows: "Rev'd Sir: This day I shipped on board the Godfrey, Capt. Draper of your town, a fine new organ made on purpose for your church by the Rev. Mr. Dean Berkeley. I have a letter from the Dean for you to send in the ship that carries the organ by whom I shall send particular directions how to put it up in your church, where I hope it may be long used to the glory of God in celebrating his praises by the harmony and fervor it may add to the devotions of those who attend your congregations." The evidence of this letter—first published by William Osborn Bird Allen and Edmund McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698–1898* (London: SPCK, 1898), p. 251—clearly proves incorrect the statement which has been frequently made in print that the organ was first sent to the town bearing his name, but that not being welcomed because the inhabitants were opposed to instrumental music in churches it was presented to Trinity Church, Newport.

In addition to the gift of the organ Newman writes that by Berkeley's leave he had insured it for one hundred and fifty pounds and paid the freight "to ease your flock of any burthen on that score." In a letter of September 26, 1735, Newman acknowledges a favor of November 27 (1734), from the Rev. Mr. Honyman with a letter enclosed to the Bishop of Cloyne. This letter he says was immediately forwarded to his lordship in Ireland. He adds, "I am glad to hear that of the organ being come safe into your hands and that you are so well provided with an organist" [Charles Theodore Pachelbell].

Berkeley's musical enthusiasms did not cool in Ireland. As late as February 2, 1742, he asked that "a large four-stringed bass violin, excellent bass viol from France be the number of strings that will, and six-stringed bass viol of an old make and mellow tone" be sent him at Cloyne. On September 6, 1743, he claimed music to be "the reigning passion at Cloyne." See *The Works of George Berkeley, D.D.*, ed. Alexander Campbell Fraser (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1871), IV, 280, 289.

<sup>34</sup>Biographical details in George W. Williams, "Early Organists at St. Philip's, Charleston," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, LIV/2 (April 1953), 84.

<sup>35</sup>*Letters & Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham 1739–1776*, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, LXXI (1914), pp. 6 (Peter Pelham I at London to his son Peter II at Boston, a letter dated July 4, 1741, in which he states: "I am heartily Pleased to hear, by Lady D: Lorain [Elizabeth Fenwick, married to Henry Scott, a son of the Earl of Deloraine] that Came from Charlestowne in Carolina



Boston in 1743 and on May 30, 1743, advertised in the *Boston Evening-Post* his readiness to give harpsichord lessons and instruction in the "Rudiments of Psalmody, Hymns, Anthems, &c."<sup>56</sup> On November 1, 1744, a two-manual organ built by Abraham Jordan for Trinity Church, Boston, arrived.<sup>57</sup> Peter Pelham III set it up and at age 23 became Trinity's first organist. On June 25, 1746, he married in that church Ann Creese who died September 10, 1778. Ann was a daughter of Thomas Creese,<sup>58</sup> apothecary of Boston and Newport, Rhode Island. By Ann, Peter Pelham III had fourteen children, the first two born at Boston in 1747 and 1748, the next at Hampton, Virginia in September 1750, the fifth in Suffolk County, Virginia, in 1754.<sup>59</sup> Of the fourteen children, six survived him. Elizabeth (April 3, 1765; October 5, 1805) tended him in his blindness during his last three years.<sup>60</sup>

Bruton Parish Church at Williamsburg, "the Court Church of Colonial Virginia,"<sup>61</sup> acquired a long-desired organ in 1755. Already 26 years earlier, steps to obtain such an organ had been initiated. On June 29, 1729, William Gooch (lieutenant-governor 1727–1749) had written Edmund Gibson, bishop of London 1723–1748, a letter saying: "I am prevailed upon by the Gentlemen of the Country to beg the favour of your lordship to interced with His or Her Majesty for an Organ for our

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about a year ago, that my Grandson Peter [III] was a Genteel Clever young man being very well acquainted with her by teaching Miss Fenwick her sister to play on the Harpsicord which he Performs very well.); 10 (Helena Pelham, Peter III's aunt, writes Peter II September 1, 1741, that "a lady hear [London] told my father she knew Petter, for that he taught her sister on the harpsycord at South Carrolina, and that he was a verey agreeable entertaining young man."); 12 (Helena writes February 19, 1742: "my father heard that Petter was a sencable young man, and verey chomical and entertaining. Lady Delleraine knows him. he teaches her sister at South carrolina. She came from thence."); 15 (Peter III's grandfather writes Peter II a letter dated at London October 12, 1742, stating: "I had the Pleasure of a Letter from Dear Peter from Charlestowne, Carolina, the 15th of May last, which I Designe to Answer very soone: it Rejoices me Extreemly to hear by the Countess of Deloraine that Came from thence that he is Extreemly Likd, and behaves himself mighty well, and teaches her sister to play on the spinett and has a very good Character").

<sup>56</sup>*Boston Evening-Post*, No. 408 (May 30, 1743), p. 4, col. 2: "MR. PETER PELHAM, JUN. who has been from Boston for these Nine Years past, under the Tuition of an accomplish'd Professor of the Art of Musick, is now return'd; and ready to attend Ladies and Gentlemen as a Tutor in that Art, on the Harpsicord or Spinett. And further offers his Attendance on young Ladies and Gentlemen at his Father's House (or School in Leveret's Lane near King Street) on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, from Six to Eight in the Evening (or Nine if requisite) in order to Teach the Rudiments of Psalmody, Hymns, Anthems, &c."

<sup>57</sup>Orpha Ochse, *The History of the Organ in the United States*, pp. 24–25, quoting *Boston Organ Newsletter*, ed. Edgar A. Broadway, nos. 53, pp. 2–3, and 54, p. 2.

<sup>58</sup>Thomas Creese was a vestryman of King's Chapel, Boston, 1702, 1705, 1715–1720, and 1723. In 1713 he "Contributed Towards the maintenance and Support of the Organs Given by Thomas Brattle, Esq' for the Use of the Church of England in Boston." See Henry Wilder Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1882), 1211; also, indexed entries at the close of the second volume (1896) completed by Henry H. Edes.

<sup>59</sup>Peter III's aunt Helena wrote his brother Charles a letter dated at Chichester, England, February 15, 1762, pitying Peter for having already five children. See Copley-Pelham Letters, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, LXXI, 24: "So your brother has five children, poor man I pity him."

<sup>60</sup>Concerning her, see below, p. 38.

<sup>61</sup>For history of the parish, see George Carrington Mason, "Historic Parishes of America: Bruton Parish," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, xiv/4 (December 1945), 276–293. Bruton became the court church when the capital was moved from Jamestown to Williamsburg in 1699. In 1715 a newly erected church to accommodate the larger number of worshippers was inaugurated. After addition of east (1720) and south (1721) galleries to the west (1715), the church was enlarged to one hundred feet in length by act of assembly February 27, 1752.

church at Williamsburgh, one of £200 value would be large enough."<sup>62</sup> Having received no reply to his request for such a gift, Gooch wrote again thirteen months later, July 23, 1730, reminding Bishop Gibson that "those who make it their Request to me, did not know that I had applied to Your Lordship for an Organ."<sup>63</sup>

On February 27, 1752, the Virginia General Assembly empowered John Blair and three others to supervise enlargement of Bruton Parish Church at Williamsburg, and "to send to Great Britain for, and purchase a musical organ, for the use of, and to be placed and kept in, the said church, not exceeding the sum of two hundred pounds."<sup>64</sup> Among burgesses opposing the organ, English-educated<sup>65</sup> Landon Carter (1710-1778), who represented Richmond County 1752 to 1768, confided to his diary the following objections:<sup>66</sup>

April 15 [1752] Wednesday. The bill for repairing the Church passed with its organ. Some Mountaineers thought an organ was some strange instrument or Rather Monster and so voted only to have the opportunity of seeing one. The repair is to cost £300 and the Organ £200 Sterling, and when it is got, who is to play upon it? Not in the bill at present. The Gentlemen intend to find one and all other Charges, but I humbly conceive these are but promises and at a future day the money will be askt of us. Yet our fools could not believe this, although I told them the Whole in a long speech. Besides experience has informed us tha' these instruments could not stand long in this Country. Dust, Spiders, and dirt daubers would Stop up all the Pipes, and when it should be out of Repair what artificer had we to mend it.

Not for Landon Carter, organs, not for him plays "surfeited with Stupidity and nonsense"—nor for him any of the "constant tuting" along Duke of Gloucester Street that later, in his opinion, stole too much of the burgesses's time at Williamsburg.<sup>67</sup> In 1752 the teacher of "a true Method of singing Psalms, at the College of William and Mary, or at the Church in Williamsburg" was John Tompkins.<sup>68</sup> Psalms sung at Bruton Church by Tompkins's scholars were enough music for Landon Carter.

The organ that finally arrived in 1755 presumably came over from London on James Cuncannon's *Dolphin*—the same ship entering Virginia waters January 7 that carried Cuthbert Ogle. By 1751-1752 Ogle had made something of a reputation as a harpsichordist and impresario-conductor at London. Shortly after arrival at Williamsburg he inserted in *The Virginia Gazette* of March 28 (page 4, column 1) and April 11, 1755, this advertisement:

<sup>62</sup>"The Virginia Clergy: Governor Gooch's Letters to the Bishop of London 1727-1749 From the Fulham Manuscripts," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, xxxii/3 (July 1924), 228.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, 234.

<sup>64</sup>William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large: being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia* (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1819), vi, 231.

<sup>65</sup>Jack P. Greene, *Landon Carter, An Inquiry into the Personal Values and Social Imperatives of the Eighteenth-Century Virginia Gentry* (Charlottesville: Dominion Books, 1967), p. 2. From age nine to sixteen he studied in Solomon Low's private school at London, and upon returning to Virginia enrolled at the College of William and Mary.

<sup>66</sup>*The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine hall, 1752-1778*, ed. Jack P. Greene (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965), i, 103.

<sup>67</sup>Maurer Maurer, "A Musical Family in Colonial Virginia," *Musical Quarterly*, xxxiv/3 (July 1948), 363, compared Landon Carter unfavorably with his melomane nephew Robert ("Councillor") Carter. Mary Newton Stanard, *Colonial Virginia, its people and customs* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1917), p. 311, wrote: "In 1771 Landon Carter, of 'Sabine Hall,' grouchily confided to his diary [August 21, 1771]—apropos of the popularity of music in Williamsburg—'I hear from every house a constant tuting may be listened to upon one instrument or another.'" See *The Diaries of Colonel Landon Carter*, ii, 618.

<sup>68</sup>*The Virginia Gazette*, November 3, 1752, p. 1, column 2.

The subscriber living at Mr. Nicholson's in Williamsburg proposes to teach Gentlemen and Ladies to play on the Organ, Harpsichord or Spinnet; and to instruct those Gentlemen to play on other Instruments as to enable them to play a concert. Upon encouragement I will fix in any part of the Country.

Describing the music brought by Ogle from London, John W. Molnar wrote:<sup>69</sup>

Ogle must have given considerable thought to his Virginia venture. He included in his choice of music a generous sampling of English and Italian vocal music; organ-harpsichord and violin pieces ranging in technical difficulty from easy to difficult; a Harlequinade; a rather large selection of concertos, both organ-harpsichord and concerti grossi, and a textbook on through-bass. Seemingly he expected to continue the same kind of musical activity, on a smaller scale, as that in which he performed during the London 1751-1752 concert series.

Ogle died at Williamsburg April 23, 1755, twelve days after advertising for pupils. On November 18, 1755, Bruton Church vestry<sup>70</sup>

Ordered that the Rev. and Honorable Commissary Thomas Dawson, the Honorable Jno. Blair, Esqr., Peyton Randolph, Esqr., Benjamin Waller, Esqr., or any three of them, do agree with a person to build a Loft for an Organ in the Church in the City of Williamsburg, and to set up the same. Mr. Peter Pelham is unanimously appointed and chosen Organist of the Church in the City of Williamsburg.

Pelham's setting up the organ between November 1755 and April 1756 began one of the lengthiest organistships in eighteenth-century America.

At the April 8, 1756, session of the Assembly was read<sup>71</sup>

A Petition of *Peter Pelham*, setting forth, That in Pursuance of an Act of Assembly made in the Year 1752, an Organ hath been purchased and placed in the Church in the City of *Williamsburg*: That the Petitioner set up and fitted the said Organ for use, and hath ever since performed on the same as Organist, and praying that this House will make him some Satisfaction for his Trouble in setting up the said Organ, and will appoint him Organist.

On May 4, 1756, upon a motion made in the Assembly it was<sup>72</sup>

*Resolved*, That the sum of £20 be paid by the Treasurer of this Colony out of public Money in his Hands, to *Peter Pelham* for his trouble in setting up the Organ in the Church of the City of *Williamsburg*, and performing on the same during this Session.

However, a mere £20 disappointed Pelham's expectations. On Thursday May 5, 1757, he returned to Assembly with a further petition<sup>73</sup>

setting forth, That he hath hitherto performed in the Organ provided by this House for the Church in this City; that there is no Salary settled for the said Service, and that he entirely

<sup>69</sup>"A Collection of Music in Colonial Virginia: The Ogle Inventory," *Musical Quarterly*, XLVIII/2 (April 1963), 155-156. For an earlier discussion of the music brought by Ogle, see Maurer Maurer's "The Library of a Colonial Musician, 1755," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., VII/1 (January 1950), 39-52. Although unaware of Ogle's London biography, Maurer rightly stated, p. 50, that all the music brought with him "was being issued by London music houses or printers." The Ogle inventory studied by both Maurer and Molnar first reached print in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 1st ser., III/4 (April 1895), 251-253 (section LVIII in Lyon G. Tyler's "Libraries in Colonial Virginia"). Peter Pelham, Charles Jones, and John Low signed the "appraisalment."

<sup>70</sup>William A. R. Goodwin, *The Record of Bruton Parish Church*, ed. Mary Francis Goodwin (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1941), pp. 140-141.

<sup>71</sup>H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia 1752-1755, 1756-1758* (Richmond, Virginia: The Colonial Press, 1909), pp. 358-359.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 394.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 452.

depends on the voluntary Subscriptions of the Inhabitants, which is far from being sufficient Recompence for his said Service, and praying the Consideration of this House.

In reply, the House raised him to £25 for the Spring session—the extra £5 supposedly being paid him for “keeping the Organ in order.” This stopgap did not come to the root of the matter, however. On Tuesday, October 3, 1758, during a session attended by George Washington representing Frederick County, Pelham complained<sup>74</sup>

That he hath hitherto performed as Organist in the Church in the City of *Williamsburg*, without any Salary or Allowance for his Trouble, except a few voluntary Subscriptions.

Not being able to muster votes to pay him a significant salary as organist, the Assembly at the same session appointed “George Davenport and Peter Pelham, gentlemen . . . to overlook the press, during the time of printing the [treasury] notes to be issued” by the colony not in excess of the sum of £20,000, for military expenses. Davenport and Pelham, each for the sum of £20,<sup>75</sup>

shall use their best care, attention and diligence, that the number and amount of the said notes, according to their respective denominations aforesaid, be not exceeded, nor any fraudulent practices used by the printer, his servants, or any person concerned therein; and shall number and deliver such notes, when printed, to the persons appointed to sign the same respectively, taking his or their receipt for the same, from time to time.

When again on Friday May 23, 1760, “An Act for raising the Sum of £32,000 for the Relief of the Garrison at Fort Loudoun, in the Cherokee Country” passed the House, Pelham and two other “overlookers of the press” were each authorized “for their trouble therein, the sum of thirty pounds.”<sup>76</sup> Similar authorizations of £30 passed during the session of March 30 to April 17, 1762,<sup>77</sup> of £10 during the November 1769 session,<sup>78</sup> and of £25 during the July 1771 session.<sup>79</sup> For numbering notes issued under authority of the March 1773 session Pelham received £30.<sup>80</sup> The July 1775 interregnum session authorized Pelham £15 for “overseeing the press.”

