

Broadside Ballads of Boston, 1813: The Isaiah Thomas Collection

ARTHUR SCHRADER

I

ON AUGUST 19, 1814, one hundred and one new gifts from Isaiah Thomas to the American Antiquarian Society were listed in the Society's record book of donations. The itemized gifts covered a wide range from "Voyages of Christopher Columbus, Americus Vesputious and many others,"—600 pages, Basil 1536—valued for it's antiquity &c, at \$15. say \$10.' through two bound volumes of Thomas's own *Massachusetts Spy*, 1812-13, \$6.00, which is followed by two volumes of the *Massachusetts Centinel*, also for 1812-13, but valued at \$10.00. Just before the listing for the *Spy* on page twenty-three, is the entry 'Songs and Ballads—printed separately, but collected and bound in 3 vols. [In use among the common people in 1813 &c—] -----6.00'¹

This article is an interim report on a project to publish the Isaiah Thomas Ballad Collection held by the American Antiquarian Society in facsimile, with background information and those associated tunes that can be verified. The project has extended over some years and was very much assisted and refined during my AAS/NEH Fellowship in 1979. Broadside ballads need an interdisciplinary approach, so I am much indebted to Kenneth Goldstein, folklorist, who opened his comprehensive personal library of Anglo-American folk song to my search for Thomas's 'Songs, Ballads &c' in our oral tradition.

1. 'Donors and donations to the American Antiquarian Society. 1813-1829,' pp. 21-24, archives, American Antiquarian Society.

ARTHUR SCHRADER is a social historian who specializes in topical song. He was music associate at Old Sturbridge Village for nineteen years and now performs historical song programs for many organizations.

Copyright © 1988 by American Antiquarian Society

These three volumes, annotated, signed, and dated by Thomas on the flyleaves are still among the treasures of the Society. The first volume carries the following inscription:

Songs, Ballads, &c. In Three Volumes. Purchased from a Ballad Printer and Seller in Boston, 1813. Bound up for Preservation, to shew what articles of this kind are in vogue with the Vulgar at this time, 1814. N.B. Songs and common Ballads are not so well printed at this time as they [were] 70 years ago, in Boston.

Presented to the Society by

Isaiah Thomas

August 1814

Excluding duplicates, these 'articles . . . in vogue with the Vulgar' consist of 298 distinct broadsides, which include 365 song, ballad, and hymn texts and thirty prose texts. Of the verse texts, 125 may be classed as topical, which in this study means texts referring to actual people and events. The broadsides span the period from the Revolutionary era through the early part of the War of 1812 and include a few texts on executions and disasters. Twenty-eight are religious, primarily revival hymns and ballads. Sixty-six of the secular verse texts are 'folk' in origin or distribution, and many of these have been found in American oral tradition by folksong collectors in the twentieth century. Popular song texts from stage and parlor make up the largest group of 146 texts. It is probable that most of these popular song texts were taken from songsters, songbooks, other broadsides, and perhaps occasionally from sheet music.

II

Although these broadsides as published have no musical notation, the majority of their verse texts circulated in New England to tunes that were well known in 1813, however obscure they may seem today. It would be easy to arbitrarily attach old and new, popular and folk tunes to all of these texts, but the result would be bad folklore and worse history. We would express our own preferences and would learn nothing about the tastes of the people who

wrote and sang the songs in the first place. So this article, and the facsimile edition in preparation, are dedicated to learning about and documenting the following matters: 1. What tunes of 1813 actually were associated with these texts? 2. How popular were these texts and tunes? 3. What did these texts and tunes mean to the people who sang these songs 'in vogue with the Vulgar'?

Through his purchase, Isaiah Thomas became the first known broadside ballad 'collector' in the United States. But he was, of course, preceded by many in England. The first great English broadside ballad collector was John Selden, a jurist and scholar (1584-1654), who, like Thomas, evoked their special qualities in the succinct statement that 'more solid things do not show the complexion of the times as well as ballads and libels.'² Another seventeenth-century antiquary, Anthony Wood, bequeathed a large collection of ballad sheets to the Ashmolean Museum in 1695. In addition, both the Bagford Collection and the Roxburghe Collection at the British Library were initially assembled in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The English broadside ballad collections are much larger than Thomas's, which has 340 sheets, including more than thirty duplicates. Selden's collection, acquired and expanded by Samuel Pepys and bequeathed to Cambridge University, has 1,671 ballads. The Roxburghe Collection numbers more than 1,300 sheets, and the Madden Collection, assembled during the nineteenth century and now at the Cambridge University Library, fills twenty-six large volumes for a total of nearly 30,000 well-preserved song and ballad texts.

But these large English collections represent the cumulative production of numerous printers and the avid efforts of a number of enthusiastic collectors working over several lifetimes of buying, borrowing, trading, and occasionally stealing from each other. Pepys's acquisition of the Selden Collection remains under a cloud. One suggestion is that he legitimately borrowed it but failed

2. John Selden, *Table Talk*, ed. Sir Frederick Pollock (London, 1927), p. 72, quoted in Albert B. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival* (Chicago, 1961), p. 76.

to return it to the estate after Selden's death. Gordon Gerould tells us: 'The evidence is fairly clear that one John Bagford [1651–1716] in the service of Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, stole on a grand scale from the Ashmolean Museum, to which Wood had bequeathed his ballads. Harley's acquisitions, before his death in 1724, filled two volumes, while Bagford had three volumes of his own. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the Third Duke of Roxburghe, who at that time owned Harley's collection, added another great volume, largely made up of material likewise abstracted from Wood's papers.'³ As Leslie Shepard summed it up, broadside ballads 'were sold for pennies in the streets, finally stolen and hoarded as dry leaves in the libraries of fanatical collectors.'⁴

Isaiah Thomas made only one major effort at ballad collecting, as just one part of his steady effort to assemble the materials of American history at the American Antiquarian Society. All but perhaps eight of his ballad sheets seem to have been acquired at one time from Nathaniel Coverly, Jr., 16 Milk Street, Corner Theatre Alley, Boston; in less than three months the broadsides were 'bound up for preservation' and deposited at the Society library in Worcester.

The few known original catalogues of seventeenth- through nineteenth-century English and American ballad printers are of course cherished by scholars because they provide checklists of printers' stocks, and hence are a clue to the tastes of customers. Thomas did not preserve a Coverly catalogue of ballads for 1813, but he may well have preserved examples of most of Coverly's actual ballad stock in trade for the year 1813. That is what makes his collection unique. No other broadside ballad collection in the English language seems as extensive for a single printer for so short a span of time—little more than a decade.

The details of this ballad purchase are incomplete, and dating problems remain; however, additional documentation does exist. Under 'cash paid away' in his journal of accounts for June 2, 1814,

3. Gordon Hall Gerould, *The Ballad of Tradition* (Oxford, 1932), p. 248.

4. Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad* (London, 1962), p. 105.

Thomas wrote, 'Paid for Songs, Ballads &c., 4.50.'⁵ His diary further records that on June 1 he attended the stated meeting of the American Antiquarian Society in Boston and went to the Boston Athenaeum and to Cambridge. On June 2, he 'walked over to Charleston, Visited Dr. Morse [Jedidiah Morse].'⁶ If he also stopped by at Coverly's printing office to pay for the ballads, he did not think it important enough to record. For that matter, nowhere does Thomas specifically identify his 'Ballad Printer and Seller.' We assume it was Nathaniel Coverly, Jr., because 144 of the broadsides have his imprint in varying forms, and most of the remaining broadsides that have no imprint seem to use the same type, cuts, and ornaments. The eight exceptions will be discussed later.

An article written in 1962 on Thomas and the American Antiquarian Society implied that Thomas's acquisition of the Coverly broadsides was a spontaneous purchase in which Thomas walked unannounced into Coverly's shop and asked for one of every broadside.⁷ No date was suggested in the article, but June 2, 1814, when Thomas noted the payment for the ballads, seems reasonable. Possibly, a hasty effort to comply with his unusual request might explain the presence of the thirty-five duplicates that Worthington C. Ford found in the collection in 1923 when he prepared his checklist.⁸ To quickly select just one each of 300 different sheets requires an organized storage system that was quite unlikely in Coverly's shop.

However, Thomas's inscription 'purchased . . . in Boston, 1813,' the 1813 dates on the spines of the bound volumes, and the datable sheets in the collection all argue for longer-range planning by Thomas, perhaps as much as a year and a half before he picked up

5. Benjamin Thomas Hill, ed., 'Diary of Isaiah Thomas, 1805-1828,' *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* 9 (1909): 232. (Hereafter, Thomas, 'Diary').

6. *Ibid.*, 229-30.

7. Ivan Sandrof, 'Americana With Bells on,' *The New-England Galaxy* 3 (1962): 36.

8. Worthington C. Ford, 'The Isaiah Thomas Collection of Ballads,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 33 (1923): 34-112. This checklist is widely available in the 1924 offprint as well as in the *Proceedings*, so I use Ford numbers for the Thomas broadsides mentioned in this study. (Hereafter, these items are cited as Ford, 'Thomas Ballads.')

and paid for the ballads. Furthermore, a spontaneous purchase in June 1814 should have gathered a substantial number of 1814 sheets. But there are only five: a topical ballad for February 21, on Comdr. John Rodger's return from his fourth cruise (Ford 47); a program sheet for the April 30 meeting of the Washington Benevolent Society, which Thomas could have acquired at the meeting (Ford 197);⁹ and three dated reprints of earlier songs (Ford 238, 279, and 298). In contrast, the year 1813 shows twenty-eight topical sheets, even with an 'event gap' between Harrison's victory, October 5, 1813, at the Battle of the Thames (Ford 113 and 201) and the execution ballads for Livermore and Angier in Boston, December 16 and 18 of that year (Ford 25 and 267).

Questions about the date of the purchase remain, but for the present I suggest that perhaps late in 1812 or early in 1813 Thomas asked Coverly to assemble ballad sheets from his stock in trade and whatever new broadsides he might publish in 1813. Further, I suggest that it was assembled by Coverly's assistants, at first with enthusiasm, from stocks on the shelves since 1810 and earlier, then later in a more casual and erratic fashion, even being neglected in November and early December, and, finally, that many duplicates and the 1814 sheets got into the collection during a last-minute effort to complete the gathering in time for Thomas's expected arrival early in June 1814.

The Washington Benevolent Society program is the only example of job printing in these volumes, which is one reason why I believe that Thomas obtained it at the meeting rather than by purchase from Coverly. I see no reason to believe it was initially intended for sale to the general public, which was certainly true for all the other sheets in the collection.

