COLLEGE SINGING IN AMERICAN COLLEGE LIFE: 1636-1860

by

JAMES LLOYD WINSTEAD

(Under the Direction of Thomas G. Dyer)

ABSTRACT

The singing of college alma maters and fight songs of today owe their beginnings to a rich history of singing in American college life. Singing in American colleges existed from the earliest days of Harvard and Yale and continued with the growth of higher education into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and beyond. Some might not expect singing to have been a part of Puritan structured colonial and academic life, but plenty of evidence exists regarding singing in higher education. Sacred singing, buoyed by Puritan ministers' demands for improvement, also stimulated secular singing, which mirrored the increasingly diverse intellectual, artistic and social development of the larger American society as the country matured. Within this broader context of American music, American colleges developed their own unique formal and informal singing traditions. While music has many forms and methods of delivery, this historical research primarily focused on instances of singing associated with college life from the founding of Harvard to the publication of the first college song book in 1853 and the first collection of songs of multiple colleges in 1860.

INDEX WORDS: students' songs – United States, college life – United States

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DEDICATION

I owe my sanity to the support of my wife, Susan. I owe my insanity to my children, Carlton and Maria. All of my efforts are for them first and foremost. This work is dedicated to them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank Dr. Thomas Dyer for his guidance in both the preparation of this dissertation and in the exploration involved in pulling this story together. I also owe a special thanks to Dr. Betty Jean Craige for her support and encouragement throughout my graduate programs and professional development. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. David Randolph who guided me through my musical undergraduate days and who would have likely chuckled of my educational path, “who would’ve thought.”

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Student life in the twenty-first century enjoys much from which to choose in the way of the extracurricular. From numerous student groups and social activities, to the increasingly diverse backgrounds and experiences of students themselves, undergraduates of today have an expansive academic and cultural world, — institutionally constructed, student constructed and with variations in-between. One pastime that students in American colleges have always participated in is singing. Long before the Ipods, Mp3s and CDs of today, before college glee clubs, musical groups, and fraternity songs, before the hymns of college alma maters and the rahs of college fight songs became commonplace, students sang. Students of the earliest American colleges created their own literary melodies and verse that they shared with their classmates.

This dissertation begins at the dawn of higher education in America with the founding of Harvard in 1636. The investigation concludes in 1860 just prior to the start of the Civil War. The war serves as a useful historical marker, but 1860, for purposes of this investigation, is chiefly significant as the date of the first published college songbook, which contained songs related to multiple colleges. The first college songbook devoted to the music of a single college (thus an even more significant event) is a collection of college songs published for Yale in 1853. A handbook on college life also authored during this time helps tie these three elements together and gives some cohesiveness to understanding the singing traditions of American college life in the formative years.

College singing developed in multiple ways with the growth of higher education in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus, this historical research focuses on all instances of singing associated with college life during this time. Many unique applications of song persisted in various forms through this period, and college singing influenced students in a number of ways. While it was generally an entertaining pastime and common social practice, singing also had other subtle and not so subtle effects. Singing indoctrinated students into the life of formal and informal student organizations as well as encouraged them to conform to college rituals and celebrations. From another perspective, singing clubs evolved that focused more on singing from a formal musical and artistic standpoint and the application of musical talents at official college functions. While colleges used song to reinforce religious practices and ceremonial observances, students also used singing for their own advantage. Students sang to express a variety of sentiments. They used songs to express humor, to highlight the achievements or underachievements of their peers and to mock faculty and the college establishment. In extreme circumstances, they sang to intimidate classmates and faculty and to defy college authorities. Through many different forms or associations, students experienced singing as a constant component of many aspects of college and student life.

The body of this dissertation explores dynamics that inspired singing, including the formal and informal uses of song, as well as the development of singing traditions (some sustained, some fleeting) up to the latter half of the nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century, college songs were ubiquitous elements of college life. This study sheds light on how these traditions began. Some of the principal questions dealt with here are: Why and how did singing, and more broadly, music, emerge on college campuses that led to many traditions and folklore of college campuses? Where did the inspiration for singing and college songs originate?

What were the factors that came to play in the nineteenth century and even earlier? Did singing always exist on college campuses, or did it suddenly emerge? Did administrations utilize singing for their own purposes?

The beginning chapter sets the stage for college singing and related influences during the seventeenth century. The focus is primarily on the environment that influenced music during this time, especially the Puritan way that shaped a significant portion of singing in the colonies. The chapter also gives attention to the customary social music practices of colonial life as well as substantial hints as to where the thoughts of music led some of the earliest American students. As Harvard emerged as an institution of higher learning, connections to singing in college surfaced as well. Both religious and secular aspects of college singing appeared from the earliest manifestations of college life.

The second chapter starts with instances of secular singing in college ceremonial life as well as a general examination of the religious or regular singing movement in the early eighteenth century. The broader examination into religious attitudes toward singing gives insight into the changing social practices that led to the singing school movement that proliferated toward the mid-part of the century. This cultural transition promoted an increased prevalence of secular music in colleges as well as society at large. Leading from this general context, songs used in college ceremonies provide specific examples of forms of singing that were en vogue for official college functions during the period. Further examination reveals early college leaders who utilized singing for institutional purposes. Finally, the emergence of student groups provides a foundation of the extracurricular and informal forces that eventually led to development of singing as an art form as well as a uniquely interesting component of casual college life.

The instances of singing, opportunities for singing, and varieties of singing mushroomed in the early to mid-nineteenth century. The transformation of college literary societies and student life provides an opening context for the chapter on singing in the early nineteenth century. The development of singing societies and evidence of college ceremonies indicates the significance of college singing during this time. Other important influences give clarity to some of the driving forces behind formal and informal college songs including some lighter moments of early collegiate life.

The final chapter scrutinizes the earliest publications of college songs as well as an encyclopedia of college slang produced during the same period. These specific sources provide strong evidence that bolsters the significance of singing in American college life. They also provide confirmation that a strong culture of singing existed in America's early colleges.

By the mid-nineteenth century, campuses bustled with extracurricular activity and, as this discussion will reveal, the activities (including singing) of students and colleges influenced each other as higher education spread throughout the country. As briefly highlighted, a variety of elements contributed to the proliferation of singing. The campuses of Harvard, Yale, Princeton and other colleges had already established songs born of the collegiate way well before the turn of the twentieth century. The aura of campus life also transmitted itself through communities and towns much earlier than might be expected. College songs helped to promote the reality and the fantasy of the college world and campus life beyond college walls.

Even collegiate fiction reflected the fondness for college songs and college singing. A brief glimpse of the literature of the middle 1800s supplies a taste of college student life. *Fair Harvard*, authored by William Tucker Washburn in 1869, detailed a love story set on the campus

of Harvard in the 1850s. [1] *Fair Harvard* also provided substantial evidence that song and singing were prevailing college pastimes in the mid-nineteenth century.

Washburn emphasized that academic rigor does not preclude social enjoyment. "After the severe intellectual labors of the day," he wrote, "it is a not infrequent custom of the ingenuous youth of Harvard to refresh the weary mind with convivial ale, the social oyster, jolly songs, and conversation upon topics of less profundity than those that usually occupy the thoughts of young truth-seekers."[2] From Washburn's account, our past is not unlike our present.

Songs fostered camaraderie and served multiple roles. Washburn explained that initiates into college life experienced singing from their first arrival on campus: "This song, … [*Fair Harvard*], is learnt by each Freshman the day after he arrives at Harvard, and sung with startling energy every day, during his first term. This, more than any one thing, enables a Freshman to make real the illusion that he is an old member of the college, and versed in all its devious ways."[3] Clearly, the ritual of singing inspired awe in the eyes of the freshmen and promoted an almost instant mythological sense of college life and brotherhood.

By the mid 1920s nearly every college had published its own songs. Many institutions published complete songbooks. In other cases, local editors or alumni consolidated the musical commemorations. Before long, book publishers jumped on the songbook bandwagon producing

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[1] "Literature and Art," *The Galaxy* 1870, 138, The editor reviewing the book acknowledged that it was more a description of college life than a work suitably classified as a novel. He was especially critical of Washburn's attempts at humor: "it is a bastard imitation of a very bad school of English comic writing; there is hardly anything genuine and racy of the soil about it."

[2] William Tucker Washburn, *Fair Harvard: A Story of American College Life* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1869), 25.

[3] Ibid., 32.

college song collections to satisfy the public's fascination for college life.[4] It seems that Americans could not get enough of stories and songs pertaining to the collegiate way.

The noted historian John R. Thelin recently observed that "the elaborate extracurriculum of athletics teams and musical groups later associated with the 'collegiate way' were not part of the colonial colleges."[5] This assertion that organized music familiar to campuses as we know of today did not then exist is fundamentally true. However, the implication that music or singing did not play a prominent social and institutional role in early college life is less defensible. The seeds of singing, and even organized singing, in American college life existed from the start. In the early colleges, most work was oral. Declamations and oratory dominated collegiate life. Recitations of the colonial colleges were equivalent to the written examinations of today.[6] As part of this oral tradition, singing also existed from the beginnings of American college life. While perhaps there were no musical groups as we have come to expect today, singing definitely thrived in the American colonial colleges from the earliest days of Harvard. The germination of college singing produced the formal and informal traditions familiar to many campuses today. And while some may reflexively recite the fight songs and hymns of their alma mater without giving them a second thought, the emergence of college singing contributed a distinctive wrinkle to the fabric of college life for future generations. Its genesis is a unique story of its own.

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[4] John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 160.

[5] Ibid., 22.

[6] Ibid., 21.

CHAPTER 2

ANTECEDENTS: COLLEGE SINGING IN THE PURITAN CULTURE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

There *was* singing in the American colleges. And, (despite the powerful cultural stereotypes of the Puritan founders as humorless, pleasure-hating religious zealots who opposed all forms of human enjoyment) Puritans sang. Seventeenth century Harvard College existed in and was part of a sea of Puritan culture during most of that century, and thus much can be inferred about the nature of Harvard from studying specific elements of the cultural context like music.

Harvard was at the same time an instrument of Puritan culture and one of three important institutions (state, church, college) that were the foundation of the Puritan polity. Understanding how singing evolved at seventeenth century Harvard requires us to determine something of the evolving Puritan attitude toward religious and secular uses of music. It also requires us to show how instrumental music may have connected with accepted Puritan standards of religious and social behavior. It leads us to examine the standing of music in Puritan society and whether it flourished or languished during the seventeenth century. It also requires us to probe the general significance of one of the most significant (and famous) of Puritan publications, the *Bay Psalm Book*, and how it had impact upon college life. From these excursions into the cultural context of singing in seventeenth century Massachusetts, we can infer much about the exchanges between the broader culture of singing as it evolved and the parallel evolution of the culture of singing within Harvard College. And finally, we must seek an understanding of some of the specifics of

how and when students showed interest in songs and singing (although admittedly the evidence is thin until the end of the century) and how colleges began to employ singing in connections with collegiate functions.

Scholars do not always agree on the role and functions that music played in Puritan life. The historian Percy Alfred Scholes refuted conventional wisdom of the somber Puritan, when he suggested in his book, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England* (1934), that Puritans actively participated in singing and other musical activities. Although singing in church held closely to accepted restrictions, outside of church, Puritans, he argued, enjoyed the social attractions of music and song. They sang and perhaps even danced.[1]

Another scholar, Cyclone Covey, took issue with this interpretation. Covey, who generally characterized Scholes as a Puritan apologist, argued that Scholes confused Anglican music for Puritan music. Covey was unequivocal. "In the first place," he wrote, "secular music did not flourish among the Puritans. Not a single musician of any note, whose religion can be verified, in either England or America during the entire colonial period — composer, performer, or music printer — was a Puritan." Furthermore, he declared that, "judged behavioristically, Calvinism was anathema to music, and music on every level, in church and out."[2]

The historian Joyce Irwin acknowledged the differences between Scholes and Covey in her article, "The Theology of 'Regular Singing'" and suggested that the argument about whether Puritans contributed to the decline of music in church through intolerance versus inaction was

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[1] Percy Alfred Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (London: Oxford university press H. Milford, 1934), 76-78.

[2] Cyclone Covey, "Puritanism and Music in Colonial America," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 8, series 3, no. 3 (1951), 382, 383. Covey also singled out Scholes' inability to reconcile the wealth of musical instruments in Anglican homes of Virginians as compared to rare evidence of instruments in the homes of New-England Puritans.

less clear-cut than either Covey or Scholes might like to admit, though she did not elaborate.[3] Irving Lowens, one of the most influential American music scholars, also agreed that the answer lay somewhere between the extremes and concluded that the Puritan attitude, while allowing for music, provided tight parameters of acceptable behavior. "So long as music was confined to singing the praises of God in the church or at home," he argued, "the Puritan was one of its most enthusiastic partisans — if its performance conformed to his interpretations of the Scriptures." As to secular music, Lowens described it as "lawful" and "admitted," but Puritans saw it as a dangerous toy with which to meddle.[4]

Little evidence exists to suggest that people of seventeenth century New England objected to music. They definitely disliked the use of elaborate music in the House of the Lord, but they believed there were appropriate times to sing, and even to dance. Scholes argued that Puritans, as religious reformers, did not abandon their love of music; they simply focused more on the needs of building a society, thus pushing music and arts to the periphery. As settlers populated the land and solidified government institutions, music and other fine arts began to flourish.[5] However, neither did the Puritans leaders go out of their way to promote music. Music remained controversial and, in terms of the Puritan faith, often languished in ambiguity during the late seventeenth century.

Many Englishmen loved music, including seventeenth century England's two most famous Puritans: John Milton, whose father played the violin professionally, and Oliver

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[3] Joyce Irwin, "The Theology of 'Regular Singing'," *The New England Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (1978), 177.

[4] Irving Lowens, "The Bay Psalm Book in 17th-Century New England," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 8, no. 1 (1955), 22-23.

[5] Walter Raymond Spalding, *Music at Harvard: A Historical Review of Men and Events*, *Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977; reprint, 1935), 20-21.

Cromwell, who employed a musical staff. English Puritans were Calvinists. Even John Calvin did not oppose singing. However, he did oppose the instrumental accompaniment of singing that diverted attention from the meaning of the word of God. From the Calvinist perspective, God provided the only proper use of song in worship through the Book of Psalms. One metrical psalm before and after each sermon was customary. Calvin believed that church singing should be "unisonal and syllabic" and that it should be unaccompanied, from the voice alone. Puritans typically practiced "lining out" or repeating a psalm after a precentor (the singing leader of a congregation) sang it first. Calvin and his Puritan followers strongly objected to part-singing harmonies or the stretching-out of words. They frowned on any ornamentation whatsoever in the singing of the psalms.[6]

Puritans distanced themselves from elaborate practices that hinted of the rituals and idolatry of Rome. Puritans, as Congregationalists, dispensed with highly structured church government. While they placed more faith in direct spiritual contact not found through bishops and other forms of Papal governance, Puritans also prized stability and conformity. Although Puritans continued to sing, these two competing forces gradually led to a decline in the quality of church music during the seventeenth century.[7]

This conservative approach to music within the church might lead to the conclusion that the Puritan ideal strictly limited or totally forbade musical or artistic expression outside of church as well. However, all was not repressive in Puritan life. Puritans did not necessarily oppose

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[6] Scholes, *Puritans and Music in England and New England*, 253. Scholes noted that Calvin did not adhere to an absolute note-for-syllable principle referring to the 'Hallelujahs' of Psalm 138 in his first psalter (1539); Bruce Colin Daniels, *Puritans at Play: Leisure and Recreation in Colonial New England*, 1st ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 52-53; Irwin, "Theology of 'Regular Singing'," 176.

[7] Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 52-54.

music or the arts, they just placed great restrictions on their practice. Colonists in general avoided secular music not because of a Puritan mandate, but due to a general, non-devotional feeling that excessive indulgence in music wasted valuable time necessary for more serious pursuits. Most considered singing as neither professional nor profitable. Josiah Flynt, a freshman at Harvard in 1660-1661, discovered this sentiment after requesting that his uncle Leonard Hoar, a future president of Harvard (1672-1675), send him a fiddle from London. Hoar replied that, unless young Flynt intended to profit from his fiddling as a trade, it would only take up his time and his mind, and he would be "worth little else." Hoar went on to say that, because of Flynt's mother's desires, he had acquired the instrument for Flynt's sisters, "for whom tis more proper and they also have more leisure to looke after it."[8]

Irving Lowens offered the generalization that Puritans viewed music as an expendable in the Puritan scale of values. At the same time, he seemed to contradict his preceding observation concerning music away from church. At home, Lowens suggested, Puritans likely sang the psalms in harmony and even with instrumental accompaniment. He admitted as much in his attempts to reconcile the existence of musical books and belongings of the Puritan settlers. Some of these books offered hints to their musical pastimes. Thomas Ravenscroft's *Whole Booke of Psalms* (1621), from the library of Governor John Endecott (ca. 1589-1665), included four-part harmony. Another colonist possessed Richard Allison's *Psalmes of David* (1599), which included the directions, "to be sung and plaide upon the Lute, Orhparyon, Citterne or Bass Violl, seuerally or altogether."[9]

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[8] Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard university press, 1936), 1: 114-115; Lowens, "Bay Psalm Book," 22.

[9] Lowens, "Bay Psalm Book," 23. Lowens indicated that the Ravenscroft copy, owned by Governor John Endecott (ca. 1589-1665), is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Lowens

Many writers may have also misinterpreted the Puritan's acceptance of secular music. The extended title of the 1562 version of the Sternhold and Hopkins, *The Whole Book of Psalmes* states, *"very mete to be used of all sortes of people privately for their solace & comfort: laying apart all ungodly songes and ballades, which tende only to the norishing of vyce, and corrupting of youth*." Some may have superimposed "ungodly" in reference to "secular." This description applied only to songs of lewd or vulgar taste not all secular songs, especially since Sternhold served as an officer of the court of Henry VIII, and both Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth delighted in secular music.[10]

Clergy occasionally expressed reservations with regard to instrumental accompaniment. However, agreement on appropriate use and uniformity of practice did not exist. The influential Puritan leader from Boston, John Cotton (1585-1652), defined his doctrine of appropriateness of instrumental music in church and at home in his treatise, *Singing of Psalmes a Gospel-Ordinance* (1647). As far as religious services were concerned, he viewed singing with instruments as ceremonial, and, therefore, not heartfelt and moral as singing *sans* accompaniment. Cotton attached different conditions to private singing, however. He condoned private, instrumental singing as long as the instrument "does not divert the heart from attention to the matter of song." Puritans observed public singing as a rite and private song as a recreation. [11]

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also noted the inventory of the library of William Brewster (1643) included *Psalmes of David*, quoted in Thomas Goddard Wright and Mabel Hyde Kingsbury Wright, *Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), 263.

[10] Scholes, *Puritans and Music in England and New England*, 256.

[11] John Cotton, *Singing of Psalmes a Gospel-Ordinance. Or a Treatise, Wherein Are Handled These Foure Particulars. 1. Touching the Duty It Selfe. 2. Touching the Matter to Be Sung. 3. Touching the Singers. 4. Touching the Manner of Singing* (London: Printed by M.S. for Hannah Allen at the Crowne in Popes-head-alley: and John Rothwell at the Sunne and fountaine in Pauls-church-yard., 1647), Noted in Scholes, *Puritans and Music in England and New England*, 246-247.

From quite another perspective, Thomas Lechford, an Episcopalian, argued in 1642 that, if psalms and hymns and spiritual songs were to be sung in church, instruction in singing should be provided to improve the delivery. He believed that uncomely, jarring singing in a religious assembly was a sin of its own. He also questioned why instruments could not be included if they helped improve the quality of the tunes.[12]

The Reverend Thomas Symmes (1678-1725) and several other ministers later took up this charge to educate the masses in the skills of singing. Symmes acknowledged that from the founding of Harvard that singing was a regular part of the student's study. He noted that children and grandchildren of the first settlers remember that their ancestors sang by note, and their descendants learned from them.[13]

These first settlers also sang with accompaniments. Musical instruments, while rare in New England before the turn of the century, did exist. Though music primarily focused on vocal psalm singing, a number of individuals associated with the college during this time later bequeathed their instruments to the college. These included a "base vyol," "a treble vial," and a "Gittarue." Samuel Elliot Morison, the Harvard historian, speculated that "possibly these instruments were the nucleus of an informal college orchestra that Josiah Flynt wished to join!"[14]

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[12] Thomas Lechford, *Plain Dealing or, Nevves from New England a Short View of New Englands Present Government, Both Ecclesiasticall and Civil, Compared with the Anciently Received and Established Government of England, in Some Materiall Points; Fit for the Gravest Consideration in These Times*, 1st ed. (London: N. Butter, 1642), Noted in Scholes, *Puritans and Music in England and New England*, 247-248. Scholes wrote that one of Lechford's most telling notes, placed in the margin, was I Corinthians XIV, 40 'Let all things be done decently and in order.'

[13] Joseph Belcher, *Historical Sketches of Hymns, Their Writers, and Their Influence* (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1859), 39.

[14] Morison, *Harvard Seventeenth Century*, 1: 115.

In his search for evidence (the lack of which perhaps handicapped his conclusion) that New England Puritans practiced secular music, Scholes found limited references to musical instruments. The scholar Barbara Lambert in her chapter on "Social Music, Musicians, and Their Musical Instruments In and Around Colonial Boston," sought proof that would corroborate Scholes' and others' assertions that the heart of Puritan secular music beat just beneath the surface. She surmised that if musical instruments were banned in religious services, then confirmation of their existence in the counties of the Massachusetts Bay Colony would prove a parallel, but mutually exclusive, secular social music culture. She located her evidence in the household inventories of the period. Whenever a head of a household passed away, court officials recorded an official inventory of all household objects. Lambert's examination of these records from 1630 to 1730 revealed that the greatest number of instruments was recorded between 1650 and 1700. Instruments included stringed instruments (lutes, guitars, citterns), keyboard instruments (virginals, harpsichords, spinets, organs), violas, violins, drums, trumpets, various horns, and jew's harps. Lambert also noted that Puritans dominated the Massachusetts Bay Colony until 1684. In 1686 the first Church of England minister arrived, but the Anglicans did not establish their first church, King's Chapel, until 1689. Therefore, Lambert bolstered Scholes' general findings and refuted Covey's blanket assertion that credited only Anglicans for secular music during the colonial period.[15]

A close inspection of Lambert's analysis reveals that most instruments were inventoried between 1650 and 1700. Lambert determined from probate records that, between 1630 and 1730,

[15] Barbara Lambert, "Social Music, Musicians, and Their Musical Instruments in and around Colonial Boston," in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820 : A Conference Held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, May 17 and 18, 1973*, ed. Barbara Lambert, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985), 409-420.

seventy-two individuals possessed musical instruments. Forty-one were Puritans, twenty-seven were unspecified and three were Anglican. The list included (among others) shopkeepers, mariners, innkeepers, ministers, yeomen, schoolmasters, governors and lawyers. Even more interesting were the occupations of the deceased, especially ministers (seven of whom were full-time Puritan ministers), as well as those who graduated from Harvard. Nathaniel Rogers (d. 1655), minister at Ipswich, owned "a treble viol." Peter Bulkeley (1583-1659), minister at Concord, possessed "2 lutes. Samuel Haugh (1621-1662), minister at Reading, owned "I Citturne." The property of Jonathan Eliot, Jr. (1636-1668), minister at New Cambridge (Newton), included "I citterne & a Case" (Eliot had graduated from Harvard in 1656). The possessions of Thomas Shepard (1635-1677), minister at Charlestown and graduate of Harvard in 1653, contained a "Citharen." The records for Reverend Edmund Browne (1606-1678), minister at Sudbury, showed a "base voyall, with all my musicall bookes & instrum^{ts}." And The Reverend Charles Morton (*ca*. 1627-1698), minister at Charlestown, owned "2 Base Vialls, …and 3 old Viall Inns."[16] From the totality of the records, Lambert showed that inhabitants of Puritan New England continued to enjoy social secular music outside church. Clearly, even the Puritan ministers of colonial Boston coveted social music and musical instruments, though clergy likely practiced a little more discretion with their preferences than the average Bostonian. From the records it is apparent that Harvard educated clergy valued music as well. Perhaps the Harvard educated clergy vocalized their support of musical knowledge beyond that of the average Puritan minister.

[16] Ibid., 416-431. Lambert's sources included the Probate Records, Middlesex County Courthouse, Third District, Cambridge; the *Probate Records of Essex County, 1635-1681*, 3 vols. (Salem: Essex Institute, 1916-1920); and the Probate Records, Suffolk County Courthouse, Boston.

Reverend Charles Morton also had connections to Harvard as well as a close friendship with Harvard graduate Samuel Sewall. Both also expressed a strong interest in music. Morton emigrated in 1686 and eventually became the first vice-president of the college before the turn of the century. Leaders and faculty of Harvard considered Morton a valuable resource. They often consulted him on matters of theology and science. Morton's manuscript *Compendium Physicae* revolutionized the study of science at Harvard. One of his chapters even included an experiment on the transmission of sound and harmony. Sewall, who in his diary (1674-1729) provided some of the most detailed records of colonial life, described a close friendship between Morton and himself in his writings. Lambert expressed frustration that both Morton and Sewall also had a passion for music, but Sewall made no reference to a musical relationship between the two in his diary. Though Sewall did not mention the common musical interets, it is more than plausible that the two enjoyed song together. Lambert also noted that, of the two viols that Morton owned, the household inventory listed one as twice the value of the other. Practicing musicians typically owned a good instrument and an everyday instrument. Lambert surmised that Morton likely enjoyed consort (instrumental chamber ensemble) music, a complex, intellectual form of music favored by the English aristocracy during the Renaissance and early Baroque periods. Possession of a viol alone indicated an exceptional degree of musical understanding.[17]

Several other Harvard graduates of different occupations also possessed musical instruments. William Whittingham (*ca*. 1640-1672), a Boston merchant and graduate of Harvard in 1660, owned "1 p. of Virginalls." Samuel Alcott (1637-1677), a physician in Roxbury and deacon, graduated from Harvard in 1659. His estate included "1 Cittron." John Foster (1648-1681), a schoolmaster in Dorchester and later the first printer in Boston, graduated from Harvard

[17] Ibid., 446, 467, 469, 474-475, (Appendix A) 869-870.

in 1667. His possessions included a "Guittawur [and] vial." Thomas Brattle (1658-1713), a Boston merchant and Harvard graduate in 1676, owned a chamber organ. These probate records illuminated the widespread ownership of musical instruments, notably among New England Puritans, but New Englanders in general. Though educated Puritans garnered more recognition for their musical tastes, all Puritans in seventeenth century New England likely enjoyed instrumental music and instrumental accompanied singing outside of church services. [18]

Another scholar, Walter Muir Whitehill, supported Covey's assertions regarding secular music by reviewing the volumes of *Sibleys Harvard Graduates*. He concluded that practically all references concerned religious singing. Lambert noted that Whitehill failed to consider that the major thrust of Harvard during the colonial period was toward the ministry. A biographical sketch, as presented in *Sibleys*, primarily included details about one's occupation and education. Any mention of singing controversies naturally focused on religious aspects, not personal possessions of musical instruments or their practice of secular social music. Lambert's evidence supported the notion that New Englanders, including Puritans, enjoyed a secular musical world outside of church. [19] Harvard graduates, Harvard administrators, and even Puritan ministers valued music beyond the unison singing of psalms.

As far as instruments are concerned, the organ generated most of the concern over its impact on religious exercises due to its predominance in Roman Catholic Services. Church leaders and parishioners regularly viewed the organ with suspicion during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first organ appeared in New England in the early eighteenth century

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[18] Ibid., 425-429, 457, 507. Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 57.

[19] Lambert, "Social Music in Colonial Boston,"; Walter Muir Whitehill, "Letters to the Editor," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 9, no. 1 (1952), 134-136; Lambert, "Social Music in Colonial Boston," 420; Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 57.

not by a Lutheran or Anglican, but courtesy of Thomas Brattle, a Puritan and graduate of Harvard.[20]

If Puritans sang with instruments, then certainly they danced. Englishmen participated in both dance and music in the seventeenth century including those who came to New England. Puritans did not wholly object to dancing on religious grounds. As with music and other social entertainments, they generally disapproved of most pastimes that distracted society from discipline and order in the new settlements. As a result, historical accounts rarely mentioned dancing, but this is likely because dancing typically transpired as an informal, unscheduled and spontaneous activity. Dancing took place in homes, taverns, and at social occasions, but no gathering took place primarily for the purpose of dancing.

Most dancing transpired as group dances, not couples dances. These country dances were relatively easy to learn. The music for dance in the seventeenth century came primarily from popular tunes of England and the English colonies. Transmission depended largely on catchy and easy to learn tunes, playable on a variety of instruments or sung independently. The same songs served as tunes for military music and instrumental compositions. [21]

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[20] Scholes, *Puritans and Music in England and New England*, 332-336; Lambert, "Social Music in Colonial Boston," 448; Barbara Owen, "Eighteenth-Century Organs and Organ Building in New England," in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820 : A Conference Held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, May 17 and 18, 1973*, ed. Barbara Lambert, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985), 656.

[21] Joy Van Cleef and Kate Van Winkle Keller, "Selected American Country Dances and Their English Sources," in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820 : A Conference Held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, May 17 and 18, 1973*, ed. Barbara Lambert, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980), 5, 11-12.

The Reverend John Cotton did not necessarily oppose even mixed dancing, though he expressed concerns about the appropriateness of which at marriages. By the time of Increase Mather (son-in-law of John Cotton) and his son, the minister Cotton Mather (1663-1728), dancing schools proliferated. Cotton Mather, who expressed similar reservations about dancing, primarily focused on the lavishness of the events and likely worried more about parishioners straying off to Anglican parties.[22]

In England in 1651 John Playford published *The English Dancing Master*, an instructional book on dance. The book included an engraving suggesting that mixed dancing could be an appropriate expression if done properly. Scholes commented that Puritans of New England no doubt participated in folk dances of their ancestors. They possibly even danced in the church yard as well.[23]

Though singing of psalms persisted in and out of church during this period, the latter seventeenth century generally experienced a decline in singing quality within the church. Through church indifference, the narrow interpretations of Calvin and Cotton, suspicion of Roman Catholic similarities, and the loosely governed nature of Puritan congregations, the qualities of psalm singing fell to perilous levels. As they shed their connections with England and with Rome, Puritan singing, which initially exhibited the spritely singing of their English ancestors, gradually lapsed into "draggy chaos."[24] For the most part, Puritans let religious

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[22] Scholes, *Puritans and Music in England and New England*, 58-60, 72; Van Cleef and Keller, "American Country Dances," 8,10-11.

[23] Scholes, *Puritans and Music in England and New England*, 74-78, 132-133 Scholes included an illustration of the title page of Playford's *The English Dancing Master,* 74 facing; Van Cleef and Keller, "American Country Dances," 5.

