

# Isaiah Thomas as a Music Publisher

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THE HISTORY of music publishing in America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is an uneven record. Beginning in 1698 with thirteen psalm-tunes crudely cut into wooden blocks and printed as a supplement to the ninth edition of the Bay Psalm Book,<sup>1</sup> music publishing followed a tenuous course by fits and starts over the next eight decades. Utility was a deciding factor in most musical productions intended for the use of a people with little time for leisure pursuits. Collections of psalm-tunes and instruction books designed to aid in the singing of psalms were almost the whole of music publishing during much of the period. Secular songs and instrumental music were rare until the closing decade of the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Boston was unchallenged as the principal location in American music publishing during the first five decades of the

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<sup>1</sup> *The Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament Faithfully Translated into English Metre [sic]*, 9th ed. (Boston: B. Green and J. Allen for Michael Perry, 1698).

<sup>2</sup> The earliest extant secular music printed in America is *The Military Glory of Great Britain* (Philadelphia: Bradford, 1762), an entertainment presented at the commencement exercises of Nassau Hall (now Princeton University) on September 29, 1762. See Oscar G. T. Sonneck, *A Bibliography of Early American Secular Music*, revised and enlarged by William Treat Upton (New York: Da Capo, 1964), p. 261. Several earlier song collections are recorded of which no copy appears to have survived. These may have been only songsters, i.e., collections of texts without music. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

eighteenth century. In the 1750s and 1760s, Philadelphia rose briefly to prominence with the tunebooks of Dawson,<sup>3</sup> Lyon,<sup>4</sup> Hopkinson,<sup>5</sup> and Armbruster.<sup>6</sup> Following this short flurry of activity, music publishing abated. Although Philadelphia became an important center of secular music printing in the 1790s, it never challenged Boston's supremacy in the sacred music field.

During most of the eighteenth century music was printed to meet immediate, local needs and was done by job printers often at the instigation of booksellers. Their products were usually distributed in only a small area. Andrew Law made some effort during the 1780s to establish a network of sales outlets for his tunebooks, but this was clearly an exception to the normal situation, resulting from Law's far-flung activities as an itinerant singing master.<sup>7</sup>

Until the mid-1780s no general printer in America had taken more than a passing interest in music publishing.<sup>8</sup> None had attempted to make it a substantial part of his overall printing business, to systematize its production, or to organize its distribution. All of this was to change with the entry of Isaiah Thomas, unquestionably the most important printer of his day in America, into the music publishing field.

We do not know why Thomas, in 1784, decided to invest a considerable sum of money in a font of music type. He was not a musician himself, nor had he shown any interest in music

<sup>3</sup> William Dawson, *Youth's Entertaining Amusement* (Philadelphia, 1754).

<sup>4</sup> James Lyon, *Urania* (Philadelphia, 1761).

<sup>5</sup> [Francis Hopkinson], *A Collection of Psalm Tunes* (Philadelphia, 1763).

<sup>6</sup> [Anthony Armbruster], *Tunes in Three Parts* (Philadelphia, 1763).

<sup>7</sup> Richard Crawford, *Andrew Law, American Psalmist* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968), pp. 53-54.

<sup>8</sup> The most prolific music publisher in America prior to the mid-1780s was Daniel Bayley of Newburyport, Massachusetts, who issued eleven collections of sacred music in numerous editions between 1764 and 1788. Bayley, however, was not a general printer, and produced few imprints besides his music books. He also apparently made little effort to market his tunebooks outside eastern New England.

printing prior to this. However, on December 23, 1784, he placed this notice in his newspaper, *The Massachusetts Spy*:

Isaiah Thomas has just received from England a beautiful set of Musical Types; by which he is enabled to print any kind of Church or other Musick, in a neat and elegant manner, and can afford to do it cheaper than such work has been heretofore done in this country from copper and pewter plates.<sup>9</sup>

We do not know precisely how much music type Thomas purchased from the London foundry of Joseph Fry & Son, but his inventory of 1794 listed eight cases of music type, and that of 1796 specified 357 pounds. The only extant invoice from the Fry firm listing music type is dated 1790, and it shows that the type cost Thomas 4s. 6d. or slightly more than \$1.00 per pound.<sup>10</sup> At this rate the type in his 1796 inventory would have been worth over \$350—a considerable sum in those days.