Seven other Thomas ballad sheets that may or may not have been purchased from Coverly's shop in 1814 are the English engraved and colored broadsides originally issued by I. Evans, No. 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield, London (Ford 23, 63, 157, 210,

9. Thomas, 'Diary,' April 30, 1814.

231, 240, and 292). Probably all of these were published fairly close to the 1791 and 1792 dates given on three of the sheets (Ford 23, 240, and 292). I know of no way to determine whether these were part of Coverly's stock in trade or whether Thomas got them from another source. The latter is possibly more likely because they are bound together in the second volume as sheets now numbered 106 to 112 and represent the only coherent grouping to be found in the original volumes. Many more of these Evans ballad sheets are in the Madden Collection at Cambridge University, but I have not seen them in any other American collection. A few engraved song sheets similar to these were produced by Horace Doolittle, son of engraver Amos Doolittle, between 1799 and 1804.¹⁰

On his return to Worcester, Thomas's concern for the broadsides was limited to protecting them from dispersal by having them tightly bound in three volumes, roughly according to size, and by annotating their flyleaves. There was no other attempt to organize the ballads. For some of the larger sheets in the third volume, the bindings are a procrustean haven. These broadsides had to be folded one or more times to fit within the covers. A few of the sheets have a second text printed on the reverse side. The volumes are bound in marbled paper used previously for an attempted American pirating of *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, better known as *Fanny Hill*,¹¹ and bear gold-stamped calf spines with green labels. Only the spines carry the title 'Songs /*rule*/ 1813' and the volume number.

For the next ninety years the broadsides were seldom noticed publicly, and perhaps one volume was misplaced for awhile. The entry 'Songs' in the 1837 catalogue of the Society's holdings lists '22.4 Songs and Ballads printed on sheets and bound in 2 vols. 4to.' The catalogue has no other more specific entry under 'Songs' or 'Ballads' that describes the three Thomas volumes.¹²

10. Thompson R. Harlow, 'Connecticut Engravers, 1774-1820,' *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 36 (1971): 107-8, and illustrations No. 48 and 49.

11. M. A. McCorison, 'Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure or *Fanny Hill* in New England,' *American Book Collector* 3 (1980): 23-30.

12. *A Catalogue of the Library of the American Antiquarian Society* (Worcester, 1837), p. 26.

The first scholarly citation of the collection seems to be in Duyckinck's *Cyclopedia of American Literature* (1855), which illustrated the history of 'Yankee Doodle' by printing verses from one of the Thomas copies of the song (probably Ford 300), with verses printed in Farmer and Moore's *Collections*.¹³ The *Cyclopedia* listed its sources and included a summary of Thomas's inscription.

Beginning in 1901 with Albert Matthews's paper on the origin and use of the term 'Brother Jonathan,' the broadsides were cited more often. Matthews quoted the Thomas flyleaf inscription along with lines from 'The Embargo, A New Song' (Ford 78). He credited the librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, Edmund M. Barton, with bringing the ballads to his attention. Matthews also footnoted an acknowledgement to Worthington C. Ford for a comment on the importance of such broadsides as 'desideratum in Americana.'¹⁴ George Lyman Kittredge later cited this footnote in a letter to Clarence Brigham, then director of the Society, in which he strongly suggested that Ford's embarrassment at having published a major work on Massachusetts broadsides without including the Thomas collection in his ballad supplement was entirely his own fault, since he had changed his mind on what to include at the last minute before publication.¹⁵

On October 15, 1904, a young New England ballad collector and scholar, Phillips Barry, transcribed 'Lord Bakeman' (Ford 149) from the collection and cited that date and his source when he published it.¹⁶ Thereafter, Barry, George Lyman Kittredge, and some of Kittredge's students cited the collection in many of their publications. Barry went on to become the first American to collect tunes as well as texts of folksongs and ballads and one of very few to use research methods to locate tunes originally associated with historical broadside ballads.

13. Evert A. and George Duyckinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, 2 vols. (New York, 1855), 1: 463-64.

14. Albert Matthews, 'Brother Jonathan,' *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 7 (1901): 115.

15. Kittredge to Brigham, November 14, 1922. Archives, American Antiquarian Society.

16. Phillips Barry, 'Traditional Ballads in New England, II,' *Journal of American Folklore* 18 (1905): 209-11.

Albert Matthews returned to the Thomas collection and its copies of 'Yankee Doodle' for his richly detailed study of the origin of the term 'Uncle Sam' as a nickname for the United States.¹⁷ He also corresponded with Oscar G. Sonneck, the first trained music historian to comment on the Thomas collection. Sonneck, then chief of the music division of the Library of Congress, was most grateful for Matthews's help because he was then preparing his report on 'Yankee Doodle' for government publication. Sonneck reproduced and discussed the two 'Yankee Doodle' broadsides (Ford 300 and 301) in the Thomas collection. Unfortunately, only one of the two broadsides (Ford 300) was correctly identified for Sonneck as part of the Thomas volumes, which led him into an unnecessary defense of the provenance of the second broadside.¹⁸ Sonneck correctly asserted that some of the Thomas broadsides must be earlier than 1813 in spite of Matthews's strong support for an 1813 limit.

In 1922, Worthington C. Ford published his checklist of 2,949 broadsides printed in Massachusetts between 1639 and 1800 with a supplement of 474 entries entitled 'Songs, Ballads etc. Undated or After 1800.'¹⁹ Ford sent a copy to Clarence Brigham. Brigham wrote to him in October 1922 about the Thomas collection, and Ford wrote back, asking to borrow it. He was quite upset when he received and examined the volumes in Boston a few weeks later because they contained so many items not in his supplementary listing. 'Three titles to every one I got,' he wrote.²⁰ Ford's later tabulation listed eighty duplicates that were verified in other libraries. More duplicates have been found since 1923, but Ford's estimate remains essentially valid. Even today, two-thirds of the Thomas broadside are not to be found elsewhere.

17. Albert Matthews, 'Uncle Sam,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 19 (1908): 21-65.

18. Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, *Report on "The Star Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia," "America," "Yankee Doodle"* (Washington, D.C., 1909; repr. New York, 1972), pp. 138-40.

19. Worthington C. Ford, *Broadsides, Ballads, &c. Printed in Massachusetts, 1629-1800*, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society 75 (1922). (Hereafter, Ford, *Broadsides, Massachusetts*.)

20. Ford to Brigham, November 11, 1922, archives, American Antiquarian Society.

Ford accepted Brigham's invitation to give a paper on the collection at the Society meeting in April 1923. This paper, published with Ford's checklist in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, became the starting point for my own work with the Thomas collection. Ford's checklist gave a total of 302 distinct sheets, not counting duplicates, but he necessarily had to work in haste from November 1922 to April 1923 under pressure from many other obligations. My more leisurely collation of the originals with Ford's photostatic set (most of which is still in the Massachusetts Historical Society) shows that four of the broadsides he counted (Ford 9, 138, 203, and 209), were laid in the bound volumes *after* August 19, 1814, but before November 1922. Ford distinguished each of these four broadsides with an 'a' added to the volume and page number for the sheet in his checklist. I assume that with more time he also would have commented on the facts that Ford 138 had been extensively folded as though carried in someone's pocket, that Ford 209 could not have been printed until the late 1820s, and that, judging by the photostats, none of these four were actually bound into the volumes in 1922.²¹ So my count for the collection is that there were 298 distinct sheets when Thomas turned the three volumes over to the Society in 1814.

Two naval historians utilized the Thomas collection in their studies. Gardner W. Allen presented a paper to the American Antiquarian Society in 1925 in which he read and discussed naval ballad texts from the Thomas collection. Four of the broadsides (Ford 4, 12, 27, and 29) were reproduced when the paper was published in the *Proceedings*.²² Robert W. Neeser worked with the Thomas broadsides during the 1930s, and in 1938 he published a comprehensive selection of naval song and ballad texts from the Revolution to the middle of the nineteenth century. Seventeen of

21. Ford 209 is 'Perry's Victory. . . Sold wholesale and retail by L. Deming, No. 1, South Side of Faneuil Hall, Boston.' The Printers' Authority File at the American Antiquarian Society reports Leonard Deming at this address in 1829-30. The song text was probably first published closer to the battle date, September 9, 1813.

22. Gardner W. Allen, 'Naval Songs and Ballads,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 35 (1925): 64-78.

the twenty broadsides photographically reproduced in Neeser's book are obviously from the Thomas collection but are credited simply to the Society. At least twenty-five more of the reprinted texts credited to the Society are probably from the Thomas collection.²³

Meanwhile, Ola Elizabeth Winslow in 1930 had published *American Broadside Verse*, a fine model for future broadside studies. Although Winslow worked with the Society's broadside holdings she made little, if any, direct use of the Thomas collection, probably because she was concerned primarily with the colonial era. However, her explication of early American broadside characteristics and subjects is itself a starting point for demonstrating the changes in American broadside style and content after 1790, changes well illustrated in the Thomas collection.²⁴

G. Malcolm Laws, Jr.'s *American Balladry from British Broadside*s cited the collection for seventeen texts that met his threefold standard of British broadside origin, broadside ballad style, and 'currency in North American oral tradition.'²⁵

In 1952, Frank Spinney, then curator of Old Sturbridge Village, was directing the restoration of one of Isaiah Thomas's office buildings, which had been moved from Worcester to the museum. When Spinney learned about the Thomas ballads from Clarence Brigham, he began plans to reproduce some of the broadsides. These efforts matured in 1957 when Bill Bonyun, the first designated ballad singer at Old Sturbridge, selected fifteen of the broadsides to be reproduced in facsimile for illustration and interpretation during his performances and for display and sale at the restored 'Isaiah Thomas Printing Office.' In February 1958, the printing office began to reproduce the facsimiles in public from

23. Robert W. Neeser, ed., *American Naval Songs & Ballads* (New Haven, 1938). (Hereafter, Neeser.)

24. Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *American Broadside Verse* (New Haven, 1932; repr. New York, 1974).

25. G. Malcolm Laws, Jr., *American Balladry from British Broadside*s (Philadelphia, 1957). Also, Laws to Clifford Shipton, August 23, 1954, and Shipton to Laws, August 27, 1954, archives, American Antiquarian Society.

electrotype plates on a restored flatbed press. All of the facsimiles were full size and carried a credit line for the American Antiquarian Society but not specifically for the Thomas collection.²⁶ The Society now has its set of these facsimiles filed in the Broadside Collection at the Society.

Bonyun wanted songs that could be performed for the general public, so he selected topical songs on well-known events and folksongs for which he found matching texts with tunes in twentieth-century oral tradition. This did not provide a balanced sampling of the Thomas collection, but it was an effective introduction for many people who had never previously seen or heard of a broadside ballad. From 1958 to the mid-1970s, ballad singing at Old Sturbridge Village and the Thomas ballads complemented each other so well that many thousands of the facsimiles were sold.²⁷ And during the Society's 175th anniversary celebration, a printing press from Old Sturbridge Village was moved to the Society, and copies of the Thomas ballad 'Battle of the Kegs' (Ford 18), were printed for visitors.