[24] Covey, "Puritanism and Music," 380.

singing go its own way. Congregations forgot many of the tunes and did not introduce new ones. Untrained singers of the congregation creatively ornamented the remaining tunes according to their wishes. Churches formed their own idiosyncratic traditions of tunes. Seventeenth century New England developed an oral, nontechnical tradition that credited little to formal knowledge or training.[25]

While their religious singing soured, Puritans, ever how inelegantly, still sang. The 1698 edition of the *Bay Psalm Book* hinted that the cacophony might yet improve. The 1698 edition included tunes for the first time. The edition also provided "some few directions for Ordering the Voice," designed to help people sing "without Squeaking above, or Grumbling below." The Regular Singing movement addressed these concerns in the beginning of the next century. For last half of the seventeenth century, however, Puritans experimented with haphazard results.[26]

With such an interest in both secular and religious singing, understandably, the first book published in British North America was the *Bay Psalm Book*. The authors of the *Bay Psalm Book*, Ministers Richard Mather (1596-1669), Thomas Weld and John Eliot, published their revision of the psalms with the assistance of Stephen Day in the house of the president of Harvard in 1640.[27] The authors titled their work, *The whole booke of Psalmes faithfully translated into English metre. Whereunto is prefixed a discourse declaring not only the*

[25] Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 53-54; Irwin, "Theology of 'Regular Singing'," 181.

[26] Cotton Mather, *The Psalms Hymns and Spiritual Songs, of the Old and New-Testament*, The ninth edition. ed. (Boston: Printed by B. Green and J. Allen for Michael Perry under the west-end of the Town House., 1698), 419, noted in Laura Becker, "Ministers Vs. Laymen: The Singing Controversy in Puritan New England, 1720-1740," *The New England Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (1982), 80-81; Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 54; Lowens, "Bay Psalm Book," 27; Irwin, "Theology of 'Regular Singing'," 181.

[27] Scholes, *Puritans and Music in England and New England*, 259-260.

lawfullnes, but also the necessity of the heavenly ordinance of singing Scripture Psalmes in the churches of God.

This extended title provided a strong indicator that, while some considered music an important part of religion at the time, others still questioned its appropriateness or, at least, needed convincing. The title page of the book further stressed the piety of song through two scriptural quotations:

> *Collossians* [*sic*] *III*
>
> Let the word of God dwell plenteously in you, in all wisdome, teaching and exhorting one another in Psalmes, Hymnes, and Spirituall Songs, singing to the Lord with grace in your hearts.
>
> and *James V*.
>
> If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if any be merry let him sing psalmes.[28]

In addition to these scriptural references, the authors provided a number of other justifications for singing in church in the preface to their work. One such explanation stated that since many of the psalms of David "run in rithmes," this showed the lawfulness of singing psalms in English rhythms. And, as ordained by God, the psalms should be in the mother tongue of each nation and understood by all.[29] As the first book published in America, the ministers made obvious the importance of song as a part of the new nation.

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[28] John Cotton et al., *The Whole Booke of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into English Metre. Whereunto Is Prefixed a Discourse Declaring Not Only the Lawfullnes, but Also the Necessity of the Heavenly Ordinance of Singing Scripture Psalmes in the Churches of God* (Cambridge, Mass.: Imprinted by S. Daye, 1640), Title.

[29] Ibid., Preface. The preface is usually attributed to Mather. Zoltan Haraszti disputed this and attributed the style of writing to John Cotton as addressed in Haraszti's *The enigma of the Bay Psalm book*, 1956, 12-27.

Aside from the place of publication of the first *Bay Psalm Book*, the first musical connections to higher education from a religious perspective emerged from the editorial work of President Henry Dunster (1640-1654). Dunster, who presided at the first Harvard commencement in 1642, improved upon the versification of the 1640 edition of the *Bay Psalm Book*. The same ministers of New England revised the collection in 1647. While their work adhered to the conventions of proper textual meaning, it lacked refinement. Dunster provided the elegance and grace and lent poetry to the verse.[30] He is credited for producing the 1651 edition, which was widely used until 1758 when Thomas Prince (A.B. 1707) produced a new metrical translation.[31]

On the whole, music and singing were very much a part of Puritan life in the seventeenth century and thereafter. While Puritans disliked any embellishment of singing of the Psalms, they definitely enjoyed music and singing in the seventeenth century both within and beyond the physical church confines.[32] The early transformations of the *Bay Psalm Book* revealed the efforts of New Englanders to transplant the musical culture of their fathers, but with their own unique flavor. As one scholar explained, "Here, they proved to be the seed out of which a new, uniquely American music was later to flower."[33]

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[30] Benjamin Peirce, *A History of Harvard University, from Its Foundation, in the Year 1636, to the Period of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Brown Shattuck and company, 1833), 9, 13-14.

[31] Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935), 349.

[32] Scholes, *Puritans and Music in England and New England*, 253. Scholes noted that Calvin did not adhere to an absolute note-for-syllable principle referring to the 'Hallelujahs' of Psalm 138 in his first Psalter (1539).

[33] Lowens, "Bay Psalm Book," 29.

Little first-hand evidence existed of students' involvement in church singing. However, Morison, the Harvard historian, speculated that most likely twice every Sabbath, in keeping with Puritan tradition of the times, Harvard students exercised their voices in singing psalms. He suggested that Dunster and Richard Lyon, co-editors of the revised *Bay Psalm Book*, no doubt had the opportunity to test their new metrical versions on unsuspecting pupils.[34]

There is no specific indication of song or singing at the first Harvard commencement in 1642, but it was, by all accounts, a very prestigious and significant event. Governor John Winthrop and his guard, a number of magistrates, and the Board of Overseers attended. Nine candidates met the requirements for degrees. Four junior sophisters and eight to ten freshmen assembled in the new college hall. The guests in attendance received copies of the commencement theses, recently printed from Stephen Day's press. Students delivered orations in Latin and Greek, and "Hebrew analysis, grammatical, logical, and rhetorical, of the Psalms." In the afternoon, following a substantial meal and spirits to suit the occasion, the candidates engaged in disputations in Latin. They concluded the afternoon with the conferring of degrees. This public display and parade on commencement day became a regular tradition before the close of the first century.[35]

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[34] Morison, *Harvard Seventeenth Century*, 1: 117; Peirce, *History of Harvard*, 14, Peirce indicated that Sir Henry Mildmay of England sent Lyon to attend to his son, then a student at Harvard.

[35] Morison, *Founding of Harvard*, 199-200, 257-262. Harvard did not graduate a class in 1644 due to the transition year of 1639-1640 when the college dismissed Master or Professor Nathaniel Eaton (Eaton was not given the title of "president."). He was installed as head of the college at its opening in 1638. The college Overseers appointed President Dunster in 1640. Morison noted that Nathaniel Eaton's older brother, Theophilus, helped finance the great Puritan migration and organized the Massachusetts Bay Company. He married Ann Lloyd who was widow of Thomas Yale. Elihu Yale was her grandson; George Gary Bush, *Harvard, the First American University* (Boston: Cupples, Upham and Company, 1886), 55-62.

While the colonists participated in both church and secular songs, students at Harvard, also enjoyed secular singing as a serious interest and regular pastime. As in the English colleges, Harvard prohibited students from playing cards, but provided no other alternatives for recreation. Under these restrictions, as Morison suggested, students surely spent some of their time in conversation, music, light reading, walking about campus and swimming or skating according to the time of year.[36]

The first evidence of secular singing among students emerged from the commonplace book of Seaborn Cotton (A.B. 1651), son of John Cotton, the influential Puritan leader from Boston. The entries to Seaborn Cotton's Commonplace Book began during his college days at Harvard. He copied many of his favorite songs, ballads and other literary extracts throughout the book leaving blank pages in between. Later, as minister, he filled these pages with church and family records. Aside from the interspersed church records and personal family notes, the book served primarily as a collection of secular prose, poetry, and song.

Cotton included the ballads "The Young-Man's Answer," "Two Faithful Lovers," "The Love-Sick Maid" and "Disdain Returned." He also copied a number of songs including "The Last Lamentation of the Languishing Squire," and two songs from the Elizabethan poet and scholar Sir Philip Sidney. He further reproduced two songs from Sidney's *Arcadia*, "What Tongue Can Her Perfections Tell" and " Since So Mine Eyes."

Though no printed versions of some ballads are found prior to 1660, many individuals transmitted such songs orally as was indicative of the times and since texts of most sorts were a luxury. Cotton likely heard them sung during his undergraduate days, Morison supposed, and likely sung the ballads in the College Yard with classmates while others provided instrumental

[36] Morison, *Harvard Seventeenth Century*, 1: 113.

accompaniment. Morison strengthened his oral transmission presumption by concluding that many of the words appeared to have been written from memory since Cotton's transcriptions varied somewhat from printed copies of the songs. Additionally, Morison believed that, because the study of English balladry came about two centuries later, Cotton likely wrote down the words with the intention of singing them.

Much of Cotton's secular literary material would leave conservative Puritans in distress. Even Morison observed that some passages were, in his estimation, unprintable and "altogether an interesting combination of piety and humanism, beauty and bawdry, university learning and frontier horse-sense; a fair reflection of the average college graduate's life, thoughts, and occupations in the Puritan century."[37] What *was* significant was that Cotton scattered the suggestive fare, including poetry and songs, throughout his records of family births and church minutes. Obviously, Seaborn Cotton never grew abashed about his early collegiate tastes in literature. Instead of eliminating the secular entries, he left his diverse collection intact.[38]

Similarly, another scholar observed that Elnathan Chauncy's (A.B. 1661) Commonplace Book showed few sullen and austere qualities expected from a Puritan society. He even wrote several bars of musical notation in one of his entries. Chauncy included extracts from the poet Edmund Spenser and quoted a number of Spenser's strains on love, beauty, nature and other classical allusions. He also included a copy of "A Song of Mark Anthony" by Cleveland.[39]

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[37] Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Reverend Seaborn Cotton's Commonplace Book," in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1935), 324.

[38] Ibid., 321-326; Morison, *Harvard Seventeenth Century*, 1: 116.

[39] George Lyman Kittredge, "A Harvard Salutatory Oration of 1662," in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1930), 6-7.

Mystical grammer of amorous glances
Feeling of pulses the physick of Loue
Thetorical courtings and musical dances
Numbring of Kisses Arethmitick proue[40]

This titillating passage surely provided support for students who sought to link love songs with academics.

The notes of Chauncy and Cotton demonstrated that they were not the strictest of Puritans, by any means, at least privately. Many during this period likely shared similar sentiments as these two. The commonplace books of both Cotton and Chauncy also indicated that students' interests were not limited to required readings of the prescribed curriculum. Their writings consisted of a variety of prose and poetry from contemporary writers. They also copied popular ballads and other literature on topics from love, feminine beauty, and nature, to more bawdy examples that likely gave their Puritan fathers pause.

The same sources surely inspired many a Harvard poet during this period. Harvard students produced so much verse that the *Cambridge Almanac* became the annual poetry magazine of Harvard College. Samuel Danforth (A.B. 1643), at nineteen, produced the earliest known text of poetry in the *Almanac*. Danforth, who exhibited qualities of an overly pious student as a freshman, later provided shocking poetical commentary and wit on a variety of political and contemporary events. Cotton Mather noted Danforth's recitations with approval, but his habit of pushing the boundaries gave his tutors fits.[41]

A reference in the diary of Tutor Wigglesworth, a classmate of Seaborn Cotton, on June 25, 1653 supported the evidence from Chauncy and Cotton that students, even at the earliest times of Harvard, had an interest in music. On that day Wigglesworth noted, "I heard in Y^{e}

[40] Morison, *Harvard Seventeenth Century*, 1: 128.

[41] Ibid., 1: 122-138.

forenoon wth ill cōpany playing musick." He had warned the same student the previous day about the idle pleasures of indulging in music. With disgust, he continued, "Again I see light & vain carriage in him."[42] Though no official laws of the college forbade music or singing, Morison surmised that this college master, and likely others, did not view the practice with regular favor. Puritan youth obviously coveted the "wicked ways" of secular music.

Though Wigglesworth embodied the qualities of a dreary, stereotypical Puritan, others did not likely share his abhorrence of music and other entertainments. One of his colleagues, in general terms, encouraged him to "lighten up." In Wigglesworth's own diary he mentioned this individual who suggested to him that laughter and merriment might be a means to raise spirits and prolong life. Wigglesworth retorted that he would rather lead a melancholy life than be merry and risk provoking God.[43] If there was any disrespect or negligence by the students, it likely developed in response to an impossibly rigorous code of intellectual behavior as demonstrated by the hard-nosed Wigglesworth.

One of the first direct references to singing and college ceremonies during the late seventeenth century came from Samuel Sewall (1652-1729), who graduated from Harvard on August 8, 1671. From his extensive diary, 1674-1729, Sewall provided various insights into Harvard and colonial life. Sewall also gave significant details of Harvard commencements, many of which he attended. His diary showed clearly that singing played an important role at Harvard before the turn of the century as part of those celebrations.

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[42] John Langdon Sibley and Massachusetts Historical Society., *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, vol. v. 1- 1642/58- (Boston [etc.]: Massachusetts Historical Society [etc.]), I. 264; Noted in Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century.* 1: 116

[43] Morison, *Harvard Seventeenth Century*, 1: 123.

Sewall made his first entry regarding singing and commencement on commencement day, Wednesday, July 1, 1685. He described those in attendance and included a list of the orators and the language to which they spoke their presentations. The last line of his entry stated, "After Diner the 3^{d} part of the 103 Psalm was sung in the Hall."[44] By this time, and possibly earlier, songs figured into the social and ceremonial transactions of the college.

The author of "Social Music in Colonial Boston" concluded, "The Puritan ethic, even at its height, was not the musicless desert envisioned by so many preceding scholars."[45] As demonstrated by the variety of evidence, Puritans definitely sang in colonial America. They often conformed to limited singing interpretations of the psalms, but they also frequently exhibited nonstandard ornamentation of song in church. At home, Puritans likely loosened their religious inhibitions even more through harmonizing of hymns and singing of secular songs. The published records of household inventories suggested that many Puritan colonists, a number of them ministers and Harvard graduates, even enjoyed instrumental music outside of church. While the singing quality within Puritan religious services gradually regressed until the Regular Singing movement of the next century, Puritans kept singing. Dunster's revision of the *Bay Psalm Book* demonstrated the importance of song in the first published book in America by the President of Harvard. The commonplace books of Seaborn Cotton and Elnathan Chauncy proved that college students of the time enjoyed the lighter, even erotic, aspects of music. The notations of Samuel Sewall proved that song had already found a place in the social and ceremonial occasions of college life.

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[44] Samuel Sewall and Milton Halsey Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729* (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1973), 1:68.

[45] Lambert, "Social Music in Colonial Boston," 514.

From the budding days of Harvard through the turn of the century, music and singing played a significant role in the development of college and colonial life. Music and singing also intertwined with the daily life of students through college events, both formal and informal. The first Harvard president, while certainly influenced by others, demonstrated the importance he placed on music and singing through his contribution to the *Bay Psalm Book*, the first book printed in the American colonies. Beyond the formal, religious purpose of music, to which the Puritan community and the college subscribed, it is also clear that secular music was, if not always smiled upon, a feature of college student life from the earliest days of Harvard itself. The traditions of both formal and informal college singing in American higher education were well on their way before the close of the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER 3

SACRED AND SECULAR EVIDENCE OF COLLEGE SINGING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Many factors contributed to the growth in singing during the early years of the American colonies, and colleges incorporated a number of these elements as part of collegiate rituals. College life reaped the benefits of singing from both the religious and secular sides and variations in-between. Singing in college kept pace with the larger singing trends in colonial America during the eighteenth century. Colleges and college students adapted the trends in singing, and music to a larger degree, by contributing their own unique qualities and purposes within the sphere of the campus. Religious singing continued to dominate the formal side of congregational and college singing, and the ministers of New England fretted over how to improve the qualities of singing in their churches. However, from the earliest part of the century and perhaps even earlier, college leaders, alumni and students took part in secular singing.

For the first time, we have evidence of the incorporation of non-sacred or secular music into the observances surrounding commencement. At Harvard in 1701, the persistent diarist Samuel Sewall recorded that, owing to the absence of the lieutenant governor, he had the honor of hoisting the ceremonial bowl (a form of toasting). "After dinner and *singing*," Sewall wrote, "I took it, had it fill'd up, and drunk to the president." [1] We have no evidence to suggest what form

[1] Samuel Sewall and Milton Halsey Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729* (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1973), 1: 449-450, Italics mine. Thomas noted that the Stoughton Cup, a two handled silver cup with cover, ten inches high, presented by Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton, and still at Harvard, is the one to which Sewall refers. Drinking from a ceremonial bowl was custom in Christian fellowship to commemorate special occasions.

the singing took, but it is hard to imagine that Psalms or other sacred music would have been sung on such an occasion. Clearly, the celebratory mood of the event called for something lighter, perhaps something sentimental or even slightly boisterous.

Some evidence exists to suggest that the singing of "convivial songs" posed problems at Harvard commencements. Samuel Sewall noted in 1707 that Reverend Solomon Stoddard, a Puritan divine, "Spake against the excess in Commencem't entertainments." The ministerial complaint soon rose to a higher order of concern when Governor Joseph Dudley and Stoddard called on Sewall, the revered Harvard Overseer, demanding that he should "cause them [the excesses] to conclude."[2] Perhaps it was only drunkenness that prompted the concern over excesses, but it seems more likely that the combination of song and spirits gave rise to the gubernatorial visit.

One Harvard graduate made it plain that commencements were in transition to becoming much more than purely formal academic observances and gravitated toward becoming larger public events. John Holmes, a Harvard graduate, offered a particularly sardonic depiction of a mythical procession wending its way toward a typical eighteenth century commencement at the Massachusetts school. "On the great roads," he wrote, "the regular beggars of the day were

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Participants often filled the vessel (a bowl or cup) with wine and shared a toast with others to mark a significant event. The Stoughton Cup is illustrated in Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard university press, 1936), 469; "pro more Academiarum in Anglia" - according to the custom of the Universities in England; Mark A. Peterson, *Puritanism and Refinement in Early New England: Reflections on Communion Silver* (April 2001 [cited July 27 2005]); available from http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/wm/58.2/peterson.html. Par 51.

[2] Sewall and Thomas, *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, 1: 569; By this time, many people attended the prestigious commencement ceremonies. Thomas noted in Sewall and Thomas, *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, 2: 665-666 from the journal of Sir Hovenden, "there was a great Concourse of People of all Degrees, and both Sexes: We were all invited to see the Ceremony." (*Walker Expedition*, 112).

making their best speed toward Commencement…Blind men were pressing on to see the sights, dumb men to sing convivial songs, and the lame to join in the dance."[3]

Fundamentally, Samuel Sewall simply seemed to love music and singing. When a Harvard classmate died in 1718, Sewall dutifully noted that he was a "good Scholar" and a "solid Divine," but his fondest recollections came from the time when the two were "Fellows together at College" when they "sung many a Tune in consort." It was Sewall's fondest hope that the two "shall sing Hallelujah together in Heaven."[4]

A particular form of singing evolved in concert with commencement when students began the practice of serenading in unofficial conjunction with the academic ceremonies. John Holmes remembered a typical scene from the night before a commencement during the administration of President Edward Holyoke.

> The night, we may be sure, was a lively one for the scholars. Tutors listened despairingly to those horrid endless choruses which conviviality engenders. President Holyoke's dreams even, at the remote 'Wadsworth House,' were invaded by jovial fancies which he would have dispelled, officially, had sleep allowed him. These terrible choruses were ambulatory, now in front of Hollis [Hall], now back of Stoughton [Hall], and more formidable from the narrow limits of the then College Yard.[5]

Serenading quickly became a regular social practice and depending upon who the auditors were, it could be regarded as "horrid endless choruses" or mere youthful disruptions to be tolerated in good humor. Samuel Sewall experienced such singing first hand in 1727. "Last night three

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[3] Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964), 125. Morison included the excerpt from Holmes taken from *The Harvard Book* (1875).

[4] Sewall and Thomas, *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, 2: 878.

[5] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 126.

musicians serenaded me under my Chamber Window once or twice," he wrote. He seemed unperturbed: "But being very early, I was so fast asleep, I scarce heard any thing of it."[6]

Among his passions, Sewall's love for singing and music ranked very high indeed. Once again reporting in his diary on a Harvard commencement in the first decade of the century, Sewall regretted his own absence at the exercises and was disappointed that he had not been able to participate in the singing. "Heard not a jot of [the] singing in the Hall," he lamented.[7]

In contrast to the grand displays at the supposedly conservative haven of Harvard, the first Yale commencement in 1702 was a small, private affair designed to limit expenses for all involved. The trustees also wished to avoid any resemblance to commencements at Harvard, which were described by a scholar as having the atmosphere of a country fair with associated costs.[8]

As early as President Urian Oakes's tenure from 1675 to 1681, the Harvard authorities expressed concern over the lavishness, hospitality, drunkenness and disorder at Commencement. Presidents Increase Mather and John Leverett, who served from 1685-1701 and 1708-1724, instituted "severe prohibitions against Commencers' providing 'Plumb-Cake' and 'mix'd drink made with distill'd Spirits' in their chamber, under the penalty of losing their degree." Around 1718, Cotton Mather corresponded with a friend at New Haven hoping that the Sons of Eli

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[6] Sewall and Thomas, *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, 2: 1052.

[7] Ibid., 1: 597, 2: 878. Percy Alfred Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (London: Oxford university press H. Milford, 1934), 264, Scholes attributed Sewall's disappointment to the singing being omitted from the ceremonies. However, from Sewall's own entry, it appeared he was prevented from attending in order to care for his sick son. His disappointment was from being absent, not from a change in graduation traditions.

[8] Brooks Mather Kelley, *Yale: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 13-14.

would improve their commencement by focusing more on religious dialogue, and avoid indulging in "idle and vicious pastimes" as was common at Cambridge.[9]

The second year at New Haven in 1718 marked the first known instance of singing associated with Yale's college rituals. The first public commencement on September 10, 1718 transpired as a joyful occasion where the trustees officially dedicated the institution as Yale College and culminated the daylong activities with singing. The eight graduates, participants and guests marched in procession in regal dress. Governor Gurdon Saltonstall gave the commencement address, a Latin oration, extolling the establishment of Yale at New Haven and the generosity of Governor Yale. Later, the men and women enjoyed their respective dinners. The day concluded with the singing of Psalm 65.[10] The singing of various psalms at both Harvard and Yale commencements revealed some of the earliest utterances of song in relation to official American college ceremonies.

A simple recounting of these somewhat isolated instances referring to song and ceremony in early eighteenth century Harvard and Yale does not provide the full context for understanding how an emerging culture of singing in colonial America affected the colleges. The singing in American's early college ceremonies reflected the loosening of social constraints in respect to singing trends in the colonies at large. As established in the preceding chapter, Bostonians, even

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[9] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 120-121.

[10] Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 25-26 Though the founders chartered Yale in 1701, the college finally found a permanent home in 1716. The college maintained early commencements as private affairs; Edwin Oviatt, *The Beginnings of Yale, 1701-1726* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 360. Both Kelley and Oviatt listed the first two lines of the 65th Psalm. Both matched the Sternhold and Hopkins version. Kelley stated that the Sternhold and Hopkins version "is now sung at every commencement."; Lyman Hotchkiss Bagg, *Four Years at Yale* (New Haven: C.C. Chatfield & co., 1871), 5; Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 8.

the Puritans, sang at church and at home. As in Puritan homes, colleges gradually combined more instances of secular songs along with the traditional sacred singing observances.

The increased acceptance of both religious part-singing and secular singing likely benefited most from the Puritan ministers themselves. The quality of singing in Congregationalist churches declined steadily through the end of the seventeenth century due to lack of direction and distancing from the rituals of Rome. Puritan leaders acknowledged this decline and relaxed their previous narrow standards toward singing in church as they sought to improve the harmony of their congregations.

The discordant singing affected Mr. Sewall, the New England judge, diarist and an Overseer of Harvard. Sewall, the precentor (tune setter) for Boston's South Church for twenty-four years, experienced recurring difficulties in either setting the tune (Sewall provided the incorrect starting note for his congregation on a number of occasions) or with his congregation's inability to maintain it. Sewall's distress was shared by Reverend Cotton Mather, leader of Boston's North Church and Harvard Overseer, who implored of his own flock, "Should not something be done towards the mending of the *Singing* in our Congregation?" Mather regularly cringed at the poor singing of his worshippers.[11]

Thus, Mather and a group of New England clergy sought to replace the individualistic, improvised practice of psalm singing with a new "Regular Singing" or "Singing by Note" method, which involved learning how to read music in order to improve the singing quality.[12]

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[11] Sewall and Thomas, *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, 1:538, 2:720, 785, 881, 885; Cotton Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather* (New York,: F. Ungar Pub. Co., 1957), 2:373, 560, 606, 624; Laura Becker, "Ministers Vs. Laymen: The Singing Controversy in Puritan New England, 1720-1740," *The New England Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (1982), 81.

[12] Becker, "Ministers Vs. Laymen," 80-83.

Thomas Symmes, John Tufts, Thomas Walter, and Cotton Mather authored related pamphlets on the subject. Symmes' *The Reasonableness of Regular Singing* (1720) and *Utile Dulci* (1723), Mather's *The Accomplished Singer* (1721), Tufts' *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes* (1721), and Walter's *The Grounds and Rules of Musick* [sic] *Explained* (1721) and *The Sweet Psalmist of Israel* (1722), all justified the need for improved singing in church. Even the lengthy titles of their works underscored their concerns about the quality of psalm singing.[13]

[13] Thomas Symmes, *The Reasonableness of, Regular Singing, or, Singing by Note in an Essay, to Revive the True and Ancient Mode of Singing Psalm-Tunes, According to the Pattern in Our New-England Psalm-Books; the Knowledge and Practice of Which Is Greatly Decay'd in Most Congregations* (Boston: Printed by B. Green for Samuel Gerrish and sold at his shop near the Brick Meeting-House in Corn-Hill., 1720), microform. Title; Thomas Symmes, *Utile Dulci. Or, a Joco-Serious Dialogue, Concerning Regular Singing Calculated for a Particular Town, (Where It Was Publickly Had, on Friday Oct. 12. 1722.) but May Serve Some Other Places in the Same Climate* (Boston: Printed by B. Green for Samuel Gerrish near the Brick Meeting House in Cornhill., 1723), Title; Cotton Mather and Increase Mather, *The Accomplished Singer, Instructions How the Piety of Singing with a True Devotion, May Be Obtained and Expressed; the Glorious God after an Uncommon Manner Glorified in It, and His People Edified; Intended for the Assistance of All That Would Sing Psalms with Grace in Their Hearts; but More Particularly to Accompany the Laudable Endeavours of Those Who Are Learning to Sing by Rule, and Seeking to Preserve a Regular Singing in the Assemblies of the Faithful. : [Two Lines of Quotation]* (Boston: Printed by B. Green for S. Gerrish at his shop in Cornhill., 1721), Title; John Tufts, *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes, in a Plain & Easy Method with a Collection of Tunes in Three Parts*, The fifth edition. ed. (Boston, in N.E.: Printed for Samuel Gerrish at the lower end of Cornhill., 1721), Title; Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained, or, an Introduction to the Art of Singing by Note: Fitted to the Meanest Capacities* (Boston: Printed by J. Franklin for S. Gerrish, 1721), Title; Thomas Walter and Society For Promoting Regular & Good Singing (Boston Mass.). *The Sweet Psalmist of Israel, a Sermon Preach'd at the Lecture Held in Boston, by the Society for Promoting Regular & Good Singing, and for Reforming the Depravations and Debasements Our Psalmody Labours under, in Order to Introduce the Proper and True Old Way of Singing: Now Published at the Desire of Several Ministers That Heard It, and at the Request of the Society Aforesaid* (Boston: Printed by J. Franklin for S. Gerrish near the Brick Meeting-House in Cornhill, 1722), Title; Joyce Irwin, "The Theology of 'Regular Singing'," *The New England Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (1978), 187; Sinclair Hitchings, "The Musical Pursuits of William Price and Thomas Johnston," in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820 : A Conference Held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, May 17 and 18, 1973*, ed. Barbara Lambert, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985), 632.

Symmes, who graduated from Harvard in 1698, stressed that Regular Singing was not the "New Way" as some resisters argued, but the forgotten original method of the first New England settlers. Symmes cited scripture that supported the idea of singing schools (I Chronicles 15:22) and singing with understanding (I Corinthians 14:15). While previous interpreters used Corinthians as justification against singing, Symmes argued that the scripture encouraged Christians to learn the skills of proper singing.[14] Walter, a Harvard graduate of 1713, saw music as a product of the pleasing laws of mathematic and physics, a natural and, ultimately, spiritual force. Music relieved the agonies of the mind. The Hebrews and Greeks used the mathematical proportions of three-part music. Therefore, he argued, any combination of three-part voices or instruments was biblically based.[15] Mather moved away from the conservative interpretation of singing of psalms as espoused by his grandfather, John Cotton, to broader acceptance of newly composed hymns and an increasing focus on quality or aesthetics of the musical product. The introduction of singing by note suggested his more liberal tendencies, at least compared to the elder Cotton.[16]

These writers and other urban clergy produced over thirty-one sermons between 1720 and 1730 justifying the religious importance of singing and singing well. Their efforts spawned the first singing schools and tune books as well as a society in Boston that gave regular lectures promoting the idea of regular singing. By 1731 John Tufts' *Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes* entered its eighth edition. Tufts, who graduated from Harvard in 1708, and other ministers promoted the idea that tuneful psalm singing had intrinsic merit and societal benefits. Tuneful

[14] Irwin, "Theology of 'Regular Singing'," 182-183.

[15] Ibid., 183-187.

[16] Ibid., 187-191; Bruce Colin Daniels, *Puritans at Play: Leisure and Recreation in Colonial New England*, 1st ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 56.

singing pleased God, distinguished man from animal, provided aesthetic order, promoted brotherhood and resisted Satan. However, the ministers also saw the broader benefits behind the singing movement. Many clergy expressed apprehension over cultural decline that preceded the Calvinist revival known as the Great Awakening, which spread through the colonies during the 1720s-1740s. They used the popularity of singing to combat a perceived loss of religious zeal in the increasingly cosmopolitan colonies and to provide opportunities for ministerial and community leadership. The ministers mounted a collective effort. Many of them endorsed the publications on regular singing by signing their names to the documents introductions.[17] Thus, the revival of psalm singing promoted better order, uniform worship and revival of religion.

Many of these same ministers also advocated more strenuous efforts toward college preparatory learning. Cotton Mather, who graduated from Harvard in 1678, supported a discourse on the importance of education. Some also drew a connection between the decline in psalm singing and the decline in learning in general. Mather and Walter referred to those that resisted the movement as “rustik” or “country people” and uneducated. The resisters accused the promoters of singing as introducing “superstitious ceremonies” reminiscent of Catholicism into Puritan worship.[18] However, by the mid-1740s, most congregations sang in the New Way, though instruments, hymns and other mechanics still provoked controversy.[19]

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[17] Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 55-56; Becker, "Ministers Vs. Laymen," 80, 82-85, 88, 90, 92; Irwin, "Theology of 'Regular Singing'," 181; Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America*, [1st] ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), 281.

[18] Becker, "Ministers Vs. Laymen," 88-90; Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:51; Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 55.

[19] Becker, "Ministers Vs. Laymen," 95.

