guiding the reader to Boethius's sources for each passage and elucidating some of the more problematic passages. Particularly thorough and useful is the extensive annotation, amounting to almost a gloss, of chapters 14–17 of Book IV, which contain Boethius's exposition of the modes. This section, however, probably should be read in conjunction with Bower's "The Modes of Boethius," and his "Boethius and Nichomacus: An Essay Concerning the Sources of De Institutione Musica," as well as André Barbera's "Octave Species." 3

Three appendices close the book, one on the contents of the missing chapters, which were largely derived from Ptolemy's Harmonics. Thus Bower is able, by using Ptolemy's text, to postulate the ground the chapters covered. A second appendix deals with the text of the Spartan decree cited by Boethius in Book I and presents a critical reconstruction of its Greek text and a translation. A final appendix deals with the sources for the diagrams and reports all the variants in the manuscripts that Bower used as control sources. Perhaps the only problem presented by the book is the absence of a bibliography. The nature of the annotations and their extensive use cry out for a place where all the references would be presented with the clarity that characterizes the rest of the work.

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It is not surprising that the oldest branch of American musicology is the one that deals with the oldest body of music printed in America, which in turn encompasses the earliest school of American composers. As early as 1846, George Hood produced A History of Music in New England, with an annotated list of tunebooks in chronological order. Allen Perdue Britton, in his Foreword, tells how this pioneering effort became the germ of a succession of works of increasing magnitude and complexity, each one building on its predecessors and on parallel activities in general American bibliography, until at last the process reached its goal with the present work. We have here, then, the culmination of some six generations of scholarship, in a field which has developed in relative isolation from the mainstream of historical musicology, but has kept pace with its ever rising demands and standards. The result is the greatest monument so far in the bibliography of American music, without any near rival.

The immediate credit goes to all three named authors, but hardly in equal proportions. Dr. Britton tells how he and the late Irving Lowens had been working independently in the same field when, in 1950, they decided to pool

their efforts; but by 1969, he says, it had become "painfully clear" to both of them that they could never finish the work by themselves, and they then turned over their materials to Richard Crawford for completion. The final typescript, as Britton concedes on behalf of himself and Lowens, was entirely the work of Crawford, who "revisited all the libraries, checked every title and location, discovered many titles and editions hitherto undetected, and made new counts and analyses based on the catalogue he has made of all the music in the tunebooks. . . . A project that we all thought might take another year or two actually took almost twenty" (p. viii). In his own Preface, Crawford with becoming modesty expresses his indebtedness to Britton and Lowens, which must indeed have been very considerable. But it is clear that in the end he alone had full control over the vast body of information that went into the book, and that he alone must now attract credit or blame for the accuracy or otherwise of each fact recorded, and for the final form and format of this monumental work.

The core of the book, extending to 560 pages, is the bibliography of 677 printed collections of sacred music,1 arranged in alphabetical order and numbered from i to 545D. An ingenious hierarchy of headings allows for, first, a brief biography of each compiler; next, where appropriate, a general description in prose of a collection that may or may not have gone through a number of editions; then the full bibliographical entry of each distinct publication. The entries themselves are generous in their provision of bibliographical details, including transcriptions of title pages, full collations, and locations of known copies. There is full documentation for the publication date, identity of compiler, and other information not explicitly stated in the wording of the title page.

Two additional features, not strictly essential in a bibliography but vastly increasing its interest and value to musicologists and other historians, seem to be due to Crawford's personal initiative. One is the transcription of the more interesting parts of the prefatory statements found in many of the tunebooks (and there is a special subject index to these passages). The other is a summary of the musical contents of each book, distinguishing among anthems, set pieces, tunes, and other genres, and between American and non-American compositions; listing attributions to composers (which in turn are indexed); and stating the number of first printings and first American printings contained in the book. According to Crawford (p. xi), it was the decision to describe musical contents that primarily caused the long delay in the completion of the bibliography.

I am unusually well placed to assess the accuracy and completeness of the bibliography, because Professor Crawford generously provided an advance typescript several years before publication, which has been in continual use by myself and my assistants in our work on the Hymn Tune Index.2 Its

1 However, 47 of these have not been found, although they are known or believed to have existed, and 26 of the remainder contain no music.
2 The Hymn Tune Index, now nearing completion at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, is an index of all tunes associated with English-language hymns found in printed sources from the Reformation to the year 1820. It will eventually be published by Oxford University Press.
accuracy is so nearly total that I have detected only three significant errors, and we have only once, in many years of work, come across a variant issue or edition not recorded by Crawford. This extraordinarily high level of accuracy, in striking contrast to most reference books in this field, can be attributed to Crawford’s well-designed systems of gathering and filing information (without the aid of computers) and his unyielding determination to accept no detail that he has not physically checked and recorded for himself—a simple and familiar precept, but one that is all too rarely followed with literal completeness. For this degree of care twenty years is not too long to wait.