Clearly, Ford's checklist is the starting point for serious study of this collection, but in 1957 a second significant and useful contribution appeared: Thomas Philbrick's essay and checklist 'British Authorship of Ballads in the Isaiah Thomas Collection,' which identified authors for eighty of the texts and gave primary or reliable secondary sources for each identification.²⁸ In a short introduction, Philbrick suggested that Ford had incorrectly decided that most of the verses were produced in America and quoted Ford's remark that 'the authorship of most of these verses can never be so much as conjectured.'²⁹

26. Spinney to Brigham, May 29, 1952; Alexander J. Wall to Brigham, July 25, 1957, and February 10, 1958, archives (under 'Old Sturbridge Village'), American Antiquarian Society. Reprinted were Ford numbers 18, 22, 53, 55, 59, 92, 143, 150, 191, 204, 219, 271, 273, 281, and 300.

27. Personal communication with the author in 1978, from Robert Willman, previously assistant director of crafts, Old Sturbridge Village.

28. Thomas Philbrick, 'British Authorship of Ballads in the Isaiah Thomas Collection,' *Studies in Bibliography* 9 (1957): 255-58.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

Philbrick's selection of quotations from Ford suggests a certainty on the collection that Ford did not unequivocally express and probably did not intend. The 'authorship . . . conjectured' phrase follows several pages of specific comment on 'purely American ballads,' which certainly are mostly anonymous. Thus, Ford's phrase may as justly be interpreted to refer to these American pieces as to the whole collection.³⁰ In his essay, Ford twice commented on the English origins for much of the collection. 'Apart from the war and patriotic poems there is a large class of verses of sentiment, original or borrowed from England,' he stated, later declaring that 'most of these sentimental ballads are of English origin.' Moreover, the whole tone of Ford's introductory essay suggests that his original intention was to provide a modicum of entertaining and occasionally instructive commentary for the audience when the paper was read at the Society's meeting in April 1923. Although Ford's introduction ought not to be taken as seriously as his checklist, the Ford and Philbrick checklists remain indispensable aids for work with the Thomas ballads.

In the summer of 1960, I alternated with Bill Bonyun singing at Old Sturbridge Village. The following year I joined the museum staff on a part-time basis as the regular ballad singer, with additional responsibilities as music associate to 'locate and re-create the music of rural New England from 1790 to 1840.' As one of my research projects for the museum and for my own concert-lectures, I continued and extended the work that Bonyun had begun with the Thomas collection. Using a negative microfilm, I made two complete photographic sets of the ballads that could be annotated and organized or reorganized as needed.

At the outset, the administrators at Old Sturbridge Village and I had agreed that our joint music projects must achieve and maintain the standards of documentation and authenticity required of the museum's curatorial and research departments. Such concern with authenticity and documentation has long been common prac-

30. Ford, 'Thomas Ballads' (offprint) pp. 16-18.

tice for musicologists working with art music of the past, but even now the standards are only gradually being applied to the class of songs found on early broadsides. During the last fifty years most writers who published broadside and other historical song texts for singing, and most performers and record producers dealing with such material, were content to set the old texts almost willy-nilly to folk tunes collected in the twentieth century, on the mistaken assumption that these were automatically close to the tunes that the ballads would have been sung to.

This musical mixing and matching sometimes combined tunes and texts separated by two or three centuries and hundreds of miles without a wisp of documentation or association to connect them. Some who found composing easier than research or scanning folksong anthologies made up their own melodies. Ironically, some of those recent tunes have been widely accepted as eighteenth-century works, especially some compositions by John Allison in the 1940s for texts ostensibly from the Revolution.³¹

Beginning early in 1962, I had assistance from Irving Lowens, then at the Library of Congress, as well as from S. Foster Damon and later Roger Stoddard, both of whom were with the Harris Collection at Brown University, in locating primary sources for tunes associated with eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century texts. By January 1979, when I left Old Sturbridge Village, I had, in my spare time, located and documented associated tunes for just over a third of the 365 Thomas texts, and, in the process had exhausted and gone beyond the published indexes of early music. An AAS-National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship in 1979 enabled me to work at the Society with the Thomas collec-

31. Susan Rhodes Slyman, 'John Allison: The Collector as Folk Artist,' *New York Folklore* 9 (1983): 27-36. Slyman details many of Allison's textual changes in Revolutionary War song texts in Burton Stevenson, *Poems of American History* (Boston and New York, 1908). Allison believed such changes were necessary for his radio audiences in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Some of Allison's tunes are unconscious adaptations from musical theater songs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Others are drawn from folk sources, including his own family's singing tradition. He also had a talent for composing original catchy tunes such as 'The Riflemen's Song at Bennington,' recorded on John and Lucy Allison, with Sawyer's Minutemen, 'Ballads of the American Revolution and the War of 1812,' Victor 26460 (P11-16), 1940.

tion. My main objectives were to find as much more music associated with the texts as possible and to prepare the collection for publication. By a fortunate coincidence, I was able to work with a prepublication set of computer printouts for the *National Tune Index of 18th-Century Secular Music*, a database of 38,500 musical entries from British and American primary sources that allows one to search for the beginning of a specific tune almost as easily as one searches for the first line of a poem.³²

III

Since no music is given in the Thomas collection and only nineteen of the texts have indicated tunes (see figs. 5 and 10), some kind of search and reassembly is necessary if the songs and ballads are to be sung as they were in 1813. But first, the tunes have to be found. Even an indication of a tune name may be only the starting point for a long search that requires the reading of many texts as well as the usual examination of checklists and music files. One difficult example from the American Revolution is a topical text to the tune 'Get You Gone Raw Head and Bloody Bones,' which is still not to be found in any published list known to me. There are folklore references to the phrase but these are no help in a search for the music. The answer only comes in reading the whole text to an early eighteenth-century 'nursery song' variously listed as 'Hey My Kitten' (from its first line), 'Here We Go Up, Up, Up' (from its chorus), 'The Kitten Song,' 'The Nursery Song,' and 'A New Song for Mothers and Nurses.' Note that, so far, these variant titles will be catalogued under K, H, and N in various libraries and checklists. The fifth verse of this song begins 'Get you gone Raw Head and Bloody Bones, Here is a child that don't fear ye.' The music fits the Revolutionary War text perfectly and illustrates the fact that a new title for an eighteenth-century tune could be generated

32. Kate Van Winkle Keller and Carolyn Rabson, eds., *The National Tune Index of 18th-Century Secular Music* (New York, 1980). (Hereafter, *NTI*.) My fervent thanks to the editors, who made special efforts to get the eighty pounds of printouts to me for use during my fellowship.

by any distinctive line in a song text. Hence, in tune searches there is a necessity for close familiarity with a wide range of song texts and variant titles as well as first lines and verse forms in English and American sources.

Of course in 1813 many readers of the Thomas texts had a large mental repository of associated tunes that they could instantly match up with these texts, even when no tune was indicated on the broadside. This still works fairly well for a very few of the Thomas texts in our time, such as the topical ballad 'Rogers and Bingham' (Ford 228):

Once Bingham took the *Little Belt*,
 And from the Downs he sail'd her,
 And when he came upon our coast,
 Brave Rogers spy'd and hail'd her.
 Yankee Doodle, keep it up
 To Rogers be the Glory
 From insult to protect our flag
 And tell an honest story.

But it only works 'fairly well' because 'Yankee Doodle' is a folk tune that has moved in reverse. Usually, a much-used tune develops new variations over a period of years. But a half-dozen or more variant tunes of 'Yankee Doodle' in circulation from the 1770s to the 1820s were squeezed into one, somewhat official version by the time of the Civil War. So, a strict historical reconstruction of 'Rogers and Bingham' should select one of those early 'Yankee Doodle' variants, justify the choice, and at least acknowledge the existence of other possible choices.

The ground rules for evaluating and then setting associated tunes to the Thomas texts ought basically to be the same as those for evaluating, reassembling, and editing any other historical text whose elements have been separated by time or the medium of publication. Application of those rules to this study may be summarized by the following points:

1. The 'association' of a tune with a Thomas text must be demonstrable and documented by standard historical procedures.

Ideally, the tune and basic text ought to be found together one or more times in primary sources that bear dates reasonably close to that of the broadside copy.³³

2. The text and tune should fit together easily without manipulation of either, except for the usual small adjustments of rhythm from verse to verse, which are necessary with most multiverse early songs and ballads, and except for occasional rebarring. For a discussion and demonstration of rebarring, see the notes below for 'General Burgoyne's Lamentation' and figures 8 and 9.
3. My term 'the same basic text' will always compare a Thomas text to a matching printed or manuscript text that tells the same story in the same verse style with mostly the same words in mostly the same order. Minor word differences and differences in punctuation and capitalization will be ignored unless they affect the meaning.
4. 'Indicated tune' is one form of 'association' and is illustrated in figure 5 ('Brother Sailor,' tune, 'Indian Chief') and figure 10 ('General Burgoyne's Lamentation,' tune, 'Irish Lamentation'). Tracing an indicated tune to a primary source usually means that the tune, when found, will be with a different text or no text at all, but this is not a problem if the Thomas text and the tune fit easily. The final test is always, does the Thomas text fit the associated tune easily, without manipulation?

The following examples will demonstrate the procedure.

The EMBARGO

A FAVORITE NEW SONG

Ford 77 (Fig. 2; see also fig. 1)

This text has been quoted by historians but not yet studied as a song.³⁴ As sold to Thomas in 1814, it had no indicated tune or author and was no longer newsworthy. It could have been a leftover

33. At least 110 of the Thomas texts can be found with directly associated music in print or manuscript in the United States for the period 1769 to 1822.

34. For example, Samuel E. Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1961), p. 187, quotes the sixth verse as a headnote for his chapter 13.

Dear Sirs, it is wrong to de - mand a new song; I have
 let all the breath I can spare go; With the
 Muse I've con - fer'd and she wont say a word, But keeps
 laugh - ing a - bout the Em - bar - go.

The image shows a musical score for the song 'The Embargo'. It consists of four staves of music in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature. The melody is written in a simple, folk-like style. The lyrics are: 'Dear Sirs, it is wrong to de - mand a new song; I have let all the breath I can spare go; With the Muse I've con - fer'd and she wont say a word, But keeps laugh - ing a - bout the Em - bar - go.' The score ends with a double bar line.

FIGURE 1. 'The Embargo,' set to the melody line of 'Come Let Us Prepare,' from *The Masonic Minstrel*. Superscript musical notes and symbols on this and the following transcriptions indicate editorial changes. See broadside, fig. 2.

from 1808 when the topic was timely, or it could have been a later reprint to meet a small continuing demand, since some short-term embargos were imposed during Madison's administration.

The first notice of 'The Embargo' is for July 4, 1808, when Henry Mellen Esquire sang his 'much admired' song during the Federalist dinner at the Court House in Dover, New Hampshire, about ten miles from Portsmouth. Public exercises that same morning had commenced with 'an appropriate ode, composed for the occasion by Henry Mellen Esq. which was sung and played by a select band of musicians in a style of superior excellence.' These reports were published in the *Portsmouth Oracle* for July 9, 1808, along with the earliest dated printing of the song text, including a credit to Mellen and the indicated tune 'Come Let Us Prepare.' The text was reprinted in the July 23, 1808, issue of *The Sun*, *The Dover Gazette*, and *County Advertiser* without title or indicated tune but with the author attribution.