While some members of the laity provided formidable opposition, the ministers attracted many young people and cosmopolitan Bostonians as allies. One scholar speculated that the ministers succeeded in drawing younger people into the fold because they welcomed new ideas, rebelled against their elders and found a natural social attraction to the sophisticated (and coed) singing schools. The older generation, conditioned much against cultural Europe, took longer to lower their resistance.[20]

Still, not all music found favor. Cotton Mather disapproved of secular ballads enjoyed by young people. He and the other ministers hoped religious singing reform would provide new focus, foster the singing of psalms inside and out of church, and bring these misguided youth back into the fold as Mather suggested in 1713: [21]

> I am informed, that the Minds and Manners of many People about the Countrey are much corrupted by foolish Songs and Ballads, which the Hawkers and Pedlars carry into all parts of the Countrey. By way of Antidote, I would procure poetical Composures full of Piety, and such as may have a Tendency to advance Truth and Goodness, to be published, and scattered into all Corners of the Land. There may be an Extract of some, from the excellent *Watts's* Hymns.[22]

In this effort, Mather offered his own guidance to one of the first (if not the first) singing schools in Boston. Sewall wrote for March 16, 1721:

> At night Dr. Mather preaches in the School-House to the young Musicians, from Rev. 14. 3. –no man could learn that Song.- House was full, and the Singing

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[20] Ibid., 93-94; Irwin, "Theology of 'Regular Singing'," 192.

[21] Carleton Sprague Smith, "Broadsides and Their Music in Colonial America," in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820 : A Conference Held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, May 17 and 18, 1973*, ed. Barbara Lambert, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980), 1:162; Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 55; Becker, "Ministers Vs. Laymen," 85-86.

[22] Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:242; also noted in Smith, "Broadsides and Their Music," 1:162 and Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 65.

> extraordinarily Excellent, such as has hardly been heard before in Boston. Sung four times out of Tate and Brady.[23]

Mather demonstrated his interest in singing through his sermons as well as his writings.

Mather's criticism of peddlers of secular ballads likely referred to the popular, ephemeral and inexpensive, broadside ballads of the day. Broadsides, a single sheet of paper printed on one side, listed text of the tunes. The printers usually omitted the tunes themselves as individuals often improvised the customary tune as passed along through oral and written tradition or made one up to suit their tastes. Occasionally, the texts included notation suggesting a tune or they simply noted, "To be sung." Bookseller and peddlers promoted them and they circulated in newspapers, songsters and commonplace books. Individuals often affixed them, as they did other advertisements, to tavern walls and other public locations such as a college tree or other landmark. Typically, ballads told of love (as demonstrated by the memoirs of Harvard students Seaborn Cotton and Elnathan Chauncy in the previous century), death, adventures and patriotism among others. Even professional ballad-mongers sang the broadsides that they dispersed at fairs, markets, horse races and elections as Mather noted. They often set up booths at public gatherings including informal town fairs that sprang up around college commencements.

Though secular songs and ballads garnered much of the general interest, religious ballads also figured into these printed folksongs. Samuel Sewell published one of his own religious ballads at the beginning of the eighteenth century. [24] He enjoyed giving gifts, especially gifts of psalms for a special occasion. He sang one of these at a wedding in 1713, after which, he bestowed his "very good Turkey-Leather Psalm-Book" to the Bridegroom saying, "I give you

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[23] Sewall and Thomas, *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, 2:976; Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2:608, Mather's entry stated, "In the Evening I preached unto a large Auditory, where a Society [of] persons learning to Sing, began a quarterly solemnity. On Rev. XIV. 3."

[24] Smith, "Broadsides and Their Music," 157-159, 166.

this Psalm-Book in order to your perpetuating this Song: and I would have you pray that it may be an Introduction to our Singing with the Choir above."[25]

While the ministers sought to improve the sounds of psalmody, psalmody itself extended beyond the religious connotation. Psalmody covered both the religious and secular. This music was much more than a Sunday morning church song. As Lowens, the noted music historian, noted, "It was a music of the out-of-doors, of the kitchen hearth, of the blacksmith's forge, and even of the tavern." Psalmody included folk songs that one might just as well hear at the tavern as one would at a Sunday service. In many cases, no clear distinction existed. Psalm and hymn tunes of the time grew out of the same creative impulse that shaped folk-music, secular folk-songs and folk-dances.[26]

As the new style of psalm singing spread, it generated two new institutions that profoundly affected secular music including colleges and their students: church choirs and singing schools. By the late 1750s and 1760s the singing-school movement surged with congregations typically hiring a singing teacher to conduct a singing school. The instructors taught from one week to three months. At the end of the instruction the class performed a concert or "singing lecture."

The singing-school mania of the late eighteenth century infused energy and excitement into the local social life and generated fun and frivolity among the teenagers and young adults,

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[25] T. Benson Strandness, *Samuel Sewall: A Puritan Portrait* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), 161; Sewall and Thomas, *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, 2:730-731.

[26] Lowens, *Music and Musicians*, 280-281. In many tune books from the later years of the century, compositions by New Englanders comprised a mixed repertory ranging from European "common tunes" to British Methodist hymn tunes resembling the Italianate solo songs favored in London drawing rooms and theaters As cosmopolitan musical tastes took hold during the 1780s and 90s, many criticized the fuging-tunes for obscuring the sacred text. [from Temperley, Nicholas and Richard Crawford, "Psalmody: North America Reform," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed September 14, 2005), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.]

(including college students) who comprised the largest portion of the classes. As such, singing-schools, though purposefully initiated to improve church singing, developed as a much more secular enterprise. Schools often rehearsed in taverns or meeting-houses (often the local churches). The church and meeting-house served dual purposes for secular as well as religious meetings. The meeting-house anchored much of community life. Singing-school students usually met on evenings by candlelight and practiced with their tune-books. The practices usually culminated in a concert given to the local community. The singing-master then moved to another town and repeated the process.[27]

These singing-schools offered cultural interaction as well as the obvious instruction in music and the love of music and learning. The schools provided a chance for young men and women to have a forum for social occasions. The students appreciated the break in routine provided by the singing-schools, which allowed them to make new friends, flirt and socialize through a sanctioned activity. A letter written by a Yale undergraduate to his friend in 1782 described the welcome distraction provided by singing class: "At present I have no Inclination for anything, for I am almost sick of the World & were it not for the Hopes of going to [the] singing-meeting tonight & indulging myself a little in some of the carnal Delights of the Flesh, such as kissing, squeezing &c. &c. I should willingly leave it now, before 10 o'clock & exchange it for a better."[28]

While the singing schools taught religious works, one scholar noted that they had a more profound impact on secular patterns of social life than on formal religious worship. The demand

[27] Ibid., 281-282.

[28] Noted in Ibid., 282, Lowens did not identify the specific source or author of the letter, but identified the recipient as Simeon Baldwin who later became a distinguished New Haven attorney.

for teachers and performers attracted numerous talented musicians throughout New England. The secular music adopted from the English began to take on its own unique American flavor. In the latter part of the century, the Revolution would hasten this Americanization. A number of composers and musicians began to incorporate the American style. Some historians of music refer to the last several decades of the eighteenth century as the golden age of choral music in New England. The strength of the choral music existed in the melodic writing and often the singers performed *a capella*.[29]

As already substantiated, the interest in singing, as well as dancing and musical instruments from a larger perspective, existed from the early part of the century and prior. As a further testament to the growing interest in secular music, an advertisement in *The Boston News-Letter* in 1716 announced the arrival of wind and string instruments from London, "To be sold at the Dancing School of Mr. Enstone in Sudbury-Street." An additional note promoted the services of instrument repair including virginals and spinets as well as lessons in music and instruction in dancing. This school and similar ones emphasized general cultural development.[30]

Even the organ increased in acceptance during the period. Thomas Brattle imported the first. Brattle, a Puritan and Treasurer of Harvard, brought the organ to his home in New England in 1708 where he played for family and friends. In 1713, he willed the organ to Brattle Square Church, the most liberal congregational church in Boston. However, the church trustees did not think the same organ would be suitable for worship, so they donated it to King's Chapel, the Anglican Church in Boston. Several organs appeared in other Anglican churches leading toward

[29] Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 61-63.

[30] "Advertisements," *New England, The Boston News-Letter*, April 16 - April 23, 1716, 2; Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 60.

the mid-century. By this time many organs appeared as household possessions of Puritans and non-Puritans alike. In 1770 the Congregations Church of Providence installed the first organ in a Puritan church. Brattle Square Church finally acquiesced in 1790. Harvard added an organ in the following century in 1821. Yale added theirs in 1851. [31]

The gradual acceptance of the organ produced many secular music related trends. Music and dance schools multiplied in the early 1700s. The schools primarily attracted women. These graduates amused others through private musical performances. The schools led to the first public musical concerts in 1729. The first concert hall, built by two Anglican organists, opened in 1754 and soon became the musical, cultural and social center of Boston.[32]

While secular music thrived, the sacred singing of psalms in college ceremonial roles maintained a strong presence. As the century progressed, the types of singing included in college programs broadened with a mixture of secular and religious music reflecting the larger societal trends. The appointment of Isaac Greenwood as Professor of Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy in 1728 concluded with the singing of the Psalm 104. A public dinner followed with entertainment. The Overseers of Harvard inaugurated President Edward Holyoke in 1737. The ceremony closed with singing of the Psalm 78. In the evening, students illuminated the windows of the college buildings “while the Chambers rang with melodious Joy and Singing.” In 1739, Harvard appointed John Winthrop as Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy. The event concluded with the singing of the first five verses of the Psalm 148. The appointment ceremony for Stephen Sewall in 1765 as the Hancock Professor of Hebrew and

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[31] Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 59-60; Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 227-228; Henry Lee, "University Hall," in *The Harvard Book. A Series of Historical, Biographical, and Descriptive Sketches*, ed. F. O. Vaille and Henry Alden Clark (Cambridge: Welch Bigelow and company, 1875), 92.

[32] Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 60-61.

other Oriental Languages at Harvard included a Latin oration and the singing of a psalm. Samuel Williams succeeded the late John Winthrop as Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy in 1780. Participants sang the Psalm 148, as in 1739, and closed with an anthem.[33]

Newspaper accounts of commencements at Dartmouth, Harvard, the College of New Jersey (Princeton), the University of Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Union, and Yale between 1759-1799 indicated that songs regularly complemented the programs. The commencement ceremony at the College of New Jersey on September 27, 1759, concluded with an ode set to Music by one of the students. In 1770 the College of New Jersey's commencement began with "vocal music by a select company of the students" and a prayer by the president. The forenoon exercises concluded with additional singing by the students.[34]

The University of Pennsylvania's 1785 commencement program began with instrumental music during the procession and seating. A number of young ladies and gentlemen sang an anthem on peace under the direction of Mr. Adgate. The event included more instrumental

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[33] "Cambridge, Tuesday, Feb. 13," *Boston New England, The Weekly News-Letter*, February 15 - February 22, 1728, 2; "Cambridge, September 23," *Boston Evening Post*, October 3, 1737, 2; "Boston," *Boston Evening-Post*, January 8, 1739, 2; "Boston, June 20," *The Massachusetts Gazette Extraordinary*, June 20, 1765, Supplement 1; "Boston, May 11," *Continental Journal*, May 18, 1780, 4.

[34] "Perth-Amboy, Nassau Hall September 27, 1759," *The New-Hampshire Gazette*, October 19, 1759, 4; "Princetown, September 28," *The Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, October 8-15, 1770, 151; "Princetown, New Jersey, Sept. 25, 1771," *The Boston Evening-Post*, October 14, 1771, 1; "University at Cambridge, October 18, 1783," *The Continental Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, October 30, 1783, 1; "Philadelphia, May 11," *The New Jersey Gazette*, May 30, 1785, 3; "Worcester, October 6," *The Essex Journal and the Masschusetts and New-Hampshilre General Advertiser*, October 19, 1785, 3; "New-Haven, September 19," *The Connecticut Gazette*, September 27, 1792, 3; "Yale-College, July 21, 1796," *The Minerva, & Mercantile Evening Advertiser*, July 29, 1796, 2; "Schenectady, May 9. Union College," *Greenleaf's New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, May 20, 1797, 4; "Providence, Sept. 9," *Greenleaf's New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, September 16, 1797, 2; "Schenectady, May 7," *The Albany Centinel*, May 10, 1799, 3.

music, yet more orations, a "soft, solemn piece of music" by the ladies and gentlemen of the German Lutheran Church, a burlesque or "ludicrous exhibition," more instrumental music, and ultimately, the conferring of degrees followed by the final valedictory oration. Vocal music by the German ladies and gentlemen and a vocal solo by Mr. Ott preceded the valedictory prayer and more singing by the young ladies and gentlemen. The festivities closed with instrumental music "by a band of accurate, judicious performers."[35] The variety of musical interludes in the program demonstrated the value that college and their guests placed on many forms of musical entertainment.

College commencements during the mid and late eighteenth century also provided a public venue for singing and oral recitations. These demonstrations showcased knowledge, creativity, wit and oratory skill of the class graduates. The president generally appointed honors to the top students of the class. Politics and other national and international events of the day often provided focus for those who took the podium. In most cases the ceremonies included a variety of vocal public displays. Ceremonies often included combinations of orations, dialogues, odes, poems and other forms of verbal discourse as part of the program.

The form of presentation that directly connected to contemporary notions of college singing was the ode. An ode resembled an elaborate, lengthy form of lyrical poetry. Ode, originally a Greek form of dramatic choral poetry performed by a chorus of singers and accompanied by music, literally meant, "to sing," "to chant." The singers moved up one side

[35] "Philadelphia, May 11," 3; Toward the latter part of the eighteenth century with the arrival of theatre and opera, concert performances included more "non-Handel vocal selections." Women, a novel category of performer new to the Boston concert scene, sang many of these [noted in Cynthia Adams Hoover, "Epilogue to Secular Music in Early Massachucetts," in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820 : A Conference Held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, May 17 and 18, 1973*, ed. Barbara Lambert, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985), 825-827.

during the strophe (stanza), down the other during the antistrophe, and stood in place during the epode. In general, this movement emphasized the rise and fall of emotional power. In English poetry, the Pindaric Ode exhibited this highly complex three-strophe metrical organization. The manner of delivery usually transpired in a dignified and sincere manner, yet intellectual in tone. In more modern times of the eighteenth century, odes complemented formal ceremonial programs and incorporated significant amounts of romantic themes and imagery. The Star Spangled Banner came from the eighteenth century tune, "To Anacreon in Heaven," a London drinking song, which was a simpler ode form known as Anacreontic.[36]

John Dryden (1631-1700), the English literary figure, most likely inspired the popularity of odes and their resurgence at the beginning of the eighteenth century. "Alexander's Feast" and "A Song for St. Cecilia's Day" comprised his most popular works. Other notable authors of odes during the period included Thomas Gray (1716-1771), Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) and William Wordsworth (1770-1850).

Odes associated with college ceremonies appeared with greater frequency in the years leading up to the Revolutionary War and afterwards. Certainly some appeared earlier, but the heightened concern over possible war with England fueled public demonstrations in one form or another. College odes during this period expressed a wide variety of sentiments. As the colonies sought their own identity, singing, and college singing, reflected the complex changes in emotion. While colonists felt closer, or perhaps dependent, on England in the early part of the century, the increased regulations and acts passed by the British toward the latter part of the

[36] C. Hugh Holman and William Flint Thrall, *A Handbook to Literature: Based on the Original Edition by William Flint Thrall and Addison Hibbard*, 4th ed. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1980), 127, 306-307, 311; Alex Preminger, Frank J. Warnke, and O. B. Hardison, *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, Enl. ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974), 189-190, 585-586.

century helped to promote a mood of defiance that revealed itself in song. As a result, odes before the war exhibited hopes for peace, while odes during and after the war greatly focused on patriotic sentiments.

A number of published odes and other proceedings during the period from 1761-1798 provided rich sources for closer examination. One common thread in all of these examples is that each of these commencements or public occasions included odes as part of the program. Many of these commencement records came from the College of Philadelphia, though other examples mentioned here appeared at Dartmouth and Princeton. In general terms, sample proceedings noted from 1761 and 1762 praised the King and the monarchy of England.[37] Three other examples following this period, but prior to 1776, promoted peace.[38] Few documents existed of commencement proceedings during the Revolutionary period. In the case of Yale, the

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[37] Francis Hopkinson, *An Exercise. Containing a Dialogue [the Dialogue by the Rev. Dr. Smith.] and Ode, Sacred to the Memory of His Late Gracious Majesty George Ii. -- Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 1761.*, *The Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings of Francis Hopkinson, Esq.* (Philadelphia: T. Dobson, 1792), Title; Jacob Duché, Francis Hopkinson, and College Academy and Charitable Schools of Philadelphia, *An Exercise, Containing a Dialogue and Ode on the Accession of His Present Gracious Majesty, George Iii, Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 18th, 1762* (Philadelphia: Printed by W. Dunlap in Market-Street, 1762), Title.

[38] Nathaniel Evans and College of New Jersey, *A Dialogue on Peace, an Entertainment Given by the Senior Class at the Anniversary Commencement, Held at Nassau-Hall September 28th, 1763* (Philadelphia: Printed by William Bradford, 1763), Title; Nathaniel Evans, Paul Jackson, and College Academy and Charitable Schools of Philadelphia, *An Exercise, Containing a Dialogue and Ode on Peace, Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 17th, 1763* (Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart at the Bible-in-Heart in Second-Street, 1763), Title; Thomas Coombe and College Academy and Charitable Schools of Philadelphia., *An Exercise, Containing a Dialogue and Two Odes Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, November 17, 1767* (Philadelphia: Printed by William Goddard in Market-Street., 1767), 1-8.

college authorities suspended operations between 1777 and 1781, due to the war.[39] Proceedings after the war generally stressed patriotism and nationalism.[40]

At first glance, questions may exist as to whether participants sang or read the odes. A number of indicators suggest quite clearly that individuals sang the odes as opposed to reciting or reading them aloud. The example from the College of Philadelphia dated 1761 indicated, "Set to music." Also, the strains of the 1761 and 1762 odes included notations such as "chorus," "recitative," "air," and "a slow symphony."[41]

The three examples following 1762, but prior to 1776 included similar notations of "air," "chorus" and "duet." The odes of 1790 at Philadelphia and 1798 at Dartmouth gave more specific references. The title page of the 1790 proceeding stated, "Containing an ODE, set to

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[39] Henry A. Beers, "Yale College," *Scribners Monthly*, April 1876, 772.

[40] William Smith and College Academy and Charitable Schools of Philadelphia, *An Exercise, Performed at the Public Commencement, in the College of Philadelphia, July 17, 1790 Containing an Ode, Set to Music, Sacred to the Memory of Dr. Franklin.: This Exercise Consists of Lines, Partly Original, and Partly Selected or Altered from Former Similar Compositions in This College, as They Were Hastily Thrown Together, for the Occasion of the Present Commencement; It Is Hoped That They Will Be Received with the Usual Indulgence of a Candid Public* (Philadelphia: Printed and sold by William Young bookseller the corner of Second and Chesnut-Streets., 1790), 1-11; Josiah Dunham, *An Oration, for the Fourth of July, 1798 Delivered in the Meeting-House, in the Vicinity of Dartmouth-College, at Hanover, in Newhampshire, at the Request of the Inhabitants of Said Hanover, and the Adjacent Towns, Who Assembled There for the Celebration of the 22d Anniversary of American Independence, and Published by Their Desire* (Printed at Hanover, Newhampshire: Benjamin True, 1798), Title.

[41] Hopkinson, *An Exercise. Containing a Dialogue [the Dialogue by the Rev. Dr. Smith.] and Ode, Sacred to the Memory of His Late Gracious Majesty George Ii. -- Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 1761.*, 77, 80-81; Duché, Hopkinson, and Philadelphia, *An Exercise, Containing a Dialogue and Ode on the Accession of His Present Gracious Majesty, George Iii, Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 18th, 1762*, 6-8.

music."[42] The ode identified its respective music as the air "Thou Soft-Flowing Avon" and included complete musical notation with verse. The dialogue following the ode included more reference to song:

> How sweet the power of *music* and of song,
> To lighten woe, and ev'ry joy prolong!
> "Music the fiercest pangs of grief can charm,
> And the severest rage of fate disarm;
> Can sooth the savage, soften pain to ease,
> And bid even sad despair and anguish please."
> - Proceed we then to close this festive day –
> To SONG and SCIENCE give the parting lay.
> Hail Science, hail! How glorious is thy reign!
> Sweet *Peace* and ev'ry virtue in thy train![43]

The writer obviously appeared weary of the recent conflict and encouraged listeners to direct their energies toward learning, music and peaceful pursuits, and implied that song might bridge conflict and allow calmer, reasonable heads to prevail.

The 1798 "Oration for the Fourth of July" included two musical references consisting of an ode and a hymn. Both pieces listed verse, but no notation. The first, "A Patriotic Ode," listed the tune "Dauphine" with the chorus noted in italic. The second, "A Parody, of the Marseilles Hymn," indicated, "As sung at the late celebration at Hanover."[44] The writer noted the chorus for the hymn also in italic.

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[42] Smith and Philadelphia, *An Exercise, Performed at the Public Commencement, in the College of Philadelphia, July 17, 1790 Containing an Ode, Set to Music, Sacred to the Memory of Dr. Franklin.: This Exercise Consists of Lines, Partly Original, and Partly Selected or Altered from Former Similar Compositions in This College, as They Were Hastily Thrown Together, for the Occasion of the Present Commencement; It Is Hoped That They Will Be Received with the Usual Indulgence of a Candid Public*, Title.

[43] Ibid., 9.

[44] Dunham, *An Oration, for the Fourth of July, 1798*, 14-15.

The first mention of singing at Princeton occurred at the college commencement ceremony of 1760 in Exhibition Hall. In addition to orations and disputations, President Samuel Davies, a poet and orator himself, composed two odes performed during the program. Singing of an "Ode on Science" concluded the forenoon exercises. Singing of an "Ode on Peace" concluded the event as a whole, to the pleasures and satisfaction of the audience.[45] Singing provided an interlude to the various disputes and oratory of the program.

A similar program at Princeton transpired in 1762 with "Poetical Entertainment" and "choruses of music" interspersed throughout the festivities. Some member or members of the graduating class composed a piece titled, "The Military Glory of Great Britain." Five different speakers delivered the dramatic twelve-page poem, which was divided by four choruses of music. The introductory chorus for this ode expressed a common sentiment found in other odes during this period:

> *Triumphant Fame ascend the Skies,*
> *Ever glorying in our Isle,*
> *Loud proclaim o'er distant Realms*
> *How* BRITISH POWER, *and* BRITISH GLORY *rise*.[46]

While this commencement of 1762 saluted the glory of Britain, by the end of the decade, the ceremonial occasions reflected American patriotism and the growth of an American identity symbolized by participants dressed in homespun attire.[47]

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[45] Henry Alfred Todd, "Commencement Day," in *The Princeton Book: A Series of Sketches Pertaining to the History, Organization and Present Condition of the College of New Jersey* (Boston: Houghton Osgood and company, 1879), 173-174, Todd included a reprinted account of the event published the day after the ceremony on September 25, 1760. He attributed the account to "one of those good old-fashioned news letters."

[46] Ibid., 175.

[47] Ibid., 174-176.

President Davies not only composed odes for the commencement ceremony mentioned, but he also introduced a number of practical changes in the operation of the college. This included substituting psalmody for the practice of scripture readings at evening prayers. Though Davies' administration was short, one writer described him as a popular president. He increased the student body to around a hundred and cultivated the scholarship, scriptural lessons and English compositions of the students.[48]

Odes also often eulogized the passing of members of the college, community or distinguished individuals. The *Massachusetts Spy* duplicated the complete ode with musical notation and dialogue for the commencement program of the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania) in 1790. The explanation indicated that the Reverend Mr. Blagrove sang the ode in honor of Benjamin Franklin who passed away the previous April, and Mr. William Meredith and Mr. James Coxe spoke the dialogue.[49]

As demonstrated by the original documents and newspaper accounts of commencement programs, musical odes and other forms of vocal and instrumental music served as a recurring feature of college programs. Like the orations that usually preceded them, the odes highlighted examples of humor, acumen, political commentary, patriotism, and allegiance through song. It is obvious that the verse served to entertain and to inspire as well as to communicate ideas and public opinion.

Like the odes, one scholar noted, "The majority of the Revolutionary War song texts certainly were intended to be sung." Most gave clear music cues, indicated a specific tune, or

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[48] William H. Hornblower, "History of the College of New Jersey," in *The Princeton Book: A Series of Sketches Pertaining to the History, Organization and Present Condition of the College of New Jersey* (Boston: Houghton Osgood and company, 1879), 11-12.

[49] "Miscellanies," *Massachusetts SPY, or The Worcester Gazette*, September 2, 1790, 1.

included an imitative first line or chorus. Some also included music. Most Revolutionary songs came from patriotic, pastoral, and satirical tunes of mid-eighteenth century ballad operas and pleasure garden entertainments — a melodic and lyrical genre that went out of style in both England and America after 1800.

Americans sang metrical psalms, hymns and ballads to many different tunes, but most secular popular and topical songs circulated as "set tunes" where there existed a consistent text/tune association. Recommended tunes often set the mood of the songs and the intended airs usually suggested comedy, satire and other word play that added additional subtle or overt meanings to the text. Texts often ridiculed the enemy, but would not necessarily appeal to the patriot's ardor. Those feelings generally arose from songs like "Rule Britannia" and "God Save the King."[50]

One feature that best characterized military music, the "beat of the drum," introduced an everyday part of military life that resonated through the adjacent towns. The drum, essential for the militia, also served lay and religious purposes. It warned, signaled, notified and ordered. It called people to meetings, worship and other events. Samuel Sewall noted the march of military processions. The Viols and Drums played by turns, a distinction between later band music and field music. Often, instrumentation included drums, fifes, bugles, violins, violas as well as other instruments available at the time.

While Bostonians hated the British, they enjoyed the military music and the regimental bands, which increased along with the number of regiments leading up to the Revolution. One of

[50] Arthur F. Schrader, "Songs to Cultivate the Sensations of Freedom," in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820 : A Conference Held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, May 17 and 18, 1973*, ed. Barbara Lambert, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980), 1:107-110.

these, the 64th Regiment, often gave frequent concerts. Although New Englanders resented their presence, they continued to enjoy the military music, parades and changing of the guard up until the Revolutionary War. The American regiments duplicated the military music of the British for their own purposes. Many of the troops performed and sang liberty songs. Lyrics often included satire, ridicule and numerous metaphorical references. The ballads of the Revolutionary War continued the expansion of musical culture, one that produced camaraderie among the citizens and students as well as the soldiers. As one scholar described the period, "Not until the 1960s, when rock and roll, folk music, and reform fused together in the student protest movement did balladry and vernacular music again play as important a role as they did during the revolution."[51]

Patriotic music predominated in many of the early concerts including college ceremonies as concerts in general increased in popularity throughout the century. One of the earliest references to instrumental accompanied singing at Harvard occurred at a reception given for the Royal Governor Thomas Hutchinson in 1771. The president of the college, fellows, and professors received the governor at Harvard Hall. The Overseers then welcomed him in the Philosophy Chamber. Since the diminutive Chapel could not accommodate all of the officials and representatives in attendance, they proceeded to the Meeting House led by the students of the college, graduates and undergraduates. After orations and other presentations, the students performed an original composition. The anthem, a version of the psalm beginning "We have heard with our ears, O Lord," included the passage, "Thus saith the Lord, from henceforth,

[51] Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 64-65.

behold all nations shall call thee blessed; for thy Rulers shall be of thine own kindred' your Nobles shall be of yourselves, and thy Governor shall proceed from the midst of thee."[52]

This event concluded the "last great ceremony of the old régime." On March 14, 1771, Hutchinson received a royal commission as Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Massachusetts Bay after serving as acting governor since the departure of Sir Francis Bernard.[53] The students' composition likely influenced future ceremonies. In 1781, the commencement exercises "opened by an anthem performed by a collegiate band of musicians." This latter celebration likely had a more patriotic tone.[54]

Similar concerts took place at other campuses. An advertisement in *The Independent Gazetteer* on July 7, 1788, noted that an exhibition the following day in the College of Philadelphia's university hall would consist of music complementing an oration on the Independence of the United States delivered in unison by thirteen young gentlemen. The program included the song "God Save America," and a band of musicians performed "General Washington's March."[55]

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[52] Raoul Francois Camus, "Military Music of Colonial Boston," in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820: A Conference Held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, May 17 and 18, 1973*, ed. Barbara Lambert, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980), 1:75-76, 81, 84; Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 63-64; Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 142-144; Walter Raymond Spalding, *Music at Harvard: A Historical Review of Men and Events*, *Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977; reprint, 1935), 35.

[53] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 141.

[54] Harvard University. and William Goodfellow Land, *Harvard University Handbook; an Official Guide to the Grounds, Buildings, Libraries, Museums, and Laboratories, with Notes on the History, Development and Activities of All Departments of the University* (Cambridge, Mass,: Harvard university press, 1936), 160; Elliot Forbes, *A History of Music at Harvard to 1972* (Cambridge, Mass.: Dept. of Music Harvard University, 1988), 1.

[55] "Philadelphia, July 7," *The Independent Gazetteer*, July 7, 1788, 3.

Musicians performed a concert of sacred music on July 14, 1790, in the college hall of the College of Philadelphia. The performance concluded with the Hallelujah Chorus. The newspaper article credited a Mrs. Henry for her inspiring delivery. The writer described her as well known for her other music and theater performances. She gave "pleasing proof of her excellence in Sacred Musick." A Mr. Blagrove sang anthems with the "judicious exertion of his excellent voice" and a Mr. Adgate directed a choir described as "truly sublime."[56]

At Princeton on July 4, 1798, New York's *Commercial Advertiser* recorded that the celebrations of the twenty-second anniversary of American Independence included a band of students with various instruments. They performed the "President's march" to open and close the orations given by the literary societies in the college hall. They concluded with the same march, "And the ladies and gentlemen below joining with their voices." [57]

Josiah Meigs, Yale professor and later president of the University of Georgia, responded in the *Connecticut Journal* in 1798 regarding questions of his patriotism. He recalled singing the ode "Hail Columbia" with a group of "Gentlemen and Ladies" during the previous Fourth of July ceremonies. His argument highlighted several strains of the song. [58]

As these examples revealed, in a relatively short period of time, college singing and American singing went through a multitude of changes. From support of England, to pleas for peace, then to protest and patriotism, America's college campuses experienced extraordinary dynamics in the education and social realms that extended beyond the obvious political and

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[56] "Philadelphia, July 15. Grand Concert of Sacred Music, Performed Yesterday Evening in the College Hall," *The Norwich-Packet & Country Journal*, July 30, 1790, 2.

[57] "Princeton, July 5," *Commercial Advertiser*, July 14, 1798, 2.

[58] Josiah Meigs, "For the Connecticut Journal," *Connecticut Journal*, October 24, 1798,

military conflict. America's singing habits changed and America's colleges exemplified the complexities of a developing nation through contents and context of their songs.