Perhaps the most heroic bibliographical feat has been the sorting out of the various editions, issues, parts, and combinations of Andrew Law’s Art of Singing, which Crawford had undertaken as early as 1968 in his book on Law (and yet earlier, in his doctoral dissertation). Only slightly less daunting were Little and Smith’s Easy Instructor, where he was able to rely on the published work of Lowens; Daniel Bayley’s American Harmony, for which Lowens and Britton had established the main bibliographical classification; and Daniel Read’s Columbian Harmonist, now clearly described in print for the first time. Here and elsewhere, Crawford’s doctoral students have contributed productively to the work by their dissertations on individual American psalmody compilers.

The information in this book, then, is rationally organized and presented; it is accurate; and it is exhaustive. To be sure, a few more sources may turn up in the future, and we may eventually have more complete data about the origins, American or otherwise, of some of the tunes. But it is difficult to see where any future scholar could find material to correct or significantly improve on the bibliographical information assembled in this volume. It is likely to remain, for the foreseeable future, the ultimate authority on early American collections of sacred music. Any criticisms in what follows are concerned with peripheral matters only.

* * *

The title of the work seems unduly modest. After all, this is far from being a mere list of “imprints,” like Shipton and Mooney’s National Index of

1) No. 358 is stated to be Evans 16318 on the American Antiquarian Society’s readex microcard series; in fact, 16318 is No. 359. 2) In assigning a date of [1763–67] to No. 306, Crawford states: “This issue could not have appeared before 1763 because it contains the tune that is claimed as a first printing in A. Williams’ New England Psalmodist (London, 1763).” In fact the tune is not in the Williams book. 3) Under No. 302, the New-England Harmony, it is stated that “the two partial copies described below form a complete copy.” In fact, six pages, containing 20 tunes (according to the index), are lacking in both copies.

American Imprints Through 1800. It is a description of books. One wonders why it was not called “American Sacred Music Books” or “American Sacred Music Publications.” Crawford tells us (p. 659) that this is “first and foremost a bibliography of collections,” and for this reason he excludes single compositions published as sheet music, thirty-one of which are briefly listed in Appendix 2—although these are as much “sacred music imprints” as the collections.7

The long Introduction is an authoritative history of early American sacred music by the scholar who holds in his mind, extended by his remarkable filing systems and the writings of his students, the greatest accumulation of knowledge on the subject hitherto assembled: namely, Richard Crawford himself. It is cast into sections dealing one by one with each of the principal agents who played a part in the production of a sacred music collection: compilers, composers, poets, teachers, performers, publishers, engravers, printers, and sellers. Each will have its value to specialists of various kinds within the disciplines of musicology and bibliography.

Crawford recognizes that the prime mover in the process was the compiler. It is the compiler’s name, when known, that determines the alphabetical ordering of each publication in the bibliography. The nature of his function is rather clearly defined (p. 2): “He had to choose the audience he wanted to reach, decide on the tone and the topics to be addressed in the introduction, select and order the music, pick out a title, and find the means to pay for the publication,” although the last-named function might be said to fall more properly within the duties of the publisher.

In practice Crawford concedes the role of compiler only to Americans (by birth or immigration). No. 54, The Royal Melody Complete, 3rd edition (Boston, 1767), was compiled by the English psalmist William Tans’ur. The London edition was reprinted, with slightly revised contents, by Daniel Bayley in Boston. Bayley named himself only as printer and seller of the book, acknowledging Tans’ur’s status as compiler by the wording of the title page. Yet Crawford lists the work under Bayley as compiler, and even places it under the heading “The American Harmony, 1767–74,” anticipating the title Bayley chose when he later combined Tans’ur’s collection with another British work (see No. 56). In a parallel but all-American case, Thomas Johnston made substantial additions to Thomas Walter’s Grounds and Rules of Musick when he reprinted it many years after Walter’s death (Nos. 521–3), but Crawford still treats Walter as the compiler.