A four-year hiatus without payment for being Assembly organist intervened after the House of Burgesses paid Pelham £25 for being session organist from March 31 to April 16, 1768.<sup>81</sup> On Tuesday, December 12, 1769, the House “Ordered, That M<sup>r</sup> Peter Pelham be discharged from the Service of this House, as Organist.”<sup>82</sup> Thereafter for only one year beginning February 26, 1772, did the House temporarily renew Pelham’s £25 “Salary as Organist, to continue till the End of the next Session of the General Assembly.”<sup>83</sup>

<sup>74</sup>McIlwaine, ed., *Journals . . . 1758-1761* (Richmond: The Colonial Press, 1908), p. 35.

<sup>75</sup>Hening, *The Statutes . . . of Virginia* (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1820), vii, 351. The appropriation bill authorizing £20,000 “for the Defence of the Frontiers of this Colony” passed the House October 10, 1758.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*, vii, 361.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*, vii, 499.

<sup>78</sup>Hening, *Statutes* (1821), viii, 347.

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, viii, 501.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, viii, 649, 651.

<sup>81</sup>*Statutes*, ix, 68.

<sup>82</sup>John Pendleton Kennedy, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia 1766-1769* (Richmond: The Colonial Press, 1906), pp. 174, 353. George Washington represented Frederick Country 1758 to 1765, Fairfax 1766 to 1775.

<sup>83</sup>Kennedy, ed., *Journals . . . 1770-1772* (1906), p. 191. This resumption of organist’s salary did not last beyond March 15, 1773.



To make up what Pelham was now losing because the House no longer employed an Assembly organist after December 2, 1769, the House instead appointed Pelham to his most notorious occupation<sup>84</sup>—that of Williamsburg town gaol keeper from 1770 to at least 1780.<sup>85</sup> His annual salary for being Public Gaoler continued at a mere “forty Pounds, per Annum” through 1774. But his humanitarianism found vent as early as February 14, 1772, when he informed the Burgesses<sup>86</sup>

that, from the Scarcity and Demands of Provisions, it is difficult to afford a comfortable Subsistence to the unhappy Prisoners under his Care, out of ten Pounds of Tobacco per Day, allowed for the Maintenance of each of them.

Again on May 26, 1774, he complained<sup>87</sup>

that ten pounds of Tobacco per day for the maintenance of each Prisoner is too scanty an allowance, especially when the unhappy Offender is afflicted with Sickness which is frequently the Case.

Pelham seems himself to have shared some of the discomforts of the prisoners committed to his charge. On Wednesday, March 10, 1773,

A *Petition of Peter Pelham*, keeper of the public Gaol, was presented in the House and read; setting forth, that the apartments in the said Gaol, appropriated to the use of the Petitioner, are but few in number, and they so small and contracted as to be very inconvenient, and therefore submitting the matter to the consideration of the House, and praying such relief as shall be thought reasonable.

More directly linked with his Bruton Church organistship than his overseeing the printing of treasury notes or his keeping the “Public Gaol” were such other activities as Pelham’s inspection of instruments and his appraisal and selling of music. As early as January 14 and 15, 1751, a year after arrival in the colony, he inspected a spinet owned by John Blair (1687–1771), who twice served as acting governor of Virginia. Blair’s diary adds: “Mr. Pelham approved of it, and the musick sent with it.”<sup>88</sup> Not only did he make so detailed an inventory of Cuthbert Ogle’s estate mentioned above that a four-page itemized catalogue (of music by Domenico Alberti, John Alcock, Charles Avison, Henry Burgess, father or son, Felice Giardini, Lewis Christian Austin Granom, George Frideric Handel, Johann Adolph Hasse, John Hebden, Richard Leveridge, James Nares, Nicolò Pasquali, Henry Purcell, Jean-Philippe Rameau, eleven other composers, and various anthologized composers) could be published in *The Musical Quarterly*, XLVIII/2 (April 1963), 158–161, but also Pelham appraised each individual item before Ogle’s music was sold<sup>89</sup> (final settlement was made of Ogle’s estate January 16, 1756).

<sup>84</sup>See Maurer Maurer, “Peter Pelham: Organist-Jailer,” *Tyler’s Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, xxviii/1 (July 1946), 12–13; *Journals . . . 1770–1772*, 130, 171–172.

<sup>85</sup>Lester J. Cappon and Stella F. Duff, *Virginia Gazette Index 1736–1780* (Williamsburg: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1950), II, 864.

<sup>86</sup>*Journals . . . 1770–1772*, p. 165.

<sup>87</sup>John Pendleton Kennedy, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia 1773–1776* (Richmond: The Colonial Press, 1905), p. 131. *The Virginia Gazette* of April 1, 1780, p. 2. col. 2, contains a letter thanking Pelham for treatment in jail.

<sup>88</sup>“Diary of John Blair,” *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, viii/1 (July 1899), 1.

<sup>89</sup>Molnar, p. 156: “His monetary evaluation of each item showed that he was aware of both the current cost of music in London, and its possible market value in the colony.”

Pelham continued selling music thirteen years later. On August 21, 1769, the year after John Blair's second term as acting governor of Virginia, Blair's daughter Anne wrote her married sister Martha Braxton: "dear me I forgot to get those Song's I promised; well I will to Pelham on purpose for them this evening." In the same letter, Anne continued immediately with the names of composers that she heard Pelham playing nearly every evening while the Bruton Church door lay open.<sup>90</sup>

They are building a steeple to our Church, the Door's for that reason open every day; and scarce an Evening (as Dicky can tell you) but we are entertain'd with the performances of Felton's, Handel's, Vi-vally's [Vivadli's], &c. &c. &c. &c. I could say a great deal about this, and that, & tother, but knowing the Company you now have can tell all that I know, with greater ease than I can write it—will refer you to them.

Although in this letter to her sister, Anne Blair mentions no original music by Pelham, he was at least enough of a composer to write the 44-measure, D Major "Minuet by Mr. Pelham" published with a keyboard realization by James S. Darling<sup>91</sup> in *A Little Keyboard Book* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), pages 3–5, and excerpted in Darling and Maureen McF. Wiggins's "A Constant Tuting—The Music of Williamsburg," *Music Educators Journal*, LXI/3 (November 1974), 60.

Beginning in August 1773, Pelham belonged to the Williamsburg Lodge of Masons chartered November 6, 1773. Alexander Purdie and John Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, No. 1152, of August 26, 1773, page 2, column 3, documents Pelham's playing at the Masonic funeral of William Rind, printer to the colony. After a Masonic procession ahead of the corpse to Bruton Church, the Reverend John Dixon, professor of divinity in William and Mary College officiated the service. At it, "a solemn Dirge, suitable to the Occasion, was performed on the Organ<sup>92</sup> by Mr. Peter Pelham, a Brother likewise."

Who composed the dirge played by Pelham August 26, 1773, does not appear. But the composers of the music announced by the Purdie and Dixon *Gazette* (no. 1048) of August 29, 1771, for sale at Williamsburg that day embraced a variety worth enumerating. The advertisement of page 3, column 1, itemized the following music just arrived from London:<sup>93</sup>

<sup>90</sup>"Letter of Anne Blair to Martha Braxton," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, xvi/3 (January 1908), 179.

<sup>91</sup>Organist-choirmaster of Bruton Parish Church and organ and harpsichord instructor at William and Mary College since 1961, Darling became musical consultant for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in 1968. Born at Hampton, Virginia, May 29, 1929, he obtained the B.A. and B.Mus. degrees from Yale University in 1950 and 1951, and subsequently studied organ with Robert Noehren at University of Michigan. From 1954 to 1961 he was organist of Plymouth Church, Shaker Heights, Cleveland, Ohio, and from 1956 to 1960 taught at Lake Erie College and Western Reserve University. His editions of *The Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany of Robert Bremner* and of *A Jefferson Music Book* incorporate facsimile reproductions of pieces in the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Library.

<sup>92</sup>On June 24, 1777, the Williamsburg Lodge ordered a "Subscription among the Brotherhood for the purpose of collecting a sum of Money to be laid out in an organ for the use of this Lodge." See "Williamsburg Lodge of Masons," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, xxv/3 (January 1917), 153.

<sup>93</sup>Nearly all items can be exactly or reasonably identified in Edith B. Schnapper, ed., *The British Union-Catalogue of Early Music printed before the Year 1801* (London: Butterworths Scientific Publications, 1957).



Midas, the Padlock, and Love in a Village, for the Harpsichord, Voice, German Flute, Violin, or Guitar; the Maid of the Mill, and Cunning Man, for the Harpsichord, German Flute or Hautboy;<sup>[94]</sup>

Periodical Overtures for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte, &c.; eight Italian sonatas for two Violines or Flutes, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord, by several eminent Composers; [Johann Christian] Fischer's Minuet with Variations for the Harpsichord;<sup>[95]</sup> Arnold, Galuppi, and [Joseph] Mazzinghi's Sonatas for the Harpsichord;<sup>[96]</sup>

[Nicolò] Pasquali, [Carlo Antonio] Campioni, Schobert, [Johann August] Just, [Gaetano] Pugnani, [Pietro Grassi] Florio, [James] Lates, and [Franz Xaver] Richter's Sonatas; Stamitz's Concertos, Duets, and grand Orchestra Trios; [Quirino] Gasparini's Trios; Corelli's Solos; Vivaldi's Cuckoo Concertos; [Emmanuele] Barbella and Romano's Duets.

The Purdie and Dixon *Gazette* of September 17, 1772 (page 2, column 2) announced *A Catalogue of Books, Stationery, &c. to be sold at the Post Office, Williamsburg*. This catalogue included the following *Musick*:

Stamitz's Orchestra Trios, Fischer's favourite Minuet, [Henry] Brewster's Vauxhall and Grotto Songs [London: Longman Lukey & Co., (1771)], The Cunning Man, a Musical Entertainment,<sup>[97]</sup> Abel's favourite Overtures, Pasquali's Thorough Bass made easy,<sup>[98]</sup> [Henry] Burgess Senior's Lessons for the Harpsichord, Corelli's Solos, Stamitz, Barbella, Reinards' and Florio's Duets, Gasparini's Trios, Instrumental Parts to Stamitz's Concertos, [Friedrich] Schwindl, Lates Junior, Richter, Campioni, Pasquali, Just, Pugnani, and [Alessandro] Besozzi's [= Besozzi's] Sonatas.

Instructions for the Common and German Flute, Violines, Screw and common Bows, Bridges, and Strings, Ivory and other German flutes, some of a new Construction.

Along with other sorts of merchandise, music imports from Britain ceased after the Revolution started.<sup>99</sup> Pelham's family sided with the colonists. But merchants in Virginia such as the Scotsman Alexander Macaulay (Glasgow, November 1754;

<sup>94</sup>*Midas*, the first "English burletta" (libretto and music arranged by Kane O'Hara, 1711-1782), emigrated from Dublin for its first performance at Covent Garden February 22, 1764; *The Padlock* (by Charles Dibdin) started at Drury Lane October 3, 1768; *Love in a Village* (with music compiled and composed by T. A. Arne) premiered at Covent Garden December 8, 1762; *The Maid of the Mill* (pasticcio arranged by Samuel Arnold) reached Covent Garden January 31, 1765; *The Cunning-Man* (adapted from Rousseau's *Le devin du village* by Charles Burney) was first performed at Drury Lane November 21, 1766. The version of the latter advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* of August 29, 1771 (London: Robert Bremner, [1776]) is catalogued R2922 in RISM. See Karlheinz Schlager, ed., *Einzeldrucke vor 1800* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), vii, 263.

<sup>95</sup>The oboe virtuoso Fischer's *A Favourite Concerto* [No. 1.] for the Hoboy or German Flute with Instrumental Parts (London: Welcker [1768]) contained the minuet = rondeau varied by Mozart (K189a = 179) and others.

<sup>96</sup>London: C. and S. Thompson, [c. 1770], 27 pp.; see *British Union-Catalogue*, II, 964.

<sup>97</sup>Facsimile of title page (London: R. Bremner, [1767]) in Percy A. Scholes, *The Great Dr. Burney* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), I, opposite p. 110.

<sup>98</sup>*Thorough-bass made easy: or, Practical rules for finding & applying its various chords with little trouble. together with a variety of examples in notes, shewing the manner of accompanying concertos, solos, songs, and recitatives* (Edinburgh: R. Bremner [1757]). Library of Congress copy catalogued MT252.A2P3.

<sup>99</sup>See "references from Virginia Gazette advertisements 1766-1776" in Albert Stoutamire, *Music of the Old South: Colony to Confederacy* (Rutherford, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972), pp. 36-38.

Yorktown July 17, 1798) "though the war of the Revolution a mistake."<sup>100</sup> Whether Macaulay wished to be taken seriously when he entered a panegyric of Williamsburg in his diary, Tuesday, March 23, 1783, or whether he was merely jibing at quondam glories, can be argued. At all events, he mentioned Bruton "Church fam'd for its noble Organ of one hundred tones, touch'd by the modern Orpheus—the inimitable Pelham."<sup>101</sup>

A better testimony to Pelham's continuing excellence after the capital moved to Richmond, because the intent is not arguable, appeared in Judge St. George Tucker's *A Letter To the Rev. Jedediah Morse., A.M. Author of the 'American Universal Geography'* (Richmond: Thomas Nicolson, 1795).<sup>102</sup> St. George Tucker, successor to George Wythe as William and Mary professor of law, "must have known the musician well, for his daughter, Frances, studied under Pelham."

Among the edifices which have hitherto withstood the shock of desolation, there is one, which the reader who relies upon the justice and candour of the author of the *American Universal Geography*, would probably not expect to hear of, namely, a church dedicated to the service of Almighty God: in this church there is a well toned Organ; and among the ancient inhabitants of the place, who have neither migrated to more prosperous places in the union, nor yet set out for 'that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns,' is the organist; whose skill in his profession still secures him a small subscription from his fellow villagers, as well as a competent number of pupils for his support. A week rarely passes in which a number of the inhabitants do not assemble for the purpose of passing an hour or two at church, while the ancient organist, or some of his pupils perform upon this instrument; and often is the passenger invited into the place, in a fine evening, by hearing 'The pealing anthem swell the note of praise,' about the time when our first parents 'Under open sky ador'd / The God that made the sky, air, earth and Heaven / Which they beheld.'

According to a letter written by Benjamin Crowninshield May 30, 1804,<sup>103</sup> to Dr. B. L. Oliver, Pelham departed for Richmond in about 1802, leaving his daughter Elizabeth to play in his stead. In about 1803 she followed her father to Richmond, where she died five months after his death. William and Mary College students in 1803 "nearly completed the destruction of the organ." But in May 1804, two Germans (not identified by name in Crowninshield's letter) stopped in Williamsburg, gave a concert that excited the sympathies of local people, and enlisted the support of the president of William and Mary from 1777, James Madison (1749–1812), who in 1790 had been elected first Protestant Episcopal bishop of Virginia. In a fortnight the two travelling German organ repairmen installed new pipes, new valves in the wind chest, and removed three stops—cornet, sexquinta, and vox humana. Among stops retained, Crowninshield's letter mentions open diapason, stop diapason, prin-

<sup>100</sup>"Journal of Alexander Macaulay," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, xi/1 (January 1903), 180.

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*, 186. Maurer, "Peter Pelham: Organist-Jailer," p. 13, credited Macaulay with wishing to be taken seriously, rather than indulging in mock heroism.

<sup>102</sup>See *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Papers*, ii/3 (January 1894). The quoted passage concerning Bruton Church organ and septuagenarian Pelham's performances in the 1790's is at pp. 191–192.

<sup>103</sup>Talmage Whitman Dean, "The Organ in Eighteenth-Century English Colonial America," University of Southern California Ph.D. dissertation, 1960, pp. 76–79, gathered the data in this paragraph.

principal, flute, twelfth, fifteenth, and trumpet. Thus reduced, the Bruton 1755 organ—probably a Richard Bridge<sup>104</sup>—remained serviceable until 1834.