Thomas's first musical publication was issued a little more than a year after the announcement of his purchase of type. This was a book of hymn-tunes and anthems called *The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony*, and was unlike any tunebook that had gone before it in America. At 200 pages, it was one of the largest collections published during the eighteenth century. For five shillings per volume or nine shillings complete, the purchaser bought one of the best organized and least expensive tunebooks of the day. Volume I contained a clear and extensive presentation of the rudiments of music, and a large and varied collection of psalm-, hymn-, and fusing-tunes. Volume II was a collection of anthems and set pieces, along with a few newly published hymn- and fusing-

<sup>9</sup> The same advertisement appeared in *The Massachusetts Centinel* in Boston on January 26, 1785. Type specimens could be seen at Battelle's Book Store, Green's Book Store, and Warden and Russell's Printing Office.

<sup>10</sup> The invoice, dated July 13, 1790, from Edmund Fry & Co., is for '78.12 lb. Music Type 4/6—£17.14.4½.' Edmund Fry succeeded his father, Joseph, as head of the Fry firm upon the latter's death in 1787. All letters, invoices, contracts, etc., referred to in this paper are to be found in the Isaiah Thomas Papers, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

tunes. Both volumes could be purchased separately or bound together, providing a large, flexible collection that met the needs of the singing school student, the congregational singer, the choir member, and the musical society.

The two volumes of *The Worcester Collection* came off the press in January and May 1786, respectively, and immediately became a best seller, appearing in eight editions through 1803. Its immediate reception by the public was enthusiastic, for not only was the first edition soon sold out, but a spurious edition was published in Boston in 1787 or 1788.<sup>11</sup> The influence of *The Worcester Collection* on other tunebooks of the day was both marked and pervasive. Many compilers took tunes from the collection to reprint in their own tunebooks, many of which were modeled on *The Worcester Collection*.<sup>12</sup>

From Thomas's presses in the next two decades came thirty-eight editions of twenty-four tunebooks, most of which were substantial volumes exceeding 100 pages each. In addition, Thomas is known to have published at least eleven anthems and occasional pieces as separate issues.

Thomas was a printer and a businessman, not a musician. He admitted his lack of musical training in the preface of the first edition of *The Worcester Collection*.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, he took a lively interest in the musical affairs of his region. His press represented the major distribution outlet for the prod-

<sup>11</sup> The preface of the second edition of *The Worcester Collection* (Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, 1788) warns the purchaser against a spurious edition published in Boston. Irving Lowens identified the piracy as *Sacred Harmony* (Boston: C. Cambridge, n.d.). See Lowens, 'Andrew Law and the Pirates,' *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), pp. 76-77 (illus., p. 78).

<sup>12</sup> Several tunebooks conspicuously modeled on *The Worcester Collection* are Holden's *Union Harmony* (Boston: Thomas & Andrews, 1793), Ranlet's *Village Harmony* (Exeter: Ranlet, 1795), Mann's *Northampton Collection* (Northampton: Wright, 1797), Brown's *Columbian and European Harmony* (Boston: Thomas & Andrews, 1802), and Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music* (Harrisburg: Wyeth, 1810).

<sup>13</sup> 'The Publisher, although unskilled in musick, hopes the following sheets are as correct as books of this kind commonly are.' *The Worcester Collection* (Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, 1786), p. [iv].

ucts of the budding first New England school of composers, led by William Billings and Oliver Holden. Thomas encouraged their development by offering them opportunities to print their tunes in his collections. Such advertisements as the following, from *The Massachusetts Spy* of August 2, 1792, were not uncommon:

*Sacred Harmony.* A New Edition of the Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony will immediately be put to Press. Such gentlemen as wish to furnish new Tunes for this work, are requested to leave them at I. Thomas's Bookstore, in Worcester, by the 20th of August next.

Judging from printed results, the response to these offers was enthusiastic. Each edition of *The Worcester Collection* contains a large number of new tunes, some by well-known composers, such as Holden, Mann, and Kimball; some by obscure figures who still remain elusive: Hall, Allen, Parmenter, Goff, and others.

Thomas was not content merely to publish a collection of church music. He tried in several ways to make it more suited to the needs of his users. First, he had Hans Gram of Boston, his musical advisor for the third edition of *The Worcester Collection*, extensively revise the musical settings, adding a fourth part to a number of popular hymn-tunes originally composed in only three parts.<sup>14</sup> Second, in response to criticism of the frequent repetition of hymn-tunes in the church service, he proposed a plan for producing a more varied repertory, and commissioned several composers to write pieces according to

<sup>14</sup> The standard scoring of the sacred music repertory in eighteenth-century America was in four parts, each occupying a separate staff. The main melody was usually in the tenor part, the third staff from the top. This was supported by a bass part immediately beneath it, and by the 'counter' and 'treble' parts on the two staves above it. Some tunes, particularly those imported from England, were composed for treble, tenor, and bass only. These are the tunes to which Gram added a counter part. Hans Gram (1754-1804) was a Danish musician who immigrated to Boston in 1785. He appears to have had a thorough musical education and was an influential musician in Boston during the 1790s. See David W. McCormick, 'Oliver Holden, Composer and Anthologist,' S.M.D. dissertation (Union Theological Seminary, 1963), pp. 74-82, for the fullest discussion of Gram's life and activities.