One of the most important influences on poetry, patriotic music, and ceremonial and religious college singing during this time included the contributions of Timothy Dwight. A Yale graduate and one of its future presidents, Dwight utilized his academic talents through religious, patriotic and ceremonial applications of singing. He valued literature, poetry and song. Throughout his life, President Dwight demonstrated his affection for music. He composed patriotic verse and song, religious verse and song, and, as president of Yale, promoted song in college exercises. Timothy Dwight, aside from his talents as a writer, demonstrated that he was a strong and influential leader. He gained the respect of his students, and perhaps a little trepidation as well. He used song to build traditions and formal expectations regarding chapel services and other college ceremonies. One authority described Dwight as a conservative orthodox Calvinist and, while not exclusively a revival preacher, very much an evangelical. Dwight saturated his students with a theology of nurture and set the stage for a powerful orthodox religious instruction. He observed religious education as the backbone of the aggressive new Calvinism and revivalism infused its lifeblood. [59]

Dwight (1752-1817) attended Yale as an undergraduate from 1765-1769. Described as a prodigy, he also possessed an affinity for sacred music. His talent for music also translated to a discriminating ear as well as a rich voice. His voice easily resonated through the Yale chapel. [60] During his junior year in 1767, Dwight began a collection of church music. One of these, the

[59] Stephen E. Berk, *Calvinism Versus Democracy: Timothy Dwight and the Origins of American Evangelical Orthodoxy* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1974), 74-75, 90.

[60] Charles E. Cuningham, *Timothy Dwight, 1752-1817, a Biography* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), 28.

psalm tune "I Love Thy Kingdom, Lord" became common in many hymn collections.[61] This same year is also the earliest record of Dwight's attempts at poetry.

Dwight achieved recognition as co-valedictorian of his graduating class. In his Valedictory Address of 1776, he explained why his country surpassed all others and why he believed that his country would aspire to great things. He inspired his class and attendees by calling them to action. He charged that, if called to fight, his class should fight for the millennial glory of all mankind and their Maker.[62]

After brief stints as a tutor at Yale and a minister, Dwight accepted an appointment as chaplain of the First Connecticut Brigade. While serving under General Parsons in the Connecticut Brigade, Dwight continued his literary writings. His poetry, patriotic songs and hymns lifted the spirits of the soldiers. He dedicated the most notable of these, "Columbia, Columbia to glory arise," to George Washington with a warm recommendation by General Parsons. General Washington graciously accepted the dedication.[63]

"Columbia" alluded to the same patriotic theme that he addressed in his Valedictory address in July of 1776, three weeks after Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence. "Columbia," published in 1794 and titled as an "ode," included complete musical notation.[64]

Dwight also promoted the education of women and urged families to enable their daughters to attain the same advanced education available to their sons. Therefore,

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[61] Beers, "Yale College," 774.

[62] Cuningham, *Timothy Dwight*, 54-55. Since Dwight shared the honor, he agreed to give his valedictory address when they completed their masters degrees, thus the lapse in time from his junior year.

[63] Ibid., 74-75.

[64] Timothy Dwight, *Columbia: An Ode* (Philadelphia?: Printed by John M'Culloch?, 1794), 1.

coincidentally or purposely, it is appropriate that the graduates of The Young Ladies Academy of Philadelphia chose "Columbia" as part of their commencement ceremonies on December 18, 1794. The ceremony included dialogues and orations. The ode, written by Dwight, "Was gracefully sung by the young ladies."[65]

Reverend Dr. William Jenks who graduated from Harvard in 1797 elaborated about the musical contributions of Dr. Dwight. He reiterated the points about Dwight's impact on patriotism surrounding the Revolutionary War as well as *Columbia's* progressive view on the role and intellectual status of women:

> I have long thought that this stirring ode, 'Columbia! Columbia! To glory arise!' had a great influence in animating national hope and spirit in the revolutionary war, and to a degree which has not been adequately acknowledged. Once when visiting on the Hudson, I made a similar remark to an historical friend, who fully agreed with me. That ode, so enthusiastically patriotic, exhibits a high and just view of female worth and of woman's proper position and work, as man's purifying companion, and the intellectual sharer in his scientific and literary pursuits an well as in the ordinary joys and sorrows of human life."[66]

As president of Yale, Dwight's affinity for singing translated into college customs. Under Dwight, a band of musicians typically led the commencement procession. Sacred music usually preceded and concluded a day filled with orations, dialogues, exhibitions, and conferring of degrees.[67] During his tenure he also revised the collection of Dr. Isaac Watts' *Psalms of*

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[65] James A. Neal, *An Essay on the Education and Genius of the Female Sex. To Which Is Added, an Account, of the Commencement of the Young-Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia, Held the 18th of December, 1794; under the Direction of Mr. John Poor, A.M. Principal* (Philadelphia: Printed by Jacob Johnson & Co., 1795), 14, 24-26.

[66] William Jenks, May 19 1863. Letter reproduced in Benjamin W. Dwight, *The History of the Descendants of John Dwight, of Dedham, Mass* (New York: J. F. Trow & son, printers and bookbinders, 1874), 152-153. A quote by Bernard Bailyn contradicted these characterizations. While some supported female education, Dwight supposedly responded, if women were educated, "Who will make our puddings?" Noted in Bernard Bailyn, *The Great Republic: A History of the American People*, 4th ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1992), 294.

David as requested by the General Association of Connecticut and approved by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. In addition to the revisions, Dwight versified thirty-three Psalms that Watts omitted.[68]

President Dwight regularly attended and conducted the evening worship of the college. He commanded attention with his carriage and stately gate. With his broad-brimmed beaver upon his chest, he entered the chapel bowing alternately to the left and right as he passed the standing students. They responded in kind. During the service Dwight eagerly participated in singing:

> Dr. Dwight had great delight in 'the service of song,' and his own voice often joined with that of the college choir. Occasionally, if the pitch did not suit him (we had no organ or other musical instrument in those old days), another key-note would come booming out of the pulpit at the close of the first stanza, startling to all, but especially discomfiting to those who were responsible for the conduct of this part of the worship. Indeed, I used to think that the music was never much improved by such a nerve-shaking shock.[69]

The author of the recollection goes on to say that President Dwight's voice had a reasonable tone. It was most noticeable during evening prayers. He had a marked rhythm of inflection, swelling and subsiding with predictable regularity.

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[67] Cuningham, *Timothy Dwight*, 288-291.

[68] Ebenezer Baldwin, *Annals of Yale College, in New Haven, Conneticut, from Its Foundation, to the Year 1831* (New Haven: H. Howe, 1831), 148; Many revisions existed of Issac Watts' original works. Dwight's revision was published in 1801 [Isaac Watts, Timothy Dwight, and General Association of Connecticut, *The Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament, and Applied to the Christian Use and Worship*, New / ed. (Hartford [Conn.]: Printed by Hudson and Goodwin, 1801),]; Dwight, *The History of the Descendants of John Dwight, of Dedham, Mass*, 165.

[69] Dwight, *The History of the Descendants of John Dwight, of Dedham, Mass*, 1:35. Benjamin Dwight included the quote from Reverend Willard Child. Child, who graduated from Yale in 1817, recorded this recollection of President Dwight. Child recalled that he saw Dr. Dwight almost daily during college terms. His recollections of him primarily concerned chapel ceremonies. Tarbox also noted the quote in I. N. Tarbox, "The Chapel," in *Yale College, a Sketch of Its History, with Notices of Its Several Departments, Instructors, and Benefactors, Together with Some Account of Student Life and Amusements, by Various Authors*, ed. William L. Kingsley (New York: Holt, 1879), 1:273.

Dwight's chief concern circulated around the religious development and moral rectitude of his students. He instilled a system of parental style government. In the classroom he inspired awe and fear in the students with his large and commanding presence. Some described him as warm and caring. He never fined students, but governed by the eye and by the tongue. He possessed refined manners and a deep and melodious voice, one born to command. He took direct interest in many students, including their activities and progress. He even used his influence to secure positions for college graduates.[70]

From a different perspective, John C. Ogden, an Episcopal priest, criticized Dwight for his Federalist views and for his domineering and authoritative manner. He claimed that Dwight prevented Yale students from attending other church services. Ogden also referred to Dwight's presidency as an aristocracy and considered him "a more formidable character than the Pope of Rome."[71]

Dwight's true personality likely included a mix of these interpretations. While he penned verses for both odes and psalms, Dwight proved that music served to inspire or manipulate the action of patriots and students. Most importantly, he made a significant impact on the use of song in college life. His "Columbia" inspired a nation toward freedom with patriotic imagery, while his use of sacred hymns in college ceremonies maintained obvious strong religious and ceremonial traditions. Dwight established that singing played an important role by bringing people together in various circumstances, from various backgrounds, and for specific institutional purposes.

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[70] John R. Fitzmier, *New England's Moral Legislator: Timothy Dwight, 1752-1817, Religion in North America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 54-56.

[71] Ibid., 65-66.

Music also affected the academic side as well as the patriotic and ceremonial. In Thomas Symmes' justification for regular singing he argued that from the earliest times of Harvard, students studied music.[72] Though these studies most likely occurred outside of the formal college curriculum, Symmes' assertions hold merit owing to the evidence of instruments in the colonies, and the likelihood that families passed on musical traditions. Even the previously mentioned "fun-loving" Professor Wigglesworth must have had little success in constraining his students from the lighter extracurricular pursuits.

The most obvious evidence of academic interest in music comes from the students themselves. The thesis titles from Harvard spanning the eighteenth century supported the notion that students had a regular interest in music. Theses from only seventeen years survived from the seventeenth century, and from 1693 to 1717 only those from 1708 and 1711. From 1717 till 1789, students produced a number of theses on musical topics.[73] "If studied in connection with surviving textbooks and other data, these theses," Morison noted, "Turn a little light into these dark recesses of our long-forgotten curriculum."[74]

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[72] Symmes, *Reasonableness of Regular Singing*. 6, Symmes stated, "It was studied, known and approv'd of in our *College*, for many Years after its first Founding. This is evident from the Musical *Theses*, which were formerly Printed, and from some Writings containing some Tunes with Directions for *singing by Note*, as they are now Sung; and these are yet in Being, tho' of more than *Sixty Years* standing; besides no Man that Studied *Musick*, as it is treated of by *Alsted*, *Playford* and others, could be ignorant of it." [Symmes' punctuation] Symmes made this his first point in his first argument in support of regular singing; Irwin, "Theology of 'Regular Singing'," 182; Morison, *Harvard Seventeenth Century*, 1:116-117, 246.

[73] Edward T. Dunn, "Musical Theses at Colonial Harvard," in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820: A Conference Held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, May 17 and 18, 1973*, ed. Barbara Lambert, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985), Appendix D, 2:1159-1168.

[74] Morison, *Harvard Seventeenth Century*, 2:161; Also noted in Dunn, "Musical Theses at Harvard," 1160.

Colleges printed single-side broadside programs for every commencement from 1642 until 1820. The broadsides listed the theses according to subject. Music theses often remained grouped beneath the quantifiable subjects of physics or mathematics, and were not typically selected for disputations. Debate usually revolved around topics such as space, time, matter, passions, reason and revelation, natural law, and creation. Members of the graduating class submitted the list of theses for approval by the president, who asterisked certain ones for disputation or debate for the commencement program.

The music related titles still hinted at general student attitudes as well as the larger societal interest in song and music. Like Thomas Walter, one of the original supporters of regular singing who partly advocated music as a product of the pleasing laws of mathematics and physics, some titles also expressed a similar mathematical connection: *Musica est ars tonos modulandi secundum quantitatem et qualitatem* or "Music is the art of modulating tones according to quantity and quality" (1717), *Trias harmonica est radix omnis harmoniae quae excogitare potest* or "A harmonious triad is the root of every possible harmony" (1762). Some titles dealt more with musical aesthetics: *Musica est ars quae ex congrua sonorum mixtione sonorum harmonia producitur* or "Music is the art by which harmony is produced from the congruous mixture of sounds" (1722), *Musicae partes sunt vel* euphonia *vel* symphonia or "The parts of music are *euphony* or *symphony"* (1723), *Musica est ars harmonice vocem et instrumenta modulandi* or "Music is the art of harmoniously modulating voice and instruments" (1728), *Musica est ars sonos voce et instrumentis modulandi* or "Music is the art of producing pleasing sounds by voice and instruments" (1730). Still other titles promoted a connection between song and healthy living: *Animi et corpus affectus a musica corrigi possunt* or "States of soul and body can be improved by music" (1731), *Aeris undulationes instrumentis musicis*

excitatae propriam fibris communicando motionem salutem promovent or “Air waves set up by musical instrument promote health by communicating their motion to the nerves” (1759).

Over forty-five theses touched on musical subjects during this span. Certain ones, as those highlighted above, spoke to various elements including the use of instruments and the qualities of harmony. While not all of the earliest records survived, the majority of them did and those demonstrated the continued presence of musical topics near the forefront of students’ interests.

As the academic and ceremonial side of higher education continued to demonstrate singing trends, so did the extracurricular. The gradual emergence, then rapid expansion, of student groups in the latter part of the century multiplied the extracurricular and informal uses of song. The beginning of college student groups formed the key to how singing meshed with more contemporary notions of college and fraternity songs. By examining the growth of student organizations it is possible to develop a better understanding of the context in which singing evolved and influenced the activities of students, college officials, and formal and informal college functions. While some student clubs eventually developed primarily for the purposes of singing, singing in college seldom served as the sole purpose and end product of student groups. More importantly, however, is that singing persisted as a consistent element of most student organizations, even the earliest ones.

Few student organizations existed in the early eighteenth century and those that did were short-lived. Some met for worship, others for lectures (a prelude to the literary societies). Some simply met to enjoy learned conversation, pipes, tobacco and beer. Often these early groups met in secrecy. The greatest impact in the form of organized student groups came in the form of

literary societies in the mid-1700s. The societies engaged in elaborate dramatic productions that often included song.[75]

The mid-eighteenth century marked the inauguration of literary societies at Yale, Harvard and Princeton. These included Linonia at Yale in 1753 and its rival, Brothers in Unity, founded in 1768. Princeton had the American Whig and Cliosophic societies. Most institutions developed a similar pattern of two rival literary groups. Other quasi-literary clubs and exclusive literary societies developed at Harvard including Phi Beta Kappa in 1781 and the Hasty Pudding Club in 1795.[76]

It is the intellectual contribution of literary societies that is generally highlighted by historians, and logically so, but there is a lesser examined (and acknowledged), but no less important, social aspect to these student groups. Beyond their library catalogues, their by-laws, and their official debate activities, these organizations contributed significantly to the social interactions and activities of students that often surpassed their explicitly detailed formal purpose.

From accounts of regular meetings at Yale, literary societies often engaged in activities, including singing, in addition to the formal debates, for which they were known. Comedies, farces and plays often enlivened the meetings and were usually a main feature of annual exhibitions, but singing served as a lively focal point. At the twentieth anniversary in 1773, the celebrations of the Linonian Society included orations, elections of officers and a lecture.

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[75] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 61-63.

[76] Rudolph, *American College and University*, 137; Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 78, 107; Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 138-141, 180-182; Edward B. Coe, "The Literary Societies," in *Yale College, a Sketch of Its History, with Notices of Its Several Departments, Instructors, and Benefactors, Together with Some Account of Student Life and Amusements, by Various Authors*, ed. William L. Kingsley (New York,: Holt, 1879), 1:308.

Following dinner, some of the members presented a comedy entitled "West Indian." The officers were dressed in regimental attire and the "actresses" in "elegant suits of lady's apparel." Between the third and fourth acts society members Fenn and Johnson, in the characters of Damon and Clora, sang a musical dialogue. An epilogue written for the occasion followed. The performers repeated the musical dialogue. The assembly culminated with a mock valedictory oration and response, then concluded with a procession to the college.[77]

In 1780, Linonia's anniversary began with a procession from the Chapel to the State-house where a large audience had assembled for the event. The society presented two plays, a tragedy called "Ximena," and a comedy titled, "Love Makes a Man." The annual celebration became so popular that the organizers decided to admit spectators by ticket. The college, concerned about the nature and scope of the festivities, forbade the acting of plays. So, in 1783, instead of singing and acting, "A humorous Dialogue was spoken." Even that stipulation did not dampen the festivities for "the Society enjoyed the delights of the sparkling glass, bountiful Ceres, and friendly sociability." The following year, the complete theatrical entertainments returned with participants performing the tragedy of Ulysses and two farces. In 1789, society members wrote the first original dramatic pieces especially for the occasion. The anniversary celebrations recurred as regular and popular occasions. If the college authorities objected to the acting of plays in a particular year, members substituted the spoken dialogue. However, within a year or two, the event always reverted to the previous musical and theatrical form.[78]

Brothers in Unity began with similar purpose and intention as Linonia, but its constitution was unique. Its guiding principles noted, "The grand design of every moral action is to procure

[77] Coe, "The Literary Societies," 1:311-312.

[78] Ibid., 313-315.

enjoyment." Other statements referred to the "condition of solitary disunion" as "intolerable and unhappy," and "thus induce us to engage in social combinations." The society formed for the "improvement of science and friendship."[79] While Brothers began as a literary society, its founders considered social aspects as a primary attraction for current and future members. The literary societies of Brothers and Linonia served the intellectual needs of its members, but they also fed the social fellowship that was a natural product of student participation. This community of socialization served a broader purpose beyond those outlined in their intellectual founding.

The Masonic movement likely made a significant impression on the shift from the college literary societies to the social fraternities that followed. The Masons also used song as part of their regular meetings and rituals. They even produced their own song collections. Benjamin Franklin's *The Constitution of the Free-Masons* (1734) included songs bound at the end. This represented one of the earliest songsters of American secular music.

Irving Lowens, the music scholar, defined a songster, like Franklin's compilation, as "a collection of three or more secular poems intended to be sung." Lowens categorized the eighteenth-century American songsters into various groups: general, Masonic, juvenile, patriotic, theatrical, sea and miscellaneous. Songsters proliferated in the late 1700s, primarily in Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts. Songsters began with Freemasonry, a secret society of freethinkers who included many religious styled rituals. Membership represented an adjunct to social success. Organized religion generally opposed their existence.

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[79] Ibid., 1:316.

"Masonic lodges were places where songs were sung," Lowens noted, "And Masonic processions were invariable accompanied by music." [80] In the *Boston Gazette* in 1768, the local masons assembled at the Concert-Hall for the installation of leaders of the fraternity. The ceremonies included a band of musicians a variety of music, songs and other entertainments.[81]

The historian Frederick Rudolph noted that fraternities incorporated much of the Masonic rituals into their own movements. Students chose to remain with the secret orders and this frustrated the evangelical revivals of the mid century. Another scholar said that the knowledge of Masonic rituals "much impressed boys of college age and is probably one cause of the founding of a new type of college secret societies at this particular time — an imitation by these youth of their elders." Fraternity historians themselves specifically acknowledged copying from Freemasonry.[82] Students obviously enjoyed the rituals, including song, and integrated variations into their own organizations.

Even college presidents joined in the activities of the Masonic movement. An extract of a letter dated June 25, 1788, noted the Anniversary of St. John and the program by the Society of Free and Accepted Masons that assembled in the New Hall of Washington College. The procession included the pageantry of a commencement. The President of Washington College

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[80] Irving Lowens, "Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts Songsters," in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820: A Conference Held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, May 17 and 18, 1973,* ed. Barbara Lambert, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985), 2:547-551; Hoover, "Epilogue to Secular Music in Early Massachucetts," 775.

[81] "Boston, November 28," *The Boston Gazette, and Country Journal*, November 28, 1768, 3.

[82] Rudolph, *American College and University*, 147; Frederick C. Waite, *Western Reserve University, the Hudson Era; a History of Western Reserve College and Academy at Hudson, Ohio, from 1826 to 1882* (Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1943), 251.

gave a presentation. After the program, students performed the "Battle of Hastings" and a farce.[83]

A student in Williams College penned "An Ode, On Masonry" for St. John's Day, December 1796, which began:

> Songs of immoral honour raise,
> To our Almighty King,
> While heaven resounds aloud his praise,
> And holy Seraphs sing.

and concluded:

> Let all the wond'ring-nations know,
> Free Masonry is this;
> "Sweet peace and harmony below,
> "A type of future bliss."[84]

As it did for this student, masonic rituals of singing likely appealed to the college fraternities that followed.

While the Masonic movement influenced student behavior, other organized student groups evolved in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Vocal music clubs existed in several colleges during colonial times. These early clubs, including the Singing Club of Harvard College (begun in 1786), primarily focused on psalmody. However, students did not limit themselves to proper forms of church music. Perhaps a closer musical connection existed between the two colleges, for at Yale, Chauncy Langdon, described in his *Beauties of Psalmody* as a "member of the Musical Society of Yale College," published a collection of Psalm tunes also in 1786. He is

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[83] "Extract of a Letter from Chestertown, (Maryland) Dated June 25th," *The Independent Gazetteer*, July 7, 1788, 3;

[84] Field, "An Ode on Masonry," *The Connecticut Gazette*, April 17, 1797, 4. [no first name listed].

likewise credited for a secular songster the same year.[85] These musical societies likely drew some inspiration from the singing-school movement.

Beauties of Psalmody included rules and instructions for singing. Langdon provided an overview of musical notation with related graphical representations for various elements. He gave a brief overview on proper delivery and attention to accents. He also stressed to the extreme that facial expressions or gestures should not distract from the delivery:

> It ought likewise to be the Care of every Performer to behave with Decency and Solemnity, especially when singing sacred Words, and to avoid as much as possible all aukward [*sic*] Gestures, such as looking about, whispering, standing or sitting not erect, having their Faces distorted with Wrinkles, their Eyes strained, and their Mouth open too wide: all which frequently disgust Spectators.[86]

Langdon urged that the voice should flow freely and with ease. The collection consisted of twenty-four psalm tunes and three psalm anthems. In the preface to the collection, Langdon explained that the purpose of the publication served to furnish the members of the Musical Society of Yale with "a useful Collection of the Psalm-Tunes and Anthems" and "at a very cheap rate."

Langdon likely hoped to make some profit from his efforts for, again, he noted in the preface to his *Collection of Elegant Songs* that the purpose of this collection was to "furnish the Lovers of Vocal Music with a cheap Collection of elegant and approved Songs." He also noted in the introduction that some songs, originally intended for flute or violin, were adapted to the

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[85] Chauncy Langdon, *Beauties of Psalmody, Containing Concisely the Rules of Singing with a Collection of the Most Approved Psalm-Tunes and Anthems by a Member of the Musical Society of Yale College* (New Haven: Printed by Daniel Bowen; sold by Amos Doolittle, 1786), Title; Chauncy Langdon and Amos Doolittle, *The Select Songster or a Collection of Elegant Songs with Music Prefixed to Each* (New Haven: Printed by Daniel Bowen in Chapel-Street, 1786), Title; John Sullivan Dwight, "Musical Clubs of Harvard: The Pierian Sodality," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 39 (1879), 147; Henry Davidson Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs* (New York: D. Appleton, 1901), 163.

[86] Langdon, *Beauties of Psalmody*, 2.

voice. This secular songster included forty entries. He selected the first song as "Damon and Clora" perhaps as Linonia sang it in 1773. Other titles included "Dauphin," "The Flowing Bowl" and "The Young Lover."

In comparing the two collections, it is apparent that students found appropriate times and places for both kinds of singing. While the scripture based psalm tunes suited worship services, the secular songs like "The Flowing Bowl" with lyrics thus, "Drain the flowing bowl, boys, Wisdom at the bottom lies,"[87] clearly satisfied a much more casual atmosphere. Langdon, through his songsters and his association with the early Music Society of Yale College, demonstrated that both kinds of singing were very much a part of formal and informal college life in the late eighteenth century.

Perhaps members of this same association produced one of the earliest known college songs, "A Song on Vacation," in 1796. Written by Daniel Tillotson (Yale, 1798) and David B. Wilcockson (Yale, 1798), the notation appeared to give Tillotson credit for the lyrics and Wilcockson credit for the composition. The song included musical notation and the words pleaded:

> Ye sons of Yale
> With visage pale,
> Come join the happy chorus;
> Vacation's near
> Our hearts to cheer,
> When girls & wine shall moor us.[88]

[87] Langdon and Doolittle, *The Select Songster or a Collection of Elegant Songs with Music Prefixed to Each*, 63.

[88] Daniel Tillotson and D. B. Wilcoxson, *A Song on Vacation* (Yale college, 1796), Title. The title above the music indicated "by Daniel Tillotson." The writing above the first staff at the top, right-hand corner indicated "music by Daniel B. Wilcockson." Noted in Walter S. Collins, "The Yale Song Books, 1853-1978," in *Vistas of American Music: Essays and Compositions in Honor of William K. Kearns*, ed. Susan L. Porter and John Graziano, *Detroit Monographs in Musicology/Studies in Music* (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1999), 198; Original at Yale's Beinecke Library.

Aside from how the verse reflected how little students might have changed over the past 200 years, the song demonstrated that students, even prior to the eighteenth century, enjoyed singing and creating musical mementos of college life. These lyric capsules often endured for future students and alumni who fondly recalled their college experience.

As at Yale, Harvard had early evidence of students assembling for the purpose of music and singing. Jonathan Sullivan Dwight, who graduated from Harvard in 1832, started a musical journal, *Dwight's Journal of Music*. Dwight documented many of the early activities of Harvard's music clubs and societies.[89] Dwight stated that "there doubtless had been musical clubs in college at various times before the most enduring one, the Pierian Sodality, was founded." He described the records of the previously mentioned singing club, a "little oblong, leather-bound, well-worn, and yellowed volume" resembling a psalm-tune book showing the payment transactions and containing the heading, "The Accompts of the Treasure of the Singing Club of Harvard College." Notes indicated that the club began on November 9, 1786, and continued to May 1803. Dwight indicated that how earlier or later it may have been in existence is unknown. The book listed transactions in shillings and pence. He included an excerpt in his article:

> From such entries and these, - "3 vols. Worcester Collection 4th ed., 15 shillings"; "Holden's Music, 8 shillings"; "Harmonica Sacra"; Harmonia Americana"; "Laws small Collection," etc. – it is clear that the Singing Club mainly, if not exclusively, courted the muse of old New England psalmody; while several mentions of incredibly small sums (L2, or so) spent for a bass-viol, and frequent pence and shillings for strings and bows, intimate that the vocal *consentus* was not altogether without instrumental accompaniment. [90]

[89] Forbes, *A History of Music at Harvard to 1972*, 1.

[90] Dwight, "Musical Clubs of Harvard: The Pierian Sodality," 147-148, reprinted from *The Harvard Book, vol II* (1875): 363-6

The booklet included a number of prominent names including, in 1786, President John Thornton Kirkland (President, 1810-1828) and, under 1799, the future Mayor Leverett Saltonstall. The record plainly demonstrated an organized group by their small library and efforts to procure instruments. In 1793, at one of the earliest formal singing opportunities for the club, the group, with band accompaniment, performed Williams' "Friendship" at the senior valedictory. The formal group also attracted accomplished students who later became leaders in various capacities.[91]

Prominent individuals also enjoyed the lighter, informal side of singing associated with college life. The sixth President of the United States, John Quincy Adams, noted in his diary for January 3, 1788:

> Pass'd the evening at Little's in Newbury. A Mr. Coffin, who graduated two years ago at Harvard, was there. We spent our time in sociable chat and in singing; not such unmeaning, insignificant songs as those with which we killed our time last evening, but good, jovial, expressive songs such as we sang at College, 'when mirth and jollity prevail'd. One evening of this kind gives me more real satisfaction than fifty pass'd in a company of girls (I beg their pardon).[92]

President Adams' comments revealed the persistence of casual college singing and how song reinforced a strong social bond between him and his former classmates. Like Adams, a larger number of Harvard graduates during this time became distinguished more than any other era, yet students also found more ways to enjoy the extracurricular activities of college life. Music became a popular form of expression.[93]

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[91] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard,* 201.

[92] Hoover, "Epilogue to Secular Music in Early Massachucetts," 770-771, Hoover quoted Adams from *Life in a New England Town: 1787-1788* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1903. 79.

[93] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard,* 201-202.

The use of odes in college ceremonies, the impact of Timothy Dwight and the emergence of student groups demonstrated the widespread involvement in music and singing during the eighteenth century, from the formal to informal, and from the religious to secular. The use of odes in formal college functions during this time influenced commencements and exhibitions for future college generations. Poetry, prose, and lyrical poetry, of which odes were a prominent part, demonstrated the dynamic political times and helped develop both a national identity and collegiate traditions through literature and song.

The eighteenth century breathed new life into singing, both sacred and secular, that steadily grew throughout the period. The state of religious singing in the Congregational churches spurred clergy toward singing reforms. The correlation to the Great Awakening was less clear, but the revival movement helped increase the popularity of multi-part hymns, though psalms remained the primary musical feature of most religious services.[94] The significant product of these efforts came in the form of the singing schools that became a regular institution in themselves as the century progressed. These singing schools not only improved religious music, but also, perhaps more significantly, had a lasting impact on the overall secular music cultural identity that shaped unique forms of American musical traditions. Ironically, the heavily promoted religious singing movement helped spawn this broader growth of secular music. While colleges and students continued to sing psalms, a new American identity began to take shape through secular singing.

As part of this secularization, college academic and ceremonial life reflected a regular interest in music per intellectual thinking as well as the ever more elaborate ceremonial trappings of formal college events. The popularity of odes figured into the college ceremonies on regular

[94] Irwin, "Theology of 'Regular Singing'," 187-191.

occasions. Patriotic odes and songs increased during the Revolutionary years and on anniversaries commemorating the country's Independence.

"Almost everywhere one looks in the second half of the eighteenth century," one scholar noted, "New Englanders were singing, listening, playing, and being entertained by music." "The ambivalence that constrained seventeenth-century Puritanism's enjoyment of music," he continued, "had nearly disappeared." Instrumental music, even organ music, gained acceptance. Religious reforms, dissent of churches, secularization, Anglicanization, urbanization, immigration, prosperity and even war contributed to the melodies of New England's golden age of music.[95] Everywhere, people sang. Colleges and college life not only demonstrated the importance of song in general, but also exhibited how singing and music elevated the unique elements of collegiate life.

By the end of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth, however, New England began moving away from the American folkstyle compositions and back toward a European model for a more sophisticated repertoire of music. By 1810 many American tunebooks displayed primarily European songs. Singing societies and congregations sang European and European influenced music while the original New England repertory shifted to the west and south.[96] This shift influenced college life as well.

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[95] Daniels, *Puritans at Play*, 66.

[96] Richard Crawford, "Massachusetts Musicians and the Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody," in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820: A Conference Held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, May 17 and 18, 1973*, ed. Barbara Lambert, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985), 2:583, 585.

CHAPTER 4

COLLEGE SINGING IN STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

American musical directions began shifting prior to the turn of the century. American colleges played a key role in this shift through the performance and imitation of artistic music as well as the casual or popular music of the day that grew from public interests and the influence of new immigrants. While the singing-schools largely promoted secular diversion, the contents of their singing remained sacred. As music historian H. Wiley Hitchock explained, the musical societies of the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century represented the "urban rivals of the singing-schools." These societies organized in the cities as choral or instrumental groups typically under the leadership of professional immigrant musicians and studied the "new, scientific" music of Europe. They generally cultivated an improved taste and performance of sacred music and exposure to more general works of eminent European composers.[1]

German composers and musicians made the greatest impact on music of the Romantic period. This influence shaped college singing and musical societies as well. Americans changed their allegiance in musical tastes from England to Germany in the early part of the century. Those American musicians, affluent enough to study music, traveled to Europe, primarily Germany. The aim of Romantic music, as explained by the editor of *Dwight's Journal of Music*, served to remedy the defect of materialistic society. "Familiarizing men with the beautiful and

[1] H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction, Prentice-Hall History of Music Series* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 39; Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1880)* (New York: Musurgia, 1949), 274.

the infinite" became the credo of cultivated tradition. German music, more than any other, achieved this desired goal. Americans began to slough off the folk style singing traditions of England toward a more refined, artistic European music with a heavy German focus. Americans welcomed German musicians and many Germans served as music teachers in America. Most every musician during this period felt the impact of Beethoven, Handel, Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Liszt and Wagner. [2] Thus, many of the college music society names reflected the names of German composers.