### Mount Vernon musical instruments

After Lawrence Washington's death in July 1752 and his widow Ann's remarriage in 1754, George Washington leased the Mount Vernon 2126-acre estate for a yearly 15,000 pounds of tobacco until her death in 1761, when he inherited it outright.<sup>105</sup> On December 31, 1758, he resigned his command of Virginia troops and on January 6, 1759, married the widow Martha Dandridge Custis (1731–1802) who had two surviving children from her first marriage. He spent the next sixteen years developing Mount Vernon and other properties.

On October 12, 1761, he sent John Didsbury, his purchasing agent in London, an "invoice of sundry's to be shipped by Robert Cary Esq. & Co. for the uses of Master John [John Parke Custis, 1754–1781], and Miss Patsy Custis [Martha Parke Custis, 1756–1773], each to be charged to their own accounts, but both consigned to George Washington, Potomack River & Co." For "Miss Patsy Custis" the invoice specifies<sup>106</sup>

1 Very good Spinnet, to be made my Mr. Plinius, Harpsichord Maker in South Audley Street Grosvenor Square

Note, it is beg'd as a favour that Mr. Cary would bespeak this Instrument as for himself or a friend, and not let it be known that it is intended for Exportation. Send a good assortment of spare Strings to it.

Plinius (= Pleunis, Rutgert = Plenius, Roger [Orsoy, 1696; London, January 9, 1774]), a Dutch harpsichord maker, had emigrated from Amsterdam to London after 1735. On December 30, 1741, he patented at London "A new invention for the great improvement of and meliorating the musical instruments called harpsichords; & lyrichords which are harpsichords, strung with catgut; & spinnetts."<sup>107</sup> Among numerous other distinctions, Plinius = Pleunis = Plenius "built the first piano-forte to be made in England."<sup>108</sup> In 1756 Roger Plinius went bankrupt but may have

<sup>104</sup>See Barbara J. Owen, *The Organ and Music of King's Chapel* (Boston: King's chapel, 1966), p. 36, for specification of the 1756 Richard Bridge imported for King's Chapel.

<sup>105</sup>*Diaries*, ed. Donald Jackson, I, 241–242.

<sup>106</sup>*The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745–1799*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1931), II [1757–1769], 370.

<sup>107</sup>Alan Curtis, "Dutch Harpsichord Makers," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, XIX-1, 2 (1960–61), 56–57. See also Donald H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 120–121.

<sup>108</sup>For his authority, Curtis quotes Charles Burney, whose article "Harpsichord" in Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary*, xvii (1819), fol. Yy3<sup>r</sup> states that the first pianoforte "brought to England was made by an English monk at Rome, Father Wood, for an English friend (the late Samuel Crisp, esq. of Chesington) . . . Fulk Greville, esq. purchased this instrument of Mr. Crisp for 100 guineas, and it remained *unique* in this country for several years, till Plenius, the maker of the lyrichord, tuned by weights, and the tone produced by wheels, made a piano-forte in imitation of that of Mr. Greville."

reestablished his business by 1761. In any event, the desired spinet<sup>109</sup> reached Mount Vernon. On July 20, 1761, Washington wrote Robert Cary & Company in London a letter accompanied by an invoice of goods to be ship'd." For "Miss Custis 12 yrs. old" the invoice specified

A Blank Book bound and Ruld proper for the Spinnet

A Book with the New Version of Psalms and Hymns set for the Spinnet

For "Master Custis 14 yrs. old" the invoice bespoke

1 bound Blank Book ruled propr. for the Spinnet

1 Do Do Do proper for the fiddle

6 Bridges for a fiddle

Best Roman fiddle strings as follow

1/2 dozn. bass strings or 4ths

2 Rings of D or 3ds

4 Rings of A or 2d

2 dozn. first or treble to be carefully pacd

According to *The New Grove Dictionary*, xi, 220, George Washington in 1773 acquired a Longman and Broderip harpsichord from London for Mount Vernon.<sup>110</sup> However, Boalch corrects the year from 1773 to 1793, and identifies the two-manual Longman and Broderip at Mount Vernon, with 735 stamped on the nether side of the wrest pin, as the six-stop instrument (one stop a dummy) "ordered by George Washington for Nelly Custis" [Eleanor Parke Custis, 1779-1852] when she was fourteen.

Ralph Kirkpatrick, who made "technical notes" on this harpsichord, July 2, 1938, identified it as a five-octave (F<sub>2</sub>-f<sup>2</sup>), two-manual instrument with three sets of strings (two 8', one 4') and four sets of jacks, all furnished in leather. The lower manual controls 4', 8', and borrowed 8'; the upper manual controls borrowed 8' and nasal 8'. Continuing: Kirkpatrick identified the six stop knobs (left to right) as lute, nasal 8', 4', blank, borrowed 8', 8'. The Machine stop at the player's left removes 8' permanently, the left pedal for Machine stop removes 8' temporarily. The right pedal controls the Venetian swell. The history of this harpsichord after George Washington's death has been told in detail<sup>111</sup> and will again be referred to below at page 42. In 1802 it went to Woodlawn, in 1839 to Arlington House, and in 1859 came back to Mount Vernon as the first piece of original furniture recovered by the newly founded Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.

<sup>109</sup>Curtis, "Dutch Harpsichord Makers," plate opposite p. 47, shows a "Spinnet built by Johannes Plenius, probably the son of Rutger Plenius, in London, 1768. Undoubtedly a very similar instrument to the one George Washington ordered for his step-daughter in 1761. Photo courtesy of the Albert Institute, Dundee."

<sup>110</sup>Raymond Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord, An Introductory Study*, revised ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), p. 121, provided the authors of *The New Grove* article with the 1773 date, which on the face of it is wrong. Francis Broderip joined Longman in 1776. Only after 1782 did Longman and Broderip use the double address "No. 26 Cheapside and No. 13 Haymarket London."

<sup>111</sup>Gerald W. Johnson and Charles Cecil Wall, *Mount Vernon, The Story of A Shrine* (Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, 1953), pp. 40-41. Mrs. Lorenzo Lewis held title to the harpsichord after her mother's death in 1852. For a color photo of the harpsichord, see Helen Maggs Fede, *Washington Furniture at Mount Vernon* (Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, 1966), p. 54.



What became of the spinet ordered in 1769 for Miss Patsy Custis" comes to light in the accounts kept by Tobias Lear (1767-1816), the Harvard graduate from New Hampshire who served as Washington's private secretary from May 29, 1786<sup>112</sup> to Washington's death. First engaged as preceptor for George Washington Parke Custis (1781-1857), who was younger than his sister Nelly by two years (their father was John Parke Custis, after whose death in 1781 both were reared by George and Martha Washington), Tobias Lear in 1789 tutored both grandchildren. On April 23, 1789, Washington reached New York City to assume the duties of the presidency. On June 30, 1789, Lear's accounts show: "By Contingent Exp.<sup>s</sup> p.<sup>d</sup> M.<sup>r</sup> Dodd[s]"<sup>113</sup> for a Piano Forte for Miss E. Custis, 16 Guineas, 4 Guineas being allowed for an old Spinnett."<sup>114</sup> The spinet in question—transported from Mount Vernon in the coastal schooner *Murray, Mountford and Bowen*—arrived shortly before May 9, on which date Lear's accounts read: "By Contingent Exp.<sup>s</sup> p.<sup>d</sup> for the drayage of a Spinnett from M.<sup>r</sup> Bowen's Store to the Instrument Makers."<sup>115</sup>

On June 26, 1789, Lear paid Alexander Reinagle (1756-1809)<sup>116</sup> "Entrance money to instruct Miss Custis on the Piano Forte" in the amount of £2.8.0.<sup>117</sup> On October 16, 1789, Lear paid Reinagle £17 "for teaching Miss Custis Music & furnishing books."<sup>118</sup> These lessons with Reinagle continued in Philadelphia, where after leaving New York August 30, 1790, Washington established himself with the Congress for the remainder of his presidency. However, Reinagle in Philadelphia received

<sup>112</sup>*Diaries*, ed. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, iv (1978), 337-338.

<sup>113</sup>Thomas Dodds = Dobbs arrived in New York from London in 1785. In that year he advertised as an organ, harpsichord, and piano maker, "specimens of whose abilities in constructing may be seen and tried at his House, No. 74, in Queen Street." The *New York Independent Journal: or the General Advertiser* of August 13 cited his previously "having been employed upwards of twenty years in a very extensive line of business." He also advertised being a repairer and tuner of "the above-mentioned, and every other kind of Musical Instruments." See Rita S. Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York 1777-1799* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1954 [Collections of the New-York Historical Society, LXXXI]), p. 360. See also Rita Benton, "The Early Piano in the United States," *Hinrichsen's Eleventh Music Book: Music Libraries and Instruments* (London: Hinrichsen Edition, 1961), p. 180.

In 1792, now a partner with Clement Claus, a native of Stuttgart, who emigrated via London, Dodds advertised in *The Diary; or Loudon's Register* of September 19 making a "Forte-Piano much more acceptable than those imported" because able "to withstand the effect of our Climate, which imported instruments never do." According to the advertisement: "The Forte-Piano is become so exceedingly fashionable in Europe that few polite families are without it." It is "superior to the harpsi-chord" because it "takes up but little room, may be moved with ease, and consequently kept in tune with little attention."

<sup>114</sup>Stephen Decatur, Jr., *Private Affairs of George Washington From the Records and Accounts of Tobias Lear, Esquire, his Secretary* (Boston: The Riverside Press for Houghton Mifflin, 1933), p. 35.

<sup>115</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>116</sup>Ernst C. Krohn's "Alexander Reinagle as Sonatist," *Musical Quarterly*, xviii/1 (January 1932), 140-149, continues being quoted as authoritative in Robert Hopkins's *New Grove Dictionary* article. Hopkins errs in saying that Nellie = Nelly Custis, George Washington's "adopted daughter," took her first lessons with Reinagle in Philadelphia instead of New York. As early as June 12, 1786, Reinagle advertised in the *New-York Packet* giving "lessons in Singing, on the Harpsichord, Piano Forte, and Violin. His terms may be known by enquiring at No. 17 in Little Queen Street, and at Mr. Rivington's. He proposes to supply his Friends and Scholars with the best instruments and music printed from London." See Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts*, p. 369.

<sup>117</sup>Decatur, p. 33; Lear here spells Reinagle's name Renegal, but correctly thereafter.

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 76.

payment for lessons in dollars, not pence in pounds and shillings. On July 7, 1792, Lear's bookkeeping shows \$19 paid for Reinagle on acc.<sup>1</sup> of Miss Custis."<sup>119</sup>

The pianoforte from Dodds costing £29. 17. 4 (\$93) "was taken to Mount Vernon when Washington retired from the presidency. After Mrs. Washington's death it became the property of George Washington Parke Custis, who removed it to Arlington. From him it passed to Robert E. Lee, and during the Civil War was broken up by souvenir hunters."<sup>120</sup> As for the two-manual harpsichord described above as the first item of original furniture recovered by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association: legend had by 1859 become very much mixed with ascertainable historic fact anent Nelly's practice. Benson J. Lossing, who published an engraving of "Nelly Custis's Harpsichord" in *Mount Vernon and its Associations, Historical, Biographical, and Pictorial* (New York: W. A. Townsend & Company, 1859), page 268, mixed fact and legend thus:

The best teachers were employed to instruct Nelly in the use of the harpsichord, and her grandmother made her practise upon it four or five hours every day. "The poor girl," says her brother, the late Mr. Custis, "would play and cry, and cry and play, for long hours, under the immediate eye of her grandmother, a rigid disciplinarian in all things."<sup>121</sup>

That harpsichord, according to the inscription upon a plate above the keys, was manufactured by "Longman and Broderip, musical instrument makers, No. 26 Cheapside, and No. 13 Haymarket, London." It was carefully packed and taken to Mount Vernon when Washington retired from office the last time. It was used there until his death, for Nelly and her husband [Lawrence Lewis, Washington's nephew; married February 22, 1799, at Mount Vernon, Thomas Davis officiating] resided at Mount Vernon for more than a year after their marriage. It is now (1859) in the possession of Mrs. [Robert E.] Lee, of Arlington House [great-granddaughter of Martha Washington], who intends to present it to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, when the home of Washington shall have passed into their absolute possession, that it may take its ancient place in the parlor of the hallowed mansion.

The instrument was one of the most elegant of its kind. It is about eight feet long, three and a half feet wide, and three feet in height, with two banks, containing one hundred and twenty keys in all. The case is mahogany.

<sup>119</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 280.

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>121</sup>George Washington Parke Custis, *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington, by his adopted son [step-grandson] . . . with illustrative and explanatory notes by Benson J. Lossing* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1860), p. 408. According to Lossing's note, the story of Nelly's being "compelled to practise at the harpsichord four or five hours every day," was first retailed so late as 1854 in Rufus Wilmot Griswold's *The Republican Court; or American Society in the Days of Washington* (New York: D. Appleton). Griswold repeated his undocumented anecdote of Nelly's practising harpsichord four or five hours daily in his "new edition with the author's last additions and corrections" (1867), pp. 369-370. Griswold used the anecdote to expand brief observations on Martha Washington's conduct in Henry Wansey's *Journal of an Excursion to the United States of North America in the Summer of 1794* (Salisbury: J. Easton; London: G. and T. Wilkie, 1796). See *Henry Wansey and his American Journal 1794*, ed. David John Jeremy (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1970), p. 100.

Wansey called on Washington Friday, June 6, 1794. According to his published *Journal*, "Mrs. Washington herself made tea and coffee for us. Miss Custis, her grand-daughter, a very pleasing young lady, of about sixteen, sat next to her." To refute Griswold, who expanded this brief reference to Nelly with the harpsichord anecdote, her now 13-year-old brother in a letter dated December 29, 1854, to Samuel York Atlee of Washington, D.C., consented to confirm only so much of it as "the story of Nelly Custis, my sister, practising very long and very unwillingly at the harpsichord." The harpsichord in question would doubtless have been the 1793 Longman and Broderip bought in 1793, the year before Wansey's Philadelphia visit.



How well her lessons with Alexander Reinagle, the foremost keyboardist in America, had profited Nelly<sup>122</sup> can be learned from Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz's *Podróże po Ameryce, 1797-1807* (Wrocław/Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Badań Literackich, 1959), page 146.<sup>123</sup> Polish patriot and littérateur, Niemcewicz visited Mount Vernon June 2-14, 1798.<sup>124</sup> Hearing Nelly play harpsichord, he rated her "better than any woman in America or even in Europe." On May 21, 1798, before visiting Mount Vernon, Niemcewicz (in company with George and Martha Washington) had also heard Nelly's elder sister, Elizabeth Parke Custis (1776-1832)—who with her much older English husband from whom she eventually separated, Thomas Law (1756-1834), was living in 1798 at what later became 2618/2620 K Stree NW in the nation's capital. Elizabeth (who began studying music with Thomas Tracy at least a decade earlier<sup>125</sup>) played "very well" the enormously popular *Battle of Prague* by František Koczwara (?1750-1791), Bohemian composer who was strangled by the notorious London prostitute Susan Hill.

### Church Attendance

Just as Washington resolutely refused to discuss politics with guests such as Niemcewicz, so also he throughout life equally forbade himself any discussion of religious dogma or ceremonies. However, for a private act his family testified to his "kneeling by the Bed solemnly reciting the prayers for the dying"<sup>126</sup> the evening of June 19, 1773, when sixteen-year-old Martha Parke Custis expired suddenly. Summarizing his public acts, George Washington Parke Custis wrote that he "invariably attended divine service once a day, when within reach of a place of worship. His respect for the clergy, as a body, was shown by public entertainments to them, the same as to the corps legislative and diplomatic; and among his bosom friends were

<sup>122</sup>On January 10, 1798, Washington wrote Clement Biddle from Mount Vernon: "Pray send a set of strings for Miss Custis's Harpsichord agreeably to the enclosed Memm. under cover to me by the first Post" (*Writings*, xxxvi, 123). During that same year George Washington paid Thomas Tracy to teach Nelly. See *Diaries*, vi (1979), 301, quoting "Cash Memorandum 1 Sept. 1797-20 Feb. 1799: entry for 20 Dec. 1798." Tracy, "who had previously served Arthur Middleton of South Carolina," was employed in about April 1788 to teach Elizabeth and Martha Custis, Nelly's two eldest sisters, "Music & other branches of Education." See *Diaries*, v (1979), 307.