its specifications.<sup>15</sup> He described his proposal in the preface to the third edition of *The Worcester Collection*:

A complaint hath been made, and with great justness, that good tunes soon wear out by becoming too familiar to the ear by frequent repetition:—The Editor hath long wished to remedy this evil, and in order to effect it, has had a tune made, by way of experiment, viz. Worcester New, Long Metre, which is of sufficient length for a portion of psalmody to be sung at one time: By this means, as there will be no repetition of the tune in the church service, it will consequently last much longer than tunes composed in the usual way. Should the plan be liked, the genius of the musicians of our country will have a larger field, for a variety of moods may be contained in one tune, and the grave and lively strains adopted at pleasure.

WORCESTER NEW is, in reality, nothing more than six completely independent hymn-tunes strung together in succession. Each verse of Watts's hymn 'Now to the Lord a noble song' is set with perhaps a little more attention to the basic affections of the text, but it represents only the most naive attempt to solve the problem. The plan did not find the wide acceptance Thomas had hoped, and only Elias Mann followed it to some extent in later compositions. It is to Thomas's credit, however, to have proposed it.

Thomas also aided, perhaps unwittingly, the movement for the reform of church music which gained momentum during the 1790s and all but swept away the first New England school in the earliest decades of the next century. In 1795 he published a work called *The Massachusetts Compiler of Theoretical and Practical Elements of Sacred Vocal Music*, compiled by Hans Gram, Oliver Holden, and Samuel Holyoke—the first music theory textbook, or composition manual, pub-

<sup>15</sup> In a letter to Thomas dated June 19, 1791, Ebenezer T. Andrews listed tunes to be included in the third edition. These included Mann's WORCESTER NEW, a tune called FUTURITY by Hans Gram (three stanzas in common meter), and an untitled tune by William Belstead, the organist at Trinity Church. Gram's tune was likely the common meter version of Thomas's plan, and Belstead's the short meter version. Unfortunately, neither the Gram nor the Belstead tune was ever published.

lished in America. The thirty-six-page theoretical discussion, probably written by Gram, was by far the most extensive presentation of the theoretical principles of eighteenth-century harmonic practice published in America before 1800. Also included was a collection of pieces carefully chosen from primarily European sources demonstrating the application of the musical principles elucidated in the theoretical introduction. Designed as a tool to assist the American composer better to grasp the principles of the European harmonic style, the work soon was seized upon by the reformers to point out deficiencies in American composition. Typical of the reaction are the remarks of John Cole, an important composer and music publisher in Baltimore:

With respect to the Tunes . . . their intrinsic merit will speak for them . . . wherever there is a taste for *Classical Psalmody*; and where there is not, the common *riff-raff* of the new school, which . . . 'is destitute of melody, harmony, and every other laudable recommendation,' will be preferred. . . .

Those who wish to excel in the science of Music, will of course think it [the theoretical introduction] too concise; such persons are referred to the 'Columbian Repository' a work lately published by Samuel Holioko [*sic*], A.M. and the 'Massachusetts Compiler'—both of which are earnestly recommended as models of taste, and worthy an attentive perusal.<sup>16</sup>

Thomas's principal publishing outlet for music was his Boston branch, Thomas and Andrews. Ebenezer T. Andrews, the manager and junior partner, had been one of Thomas's apprentices until 1788 when he and John Sprague were sent to Boston to start the firm of I. Thomas & Co. Sprague withdrew in 1789, whereupon Thomas took Andrews into partnership, forming what must be considered the single most important publishing house in America during the late eighteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> John Cole, *The Beauties of Psalmody*, 2d ed. (Baltimore: Cole & Hewes, 1805).

<sup>17</sup> Clifford K. Shipton, *Isaiab Thomas* (Rochester: Leo Hart, 1948), p. 49.

Thomas did not set Andrews up only to ignore him. He maintained an active interest in the business, and as senior partner held decision-making power over even the smallest aspects of the business. An almost daily exchange of letters took place over the forty-two miles between Boston and Worcester. Many of these letters are preserved at the American Antiquarian Society, and provide a fascinating picture of this multifaceted printing business. Since music printing was a major part of the Thomas and Andrews business, many references to it and its problems occur in the letters.