Shortly before, or soon after, these newspaper issues, a broad-

The EMBARGO.

A FAVORITE NEW SONG.

DEAR Sirs, it is wrong
To demand a new Song ;
I have let all the breath I can spare go ;
With the Muse I've confer'd,
And she won't say a word,
But keeps laughing about the Embargo.

I wish that I could,
Sing in Allegro mood ;
But the times are as stupid as Largo ;
Could I have my choice,
I would strain up my voice ;
Till it snapt all the strings of Embargo.

Our great politicians,
Those dealers in visions,
On paper, to all lengths they dare go ;
But when call'd to decide,
Like a turtle they hide
In their own pretty shell the Embargo.

In the time that we try
To put out Britain's eye ;
I fear we shall let our own pair go ;
Yet still we're so wise,
We can see with *French Eyes*,
And then we shall like the Embargo.

A *French Privateer*,
Can have nothing to fear ;
She may load & may here & may there go ;
Their friendship is such,
And we love them so much,
We let them slip thro' the Embargo.

Our ships all in motion,
Once whiten'd the ocean,
They sail'd and return'd with a cargo ;
Now doom'd to decay,
They have fallen a prey
To Jefferson, worms and Embargo.

Lest Britain should take
A few men by mistake,
Who under false colours may dare go ;
We're manning their fleet
With our Tars, who retreat
From poverty, sloth and Embargo.

What a fuss we have made,
About rights and free trade,
And swore we'd not let our own share go ;
Now we can't for our souls
Bring a Hake from the shoals,
'Tis a breach of the twentieth Embargo.

Our Farmers so gay,
How they gallop'd away,
'Twas money that made the old mare go ;
But now she won't stir,
For the whip or the spur,
'Till they take off her clog the Embargo.

If you ask for a debt,
The man turns in a pet,
"I pay, sir ? I'll not let a hair go ;
If your officer comes,
I shall put up my thumbs,
And clap on his breath an Embargo.

Thus Tommy destroys,
A part of our joys ;
Yet we'll not let the beautiful fair go ;
They all will contrive
To keep commerce alive ;
There's nothing they hate like Embargo.

Since rulers design
To deprive us of wine,
'Tis best that we now have a rare go ;
Then each to his post,
And see who will do most,
To knock out the blocks of Embargo.

FIGURE 2. *Isaiah Thomas Ballad Collection, vol. 1:29 (Ford 77). All broadsides illustrated in this essay are held at the American Antiquarian Society (hereafter, AAS).*

side copy was published by 'J.K. Remich, at his Printing Office in Dover Landing' with the title 'The Embargo, A Song Sung at Dover, July 4, 1808.' This broadside has the indicated tune 'Come Let Us Prepare' but no attribution of authorship.³⁵ Another broadside copy entitled 'Embargo' has neither author, tune, date, or place attributions, but it includes a crude woodcut of a turtle with head and legs drawn in, placed over the phrase 'I'm retiring within myself.' The broadside also has a toast at the bottom: 'The Embargo; Tho' it *shut* our ports, may it *open* our eyes.'³⁶ The Thomas text matches these four texts closely and, as noted, could date anywhere from 1808 to 1814.

With these copies in circulation, 'The Embargo' enjoyed sufficient notoriety by mid-August 1808 to become itself a target for direct parody in 'The Sacred Refuge for Federalists,' with the first line 'Dear Sirs you are wrong to tell lies in a song.' An undated broadside copy of 'The Sacred Refuge' at the American Antiquarian Society acknowledges Henry Mellen as the author of the original, credits 'Simon Pepperpot the younger' as the author of this *eleven*-verse parody, and confirms 'Come Let Us Prepare' as the tune.³⁷ There are newspaper copies of 'The Sacred Refuge' from Boston and Newburyport, dated November 1808, with the same title, indicated tune, and text of *twelve* verses. They also have what may be significant text variations.³⁸

The early August dating of 'The Sacred Refuge' is based on the unusual circumstance that the parody itself was parodied in twelve verses, beginning 'You Say Sir 'tis wrong to tell lies in a song.' This

35. Broadside in New-York Historical Society, reproduced in Ralph Henry Gabriel, ed., *The Pageant of America: A Pictorial History of the United States*, 15 vols. (New Haven, 1927), 8: 216.

36. Broadside in New Hampshire Historical Society.

37. Broadside Collection, American Antiquarian Society. Reprinted in Neeser, minus the introductory verse, pp. 75-76.

38. *Boston Independent Chronicle*, November 7, 1808; *The Statesman*, Newburyport, Mass., November 10, 1808. In addition to the twelfth verse in the newspaper copy, there are five textual variations between the American Antiquarian Society broadside and the version in *The Statesman*. Two of these variations may suggest deliberate editorial changes rather than errors of oral transmission or typesetting. 'People' in the last line, verse six, of the broadside reads 'scoundrels' in *The Statesman*; 'demands' in the third line, second-last verse of the broadside, reads 'damsels' in *The Statesman*.

parody was published in the *Portsmouth Oracle* on August 13, 1808. That rebuttal to the 'The Sacred Refuge' was not the end of this particular cycle of songs on the embargo. The original song 'The Embargo' was itself revamped and expanded with twelve choruses of five lines each to fit it to the tune 'Snug Little Island.' This revision was printed in the *Portsmouth Oracle* for October 15, 1808, and then reprinted, with credit to the *Oracle*, in the *Impartial Observer* of Cooperstown, New York, on November 12, 1808.³⁹

I have dealt in detail with this proliferation of newspaper and broadside copies of an original song text, along with parodies and parody upon parody, because they indicate more than a simple knack for rhyme among some Federalists and Democratic-Republicans in New Hampshire. They show that a topical ballad originating in a small town such as Dover, New Hampshire, could initiate a minor 'ballad war' and induce reprints in cities as large as Boston and as distant as Cooperstown, New York. They show once again that the writing and dissemination of topical ballads was not just a 'folk' phenomenon of the lower class, as is sometimes assumed today, but that it was practiced by a middle and perhaps an upper class as well.

'Come Let Us Prepare,' the first tune cited for 'The Embargo,' is from the first line of the best-known eighteenth-century Masonic song, 'The Entered Apprentice,' whose tune had many adaptations for war, politics, and additional Masonic texts before it was used for 'The Embargo.' A variant of the tune had been published as early as 1714, but the version I have set to the Thomas text (fig. 1) was well established as the standard for the Masonic words from the time of their publication together in *The Musical Miscellany*

39. I am indebted to Kate Van Winkle Keller for a copy of Kathleen Brown's unpublished senior project in music history 'Songs from the Federalist Era' (SUNY, New Paltz, N.Y., 1987), which provided a copy of this variant text from the *Impartial Observer* of Cooperstown. The study included a credit to the *Portsmouth Oracle* for the text, which I was able to verify and date from the Society's newspaper file. 'Snug Little Island' was published with its music in *The Nightingale* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1804), pp. 15-16, and in William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols. (London, 1859; repr. New York, 1965), 2: 721-22.

(London, 1730) through the 1820s in American Masonic songbooks.⁴⁰

BROTHER SAILOR

Ford 32 (Fig. 5; see also fig. 3)

Songs and hymns using occupational terminology, as occurs in 'Brother Sailor,' are part of a tradition that continued into the twentieth century (for example, in the union song 'Miner's Life-guard,' based on the late nineteenth-century hymn 'Life is Like a Mountain Railway').⁴¹ No author is known for 'Brother Sailor.' The basic text appears in *The New and Evangelical Collection* of 1809, and, under the title 'The Mariner's Compass,' on an English broadside printed by Fordyce (No. 133) about 1840 in Newcastle.⁴² A second printing of 'Brother Sailor' is in the Thomas collection (Ford 31) with a Coverly imprint but no indicated tune.

'Brother Sailor' is to be sung to 'Indian Chief,' one of the most popular tune and text combinations in early America. It is found under a variety of titles from 1782 to the 1840s in American and British songbooks, sheet music, songsters, broadsides, and manuscript songbooks. The original text as published by an Englishwoman, Ann Home Hunter, in 1782 was entitled 'The Death Song of the Cherokee Indians.'⁴³ In the United States, that title was

40. John Watts, *The Musical Miscellany*, 6 vols. (London, 1730), 3: 72-73. The same basic tune and text are in David Vinton, *The Masonick Minstrel* (Dedham, Mass., 1816), pp. 28-29; Luke Eastman, *Masonick Melodies* (Boston, 1818), pp. 188-89; and *The True Masonic Chart* (New Haven, 1824), text pp. 237-38, music pp. 175-76.

41. John Greenway, *American Folksongs of Protest* (Philadelphia, 1953), pp. 15-16.

42. *A New and Evangelical Collection* (Pittsfield, Mass., 1809), p. 452. The Fordyce broadside is in the Madden Collection, vol. 16, p. 290, Cambridge University Library.

43. 'The Death Song of the Cherokee Indians . . . Printed for the Author by Longman and Broderip: London [1782].' Copy in the Harris Collection, Brown University. This citation is from Edith Schnapper, ed., *British Union Catalogue of Early Music*, 2 vols. (London, 1957), 2: 587, which lists 'Ann Home, afterward Mrs. J. Hunter' as the author. That tune and text are most conveniently available in *The American Musical Miscellany* (Northampton, Mass., 1798), pp. 114-15, through the Readex microprint edition, no. 33294, or in the Da Capo reprint of the miscellany (New York, 1972). There is no basis for the claim that this text was written by the American Ann Julia Hatton for her 1794 ballad opera 'Tammany,' as stated by W. Thomas Marrocco and Harold Gleason in *Music in America* (New York,

Ye sons of the main, ye that sail o'er the flood, Whose
 sins, big as moun-tains, have reach'd up to God, Re-
 mem-ber thy short voy-age of life will soon end; Now come
 bro-ther sa-i-lor make Je-sus your friend.

FIGURE 3. 'Brother Sailor,' set to the tune 'Indian Chief' ('The Death Song of the Cherokee Indians'), from *The American Musical Miscellany*. See broadside, fig. 5.

abbreviated and modified in many ways, and 'Alknomook' or 'Son of Alknomook' was often used instead. 'Alknomook' is spelled in at least nine different ways in American sources.⁴⁴

The tune was claimed to have been taken down by an 'English Gentleman' traveling in Cherokee country, but it is of course more English in style than anything else. Up until 1815, the tune is indicated for at least nine different texts and parodies, three of which are religious. Perhaps the original text and tune are best known today through revivals of Royall Tyler's play 'The Contrast,' where the tune begins act 1, scene 2. Shape-note publications preserved the basic tune in their repertory as late as 1958.⁴⁵ Most important, the presence of the basic tune and text of 'Indian Chief' in eight different eighteenth-century manuscript song-

1964), pp. 179 and 213. Hatton did write for 'Tammany' an effective pro-Indian, anti-Federalist parody of 'Indian Chief,' which is reprinted in *Magazine of History*, extra number 170 (Tarrytown, 1931): 67.