The historian H. Wiley Hitchcock described a divergent trend in American music during the nineteenth century. No clear distinction existed in the early part of the century as similar tunes contributed to both popular music and broadside ballads as well as the more refined occasions of church singing. As the century progressed and growth expanded toward the west, however, Hitchcock argued that the American public pursued the refined classical repertoire on one hand and popular music on the other. Cultivated music prospered in the established urban areas of Boston and New York, while vernacular music predominated in the rural settlements.

Hitchcock expressed this dichotomy as the *cultivated* versus the *vernacular traditions.* The *cultivated tradition* constituted "a body of music that America had to cultivate consciously, music faintly exotic, to be approached with some effort, and to be appreciated for its edification – its moral, spiritual, or aesthetic values." *Vernacular tradition* involved "a body of music more plebeian, native, not approached self–consciously but simply grown into as one grows into one's vernacular tongue, music understood and appreciated simply for its utilitarian or entertainment

[2] Hitchcock, *Music in the United States*, 57-59. Hitchcock noted the quote by Dwight; Michael L. Mark, Charles L. Gary, and MENC the National Association for Music Education (U.S.), *A History of American Music Education,* 2nd ed. (Reston, VA: Menc, 1999), 137-138; Gilbert Chase, *America's Music, from the Pilgrims to the Present,* Rev. 3rd ed., *Music in American Life* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 94-127.

value." He further described vernacular music as "essentially unconcerned with artistic or philosophical idealism; a music based on established or newly diffused American raw materials; a 'popular music' in the larger sense, broadly based, widespread, naïve, and unself-conscious; and a music whose 'success' was measured not by abstract aesthetic standards but by those of the marketplace."[3]

College singing during the first half of the nineteenth century experienced growth in both the cultivated and vernacular. Most colleges had some version of a singing or music society. These societies and other music groups also contributed to official college functions. Students enjoyed the refined tastes of cultivated music, as made obvious by the societies, but they also had plenty of room for the more vernacular (but perhaps no less creative) secular songs, ballads, and poetical verse as well as the spontaneous compositions of undergraduate life. This was most apparent in the popular glee clubs that often formed as subgroups of the societies. The literary societies and emerging fraternities utilized singing as well. Even the most casual associations of students incorporated singing for assorted purposes. However, the most obvious evidence of student and college interest in music emerged through the formal, artistic music societies in the early part of the century.

Around the start of the nineteenth century, college music clubs grew to include oratorio music and gradually added the association of Handel Societies. At Williams College students fashioned an extensive extracurrriculum patterned after contemporary offerings of a metropolitan

[3] Hitchcock, *Music in the United States*, 54-55, 62-63; Irving Lowens gave his own terms as "elite art" and "mass art," though he implied no hierarchy of value between the two (in Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America*, [1st] ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), 266).

city. These extracurricular organizations included an orchestra and a theatre, which likely blended singing along with dramatic poetry and tragedy.[4]

From the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, Williams' Handel and Haydn Society, a student choir, provided sacred music at college functions. In his study of nineteenth century Williams, the historian Frederick Rudolph noted that the college trustees prohibited instrumental music for the 1829 commencement as an unseemly and extravagant expense and in later years did nothing to encourage secular music. However, in 1854, nine students, under the name of Amateur's Philharmonia, performed a concert at the Mansion House, a local lodge and tavern. The program included the music of Josef Labitzky, Franz Schubert, and Giuseppe Verdi. In 1858 a college singing group, organized as the Mendelssohn Society, provided a variety of quartets, informal singing and instrumental ensembles for various occasions. The society gave regular performances that continued into the next decade.[5]

Handel and Haydn Societies appeared on a number of college campuses. Lowell Mason (prolific hymn composer, music publisher and a founder of public school music education in the United States), considered the "father of singing among the children" and who produced (with Elam Ives) the first juvenile music textbooks, published the *Boston Handel and Haydn Society's Collection of Church Music*, in 1821. This publication fostered interest in church and vocal music.[6]

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[4] Frederick Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins and the Log, Williams College, 1836-1872* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), 77-8.

[5] Ibid., 79.

[6] Lowens, *Music and Musicians*, 57, 252; Chase, *America's Music, from the Pilgrims to the Present*, 132-133.

Tutor Rufus Nutting, who attended Dartmouth College from 1810-1814 and participated in the Handel Society at Dartmouth, introduced the idea of a Handel Society at Western Reserve University. Nutting arrived at Western in September of 1828 and, by December, he and ten students had founded the Handel Society. The Handel Society at Western arose soon after the creation of the first literary society and resembled it in a number of respects. The Philozetian Society, the first literary student organization at the university, formed in October 1828. The Handel Society formed less than two months later. The tiny college as a whole consisted of only twelve students in three collegiate classes and eleven students in the preparatory class. The teachers included a professor and two tutors. There, Nutting's Handel Society practically constituted the entire enrollment of the college.

At Western Reserve College, the Handel Society met weekly. The students often began with an hour of singing practice and followed these rehearsals with student- or teacher-led discussions on musical subjects and musicians. The society accumulated a library of musical literature by charging dues, similar to the literary societies. The students received permission in 1835 to form a "Musical Band of Western Reserve College." In 1836, the group served as the college choir for the chapel dedication and often participated in the choirs of local churches.[7]

The Handel Society gave concerts at the Junior Exhibition and during commencement week. For over twenty years members presented an oratorio during commencement festivities.

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[7] Frederick C. Waite, *Western Reserve University, the Hudson Era; a History of Western Reserve College and Academy at Hudson, Ohio, from 1826 to 1882* (Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1943), 61, 143, 239-240. Itinerant teachers provided private instruction at Western in various extracurricular subjects during the period. The short-term courses usually lasted about a month and teachers taught in college facilities or a suitable location in the nearby town. The diary of student John Buss documented his participation in a number of these courses including psalmody, drawing, Hebrew, penmanship, orthoepy (study of the pronunciation of a language), and dancing. The faculty approved of all of these courses except for dancing, which required parental permission, and French.

These occasions frequently included outside performers for solos and instrumental music. A choir leader from Cleveland came once each week to prepare the chorus for these events. On occasion, students presented an oratorio in neighboring cities. Women of college families and townspeople also participated in the society. The college choir included female voices; but at a safe distance; social protocol required women to sit on the opposite side of the chapel from the students in order to limit distraction and to respect the religious nature of the gathering. Nutting and other faculty members encouraged the activities of the Handel Society. When Nutting resigned as professor in 1840, the leadership of the group passed to another faculty member. The Handel society continued its activities through the early 1860s.[8]

The class of 1851 organized the first student glee club, a quartette. Alpha Delta Phi, the first fraternity established in 1841 at Western, published the first collection of fraternity songs, *Songs of Alpha Delta Phi*, in 1855. The compilation included glees, drinking songs and other light-hearted fare from the fraternity's various college chapters. Most of the early public student music at Western favored a religious tone with an occasional oratorio presented by the Handel Society. The early secular music of students consisted of patriotic and popular songs.[9]

At Harvard, the music singing groups, like their psalm-singing predecessors, continued to make a mark on the institution. Five members from the class of 1810 organized Pierian, the oldest known club or band formed for instrumental music at Harvard, in their sophomore year. One of the early members of Pierian, Rev. Samuel Gilman, later authored "Fair Harvard,"

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[8] Ibid., 240.

[9] Ibid., 255, 439. Acknowledging the issue of songbooks by the fraternities, Waite noted, "but at first convivial songs were not included, being considered not in good taste for students." His statement contradicted the contents of the 1855 *Songs of Alpha Delta Phi*, which included, among other lyrics, "drink it down," "let's drink one and all," and "But beams divine through the liquor shine."

Harvard's signature song. In 1819, Pierian, along with another obscure group, "Anacreontics," serenaded President John Thorton Kirkland.[10]

The club's oldest book of copied music contained their repertoire from 1808-1822. The book first listed a series of popular marches, including "Swiss Guards'," "Valentine's," "March in the Overture of Lodoiska" and "Buonaparte's March" among others. Additional works included waltzes, Rondos by Haydn and Pleyel, a portion of Handel's "Water Music," and airs including "Robin Adair," "Yellow-Haired Laddie" and "Aria in the Brazen Mask." Jonathan Dwight, the editor of *Dwight's Journal of Music*, indicated, "These, of the more sentimental kind, occur more frequently as we come further down; doubtless the tender melodies were mingled with many a student's finer dreams – and many a maiden's." He surmised that the quality of the group varied from year to year as a "musical undergraduate is but a bird of passage." Judging from the original musical scores, the early group adopted more of an orchestral form in its instrumentation, which included strings. As the club evolved it became one which was composed of brass instruments as well as flutes and other "soft, persuasive instruments."[11]

Dwight provided some sense of experiencing the group for the first time as a prospective freshman might have observed in 1827-28:

> Shall we forget the scene of Exhibition Day, when the Latin School boy, on the eve of entering college, eager to catch a glimpse beforehand of the promised land, went out to University Hall, and for the first time heard and saw, up there in the side (north) gallery, the little group of Pierians, with their ribbons and their medals, and their shining

[10] Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964), 201-203. John Sullivan Dwight, "Musical Clubs of Harvard: The Pierian Sodality," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 39 (1879), 147. Walter Raymond Spalding, *Music at Harvard: A Historical Review of Men and Events*, *Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977; reprint, 1935), 52.

[11] Dwight, "Musical Clubs of Harvard: The Pierian Sodality," 147.

> instruments, among them that protruding, long, and lengthening monster, the trombone, wielded with an air of gravity and dignity by one who now ranks among our most distinguished scholars, orators, and statesmen? Had any strains of band or orchestra ever sounded quite so sweet to the expectant Freshman's ears as those? [12]

The music lent an air of formality as well as provided an awe-inspiring remembrance of the occasion. Some years after the forming of Pierian, students formed a preparatory ensemble called the Arionic. The Arionic served as a feeder organization for Pierian. Members of Arionic worked toward promotion into the ranks of the elite Pierian ensemble. Dwight described the Arionics as a "noisy nursery." The *Harvard Register* in 1828 noted the importance of song on the college campus, "Let us not forget to mention that the soft notes of the Pierian Sodality still at times steal over the Common at midnight; and that the Arionics strive in humble imitations. Neither the Glees and Catches of the Anacreontics nor the Psalmody of the University choir be passed over in silence."

During Jonathan Dwight's day (1830-32) the group comprised "accomplished flutists," clarinets, French horns, violoncello, and a bass horn. As the class of 1832 graduated, Dwight noted that the Pierians, due to the loss of talent, once again had to fight to maintain their existence. Many times, out of necessity, they borrowed from amateur musicians or drafted departed alumni to aid in a performance commitment.[13]

During the first part of the nineteenth century, vocal and instrumental music overlapped. Students sang together and played together as the available talent and circumstances required.[14]

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[12] Ibid., 147.

[13] Ibid., 147; Spalding, *Music at Harvard*, 53, 120-121. Spalding noted that Dr. Richard Cabot recounted some of these early activities in an address given on April 19, 1933 at the 75th Anniversary of the Glee Club, and published in its entirety in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* (June 16, 1933). Spalding used the quote from the *Harvard Register*.

[14] Spalding, *Music at Harvard*, 120.

While Dwight's previous recollection highlighted the instrumental, vocal singing remained a primary component of the instrumental organization.

As interest and participation in different groups grew, more formal organizations appeared. The Harvard Glee Club officially formed as a part of Pierian on November 12, 1833, and then was founded as a separate club in 1858. The group usually performed according to the occasion at hand. The university choir formally organized in 1834. It met twice weekly and primarily devoted itself to the practice of sacred music and the presentation of religious exercises in the College Chapel.[15]

The events surrounding the Harvard bicentennial in 1836 exemplified the varied interspersion of song by student groups during official college ceremonies. The ceremonies for the bicentennial on September 8, 1836 began at University Hall, then proceeded to the Unitarian Church. Following an invocation, a professional choir sang Samuel Gilman's ode "Fair Harvard," set to Thomas Moore's song, "Believe me if all those endearing young charms." Next, President Josiah Quincy delivered an address. The congregation closed the event by singing strains of "Old Hundred." Leaving the church, the men passed through the Common and executed a turn where the classes could pass one another. At a "pagoda-like pavilion" erected in the college yard, thirteen hundred alumni and eighty guests sat at tables arranged like the "tiers of a Greek theatre" where songs, jokes, speeches, and toasts prevailed. Select alumni

[15] Harvard University. and William Goodfellow Land, *Harvard University Handbook; an Official Guide to the Grounds, Buildings, Libraries, Museums, and Laboratories, with Notes on the History, Development and Activities of All Departments of the University* (Cambridge, Mass,: Harvard university press, 1936), 161; Spalding, *Music at Harvard*, 120-121; Elliot Forbes, *A History of Music at Harvard to 1972* (Cambridge, Mass.: Dept. of Music Harvard University, 1988), 3-4.

extemporaneously delivered an occasional humorous song. Oliver Wendell Holmes (physician, poet, humorist) sang one of these to the melody of "The Poacher's Song":[16]

And who was on the Catalogue
When college was begun?
Two nephews of the President,
And *the* Professor's son,[17]

The historian Samuel Eliot Morison noted that Holmes' lyric was a sure and healthy sign that Harvard was old enough to laugh at itself. President Quincy may not have been amused since he chose not to include the anecdote in the official account of the occasion. As the dinner proceeded, a professional choir sang glees and songs between the toasts. When darkness descended, the students lit bonfires and lamps arranged in patterns and mottoes on the college grounds. The glare illuminated the windows bordering the Yard.[18]

At Yale, The Beethoven Society originally began as a singing club in 1812. Horace Bushnell, who graduated from Yale in 1827, revived the original singing club and formed the "Beethoven Society" in the late 1820s. He initially joined the college choir, but in his junior year, because the choir had "fallen below the ordinary standard," an appointed committee of three worked to revive an interest in music. Mr. Haines, the society's first president, wrote that Bushnell did the primary work including drafting of the constitution and suggesting the name. Bushnell desired to further an interest in fine music, and particularly sacred music, among the

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[16] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 268-271; Forbes, *A History of Music at Harvard to 1972*, 3; Mason Hammond, "Notes on the Words and Music Used in Harvard's Commencement Ceremonies," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 26, no. 2 (1978), 299-306. Hammond provided extensive detail on the origin of "Fair Harvard" as an ode and not a hymn, as well as suggestions regarding the borrowing of the melody from a play called *The Rivals*, which included a song titled "My Lodging is on the Cold Ground."

[17] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 271.

[18] Ibid., 268-272.

students. As part of the 1827 graduation proceedings that lasted from morning to afternoon, the Beethoven Society provided the featured music, including Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus," in the sanctuary of Center Church.[19]

Around 1837, the group averaged 30 members. Singers constituted a majority of the performers and a third of the group comprised the "grand orchestra." The Beethoven Society provided the orchestral and choral music at the college religious exercises especially prior to 1851 when an organ was installed in Battell Chapel. A rival society, "Cecilia," briefly supplanted the Beethoven Society in this role in 1855 due to a change initiated by the faculty, but, after only a few years, it merged with Beethoven. Beethoven again assumed its regular function.[20]

Bushnell, who later became a minister and well-known theologian, had an obvious passion and appreciation for music. Twenty-five years later in August 1852, he delivered an address on "Religious Music" before the Beethoven Society at the dedication of the new organ. He believed that the power and inspiration of music connected the world. As one biographer

[19] Robert Lansing Edwards, *Of Singular Genius, of Singular Grace: A Biography of Horace Bushnell* (Cleveland, Ohio: Pilgrim Press, 1992), 23-26; Robert Bruce Mullin, *The Puritan as Yankee: A Life of Horace Bushnell*, *Library of Religious Biography* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2002), 39; Mary A. Cheney, *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell* (New York,: Arno Press, 1969), 41-42.

[20] Lyman Hotchkiss Bagg, *Four Years at Yale* (New Haven: C.C. Chatfield & co., 1871), 303-304, 573-574 Bagg noted that the substitution of Cecilia grew out of a disagreement with the faculty and the Beethoven Society, but he did not elaborate; Brooks Mather Kelley, *Yale: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 227-228.

described Bushnell, he believed that everything God created had tone, and, through music, Bushnell professed, people are led back to God.[21]

Singing at Yale developed as a prominent feature of student life. The Beethoven Society, as the singing organization for the Chapel, eventually included accompaniment of violins, flutes, a bass-viol, and a bass-horn. I. N. Tarbox, a contributing writer to William Lathrop Kingsley's, *Yale College* (1879), noted that the singing quality became elaborate and attractive. As part of worship services and following prevailing practices of the congregational churches, morning prayers excluded singing, but students always sang a hymn for the evening prayers. During this time the Beethoven Society also provided music for the Junior exhibition and commencement. The repertoire for these occasions included anthems and set pieces, with a mix of secular music. Tarbox noted that the audience enjoyed the performances on these public occasions. Commencement was a great day of celebration during those times and a crowd often gathered regardless of the weather. The audience likely anticipated the singing and other performances that enlivened the program.[22]

Most years each graduating class at Yale hired, at considerable cost, a New York orchestra to play at Center Church for commencement. In 1841, the class organized a concert on the evening before graduation and issued unlimited tickets. As a result, one-third of the audience listened to the concert from the street through the open windows. During a pause in the performances, Richard Storrs Willis (President of the Beethoven Society) presented an address

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[21] Mullin, *The Puritan as Yankee: A Life of Horace Bushnell,* 39; Rev. Henry W. Goodwin, "Horace Bushnell," *New Englander and Yale Review* 40, no. 158 (1881), 15. Cheney, *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell,* 42, 263-264.

[22] I. N. Tarbox, "The Chapel," in *Yale College, a Sketch of Its History, with Notices of Its Several Departments, Instructors, and Benefactors, Together with Some Account of Student Life and Amusements, by Various Authors*, ed. William L. Kingsley (New York: Holt, 1879), 1:280-283.

on music in which he delineated his perceptions of "ear music" and "heart music," one born of earth, the other of heaven. Lyman Bagg (*Four Years At Yale,* 1871) stated that Willis felt safe from expressions of disapproval since the audience had been asked to "refrain from any tokens of satisfaction or dissatisfaction" during the course of the program out of respect for the setting.[23]

The society suffered through periods of activity and inactivity, possibly due to the fact that membership in the group offered no particular "honor" or "office." Bagg noted that students were "dragged to Beethoven rehearsals" often with great difficulty. A few of the members took the prominent lead parts or solos, but most of the members provided the supporting chorus. Every member of the college glee club usually belonged to the society as well. Therefore, the clubs often promoted a "grand concert" advertised as the "Beethoven Society and Yale Glee Club." Bagg noted that, "In such cases 'the society' gets the credit for the elaborate, 'scientific' pieces, and 'the club' for the hearty college songs, which the audience most expect and relish."[24]

In the appendix of the proceedings describing the historical discourse and celebration of the third jubilee of the founding of Yale on August 14, 1850, President Woolsey described those in attendance and the order of business. Individuals made numerous toasts and read an occasional poem. During the course of the meeting, current members of the Beethoven Society joined with recent graduates, who had also been members, and sang several pieces written for the occasion. In addition, the combined group sang the first four verses of the sixty-fifth Psalm, which had been sung at the commencement of 1718.[25]

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[23] Richard Storrs Willis, Yale University, and Beethoven Society, *An Address Delivered at the Commencement Concert of the Beethoven Club, Yale College, Aug. 18, 1841* (New Haven: Published by the club, 1841), 3; Bagg, *Four Years at Yale,* 305-307.

[24] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale,* 305-307.

[25] Theodore Dwight Woolsey, *An Historical Discourse Pronounced before the Graduation of Yale College* (New Haven: Printed by B. L. Hamlen, 1850), 80.

As at Yale, official college functions and commencements at various institutions continued to highlight song in their programs through the nineteenth century. Miami University (Ohio) opened for classes in the fall of 1824. At the first college ceremony held in the spring, the trustees inaugurated Miami's first president. On March 30, 1825, the convocation formed at the Methodist Church and, led by a brass band, marched down the street and through the campus gate. The ceremony included odes performed by a choir, as well as prayers, addresses, the charge to the president, and the president's address. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the band played again as the participants exited onto the campus grounds. Music persisted in the commencement ceremonies as well. The program of 1852 indicated no fewer than eight interludes of music complementing the orations, poetry readings and other presentations of the day.[26]

As early as 1815, commencement celebrations at the University of Georgia featured song. Programs, similar to the patterns at northern colleges, included a great number of orations, performances and recitations as well as the commencement sermon. A historian of southern college life commented that, "From early times music was used to enliven the crowds," though he also humorously surmised that Georgia added these entertainments and variations on the program to avoid rioting or boredom. [27]

Commencements had their share of excess in the nineteenth century. In 1843 the faculty petitioned the Princeton board of trustees to change the commencement ceremony from the last Wednesday in September to the last Wednesday in June. With this calendar change, the trustees

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[26] Walter Havighurst, *The Miami Years, 1809-1969*, [Rev.] ed. (New York: Putnam, 1969), 37, 39-41, 96, the photo illustrations following page 96 included a copy of the 1852 commencement program.

[27] E. Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South* (Athens: Brown Thrasher Books University of Georgia Press, 1983), 135.

sought to avoid the excessive celebrations and entertainments that had cropped up around the event. The holiday atmosphere had arisen as part of the occasion, but the timing also coincided with celebrations of the close of harvest. The event, like those at Harvard in colonial times, resembled a county fair: “Eating and drinking, fiddling and dancing, playing for pennies and testing the speed of their horses, were the amusements in which no small numbers of those assembled on such occasions were wont to indulge.”[28] The college also enacted laws limiting the erection of booths and tables near the vicinity of the church. The new regulations, the change in season, and the gradual adoption of the practice of requiring tickets for guests and patrons, helped to diminish much of the parallel celebrations in conjunction with the event.

Other celebrations commemorated national occasions. While revelers celebrated some events with festive singing, more restrained moments marked the celebrations as well. Reverend Richard M. Hodges recalled the celebration at Harvard that occurred after the announcement of the signing of the peace treaty between Great Britain and the United States on February 13, 1815. The Harvard Washington Corps, a student military company, immediately demonstrated with unrestrained joy. At evening prayers the students read scriptures and sang a “Te Deum” (hymn of praise).[29]

Fourth of July celebrations included pageantry equaling that of commencements and exhibitions. At Princeton, in 1813, the exterior of the college buildings were decorated with

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[28] John Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey, from Its Origin in 1746 to the Commencement of 1854* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & co., 1877), Noted in Henry Alfred Todd, "Commencement Day," in *The Princeton Book: A Series of Sketches Pertaining to the History, Organization and Present Condition of the College of New Jersey* (Boston: Houghton Osgood and company, 1879), 181-182.

[29] Noted in Henry Lee, "University Hall," in *The Harvard Book. A Series of Historical, Biographical, and Descriptive Sketches*, ed. F. O. Vaille and Henry Alden Clark (Cambridge: Welch Bigelow and company, 1875), 99.

bows and flowers. The day included the reading of the Declaration of Independence, patriotic orations and music, then more orations after dinner. In 1819, a hymn preceded the reading of the Declaration of Independence. Between orations a band played patriotic tunes. Commencement programs also included similar music features. A band from Philadelphia regularly supplied music for the occasion.[30]

While singing punctuated college ceremonies and patriotic celebrations, singing also continued to play a prominent, if more subtle role, in religious services. Communion took place on the first Sunday of each month according to Yale College custom. The service, strictly scriptural with brief prayers, closed with the singing of a hymn.

Reverend George Whitney recounted song in relation to religious services in his diary for April 16, 1821. He noted the installation of the organ in the chapel at Harvard. On Sunday, April 22, he went to chapel and heard Dr. Kirkland speak from Ephesians (5:19): "Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord." Kirkland then gave a sermon on instrumental music. A fellow student of Whitney's class played the organ to which Whitney praised, "It sounds excellently."[31]

Both Harvard and Yale typically combined chapel services and song. Between 1831 and 1835 the Yale college choir introduced the custom of singing the Christmas anthem at evening prayers on the Sunday nearest to Christmas. The tradition continued for nearly forty years and became one of the most recognized annual celebrations of the college. The Chapel commonly overflowed with collegians and large numbers of townspeople. Students regularly escorted the young ladies of New Haven to the Christmas service. The anthem, music and words, included in

[30] Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746-1896* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton university press, 1946), 210, 213.

[31] Noted in Lee, "University Hall," 92.

Carmina Yalensia, ended around 1870 when a student submitted a witty poem to the *College Courant* mocking the performance. The author poked fun at the formality of the proceedings and gave primary attention to the singing of the Christmas anthem. The poem played off the anthems refrain, "stringing and tuning the lyre":

> And first they lift their voices high,
> This wondrous college choir,
> And having 'strung and tuned the lyre,'
> They 'string and tune the lyre.'
>
> …….
>
> They rush, they roar, they scream, they howl,
> And loud the echo rolls;
> Down through the portals of the sky
> The angels fly in shoals.
>
> And when the inspiration sweet
> Begins to lose its fire,
> They beat a masterly retreat,
> And 'string and tune the lyre.'
>
> And though they leave the lyre again,
> And send forth varied tones,
> Unearthly noises loud and deep,
> And sighs, and shouts, and groans,[32]

The student's poetical account suggested that the choir had more inspiration than talent. While the author of the poem thought his creation amusing, he evidently elicited more action than what he had anticipated. The tradition of singing the Christmas anthem ceased the following December.

The college choir consisted of twenty to thirty male voices accompanied by musical instruments. The students met weekly to practice. The Beethoven Society, as described earlier,

[32] Tarbox, "The Chapel," 282.

varied in quality, often due to its leadership, but it remained a consistent component of college life through a better part of the nineteenth century.[33]

As early as 1819, Yale featured sacred music in the forenoon and the afternoon commencement exercises. In 1820, the ceremonies included music (sacred or otherwise) at the middle of the forenoon ceremonies as well as at the initiation and conclusion of each session. From 1819 to 1839, sacred music began and concluded the events. In 1839 instrumental music became a part of the program. In 1841 it took the place of sacred music at the beginning of the afternoon session and occurred at intervals throughout both. In 1846, sacred music disappeared and instrumental music dominated the program entertainment, accommodating a gradual change in taste during the period. The commencement program first formally noted music in 1859.[34]

College singing by the mid-nineteenth century matured into a regular fixture of college functions, both sacred and ceremonial. Students and faculty took serious interest in both vocal and instrumental music as a regular pastime and as a more formal way to further the rites associated with the collegiate way. Music and singing also developed as a serious study through the associated societies. German practices heavily influenced formal college singing as well, but the American colleges and their students quickly applied their own mark to the more cultivated forms, functions and qualities of singing in the official practices of college life.

Songs dominated concerts throughout the nineteenth century in both the artistic and vernacular variations. An entirely instrumental concert was rare. Most public concerts essentially

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[33] Ibid., 1:280-283, Tarbox noted that he was once a member of the Beethoven Society.

[34] Cyrus Northrop, "Commencement," in *Yale College, a Sketch of Its History, with Notices of Its Several Departments, Instructors, and Benefactors, Together with Some Account of Student Life and Amusements, by Various Authors*, ed. William L. Kingsley (New York: Holt, 1879), 1:374-375.

featured song recitals. Vernacular songs of the public concerts often found extended life in the parlors of American homes. As the nineteenth century went forward, most middle-class family homes commonly featured a piano or reed organ as indispensable as any other household fixture. Family and friends gathered to hear daughters and brides sing the latest household songs. The simple, melodic songs of the period, influenced partly by English singers who traveled the country, featured maudlin songs heavy with religious allusions and filial love.[35]

Though females entered college ranks as early as 1837 and the first female college, Georgia Female College at Macon, opened in 1839, the earliest colleges for women launched primarily during the 1850s.[36] While women's colleges developed their own unique history of song, much of this transpired in the latter part of the nineteenth century. What did exist for female education during the earlier half of the nineteenth century, were a number of female "colleges" patterned after normal schools of high-school level. These institutions often focused on the most popular "ornamental" subjects including music, drawing and painting, with music being the most popular. Music education for women primarily supported home entertainment. Instruction centered on developing a repertoire that family and friends could enjoy, especially sentimental compositions and songs such as "Drink to Me Only with Thine Eyes" in addition to the popular polkas and waltzes.[37]

A number of popular songwriters emerged during the nineteenth century developing the content of popular vernacular forms of music. The composers included Thomas Moore (1779-

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[35] Hitchcock, *Music in the United States*, 68-70.

[36] Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 311-313.

[37] Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 86-87.

1852), Henry Russel (1812-1900), George Frederick Root (1820-1895) and Stephen Foster (1826-1864). Root authored over 200 songs including many Civil Wars melodies. Stephen Foster's compositions proliferated during the mid-part of the century. He eventually assumed the honorary designation as America's first great songwriter. He authored over 150 household songs. Most of these nostalgic songs reflected the "good old days," or love songs, dwelling on unattainable love. German influence also permeated the works of these composers. Hitchcock noted that one songwriter went so far as to alter his name in order to capitalize on the popularity of the German musicians.[38]

As is evident from the various names of the early college music societies and the previous explanation by Hitchcock, German music and musicians profoundly affected American music, and college music, during this period. Affinity for German composers and singing customs grew during the early and mid-part of the century. Like the trend in artistic music, the interest in German culture also influenced the more casual forms of singing. The proliferation of music at Williams in the 1850's prompted the first Williams songbook, *Songs of Williams*, in 1859. This followed the example of German singing groups in the American cities in the wake of immigrations after 1848. Instances of singing at Williams increased in the following decades. In 1860 the Williams Septette Club provided music for the second public debate of the Adelphi Union Society. A few years following, the college Eating Club enjoyed "many a happy hour, and pleasant song together" including the tunes "Pass around the jug," and "Evelina."[39]

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[38] Hitchcock, *Music in the United States*, 73-77, 118-122. Hitchcock stated that Root, in order to grab some of the popular household-song market from Foster, chose a pseudonym for some of his published works. He selected a German Translation of his own name, "G. Friedrich Wurzel."; Lowens, *Music and Musicians*, 269.

[39] Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins and the Log, Williams College, 1836-1872*, 80; *Williams Quarterly* 7 (1860), 287; *Williams Quarterly* 9 (1862), 294.

A particular type of song, the glee, attracted significant interest during the nineteenth century. Audiences heard it at concerts and informal gatherings. This prompted imitations at homes throughout the country. It generally consisted of a part-song for three or four unaccompanied voices. The Glee, or "entertainment music," had become exceedingly popular in eighteenth century England. Amateur musicians often sang these loosely styled, unpretentious songs.