The first two editions of *The Worcester Collection* were published in Worcester by Thomas alone. Beginning with the third edition of 1791, it was published by Thomas and Andrews in Boston. Thomas, however, from his station in Worcester, maintained a keen interest in the tunebook, at least through the sixth edition. This edition, published in 1797, was given to Oliver Holden to edit, as were the final two editions published in 1800 and 1803. For his services as editor, Holden was given a quarter of the published copies to sell for his own benefit, an agreement which Thomas and Andrews a few years later would regret having made.<sup>18</sup>

In order to prepare a new edition of the collection, Andrews found a Boston musician to look over the old edition, mark tunes that should be omitted, and draw up a list of tunes and their sources to be included. These were then sent to Thomas in Worcester, who passed them on to his local musical advisor, Elias Mann. Mann approved the tunes to be omitted and substituted, and perhaps suggested others not on the original list. In this way Thomas was able to maintain a balance between urban and rural tastes, an important factor in the continuing popularity of *The Worcester Collection*. Once

<sup>18</sup> See Andrews's letter to Thomas dated December 27, 1803. Andrews wrote: 'considering the small sale for the work, owing to the multiplicity of other Books, and the great allowance we have to make to Mr. H[olden] the work is not very profitable to us. . . . We did not make a good bargain with Mr. H.'



the list had been agreed upon in both Boston and Worcester, the tunes were set in type and the tunebook printed.<sup>19</sup>

Thomas and Andrews employed at least two composers who could set music type. This skill apparently required no special musical ability and could be learned after only a short period of training.<sup>20</sup> Three-hundred-odd pounds of music type was not enough to set a complete tunebook at one time, nor was it necessary to do so. While the pressmen were printing one eight-page signature, the composers were setting another. As soon as a signature was printed the form was redistributed and the type used for the next part to be set. It was necessary, of course, to print enough sheets at one time to meet the anticipated demand for the work. As nearly as can be determined from existing inventories, the normal edition of *The Worcester Collection* consisted of between 3,000 and 4,000 copies.<sup>21</sup> After the editorial decisions had been made, it took approximately two months to print an edition of that size.

Most of Thomas's tunebooks were published by public subscription, for Thomas was a cautious businessman, seldom willing to risk his own capital in the uncertainties of the tunebook market. A typical subscription began with a printed notice in the newspapers describing the intended publication, the terms of the subscription, and where to apply. Subscription papers were distributed to printers, bookstores, general stores, and individuals. Later, the papers were gathered along with any money advanced. If a sufficient number of orders had been received, the book would be put to press; if not, the

<sup>19</sup> Certain standard tunes of continuing popularity could be expected to appear in every edition. These were usually set first, even before the final list was approved.

<sup>20</sup> In a letter to Thomas dated August 21, 1792, Andrews wrote: 'Must immediately learn Isa to set Musick and get two hands to work it at press as fast as Milk and he can compose it.'

<sup>21</sup> There are, unfortunately, no extant inventories of both Thomas's Worcester store and his Boston business for the same year. This estimate is based on composite inventories over several years, principally the Thomas and Andrews inventory of 1801 and the Isaiah Thomas inventory of 1802.

project would be dropped and the money returned. In some cases a list of subscribers' names was published in the volume. In Samuel Holyoke's *Harmonia Americana* (Boston, 1791) the list includes the names of 130 people who subscribed for 259 copies. At six shillings per copy, the subscription raised about \$330 toward the cost of printing the book.

How much were these costs? We do not know precisely in Holyoke's case. However, a contract between the firm of Thomas and Thomas (Isaiah Thomas's branch in Walpole, New Hampshire) and Thomas H. Atwill for the printing of Atwill's *New York and Vermont Collection* specified that Atwill pay the firm \$600 over the period of a year for 4,000 copies of his work. He was also required to furnish the paper! Since this tunebook was printed from engraved plates, supplied by Atwill, and not music type, the \$600 figure apparently represented only the labor and binding costs.<sup>22</sup>

While Thomas was interested in promoting music printing, he was not inclined to be philanthropic where his business was concerned. In the case of Billings's *Continental Harmony* (Boston, 1794) he accepted a mortgage on the composer's house to cover the difference between the money raised by subscription and the costs of printing the book. Moreover, he initiated a lawsuit against Jacob French in 1794 to recover funds owed him for the publication of the latter's *Psalmody's Assistant* (Worcester, 1793). The business practices followed by Thomas were common among printers of the day, and were by no means limited to music publication. Literary works, medical, law, and scientific books, and many others were submitted to the public by subscription before publication to test their sales potential. On the other hand, Thomas undertook the publication of John Cole's *A Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems* (Boston, 1803) entirely at his own risk, apparently without the knowledge of the composer,<sup>23</sup> indi-

<sup>22</sup> This contract, dated February 9, 1801, is found in the Isaiah Thomas Papers.