No. 156, The Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes Sung at the Chapel of the Lock Hospital, was a Boston reprint of a 1792 London edition, revised and augmented by Charles Lockhart, of a well-known collection compiled by Martin Madan for the use of the Lock Hospital, London, and first published in complete form in 1769. Although Madan’s and Lockhart’s names do not appear on the title page, their status as compilers is not in doubt, and it would have been recognized had they been American—as Francis Hopkinson’s was

7 Not all those included, in fact, are “collections”; some consist of a single piece of music, such as an anthem (No. 311) or an edition of Handel’s Messiah (No. 386); others are manuals of instruction. But all are books.
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in the case of *A Collection of Psalm Tunes* (No. 272), or, with far less solid evidence, Oliver Holden’s in the case of *Occasional Pieces* (No. 242). No. 156 was commonly known as the "Lock Collection" or "Lock Hospital Collection," and it is in that form that American compilers refer to it in their attributions and prefaces. It seems a little strange, therefore, to list it under letter C as "The Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes," when in a corresponding case *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, of the Old & New-Testament* is listed under its popular title, "The Bay Psalm Book" (Nos. 35–53).

In these and other details I detect a certain national bias, to which perhaps I am unduly sensitive. Crawford is incapable of deliberate unfairness. But at several points there is an unintended overemphasis on the American component in the story. "Compilers of the 1720s introduced a new emphasis on pedagogy" (p. 4): new to American tunebooks, perhaps, but present for a century and more in the English books, from John Day’s to John Playford’s, that Americans had used for learning to sing. James Lyon’s and Daniel Bayley’s books “introduced music far more complicated and technically demanding than earlier tunebook fare” (p. 5): introduced it to American publication, certainly, and hence to this bibliography, but not to American singers and teachers, who were already using English tunebooks of the same type. "One of the characteristic traits of early American musical life was the absence of institutions that in Europe supplied patronage to support musicians, especially aristocratic courts and an established state church. In the colonies, money to support music making had to be generated mostly by musicians themselves, working at the grass-roots level, far from the seats of wealth and power" (p. 26). True; but true also of English parochial and dissenting church music, with similar results. The established Church of England provided no support for the music of parish churches.

Crawford seems to believe firmly that the greatest difference among the pieces in the collections he has described is between English and American styles. In tabulating the contents of typical American tunebooks of 1786–89 (p. 7), he calculates the proportion of pieces of American and English origin as showing "the mixing of pieces of different origins and hence of different styles" (italics mine). But I would challenge him or anyone else to sort out the national origins of the pieces in these books solely on the basis of style.

He says elsewhere (p. 11): "As European musicians settled in this country in greater numbers, and as European music began to circulate more freely in the years following the war, stylistic differences between English and American sacred music became more obvious." This, too, is questionable. The true gulf, surely, was between rural/ amateur and urban/professional styles of composition and performance. Both came to America from England; both eventually underwent further development and change in America. They were often in conflict on both sides of the ocean. It is true that when the urban style became more influential here, many American compilers, whether they welcomed it or not, thought of it as English or European by contrast with the more firmly entrenched rural style. But that does not mean that we, with our greater historical perspective, are bound to adopt that
interpretation. And indeed not all American compilers saw the issue in national terms. John Cole identified the urban style as “classical” and the rural as the “new school” (p. 225). The Preface to The Suffolk Collection of Church Musick, too, drew the distinction primarily between “ancient” and “modern musick,” and maintained that although most “domestick tunes” “may not bear a general comparison with the compositions of the old world, yet, it is presumed, that less alteration will be requisite to entitle them to the appellation of classical productions, than a considerable number of transatlantick ones have successively undergone” (p. 571).

To me one of the most illuminating sections of the Introduction is the one on “Performers and Performance” (pp. 19–26). It distinguishes clearly, for the first time as far as I know, between three forms of organized singing: the singing school, the church choir, and the singing society, and it shows their relative places in a rising order of formality and performing skill. In dealing with instrumentalists, also, it brings together scattered information about the American church band in a most helpful way.

Of the various functionaries involved in the production of a sacred music book, the most difficult to define and identify is the publisher. Crawford shows clearly how different types of people—booksellers, compilers, printers—and eventually churches and singing societies undertook the financial responsibility for the publication of tunebooks. The sections on engravers and printers tell a fascinating story of the ingenuity of American artisans in dealing with both the technological and financial problems of their trade.