44. For five variant spellings, see *NTI*, under 'Sun sets at night.'

45. William Walker, *The Christian Harmony*, revised by John Deason and O. A. Parris, published by Christian Harmony Publishing Co. (n.p., 1958), p. 344.

The image shows a musical score for the hymn 'Christian Uniform'. It consists of six staves of music in a 3/4 time signature with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written in a single voice line. The lyrics are: 'Dress'd u - ni - form Christ's sol - diers are when du - ty calls a - broad: Not pur - chased at their cost or care, But by their Prince be - stow'd. Christ's sol - diers do eat Christ - like bread, wear reg - i - men - tal dress, 'Tis heav'n - ly white, and fac'd with red, 'Tis Christ's own righ - teous - ness.' The final measure of the piece is shown with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Dress'd u - ni - form Christ's sol - diers are when
 du - ty calls a - broad: Not pur - chased at their
 cost or care, But by their Prince be - stow'd.
 Christ's sol - diers do eat Christ - like bread, wear
 reg - i - men - tal dress, 'Tis heav'n - ly white, and
 fac'd with red, 'Tis Christ's own righ - teous - ness.

FIGURE 4. Melody line and first verse of 'Christian Uniform,' from *The Christian Harmony*. Final measure shown as in the original. For singing, add a two-count rest between verses. See broadside, fig. 5.

books suggests that many people could have adapted the 'Brother Sailor' text to the tune at sight.⁴⁶ (See fig. 3.)

SPIRITUAL SOLDIER'S UNIFORM

Ford 32 (Fig. 5; see also fig. 4)

A general review of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Congregational psalm books shows few correlations with the religious texts in the Thomas collection. On the other hand, most of the Thomas texts can be found, usually in variant forms,

46. See *NTI*, under 'Sun hides at night' and 'Sun sets at night.'



BROTHER SAILOR!

An Address to Sailors. Tune, Indian Chief.

Together with the Spiritual Soldiers' Uniform.

YE sons of the main, ye that sail o'er the flood,
Whose fins, big as mountains, have reach'd up to God,
Remember thy short voyage of life will soon end;
Now come brother sailor make Jesus your friend.

Look stern! on your life, see your wake mark'd
with fin,

Look ahead, see what torments you'll soon founder in,
The hard rocks of death soon will beat out your keel,
Then your vessel and cargo will all sink to hell.

Lay by your old compass, 'twill do you no good,
It ne'er will direct you the right way to GOD;
Mind your helm, brother sailor, and don't fall asleep,
Watch and pray night and day lest you sink in the deep.

Spring your luff, brother sailor, the breeze now is fair,
Trim your sails to the wind and those torment you'll
clear;

Your leading star, JESUS, keep full in thy view,
You'll weather the danger, he'll guide you safe thro'.

Renounce your old captain, the devil straight way,
The crew that you sail with will lead you astray,
Desert their black colours—come under the red,
Where JESUS was captain to conquest he led.

His standard's unfurl'd see it wave thro' the air,
And volunteers coming from far off, and near,
Now's the time, brother sailor, no longer delay,
Embark now with JESUS, good wages he'll pay.

The bounty he'll give, when the voyage doth begin,
He'll forgive your transgressions and cleanse you
from sin,

Good usage he'll give while you sail on the way,
And shortly you'll anchor in Heaven's broad bay.

In the harbour of glory forever you'll ride,
Free from quicksands & dangers & fins rapid tide,
Waves of death cease to roll and the tempest be o'er,
The hoarse breath of Boreas dismast thee no more.

Thy tarpolin jacket no longer you'll wear,
But robes dipt in heaven all white clean and fair;
A crown on thy head that would dazzle the sun,
And from glory to glory eternally run.

DREST uniform Christ's soldiers are,
When duty calls abroad,
Not purchas'd by their toft or care;
But by their Prince bestow'd.

Christ's soldiers too have Christlike bread
And regimental drefs;
'Tis linnen white and fac'd with red;
'Tis Christ's own righteousnefs.

A rich and costly robe it is,
And to the soldier dear,
No rose can learn to bluth like this,
Nor lilly look so fair.

'Tis wrought by Jesus' skilful hand,
And ting'd with his own blood:
It makes the Cherubs gazing stand
To view this robe of GOD.

Its of one piece and wove throughout,
So curiously that none
Can drefs up in this seamless coat,
'Till JESUS puts it on.

This vesture never waxeth old,
Nor spot thereon can fall;
It makes the Soldier brave and bold,
And duntill withall.

This robe put on me, Lord, each day,
And it shall hide my shame;
'Twill make me fight, and sing & pray
And bless my Captain's name.

How brave & bold Christ's soldiers are,
When drest up in this Robe!
They look like men equip'd for war,
And like the sons of God.

Their shield is faith, their helmet hope,
And thus they march Christ's road;
Christ's spirit is their glitt'ring sword
To play the man for God,

When drest'd up in this Uniform,
In order march along,
Christ Jesus is their leader now,
Redeeming Love their song.

in thirty-two early Baptist and Methodist camp-meeting and revival songsters at the American Antiquarian Society.

'Spiritual Soldier's Uniform' is set to music under the title 'Christian Uniform' in Jeremiah Ingalls's 1804 tunebook *Christian Harmony*. David Klocko's comprehensive study of the hymns in Ingalls's publication is an important tool for examining this work.⁴⁷ Klocko reports that in 1775 the text was attributed to J. Berridge, an English minister. Four American revival-songster printings preceded Ingalls's publication, one in 1793, two in 1801, and one in 1802.⁴⁸ The basic text was also published in a revival songster of 1809, followed by two in 1817. Neither Klocko nor I have found any broadside printings beyond this Thomas copy.

Klocko believes Ingalls's melody for 'Christian Uniform' is derived from the music for 'The Indian Philosopher,' a rather round-about love song based on popular notions of philosophic ideas to be found in India. Klocko's analysis provides a note-by-note comparison of 'Indian Philosopher' with 'Christian Uniform' to prove the derivation.⁴⁹ The tune and text of 'Indian Philosopher' are in *The American Musical Miscellany* (1798) and in *The Complete Pocket Song Book* (1802), both printed in Northampton, Massachusetts, by Andrew Wright.⁵⁰ Eliphalet Mason, the compiler of *The Complete Pocket Song Book*, gives credits: 'Words by Dr. Watts, — Music by Oakum,' but Oakum has not yet been further identified. *The National Tune Index* shows four American music manuscripts between 1797 and 1800 that have basically the same incipits (musical first lines) as the version in the *American Musical Miscellany*.⁵¹ Such manuscript evidence can be an important indication of popular acceptance of a tune in the absence of extensive commercial publication. (See fig. 4.)

47. Jeremiah Ingalls, *The Christian Harmony: or Songster's Companion* (Exeter, N.H., 1805); David Grover Klocko, 'Jeremiah Ingalls's *The Christian Harmony: or Songster's Companion* (1805)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1978).

48. Klocko, 'Jeremiah Ingalls,' p. 107.

49. Klocko, 'Jeremiah Ingalls,' pp. 807-15.

50. *The American Musical Miscellany* (Northampton, 1798), pp. 241-44; Eliphalet Mason, *The Complete Pocket Song Book* (Northampton, 1802), pp. 18-21.

51. See *NTI*, under 'Why should our joys transform to pain.'

The TWO LOVERS of EXETER

Ford 278 (Fig. 7; see also fig. 6)

The relatively few extant copies of 'The Two Lovers of Exeter' may suggest that it was not widely reprinted in America and perhaps only moderately well known in England. But the copies at Harvard University's Houghton Library are from important

The YOUNG SHOPKEEPER.—Music by MASON.

Draw near you young gallants, while I do unfold, As tragical a
 story as ever was told, 'Twas of a young couple whose hearts were linked
 fast, Till death broke a - sun - der the contract at last.

2. Near Exeter city this couple did dwell,
 This lass was so pretty there's none could excell,
 Both comely in feature both proper and tall,
 And constant in heart the best virtue of all.
3. A brisk young shopkeeper who lived close by,
 Would upon this damsel be casting an eye,
 This damsel on him with smiles did the same,
 Till they both were possessed of a secret flame.

FIGURE 6. 'The Young Shopkeeper' ('The Two Lovers of Exeter'), from The Complete Pocket Song Book, Springfield (Mass.) Public Library. See broadside, fig. 7.

A TRAGICAL ACCOUNT

Of the two Lovers of *Exeter*, in *England*, who having missed of each other, they died of grief on the Road.

DRAW near you young Gallants, while I do unfold
A tragical story as ever was told ;

It's of a young couple whose hearts were link'd fast,
'Till Death broke asunder the contract at last.

Near Exeter city this couple did dwell,
The lass was so pretty that few could excel,
Most comely in features, both proper and tall,
And constant in heart the best virtue of all.

But Cupid who cunningly fixed his dart,
Had shot this fair maid and wounded her heart :
With his cunning arrow, he'd wounded her so,
For love it will creep where it dare not well go.

A brisk young shopkeeper that lived hard by,
Would often on this damsel be casting an eye :
She often with smiles upon him did the same ;
They both were possess'd with a secret flame.

But love, which would then be no longer conceal'd,
By this loving couple was quickly reveal'd :
As they one evening did meet in a grove,
This young man began to discover his love.

Well met, my dear mistress, the joy of my heart,
The height of perfection in every part,
That love which I long in my heart have conceal'd,
Shall here to my dearest be quickly reveal'd.

If you'll be so cruel my suit to deny,
My amorous jewel, for you I must die ;
My heart is a bleeding, and lies at your feet,
Then kill me or cure me, as you think it meet.

The damsel appeared like one struck quite dumb,
While blushes like flashes of lightning did come :
At length she reply'd there's no trusting young men,
And what would you have me to answer you then ?

My heart, my dearest, shall constant remain,
The thoughts of false lovers I freely disdain ;
May I bid all pleasures for ever adieu,
My dearest, when first I prove false unto you.

This beautiful lady no longer could hide
Her tender affection, but freely reply'd,
My heart is your own, and shall be till I die ;
Then into his arms like lightning did fly.

A ring of pure gold from her finger she took,
And just in the middle the same she then broke,
Says she, as a token of love you this take,
And this is a pledge I will keep for your sake.

With hugging and kissing in each other's arms,
They both were possessed with capricious charms ;
And from that same minute they constant did prove,
And loyal as e'er did the dear turtle dove.

But fortune was cruel, and on them did frown,
Their love to their parents was quickly made known ;
So they to their daughter were sharp and severe,
She being an heiress to five hundred a year.

They privately sent this young damsel away,
To London, that she with her uncle might stay,
Thinking in short time that her love would abate,
But true lovers will not be serv'd at that rate.

Some time with her uncle this damsel did stay,
While she did in private a letter convey
To her loyal lover and joy of her heart,
Whom covetous parents did cruelly part.