<sup>23</sup> A copy of the collection in the Lowell Mason collection of the Yale University Music Library contains the following note addressed to Lowell Mason by John Cole:

cating that he was occasionally prepared to gamble on a work which he felt was worthwhile.

Between 1791 and 1797 the presses of Thomas and Andrews were kept busy with music books. During these years no fewer than two dozen titles were published. At this time Thomas had a virtual monopoly on the publication of tune-books in eastern New England. His only local competition came from the Boston printers John and William Norman, whose *Federal Harmony*, printed between 1788 and 1794 from engraved plates, usually dogged the tracks of *The Worcester Collection*, trying to profit from its popularity.

In 1795 competition in kind appeared. Henry Ranlet, a printer in Exeter, New Hampshire, acquired a font of music type and began publishing his *Village Harmony*. At about the same time, Thomas made the strategic error of turning *The Worcester Collection* over to Oliver Holden, who was coming more and more under the influence of the reform movement. *The Village Harmony* ran *The Worcester Collection* a heady race for public acceptance, and eventually contributed to the latter's demise. A few years later Andrew Wright, a former Thomas apprentice, also acquired music type and set up a business in Northampton, Massachusetts. By the early 1800s Herman Mann in Dedham, Massachusetts, and Manning and Loring in Boston had music type and all were competing for a tunebook market which had become saturated. So many books were being issued by these printers that the market could not begin to absorb them, and the sales of even the familiar tune-books were adversely affected.

This situation was undoubtedly a motivating factor in Thomas and Andrews's subsequent decision to abandon their music publishing business. In 1802 Thomas retired from the

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'Dear Sir: I send you this as a curiosity. Thomas and Andrews published it on their own account and sent me one hundred copies. I was then a young man, and was made very proud on hearing from them that "some of their best judges pronounced the music too good for the prevailing taste!!!"' Quoted in Frank Metcalf, *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music* (New York: Abington Press, [1925]), p. 166.

active printing business after having spent almost half a century in it. In 1804 Andrews turned the printing end of the Thomas and Andrews business over to Joseph T. Buckingham, and occupied himself with the bookstore and other financial interests of the firm.<sup>24</sup> The Thomas and Andrews imprint continued to appear on a few musical titles until 1810, but these were mere echoes of the firm's once important and influential music publishing activity.

The printing of sacred vocal music was but one aspect of Thomas's music publishing business, albeit the most important one. Secular music was another. The singing school and musical society movements had reached a high level of activity in New England during the 1790s, providing Thomas with the ready market needed to make the publication of music from type a profitable venture. Thomas did not ignore secular music; but because of a smaller demand for it than for sacred music and the need to print it in large quantities to justify the use of musical type, he approached it in a different way.

Most of the secular music printed by Thomas appeared in *The Massachusetts Magazine*, his monthly literary-political journal which was published from 1789 to 1795. Between January 1789 and September 1792, forty-five pieces of music were printed in the magazine. Most issues through January 1792 contained at least one piece of music; a number contained two or three.

Continuing his encouragement of the New England composer, Thomas printed at least twenty-seven pieces by Americans living in the general area of Boston. These include six works by Hans Gram, four each by William Selby and Samuel Holyoke, and three by Elias Mann. Nine more works, published pseudonymously, are probably also by Americans. Five are completely anonymous. It is significant to note that only four pieces by European composers are included: popu-

<sup>24</sup> Shipton, *Thomas*, p. 67.

lar songs by James Hook, Samuel Arnold, and William Shield.

The music of *The Massachusetts Magazine* is a motley collection. Much of it is for the voice: solo songs, duets, glees, patriotic airs, and pastoral meditations. There are also several instrumental works, including some marches and a dance tune. Some of the music has a naive charm and was apparently popular enough to be republished in Andrew Wright's *American Musical Miscellany* (Northampton, 1798). Perhaps the most important piece historically was printed in the magazine for March 1791. 'The Death Song of an Indian Chief,' a setting by Hans Gram of words by Sarah Wentworth Morton, scored for tenor voice, two clarinets, two horns and strings, is the earliest orchestral score known to have been published in America.