As previously noted, The Harvard Glee Club originally formed as a division of Pierian in 1833, then reconstituted as a separate club in 1858. The first joint concert of the autonomous clubs included a number of light selections. Among other pieces, the groups performed, Mendelssohn part-songs, Latin choruses, "Integer Vitae," "Huntsman's Farewell," "Drinking Song" and concluded with "College Songs." *Dwight's Journal of Music* observed that the sixteen voices sang "wholly without accompaniment, with admirable blending, light and shade, &., – quite up to the standard of our German 'Orpheus,' as we thought, and more uniformly in good tune." The account also acknowledged the singing of a smaller ensemble, the Cherubini Quartet, noting that the members sang a "beautiful composition" that was "so finely sung as to be imperatively encored." The article further described the audience as "excitable," "enthusiastic" and "responsive" to the performances.[40]

Male chorus singing in America persisted long after it had waned in England. Hitchcock credited German singing societies that flourished during the early-to-mid nineteenth century. One of these groups, *Männerchor,* formed in Philadelphia in 1835. Similar groups formed in

[40] Arthur William Foote, "The Harvard Glee Club," in *The Harvard Book. A Series of Historical, Biographical, and Descriptive Sketches*, ed. F. O. Vaille and Henry Alden Clark (Cambridge: Welch Bigelow and company, 1875), 2:394-395; John Sullivan Dwight, "College Music," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 13, no. 12 (1858), 94.

other parts, especially the Midwest, where many German immigrants settled. Americans also took to the heavily instrumental German orchestral music. The Germania Musical Society from Berlin toured in American cities during the late 1840s and early 1850s. Hitchcock noted that the repertoire, largely of German composers, naturally, left a lasting impression on American audiences.[41]

Singing also continued on the literary side of extracurricular student life. The popularity of literary societies crested in the early part of the nineteenth century and began to wane toward the mid- and latter-part of the same period. As the nineteenth century matured, students gravitated toward an expanding array of clubs, secret societies, exclusive literary societies and the socially focused Greek fraternities that grew in campus popularity.

Aside from the formal activities of the societies, evidence existed that college singing in one form or another played some role in the broad range of both formal and informal literary exercises. The Hasty-Pudding Club at Harvard presented dramatic orations and poems more so than debates on current issues. Its constitution noted, "No obscene song shall be sung at any meeting, and there shall be no obscenity allowed in any of the proceedings of the club."[42] At the very least this suggested that singing was most likely a common activity whether as a formal or informal part of the meetings. Obviously, singing of an inappropriate nature raised its head enough to elicit a formal regulation governing the practice.

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[41] Hitchcock, *Music in the United States*, 77, 90; Mark, Gary, and MENC the National Association for Music Education (U.S.), *A History of American Music Education*, 190.

[42] *Constitution of the Hasty-Pudding Club of Harvard University*, (Cambridge: Welch, Bigelow and Company, 1862), 38, noted in Thomas Spencer Harding, *College Literary Societies: Their Contribution to Higher Education in the United States, 1815-1876*, [1st] ed. (New York: Pageant Press International, 1971), 44.

Members of the junior class had founded the Hasty-Pudding Club in 1795. From the start, the club blended literary, convivial, and patriotic purposes. Joel Barlow, Yale graduate, public official and prominent author, wrote *The Hasty Pudding*, a mock epic on cornmeal mush, in 1793. His poem, with many references to singing (and sung itself) likely inspired the name of the group. Typically, on "Pudding" nights, two members of the club shouldered a pole that held an iron pot of steaming hasty-pudding, prepared in a local goodwife's kitchen. After dining on the simple, but filling meal, the members concluded the banquet with "sacred music," which became decidedly less sacred as the years passed. Clearly the constitution's original guidelines on singing provided little enforcement.

During some summer evenings, members retired to the yard for a social game of bat and ball, or orchestrated a parade through the streets of Cambridge until midnight with music leading the way. In the 1800s the Pudding Club became the predominant society at Harvard. Formal activities usually followed supper and included debates and mock trials. Every generation or so, the members created some new witty initiation or other wayward activity. The club sought out the cleverest of each class regardless of social or economic background.[43]

Later, in the mid-nineteenth century, singing became an even more common feature of Hasty Pudding club gatherings. Meetings of the club always concluded with the singing of a hymn to some favorable old tune like "Old Hundred," "St. Martin's" or "Bridgewater." In

[43] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 182-183; Charles Burr Todd and Joel Barlow, *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow, Ll.D., Poet, Statesman, Philosopher, with Extracts from His Works and Hitherto Unpublished Poems* (New York, London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1886), 98-108.

subsequent years, Samuel Longfellow noted that it became custom for the club to linger in the college yard and sing lighter choruses of college songs.[44]

At Allegheny College the exercises of the Philo-Franklin Literary Society consisted of orations, debates, declamations and music. In the 1830s the societies of Oberlin College often began with the singing of a hymn after roll call and prayer. By the late 1850s the men and women's societies at Oberlin produced a joint college magazine, which published musical compositions as well as essays, stories, editorials, news and poetry.[45]

Wabash College of Crawfordsville, Indiana, had two literary societies, Philomatheon and the Western Literary Society. During their regular exhibitions, beginning in the later 1830s and into the 1840s, the members often procured a brass band that led processions. Occasionally, if paid handsomely enough, the band provided music during the orations. The exhibitions eventually became a part of the annual commencement and were also recognized as the annual homecoming for alumni. The ladies of the community participated in the elaborate decorations and preparations for the occasion.[46]

At Wabash College, prior to the Civil War, musical entertainments and lectures occurred regularly. Formal balls and soirees gave social outlet for the young men and women despite the fact that Wabash had a rule against dancing. Much preparation went into the elaborate dress and

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[44] Samuel Longfellow, "The Hasty Pudding Club," in *The Harvard Book. A Series of Historical, Biographical, and Descriptive Sketches*, ed. F. O. Vaille and Henry Alden Clark (Cambridge: Welch Bigelow and company, 1875), 355.

[45] Harding, *College Literary Societies: Their Contribution to Higher Education in the United States, 1815-1876*, 45, 129, 223.

[46] James Insley Osborne and Theodore Gregory Gronert, *Wabash College: The First Hundred Years, 1832-1932, Being the Story of Its Growth from Its Founding in the Wilderness to the Present Day* (Crawfordsville, Ind.: R. E. Banta, 1932), 104-105.

decoration for the events.[47] At Wabash, the historians James Insley Osborne and Theodore Gregory Gronert noted, "Vocal competition was the obsession of the generation, just as physical competition became the obsession of a later generation."[48] The elaborate programs of the literary societies also included music. An exhibition, detailed in the Calliopean minutes of October 23, 1860, described that many of the townspeople of Crawfordsville attended the exhibition. The event opened with a prayer by Professor Hovey. The students then debated the question, "Did the Oratory of the Ancients exert a greater influence than does that of the Moderns?" The Romeo quartette provided music for the event. The Calliopean society minutes noted that "the 'Romeos'… by the aid of the 'cat-gut' and 'horse hair' gave forth such a strain of heavenly music that we almost expected to see Calliope (forgetful of her dignity for the moment) execute the intricate manners of a 'Virginia Jig.'"[49] Other singers succeeded the Romeo quartette and a college band also appeared. Students attempted original waltzes or marches with limited success. Historians Osborne and Gronert stated that interest in music was so great, that students also regularly critiqued various church choirs or directors.[50]

Debating served as the chief activity of most societies, but perhaps too much emphasis has been placed on the seriousness of such events. Students presented orations and engaged in debates of topics of serious and intellectual nature, but, as one scholar noted, "A continuous diet

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[47] Ibid., 91-93.

[48] Ibid., 112.

[49] Calliopean Society, *Minutes*, October 23, 1860 (noted in Osborne and Gronert, *Wabash College*, 113).

[50] Osborne and Gronert, *Wabash College*, 163, Osborne and Gronert stated, "music-lovers can be grateful that the limitations of space do not permit the reproduction of some of these early attempts at college music."

of such fare was too much for high-spirited young men, as it would be today."[51] Another scholar generalized that students and their societies likely engaged in lighter fare on occasion, which ranged from the frivolous to the disorderly.[52]

At Harvard, Phi Beta Kappa also enjoyed singing as a part of college and society ceremonies. In his diary, the Reverend Frederic A. Whitney of the class of 1833 noted instances of music at the 1841 commencement and the society banquet that followed:

> *Wednesday, 25th August*, 1841. A comfortable day; excellent dinner in University Hall. We sang the usual psalm to St. Martin's, led by Rev. Dr. Pierce, of Brookline, and then songs and glees as usual in the halls. Of these, the principal singing was from the Class of 1832, chiefly distinguished for musical talent.[53]

The comments by Whitney demonstrated that singing infused many parts of college life. Song served the formal and the informal occasions of the day. The members of the college obviously admired those who exhibited a talent for singing well.

The literary societies filled both the extracurricular and social void created by the traditional curriculum and regulations of the early colleges. While the literary societies provided more exposure to music, art, science and literature neglected through the classical course of study, they too experienced an evolution as part of college life in the nineteenth century. Students held interests that were not completely served by the literary focus of the societies. The extracurricular environment dominated by the dual literary system began to experience the growth and diversification of additional groups with varied scopes of interest. The historian

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[51] Harding, *College Literary Societies: Their Contribution to Higher Education in the United States, 1815-1876*, 231-232.

[52] James McLachlan, "The *Choice of Hercules*: American Societies in the Early 19th Century," in *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974), 466. McLachlan quoted the student letter of James M. Garnett, Jr., to Mary E. Garnett on July 18, 1812.

[53] Noted in Lee, "University Hall," 99.

Frederick Rudolph stated that these clubs and organizations, including the singing groups, fed the social and emotional needs of the students as their primary purpose rather than the curricular focus of the debating societies. Though Phi Beta Kappa knew how to sing and sing well, Rudolph noted a Kappa Alpha historian who concluded that "the atmosphere of Phi Beta Kappa, strictly academic, stimulated in the imagination the dream of new and more intimate relationships."[54] While Phi Beta Kappa's activities obviously allowed for singing on the periphery, it seemed that many yearned for that same social intercourse, including song, as the principal reason for gathering.

Singing contributed to both the intellectual and social components of the literary societies. However, by the mid-to-late nineteenth century, the priorities of students shifted away from the societies to other forms of entertainment and organizations. As the century matured, students gravitated toward an expanding array of clubs, secret societies, exclusive literary societies, class rivalries, sports, Greek fraternities and other socially focused alternatives that grew in campus popularity. These various activities eclipsed the sounds of literary debates. Fraternities, with their higher level of loyalty and selectivity in membership, created stronger ties to its members. College libraries surpassed and often absorbed the collections of the literary societies. The function of singing clubs and music societies blurred as the distinction between informal college pastime and institutional product became less obvious. Early forms of football, and baseball emerged as popular outdoor games.[55] As a whole, these groups provided new alternatives that greatly added to the social activities of the college. The rise and decline of the

[54] Rudolph, *American College and University*, 146.

[55] William L. Kingsley, "Chapter X: Rev. Jeremiah Day, D.D., President, A.D. 1817-1846," in *Yale College, a Sketch of Its History, with Notices of Its Several Departments, Instructors, and Benefactors, Together with Some Account of Student Life and Amusements, by Various Authors* (New York: Holt, 1879), 1:145.

literary societies evolved as a natural process influenced by a variety of these circumstances. But as these changes transpired, singing and college life, in one form or another, remained constant.

The new musical, social and athletic diversions and specialized groups, including both formal and casual singing clubs, accommodated specific interests of the students. While the debating societies and the intellectual stimulation they provided significantly declined and in some cases dissolved, the students choices of social, and intellectual and non-intellectual opportunities, became increasingly diverse. [56]

Yale Professor of Modern Languages Edward Coe attributed the decline to the long felt want of sociability. Looking backward in 1879, he suggested that the great societies had perhaps become too great and their membership heavy, leading to nothing more than an impersonal collection of names. The excitement of the exhibitions and other exercises gradually waned. Students responded by forming smaller groups, formal and informal, that created greater freedom of interaction. Singing catered to the casual friendships and social activities of the new extracurriculm. The increasing comprehensiveness of the curriculum filled the intellectual vacuum formerly left to the literary societies. The introduction and expansion of athletics and social life in the college community also competed for students' time and interest.[57]

This social transformation mirrored a change in American life as well. As America tamed the frontier, it turned inward, reflective and toward more refinement. Differentiation in tastes became the norm. As one scholar noted, one man devoted himself to music, the other to boating,

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[56] Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins and the Log, Williams College, 1836-1872*, 75-76; Rudolph, *American College and University*, 145-146; Harding, *College Literary Societies: Their Contribution to Higher Education in the United States, 1815-1876*, 318; Havighurst, *The Miami Years, 1809-1969*, 88-89.

[57] Edward B. Coe, "The Literary Societies," in *Yale College, a Sketch of Its History, with Notices of Its Several Departments, Instructors, and Benefactors, Together with Some Account of Student Life and Amusements, by Various Authors*, ed. William L. Kingsley (New York,: Holt, 1879), 322-323.

a third to German novels. The student body became too large for the literary conventions of the past. Perhaps most significant was the rise of the athlete: "The student hero is no longer the writer of adolescent verse, or the president of the debating society, but the captain of the team – a man of much muscle, and perhaps little intellectual achievement."[58]

College singing continued with perhaps even more vigor as the social fraternities emerged. The fraternity appeared in most of New England's colleges by 1840. The founding of Alpha Delta Phi characterized the spark behind the social fraternity movement as a whole. Established at Hamilton in 1832, Alpha Delta Phi's founders envisioned a "society of a higher nature and more comprehensive and higher principle" than that of the literary societies. The fraternity professed that it would nourish the "moral, social, and intellectual" needs of its members.[59]

As the Greek fraternities grew, the social component surpassed the tripartite ambitions originally professed by Alpha Delta Phi. Fraternal organizations provided an escape from the monotony of college life and, in doing so, created elaborate songs and symbols that built on the fantasy and romance of Greece. Rudolph explained that fraternities, while not originating most student pastimes, helped institutionalize escapes such as drinking, smoking, card playing and singing. Through this social enclave of college men, fraternities "gave new meaning to a cigar, a drink, a girl, a song."[60]

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[58] Henry Davidson Sheldon, *The History and Pedagogy of American Student Societies* (New York: D. Appleton and company, 1901), 134-135.

[59] Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins and the Log, Williams College, 1836-1872*, 101-103; Talcott Williams, ed., *The Alpha Delta Phi, 1832-1882* (Boston: Alpha Delta Phi, 1882), Noted in Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins and the Log, Williams College, 1836-1872*, 103.

[60] Rudolph, *American College and University*, 147. Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins and the Log, Williams College, 1836-1872*, 104-105.

As the anecdotes of singing and music societies affirm, German culture significantly influenced the formal, artistic music culture of higher education in American colleges during the nineteenth century, but it also influenced the popular singing trends of American college students as well. Students and colleges borrowed many music and singing traditions from their German counterparts. This resonated in the numerous Handel, Beethoven and Mendelssohn Societies that flourished in many colleges at the turn of the century. As early as 1814, William Eliot, who graduated from Harvard in 1815, trained a college choir to perform English and German chorales in Harvard's new college chapel. Students and institutions began to adopt German college songs for their trademarks. The affection for German ways of life also spurred interest in athletics through a surge of immigrations and the gymnasium movement during the late 1820s and again in the late 1840's and into the 1850's.[61]

William Howitt likely contributed to some of these additional cultural interests, especially student and fraternity singing, in his discussion of the German universities. Howitt, who helped promote the novelties of German student conduct in his book, *The Student Life of Germany* (1842), discussed the intricacies of German student singing: "Take from Germany its wine, its songs, and we might name yet a third particular of a less middle character [the passion for smoking, piping], and it will become quite another country."

Students or "Commerses" sang Burschen songs. Howitt categorized the songs according to four types: songs that incited joy, Freedom or Fatherland songs, songs that expressed spirit and bravery of the students, and drinking songs. The Commers-Books, so-called due to large assemblies of festive students known as Commers, contained a rich collection of songs suitable

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[61] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 202; Rudolph, *American College and University*, 151-152; Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins and the Log, Williams College, 1836-1872*, 79-80, 156-162.

for every occasion. Howitt also underscored the joint practice of singing *and* drinking. The custom of German students drinking beer while singing college songs would have been one least abandoned in the Burschendom.[62] What could be more appealing to American college students than the adoption of these two inseparable German traditions?

In beginning his book on *The Student-Life of Germany*, William Howitt described a *student* as "one who has by matriculation acquired the rights of academical citizenship." He further delineated a *bursché* as "one who has already spent a certain time at the university – and – who, to a certain degree, has taken part in the social practices of the students."[63] The first Burschenschaft grew from 1806-1814 under the domination of Napoleon. It promoted bodily exercises, purity of manners (yet hostility toward less-pure tendencies of other existing orders) and, in general, a thorough union amongst the students. Burschenschafts of different cities often celebrated on foundation days or anniversary events. They frequently included "great banqueting, public processions, music and torch-trains."[64]

It appeared as though a strong connection existed between the songs of the Burschenschaft and the early student societies in American colleges. American higher education modeled many of its practices on those of German universities. American graduates furthered their education at the same. American students reflected similar habits of student life, as well as admiration for their German counterparts. Even Root and Lombard in the 1853 *Songs of Yale* (the first known American college songbook), listed the first song, "Gaudeamus," as a "popular Yale Song." In a note beneath the song, they attributed the words to Howitt's *Student Life in*

[62] William Howitt, *The Student Life of Germany* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1842), 274, 278, 289, 292.

[63] Ibid., 26-27.

[64] Ibid., 58-61.

Germany. The editors also credited R. S. Willis, a Yale graduate, for introducing the tune and words in America.[65]

Aside from these rather more formal uses of song, many accounts also existed of students singing with their ephemeral social peer groups and other clubs on various college campuses. This singing ranged from a simple enjoyable pastime to other less auspicious forms including intimidation and harassment. In the most extreme examples, this singing represented the coarsest examples of vernacular music. Students demonstrated a wide variety of casual singing, which ranged from the sublime to the absurd.

One recollection of informal student participation in music and singing occurred in one of the oldest college dormitories at Yale, South College, located on Yale's College Green. John D. Champlin of the class of 1856 occupied room 23, the northwest, second-story, corner room of South College, during his senior year. The primary articles in this room, as described by Champlin, consisted of a piano and a flute. His residence also provided the regular meeting place of the class band. On many occasions the students practiced in the room producing "sweet melody and harmony" that permeated the thin partition separating his room from that of the tutor's. The rehearsals never elicited a reaction from their resident tutor, except on one occasion:

> One evening, during study hours, the whole band – piano, flutes, fiddles, and all – were executing Dunham's "'56 Polka" in the highest style of art, when a tap at the door brought every instrument to a pause. "Gentlemen," said Tutor B., protruding his smiling face into the room, "you keep better tune than time." This was the only criticism he ever made on our music.[66]

[65] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 302. In 1871 Lyman Bagg wrote, "This custom of singing is a comparatively modern one, and the secret societies have the credit of introducing it – several of the college melodies having been originally their own private property;" Bagg also noted that Willis, who graduated in 1841 and served as president of the Beethoven Society, supposedly acquainted others with *Gaudeamus* and *Integer Vitae* in 1848 after bringing them from the German universities. Howitt published the first edition of his book also in 1841; N. W. Taylor Root, James K. Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale* (New Haven: E. Richardson, 1853), 5.

The grounds adjacent to South College in the mid-1850s also provided a popular gathering place for students for a variety of social and intellectual discussions. Champlin described the great elm that stood before South College nearest to the Athenaeum as one of the principal places for posting notices concerning college and society affairs. It also served as a popular location to gather and discuss politics or other current issues. When Champlin was a freshman he first heard "Co-ca-che-lunk" sung by a group of the class of '53 under the tree. He noted that this was one of the first class songs with meaningless words introduced at Yale. The class of '56 introduced a similar song titled "Shool." The students of South College often listened from their windows to the songs that students sang below on the corner fence. Champlin expressed, "What memories that fence recalls to every Yalensian! It has been the rendezvous, on pleasant nights, of all the wits and good fellows of the college, and probably every class of the century has practiced its songs on its time honored rails." [67] Though students attempted more literary songs as part of their repertoire, they obviously enjoyed applying their clever skills to equally unliterary expressions. They impressed their classmates with their stupefying verse while they simultaneously perplexed the college administration.

Gustave Stoeckel, less perplexed than most of the faculty, embraced singing as part of college life. Stoeckel, a German immigrant and the first European-trained music teacher in New Haven, later became professor at Yale. His appointment marked the beginning of Yale's School

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[66] John D. Champlin, "South College," in *Yale College, a Sketch of Its History, with Notices of Its Several Departments, Instructors, and Benefactors, Together with Some Account of Student Life and Amusements, by Various Authors*, ed. William L. Kingsley (New York: Holt, 1879), 1:461.

[67] Ibid., 1:461-462.

of Music.[68] In his verbal portrait of college life and song, Stoeckel likened music and singing to Plato's assertions that music, social and political life were inevitably intertwined in harmony. Stoeckel further explained that, "Italians, Spaniards, French, Germans, English, Slavonians, Americans, all have given expression to their appreciation of the joys of University life in song." Especially so with college youth, he noted; students have always admired the "most spiritual of the fine arts." He concluded that society and song vitally depended on each other as much then as they did in the days of Plato.

Stoeckel's words evoked powerful imagery, some fanciful, but obviously student singing thrived sufficiently at Yale to elicit such a lengthy essay on the topic. With additional flourish Stoeckel described:

> In the exciting "campaigns," which recur so frequently, there is no disposition whatever manifested to spare the lungs. In that vast auditorium, the "Campus," walled in by the college buildings, old and new, and canopied by the elms which have so long kept guard over their *alma mater*, the students of Yale have long been wont to give expression in song to their views and preferences. Diaphragm, lungs, larynx, tongue, and mouth are called into requisition with a heart and will, in behalf of the cause of their choice; and the miscellaneous orchestra of horns, pipes, etc., that accompanies and interludes the inimitable "'rahs," is the surest (at any rate the *loudest*) proof of the correctness and immortality of the Platonian dictum.[69]

Other sketches of Yale life supported Stoekel's general imagery. Yale completed the construction of the North College dormitory in 1821. Origen S. Seymour, congressman from Connecticut (1851-1855) and chief justice of the Connecticut State Supreme Court (1873-1874), recalled a social club that evolved during his senior year in 1824. During the first term of his

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[68] Judith Ann Schiff, *Old Yale: The Battell Connection* (October) (2002 [cited July 12 2005]); available from http://www.yalealumnimagazine.com/issues/02_10/old_yale.html.

[69] Gustave J. Stoeckel, "Music and Musical Societies," in *Yale College, a Sketch of Its History, with Notices of Its Several Departments, Instructors, and Benefactors, Together with Some Account of Student Life and Amusements, by Various Authors*, ed. William L. Kingsley (New York: Holt, 1879), 2:479.

senior year, a club coalesced including members of the north entrance area of the dormitory. Their location also served as the proper name for the group. Seymour indicated that several of the members were exceptional singers and their social meetings "depended largely for their attractiveness upon the music." One of the members, Lewis, led the music in the chapel and served as the leader of North Entry.[70]

On February 18, 1824 the group met to celebrate the birthday of two of their members where "toasts and songs occupied the time till midnight." At the stroke of midnight, the members rose and drank to a toast by one of their members, "At my next birthday may I meet with as many friends as I now do." The group then concluded with "Auld Lang Syne." The volume and longevity of the celebration obviously roused Tutor Coleman who entered and angrily ordered the participants to disperse. Coleman suspended one of the guilty contributors for his share in the extra noise.[71]

On February 27 the members of North Entry again met to celebrate the birthday of another member. The principal event of the evening included the singing of a special song composed in honor of their suspended classmate:

> A voice of deep wailing
> Floats on the still air
> From the North Entry stealing,
> For no – is there.
> Away must he hie,
> Far away wine-lighted eye
> Returns not our greeting.

[70] Origen S. Seymour, 1879. Seymour's recollection was submitted to Calkins and reproduced in Wolcott Calkins, "North College," in *Yale College, a Sketch of Its History, with Notices of Its Several Departments, Instructors, and Benefactors, Together with Some Account of Student Life and Amusements, by Various Authors*, ed. William L. Kingsley (New York: Holt, 1879), 1: 474-476.

[71] Seymour. 1: 475.

Mourn, mourn, brother, mourn,
His doom has been spoken,
One link is removed, and
One love-chain is broken.
He sees not the wine cup,
He leads not the chorus,
But has bidden us farewell,
And departed before us.

Mourn, mourn, for his humor,
His mirth has departed,
His face is far distant, and
We're broken-hearted.
Stiff hand at the bowl,
Loud voice at the singing,

His last merry trowl
In our ears is still ringing.[72]

The verse appeared solemn, yet humorous at the same time. Their "brother" was no longer with them, but the members used his absence as cause for more singing and, certainly, more drinking. They repeated the song to much applause. The members asked Hurlbert, who composed the tribute, to compose a parting hymn for future occasions.

On Monday, March 8, North Entry met in room 123, at 9 o'clock to celebrate the birthday of Cortlandt Van Rensselaer. Lewis, Gould and Adams sang two songs composed by Hurlbert. Seymour detailed the original lyrics composed for the occasion. One of the songs written for the gathering followed the melody, "The Legacy." The parting hymn followed the tune, "The Night-Errant." Both songs alluded to joys of celebration, friendship and the wine-filled cup.[73] The parting hymn concluded:

Good-night, good-night, we've often met,
And oft we'll meet again,

[72] Ibid. 1: 475.

[73] Ibid. 1: 475-477.

While youth and wine and friends are ours
We oft will meet again.
If life soon tires in this dark world,
Why here we'll keep it bright
Until we share the farewell cup,
And sing the last good-night.[74]

The last meeting of the group occurred in 127 North Entry on the Monday evening prior to Commencement. After singing all of the North Entry songs and a round of toasts, Hall delivered the valedictory address. Most of the toasts included solemn farewells: "The chain that binds us; tho' the links are separated may they not be broken," "The dissolution of North Entry the setting sun," and "Scions of North Entry, whithersoever they are transplanted, may they find a congenial soil and flourish with a vigor in their maturity equal to the promise of their youth."[75]

Though North Entry enjoyed a brief existence during Seymour's senior year, it demonstrated the close bonds that students developed. The mechanics in which the group came together also contributed to the unique student club. In this case the dormitory became a primary reason behind the group's existence. It even provided a suitable name.

The North Entry singing club transcended the boundaries of class societies. Though a number in the group were seniors, Van Rensselaer, a freshman, graduated with the class of 1827. While the North Entry group parted ways at the commencement in 1824, similar clubs surely persisted in various forms through subsequent classes. Perhaps Van Rensselaer and other underclassmen reconstituted a new singing group based on the practices of the old to perpetuate their fondness for song. Though the group, like other fraternities and secret affiliations, was exclusive, the exclusivity, as with the traditional concept of fraternity, gave it strength and

[74] Ibid. 1: 477.

[75] Ibid. 1: 477.

purpose if only for a brief time. On the other hand, the group also included members beyond class boundaries by basing membership primarily on the common interest of singing.

Their primary purpose encompassed the musical as much as the social. On occasion their amplitude probably exceeded taste, but singing provided the entertainment and heart of their social gatherings and contributed to the fellowship of its members. From Seymour's own words, the music supplied the primary focus of their meetings and the members of the club fondly anticipated the chances for gathering. Even the threat of reprisals did little to dampen their enthusiasm for singing. Though one of their members was disciplined and suspended for the noise, even that instance provided more fodder, and humor, for additional passages of song.

Formal celebrations and exhibitions of various sorts during the early century, such as those featuring the Beethoven Society, garnered much attention, but these informal gatherings of students, like the one described by Seymour, often persisted under the radar in lesser-recognized forms throughout the various decades of Yale life.

Harvard graduate William G. Bates recalled another story of singing in North College involving a celebration to coincide with General Marquis de Lafayette's (French ally, officer and advisor during the American Revolution) visit to Bunker Hill and the laying of the corner stone of the Bunker Hill monument on June 17, 1825. The members of this club, organized loosely for the pretense of conversation and drink, decided the day preceding that of the official ceremony in Boston, to organize a celebration of their own commemorating the event. The attic of the college, running the length of the hall and accessible only by a trap door, provided sufficient privacy for their function. The members cleaned and decorated the space for the celebration. The occasion included patriotic speeches and toasts, "And the songs, which were sung with the full strength of the choir, were received with a joyous hilariousness which seemed to increase with their

progress." The brief celebration concluded to the sounds of the college bell summoning the students back to the less inspiring recitation-room, and the narrative of Homer.[76]

One historian described the close bond, like those students experienced with the singing group in North College, that often developed in tightly knit associations of college students: "When young men are perforce treading side by side the same paths, working out together the same difficulties, playing the same games in the same hours, there inevitably grows up an intimacy not readily possible under other circumstances."[77] Singing, in the case of North College, and the North Entry group in particular, provided the catalyst that produced a significant friendship between the student members.

While there were many instances of singing in friendly social settings and patriotic gatherings, students also used singing, or noise in some cases, as tools of intimidation, protest and defiance. Unlike the observance in North College, patriotic demonstrations occasionally got out of hand and evolved into near riots. At Amherst, students often assembled in the Chapel on national holidays such as the Fourth of July and Washington's Birthday for singing and reading of the Declaration of Independence or other significant political address. A professor or lecturer often gave a political speech for the occasion.

On a number of instances the singing celebrations by Amherst students erupted into demonstrations. A particular favorite practice of the students included procuring the artillery gun that was used in the battle of Saratoga in 1777. The gun became a central fixture used by the students for most patriotic celebrations at the college. In 1831 after much difficulty in locating the piece, the students finally affixed it on College Hill ready for a midnight salute. In addition to

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[76] William G. Bates, 1879. Bate's submitted his recollection to Calkins, reproduced in Calkins, "North College," 1: 477-479.

[77] Henry Davidson Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs* (New York: D. Appleton, 1901), 123.

the gun and other racket to punctuate the night, the students also lit a significant bonfire. A college officer, then the local constable, read the riot act, but failed to deter the group and the celebrations continued till morning. The following night the students made an effigy of the constable (complete with spectacles and book in hand) and paraded it through town led by the Pagan Band, which supplied music for the procession. Other Fourth of July activities transpired in a tamer manner and often included a similar solemn musical procession. Participants sang dirges during the event. The current creativity or mood of the students usually dictated the tone of the gathering.[78]

In some cases more organized rabble-rousing clubs emerged for the principal purpose of creating mayhem. These groups sometimes attracted more affection than the legitimate student associations. They usually adorned themselves with suitable names including the "Ranters" of Bethany College, the "Moonlight Rangers" of Jefferson College, the "Annarugians" at Centre College, the "Pandowdy Band" at Bowdoin, and the "Calliathump" of Yale. Common activities of the Ranters of Bethany College included stealing a neighbor's horse for a midnight ride or shaving the manes and tails of the horses whose owners had divulged their activities to the college authorities. This predatory clubs and others, dedicated to mischievousness and other shenanigans, often used singing, chanting and offensive accompaniment against the targets of their spite.[79]

Quoting an unidentified source, Benjamin Homer Hall, author of *College Words and Customs*, described the Annarugians at Centre College as "the wildest of the College boys."