But when her true lover her letter did read,
He sent her another in answer with speed,
Saying, the whole world shall not us divide,
For I will come unto thee, whatever betide.

Her true lover's answer she never receiv'd,
For which she lamentingly sighed and griev'd ;
Saying, hath my love forsaken me quite,
O now all my pleasures have taken their flight.

Sure he was too loyal his love to deceive,
Then here I in sorrow no longer will grieve,
But now to fair Exeter I will repair,
Tho' my shadow is here, my heart it is there.

This damsel, without any longer delay,
For Exeter city she then took her way ;
And that very minute for London he came,
In hopes for to meet with his true love again.

But still cruel Fortune upon them did frown,
The one coming up, and the other going down,
And then on the road they each other did miss,
O who can discover the sorrow of this !

Now when they found that their labour was lost,
And both their designs by misfortune were cross'd,
Without any stay they returned again,
With their hearts both possess'd with invincible pain.

Thus three times together each other they miss'd
While trouble and sorrow their hearts did possess ;
This innocent damsel her heart then did break,
And dy'd on the road for her true lover's sake.

The inn where this damsel that night had deceas'd,
This young man her lover came to as a guest :
They asked this young man what news was abroad,
If he knew that young damsel that dy'd on the road.

The corps he desir'd then quickly to see,
Which when he beheld, he cry'd, ah woe is me !
My long long travel now an end must have,
My dearest and I'll be both laid in one grave.

A thousand times over as weeping he lay,
He kiss'd her cold lips that were colder than clay ;
And that very night there his heart he did break,
And like a true lover he dy'd for her sake.

You covetous parents, wherever you be,
Consider the same, and lament now with me ;
Let not gold nor silver true lovers divide,
Lest dreadful judgments unto you betide.



broadside and chapbook collections, and there is still much to be learned about the quantitative relationships between print and oral tradition. Four of the Harvard copies are in chapbooks purchased by James Boswell. Two others are from a chapbook and a broadside owned by Bishop Thomas Percy, which he acquired in the 1760s for his work as one of the first serious scholars of balladry. In addition to another broadside copy printed by Chatham in Coventry, England, Houghton Library has the only other reported American broadside of this ballad that was 'sold near Charles-river bridge.'⁵²

But, for us, the most important American copy of this ballad is in Eliphalet Mason's 1802 *Complete Pocket Song Book* (see fig. 6).⁵³ This copy is significant in part because it is there set to music that the compiler, Mason, claims to have written, and partly because that melody has the true sound of 'folk music,' which is different from the sound of cultivated popular music of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Perhaps most of all it is important because Mason may have been the first American to consciously collect and publish folk songs. In his introduction Mason explains, 'The Compiler of the Pocket Song Book, having, for some years past, devoted his leisure time to the study of Music, and having been in divers parts of the New-England States, he has selected from singers of Song, those words and airs, which are most calculated to instruct the mind and please the ear.'⁵⁴

GENERAL BURGOYNE'S LAMENTATION

Ford 93 (Fig. 10; see also figs. 8 and 9)

There are two other early broadsides with the basic text of 'General Burgoyne's Lamentation,' but there seem to be no other

52. The Boswell and Percy copies are listed in Charles Welsh and William H. Tillinghast, *Catalogue of English and American Chapbooks and Broadside Ballads in Harvard College Library* (Cambridge, Mass., 1905, repr. Detroit, 1968). The American broadside copy is No. 3372 in Ford, *Broadsides, Massachusetts*.

53. Mason, *Complete Pocket Song Book*, pp. 28-34.

54. Mason, *Complete Pocket Song Book*, preface.

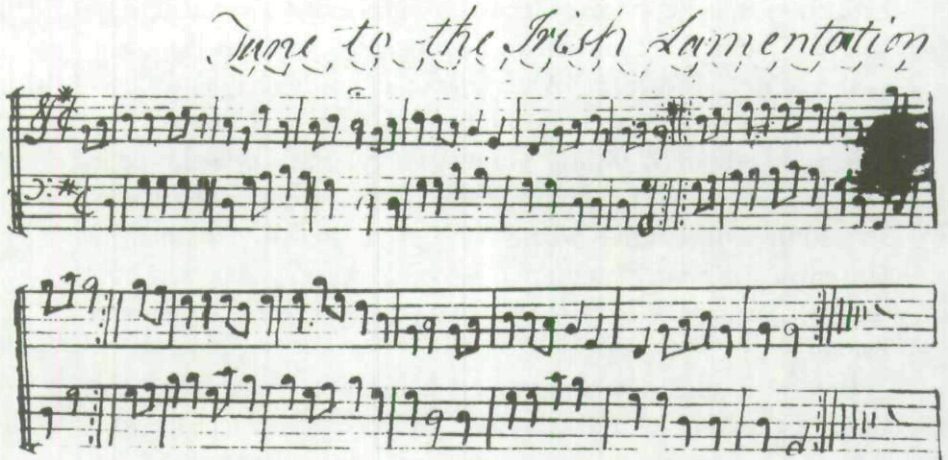


FIGURE 8. 'Irish Lamentation,' from Justin Hitchcock manuscript, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library, Deerfield, Massachusetts. See broadside, fig. 10.

The image shows a printed musical score for a piece titled "General Burgoyne's Lamentation". The score is in 6/8 time and consists of five staves of music. The melody is set to the tune of "Irish Lamentation". The lyrics are written below the notes, with vertical lines indicating the alignment of the words with the notes. The lyrics are:

Ye pow - ers look down and pi - ty my case, For the
 once great Bur - goyne is now in dis - tress; For
 I am sur - roun - ded by a num - er - ous foe; That I
 fear my whole ar - my will soon ov - er - throw, That I
 fear my whole ar - my will soon ov - er - throw.

FIGURE 9. 'General Burgoyne's Lamentation,' set to the melody line of 'Irish Lamentation,' from the Hitchcock manuscript. See broadside, fig. 10.

GENERAL BURGONE'S LAMENTATION.

TUNE—"Irish Lamentation."

YE Powers look down and pity my case,
For the once great BURGONE is now in distress;
For I am surrounded by a numerous foe,
That I fear my whole army will soon overthrow:

O! curst be the man that did us deceive,
And curst be old *Schuyler*, that made us believe,
He would retreat before us, and make no alarm,
'Till we had landed in Albany, free from all harm.

Now I am surrounded with sorrow and grief,
Fair goddess Diana, O send me relief!
O! send me some comfort, my mind for to feed,
Or bring me a cordial, for I ne'er had more need.

And now fellow soldiers, what to advise you to,
To go forward we cannot, nor back we can't go,
For to tarry here we must certainly die—
My heart's overwhelmed, O where shall I fly.

What say you my lads, must we yield unto men,
That we have so long held in such great disdain?
And called them *Rebels* and despis'd yankees too,
We have look'd upon them as a cowardly crew:

Now safety says yes, but honour says no,
Our case is deplorable, O what shall we do?
Our honour is sweet, but our lives are more dear,
Mine eyes do break forth in a fountain of tears.

O! curst be the day that e'er I came here,
And cross'd the Atlantic to buy wit so dear,
Yea, curst be the villain that did us much hurt,
That carry'd to England so false a report:

For 'tis commonly reported in fair England,
That the sight of a Briton would make Yankees run;
The report of a cannon would make Yankees fly,
O! were they as num'rous as the stars in the sky.

To my woeful experience, I find it was false,
For I find that the Yankees are equal to us;
They will fight with great valor in the open field,
Take them in the forest, then Britons must yield:

For they'll shut up one eye, and squint at their gun,
And we surely are dead, as soon as that's done;
We stand no more chance in the Yankees paws,
Than to fling an old cat into hell without claws.

O! what shall we do, Diana don't hear,
To my supplication she turns a deaf ear,
We'll complain to the Gods of our sorrow and woe!
Our good old friend Jupiter will help us I know:

We will call unto Mercury, Saturn also,
And likewise mild Venus shall hear of our woe!
If they don't regard us, we'll make our complaints,
To the Lady *Mary* and the good old saints.

You gentlemen all, think on't what you will,
We Britons, have used the Americans ill;
And for the same reason we're brought into thrall;
We never shall prosper in this war at all:

The Gods will not hear us tho' we cry and weep,
They're gone a long journey or else they're asleep;
They are as regardless of our request,
As the British Court is of th' American Congress.

I think it's in vain on the God's for to call,
For they are not able to help us at all;
We will go to brave GATES, and bow at his feet,
He will give us an answer, give hopes that are sweet:

He will grant us the privilege for to march out,
With the honours of war, tho' in the quickest rout,
If he will do so, we will all bless his name,
And let him be crowned with honour and fame.

We are all agreed to do as you've said,
We will go very humble, with hopes on our head;
Acknowledge before him we all deserve death,
If he saves us, we'll praise him whilst we have breath.

We went to his Honor, our request he did grant,
His bountiful hand did supply all our wants;
He open'd his stores, all our wants to supply,
Let brave GATES's enemies before him fly.

Ye Heavens send down your blessings amain,
On the head of brave GATES, let his foes be all slain;
Or otherwise bow to that brave General,
And let all his enemies, before him fall:

For his honor is great, and his virtue renown'd,
He scorns in his heart the very thoughts of a clown;
He is gallant and brave, and generous too,
Right honorable General—I bid you adieu.

FIGURE 10. *Isaiah Thomas Ballad Collection, vol. 1:117 (Ford 93), AAS.*

copies in primary sources such as manuscripts or songsters.⁵⁵ William McCarty may have used the Thomas copy or a duplicate for his 1842 reprint.⁵⁶ His printing has *no* textual variations whatever, beyond a few minor differences in spelling and punctuation. In comparison, there are fifty-three minor textual variations between Ford 93 and the other broadside copy of this piece at the American Antiquarian Society. Such variation is not unusual for separate broadside issues when their texts run to twenty verses, as these do.

The indicated tune, 'Irish Lamentation,' is also scarce. Only one copy has been found in print so far, and only two in manuscript with a text beginning 'When I lived with my grannam [or gramma].'⁵⁷ These are variants of the same tune, and either will fit the Thomas text nicely. The Justin Hitchcock manuscript version is misbarred. It has been given a time signature C ($2/2$ time) when it should be $6/8$, or, in earlier practice, $6/4$. Misbarring and incorrect time signatures are among the most common errors of amateurs when music is transcribed by ear. In such a case rebarring is necessary because otherwise the musical accents would fall at the wrong places in the text.

Rebarring is a simple and historically straightforward procedure, if documented. In figures 9 and 10, my transcription appears below the facsimile from the Hitchcock manuscript. I have set it in $6/4$ time instead of the $6/8$ time, which is more common today, to cause the least possible change in the overall appearance of the music. Original barring is shown by dotted lines above the staves.

55. 'Burgoin's Defeat,' Broadside Collection, American Antiquarian Society. Rider Collection No. 21, Harris Collection, Brown University.