In June 1791, Hans Gram proposed that he be hired to supply good, seasonal music for the magazine at \$1.00 per month.<sup>25</sup> There is evidence to suggest that he was engaged to do so, for the last ten pieces in the magazine, published after Gram's proposal, are significantly different in style from most of the earlier compositions. But Gram's agreement with the firm was to be short-lived. More and more, Andrews considered the preparation of a monthly magazine of sixty-four pages to be an imposition on his time, and on several occasions he expressed a desire to be rid of it. This was accomplished in 1793.<sup>26</sup>

Only three more times did Thomas and Andrews briefly venture into the realm of secular music. In 1798 they issued two songs: Charles Dibdin's 'Nancy, or the Sailor's Journal,' made popular by Mr. Williamson of the Hay-Market Theatre; and Thomas [i.e., Robert Treat] Paine's 'Adams and Liberty,' set to the tune 'To Anacreon in Heaven.' In 1799 they published 'Truxton's Victory,' which celebrated the vic-

<sup>25</sup> Andrews to Thomas, June 27, 1791, Isaiah Thomas Papers.

<sup>26</sup> Shipton, *Thomas*, p. 66.

tory of the American frigate *Constellation* over the French *l'Insurgente* on February 9, 1799. All of these songs were printed typographically, and each was surely selected because of an anticipated wide popular appeal.

How do we assess Thomas's contribution to music publishing in America? Certainly not in terms of its intrinsic worth or lasting artistic value. Except for a few hymn-tunes, such as Oliver Holden's *CORONATION*, none of the music which he published remained popular for more than a few years, at the most, after its initial appearance in print. Thomas recognized a need in his area at a particular time and moved to meet it. His motives were largely financial, and, while he did not become wealthy from his music publishing alone, it was a profitable part of his business. His personal fortune in the year of his retirement was in excess of \$150,000.<sup>27</sup>

Thomas was not all hard-nosed businessman. His encouragement of New England composers—particularly Oliver Holden, Elias Mann, Jacob Kimball, and Hans Gram—contributed significantly to the full flowering of native American psalmody in the 1790s and early 1800s. His naive plan to improve church psalmody, although never developed to any great degree, showed that he was not merely content with the status quo.

Perhaps Thomas's most important contribution was the convincing demonstration of the value of typographically printed music in high-volume sales. By 1800 few tunebooks were being printed from engraved plates. It is difficult to imagine the success of the mass-market tunebooks of Lowell Mason, Thomas Hastings, William Bradbury, and others of the mid-nineteenth century, without the pioneering efforts of Isaiah Thomas as a publisher of music.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

*Checklist of Sacred Music Publications by Isaiab Thomas*

TUNEBOOKS

Babcock, Samuel. *The Middlesex Harmony*. Boston, 1795.

———. ———. 2d ed. Boston, 1803.

Belcher, Supply. *The Harmony of Maine*. Boston, 1794.

Belknap, Daniel. *The Evangelical Harmony*. Boston, 1800.

———. *The Harmonist's Companion*. Boston, 1797.

———. *The Middlesex Collection*. Boston, 1802.

Billings, William. *The Continental Harmony*. Boston, 1794.

Brown, Bartholomew, et al. *Columbian and European Harmony or the Bridgewater Collection*. Boston, 1802.

———. ———. 2d ed. Boston, 1804.

———. *The Bridgewater Collection*. 3d ed. Boston, 1810.

Bull, Amos. *The Responsary*. Worcester, 1795.

Cole, John. *A Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems*. Boston, 1803.

*The First Church Collection*. Boston, 1805.

———. 2d ed. Boston, 1806.

French, Jacob. *The Psalmodist's Companion*. Worcester, 1793.

Gram, Hans; Holden, Oliver; and Holyoke, Samuel. *The Massachusetts Compiler*. Boston, 1795.

Holden, Oliver. *The American Harmony*. Boston, 1792.

———. *The Charlestown Collection*. Boston, 1803.

[———.] *The Modern Collection*. Boston, 1800.

[———.] *Plain Psalmody*. Boston, 1800.

[———.] *The Suffolk Selection*. Boston, 1807.

———. *The Union Harmony*. Boston, 1793.

———. ———. 2d ed. Boston, 1796.

———. ———. 3d ed. Boston, 1801.

Holt, Benjamin. *The New England Sacred Harmony*. Boston, 1803.

Holyoke, Samuel. *Harmonia Americana*. Boston, 1791.

Kimball, Jacob. *The Rural Harmony*. Boston, 1793.

———. ———. 2d ed. Boston, 1796.

Pilsbury, Amos. *The United States Sacred Harmony*. Boston, 1799.

Wood, Abraham. *Divine Songs*. Boston, 1789.

*The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony*. Worcester, 1786.

———. 2d ed. Worcester, 1788.

———. 3d ed. Boston, 1791.

———. 4th ed. Boston, 1792.

———. 5th ed. Boston, 1794.