The admirably clear section on “Arrangement of the Work” records a number of difficult decisions that the authors had to face when they began to assemble the bibliography. For example: “Each edition of each collection is assigned an entry number. . . . Items in which two or more separate titles or editions are bound together are also assigned a number, if there is reason to think that their compiler intended them to be bound, and thus issued, that way.” This has produced a few questionable entries of combinations of books that are found together in only one copy, which may well have been bound up by an owner. Again, many items given a separate number as “variant issues” are known in only a single copy, which may well be merely incomplete, or may have been put together by an owner or bookseller from parts of two different editions. Occasionally, copies differing only in the extent of wear on the engraved plates have been treated as separate issues, and given different publication dates on this evidence alone.

These questions are not merely a matter of convenience or convention. The numbered entries become units in statistical computations. For instance,
Crawford's *Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody*, published in 1984¹³ and summarized in Appendix 4 of the present work, seeks to identify the 101 most popular sacred compositions in America in this period, and to rank them in order of popularity, by a "tally of appearances in works listed in the bibliography" (p. 683). Clearly, therefore, it does make a difference what constitutes a "work." It might have been preferable to count only appearances in publications whose independent standing was beyond doubt. Admittedly, this would have produced only minor changes in the Core Repertory list, which remains a most valuable tool, for it draws a broad picture of American psalmody that would otherwise be lost in a forest of detail.

Another editorial practice is described as follows: "Entries in the bibliography include edition numbers as given on the title-pages . . . . In some cases, however, edition numbers are supplied editorially: e.g., where there is evidence that a compiler rethought the identity of a collection and brought out an altered issue that amounts to a new edition, or when an issue bears a title-page or preface date different from its predecessor." But this is a practice of dubious value at any time. Here it seems the more unnecessary in that each edition is completely defined by its entry number. In some cases Crawford risks confusion by overruling an edition number printed on the title page of a book. For instance Andrew Law's publications, already a morass of complexity, are made still more so by designations like "The Art of Singing, 4th [i.e., 3d] ed.," which is to be distinguished from "The Art of Singing, 4th, (i.e. 3d) ed."

There are several useful Appendices that I have not yet mentioned. The Chronological List of Imprints needs no justification. Nor does the List of Composers and Sources, which illustrates the scrupulous care of Crawford's scholarship: attributions are given in full form only when they are beyond doubt; otherwise, they are listed in the form in which they appear in the sources. Dates of birth and death are supplied from outside sources if possible. When the attribution is to a previous publication (e.g., "American Harmony") the collection probably intended is precisely identified. The nationality of composers and collections is given, with a number from 1 to 6 indicating degree of documentation: another of those adroit innovations that have been introduced to deal with the particular needs of this work.

To copy compilers' source attributions without attempting to confirm or refute them is an entirely justifiable practice, setting necessary limits on the authors' research. It does, however, inevitably make for some misleading appearances. Attributions to "Burney" are a curious case in point. The famous doctor did indeed contribute several tunes to the above-mentioned Lock Hospital Collection, where they are signed with his initials C.B. But some American compilers, obviously liking the name, also interpreted I.B. as

¹⁴ The process goes further. Nos. 183–87 carry no edition numbers at all on their title pages, but Crawford gives them two each: thus No. 184 is headed "The Federal Harmony, [3d, i.e., 4th] ed., 1788."
I. Burney, J.B. as J. Burney and W.B. as W. Burney.\textsuperscript{15} Others simply turned them all into an unspecified Burney. Crawford identifies J. Burney as James (1709–89), the doctor’s brother, and enters W. Burney merely as “English, (fl. 1769).” But the real identities of these composers are quite different, and are known from a contemporary manuscript.\textsuperscript{16} It is by such means that mythical composer attributions are perpetuated!

Other curious practices also await discovery. Andrew Law not only failed to acknowledge the sources of most tunes; he also made a regular practice of changing the names of tunes he took from British books, presumably in the hope of obscuring their origin. Crawford has traced many of them, but others lie in the limbo of “Unidentified.”

Appendix 5 is a Geographical Directory of Engravers, Printers, Publishers, and Book-Sellers, which will be of the utmost importance to bibliographers and historians of printing and publishing, and a worthy complement to Richard J. Wolfe’s Early American Music Engraving and Printing (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980). It incorporates information from a multitude of external sources, primary and secondary, and thus allows the reader to find out more about any person briefly identified in the imprint of a tunebook. Access to this appendix is not as easy as it might be, however. The individuals and firms are sorted first by state; then by city, town, or village; and only then alphabetically. One must therefore know the place where a person operated, and the state in which that place was located (not always obvious with some of the smaller villages), if one is to find the name quickly. The place of operation of a publisher is not always stated in the imprint.\textsuperscript{17} Surprisingly, the General Index does not help here. It gives all the names, but refers only to works listed in the bibliography—not to Appendix 5, the place where full information about each engraver, printer, publisher, or bookseller is to be found.