56. William McCarty, *Songs, Odes and Other Poems on National Subjects*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1842), 3: 102-5. Also reported in William Leet Stone, *Ballads and Poems Relating to the Burgoyne Campaign* (Albany, 1893), pp. 29-32.

57. I am indebted to Kate Van Winkle Keller for a copy of the 'Irish Lamentation' from [John] Walsh, *Third Book of the Compleat Country Dancing Master* (London, 1735), p. 197. The music is also in the Justin Hitchcock manuscript (Mass., ca. 1800), in Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library, Deerfield, Mass., and in the Wilkes Allen manuscript (Conn., 1790) at the Library of Congress. State names and dates given in parentheses with manuscript sources in this essay refer to the original place and approximate date of the manuscript.

[BRAVE WOLFE] and
The DEATH of GENERAL WOLFE

Ford 55 (Fig. 14; see also figs. 11, 12, and 13)

Whatever we Americans may think of our presidents, we have seldom sung songs about them long after they were dead. And we haven't often sung about long-dead generals, either. James Wolfe is an important exception, as these two song texts, printed together on American broadsides a number of times up to the 1830s, demonstrate. These are among the longest-lived and the most important of at least forty-five different verse texts and elegies on Wolfe's death written and published in England and North America between 1759 and the 1790s.⁵⁸

[BRAVE WOLFE]

Remarkable longevity is one of the important characteristics of the text beginning 'Cheer up your hearts,' a folk ballad of unknown date and origin best known as 'Brave Wolfe' or 'Bold Wolfe,' though it has other titles. It is preserved in broadsides, in four American manuscripts of the 1790s (two with music), in the *Forget-Me-Not-Songster* issues of the 1850s, in a printed songbook of 1846, in a choral songbook of 1850, and, most importantly, as collected from oral tradition in Arkansas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland between 1917 and 1939; in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York in the 1940s; and in eastern Canada in the 1950s. W. Roy Mackenzie reported in 1919 that every traditional folk singer in Canada had his version of the song, and it was still cherished in folk memory in the United States 180 years after Wolfe's death on the Plains of Abraham.⁵⁹

58. My preliminary list of forty-five examples is compiled from J. A. Leo Lemay, *A Calendar of American Poetry . . . Through 1765* (Worcester, Mass., 1972), from verses in *The Gentlemen's Magazine* (London, August 1772 to October 1773), and miscellaneous sources.

59. See Ford, *Broadsides, Massachusetts* Nos. 1156-60 and 3048-52. See also song manuscripts: Whittier Perkins ms. (Mass., 1790), Columbia University Library; Luther Kingsley ms. (Conn., 1790), Mansfield Historical Society, Mansfield, Conn.; Rufus Bragdon ms. (York, Me., 1790), Old Gaol Museum, York, Me.; Hervey Brooks ms. (Conn., 1790), private

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation from a manuscript. It contains several staves of music with lyrics. The first staff is titled 'Dick the Joiner.' and has the lyrics 'Come all you maidens fair.' The second staff is titled 'Gen'l Wolfe.' and has the lyrics 'Come all you rude young men.' The third staff is titled 'The Gypsy Lady.' and has the lyrics 'Come all you rude young men.' The fourth staff is titled 'An Elegy.' and has no lyrics. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, and notes.

FIGURE 11. 'Gen'l Wolfe' ['Brave Wolfe'], from the Whittier Perkins manuscript, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University. See broadside, fig. 14.

The earliest datable records of the tune and text of 'Brave Wolfe' are in the four manuscript copies of the 1790s. The ballad could have been written and sung as early as 1759, as some writers have

collection; Stevens-Douglass ms. (Wyoming County, N.Y., ca. 1823-56), private collection, but published in Harold Thompson and Edith Cutting, eds. *A Pioneer Songster* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1958), pp. 98-101. Songsters (texts only): *The Echo: or Columbian Songster*, 2d ed. (Brookfield, Mass., 1798), pp. 152-53; *The Lark* (Northampton, 1798), pp. 19-21; *The Green-Mountain Songster* (Sandgate, Vt., 1823), pp. 22-23. The *Forget-Me-Not Songster* series of the 1850s has been studied in a master's thesis by F. Jones (Brown University, 1948). For songbooks that printed texts and music, see the following: *An Amateurs Gem of Song*, Pt. 1 (Boston, 1846), pp. 2-3; B. F. Baker and L. H. Southard, *The Boston Melodeon*, vol. 3 (Boston, 1850), p. 40. For a partial listing of folk versions, see G. Malcolm Laws, Jr., *Native American Balladry*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 119. The Mackenzie quote is in Josiah H. Combs, *Folk-Songs of the Southern United States*, trans. and ed. D. K. Wilgus (Austin, 1967), p. 76.

Cheer up your hearts young men let noth-ing fright you,— Be
of a gal-lant mind, let that de-light you;— Let
not your cour-age fail till af-ter tri-al,— Nor
let your fan-cy move at the first den-i-al.

verse 1-11 | verse 12

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a ballad. It consists of four staves of music in treble clef with a common time signature (C). The lyrics are written below the notes. The first three staves contain the main body of the song, and the fourth staff contains the final line. Above the fourth staff, there are two boxes labeled 'verse 1-11' and 'verse 12', indicating a repeat structure. The music features a mix of quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, with some rests.

FIGURE 12. [*Brave Wolfe*], from the Thomas broadside, set to the 'Gen'l Wolfe' music in the Whittier Perkins manuscript. See broadside, fig. 14.

claimed, but there is no reliable documentation for this. It could also have been inspired or encouraged by either of two revivals of interest in Wolfe during the 1770s. The best known of these revivals derived from Benjamin West's precedent-breaking painting, 'The Death of Wolfe,' in which Wolfe appears in eighteenth-century dress, instead of the classical Roman garb. Thomas Flexner described the awed reaction of Londoners to this 'neo-classical news picture': 'Long before the Royal Academy exhibition of 1771 opens, lines form on the street, impeding London traffic. When the doors swing back, the crowd moves in a cramped mass until they are all gathered before a single picture. Men stare reverently, women weep into frilled handkerchiefs, or, past the aid of smelling salts, faint into their escorts' arms. All day long, until the doors close again at evening, emotion surges and breaks in the gallery where hangs West's *Death of Wolfe*.'⁶⁰ Of course, this London exhibition could not directly inspire ballad makers in America, but

60. James Thomas Flexner, *The Light of Distant Skies, History of American Painting*, 2 vols. (New York, 1954; repr. 1969), 2: 32.

GENERAL WOLFE. *A new, long, Engraving for the Pennsylvania Magazine, May 1775*

Andante

Oh is 'neuld'ryng'are abashed wretched street, Britannia not content with thee, she weeps for her loss, then ex-claim'd against Fate, and gave her self up to Despair. The walls of her Cell she had surround arriv'd, with th'explosions of her favorite, thou, and even the Post as it lay on the ground was oblig'd with some Deeds he had done

1. Forte, f. imp.

FIGURE 13. Music for Thomas Paine's 'General Wolfe,' from the Pennsylvania Magazine, March 1775, American Antiquarian Society. See broadside, fig. 14.

folk creators thrive best in cultures that cherish heroes, and West arranged for large and small engraved versions of his painting that easily crossed the ocean.

The second, overlapping, revival of interest in Wolfe was literary and may have been a direct inspiration for the second 'Death of Wolfe' text on the broadside (which will be discussed below with that text). Much remains to be said of the 'Brave Wolfe' text, but three points in relation to its oral transmission seem essential. First, this version is generally a fine example of American folk ballad style, but its last verse does not appear in oral versions collected in the twentieth century or in most broadside versions. Probably it was an attempt by an early nineteenth-century poetaster with genteel ambitions to 'improve' on a version received orally. Second, even in 1814 there were distinct variant forms for this text. The Thomas collection has a second version beginning 'Come all ye young men all' (Ford 58), parts of which are found in twentieth-century oral tradition. This second, Thomas version is the same basic text that S. Foster Damon gives as his second version of 'Brave Wolfe.'⁶¹ Third, the ballad maker, as usual, made use of traditional floating lines and verses to assist the process of composition. For example, the third verse of 'Brave Wolfe' in Ford 55 certainly is descended from the second verse of 'The Unconstant Maiden,' which dates back at least to 1682:

Here is a Ring of Gold, my dear except it
'tis for your sake alone, long have i kept it.
Read but the Posie on't, think on the Giver
madam i die for Love, I die for ever.⁶²

The associated tune for 'Brave Wolfe' also has had remarkable longevity. Not only is it unusual for a ballad tune and text to be so closely associated and to match so well in eighteenth-century

61. S. Foster Damon, *Series of Old American Songs, Harris Collection, Brown University* (Providence, 1936), no. 1.

62. 'The Unconstant Maiden,' Madden Collection, 3, no. 778. Floating lines and verses (also called formulas, stereotypes, and ballad tags) are treated at length in Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960; repr. N.Y., 1972), and in many formal studies of Anglo-American ballad literature.



THE DEATH OF

GENERAL WOLF:



CCHEER up your hearts young men let nothing
fright you,
Be of a gallant mind, let that delight you ;
Let not your courage fail till after trial,
Nor let your fancy move at the first denial.

I went to see my love only to woo her,
I went to gain her love not to undo her ;
Whene'er I spake a word my tongue did quiver,
I could not speak my mind while I was with her.

Love, here's a diamond ring long time I've kept it,
'Tis for your sake alone, if you'll accept it ;
When you the posy read, think on the giver,
Madam, remember me, undone forever.

Brave Wolf then took his leave of his dear jewel,
Most sorely did she grieve, saying don't be cruel ;
Said he, 'tis for a space that I must leave you,
Yet love, where'er I go, I'll not forget you.

So then this gallant youth did cross the ocean,
To free America from her invasion ;
He landed at Quebec with all his party,
The city to attack, both brave and hearty.

Brave Wolf drew up his men in form most pretty,
On the plains of Abraham, before the city ;
There just before the town the French did meet
them

With double numbers they resolv'd to beat them.

When drawn up in a line, for death prepared,
While in each other's face their armies stared ;
So pleasantly brave Wolf and Montcalm talked,
So martially between their armies walked.

Each man then took his post at their retire,
So then these numerous hosts began to fire :
The cannon on each side did roar like thunder,
And youths in all their pride were torn asunder.

The drums did loudly beat, colors were flying,
The purple gore did stream and men lay dying ;
When shot from off his horse, fell this brave hero,
And we lament his loss in weeds of sorrow.

The French began to break, their ranks were flying,
Brave Wolf then seem'd to wake as he lay dying ;
He lifted up his head while guns did rattle,
And to his army said, how goes the battle ?

His aid-de-camp reply'd 'tis in our favor,
Quebec with all her pride, we soon shall have her ;
She'll fall into our hands, with all her treasure,
O then reply'd brave Wolf, I die with pleasure.

He clos'd his eyes with joy on human glory,
And left each earthly toy, so transitory ;
Brave Wolf is now enroll'd the first of heroes,
And joins a host of those who feel no sorrow.