———. 6th ed. Boston, 1797.

———. 7th ed. Boston, 1800.

———. 8th ed. Boston, 1803.

#### ANTHEMS & OCCASIONAL PIECES

Belcher, Supply. *Ordination Anthem*. Boston, 1797.

Cooper, William. *An Anthem Designed For Thanksgiving Day*.  
Boston, 1792 [reprinted in 1803].

Gram, Hans. *Bind Kings with Chains*. Charlestown [i.e., Boston],  
1794.

———. *Resurrection*. Charlestown [i.e. Boston], 1794.

———. *Sacred Lines for Thanksgiving Day*. Boston, 1793.

———. *Sonnet for the Fourteenth of October*. Boston, 1793.

Holden, Oliver. *A Dedicatory Poem*. [Boston], 1794.

[———.] *A Dirge or Sepulchral Service*. Boston, 1800.

[———.] *Sacred Dirges*. Boston, 1800.

Rogerson, Robert. *An Anthem Sacred to the Memory of His Excellency John Hancock*. Boston, 1793.

Wood, Abraham. *Funeral Elegy*. Boston, 1800.

#### THEORETICAL WORKS

*An Introduction to the Grounds of Musick*. Worcester, 1787.



*The Rudiments of Vocal Music.* [Boston, 1797?].

Note: Both of the above are separate reprints of the theoretical introductions to *The Worcester Collection*

*Checklist of Secular Music Published by Isaiab Thomas*

MASSACHUSETTS MAGAZINE

*Ascribed Works*

Arnold, Samuel. A New Song For A Serenade [Rise, My Delia].  
Aug. 1791, pp. 515-16.

———. A Favorite Song [My Laura Will You Trust The Seas].  
Dec. 1791, p. 769.

Cooper, William. Song [When All The Attick Fire Was Fled].  
Aug. 1790, pp. 506-7.

Garnet, Horatio. Ode For American Independence, July 4th, 1789.  
July 1789, pp. 452-53.

Gram, Hans. America—A New March. July 1791, p. 448.

———. The Death Song of an Indian Chief. Mar. 1791, pp.  
180-81.

———. A Hunting Song. June 1789, pp. 388-90.

———. Ode for the New Year, January 1, 1791. Jan. 1791, p. 55.

———. Ode to the President of the United States. Oct. 1789,  
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Holyoke, Samuel. The Pensive Shepherd. Sept. 1789, pp. 588-89.

———. Sally—A Pastoral. Aug. 1789, pp. 523-26.

———. Terraminta. May 1790, pp. 315-16.

———. Washington. Sept. 1790, pp. 571-72.

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———. The Grasshopper. Dec. 1790, p. 766.

- . Marlborough's Ghost. Sept. 1789, pp. 587-88.
- Selby, William. The Lovely Lass—A New Song. July 1790, pp. 443-44.
- . Ode for the New Year, January 1, 1790. Jan. 1790, pp. 61-62.
- . On Musick. Apr. 1789, pp. 252-53.
- . The Rural Retreat. Oct. 1789, pp. 657-58.
- Shield, William. A Favorite Song [When First I Slipp'd]. Oct. 1791, p. 643.
- Wood, Abraham. Ode on Spring. May 1789, pp. 325-26.

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- A.R. Winter. Feb. 1791, p. 117.
- Gentleman of Boston. The Life of a Beau. Apr. 1791, p. 249.
- . Song to Apollo. June 1791, p. 380.
- Gentleman of Worcester County. Song [Ah How Needless is Expression]. Nov. 1789, pp. 727-28.
- H.J. The Charming Creature. Apr. 1790, pp. 253-54.
- . The Dawn of Hope. May 1791, p. 313.
- M.F. The Fortunate Roan. A Pastoral. May 1792, p. 332.
- Philo Musico. The Charms of Nature. Mar. 1790, p. 189.
- . Columbia—A New Country Dance. Feb. 1790, p. 125.
- . Rosy Nell—A New Song. June 1790, pp. 377-78.
- . A Song [Bright Sol at Length]. Feb. 1790, pp. 123-24.
- Student at the University At Cambridge (possibly Samuel Holyoke). Bright Dawns the Day. Mar. 1789, pp. 188-89.
- . The Invitation. May 1789, pp. 323-24.
- . The Pursuit. Jan. 1789, pp. 59-61.
- W.A. [W. Adams?] The Beauties of Friendship. Sept. 1792, p. 583.

*Anonymous Works*

- A Catch for Three Voices. Apr. 1792, p. 267.
- Fidele—A Favorite Song. Nov. 1790, p. 701.