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[78] George Rugg Cutting, *Student Life at Amherst College. Its Organizations, Their Membership and History* (Amherst: Hatch & Williams, 1871), 97-98, 102-103.

[79] Sheldon, *The History and Pedagogy of American Student Societies*, 121-122.

They dressed in fantastic disguises and often showed up at local weddings to join in a "most tremendous Charivari" (rough music, mock serenade). They only ceased when they were offered a portion of the "sumptuous feast."[80] Similarly, the Pandowdy Band at Bowdoin devoted itself to serenading unpopular professors. Membership varied from a few to less than fifty and meetings were irregular. The performers' instruments often included horns, drums, tin kettles, tongs, shovels, triangles, and pumpkin vines to create their earthy chorus. Often, tutors or faculty were serenaded or "entertained by 'heavenly music' under their windows, at dead of night." Hall noted that this was regarded as an unequivocal expression of the student body.[81]

The Moonlight Rangers at Jefferson, led by a captain and sub-officer, met on designated nights engaging in acts of mischief. The moonlight enhanced their elaborate disguises and dress. Membership primarily required that students possessed instruments, which would create the loudest noise and generate the most excitement.[82] A comparable practice took place at Princeton around 1850. Though the group had no formal name, students referred to the activity as "horn-blowing" or "horn-sprees." Students marched about at night performing and echoing through the campus. Occasionally they simultaneously occupied various campus trees and serenaded the tutors and others below. The custom became so obnoxious that the college passed laws forbidding the ritual. A college poet lamented the end of the horn-sprees:

The horn that once through Nassau's halls
The soul of tumult shed,
Is now as mute in Nassau's brawls
As if that soul were dead.

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[80] Benjamin Homer Hall, *A Collection of College Words and Customs*, Revised and enlarged ed. (Cambridge Mass.: J. Bartlett, 1856), 10.

[81] Ibid., 341-342.

[82] Ibid., 326.

So sleeps the lake when sinks the breeze,
And breakers lap the shore;
And hearts that once beat high for sprees
Now feel that pulse no more.[83]

Students also utilized song as part of freshman hazing. They practiced a common custom against freshmen known as "smoking out." Sophomores procured a room and sealed the windows and keyholes. They then attempted to nauseate the freshman while increasing the density of tobacco smoke. During his confinement, "The freshman would be compelled to scan Euclid or a Greek grammar, make speeches, sing songs, dance, recite the alphabet backward," or perform any of a variety of nonsensical actions suggested by his tormentors. A poem illuminated part of the practice:

Or when, in conclave met, the unpitying wights
Smoke the young trembler into "College rights":
O spare my tender youth! He, suppliant, cries,
In vain, in vain; redoubled clouds arise,
While the big tears adown his visage roll,
Caused by the smoke, and sorrow of his soul.[84]

If the freshman protested, his captors placed a blanket over his head and blew tobacco smoke underneath until he relented or became ill.[85]

A custom at the University of Virginia known as "initiation" required students to compile a list of their entire wardrobe. They then proceeded to pass an examination by reciting the list from memory before their "student professors." The professors then took the freshman to their

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[83] Princeton, *The Princeton Book: A Series of Sketches Pertaining to the History, Organization and Present Condition of the College of New Jersey* (Boston: Houghton Osgood and company, 1879), 381-382; Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 258.

[84] James Cook Richmond and Harvard University. Class of 1828., *College Life a Class Poem [Addressed] to the Harvard Class of 1828* ([S.l.: s.n., 1845), 4, noted in Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 434-435.

[85] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 250; Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs*, 98-99.

rooms where upperclassmen kept them awake by "a hideous discord of horns, tin pans, and horse fiddles" performed beneath the victim's window. These harassers with names, "Callithumpians," "Squallinaders," or "Masquers," continued the night's "harsh thundergrating" until more "nuturing" students rose the freshman before dawn to continue his initiation.[86]

At Yale, insulting freshmen recurred as a regular pastime for the sophomores seated upon the college fence or wherever an unlucky freshman crossed their paths. Freshman heard the jeers, "What a pretty Freshman!" "See his new necktie!" "How his boots shine!" "Keep step there Freshie!" Lyman Bagg noted, "The favorite song of the Sophs was "Bingo," and concluded with the wild yell, "B! I! N! G! O! – *My*! Poor!! Fresh!!!"[87]

The students' antics and use of singing for humiliating underclassmen as well as other expressions of singing that fed the undergraduates appetite for humor, demonstrated that singing by early to mid-nineteenth century truly reached far and wide into every array of student life. Students moved past the limited breadth of the literary societies into other hobbies and activities. Fraternities and clubs peaked students' interests. Formal singing societies, representing the first extracurricular college efforts at formal music study, emerged to cultivate fine music. Students also took pleasure in the popular songs of the period. They enjoyed a wide spectrum of music including the subtle and not-so-subtle enjoyments of singing.

American colleges also borrowed heavily from German music and singing traditions for their own formal and informal college celebrations. German singing and performing groups enthralled American audiences with casual singing as well as the more formal and instrumentally heavy compositions of German masters. William Howitt's work promoted the Romantic lore of

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[86] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 264-265; Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs*, 99.

[87] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 255.

German student life. The collegiate way of German students intrigued American students, especially singing, drinking and related pastimes as students adapted them to their own rituals beneath the ever-present elms of colleges across the country.

Colleges also took notice of popular and ceremonial culture. College presidents and administrations reinforced and perpetuated singing in college ceremonies and religious services. Campuses echoed with singing at college commencements and class day events.

As we have seen, the first half of the nineteenth century provided rich examples of students engaged in song. As populations grew and settlers pushed west, campuses thrived. New colleges began to emerge in greater numbers. Publishing approached a revival of its own. Vernacular and cultivated music became less distinct as the diversity of music increased. Popular singing literature swelled. The time was ripe for the publication of the first collections of American college songs. Naturally, Yale and Harvard led the way.

CHAPTER 5

COLLEGE SINGING: THE FIRST COLLEGE SONG BOOKS

College song publishing in the mid-nineteenth century emerged in concert with broader changes in American society. Between the 1820s and 1850s, technological innovations in the publishing industry allowed for significant strides in papermaking and printing. The Morrill Act in the 1860s bolstered the additional expansion of colleges by providing federal funds for agricultural and mechanical colleges that would promote practical, industrial education. College populations boomed and institutions grew in size and number as development pushed toward the west. In colleges, student interest in athletics surged during the mid and latter-nineteenth century. At the University of Wisconsin by the turn of the twentieth century, one historian noted, "The student newspaper was given over almost entirely to teaching yells and songs, announcing plans for mass meetings, and reciting the prowess of the team." [1] As the nineteenth century matured, colleges, editors and publishers responded to the interest in college life as captured through campus songs.

By that time, Yale produced the first printed volume devoted to song in college life in 1853. Yale had developed a strong tradition of college singing including "fence singing, society singing, class singing groups, and college singing clubs."[2] N. W. T. Root and J. K. Lombard,

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[1] Lawrence Arthur Cremin, *American Education, the National Experience, 1783-1876*, 1st ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 191, 149; Rudolph, *American College and University*, 249; Carl Lotus Becker, *Cornell University: Founders and the Founding*, ed. University Cornell, *Messenger Lectures on the Evolution of Civilization, 1943.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1949), 29; Merle Eugene Curti et al., *The University of Wisconsin, a History* (Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1949), 533.

[2] Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 228.

graduates of 1852 and 1854, respectively, compiled the 1853 *Songs of Yale*. The songbook included the text of songs with associated airs, but no music.[3]

The preface to *Songs of Yale* spoke to public interest in college singing. The editors presented the "collection of College Poetry to the courtesy of the public" and indicated that they were "thus affording amusement to outsiders who may be curious in such matters." Root and Lombard also suggested that the quantity of college songs far exceeded the contents of the book by declaring that "nothing like completeness was intended or attainable" within the collection. The two men included only choice selections from each of the classes' occasional songs and arranged them under topical headings, and in general order of when they were written. They explained that they selected various pieces due primarily to their familiar associations with current and previous generations of Yale students and graduates, rather than by poetic or literary merit. While creating a collection of well-known songs and providing amusement to those unfamiliar with Yale traditions, Root and Lombard also strove to illustrate the customs common at Yale. They primarily included songs authored by Yale graduates. For that reason, they admitted to excluding a number of songs of "a good deal of popularity" among students. Additionally, they noted that certain pieces were written purposefully for the publication including "Old Yale," "A Song for Old Yale," "Song of the Sweep," "Song of the Pump," and the "Yale Parting Song."

After the introduction, Root and Lombard provided brief explanations for certain terms used in the book including "Boating," "Biennial," "Burial of Euclid," "Foot-Ball Game," "Wooden Spoon," and "Presentation Day." The two compilers organized the songs into roughly

[3] Walter S. Collins, "The Yale Song Books, 1853-1978," in *Vistas of American Music: Essays and Compositions in Honor of William K. Kearns*, ed. Susan L. Porter and John Graziano, *Detroit Monographs in Musicology/Studies in Music* (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1999), 199-200, Collins provided an in-depth comparison of all Yale songbooks published during the scope of his article.

nine categories. The collection began with a general section of "Songs," which were likely unsuited for specific categorization elsewhere. "Semi-Centennial Songs" headed the second grouping, followed by "Biennial Songs," "Boat Songs," "Burial of Euclid Songs," "Football Songs," "Songs of the Spoon," "Presentation Songs" and "Parting Songs." They appended a final song, "The Victim Steed – A Legend," detailing a student prank.

The first grouping under "Songs" commenced with "Gaudeamus," often described as the quintessential college song. For "Gaudeamus," a German air, the compilers took the words from *Howitt's Student Life in Germany*. The editors indicated that R. S. Willis introduced the words and tunes in America. Lyman Bagg, the author of *Four Years at Yale*, noted that Willis brought "Gaudeamus" and "Integer Vitae" from the German universities and introduced them in America in 1848. Some evidence suggests that Willis added two stanzas of his own to the *Songs of Yale* version. Based on Howitt's version, Willis dropped a stanza:

> Vivat et respublica,
> Et qui illam regit;
> Vivat nostra civitas,
> Mecenatum caritas,
> Quae nos hic protegit.
>
> (May our land forever bloom
> Under wise direction;
> And this city's classic ground
> In munificence abound,
> Yielding us protection.)

and added two:

> Quis confluxus hodie
> Academicorum?
> E longinquo convenerunt
> Protinusque successerunt
> In commune forum
>
> Alma mater floreat,
> Quae nos educavit,

Caros et commilitones,
Dissitas in regiones
Sparsos, congregavet.

(Why has such a multitude
Come here during winter break?
Despite distance, despite weather,
They have gathered here together
For Philology's sake.)

(May our Alma Mater thrive,
A font of education;
Friends and colleagues, where'er they are,
Whether near or from afar,
Heed her invitation.)

for eight stanzas total.[4]

"Gaudeamus" also appeared in *College Songs* (1860), which is the first known collection of college songs drawn from multiple colleges. *College Songs*, grouped according to Harvard, Yale, Williams and Dartmouth songs, included "Gaudeamus," in that collection under Yale songs. Again, the book attributed the song's introduction in America to Willis. The publishers of *College Songs* reinserted one of the original stanzas, "Vivat et respublica," from Howitt's book and reordered the stanzas in general. It is not clear whether Willis had any other motivation in adding the two new stanzas, assuming he wrote the additions. He likely desired to add his own personal mark to the text of the song. In any case, from its early introduction and while

[4] Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 5; Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 302; Howitt, *The Student Life of Germany*, 283-284; Edward Kennard Rand, "In Taberna Mori," *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, June 1929, 408. Rand noted that Willis "actually had the daring to add to the song two strophes [stanzas] of his own composing." (quoted in Hammond, "Notes on the Words and Music Used in Harvard's Commencement Ceremonies," 320.); Collins, "Yale Song Books," 199; Henry Randall Waite, *Student Life in Song; a Choice Collection of College Melodies* (Boston,: O. Ditson, 1879), 79. Waite's collection provided a translation of the "Vivat et respublica" stanza, but the other two stanzas, while listed in Latin, are not translated into English. A number of variants existed online for the other two stanzas. The most common translation found is included here.

obviously not having American origins, most casual observers at this time considered "Gaudeamus" a Yale college song.

The other songs under the general "Songs" heading that followed "Gaudeamus" in *Songs of Yale* included "Audacia," "A Song for Old Yale," "Linonia," "Old Yale," "Opening Song," "The Freshman Green," "Smoking Song," "Song of the Sweep," "The Song of the Pump," "The Song of Sighs" and "Recipe for a Chemical Lecture." "Linonia" and "Opening Song" evolved from two of the oldest literary societies at Yale. Students founded the Linonia Literary Society in 1753 and Brothers in Unity in 1768. An early society, Crotonia, existed before these two and expired prior, but scant evidence survived about its existence. Later in the nineteenth century as interest in open societies appeared to lose its attraction for students, the membership and activities of Linonia and Brothers waned. However, Bagg noted that at annual reunions of graduates, usually held prior to commencement, the enthusiasm for the old societies re-awakened through speeches, stories and the singing of songs.[5]

The section on "Songs" concluded with the humorous "Recipe for a Chemical Lecture." Chemical lectures often included many experiments and illustrations. The lyrics in this song referred to a "Mr. Weld." This possibly alluded to Mason Cogswell Weld who graduated from Yale in 1852 and later studied chemistry in Europe. The "jovial Yale Agassiz" compared Weld to Louis Agassiz (1807-1873), a professor of natural history at Harvard who was known for his enthusiastic lectures that attracted significant crowds. Weld, an accomplished and animated student (based on the contents of the song) likely assisted the class professor.[6]

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[5] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 190-221, Bagg noted the enthusiasm for reunions and song on 218.

[6] Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 16; Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 157-158; Lewis Weld, "Lewis Weld Family Papers, 1781-1877 (Inclusive), 1853-1864 (Bulk)," Yale

Another section of songs included, “Songs Sung at the Third Semi-Centennial Celebration” (Aug. 14, 1850). Root and Lombard listed these songs as “Hymn,” two simply called “Song” and one titled “Parting Song.” As part of the proceedings of the one hundred and fifty year anniversary, the alumni assembled at tented tables in front of the library. Alumni listened as an officer read the minutes of the previous year’s meeting as well as announced those graduates who had passed away since the last gathering. Each of the four songs in *Songs of Yale* made similar reference to departed friends:

> We all have wrought in mines of thought,
> And brought up various ore;
> But many a mate has met his fate
> That sate with us of yore;[7]

During the program students presented numerous toasts and tributes honoring each other and the college. In the official record of the event written by President Theodore D. Woolsey, he stated that through the course of the meeting the Beethoven Society sang several pieces written for the occasion. The group, consisting of undergraduates and many graduates who were also former members, participated in the singing. The ceremony concluded with the singing of the first four verses of the sixty-fifth Psalm, which had been sung at the first commencement in 1718.[8]

The editors categorized the next group of musical verse as “Biennial Songs.” From 1825-1850, and perhaps longer, the three lower classes at Yale took examinations twice a year. One

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library reference; Henry Ware, "Louis Agassiz," *Appletons' Journal: a Magazine of General Literature* 3, no. 57 (1870), 492-494

[7] Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 18

[8] Woolsey, *An Historical Discourse Pronounced before the Graduation of Yale College*, 79-80, The Beethoven Society originally organized in 1812 as both a choral and orchestral group (Bagg. 303-304).

examination occurred in May during the middle of the second term, and the other in September, just prior to commencement. Each examination lasted from four to six days and covered the work over the previous term and a half. The second examination of the junior year, however, covered all studies included in the first three years. Those who passed advanced to the senior class. Only one examination occurred during the senior year, which covered the senior year only. Students completed the exams two months before commencement. Beginning in 1850 students took two Biennial examinations, one at the end of each of the sophomore and senior years. Each of these covered material from the previous two years. Students still completed regular examinations on the studies of the close of each term, with the exception of those that coincided with the comprehensive exams of the biennial at the end of the sophomore and senior years.

For the first year or two, students took examinations in the attic of the Chapel, but later these moved to the newly finished Alumni Hall. Hence the reference in the "Examination Song":[9]

> But naught care we for the dust or hear,
> The ground whether hard or soft,
> For this is a snug cool place of ours
> Within the chapel loft.[10]

Later, in 1865, the sophomore class observed the last Biennial. The freshman class of '68 of that same year began the new practice of annual examinations. Biennial Jubilees and Biennial Dinners became Annual Jubilees and Annual Dinners. On the morning of Presentation Day the freshmen donned their Annual hats. The hats conformed to the Oxford design with a stiff square

[9] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 568

[10] Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 21.

attached to a headpiece with a tassel on the left side. Each class used its own identifying colors for their tassels. The students wore hats during examinations and on Presentation Day, senior graduation.[11]

The last session of freshman examinations closed on Thursday before commencement. Shortly thereafter, Bagg noted, the "emancipated Fresh assemble in the college yard, and led off by a band of music." Many proceeded to the railway station or steamboat dock to head toward one of the numerous seaside resorts. They enjoyed "singing on the way the songs of jubilation," which had been written for the occasion, or reciting the older melodies for which they were more familiar. After reaching their destination, and prior to the dinner, the class's "wittiest man," who was elected by the class committee, presented the "class histories." The chosen "historian" accepted the task of leading the festivities. This included "dressing up" the peculiarities of individuals within the class in an effort to provide the most amusement, delivering absurd Greek and Latin translations, and highlighting laughable mishaps during the year. At the conclusion of dinner and after the remaining "histories," the participants (a number worse for liquor) joined in singing, music and dance. After returning by train or steamboat to their initial point of departure, the students concluded the evening with a final song or two and a cheer for the class.[12]

Many competitions at Yale in the 1850s centered on boating, thus the title, "Boat Songs," included in the next section in *Songs of Yale.* Boating initiated intercollegiate athletics. The proximity to beach and resort areas led, perhaps naturally, to the growth of boating or rowing competitions during the 1840s and 1850s. Three songs entered in the collection, "Boat Songs,"

[11] Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 174.

[12] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 278-280.

"Atalanta Boat Song" and the "Shawmut Boat Song" demonstrated the enthusiasm that existed for boating.[13]

New Haven and Long Island Sound remained popular destinations for swimming and sailing. Non-college affiliated clubs raced in New York Harbor as early as 1824 attracting as many as 50,000 spectators. This invariably rubbed off on the colleges. At their first competition, students used ordinary rowboats built for long excursions. Soon thereafter, students procured more sophisticated boats.[14]

Bagg credited William J. Weeks of the class of 1844 for introducing the sport in 1843 after purchasing a "second-hand four-oared Whitehall boat." Other boats acquired during that year by other junior clubs adopted names such as Nautilus, Iris and Centipede. The first boat built for racing at Yale, Excelsior, launched in May 1844.[15] In June 1853 the six rowing clubs formed the Yale Navy and adopted a formal operating constitution. The Annual commencement Regatta, where boats belonging to the Yale Navy could compete for prizes, began in 1853. The first review and drill occurred on June 18, 1853. The first regatta took place on the Tuesday before commencement on July 26.[16]

The initial intercollegiate contest between Harvard and Yale occurred on Lake Winnipesaukee, New Hampshire, in August 1852. The "Shawmut Boat Song" commemorated

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[13] Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 25-27; In Greek mythology, *Atalanta* represented a swift-footed huntress. *Shawmut* referred to the Shawmut Peninsula, largely surrounded by water, upon which Boston was settled. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* from Encylcopaedia Britannica Online. <http://search.ebcom/eb/article-9010029> and <http://search.ebcom/eb/article-9641> [Accessed September 26, 2005].

[14] Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 214

[15] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 328, Bagg gave extensive detail on the development of boating at Yale and the various competitions (327-402).

[16] Ibid., 351.

the event. Harvard, described as being reluctant to accept the invitation, finally agreed to the regatta. The course consisted of a two-mile race rowed in eight-oared barges. The morning of race day also included a practice run for the competitors.

Yale entered three boats: Undine, Shawmut (for the Halcyon club) and Atalanta. Harvard entered the Oneida. However, Harvard refused to allow the Atalanta, a four-oared, smaller, fast race-boat hired in New York, to compete. Though omitted from this particular contest Atalanta nevertheless inspired visions of quickness.

> Come join a jovial song,
> Gay Atalanta!
> O'er any craft afloat
> Fearlessly vaunt her!
> True as an arrow's flight,
> Onward advancing,
> Yet ever gaily o'er
> The heaving billows dancing.[17]

Harvard won the contest, including the practice run, and captured first prize, a pair of silver-mounted black-walnut sculls (oars). Festivities on the second day were delayed due to thunderstorms, but after the storms subsided, the participants gave a ceremonial showing and demonstration. Then, as Bagg reported, "Songs were sung, and cheers were given until our throats were sore, and all said 'Well done.'"[18]

Songs of Yale next listed "Burial of Euclid Songs." The songs included "Introductory Ode," to the tune of "Gaudeamus," and two others each simply referred to as "Song." The Burial of Euclid constituted a rite of the sophomore class in which students dispensed with the book that

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[17] Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 26.

[18] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 366-367; Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 214-215; Lewis Sheldon Welch and Walter Chauncey Camp, *Yale, Her Campus, Class-Rooms, and Athletics* (Boston: L. C. Page and company (incorporated), 1899), 467.

presented the famous Greek mathematicians teachings on geometry. Many of the lyrics capitalized on the mathematical elements:

> We're free! Hurrah! From Euclid free!
> Farewell, misnamed Playfair,
> Farewell, thou worthy Tutor B.,
> Shake hands, and call it *square*.[19]

The ceremonies varied, but they usually included a wild assortment of nocturnal activities including poems, marches, tragedies, and, of course, the burying and/or burning of the text. The custom transpired from year to year, though its beginnings remained vague. Bagg noted a reference to the practice in 1843, which indicated that it had been "handed down from time immemorial."

The elaborate event often involved students in various grotesquely constructed masks, bizarre hats and gruesome looking attire. In one particular description a student drove a heated poker through the volume. Jokes followed that included "understanding it" as it was passed over their heads, and stepping firmly on the covers to validate that they had "gone over it." Other colleges practiced a similar ritual. At Amherst, students dressed in costumes and sang hymns for the "Burial Rites of Ye Classics and Mathematics."

The "corpse" followed a procession with the moaning music of flutes and fifes, and the thumping and mumbling of a cracked drum, to the opened grave or funeral pyre. With lighted torches students composed a long train that wound its way to the various ritual locations under a cold, starlit sky. Fundamentally obscene, the event often included a program with original songs, poems, orations and witty speeches. The revelers interspersed these songs through the ceremony along with the music of a band, bearing a facetious name such as the "Blow Hards" or "Horne

[19] Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 29.

Blenders," playing such tunes as "Old Grimes is Dead," "Music from the Spheres" and other solemn works.[20]

Songs of Yale continued with athletics and a section of songs about football. References to football, or its early variations, existed at Yale as early as 1797. Sophomores and freshmen usually challenged each other to an annual game. In some cases, students made challenges, and acceptances, by posting notices or broadsides of the duels on the Lyceum and Athenaeum doors. Bagg noted that the sophomores accepted the freshman challenge by including a poetical response welcoming the freshmen to their destruction.

While sophomores regularly won the outcome, disputes often arose over who earned the claim of victory, as was the case of a fierce disagreement in 1853.[21] The freshman song of 1852 probably enhanced the fervor of 1853:

> We'll ne'er forget this glorious day,
> And College long shall tell
> How vanquished Sophomores ran away,
> And Bingham tolled the bell.[22]

Students constructed "Songs of the Ball" each year to glorify the exercise. Bagg noted that these songs "were every year written, printed, and sung by the victors, and doubtless by the vanquished also." *Songs of Yale* included three, "Sophomore Jubilee Song," "Sophomores' Song of Victory" and "The Foot Ball Game." The victors and the vanquished memorialized the

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[20] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 319-326, Bagg included three separate entries of stanzas related to Burial of Euclid songs. Whether these are parts of a single song or from more than one song is unclear. The stanzas did not match any of the three songs in Root and Lombard; Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 220-221; "American Student Life: Some Memories of Yale," *Continental Monthly*, September 1862, 271-272, Included in the article is an excerpt the first stanza of the "Introductory Ode;" Cutting, *Student Life at Amherst College. Its Organizations, Their Membership and History*, 128; Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 45.

[21] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 259-262.

[22] Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 35.

competition in song. In the evening the victors sang songs by torchlight on the State House steps and the ladies who observed the event typically rewarded them with bouquets.[23]

Root and Lombard's next section of songs paid homage to the Wooden Spoon. A graduate of 1848 originally began the Presentation of the Wooden Spoon as a burlesque on the regular junior exhibition. The related "Songs of the Spoon" in *Songs of Yale* are "The Wooden Spoon," two titled "Song" and "The Man with the Spoon." The first 1847 Spoon presentation began as a comic interpretation of the junior exhibition. Soon the "Presentation of the Spoon" became *the* exhibition of the entire college year. In earlier years, Bagg described it as a customary practice where the class presented "a pair of red-topped boots to the most popular man; a jack knife to the homeliest, a leather medal if he refused the knife; a cane to the handsomest; and a wooden spoon to the one who ate the most."[24]

Later the contest grew into one of popularity. The junior class elected a committee, the Spoon Committee, later called the Society of the Cochleaureati. "Cochleaureati" applied to all "non-appointed" men, or those who had not received specific honors given for scholastic achievement. The committee, or "Cochs," selected from within its own ranks the "Spoon Man."

Originally, membership in the Cochleaureati emphasized scholarship for those who had no other appointments. However, it soon became a popularity contest to determine the wittiest, most genial and most gentlemanly men of the junior class. Thus, as Bagg expressed, the Spoon Man ascended to the "highest elective honor of the college, and that of Coch was but little inferior to it."[25] The students obviously saw significant social rewards in the "Spoon"

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[23] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 261; "American Student Life: Some Memories of Yale," 271; Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 106-107, 213.

[24] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 405.

[25] Ibid., 406-408.

designation and related committee appointments as noted in a Spoon "Song" to the tune of "Yankee Doodle" in *Songs of Yale*":

> Who would not place this precious boon
> Above the Greek Oration?
> Who would not choose the wooden spoon
> Before a Dissertation?[26]

By the lyrics, the social appointment superseded academic accomplishments.

The Spoon ceremony itself happened with high drama and secrecy. The event, held in the Temple, involved various burlesque orations, poems, dissertations, colloquies and disputes. The college glee club often provided music and members of the class usually wrote songs especially for the occasion. In later years, classes often hired bands to provide music. The event commonly concluded with the singing of "Gaudeamus."

Every Coch, with the exception of the Spoon Man, procured a black walnut spoon, which was usually three feet in length and included his name and class carved upon the blade. The actual Spoon consisted of a much more elaborate carving with silver plating and engravings. The winner received a velvet-lined case constructed of rosewood or other fine woods for keeping the trophy.[27]

Songs of Yale followed Spoon songs with "Presentation Songs." President Ezra Stiles (1778-1795), while a tutor at Yale in the latter eighteenth century, originated presentation day. After the seniors' final exams, the successful candidates advanced to the president as candidates for bachelor's degrees. The annual occasion, described as one of the oldest student institutions, eventually bore the stamp of the administration as the faculty asserted more control over the

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[26] Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale,* 37.

[27] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale,* 409-423; Kelley, *Yale: A History,* 221.

students' selection of speakers and activities.[28] A Yale historian noted that President Stiles, who loved ceremonies, used them to build college and class spirit. *Songs of Yale* contained a number of presentation songs including "Amo, Amas," "Song," "Alma Mater," "Equestrian Ode," "Greek Fixings" and "Farewell." Presentation Day culminated a variety of activities during Presentation Week and normally occurred from two days to six weeks prior to commencement. The occasion became a literary festival that was less formal than commencement observances, but one in which undergraduates more actively participated. The presentation itself began with a tutor or appointed officer who delivered an opening address in Latin. The president then responded with an address, also in Latin. The names of the candidates were usually read aloud. The ceremony typically began in the library, then moved to the chapel where students presented two cliosophic orations in Latin, a dialogue, a disputation, a poetical composition, and a valedictory, in English. It concluded with the singing of an anthem.

After the president's remarks, the class poet delivered the class poem. Bagg noted that the poem often alluded to college life and aspirations, and progressed in a variety of meters. The oration followed, then the class valedictories. The senior class elected both the class poet and orator as the best representatives of talent from the class.

The president awarded scholarships and prizes for the term. The final chapel presentation included the parting ode written by a member of the class. Bagg stated that, since 1856, students ordinarily sang the ode to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne." Programs were first printed in 1856. Organizers distributed copies of the odes as early as 1830. During that time, the air for the ode usually changed from year to year. From Bagg's detailed accounts, the singing of odes persisted the tradition that began in the previous century

[28] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 479. Bagg noted that the president and faculty appointed speakers as opposed to allowing students to make the selection of their classmates as was done in the past.

At the afternoon outdoor ceremonies of Presentation Day, seniors arranged themselves in front of South Middle on the college green, or on benches placed in a ring under the elms. Bagg noted that under the trees they smoked the pipe of peace and sang songs written for the occasion while a raw and raucous burlesque band, composed of their members and with an assortment of instruments, furnished the "music." The singing and accompaniments obviously exuded more fun than finesse in this instance. In later years a band from the city provided the music. Bagg saw this as a gradual change in singing traditions.[29] "Song" in *Songs of Yale* included the verse:

> But now we're through, hurrah! Hurrah!
> To smoke we're seated here;
> Oh! Let it be the pipe of peace,
> And keep our mem'ries dear –
>
> [Chorus]
>
> Four fleeting years these elms have waved
> O'er many a happy heart;
> Like lov'd companions, they are dear,
> But now, old Elms, we part![30]

The afternoon alternated between songs and class histories, which concentrated on personal jokes about members of the class. One observer recorded that, after the first class history, the "manly chorus of a hundred voices" bellowed the melody of a presentation song.

[29] Ibid., 479-499. The songs circulated at the formal morning session likely differed from the informal afternoon gathering. Records of Yale Presentation Songs at Brown University library indicated that regular printings of "Presentation Songs" existed during most of the 1850s. The broadsides included text of nine or ten songs including "Gaudeamus." Bagg indicated on page 494 that a program for the afternoon session was first printed in 1859, though, he stated, copies of songs freely circulated at the afternoon event during the previous nine years. These dates differed from those he described for the morning session including "Auld Lang Syne." He stated on page 483 that the first of these printed programs appeared in 1856, but copies of odes circulated as early as 1830.

[30] Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 41.

The event celebrated the all-but-graduated. Boisterousness surged. And, as also documented, "The enthusiasm was not lessened by frequent potations of lemonade."

Programs listed the names of the songs written for the day, the committee membership, and the class historian. The songs included the "Ivy" or "Joy Song," always original and written by the class poet. After planting the ivy in front of the library (this represented an effort to keep their memory green at their alma mater), the students marched through campus cheering the college buildings. The day concluded with services at evening chapel and a reception at the president's home.[31]

While presentation songs were unique to presentation day, students often sang "parting songs" or parting odes during presentation week and commencement week. Primarily, students sang them on the final day at the conclusion of the ceremonies and festivities. For presentation day, students sang the parting song under the elms after the class histories, jokes and other miscellaneous singing.