<sup>123</sup>Translated by Metchie J. E. Budka with the title *Under Their Vine and Fig Tree* (Elizabeth, N.J.: Grassmann Publishing Co., 1965 [Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society, xiv]). See translation, p. 97, for his rating of Nelly.

<sup>124</sup>*Diaries*, vi, 299-301.

<sup>125</sup>See note 122. In an autobiographic sketch dated April 20, 1808, Elizabeth Parke Custis, now separated from Thomas Law, thus described her music lessons. "I had a good genius for Music—Old Tracy my Master then held singing in contempt, & the talent which had afforded such pleasure to my father, was laid aside—I never sang—but I disliked Tracy, & vented my indignation against him, for saying those who liked singing, knew nothing of Music I could have trampled on the reptile, who thus as I thought did injustice to the taste of my lamented father—I had no respect for my master, & treated him often with contempt, my Sister [Martha Parke ("Patsy") Custis (1777-1854)] join'd me to torment him, he knew not how to make us respect him, he was really much attachd to both—would indulge us frequently by telling long stories of Carolina where he had lived with Arthur Middleton, & at other times he tried to make us obey him, & he punished us by obliging us to practise Music—this had the effect of making it hateful to both—particularly to me—". See William D. Hoyt, Jr., "Self Portrait: Eliza Custis, 1808," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LIII/2 (April 1945), 97-98.

<sup>126</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 92. See also *Diaries*, iii (1978), 188, quoting Washington's letter of June 20, 1773, to Burwell Bassett, in which he voiced his faith in her finding happiness in heaven.

the venerable bishop of Pennsylvania [William White, 1748–1836], and the late excellent prelate and friend of American liberty, Doctor Carroll, archbishop of Baltimore [John Carroll, 1735–1815].

When asked to certify the regularity of Washington's church attendance at Philadelphia while president, Bishop White in a letter to a Colonel Mercer (of Fredericksburg, Virginia) dated August 15, 1835, at Philadelphia wrote:<sup>128</sup>

Before the General left his seat in Congress to take command of the army; afterwards, during the war, whenever he was in this city; and since, during his Presidency, he attended Christ Church, except that in one winter during the war, having rented a house near my other church (St Peter's), he attended there. He was an antipode to those who are in the habit of changing the places of their attendance.

In confirmation of these assessments, the George Washington Bicentennial Commission published at pages 514–520 among *Special News Releases Relating to the Life and Time of George Washington* (Washington: United States Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary, 1932), a release on "Washington's Religious Attitude" that credits Washington with a series of official orders while serving as commander-in-chief and as president that endorse religious observances. To prove how widely Washington worshiped, the same *Special News Releases* continued with "Washington Worshiped in 34 Churches" at pages 520–524.

During his sixteen years as a member of the House of Burgesses, he attended Bruton Church at Williamsburg when Burgesses were in session. When visiting his mother, and his sister, Mrs. Fielding Lewis, at Fredericksburg, Va., he attended St. George's Church principally. Among other churches in Virginia, he attended at various times St. John's at Richmond, Yeocomico Church, Lamb's Creek Church, St. Paul's of King George County, Nomini of Westmoreland County—these in addition to the four in Truro Parish (Pohick, Falls Church, Payne's Church, and Christ Church, Alexandria). During his frequent visits to Annapolis, Md., he attended services conducted by the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, tutor for a time to Jacky Custis [John Parke Custis], and occasionally St. John's, Broad Creek, Md. While President, during the time he lived in New York, he attended St. Paul's and Trinity. During his travels in New England that started October 15, 1789, he attended Trinity at New Haven in the forenoon of October 18, 1789, and "one of the Congregational Meeting Houses in the afternoon." During this visit and his previous stay in this section during the Revolutionary War, he attended Queen Chapel of St. John's at Portsmouth; Trinity and Christ Church, Boston; Christ Church, Cambridge; Trinity, Newport; St. Michael's, Litchfield.

During his Presidency while living in Philadelphia, he attended Christ Church, and St. Peter's; also St. John's in York, Pa. While on his famous Southern tour he attended, among others, St. Philip's and St. Michael's in Charleston, S.C., and Christ Church, in Savannah, Ga.

Among denominations other than Episcopal, he attended at one time or another Dutch and German Reformed, Lutheran, Congregational, Presbyterian, Quaker, and Catholic services.

To the churches listed by name in the just-cited 1932 article, "Washington Worshiped in 34 Churches," the index to Washington's *Diaries*, vi, 539, adds "Warrenray (New Kent County, Va.), St. Paul's (Stafford County, Va.), Warm Springs,

<sup>127</sup> *Recollections and Private Memories*, p. 173.

<sup>128</sup> Bird Wilson, *Memoir of the Life of the Right Reverend William White, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: James Kay, Jun. & Brother, 1839), p. 197.

Va., St. Barnabas (Prince George's County, Md.), St. Mary's Roman Catholic (Philadelphia), Brattle Street Congregational (Boston), First Presbyterian (Carlisle, Pa.), German Reformed (York, Pa.), and the Moravian Church (Salem, N.C.)."

### Church Attendance while Commander-in-Chief

Among church services attended by Washington during the Revolutionary War none is more renowned than that of December 31, 1775, when he and his wife (who arrived in Cambridge December 11, 1775) attended Christ Church, Cambridge, for an eleven o'clock Sunday morning prayer. Colonel William Palfrey of Washington's staff read the service. Lydia Biddle of Philadelphia wrote the wife of Major Mifflin, Sarah Morris Mifflin (another native Philadelphian), a letter dated at Cambridge, New Year's Day 1776. Published in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Vol. 126, No. 155 (December 30, 1875), page 2, column 3, and again referred to in a page 1, column 9, follow-up on January 1, 1876, Lydia Biddle's letter gives the following particulars concerning the Christ Church, Cambridge, service of December 31, 1775.

The bell rang at an early hour to give notice of the opening. The church is small with four rows of square pews in the body and a row of wall pews on either side. There are no galleries, but a handsome organ loft supported by pillars. Soon we heard the sound of fife and drum, and knew that the commander-in-chief was approaching. The two vestrymen, or wardens, whom I have mentioned before, stood facing the middle door with long wands of office in hand, crossed ready to escort Gen. W. to his place. As he entered they each made a most stately bow, which was returned with his usual courtesy. They preceded him up the east aisle to a pew within two of the vestry door [Robert Temple's pew, third from the front on the left side of the church]. Major Mifflin walked by his side as had been arranged, and took the seat of honor next to him; then followed a long row of officers in their best uniforms, for every one who could be spared from duty had been requested to be present. The clerk brought out the huge prayer-books given by Hon'ble Thos. Lechemere and found the places, putting in long purple and gold markers, and Mr. Palfrey, the chaplain, read service.

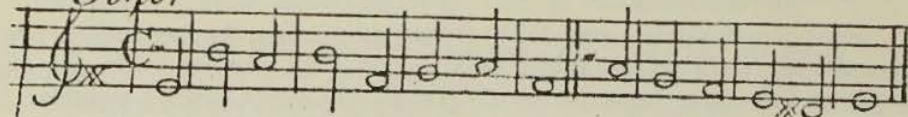
Unfortunately the organ could not be used; some of the leaden pipes had been taken out to furnish ammunition for our men at the fight in Charlestown last June, and it was quite out of order, but a bass viol and clarionet, played by some musical soldiers, led the singing, which was very good, the strong voices of the many men who thronged the church making fine music for my ears; and when part of the psalm cxviii, and a verse from the cxix, was rolled out I saw some tearful eyes—but you are not familiar with our English version in metre, and I will copy it from my prayer-book.

Lydia Biddle next copies four quatrains from the so-called Old Version (Sternhold and Hopkins). From Psalm 119 she copies verses 69 and 70, from Psalm 118 verses 8-9 and 10. The Old Version Psalm 119, the text of which is credited to William Whittingham (1524-1579) in the *Psalmes of David in Englishe metre by Thomas Sterneholde and others* (London, 1560), has its own tune in the 1560, 1561, and all succeeding English editions with tunes. Henry Ainsworth's *The Book of Psalmes Englished both in Prose and Metre* (Amsterdam: Giles Thorp, 1612), brought over to Plymouth by the 1620 Pilgrims, joins what is the 119TH PSALM TUNE in all Sternhold and Hopkins psalters to Psalm 1, 68, and nine other psalms. But all American tunebooks, including James Lyon's *Urania* (1761), pages 74-75, Francis Hopkinson's *A Collection* (1763), and *A New Version of the Psalmes of David Fitted to the Tunes used in Churches* (Boston, 1763 [Evans 9344], plate 15), follow English precedent—calling it the 119TH PSALM TUNE.

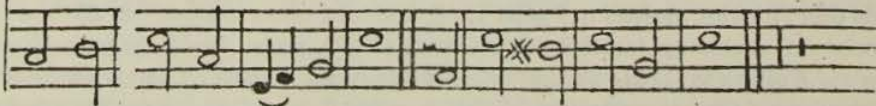
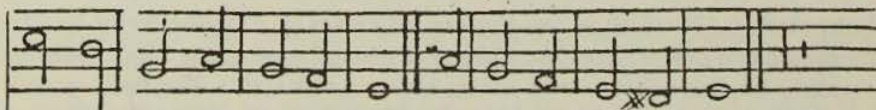
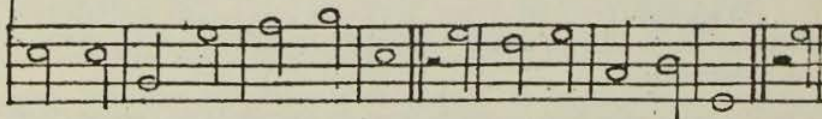
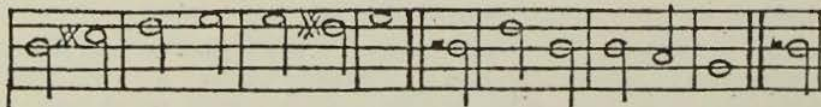
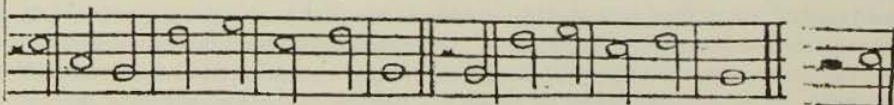
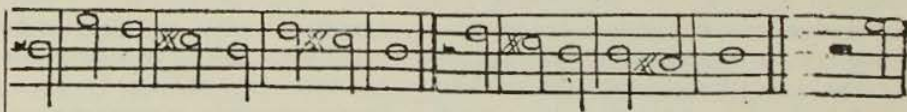
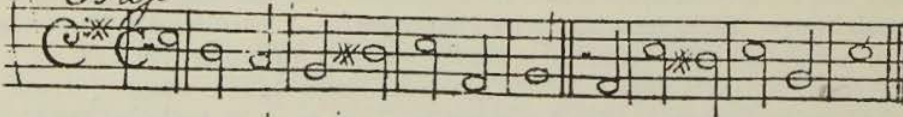


# The Old 19<sup>th</sup> Palm Tune

Tenor



Bass



The tune therefore to which verses 69-70 of Psalm 119 were sung at the New Year's Eve service, 1775, attended by George and Martha Washington can be pinpointed. If Whittingham—who while Dean of Durham was “very careful to provide the best songs and anthems that could be got out of the queen's chappell, to furnish the quire with all, himself being skillfull in musick”—did not himself write the tune for his own fine metrical paraphrase of Psalm 119, at least it is certain that the 215-year-old tune had been constantly sung on Massachusetts soil for 155 years before “some musical soldiers led the singing, which was very good” at the Christ Church, Cambridge, service of December 31, 1775, described in Lydia Biddle's New Year's Day letter.

As summarized in Gardiner M. Day's *The Biography of a Church, A Brief History of Christ Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1951), page 162, the history of the “unusable” organ referred to by Lydia Biddle runs thus: the organ was a John Snetzler, placed in the gallery in 1764 (three years after the opening of Christ Church Cambridge, October 15, 1761). The donor was Barlow Trecothick, Alderman of London, who was brother-in-law of East Apthorp (1733-1817), first rector of Christ Church (to 1764). Partially restored in 1790, this Snetzler continued in use until 1844.

Details concerning other services attended by Washington during later Revolutionary War years are not always so precise.<sup>129</sup> However, one liturgical scholar (who in 1972 completed a Th.D dissertation on “The Making of the First American Prayer Book”) described Episcopal usages in that epoch.<sup>130</sup>

Unless a pipe organ were present, the music was usually limited to metrical Psalms or hymns. These were led or “lined out” by the parish clerk. Accompaniment of the psalmody by a barrel organ or by local instrumentalists with violins, bassoons, flutes, or other instruments was a possibility. The clerk was sometimes assisted in providing musical leadership by a group of singers in a gallery or in a “singing pew” in the nave. These singers on important occasions performed anthems. The more affluent city parishes owning a Bridge or Snetzler organ imported from England, or a Feyring organ locally built, began as early as the 1780's to vest their choirs in full, ankle-length surplices and to sing Anglican chant, in addition to the common metrical Psalms and hymns.

The Sunday morning service throughout the eighteenth century always included Morning Prayer, the Litany, and Ante-Communion with sermon. On a Sunday morning the clerk and the clergyman, already vested, entered the church, along with their families, to take their places prior to the beginning of the rite. Even where there was an organ, there does not seem to have been an organ prelude. The clerk began the service by announcing the verses of a metrical Psalm. The Tate and Brady metrical Psalter, first published in 1696, was seemingly preferred in this country to the older Sternhold and Hopkins version which continued to be quite popular in England. (It is the Tate and Brady version which is bound with the only edition of the 1662 Prayer Book printed in America.) The commonly used tunes found in Tate and Brady American supplements include several which survive in *The* [Protestant Episcopal]

<sup>129</sup>According to the Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, diary cited in William H. Armstrong, *Organs for America, The Life and Work of David Tannenberg* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967), p. 34, on July 25, 1782, “General Washington, two aides and escort arrived. They visited the chapel, where they were entertained with cake and wine, while Rev. Jacob Van Vleck [1751-1831] played on the organ. They also attended the service, after which the church choir entertained their guests with sacred music, both vocal and instrumental.”

<sup>130</sup>See Marion J. Hatchett, “A Sunday Service in 1776 or Thereabouts,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XLV/4 (December 1976), 372-379, for some 25 paragraphs from which musical data have been here freely extracted and reshaped. In 1976 Dr. Hatchett was Associate Professor of Liturgics and Music, School of Theology, University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee.

*Hymnal 1940*: MARTYR'S (547), OLD 104TH (139), OLD 104TH (260), ST. ANNE'S (289), WINDSOR (284), and YORK (312). Other tunes in popular usage which made their way into the Proposed [Prayer] Book of 1786 include ANGEL'S SONG (573), BEDFORD (116), HANOVER (288), ST. JAMES' (361), and ST. MATTHEW'S (517). In this period the people often remained seated while singing Psalms or hymns.

In the last decades of the century, the Venite [Psalm 95] was sung either to an Anglican chant or in a metrical version. Where there was an organ, the people, after the Psalms, were often prepared for the reading of the lessons by a short, grave organ voluntary. The lesson normally consisted of one chapter. For use after its reading, the Te Deum was apparently preferred to the Benedicite, regardless of the season. After the second lesson public baptisms were often performed at Morning Prayer, especially at Easter and Pentecost times. On such occasions, a metrical Psalm or hymn was customarily inserted between the second lesson and the baptismal rite.