In addition to the General Index, which seems to be comprehensive except in the respect just mentioned, there is the unique Index of Prefatory Statements, clearly Crawford’s own brainchild. It will give readers many an hour of happy browsing. One can hardly resist looking up such references as “Composing: originality”; “Endorsers of tunebooks: De Ronde, Lambertus”; “Music, traits and properties of: evanescence”; “Musical style: diversity criticized”; “Musical taste: corruption of, in America”; “Names cited: Corelli, Arcangelo; Ovid; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Washington, Gen.

\textsuperscript{15} Several compilers seem to have made the same mistake independently, with different tunes: Andrew Law in A Collection of Hymn Tunes (1783), Isaiah Thomas in The Worcester Collection, 3rd edition (1791), Samuel Holyoke in The Columbian Repository (1803), Amos Blanchard in The Newburyport Collection (1807) and The American Musical Primer (1808), and the unknown compiler of A Collection of Sacred Musick . . . for the Use of the West Church in Boston (1810?).

\textsuperscript{16} W. B. is Dr. William Bromfield (Bromfeild), surgeon to the Prince of Wales, who was a leading figure in the founding of the Lock Hospital; J. B. is his wife Jane; I. B. may also be Jane. These identities are based on a manuscript copy of the Lock Hospital Collection made in 1769–71, and described in a British Library copy of the 1769 edition (shelfmark E.1429).

\textsuperscript{17} Often it is a fuzzy concept anyway. Does it mean anything to ask where an itinerant singing teacher such as Daniel Peck or James Newhall undertook the financial responsibility for the production of a tunebook? It might have been better to accept the imprint town as the place of publication in such cases, following a long established convention.
George"; "Performance: leading-tone"; "Performance: pronunciation"; "Teaching and learning: in Germany as compared with America"; and many more. One realizes then how many aspects of musical life and thought were touched by the supposedly restricted activity of American sacred singing.

Because of the permanent nature of this bibliography, it is necessary to decide how to refer to it. ASMI will do very well as an abbreviation for the book, but I intend to use the simple letter C for the numbered items: thus, Billings's *New-England Psalm-Singer* is C 106. For, with all due respect to the other authors, the final establishment of the list and its numbering are the work of Crawford alone.

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The appearance in one year of these two major biographies, Cairns's riveting narrative of Berlioz's youth and early manhood, the first of a projected two volumes, and Holoman's spirited, ambitious, handsomely illustrated life- and-works, augurs well for the reputation of Berlioz and of biography itself. Weighty biographies stand with published correspondences, thematic catalogues, and monumental editions of Complete Works as our twentieth-century certifications of greatness: Berlioz has been acquiring them all, in versions that may be humanly flawed but that are unlikely to require the full-scale corrective effort once needed to undo the sweeping distortions of their forerunners.¹ Those who have cherished Berlioz for his rebel status may have mixed feelings at seeing him so enshrined, even though unlike his neighbor immortals on the library shelves, he runs no immediate risk of burial by overworship. But if the day should come when Berlioz is regularly counted as the equal of the "three Bs" (a slogan he first inspired), then biographies will be among the best tools for keeping him alive.

Biography, it must be admitted, has been out of fashion for some time in the higher reaches of academic criticism. The artist biography was the particular legacy of the nineteenth century, reflecting the Romantic conviction that art expresses the inner life of the artist. It fell victim to a strong tide

¹ Holoman has contributed both the thematic catalogue (vol. 25) and the edition of *Romeo and Juliet* (vol. 18) to the New Berlioz Edition now in course of publication (*Hector Berlioz: New Edition of the Complete Works* [Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag]). Holoman is probably fairer than I am toward the old edition (Leipzig, 1900–7) and the notorious three-volume biography by Adolphe Boschot (Paris, 1900–1913; revised 1946–50), which he defends in his bibliography as reasonably accurate for their time. But in their time the general level of distortion about Berlioz was unquestionably "sweeping," and they did not much help to correct it. No complete edition of the correspondence was in existence before the excellent one now under way, which has done more than anything to lay the ground for new biographical accuracy (*Correspondance générale*, ed. Pierre Citron et al., (Paris: Flammarion, 1972-)): five of seven projected volumes have appeared.