How Cold It Is! Feb. 1789, pp. 122-24.

Ode to Columbia's Favourite Son (possibly by O. Holden). Oct. 1789, pp. 659-60.

Till Noah's Time, &c-&c. (arr. by Hans Gram). Jan. 1792, p. 53.

#### INDEPENDENT PUBLICATIONS

Adams and Liberty. [Boston, 1798.]

Dibden, Charles. Nancy, or the Sailor's Journal. Boston, [1798].

Truxton's Victory. [Boston, 1799.]

#### *Chronological List of Music Publications by Isaiab Thomas*

- 1786 *Worcester Collection* (T)
- 1787 *An Introduction to the Grounds of Musick* (T)
- 1788 *Worcester Collection*, 2d ed. (T)
- 1789 Hubbard, *Harmonia Selecta* proposed but not published  
*Massachusetts Magazine* (16 pieces) (T & A)  
 Wood, *Divine Songs* (T & Co.)
- 1790 *Massachusetts Magazine* (13 pieces) (T & A)
- 1791 Holyoke, *Harmonia Americana* (T & A)  
*Massachusetts Magazine* (12 pieces) (T & A)  
*Worcester Collection*, 3d ed. (T & A)
- 1792 Cooper, *Anthem . . . For Thanksgiving* (T & A)  
 Holden, *American Harmony* (T & A)  
*Massachusetts Magazine* (4 pieces) (T & A)  
*Worcester Collection*, 4th ed. (T & A)
- 1793 French, *Psalmody's Companion* (T)  
 Gram, *Sacred Lines for Thanksgiving* (T & A)  
 Gram, *Sonnet for the Fourteenth of October* (T & A)  
 Holden, *Union Harmony* (T & A)  
 Kimball, *Rural Harmony* (T & A)  
 Rogerson, *Anthem Sacred to the Memory of His Excellency  
 John Hancock* (T & A)
- 1794 Belcher, *Harmony of Maine* (T & A)

- Billings, *Continental Harmony* (T & A)  
 Gram, *Bind Kings with Chains* (Anthem) (T & A)  
 Gram, *Resurrection* (Anthem) (T & A)  
 Holden, *Dedicatory Poem* (T & A)  
*Worcester Collection*, 5th ed. (T & A)
- 1795 Babcock, *Middlesex Harmony* (T & A)  
 Bull, *The Responsary* (T)  
 Gram, Holden, and Holyoke, *Massachusetts Compiler*  
 (T & A)
- 1796 Holden, *Union Harmony*, 2d ed. (T & A)  
 Kimball, *Rural Harmony*, 2d ed. (T & A, not located)
- 1797 Belcher, *Ordination Anthem* (T & A, not located)  
 Belknap, *Harmonist's Companion* (T & A)  
*The Rudiments of Vocal Music* (T & A)  
*Worcester Collection*, 6th ed. (T & A)
- 1798 *Adams and Liberty* (T & A)  
 Dibden, *Nancy or the Sailor's Journal* (T & A)
- 1799 Pilsbury, *United States Sacred Harmony* (T & A)  
*Truxton's Victory* (T & A)
- 1800 Belknap, *Evangelical Harmony* (T & A)  
 [Holden,] *A Dirge or Sepulchral Service* (T & A)  
 [Holden,] *Modern Collection* (T & A)  
 Holden, *Plain Psalmody* (T & A)  
 [Holden,] *Sacred Dirges* (T & A)  
 Wood, *Funeral Elegy* (T & A)  
*Worcester Collection*, 7th ed. (T & A)
- 1801 Holden, *Union Harmony*, 3d ed. (T & A)
- 1802 Belknap, *Middlesex Collection* (T & A)  
 Brown, *Columbian and European Harmony* (T & A)
- 1803 Babcock, *Middlesex Harmony*, 2d ed. (T & A)  
 Cole, *Collection of Psalm Tunes* (T & A)  
 Holden, *Charlestown Collection* (T & A)  
 Holt, *New England Sacred Harmony* (T & A)  
*Worcester Collection*, 8th ed. (T & A)
- 1804 Brown, *Columbian and European Harmony*, 2d ed. (T & A)
- 1805 *First Church Collection* (T & A)
- 1806 *First Church Collection*, 2d ed. (T & A)

- 1807 [Holden,] *Suffolk Selection* (T & A)  
1808  
1809  
1810 Brown, *Bridgewater Collection*, 3rd ed. (T & A, and J.  
West & Co.)

*Legend*

T Worcester: Isaiah Thomas  
T & Co. Boston: Isaiah Thomas & Co.  
T & A Boston: Isaiah Thomas & Ebenezer T. Andrews

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