Following the baptism, or following the New Testament lesson, came a canticle—often repeated responsively, but sometimes sung. Musical settings of the period seem to indicate that the Jubilate Deo was preferred to the Benedictus. The minister knelt after the creed to lead the people in the Kyrie and the Lord's Prayer. He stood for the Suffrages and the Collects. The Fixed Collects could be followed by either an anthem or metrical Psalm. When the choir was performing an anthem, the people often turned in their pews to face the musicians in the rear or in a side gallery.

Before Ante-Communion might come either a metrical Psalm or the sung text of the Sanctus from the Eucharistic rite. Another alternative in churches with an organ was an organ voluntary before Ante-Communion began. Metrical Psalters of the period often contained supplements which included a hymn to the Holy Ghost for use before the sermon. Such a hymn or a metrical Psalm was normally sung immediately before or while the minister entered the pulpit. After the sermon came still another metrical Psalm, or in city parishes an anthem. During this singing, the minister descended from the pulpit, donned his surplice, and moved within the altar rails. The Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church Militant, the long Exhortation, and the Invitation to "Draw near," gave those intending to partake of the Sacrament an opportunity to arrange themselves about the altar while the rest of the congregation withdrew.

In summary, the service music preceding the Eucharist that Washington heard in any of the Episcopal churches that he attended from 1776 onward would have included as many as six metrical Psalms, a sung Venite, sung Jubilate Deo, possibly a sung Te Deum, and in city churches one or two organ voluntaries. Two of the metrical psalms were replaceable on any given Sunday by anthems, and one (in a church with organ) by an organ voluntary. An organ voluntary would have preceded the scripture lessons in Christ Church, Philadelphia, and organ interludes would certainly have been played between the stanzas of any metrical Psalm or hymn in that church or St. Peter's, Philadelphia.

### *Washington's Presidential Tours*

#### BOSTON

During his fall 1789 tour of New England, Washington at 11 on Tuesday morning, October 27, heard the Richard Bridge three-manual (1756) organ at Stone Chapel (= King's Chapel) played by the leading organist in Boston, William Selby. David McKay, "William Selby, Musical Émigré in Colonial Boston," *Musical Quarterly*, LVII/4 (October 1971), 609-627, traced the career of Selby, born in

England in 1738 or 1739. Appointed organist of London's Holy Sepulchre Church in 1760, Selby sailed for America in 1771. From the fall of 1771 to the fall of 1773 he was King's Chapel organist at Boston. He departed thence for Newport, Rhode Island, where he held the organistship of Trinity Episcopal Church at an annual £30 from October 1, 1773, until September 1774. Upon returning to Boston, he was Trinity Church organist 1776 to 1778, and King's Chapel organist 1782 to his death at Boston on or shortly before December 12, 1798 (*Columbian Centinel*, xxx/29, of this date contains under death news, page 3:1, "In this town, Mr. William Selby, Aet. 59").

Already before coming to Boston, Selby was an extensively published composer with a *Voluntary in A* in *Ten Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord Composed by Dr. Green, James, Skinner, Reading, Stubbley, Selby, and Kuknan* (London: C. and S. Thompson, ca. 1770), nine psalm and hymn text settings in *A Second Collection of Psalms and Hymns Us'd at the Magdalen Chapel . . . The Musick Compos'd by Dr. Arne, Mr. Willm. Selby and Mr. Adam Smith Late Organists of the Chapel* (London: Henry Thorowgood, ca. 1765), and two keyboard accompanied solo songs—"O'er the bowl we'll laugh and sing" and "The chase of the hare" (ca. 1765 and 1770).

According to the *Boston Gazette*, No. 1829, of October 26, 1789, page 2:2, Selby's program to be given next day at "the Stone-Chapel [= King's Chapel] in Boston, in Presence of the President of the United States" began with a congratulatory Ode to the President, and included in FIRST PART an organ concerto by Selby, and an anthem from Psalm 100 "composed by Mr. Selby." As an added filip, Selby promised to have instrumental parts performed "by a company of Gentlemen, with the Band of his Most Christian Majesty's Fleet" and "Chorusses by the *Independent Musical Society*." The second half of the October 27 program was to have consisted of Samuel Felsted's Oratorio of *Jonah*, the "Solos by Messrs. Rea, Fey, Brewer, and Dr. Rogerson." However, the oratorio had to be either curtailed or omitted. According to the *Massachusetts Centinel*, xii/22, November 28, 1789, page 3:3

The Oratorio, or, Concert of Sacred Musick, which through the indisposition of several Singers with the prevailing Influenza, could not be fully performed on the 27th ult. will be performed at the *Stone-Chapel* in Boston, on Tuesday, the first day of *December* next, at 6 o'clock P.M., if the weather permits.

The weather did not permit. But on December 2, the *Massachusetts Centinel*, xii/23, page 3:2, announced performance of Felsted's oratorio that evening at 6 o'clock.

Selby's "Ode As Performed at the Stone Chapel, Boston, Before the President of the United States of America / Words Mr. Brown of Boston," scored for vocal solo, mixed four-part (SATB) chorus, and keyboard, survives at pages [7]-8 in a two-volume quarto of music at the Massachusetts Historical Society mentioned in Sonneck's *Early Concert Life in America*, pages 272-273, indexed in Charles Evans's *American Bibliography* under number 22881, and discussed in McKay's "William Selby," pages 623-624.

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Washington heard another organist-composer during his spring 1791 tour of the southern states. At Charleston, South Carolina, on Sunday, May 8, he "went to



performed at the Stone Chapel, Boston,  
before the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA. Words by M<sup>r</sup> BROWN of BOSTON.

Behold the Man whom Heav'n has rais'd the  
high est of the Patriot strong! to him the Illu-  
strous  
her homage pays, and tunes the grate-ful  
song Illustrous  
heav'n's Invincible do... crec  
I'm no... ble

The image shows a musical score for the song "The Star-Spangled Banner". It consists of eight systems of music, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The score is in G major and 2/4 time. The lyrics are: "Behold the Man whom Heav'n has rais'd the high est of the Patriot strong! to him the Illu- strous her homage pays, and tunes the grate-ful song Illustrous heav'n's Invincible do... crec I'm no... ble".





and ev'ry part the mind and heart a Nation to be

*Chorus*

T'is noble and ev'ry part the mind and

T'is noble and ev'ry part the mind and

such a Nation to be free

such a Nation to be free

If deans, thro' welcome, to the spot,  
 Where once thy conqu'ring banner wave,  
 O never to thy praise forget  
 By those thy matchless valour save

Luoorn, as will, suspends his toil,  
 His debt of gratitude to pay,  
 And friendship wears a brighter smile,  
 And music breathes a sweeter lay.

Thy glory beams to Eastern Skies,  
 See Europe shares the sacred flame,  
 And hosts of patriot heroes rise,  
 To imitate thy glorious fame.

May Health and Joy a wreath bring  
 And guard thee thro' th' scenes of strife,  
 T'ill Seneca shall to thee assign  
 A wreath of everlasting life.

Crowded Churches in the morning and afternoon"—St. Philip's in the morning, St. Michael's in the afternoon. George Walton Williams, "Early Organists at St. Philip's Charleston," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, LIV/2 (April 1953), 83-87, and "Eighteenth-Century Organists at St. Michael's, Charleston," same *Magazine*, LIII/3 (July 1952), 146-154 and LIII/4 (October 1952), 212-222, identified the organists at both churches. Jervis Henry Stevens (London, June 26, 1750; Charleston, July 21, 1828), who was organist at St. Philip's from 1785 to 1815, was the son of John Stevens (1730-1772), organist of St. Michael's from December 1768 to June 1, 1772. Although defeated by Ann Windsor in his attempt to succeed his father as St. Michael's organist, Jervis Henry Stevens did succeed his father "as deputy postmaster for Charleston and as secretary to the deputy postmaster-general." During the Revolution he served as a cavalry captain. While temporarily organist at St. Michael's August 1, 1783, to April 1, 1784, he composed the hymn tunes HACKNEY and CHURCH STREET, copied at Nos. 20 and 24 in Jacob Eckhard's *Choirmaster Book*. But "like many another, he found music not sufficiently rewarding financially; coroner for Charleston District from 1802 through 1822, he was from 1801 reelected annually for nearly twenty consecutive years as city sheriff."

In the year of Washington's visit, Stevens began a five-year term as Grand Pursuivant of the Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons. The organist at St. Michael's in that same year was Samuel Rodgers, who only two years previously had arrived from England to take office May 11, 1789. In 1791 his salary went from £70 to £80 in consideration of his serving "as instructor and choirmaster of the new choir." In 1792 he was advertised by a ladies boarding school as "one of the most eminent, in [his] profession, on the continent." Although he made the mistake in 1798 of adding to his duties the collection of pew rents, thereby incurring wrath that resulted in his being dismissed in 1809 from all church responsibilities, he died the next year August 1, remembered with this notice in the *Charleston City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* of August 5, 1810: "Organist in St. Michael's church for nearly twenty years past, in which office his talents were unrivalled."

#### SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

Jack Wolf Broucek's "Eighteenth Century Music in Savannah, Georgia," Florida State University Ed.D. dissertation, 1963 (University Microfilms, 63-4381), pages 140-141, gathered from *The Georgia Gazette* of May 19, 1791, the following details of Washington's visit Thursday May 12 through Sunday May 15, 1791.

He was met at Purysburgh by five leading Savannah citizens and rowed from there in an elaborately decorated boat manned by nine captains of vessels dressed in blue silk jackets and wearing round hats with ribbons bearing the words in gold, "Long live the President." Within ten miles of Savannah they were met by welcoming groups in several boats. As the president passed by them, a band of music played the celebrated song [from Henry Carey's *Britannia*], *He comes, the Hero comes*, accompanied with several voices. Mayor Thomas Gibbons welcomed Washington to the city, where he lodged at a house on State Street, corner Barnard (destroyed in 1887).

On Friday evening [May 13] a ball was held in the Long Room of the Filature, which was at this time a favorite meeting place for major social events and concerts. Washington and his retinue left the ball around eleven p.m. On Saturday evening [May 14] a gala display of fireworks was followed by a concert under the direction of Claude Simon, leading local music



*A Two Part Song in Britannia.*  
*Set by Mr. Carey.*

*He comes, he comes, the Hero comes, sound sound your Trumpets*

*He comes, the Hero comes, sound sound your Trumpets*

*Beat, beat your Drums From Port to Port let Cannons roar. His*

*Beat beat your Drums, From Port to Port let Cannons roar. His*

*Welcome to the British Shoar. Welcome, Welcome, Welcome.*

*Welcome to the British Shoar. Welcome,*

*Welcome, Welcome to the British Shoar.*

*Welcome, Welcome to the British Shoar.*

2

*Prepare, prepare your Songs prepare,  
 Loud loudly rend the Echoing Air;  
 From Pole to Pole your Joys resound,  
 For Virtue is with glory crown'd  
 Virtue, Virtue, Virtue, Virtue,  
 Virtue is with glory crown'd.*

*FLUTE.*

instructor. This event had been originally advertised as a subscription concert for the previous Thursday, day of the President's arrival. Washington's final function was attendance at morning service in Christ Church [not assigned July 7, 1733, frame building dedicated July 7, 1750, burnt 1796] Sunday May 15 immediately prior to visiting General Greene's widow at Mulberry Grove and departure for Augusta.

Claude Simon, organizer of the Saturday evening concert, was active at Savannah from 1786 to 1792 as a teacher of harpsichord, piano, violin, and clarinet, "and other instruments." He gave concerts there in 1788, 1791, and 1792. The last of these—announced for March 27, 1792, at the Filature—was a benefit designed to help him pay off debts resulting from a business partner's absconding with funds. Simon "may well have been Georgia's first composer [Broucek, page 176], since he set to music a Recitative, Air, Recitative, Duetto, and Chorus from an ode by Sir Egerton Leigh of South Carolina and wrote music for a Masonic Hymn, *Hail Masonry, Thou Art Divine*, both compositions being performed at Christ Church on St. John's Day, 1789."

From Washington's visit to the end of the decade, his birthday continued being celebrated in Savannah with ever greater fervor. Toasts to his name were concluded with one to *Yankee Doodle* (according to Broucek, pages 138-139). "While Americans exist, may it continue to be a favorite air" pleaded the *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser* of February 24, 1797.

#### SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

On his return inland journey from the South, Washington visited Wachovia, North Carolina, May 31 to June 2, 1791. The translated *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, edited by Adelaide Lisetta Fries (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1941), v, 2324-2325, contains this account.

*May 31.* At the end of this month the congregation in Salem had the pleasure of welcoming the President of the United States, George Washington, who was returning from his tour of the Southern States. We had previously been informed that he would pass through our town on his way to Virginia. Today we received word that he left Salisbury, thirty-five miles from here, this morning so the Brethren [Frederic William] Marshall, [John Daniel] Köhler, and [Christian Ludwig] Benzien rode out to meet him. As he approached the town several tunes were played, partly by trumpets and French horns, partly by trombones. In his company were only his secretary, Major [William] Jackson and the necessary servants. . . . He sent word to our musicians that he would like some music during his evening meal, and it was furnished to him. On the following day, that is on June 1st, the President and Major Jackson, guided by several Brethren visited the workshops, the Choir houses, and other places in our town, and he expressed his approval of them. . . . Six Brethren were invited to dine with him, and during the meal music was again furnished.

Many came from the neighborhood, and from our other congregations, to see the President, the most notable man in the country; and the President gladly gave them opportunity to gratify their wish. Toward evening the Governor of the State, Mr. Alexander Martin, arrived from his estate, which is on Dan River only about forty miles from here. He, with the President and Major Jackson, attended a Singstunde in the evening, and they expressed their pleasure in it. In the evening the wind instruments were heard again, playing sweetly near the tavern. . . . At about four o'clock in the morning of June 2nd, the entire company left, and Brethren Marshall and Benzien accompanied them to the boundaries of Wachovia.

The director of music at the time Washington visited Salem was no longer Johann Friedrich = John Frederik Peter (1746–1813), who had been moved the previous year (August 1790) to “Hope in the Jerseys” (*Records*, v, 2335), but rather the hat-maker Johannes Reuz (1752–1810). On June 30, 1790, the Aeltesten Conferenz thus disposed of the music (*Records*, v, 2307):

Consideration was given to the matter of the music as the call of Br. Friedrich [John Frederik] Peter to another place leaves the congregation without a director of music. In the first place, it is understood that the Aeltesten Conferenz prepares the odes and has all the music matters under general supervision. To carry on the music and attend to all details connected with it we know no one to suggest except Br. Reuz. We hesitate to place the music and the instruments entirely in his hands, and agreed to have a closet made in which it can be placed in the small Saal, and Br. Reuz will keep the key. Br. Peter shall give the music and a catalog of it to Br. Reuz, if he is willing to take charge of it.

In order that the daily services may have organ music the Brethren who can play the organ, that is Reuz, [Gottlieb] Schober (1756–1838), Seiz, and [Carl Ludwig] Meinung (1734–1817), shall be consulted next Sunday. Br. Bagge shall be asked whether he can and will give time to his son Benjamin to play the organ in the Children’s services.

On July 8, 1790, Peter suggested (*Records*, v, 2308)

that the Gemein Diaconie take over his share of the clavier, on which the congregation paid £10 when it was bought. It was suggested that the clavier might be sold, and the congregation’s share of receipts used to cover the deficit in the music account, but we think the congregation needs the clavier for the instruction of the children and it will be time enough to sell it when it is no longer of use.