Death of Gen. Wolf.

IN a sad mould'ring cave where the wretched
retreat,

Britannia sat wasted with care ;
She mourn'd for her Wolf and exclaim'd against
fate,

And gave herself up to despair.
The walls of her cell she had sculptur'd around
With the deeds of her favorite son ;
And even the dust as it lay on the ground,
Was engrav'd with some deeds he had done.

The fire of the gods from her christalline throne,
Beheld the disconsolate dame,
And mov'd with her tears he sent Mercury down,
And these were the tidings that came,
Britannia, forbear ! not a sigh nor a tear,
For thy Wolf so deservedly lov'd ;
Your tears shall be chang'd into triumphs of joy,
For thy Wolf is not dead but remov'd.

The sons of the east, the proud giants of old,
Have crept from their darksome abodes,
And this is the news as in heaven we're told,
They were marching to war with the gods.
A counsel was held in the chamber of Jove,
And this was the final decree,
That Wolf should be call'd to the armies above,
And the charge was entrusted to me.

To the plains of Quebec, with the orders I flew,
Where Wolf with his army then lay ;
He cry'd, O forbear ! let me victory view,
And then thy commands I'll obey,
With a darkening film I encompass'd his eyes,
And bore him away in an urn,
Lest the fondness he bore for his own native shore
Should tempt him again to return.

NATHANIEL COVERLY, PRINTER, Milk-street, BOSTON.

FIGURE 14. *Isaiah Thomas Ballad Collection, vol. 3:69 (Ford 55), AAS.*

sources, but it is even rarer for such a basic tune and basic text to remain closely associated from the eighteenth century well into the twentieth century without the assistance of many printed copies to help maintain the association. In fact, the two slightly variant manuscript tune versions from the 1790s show little change up through the printed *Gem of Song* in 1846, and even on to the Newfoundland version collected in 1929, which is distinguished from the earlier versions mainly by its shift from the minor to the Dorian mode.⁶³ Many of the other 'Brave Wolfe' tune/texts collected into the 1940s are part of this same tune family with the notable exception of a West Virginia text reportedly sung by schoolchildren in 1924 to the tune of 'Yankee Doodle.'⁶⁴ Indeed, some of these tune versions are so close together that they are difficult to sing in sequence from memory.

I have set the Ford 55 text to the 'Brave Wolfe' tune preserved in 'Whittier Perkins Book,' a Massachusetts manuscript tunebook from the 1790s. (See figs. 11 and 12.)

The DEATH of GENERAL WOLFE

'Brave Wolfe' was certainly written *for* the folk if not directly by them, but the text beginning 'In a mouldering cave' was addressed to a different cultural world, the upper and middle classes who patronized concerts and theaters, played and sang keyboard parlor songs, and understood classical allusions. Thomas Paine wrote verses to this ballad, had them 'set to music by a gentleman of this country,' and published them with the music in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* for March 1775 (see fig. 13). This was the third number of the magazine but only the second for which Paine served as editor. According to a Paine letter to Benjamin Franklin, which is

63. E. B. Greenleaf and G. Y. Mansfield, *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933, repr. Hatboro, Pa., 1968), pp. 96-98. To hear the difference between minor and Dorian modes, play eight notes (one octave) on the white keys of a piano, starting on A for the scale of A minor, followed by eight notes starting on D, also on the white keys, which gives the Dorian mode.

64. Combs, *Folk-Songs*, pp. 153-55. Unfortunately, only the text is given, but it could be sung to 'Yankee Doodle' with some rhythmic shifts. That of course implies that this 'Brave Wolfe' text was not taken seriously by these schoolchildren in West Virginia in 1924.

essentially supported by an independent account from Dr. Benjamin Rush, the subscription list more than doubled from 600 to 1,500 after Paine began his contributory editorship. Rush gave some of the credit to this song: 'His song upon the death of General Wolfe, and his reflections upon the death of Lord Clive, gave it [the magazine] a sudden currency which few works of the kind have since had in our country.'⁶⁵

As with 'Brave Wolfe,' some modern writers have assumed Paine's song was written soon after Wolfe's death in October 1759. But Damon quotes an 1825 American music book, which notes that 'Mr. Paine wrote this song with a view to its being presented to the committee for erecting a monument to the memory of Wolfe, a premium being offered for the most approved piece on the subject. It was however, never presented, but first appeared in a Philadelphia publication with which Paine had some connection.'⁶⁶ The work of that committee is reflected in twenty-one epitaphs, inscriptions, and poetic effusions, some in Latin as well as English, that were published in issues of *The Gentleman's Magazine* between August 1772 and October 1773. Therefore, Paine could have written his verses for that quasi-literary competition and had them in his baggage when he came to America in the late fall of 1774.

In the original headnote to his text, Paine wrote, 'I have not pursued the worn out tract of modern song but have thrown it into fable.' This was hardly an innovation because the literary conceit of clothing eminent contemporaries in the mantle of Greek and Roman mythology was standard practice all through the eighteenth century.⁶⁷ Paine used a related conceit in a later song, in which the 'Goddess of Liberty' brings a tangible symbol of her

65. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 5 vols. (New York, 1930), 1: 87, quoting Moncure D. Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine*, 2 vols. (New York, 1893), 1: 40-41.

66. Damon, *Series of Old American Songs*, no. 2, quoting John Graham, *Flowers of Melody*, 2 vols. (New York, 1825), 2: 85.

67. For an extended study of the practice see James Sutherland, *A Preface to Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (Oxford, 1948; repr. New York, 1958).

love for American patriots to sit beneath, to worship under, and rally around, 'The Liberty Tree.'⁶⁸

Paine's 'Death of General Wolfe' appeared in nine American songsters, out of a sample of seventy-three published between 1786 and 1815, which shows a small but steady popularity. Its music was indicated for four songs, and parodies were published in eight songsters during the War of 1812; it had also been used earlier in the Federalist-Democratic political struggles of the late 1790s, as well as for a pro-Irish song in 1799.⁶⁹ Once again, manuscripts demonstrate a popularity that exceeds the printed evidence. *The National Tune Index* shows that 'Death of General Wolfe' was reprinted with its original music only once in the eighteenth century, but it shows further that eight American manuscripts before 1800 have the same basic tune and text as those printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*.⁷⁰ Sukey Heath of Brookline, Massachusetts, made one of those 'General Wolfe' tune copies, harmonized into three parts, on October 21, 1780. I know of no other three-part arrangement for this tune.⁷¹

Paine's text appears set to a quite different tune in two American songbooks that were published in 1804 and 1814.⁷² Meanwhile, in Britain, Paine's text was sometimes printed with the indicated tune 'Gods of the Greeks,' which Paine had used as his model and tune for 'Liberty Tree.' In fact, the tune printed for his text under the title 'Britannia or the Death of Wolfe' in the *Edinburgh Musical Miscellany* begins as a somewhat convoluted but recognizable version of the tune for 'Gods of the Greeks.'⁷³

68. 'The Liberty Tree,' tune 'Gods of the Greeks,' *Pennsylvania Magazine* (July 1775).

69. George John Devine, 'American Songsters 1806-1815' (Master's thesis, Brown University, 1940), pp. 7, 213, 238, and 245. Also Alice Louise Thorpe, 'American Songsters of the Eighteenth Century' (Master's thesis, Brown University, 1935), pp. 158 and 209.

70. *NTI*, under 'In a mouldering cave.'

71. 'Sukey Heath's Collection from Sundry Authors,' discussed and reproduced in facsimile in Richard Crawford and David P. McKay, 'Music in Manuscript, a Massachusetts Tune-Book of 1782,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 84, (1974): 43-64, and 30 pages of facsimile.

72. 'General Wolfe,' *Baltimore Musical Miscellany*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1804), 1: 194-96, and 'Death of Wolfe,' *The American Patriotic Song Book* (Philadelphia, 1813), pp. 103-5.

73. *The Edinburgh Musical Miscellany*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1792-93) 1: 284-86. 'The

IV

One essential musical ingredient is missing from the transcriptions and facsimiles of my project—*sound*. A printed song is in some ways like one of Plato's metaphorical shadows of ideals. In that Platonic sense, a 'song' only exists while it is being performed, or, to put it another way, a song *is* a temporal trilogy of words, music, and at least one sympathetic singer.

For a reader who wishes to be a sympathetic singer, simplicity should be the guiding standard. Accompanying instruments were the exception rather than the rule for broadside songs, but 'The Embargo' was composed for public political performance and might originally have been given with an accompanying pianoforte or a small orchestra of winds and strings. The two revival songs 'Brother Sailor' and 'Spiritual Soldier's Uniform' would have been sung loudly, in the fervor of a camp meeting, but they would have been sung without accompaniment. Paine's 'Death of General Wolfe' is only on these broadsides by adoption. It was originally composed for singing in theaters and upper-class parlors to a keyboard accompaniment, with perhaps occasionally a flute obligato. 'General Burgoyne's Lamentation' is an enlisted man's campfire ballad. Probably it was usually sung unaccompanied, but we know that such songs were sometimes backed with fife and with drumsticks on a table (or a log, if no table could be had).⁷⁴ 'The Two Lovers of Exeter' and 'Brave Wolfe' certainly should be sung without accompaniment and in a free-flowing style that does not emphasize a beat.

Of all these songs, only 'Brave Wolfe' has been sensitively recorded by a performer who was expert in the unaccompanied style.

Gods of the Greeks' music is reproduced in facsimile under an alternate title, 'The Origin of English Liberty,' in Arthur Schrader, 'Songs to Cultivate the Sensations of Freedom,' in Barbara Lambert, ed., *Music in Colonial Massachusetts 1630-1820*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1980), 1: 109.

74. Frank Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (New York, 1861; repr. 1876), 1: 254, cites a letter from Capt. Caleb Gibbs, of Washington's Guard, which describes such singing and playing: 'After the toasts, little Phil, of the Guard, was brought in to sing H-----'s new campaign song, and was joined by all the under officers who seemed much animated by the accompanying of Clute's drum sticks and Aaron's fife.'

Frank Warner collected a variant called 'Montcalm and Wolfe' in the Adirondacks in the 1940s, and he sings it on a recording that is long out of print but well worth searching for.⁷⁵

I must regretfully conclude with the information that my favorite instrument, the Spanish guitar, is not historically appropriate for use with these songs and ballads. Although ubiquitous as accompaniment for what is called 'folk song' in our day, it was scarcely known in the United States during the War of 1812. Not until the 1830s would the European craze, 'Guitaromanie,' bring the Spanish guitar into some modest prominence in the United States as an occasional alternative to the pianoforte for middle-class parlor songs.⁷⁶

75. Frank Warner, 'Songs and Ballads of America's Wars,' Elektra Records (EKL 13), 1954.

76. Frederick Grunfeld, 'L'Accord Parfait en Amour: Incidental Notes to the Graphic Music of Balzac's Paris,' *The Guitar Review* 44 (1978): 1-2.

Copyright of Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society is the property of American Antiquarian Society and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.