This clavier, or another, remained usable to 1795 when on August 19 (*Records*, vi, 2541) Reuz was asked “about giving lessons on the clavier.” As was foreseen by Donald M. McCorkle (Appendixes A and B to his “Moravian Music in Salem, A German American Heritage,” Indiana University Ph.D. dissertation, 1958) and was confirmed by Marilyn Gombosi (*Catalog of the Johannes Herbst Collection* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970]), neither Reuz nor Gottlieb Schober—Reuz’s successor in directing the Salem music—left any body of compositions. Nonetheless, Reuz could prepare the festal ode sung March 12, 1793, at a lovefeast (*Records*, vi, 2489). Frances Cummock, *Catalog of the Salem Congregation Music* (Chapel Hill: University Press, 1980), 16–19, profiled both Reuz and Schober, and at page 40 itemized the only surviving token of Reuz’s creative ability, a truncated *Duetto. Nie beschriebne Todes Schauer p. Comp. Feb. 19<sup>ten</sup> 1809 per J. R.* (“22-1/2 measures, eleven of which are keyboard introduction”).

Despite some confusion of dates, Reuz taught until at least April 1795. In 1795 Washington’s name again enters the Salem *Diary*. On February 19 of that year, “we celebrated in a solemn manner and truly with hearts full of praise and thanksgiving the Day of Praise and Prayer appointed by our dear President” (*Records*, vi 2530–2531).

At half past nine we met for preaching. First the choirs of musicians sang: *Sing unto the Lord, all ye lands* [*Singet dem Herrn alle Lande* by Christian Gregor (Cummock, 158.7)]; then the congregation sang several verses of the hymn: *Honor and praise the highest good*, etc. Br. Köhler preached on Ps. 85: verses 10 to 14. . . . At the close of the sermon we fell on our knees and brought to our gracious Lord our heartiest thanks for all these and all other kindnesses which He has given out of pure grace; laid our petitions upon His faithful heart; and

commended to Him our Government and all the residents in this land. The choir sang: *Glory to God in the highest* [by Gregor Cunningham, [496]], and the congregation closed the service with the hymn: "Now thank we all our God With heart and hand and voices." In the afternoon we reassembled at two o'clock, and with the accompaniment of the trombones we sang: *Lord God, we worship Thee*. In the evening at eight o'clock the address was on the Text for the Day: "How beautiful are Thy tabernacles. . . ." We prayed that the Lord would continue to give us peace in our congregation life, and that He would enable us not only in our congregations to live more according to His will and as He approved, but that more than hitherto we might be a blessing to our neighbors and a light to lighten this land.

### *Church Music heard by Washington in Philadelphia*

During Washington's eleven years of active service as Truro parish vestryman in Virginia, 1763 to 1774,<sup>111</sup> Pohick Church lacked an organ. In January 1773 he bought Pew 5 in Christ Church, Alexandria, for £36.10. Like Pohick, this church too lacked an organ during Washington's lifetime. On April 7, 1793, he subscribed for the purchase of an organ<sup>112</sup> to honor the new rector of Christ Church, Alexandria, Thomas Davis, who six years later was to bury him. At Philadelphia his secretary Tobias Lear on January 6, 1791, paid \$10 on Washington's "Subscription to Christ Church [Philadelphia] Organ."<sup>113</sup>

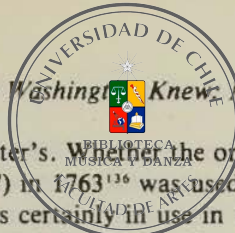
As a letter dated August 15, 1835, on his churchgoing habits confirms (see page 44 above), the Philadelphia church that he chiefly attended during his presidency was William White's Christ Church. True, beginning as early as 1774 he had attended other Philadelphia churches. Within three successive Sundays his *Diaries* document his attending these five different churches in Philadelphia, September 24, October 2 and 9, 1774: Christ and St. Peter's, Friends Meeting House at Second and High Streets, Saint Mary's Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian Meeting at Third and Arch Street. In 1774 and 1775 (and until succeeded by William Tuckey in 1778<sup>114</sup>)

<sup>111</sup>Relying on the Truro Parish Vestry Book that covers 1732 to January 23, 1785 (now at Library of Congress), Philip Slaughter, *The History of Truro Parish in Virginia* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company, 1907 [1908]), p. 34, documented Washington's election as vestryman October 25, 1762. He took the required oath February 15, 1763. In 1763-1764, 1766-1767, and 1774-1775 he served as churchwarden. Clerks and lay readers listed at page 124 include David Atkins, clerk, 1775-1777. Washington attended 23 of the 31 vestry meetings held during 1763-1774. On November 20, 1772, he bought Pew 28 next to the communion table for £16 (page 88).

<sup>112</sup>*Writings*, xxxii, 409-410. According to a letter from John T. Fesperman, Curator, Division of Musical Instruments, dated May 28, 1982, the organ for Christ Church, Alexandria, now in the collections of the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, is probably by Jacob Hilbus of Washington, and was probably completed for Christ Church Alexandria in 1814, with a final payment to Hilbus (according to the Vestry records of Christ Church) in 1815. "There is no signature on the organ, although it is similar to other Hilbus instruments, and is certainly not the work of an accomplished organbuilder." For further data on Hilbus, see Cleveland Fisher, "The Port Royal Confusion—Among Other Things!," *The Tracker*, xii/1 (Fall 1967), pp. 7-9. Born in Westphalia, Germany, January 30, 1787, Hilbus emigrated to America in 1808, and died at Washington, D.C., April 23, 1858.

<sup>113</sup>Decatur, *Private Affairs*, p. 185, identifies the Christ Church in question as on Arch Street in Philadelphia.

<sup>114</sup>Amy Aaron, "William Tuckey, A Choirmaster in Colonial New York," *Musical Quarterly*, LXIV/1 (January 1978), 89, incorrectly cites her source, C. P. B. Jefferys, "The Provincial and Revolutionary History of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, 1753-1783," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and*



William Young<sup>135</sup> was clerk of St. Peter's. Whether the organ for St. Peter's being erected by Philip Feyring (1730-1767) in 1763<sup>136</sup> was used between 1776 and 1782 needs verification.<sup>137</sup> However, it was certainly in use in 1774 and 1775 and from 1782. Philip Feyring's organ built in 1766 for Christ Church<sup>138</sup> was played in 1774, in 1775, and constantly in the 1790's.

As early as September 2, 1728 (one year after the building known by Washington was started), Christ Church, Philadelphia, vestry discussed buying an imported organ from Ludowick Christian Sprogel<sup>139</sup> priced at £200. In 1766 the German-born emigrant<sup>140</sup> to Philadelphia, Philip Feyring, completed an organ for Christ Church that remained in use seventy years. Either at the time of its construction or as the result of later additions, the Feyring built for Christ Church contained 1607 pipes dispersed among three manuals and a two-octave pedal.<sup>141</sup> The Great with twelve, Swell with seven, Choir with five, and Pedal with three stops compared favorably with the organ boasting eleven registers on main manual, ten on upper work, seven on echo, and three for pedal, that David Tannenberg built for Zion Lutheran Church at Philadelphia (organ dedicated October 10 and 11, 1790).<sup>142</sup> Washington heard Tannenberg's magnum opus not only during a "private preview" concert at

*Biography*, XLVIII/190 (April 1924), 182. William Young was appointed clerk in 1765. After Tuckey's death September 14, 1781, aged 73, Young resumed the St. Peter's clerkship but was censured and dismissed April 28, 1783, for bad behavior during a concert conducted in St. Peter's Church April 18, 1783, by Andrew Law. Fired by envy, Young led a demonstration against Law at that concert. See Jefferys, pp. 185-186.

<sup>135</sup>In 1764 the vestry of the United Churches of Christ and St. Peter's thanked Francis Hopkinson and Young for their "great and constant pains in teaching and instructing the children" in psalmody.

<sup>136</sup>In 1762 the 32-year-old German immigrant Feyring = Fyring had solidified his fame with an organ built for St. Paul's. See Norris Stanley Barratt, *Outline of the History of Old St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, 1917), p. 41. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 30, 1762, contained C. W. P.'s poem extolling St. Paul's organ as it sounded on Christmas Day, 1762.

<sup>137</sup>Jefferys, pp. 183-184. From December 10, 1770, to December 11, 1775, John Bankson was organist of St. Peter's, mostly on a volunteer basis (Jefferys, p. 183).

<sup>138</sup>Benjamin Dorr, *A Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia, from its Foundation, A.D. 1695 to A.D. 1841, and of St. Peter's and St. James's until the Separation of the Churches* (New York: Swords, Stanford, and Co., 1841), p. 325, claimed that Christ Church bought it, set it up, and used it in 1763. But Francis Hopkinson's dedication to *A Collection of Psalm Tunes with a few Anthems and Hymns*, 1763, controverts Dorr's 1763 date for setting up of the organ. See Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson, the first American poet-composer (1737-1791) and James Lyon, patriot, preacher, psalmist (1735-1794)*, p. 88, for Hopkinson's dedication on hearing the organ at St. Paul's Church on Christmas Day, 1762.

<sup>139</sup>Dean (see note 103 above), p. 89.

<sup>140</sup>The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 30, 1762 (footnote to C. W. P.'s poem) cited Feyring = Fyring as "a German by Birth, [who] has, for some years past, practiced the making of Musical Instruments (particularly Spinets and Harpsichords) in this City, with great Repute." The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 23, 1762, lauded Feyring as the "best Hand at that ingenious Business on the Continent." Armstrong, *Organs for America, The Life and Work of David Tannenberg*, p. 28, gave Feyring's date of birth as "September 5, 1730, at Arfeld, Germany," with "Burial Book of St. Michael's and Zion Lutheran Churches, Philadelphia," as footnote authority.

<sup>141</sup>Herbert Boyce Satcher, "Music of the Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, Committee on Historical Research, Philadelphia, Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The Society, 1947), vol. III, part II, 234, quoting Dorr, *Historical Account*, p. 325.

<sup>142</sup>Edward C. Wolf, "Music in Old Zion, Philadelphia, 1750-1850," *Musical Quarterly*, LVIII/4 (October 1972), 633.

eleven the morning of September 17, 1790, but also the morning of January 8, 1791, at eleven o'clock, "when with the members of Congress and the Assembly" he and Martha Washington "attended a concert in the Lutheran Church on Fourth Street."<sup>144</sup>

JAMES BREMNER

The organist at Christ Church from 1767 to 1770 and again in 1774 was James Bremner.<sup>145</sup> A Scottish immigrant who began advertising lessons in his "Music School . . . at Mr. Glover Hunt's, near the Coffee-house in Market-Street" in the *Philadelphia Gazette*, No. 1823, of December 1, 1763, page 3:2, James Bremner advertised in the *Philadelphia Journal* of February 16, 1764, a concert at the Assembly Room in aid of the St. Peter's organ fund, to be given the ensuing February 21. On April 10, 1765, he conducted a "Performance of solemn Music, vocal and instrumental, in the College-Hall, . . . the Chorus and other sublime passages of the Music" accompanied by organ (*Philadelphia Gazette*, No. 1893, April 4, 1765, page 3:1). On April 18, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 1895, page 2:2, carried a favorable review of the April 10 "solemn Entertainment Music, under the Direction of Mr. James Bremner."

The whole was conducted with great Order and Decorum, to the Satisfaction of a polite and numerous Audience, by which, near One Hundred and Thirty Pounds was raised for the Benefit of the Charity Schools belonging to the said College.

Upon Bremner's temporarily quitting Christ Church organ bench, the vestry on December 10, 1770, asked Francis Hopkinson to "continue performing on the organ" in Bremner's stead "as long as it should be convenient and agreeable to himself."<sup>146</sup> By 1774 Bremner had resumed the post, holding it apparently until death. Hopkinson, his admirer and pupil, lamented Bremner's death at Philadelphia in September 1780 with an Ode "In Memory of Mr. James Bremner" (text published in Hopkinson's *The Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings* [Philadelphia: T. Dobson, 1792], iii, 184; Hopkinson's music shown below, p. 60).

Four compositions by James Bremner enter Francis Hopkinson's *Lessons* (178-page manuscript in the Hopkinson Collection at the University of Pennsylvania Library, published in facsimile at Washington, D.C., by C. T. Wagner [Jane Rosenbloom, P.O. Box 21127], 1979): *Lady Coventry's Minuet with [2] Variations*, *Lesson*, *March*, and *Trumpet Air* at pages 112-113, 114, 117, and 119. The first of these calls for harpsichord (with four measures of the second variation marked *forte*, the next four, *pia*:). So does the bipartite B $\flat$  Alberti-bass *Lesson by M.<sup>r</sup> Ja.<sup>s</sup> Bremner*. The D Major *March by M.<sup>r</sup> Ja.<sup>s</sup> Bremner* copied on three staves implies

<sup>144</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 638, citing as source the manuscript diaries of Justus Henry Christian Helmuth (arrived from Halle in 1769) now in the synodical archives of the Mount Airy seminary (microfilm at Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis). Translated, Helmuth's report read: "My worries had been all in vain; the gathering came off quite properly and without any problems."

<sup>145</sup>*Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia 1765-1798*, ed. Jacob Cox Parsons (Philadelphia: Wm. F. Fell & Co., 1893), p. 166. Hiltzheimer, native of Mannheim, reached Philadelphia in 1748, aged 19. In 1786 he was elected a representative of Philadelphia to the Assembly.

<sup>146</sup>Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson*, p. 28 (citing Dorr, p. 159).

<sup>147</sup>Sonneck, p. 29



two violins and bass but the *Trumpet Air* with sections marked "Echo," "Trump.," "diminuendo," and "Swell" clearly demands organ (probably three-manual). James Bremner's brother, Robert (ca. 1713-1789), published at Edinburgh in 1761 Thomas Alexander Erskine, 6th Earl of Kelly's *Six Overtures*, Op. 1. At pages 144-147, Francis Hopkinson copied the Allegro movement of the first Kelly Overture as "adapted to the harpsichord by M.<sup>r</sup> Ja.<sup>s</sup> Bremner." Like nearly all else in Francis Hopkinson's *Lessons* the selection from Kelly's overtures—"the earliest native British work in the Mannheim style"—illustrates what up-to-date music James Bremner introduced to Philadelphia.

PETER KURTZ

On March 1, 1782, Peter Kurtz = Curtz was appointed St. Peter's organist.<sup>147</sup> In that same year or later he pluralized by becoming Christ Church organist, continuing as such throughout Washington's presidency.<sup>148</sup> Also an organbuilder, Kurtz in November, 1797, sold a five-stop organ (stopped and open diapasons, flute, principal, fifteenth) to the Moravian Church at Race and Broad Streets, Philadelphia, for £105.<sup>149</sup> Kurtz died April 12, 1816, and

was buried in Christ Church Ground southeast corner of Fifth and Arch Streets. Choirmaster of Christ Church for upwards of forty years, he looked as though he had grown in his seat when seated at the foot of his instrument. He was of the old German school; his voluntaries, preludes, and interludes, though just and true, were strictly editions of each other; fancy, to him, was yet unborn, except so far as the north and south running over the scale, was so considered; and he enjoyed his post, too, saving the dereliction of Jerry, the colored bellows-blower, who sometimes forgot that it took two to make the music,—when Jerry, at the top of the organ, and Kurtz below, would exchange sharps in whispers, but severe in purpose. The bellows of the organ was situated at the back of the top, whence, the wind was conveyed by 'trunks' to the 'chest' below. Jerry was therefore exalted, and could smile at his master below, with impunity.<sup>150</sup>

### *Francis Hopkinson's Sacred Music Contributions*

"A Letter to the Rev. Doctor White, Rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's on the conduct of a Church Organ," published in *The Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings of Francis Hopkinson, Esq.*, II, 119-126, specifies how and when Bremner and Kurtz were expected to interpolate organ selections. According to Hopkinson: "To give wings, as it were to holy zeal, and heighten the harmony of the soul, *organs* have been introduced into the churches."

<sup>147</sup>Jefferys (see note 134), p. 183.

<sup>148</sup>Sonneck, p. 29. As if two churches were not enough, Wolf, "Music in Old Zion," p. 636, cites Peter Kurtz as "organist in Zion during 1790." However, in that year "the Corporation felt it was necessary to employ someone whose sole duty was to play and maintain the big three-manual instrument" built by Tannenberg for Zion.

<sup>149</sup>Abraham Ritter, *History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia from its foundation in 1742 to the present time* (Philadelphia: Hayes and Zell, 1857), p. 59.

<sup>150</sup>*Ibid.*, Ritter adds (p. 50) that the vox humana on the swell of the Christ Church organ was the only such stop on a Philadelphia eighteenth-century organ, "and to my young ear, a good imitation of the human voice."



*g. 5/4*

*In Memory of M. James Bremner.*

*Sing to her shade a solemn strain, O Music! woe'dst thou complain, O! who wilt from shore to shore; The*

*swan of thyugh-till, the swan of thyugh-till, the swan of thyugh-till is no more. O! who wilt from shore to shore, the*

*swan of thyugh-till is no more, O! who wilt from shore to shore, the swan of thyugh-till is no more.*

*in the style of William Miller.*

*From death's cold he came and brought the pleasing art, to raise the dead, the swan of thyugh-till.*

*Warmed a feeling heart, the Magic power, the wind, and spirit of his name, and I should be thy faithful slave.*

*O! canst thou the ground, How let them their shade, O! who wilt from shore to shore, the swan of thyugh-till is no more.*

*How let them their shade, O! who wilt from shore to shore, the swan of thyugh-till is no more.*

*Let none his hand stop by; O! who wilt from shore to shore, the swan of thyugh-till is no more.*

Francis Hopkinson's Ode "In Memory of M. James Bremner"



119

A page of handwritten musical notation for a trumpet piece. The notation is written in black ink on aged paper. It consists of eight staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The second staff has a tempo marking "Allegretto" and a dynamic marking "f". The third staff has a tempo marking "Largo" and a dynamic marking "f". The fourth staff has a tempo marking "Allegretto" and a dynamic marking "f". The fifth staff has a tempo marking "Allegretto" and a dynamic marking "f". The sixth staff has a tempo marking "Allegretto" and a dynamic marking "f". The seventh staff has a tempo marking "Allegretto" and a dynamic marking "f". The eighth staff has a tempo marking "Allegretto" and a dynamic marking "f". The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings.

James Bremner's *Trumpet Air* (occupying last eight staves on the page)

The voluntary, previous to reading the lessons, was probably designed to fill up a solemn pause in the service; during which the clergyman takes a few minutes respite, in a duty too lengthy, perhaps, to be continued without fatigue unless some intermission be allowed: there, the organ hath its part alone, and the organist an opportunity of shewing his power over the instrument. This, however, should be done with great discretion and dignity, avoiding every thing light and trivial; but rather endeavouring to compose the minds of the audience, and strengthen the tendency of the heart in those devout exercises, in which, it should be presumed, the congregation are now engaged. All sudden jerks, strong contrasts of *piano* and *forte*, rapid execution, and expressions of tumult, should be avoided. The voluntary should proceed with great chastity and decorum; the organist keeping in mind, that his hearers are now in the midst of divine service. The full organ should seldom be used on this occasion, nor should the voluntary last more than *five minutes* of time. Some relaxation, however, of this rule may be allowed, on festivals and grand occasions.

The *chants* form a pleasing and animating part of the service; but it should be considered, that they are not songs or tunes, but a species of *recitative*, which is no more than speaking musically. Therefore, as melody or song is out of the question, it is necessary that the harmony should be complete, otherwise *chanting*, with all the voices in unison, is too light and thin for the solemnity of the occasion. There should at least be half a dozen voices in the organ gallery to fill the harmony with bass and treble parts, and give a dignity to the performance. Melody may be frivolous; harmony, never.

The prelude which the organ plays immediately after the psalm is given out, was intended to advertise the congregation of the psalm tune which is going to be sung; but some famous organist, in order to shew how much he could make of a little, has introduced the custom of running so many divisions upon the simple melody of a psalm tune, that the original purpose of this prelude is now totally defeated, and the tune so disguised by the fantastical flourishes of the dexterous performer, that not an individual in the congregation can possibly guess the tune intended, until the clerk has sung through the first line of the psalm. And it is constantly observable, that the full congregation never join in the psalm before the second or third line, for want of that information which the organ should have given. The tune should be distinctly given out by the instrument, with only a few chaste and expressive decorations, such as none but a master can give.

The interludes between the verses of the psalm were designed to give the singers a little pause, not only to take breath, but also an opportunity for a short retrospect of the words they have sung, in which the organ ought to assist their reflections. For this purpose the organist should be previously informed by the clerk of the verses to be sung, that he may modulate his interludes according to the subject.

To place this in a strong point of view, no stronger, however, than what I have too frequently observed to happen; suppose the congregation to have sung the first verse of the 33<sup>d</sup> psalm [Tate and Brady version]. "Let all the just to God with joy / Their chearful voices raise; / For well the righteous it becomes / To sing glad songs of praise."

How dissonant would it be for the organist to play a pathetic interlude in a flat third, with the slender and distant tones of the echo organ, or the deep and smothered sounds of a single diapason stop?

Or suppose again, that the words sung have been the 6<sup>th</sup> verse of the vi<sup>th</sup> psalm. "Quite tired with pain, with groaning faint, / No hope of ease I see, / The night, that quiets common griefs / Is spent in tears by me." How monstrously absurd would it be to hear these words of distress succeeded by an interlude selected from the fag end of some thundering figure on a full organ, and spun out to a most unreasonable length? Or, what is still worse, by some trivial melody with a rhythm so strongly marked, as to set all the congregation to beating time with



their feet or heads? Even those who may be impressed with the feelings such words should occasion, or in the least disposed for melancholy, must be shocked at so gross an impropriety. The interludes should not be continued above 16 bars in *triple*, or ten or twelve bars in *common* time, and should always be adapted to the verse sung: and herein the organist hath a fine opportunity of shewing his sensibility, and displaying his taste and skill.

The voluntary after service was never intended to eradicate every serious idea which the sermon may have inculcated. It should rather be expressive of that chearful satisfaction which a good heart feels under the sense of a duty performed. It should bear, if possible, some analogy with the discourse delivered from the pulpit; at least, it should not be totally dissonant from it. If the preacher has had for his subject, penitence for sin, the frailty and uncertainty of human life, or the evils incident to mortality, the voluntary may be somewhat more chearful than the tenor of such a sermon might in strictness suggest; but by no means so full and free as a discourse on praise, thanksgiving, and joy, would authorize.

In general, the organ should ever preserve its dignity, and upon no account issue light and pointed movements which may draw the attention of the congregation and induce them to carry home, not the serious sentiments which the service should impress, but some very pretty air with which the organist hath been so good as to entertain them.

In this long letter on organ music, Hopkinson twice quotes the Tate and Brady metrical psalter. Metrical psalms, not Anglican chanting of prose psalms, prevailed at Christ Church, Philadelphia, throughout White's rectorship. Although priding himself on having pioneered in introducing to America the chanting of prayerbook psalms, White explained his reasons for rejecting chanted psalms in an open letter dated June 20, 1809, to the longtime assistant minister in Christ Church, Dr. James Abercrombie (1758-1841):<sup>151</sup>

Having been, so far as I know, the first clergyman in the United States who introduced chanting into any of our churches, I ought to be judged the more impartial in the opinion, that Dr. [William] Smith [1754-1821] endangers his own object, by insisting on that species of psalmody to the exclusion of the other.<sup>152</sup> He seems even to think true Christian devotion much involved in the question. But it is evident that we do not, in either case, sing the words in which the mind of the Holy Spirit was originally disclosed. We sing in a translation. Now if it be found, on experience, as is the fact, that rhyme, especially in the English language, makes the composition agreeable to the ear, it is difficult to see what principle is endangered by condescending to the well known taste of Christians generally, in this respect.

White then alludes to translation errors in the prayerbook psalms that were corrected in the Authorized Version.

<sup>151</sup> Bird Wilson, *Memoir* (see note 128), p. 349.

<sup>152</sup> Earlier in 1809 William Smith, "principal of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut," had published at New York *The Churchman's Choral Companion to his Prayer Book: consisting of chants, responses, and anthems . . . in two, three, and four parts with thorough bass for the organ or piano forte*. See *National Union Catalog*, DLII, 316. Smith fired salvos on metrical psalmody in *The Reasonableness of setting forth the most worthy praise of Almighty God according to the usage of the primitive church; with historical views on the nature, origin, and progress of metre psalmody* (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1814). Although 1789 General Convention "allowed the use of the Psalms of David in metre" (*The Reasonableness*, p. 276), "it appears from historical testimony, that the whole superstructure of English metre psalmody rests upon a Proviso as its grand cornerstone;—a Proviso so interpreted as to be nothing else than a puritanic pious fraud" (p. 279). However, "that choirs and prosaic psalmody are approbated in the New Testament, no person can deny" (p. 154).

I have always considered it a commendation of Tate and Brady's metre, that, whenever the translations differ, they follow the Bible. I wish Dr. Smith success in his endeavour to introduce chanting into churches, but hope he will take along with him the maxim—"ne quid nimis."

Yours, affectionately,  
W<sup>m</sup> White

Not only in this letter but elsewhere Bishop White expressed himself on church musical proprieties. *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 2d edition (New York: Swords, Stanford, and Co., 1836), page 236, and his article "Thoughts on the Singing of Psalms and Anthems in Churches," *The Churchman's Magazine*, v/5 (May and June, 1808), 175-187, state his positions. Horace Wemyss Smith summarized these in *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., First Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia . . . Secretary of the American Philosophical Society, etc., etc.* (Philadelphia: S. A. George & Co., 1879), II, 220-222.

We have, in historical collections of music, some compositions which we know that Dr. White liked. But my impression is that scientific musicians have not admired them highly. Pergolesi and the Italian school generally, found no favor in his ears.

I never heard of his objecting to music as he heard it in the cathedrals, chapels-royal, and collegiate churches of England. On the contrary, he tells us himself that at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was invited to go hear the music—which appears to have been especially fine at that college—"the music was as delightful as can be imagined."<sup>153</sup>

What he abhorred were the attempts so common in our churches to perform, with means wholly incompetent to produce them, great concerted pieces that only made the organ loft sometimes ridiculous, sometimes disgusting, and sometimes distressing.

Undoubtedly he was extremely averse to changes in the church music or to *exhibitions* from the organ loft. He had two of the finest musicians, Raynor [= Rayner] Taylor [1747-1825] and Benjamin Carr [1769-1831], both Englishmen, bred in the cathedral style, that ever graced the musical science of Philadelphia, in one of his own churches, St. Peter's, but he kept its music, as he did that of Christ Church, and of St. James' [founded in 1809] after it was built and became one of the United Churches, down to a plain, old-fashioned Church of England standard; and even had a book prepared whose tendency was to limit the chants and tunes for the metrical psalm or hymn to the comparatively small number already stated, and these of a simple kind—MEAR, WELLS, PHILADELPHIA (a tune by his friend, Francis Hopkinson),<sup>154</sup> OLD HUNDRED, ST. MARTIN'S, ST MICHAEL'S, and other ancient airs.

As for "captivating people by the art of Psalm-singing," Dr. White would have, I doubt not, resiled, with something like horror, from the idea. He never himself gave out more than two, or at most *three*, verses of a metrical psalm. As for hymns—except perhaps at Christmas—one

<sup>153</sup>Bird Wilson, *Memoir*, p. 36: "Dining on a Sunday in Worcester College [May 1771], I was asked by a young clergyman who sat near me, a Mr Walker, whether I took pleasure in sacred music. On being answered in the affirmative, he proposed our going to the chapel of Magdalen College. We went, after dinner, and the music was as delightful as can be imagined."

<sup>154</sup>*Tunes in Three Parts* (Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1763), contains PHILADELPHIA TO PSALM CXXXVI (Watts, 1719), at pp. 24-25. Neither this tune nor PHILADELPHIA in *A Selection of Sacred Harmony, containing . . . A rich Variety of Tunes approved by the Most Eminent Teachers of Church Music in the United States* (Philadelphia: Printed for W. Young [by John M'Culloch], 1788), pp. 65-66, is by Hopkinson (the 1788 is by Billings).

might defy the oldest parishioner of the United Churches [Christ and St. Peter's] to cite an occasion where he ever gave out one, unless where, as in communion, the rubric obliged him to do so. Could he have regulated absolutely the subject of singing the metrical psalms, he would have affixed a tune to each psalm; the same tune always to be sung to that psalm; and not more than from twelve to twenty tunes to be ever heard in the Church.

Both White and Hopkinson—White's senior by eleven years—were baptized and reared in Christ Church. Also, Hopkinson was Christ and St. Peter's vestryman from 1769 to 1773 and Christ Church warden in 1770 and 1771. Richard Peters (Liverpool, 1704; Philadelphia, July 10, 1776), who was Christ Church and St. Peter's rector December 6, 1762, to 1775, discussed hiring White as an assistant minister in the vestry meeting of June 19, 1772. Hopkinson therefore sat on the vestry when White began his Christ Church ministry. Hopkinson, whose substituting for James Bremner on the organ of Christ Church inspired a vestry resolution of thanks dated December 10, 1770, and who may have continued to serve as organist until late in 1773 or early in 1774 when he removed from Philadelphia to Bordentown, was again vestryman of Christ Church and St. Peter's the last three years of his life (died May 9, 1791).

These just-cited data, plus such other evidence as Hopkinson's letter to White on organ music quoted above, established the closeness of their relations at all stages. During the preparation of the so-called Proposed Prayerbook of 1786, White used Hopkinson to help with the selection and copying of tunes. White's letter dated January 17, 1786, to William Smith, provost of the college of Philadelphia 1754–1779 and 1789–1791, begins: "I have lost no time in making provision for inserting a few tunes in the prayer book. We have selected some which I send you the names of on an enclosed paper. Mr. Hopkinson is beginning to copy them for the engraver, and I expect they will be done with sufficient speed." Smith replied January 23: "With the assistance of our organist Mr. Limburner, our clerk, and some other gentlemen of this town [Chester in Kent County, Maryland], I have examined the tunes which are to be engraved and we generally approve of them except CANTERBURY, which is too flat and inanimate. ST. ANNE's, though good, is too difficult for singers in general. The two might be exchanged for some more popular tunes, which you have omitted, such as BRUNSWICK and STROUD tunes. We also wish to have in the collection ST. PETER's adapted to that noble hymn—'When all thy mercies, O my God, etc.' In addition to the tunes which are proposed in your list, we would offer the six which are enclosed, or such of them as you think may vary most from those of the same metre which you retain."

White responded from Philadelphia January 25: "I am afraid your proposals, concerning the tunes, are too late to be accomplished without either spoiling what has been done or making an addition in this article; which, by-the-by, will be much more expensive than you imagined. However I shall accommodate it to your ideas, as much as I should think you would yourself, were you on the spot."

The 17 tunes (plus three chants) printed *a 2* (treble and bass) in an eight-page supplement<sup>155</sup> to *The Book of Common Prayer* known as the Proposed Book (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1786) do contain BRUNSWICK, requested in Smith's letter of January 23, and do omit ST. ANNE's, to which Smith objected. However, CANTERBURY, to which he also objected, remains. Seven of the 17 tunes repeat tunes in Hopkinson's *A Collection of Psalm Tunes with a few Anthems and Hymns, Some*

<sup>155</sup>Tunes suited to the Psalms and Hymns of the Book of Common Prayer is the half-title.

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of them Entirely New: for the Use of the United Churches of Christ Church and S. Peter's Church in Philadelphia 1763: ST JAMES'S, CANTERBURY, COLESHILL, MEAR, BRUNSWICK, BEDFORD, and OLD 100TH. Availing himself of the prerogative generally assumed by tunebook compilers, Hopkinson concluded the Proposed Book supplement with one of his own psalm tunes, PROPER TUNE FOR Ps. 96TH BY F. H. 7TH METRE.

Hopkinson's secular music contacts with Washington began with *The Temple of Minerva, An Oratorial Entertainment* given in November and on December 11, 1781, at the Philadelphia residence of the Chevalier de La Luzerne, French minister to the United States. Thanks to brilliant discoveries by Gillian B. Anderson itemized in " 'Samuel the Priest Gave Up the Ghost' and *The Temple of Minerva*: Two Broad-sides," *Notes of the Music Library Association*, xxxi/3 (March 1975), 493-516, and " 'The Temple of Minerva' and Francis Hopkinson: A Re-Appraisal of America's First Poet-Composer," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, cxx/3 (June 1976), 166-177, *The Temple of Minerva* now discloses itself as a pasticcio incorporating "some of the best eighteenth-century songs" by composers ranging from Handel to Henry Carey, Michael Arne and Thomas Augustine Arne. "Hopkinson selected the music, arranged it, wrote the libretto, and had charge of the performances." Arriving fresh from success at Yorktown, Washington (accompanied by his wife) heard himself apostrophized in November and on December 11, 1781, by the GENIUS OF AMERICA singing lines like these: "He come, he comes, with conquest crown'd / Hail Columbia's god-like son! / Hail the glorious Washington"—to music from Carey's *Britannia*.



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*Psalm-Tune for 1600.* by F.H.H. METTE.

CHANTS.

Seven years after *The Temple of Minerva*, Hopkinson published *Seven* [i.e. Eight] *Songs for the Harpsichord or Forte Piano the words and music Composed by Francis Hopkinson* (Philadelphia: T[homas] Dobson, 1788; dedication to Washington dated November 20, 1788). But in contrast with secular compositions, Hopkinson's sacred music began being published 27 years before his *Seven Songs*. Lyon's *Urania, A Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems, and Hymns*, engraved at Philadelphia by Henry Dawkins in 1761, contains at pages 40–41 *The iv Psalm Tune* and at 50–51 Hopkinson's *The 23.<sup>d</sup> Psalm Tune*—both untexted, both set for four voices (treble, counter, tenor, bass), and both without any hint of instrumental accompaniment. These same two psalms enter the Library of Congress 206-page autograph manuscript collection, “Francis Hopkinson his Book,”<sup>156</sup> at pages 175 and 179, both texted with Tate and Brady psalm versions, both minus the counter voice added

<sup>156</sup>Mentioned in Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson*, p. 32, and presented to Library of Congress in October 1919 by Hopkinson's descendant, Mrs. Florence Scovel Shinn (ML96.H83).



*Seven Songs*

*for the*

H A R P S I C H O R D

OR

*Forte Piano.*

T H E W O R D S A N D M U S I C

*Composed by*

*Francis Hopkinson.*

Philadelphia. Published & Sold by J. Dobson  
LAITKEN, Sculp.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY  
GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQUIRE.

S I R,

**I** EMBRACE, with heart-felt satisfaction, every opportunity that offers of recognizing the personal Friendship that hath so long subsisted between us. The present Occasion allows me to do this in a manner most flattering to my Vanity; and I have accordingly taken advantage of it, by presenting this Work to your Patronage, and honouring it with your Name.

It cannot be thought an unwarrantable anticipation to look up to you as seated in the most dignified situation that a grateful People can offer. The universally avowed Wish of America, and the Nearness of the Period in which that Wish will be accomplished, sufficiently justify such an Anticipation; from which arises a confident Hope, that the same Wisdom and Virtue which has so successfully conducted the Arms of the United States in Times of Invasion, War, and Tumult, will prove also the successful Patron of Arts and Sciences in Times of national Peace and Prosperity; and that the Glory of America will rise conspicuous under a Government designated by the *Will*, and an Administration founded in the *Hearts* of THE PEOPLE.

With respect to the little Work, which I have now the honour to present to your notice, I can only say that it is such as a Lover, not a Master, of the Arts can furnish. I am neither a profess'd Poet, nor a profess'd Musician; and yet venture to appear in those characters united; for which, I confess, the censure of Temerity may justly be brought against me.

If these Songs should not be so fortunate as to please the *young* Performers, for whom they are intended, they will at least not occasion much Trouble in learning to perform them; and this will, I hope, be some Alleviation of their Disappointment.

However small the Reputation may be that I shall derive from this Work, I cannot, I believe, be refused the Credit of being the first Native of the United States who has produced a Musical Composition. If this attempt should not be too severely treated, others may be encouraged to venture on a path, yet untrodden in America, and the Arts in succession will take root and flourish amongst us.

I hope for your favourable Acceptance of this Mark of my Affection and Respect, and have the Honour to be

Your Excellency's most obedient, and

Most humble Servant,

F. HOPKINSON.

PHILADELPHIA,  
Nov. 20th, 1788.

## SONG I.

Largo

Come fair Kofina, come away, long

since stern Winter's Storms have ceas'd, see na - ture in her best Array in - vites us to her rural Feast,

The Season shall her Treasures spread, her mellow fruits, her mellow fruits and Harvest brown, her flows their freshest odours

shed, and every Breeze pour Fragrance down, Her flows their freshest Odours shed, and every Breeze pour fragrance down,

At noon we'll seek the wild wood's shade  
 And o'er the pathlet's verdure rove,  
 Or near a mossy fountain laid,  
 Attend the music of the grove;  
 At eve, the sloping mead invites  
 With lowing herds and flocks to stray;  
 Each hour shall furnish new delights,  
 And love and joy shall crown the day.

## SONG IV.

Ad.<sup>o</sup> En -

hr

- raptur'd I gaze, when my Delia is by, and drink the sweet Poison of Love from her Eye; I

hr

feel the soft Passion pervade every Part, and Pleasures un - u - sual play round my fond Heart.

2

hr

S.

I hear her sweet Voice and am charm'd with her Song,  
 I think I could hear her sweet Voice all Day long;  
 My Senses enchanted are lost in Delight,  
 When Love and soft Musick their Raptures unite.

3

Beyond all Expression my Delia I love;  
 My Heart is so fix'd that it never can rove;  
 When I see her I think tis an Angel I see,  
 And the Charms of her mind are a Heav'n to me.



# The IV Palm Tune

40  
Soprano



Counter



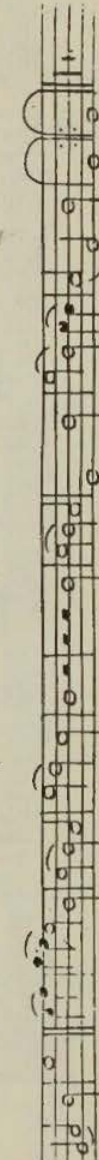
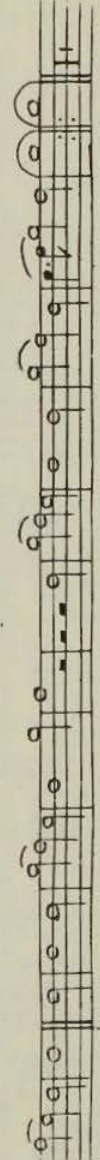
Tenor



Bass



41





*The 23<sup>d</sup> Psalm Tune*

50  
*Soprano*



*Counter*



*Tenor*



*Bass*



51



in *Urania*, and both with the bass voice figured. The 23.<sup>d</sup> Psalm at page 179 ends with a seven-measure instrumental section to be played between verses. Hopkinson published both these psalms in his own *A Collection of Psalm Tunes, with a few Anthems and Hymns, Some of them Entirely New* (1763) at plates XIX and XX. Under rubric 4.II.D, Gillian Anderson indexed both psalms as Hopkinson's original compositions in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, cxx/3 (June 1976), 177.

In addition, *A Collection of 1763* contains at plates XIII and XIV what are apparently his original C Major common-meter settings, treble and figured bass, of Addison's 1712 texts *When all thy Mercies, O my God* and *The spacious firmament*—each with instrumental introduction. CHIDDINGSTONE a 3 at plate XVIII, C Major in 3/2, exploiting antiphony, sets Watts's Psalm 148. Not by Hopkinson, this tune also enters the *1763 Tunes in Three Parts* published at Philadelphia by Anthony Armbruster, pages 28–29. *Praise Ye the Lord*, entitled HALLELUJAH in *Urania*, pp. 196–198, and included in *A Collection of 1763* at plate XXI, traces its history to *The Second Book of the Divine Companion* published at London between 1725 and 1738. Maurice Frost, "The Tunes associated with Hymn Singing in the lifetime of the Wesleys," *The Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Bulletin*, iv/81 (Winter 1957/58), 125, found this HALLELUJAH tune credited in *The Second Book* to "Mr. William Marckam, set to Ps. cxix, verse 9."

*A Collection of 1763* contains at plate XV (headed "Hymn") a two-part setting of Tate and Brady Psalm 34, *Thro' all the Changing Scenes of Life*.<sup>17</sup> Headed "Anthem" and followed by an eight-bar common-meter Hallelujah chorus, this same 3/2 meter piece enters "Francis Hopkinson his Book" at page 176. The earliest dated original sacred work in "Francis Hopkinson his Book" is his setting composed at age 23 of prayerbook Psalm 114, *In exitu Israel*, verses 5–6 ("What aileth thee O thou Sea").<sup>18</sup> Headed "F. H. 1760 An Anthem from the 114<sup>th</sup> Psalm," this G Major work is texted in all three voices. Hopkinson frequently repeats words. The word "presence" inspires him to a long melisma in measures 28–30 and "tremble" to an even longer one in 36–39 (Vo. 1). The tempo, marked "All.<sup>o</sup> Mod.<sup>to</sup>" at the outset, gives way (last two measures) to an Adagio for the concluding *Chorus*. Hopkinson therefore intended the "D. C. al Sig." anthem to be sung by solo voices, except at the close. The figures for the texted, widely skipping bass included such refinements as a short vertical stroke added to the numeral 4 (in measure 4 to designate c#, rather than ct, above G).

For several reasons, Francis Hopkinson's sacred music contributions deserve more attention than they have hitherto received. In *The New Grove Dictionary*, VIII,

<sup>17</sup>This tune glosses s<sup>T</sup> MATHEW's = MATTHEW's (William Croft, *Supplement*, 1708) found in *Urania* at pp. 170–171 and in the Proposed Book Tune Supplement at p. 3. With additional vocal ornamentation, but wedded to the same Tate and Brady Psalm 34 version preferred by Hopkinson ("Thro' all the Changing Scenes of Life") and closing with the same eight-bar Hallelujah = Alleluia chorus, it enters John Aitken's *A Compilation of the Litanies and Vespers Hymns and Anthems as They are Sung in the Catholic Church Adapted to the Voice or Organ* (Philadelphia; Aitken, 1787), p. 85. Aitken's Psalm CIV (p. 27), John Denham-Isaac Watts version, 1719, beginning "My soul thy Great Creator Praise," repeats *Urania* (pp. 194–195), LYON in *Tunes in Three Parts* (Philadelphia, 1763, pp. 22–23), and Plate XVII in Hopkinson's *A Collection*, 1763. Aitken's *Sing ye Praises* (p. 25)—the tune from *Lyra Davidica*, 1708 (EASTER HYMN)—equals *A Collection*, Plate XII. Aitken's *The Christmas Hymn* (p. 16) duplicates *Christmas* by Hopkinson's mentor John = Giovanni Palma, first published in *Urania*, pp. 192–194, and frequently thereafter.

<sup>18</sup>Facsimile of Sonneck's transcription is shown on next two pages, 75 and 76.



AN ANTHEM FROM THE 114TH PSALM

Francis Hopkinson, 1760



*Allegro moderato.*

Vo. 1. *tr*  
 Vo. 2. *tr*  
 Bass. *sic.*

5

What aileth thee, oh thou sea that thou fleddest, And thou Jordan that thou wast driven back? Ye

mountains that ye skip-ped like rams, and ye lit-tle, lit-tle, lit-tle, lit-tle hills like young  
 lit-tle, lit-tle hills like young

10

sheep, lit-tle, lit-tle hills like young sheep? Tremble thou earth, at the  
 sheep, And ye lit-tle, lit-tle, lit-tle, lit-tle hills like young sheep?

15

presence of the Lord, the God . . . of Ja - cob, Trem-ble thou earth, at the

20

presence of the Lord, the God of Ja - cob.

At the pres-ence of the Lord,  
 At the presence of the Lord,



25

at the pres-ence of the Lord, at the pres -

at the presence of the Lord, at the pres-ence of the Lord, the

30

ence of the Lord; Trem-ble thou earth at the

pres - - - - - ence of the Lord;

presence, the pres - ence of the Lord;

35

pres-ence of the Lord, the God of Ja - cob, Trem - - - -

Trem-ble thou earth at the

40

ble,

presence of the Lord, Trem-ble thou earth at the présence of the Lord,

of the Lord,

*Chorus Adagio. D.C. al Sig.*

Trem-ble thou earth at the presence of the Lord, The God . . . of Ja - cob,

116.

691, Richard Crawford rightly called *My Days have been so Wondrous Free* (1759) "the earliest surviving American secular composition." His "An Anthem from the 114<sup>th</sup> Psalm" equally deserves being called "the earliest surviving [dated] American sacred composition." "Francis Hopkinson his Book" reveals him the first American who figured his basses. As *The 23.<sup>d</sup> Psalm* in "Francis Hopkinson his Book" shows, he was the first American to write figured bass works with instrumental sections. In 1763 he was also the first to publish figured bass works with instrumental sections. That same year, his 38-page polemical tract (not mentioned in Sonneck nor in *The New Grove*), *The Lawfulness, Excellency, and Advantage of Instrumental Musick* (Philadelphia: Dunlap, 1763), was the first American publication exclusively devoted to defending organs.<sup>159</sup> As early as April 3, 1764, he and William Young became conspicuous for their "great and constant pains in teaching and instructing the children" in psalmody. His superintendence of the tune supplement to the Proposed Prayerbook of 1786 makes him editor of the first American attempt at a denominational tunebook. His letter "on the conduct of a Church Organ" published posthumously rates as the only American eighteenth-century monograph on its subject. To confirm the lasting merit of his sacred contribution: his settings of Tate and Brady Psalms 4 and 23, first published (without text) in *Urania*, 1761 and later reprints, continued being published in collections to the end of the century—Psalm 4 in *A Selection of Sacred Harmony* (Philadelphia: John M'Culloch for William Young, 1788) and in Jonathan Benjamin, *Harmonia Coelestis* (Northampton: Andrew Wright for O. D. & I. Cooke, 1799) and Psalm 23 in John Stickney, *The Gentleman and Lady's Musical Companion* (Newburyport: Daniel Bayley, 1774).<sup>160</sup>

Above at page 19 was quoted William Arms Fisher's assurance that during Washington's epoch "music still functioned chiefly in the churches" with organists as "the principal music-makers." At present, fashionable authors pit Billings against Hopkinson. Granted that "by mere force of nature, [Billings] excelled all his contemporaries, and equalled any, perhaps, who had gone before him, in composing for the voice"—as was claimed for "an author of such distinguished merit" in the third edition of *A Selection of Sacred Harmony* (Philadelphia: Printed for William Young, 1790), page 130. Nonetheless, the kind of sacred music composed, compiled, and recommended by Hopkinson chiefly greeted Washington's ears, not Billings's.

A just appraisal of the church music heard by Washington therefore begins with the heretofore unknown Thomas Pierce, Junior, playing a Bernard Smith organ in Barbados, continues with Peter Pelham III, organist at Williamsburg, takes into account the Tate and Brady psalms for spinet ordered for Mount Vernon in 1767, considers the occasions when he heard the organists Selby at Boston, Stevens at Charleston, Simon at Savannah, and Reuz at Salem during his presidential tours, and concludes with organists Bremner, Kurtz, and with White's chief musical consultant at Philadelphia, the fanatic devotee of organs, figured music, and celebrated musical names—Hopkinson.

<sup>159</sup>For his authorship, see Clifford K. Shipton and James E. Mooney, *National Index of American Imprints Through 1800, The Short-Title Evans* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1969), I, 366 [Evans 9424].

<sup>160</sup>Richard Crawford, preface to *Urania* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1974), p. xxxi.