For commencement day, the valedictorian gave the final speech of the day in Center Church, which followed with the conferring of degrees. Graduates, officers and guests then proceeded to a tent assembled in front of Alumni Hall. There they exchanged more toasts and speeches during the meal. Around six in the evening attendees sang a parting song and the gathering closed with a benediction. Bagg noted that seniors then dispersed to private society meetings, packed their belongings or attended to other general business.[32]

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[31] Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 104, 221-222; Julius H. Ward, "Presentation Week at Yale," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, September 1864, 497-499. "Potations of lemonade" was most certainly an alcoholic brew. Ward noted that, with the band leading, the class formed "two by two; and marching through the different halls, they cheer each building in order."

[32] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 673.

Commencement day consisted primarily of formal ceremony. Graduates exchanged fewer lengthy goodbyes, since that was primarily the circumstance of presentation day.[33] The songs listed in this section are indicative of the "Parting Ode" by Bigelow:

> But we may not linger, brothers;
> Be our future what it will,
> We must on! And yield to others
> Places we no more can fill.[34]

Other similar titles reproduced in *Songs of Yale* are "Thoughts at Parting," "Parting Hymn," "Stanzas from Valedictory Poem," "Yale Parting Song," and another "Parting Ode."

Songs of Yale concluded with the song and tale, "The Victim Steed – A Legend." This clearly existed as one of the inside jokes shared by the class of 1851 and '52. The story described what transpired in one of the rooms of the Lyceum. Students tied a gaunt horse to the door of a recitation room. The action evidently elicited uproars of laughter and incurred additional abuse to the animal. The students instigated the prank to unnerve one of the tutors, who, successfully rattled, demanded that it be removed.

Root and Lombard produced a significant work, if for nothing else, because their collection represented the first published American college songbook. Beyond that, however, the works included in the book shed considerable light on student life and college customs at Yale during the mid-nineteenth century. While the organization and selection of musical poetry included within the book may seem rudimentary or arbitrary to some, the songbook provided an important glimpse into the lives of college students as commemorated in song. Though other individual compositions existed during and prior to the published date of the collection, *Songs of*

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[33] Julius H. Ward, "Commencement Week at Yale," *Harper's new monthly magazine*, November 1863, 787; Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 665-673; Ward, "Presentation Week at Yale," 499.

[34] Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 51.

Yale consolidated these into the first compilation that demonstrated literary wit of the students in addition to memorializing events of Yale life.

The students and editors provided a historical oral tradition through song. The lyrics, both humorous and reflective, gave valuable insight into college traditions and college life. *Songs of Yale* solidified a number of the oral singing traditions of the college, including odes and other lyrical accounts, by placing them in print. It also served as a template for other college song collections to follow. Root and Lombard conceded that many of the songs found inclusion more so for their familiarity than for their literary merit. Still, the content of the songs provided much richer substance than what one might typically think of today as a "college song."

Songs of Yale not only satisfied the public appetite for college songs, but also provided the public with some sense of college customs during the nineteenth century. It served as a significant marker, not only as a remembrance of the currents that ran through student life at Yale in the mid-1850s, but also as a precursor to college songs that followed. *Songs of Yale* highlighted the camaraderie, the rivalry, and the traditions of college student life. While Yale's first collection of songs naturally had its primary focus on Yale life, singing already existed as a feature of social and ceremonial practices in many campuses across the country. Many colleges borrowed their singing traditions from Yale and other early colleges. The book encouraged other institutions to commemorate their own unique college customs in printed song collections.

Unlike *Songs of Yale*, the *College Song Book*, published seven years later in 1860, included piano accompaniment with many of its selections. *College Song Book*, published by Wistar Stevens (Harvard graduate and Boston physician), contained over fifty popular songs of Harvard, Yale, Williams and Dartmouth. Additional tunes gave lyrics and associated airs, but omitted the written music. While the book represented the four colleges, the editor stated in the

preface that it signified the first published collection of Harvard songs. Perhaps in reaction to the previously published *Songs of Yale*, Stevens noted that music was by no means neglected at Harvard. He mentioned the concerts of the previous winter of the Pierian Sodality and Harvard Glee Club. He explained that thirty years before, musical societies existed and students sang the popular airs of the day as well as selections from the German masters. He also acknowledged that many songs were forgotten and many were confined to secret societies. The current collection constituted one that students transmitted orally. Stevens attributed any imperfections in the collection to this reason. He also commended the other colleges for their work in producing collections of college songs: "To collect the songs made hallowed by time, and to endeavor to raise the tone and merit of College poems generally, are worthy objects."[35] Stevens further indicated that the collection served as a companion volume to *College Words and Customs* by Benjamin Homer Hall. Stevens included all of the primary melodies of colleges that cultivated music. In the choice of songs, or "poems" as Stevens wrote, he selected them by their "intrinsic worth, and especially by the light which they throw on permanent College customs." He included piano accompaniment for those who appreciated instrumental music and for those who held the songs of the *Alma Mater* dear. Continuing, he added, "How cheering to forget now and then the cares and bustle of active life, and sing over the songs, which are associated with all the merry-makings and festivals of College life; — which are whistled through the College yard, and hummed while 'digging' over Greek Tragedies, sung in Glee Clubs and in the nightly

[35] Charles Wistar Stevens, *College Song Book. A Collection of American College Songs, with Piano-Forte Accompaniment* (Boston: H. Tolman and co., 1860), Preface. *College Song Book* was the title page title. *College Songs* was the cover title. Stevens likely also wished to capitalize on the success of *College Words and Customs* as well as the interest in college singing

serenade. The melodies and words bring back familiar faces and sports, and the wearied heart feels young again."[36]

Perhaps naturally, Stevens' collection began with "Fair Harvard." A number of the songs, like "The Lone Fish-Ball," included editorial commentary. The caption under the title stated, "Based on a Boston fact." At the end of the song the editor noted that the song paralleled a similar story about a New York professor. The professor frequented an establishment for buckwheat cakes. On one occasion he had more appetite than for his usual three cakes, but not enough money for a second order at sixpence. He therefore requested five, which he was willing to pay ten pence. But since the owner's currency only consisted of sixpence, shillings, etc., the business had no checks for ten pence. The professor repeated this act on several occasions until the proprietor issued an ultimatum that he must order the three cakes, six cakes or none at all. The exchange offended the professor who never returned.

Stevens added an assortment of other titles. He included "When the Puritans Came Over" by Oliver Wendell Holmes who wrote it for the Harvard Bicentennial in 1836. Several songs included unintelligible words such as the titles of the songs, "Ba-Be-Bi-Bo-Bu" and "Shool," described as a "nonsense-song" similar to the qualities of a Mother Goose melody. Students sang "Shool," as the editor explained, when they felt that they had been wise long enough, and were determined to be foolish for a while. Stevens listed "Gaudeamus" as "A Latin song, sung by German Students" and credited R. Willis. Stevens also included an explanation for the Harvard song "Upidee." He noted that the lyrics contained so many local names and allusions as to render

[36] Ibid., Preface.

them meaningless to all but Harvard students. Stevens substituted verses from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "Excelsior" instead.[37]

Both *Songs of Yale* and *College Song Book* reflected the public, student and institutional interest in college songs during the period. While *Songs of Yale* delved deeper into the traditions particularly special to Yale, *College Song Book* gave a general cross section of songs of the day from several institutions. The two collections, intentionally or not, complemented each other and provided other institutions and publishers with a foundation that they built on time and time again.

Like *Songs of Yale* and *College Song Book*, Benjamin Homer Hall's *College Words and Customs* provided insight into the lives of college students and singing in the nineteenth century. Hall's work provided an encyclopedia of college terminology and traditions of the time with many humorous descriptions. However, the most striking difference between his first and second editions was his overwhelming reliance on singing anecdotes drawn from *Songs of Yale* and other published college songs that he noted in his revised volume. Hall's amended collection, with its abundant references to songs, revealed much about American college culture and singing traditions for the first time. Hall originally published *College Words and Customs* in 1851. *Songs of Yale* emerged in 1853. It is clear that the 1856 revision of *College Words and Customs* culled multiple references from *Songs of Yale*. A scholar on college slang noted that our knowledge of early college slang relied heavily on two sources, *College Words and Customs* and *Four Years at*

[37] Ibid., 19, 22, 24, 40. Beneath seven of the songs, Willis is listed as "proprietor of the copyright. Willis was also incorrectly identified (perhaps a typographical error) as "R. Starr Willis" under each of his songs instead of "Richard Storrs Willis."

Yale.[38] Hall's book defined the college culture of the period; a culture that relied heavily on song for both casual student pastimes and formal college functions. His work helped to make the connections between singing and college life more visible, disclosing an overwhelming presence of song and singing in American college life in the nineteenth century.

Benjamin Homer Hall published the first edition of *College Words and Customs* anonymously in 1851 during the last half of his senior year at Harvard. Explaining his cloaked persona for the 1851 edition in the preface to the 1856 revision, Hall stated that he preferred anonymity because he feared ridicule for what might be considered "boyish, trivial or wrong." The second edition extended the vernacular collection of the first by roughly two hundred pages. In both editions Hall iterated his lighthearted, yet sincere desire to shed light on the peculiarities, lore and "character of student life." Though he acknowledged that some might consider the material unrefined, he maintained, "There is nothing in language of manners too insignificant for the attention of those who are desirous of studying the diversified developments of the character of man."[39]

Hall noted in the preface to the second edition that he added much new material including the peculiar technicalities of English universities and an index of American colleges found throughout the text. However, a major portion of the 1856 revision related directly to college songs. Hall included many new references to songs and singing, particularly from *Songs of Yale.*

[38] Connie C. Eble, *Slang & Sociability: In-Group Language among College Students* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 131.

[39] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, Preface, vi.

A significant number of the revised entries as well as many of the new entries owed their inclusion to *Songs of Yale* and a few other small song collections.[40]

The initial reference to *Songs of Yale* occurred with the term *Biennial* Examination. Hall described the reference, not listed in the first edition, as a Yale practice of private examinations held twice during the undergraduate years at the close of the sophomore and senior years. Hall included a quote of much the same from the preface to *Songs of Yale*. Also noted is a portion of song from a collection of *Yale Presentation Day Songs* published on June 14, 1854.[41]

Hall next noted *Songs of Yale* in the description of the "Burial of Euclid." The mock ceremony commenced with music then proceeded with an elaborate ceremony including an oration, a poem, a funeral sermon, a dirge (song of mournful lamentation) and concluded with a prayer. Both of Hall's versions included a lengthy explanation of the practice. The 1856 version added paragraphs procured from the preface to *Songs of Yale*. Hall quoted the description from Root and Lombard that details the midnight procession with music and torches. He selected an excerpt from one of the dirges usually sung at the occasion. He quoted three strains from the "burial" processional order of exercises by the Class of '57, which occurred at Yale on November 8, 1854. The students sang the tune to "Auld Lang Syne."[42]

Hall also included the term *Cochleaureatus*. He noted its rough Latin translation as "one who is honored with a spoon." At Yale, the wooden spoon designation fell on the student who

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[40] Hall's work supplied a vast alphabetical catalog of college terms and customs. He included many more references to singing in *College Words and Customs* than could be covered here. This section focused primarily on references to *Songs of Yale* as they occurred by term and other select mentions of singing and song within the work. This research focused on the 1856 revision with attention paid to differences between the 1856 and 1851 versions.

[41] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 27; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 4.

[42] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 41-46; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 4.

came last on a list of appointees for the Junior Exhibition. The recipient received the title of "cochleaureatus." Hall gave the term *Wooden Spoon* for further details and also included a quote of verse from *Songs of Yale*:

> Now give in honor of the spoon
> Three cheers, long, loud, and hearty,
> And three for every honored June
> In *coch-le-au-re-a-ti*.[43]

Once again Hall noted song for his variations of the word *flunk*. The first meant roughly "to fail at recitation." The second similar entry signified "failure when called on to recite." For the 1856 version, Hall added a reference to "The Victim Steed – A Legend" in *Songs of Yale* to the first definition of *flunk*:

> In moody meditation sunk,
> Reflecting on my future *flunk*.[44]

His additional entries include *flunkey*, *flunker*, and *flunkology* (farce for "science of flunking").

Hall interpreted *Gobble* as "to lay hold of" or "to appropriate." Hall included a number of references to other Yale publications in both versions. In the second edition he included a notation to *Songs of Yale* and added the quote, "Then shout for the hero who *gobbles* the prize."[45] The song alluded to acquiring the wooden spoon.

Hall noted the abbreviation *Jun*., meaning "junior," in the 1851 edition. In the 1856 version he added the term *June* meaning the same. To the brief explanation he added two quotes from *Songs of Yale* about the wooden spoon:

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[43] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 81; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 37.

[44] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 205; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 54.

[45] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 229; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 39.

I once to Yale a *Fresh* did come,
But now a jolly *June*,
Returning to my distant home,
I bear the wooden spoon.[46]

The other lyric described students who are no longer freshmen or sophomores, "Each blade is a gentleman *June*."[47]

The abbreviations *Med* and *Medic* signified students in medicine. Hall included a brief reference to the *Yale Banger* newspaper in the first edition. In the second edition he added several other references including a quote from "Recipe for a Chemical Lecture" from *Songs of Yale*.[48]

Hall listed the word *Pony* in both editions as a noun and a verb and defined it as a "translation" or "to use a translation." In the revised edition Hall noted *Songs of Yale*:

In knowledge's road ye are but asses,
While we on *ponies* ride before.[49]

Students and tutors regularly used translations. The connection extended to medieval universities where students, often caricatured as assess for knowing as little *after* as *before* their education or being labeled an ass by their instructor for not being prepared for recitations, sometimes depended on others to prompt them in a moment of recitation memory (or preparation) crisis. Translations or *ponies* were the Cliffs Notes of the nineteenth century. While translations helped

[46] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 272; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 36.

[47] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 272; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 39.

[48] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 312; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 16.

[49] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 358; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 6-7.

students get ahead of those starting from scratch, their surreptitious use, especially at recitations, landed students in serious trouble:

> If you *pony*, he will see,
> And before the Faculty
> You will surely summoned be.[50]

Hall drew on the above quote from "Sophomores Biennial" in Songs of Yale. He listed several other terms, which essentially meant the same as "translation." *Bohn* became synonymous with "translation" from undergraduates extensive use of volumes of *Bohn's Classical Library* (1849). Hall also noted the lyrics of *Songs, Biennial Jubilee* of Yale in 1855. Hall also gave *Crib* and *hobby* as equivalents. A related term, *skin*, meant learning a lesson by hearing it from another, borrowing another's ideas or plagiarism. In examinations some students covered the palms of their hands with dates. When called upon, the student read from his flesh-copied list, hence the term *skin*. Hall gave the same reference for *Bohn* and *Skin*, "'T'was plenty of *skin* with a good deal of Bohn."[51]

Presentation Day at Yale, as described by Bagg earlier and similar to Class Day at Harvard, took place when seniors satisfied all coursework and examinations and became candidates for degrees. Hall cited the preface to *Songs of Yale* noting that, after the presentations and a public dinner, the seniors settled under the elms and smoke and sing for one last time together.[52] Hall also included a quote of verse from *Presentation Day Songs*:

> It is a very jolly thing,
> Our sitting down in this great ring,

[50] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 359; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 23. Charles Homer Haskins, *The Rise of Universities* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), 65, 73-74.

[51] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 32, 144, 255, 430-431.

[52] Ibid., 367-368; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 4.

To smoke our pipes and loudly sing.[53]

Hall reproduced an extensive article detailing the singing tradition.[54]

Hall repeatedly linked college life to song. He made connections to the word *scheme* that he had omitted in the first edition. It referred to the exam or paper given at Yale for the biennial examination. *Schemes* were synonymous for exam questions:

> See the down-cast air, and the blank despair,
> That sits on each Soph'more feature,
> As his bleared eyes gleam o'er that horrid scheme![55]

The quote came from *Songs of Yale* under "Biennial Songs." The reference also included song quotes from *Presentation Day Songs* of 1854 and *Songs, Biennial Jubilee* of 1855.

Shark also appeared in the second edition for the first time. It represented student slang for those who missed recitations, lectures or prayers, usually due to carelessness than by unavoidable circumstances. Hall included a passage of verse from a *Songs of Yale* song where graduates smoked, against the wishes of their professors, and celebrated with music. They no longer rose early for recitations and the monitors no longer scouted for "sharks."[56]

Hall included *sheepskin* in both editions. *Sheepskin* referred to the parchment diploma that students received upon graduating. Hall included several quips about some clergy who expressed envy at not having their own "sheepskin." He added an additional reference to *Yale*

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[53] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 368.

[54] Ibid., 369, Hall attributed the recollection to an article in the *Yale Literary Magazine*. Vol. XX, p. 228.

[55] Ibid., 400; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 22.

[56] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 421; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 45.

Literary Magazine and included excerpts from a Yale college song and, once again, an excerpt from another song, "Equestrian Ode," in *Songs of Yale*:

> We came to college fresh and green,--
> Doo-dah, doo-dah!
> We go back home with a huge sheepskin.
> Oh, doo-dah, day![57]

While Root and Lombard listed no tune for the song, it clearly matched the refrain of Stephen Foster's "Camptown Races" (1850). A member of the Yale class of 1852 wrote the lyrics for *Songs of Yale*.[58]

Students gave the moniker *sweep* or *sweeper* to the person who swept the students' rooms and made their beds. Hall included the terms in the earlier edition, but, again, he referred to *Songs of Yale* and added a quote from "Song of the Sweep":

> With fingers dirty and black,
> From lower to upper room,
> A College Sweep went dustily round,
> Plying his yellow broom.[59]

The song described the fate of the sweep as worse than that of slave or lowly servant.

Hall mentioned the *Wooden Spoon* in the first edition as one designation that students preferred over any other college honor or prize because it came directly from their peers. Faculty generally disapproved of the award, considering it a detriment to ambition and a mockery of college distinctions. However, in the second edition, Hall noted that the previous account of the Wooden Spoon Exhibition was written in 1851. Since then, the event became a more public

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[57] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 421-422, Hall's quote did not include the "doo-dah" lines. Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 42-43.

[58] Hitchcock, *Music in the United States*, 120.

[59] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 452-453; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 12-13.

affair and the faculty no longer forbade it. Also, since that time, tutors had begun attending the events as well. The traditional "Wooden Spoon" ceremony often rivaled the formal Junior Exhibition. Hall again referred to the preface to *Songs of Yale* and included a complete song taken from the “Songs of the Spoon” section of the book.[60]

Hall’s last reference to *Songs of Yale* occurred, suitably, with the term *Yalensian*. Hall included the brief entry in the second edition for the first time. Taken from the preface to *Songs of Yale*, the term simply meant “a student, or alumni of Yale College.”[61]

While Hall repeatedly referred to *Songs of Yale* in the 1856 edition, *College Words and Customs* contained other numerous references and sketches of student customs and traditions that underscored the significance of song in undergraduate life. Hall also reinforced the evidence that German universities and student life significantly influenced American colleges. Hall included both the terms *Bursch*, a German university student, and *Burschenschaft*, a secret association of students based on nationalistic and political underpinnings, in the volume. Hall noted Howitt’s explanation of *bursch* as a university student who has, to some degree, taken part in the social activities of the students. Hall interspersed a verse, in German text, of the “Crambambuli Song.” He also included the quote, “Student life! Burschen life! What a magic sound have these words for him who has learnt for himself their real meaning.” [62] Hall included many other references and terms from Howitt’s book including *commers* or “festive gathering of students,” *dummer junge* or “stupid youth” considered the highest insult among German students, and *stammbook* or “remembrance album” similar to American student autograph books.

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[60] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 496-497; Root, Lombard, and Yale University, *Songs of Yale*, 4, 37.

[61] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 504-505.

[62] Ibid., 48-49; Howitt, *The Student Life of Germany*, 3, 27.

Hall tied further terms to song. *Appointment*, where students were assigned speaking parts in exhibitions or commencements, referred to the lyrics of Yale *Presentation Day Songs* (1854). The term *class cup* suggested an aspiration more than an actual observance at Yale. Graduates appropriated money for the purchase of a silver cup given in the name of the class to the graduate who, after marriage, produced the first offspring. Hall noted the lyric, "Each man's mind was made up, To obtain the '*Class Cup*'" from *Presentation Day Songs* (June 14, 1854). Students observed a similar practice at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. Hall noted this under the term *silver cup* and ascribed the practice to Trinity. He included a similar, but different reference from the verse of *Presentation Day Songs*.[63]

At Harvard, *Class Day* occurred on the concluding day of studies prior to commencement. The observances of the day usually involved an orator, poet, odist, chaplain and marshals. Hall included an excerpt from the diary of Robert Treat Paine describing class day in June of 1793. Students performed a poem and oration. They then met at the president's house and escorted him, tutors and professors to the chapel led by a band of musicians. After a prayer by the president and bible verses, a student presented a valedictory poem. Then, the singing club, with band accompaniment, performed *Williams's Friendship*.[64] Class Day often concluded with students returning to the college yard to sing, smoke and drink under the trees. After sufficient refreshment, the students danced and sang around the Liberty Tree. Hall's *Liberty Tree* entry acknowledged the previous descriptions of the custom. Hall included a reference to *Song, at Semi-centennial Anniversary of the Class of 1798*.[65]

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[63] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 68, 424.

[64] Robert Treat Paine, *The Works in Verse and Prose* (Boston: Printed and published by J. Belcher., 1812), xxvii, 439, noted in Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 70.

[65] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 292-295.

Hall included additional details of the custom. In 1842, after an instructor joined the revelers, the faculty proposed that dancing be introduced as part of the events in an effort to bring more order to Class Day celebrations. At the conclusion of services at the Chapel, students sang the ode "Fair Harvard." After dining, dancing began in the college yard featuring cotillions and other traditional dances, but concluded with a polka and other contemporary dances of the day. The seniors assembled and joined hands under the Liberty Tree to sing "Auld Lang Syne." Finally, the seniors took a sprig or flower from garland surrounding an elm tree as a final memento of college life.[66]

One recollection of Class Day in 1848 described the singing before the tree as touching, moving and impressive, reflecting much energy and enthusiasm. Students sang "with throbbing hearts and glowing lips, linked for a few moments with strong, fraternal grasps, they stood, with one deep, common feeling, thrilling like one pulse through all."[67] As the singing concluded, the students ran around the tree yelling "Harvard!" After a storm of cheers they converged on the elm for their token of remembrance.

In his description of *commencement*, Hall cited the diary of Judge Samuel Sewall as well as the excessive entertainments at Harvard in the early to mid-eighteenth century. Hall also reproduced a poetical account of commencement of Harvard around 1742. The poem described a feast following the commencement service. The participants continued the celebration following the meal:

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[66] Ibid., 72-73.

[67] Grace Greenwood, *Greenwood Leaves: A Collection of Sketches and Letters*, Third ed. (Boston: Ticknor Reed and Fields, 1851), 350-351, noted in Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 74.

Thanks said, the multitude unite their voice,
In sweetly mingled and melodious noise.
The warbling music floats along the air,
And softly winds the mazes of the ear;[68]

Hall recounted another commencement at Harvard just prior to the turn of the eighteenth century. A writer for Buckingham's *New England Magazine* described the graduation procession. He noted that music could be heard while approaching the college and the students wore black togas instead of white ones. The musicians filed into their pew in the gallery. After more music, they ceased and the orations began.[69]

Hall included another commencement account of similar chronological proximity in 1798 that also mentioned song. After exercises and dinner in the college hall, Professor Sidney Willard remembered the wine and wassail, "Those potent aids to patriotism, mirth, and song, had not wholly passed away." Willard, confirming the predominance of song during the period, further stated that, "The merry glee was at that time outrivaled by *Adams and Liberty*, the national patriotic song, so often and on so many occasions sung, and everywhere so familiarly known that all could join in grand chorus."[70]

Hall connected singing with college life throughout the volume and through many different terms. *Crambambuli* was a favorite drink among students in Germany composed of burnt rum and sugar. He gave a verse about "Crambambuli," in German, from a German

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[68] Mather Byles, *A Collection of Poems* (Boston: Printed and sold by B. Green and D. Gookin, 1744), "Commencement," Noted in Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 96, Hall attributed the poem to Dr. Mather Byles and suggested the poem was written around 1742.

[69] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 101, Hall noted the account from "Harvard College Forty Years Ago," Vol. III, 1832.

[70] Sidney Willard, *Memories of Youth and Manhood* (Cambridge: J. Bartlett, 1855), 2, 4-5; noted in Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 103.

drinking song.[71] *Cut* meant "to be absent from." The term suggested cutting prayers or lectures. Hall included a related verse from *Presentation Day Songs*.

Hall defined *exhibition* as "any oratorical literary public display." He cited the journal of a Harvard graduate of 1793. On December 23, 1789 the author noted, "Music was intermingled with elocution, which has charms to soothe even a savage breast." At the exercises of April 13, 1790, the graduate stated, "Tender music being interspersed to enliven the audience." On October 1, 1790 the writer indicated, "The performances were enlivened with an excellent piece of music, sung by Harvard Singing Club, accompanied with a band of music."[72]

Hall printed the complete verse of Samuel Gilman's ode, *Fair Harvard*, under his encyclopedic entry of the same term. Hall noted that, since the introduction of the ode in 1836 at the bicentennial, succeeding classes composed class songs to the same tune. The melody flowed from the Irish tune, "Believe me, if all those endearing young charms."[73]

Fess meant, "confess." In some southern colleges, Hall pointed out, the term suggested "failing in recitation" or "silently requesting that the instructor not put forth additional questions." Hall included as evidence a verse from the song, "Benny Haves, O!" Similarly, *fizzle* translated as "failing to recite" or "reciting badly." It also suggested hesitance or stumbling through a recitation. Hall noted a verse from *Presentation Day Songs*, which included the word. An opposite term, *floor*, meant to correctly answer every question posed in an examination. A

[71] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 142. Hall referred to "Crambambuli" on more than one occasion and noted it with different terms.

[72] Ibid., 184-185, Hall gave no reference for the journal.

[73] Ibid., 190.

quote from *Presentation Day Songs* included the term, "Then Olmsted took hold, but he couldn't make it go, For we floored the Bien. Examination."[74]

Marshal's Treat, a term unique to Williams College, involved two gentlemen who served as elected marshals during commencement week and who were assigned to *treat* the class. Hall included an account from 1854. The seniors assembled in their recitation room, and marshals Whiting and Taft led the procession a half mile from the chapel where tables had been set for the occasion. The Philharmonia Musical Society provided "sweet strains" during the entertainment, which included speeches, songs and toasts till late in the evening. They cheered for the three lower classes, then three times for the class of '54, before marching back to the President's home. There, they performed a song written for the occasion. Afterwards, the president responded with a few kind words. The class then returned to East College and concluded with "Auld Lang Syne."[75]

Hall explained that the term *optional* referred to college courses. At American colleges, students took a number of prescribed courses. During another portion of the curriculum the college allowed the student to choose from subjects of a personal interest. Hence, *optional* meant "electives." Hall included as evidence a verse from *Songs, Biennial Jubilee* (Yale), "For *optionals* will come our way, And lectures furnish time to play."[76]

Hall included a number of references for *prayers.* Prayers usually took place on Sunday mornings and evenings and all students were required to attend. At Harvard during evening prayers in the mid-eighteenth century, the congregation sang a psalm. Singing perpetuated for

[74] Ibid., 195, 202-203, 204.

[75] Ibid., 306-307, Hall noted an article of the account printed in the *Boston Daily Evening Traveller*, July 12, 1854.

[76] Ibid., 340.

many years. Hall noted that for Sunday, February 24, 1793, that the Harvard singing club performed "Man's Victory" at evening prayers. On April 14 the club performed "Brandon." On May 19 the club performed "Holden's Descend ye nine," etc.[77] Likewise, Professor Sidney Willard, recalled similar events in 1794. During his father's presidency of Harvard, the college choir generally sang a hymn or anthem on Saturday evenings and Sunday for both services.[78]

For the *seventy-eighth psalm*, Hall provided significant details of the instances of psalms sung at early commencements. He also delved into the cooperation of the early ministers of Cambridge and the contributions of Harvard's first president in revising the *Bay Psalm Book*. Hall included Dunster's rendition of the psalm in full under the "New England Version." He also included later renditions of the psalm by Watts, Brady and Tate, and Belknap.

Hall described *sport* as "exhibit" or "show in public." He noted that the term became common in England in 1783 and 1784. Now, as Hall stated, men of *fashion* used the term in both England and America. He included a quotation from *Presentation Day Songs* as evidence: "I'm going to serve my county, And *sport* a pretty wife."[79]

Hall's book provided comprehensive proof of the importance and regular practice of song and singing in American college life. Hall also showed foresight in publishing a remembrance about college life that recorded many unique college customs, many of which involved singing, that might have otherwise vanished. His work also satisfied the sentimental wave of interest in college life during the age for outsiders, but it also illuminated many college practices that likely

[77] Ibid., 360-361, Hall attributed his information to a "manuscript journal," but gave no details as to the author of the record.

[78] Willard, *Memories of Youth and Manhood*, 137, 138, noted in Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 362.

[79] Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 442.

came as news to even some colleges and students of the period as well. Fortunately, Hall included many specific references and supporting material for his inclusions. He gave particular weight, especially his revision of 1856, to the influence of college songs through his numerous song references. In addition to the many anecdotes related to singing in college, he incorporated many references to the 1853 *Songs of Yale*. Hall also utilized a number of lyric references from *Presentation Day Songs* (Yale, 1854) and *Songs, Biennial Jubilee* (Yale, 1855). Hall's book tied together a number of popular and ceremonial elements of college life. He also substantiated that singing in college held significant prominence, both formally and informally, during the early years of American higher education.

Songs of Yale (1853) and *College Songs* (1860) set landmarks that influenced other colleges and college songs that followed. They also held a unique connection with Hall's *College Words and Customs* (1856) that complemented all three. But, other college song publications appeared during this time that deserve mentioning as well.

Songs of Alpha Delta Phi (1855) appears to have been the first fraternity songbook. It included 36 songs with a few Latin selections and one in Greek. One song added music notation. The collection attributed the songs to various colleges or written by members of Alpha Delta Phi chapters. Most originated at Yale. Others came from chapters at Brown, Bowdoin, Amherst, Manhattan, Rochester, Peninsular (Michigan) and Hamilton.

Songs for Sophomore Supper, Class of 1860, Dartmouth College (1858) comprised eight songs. The compilers included a Latin song to the tune of "Co-ca-che-lunk" and a farcical song on the completion of mathematical examinations. The collection also included a song that detailed a practice similar to Yale's "Burial of Euclid."

Songs of Williams (1859) included 52 songs divided into Miscellaneous, Biennial Songs, Society and Class Songs, and Alumni and Parting Songs. The book listed Gaudeamus first and several of the songs included musical notation. In the preface, the editor observed that it was remarkable that, with all of the poetry around, a lyrical form emerged just recently. A letter to the editor confirmed that other music occupied the time of undergraduates during 1828-1834 including the Handel and Haydn Society as well as the occasional serenading of some "enchanting damsel." The writer noted that serenading usually involved more of the instrumental variety of music.

Student Songs (1860) of Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, included 34 song texts with airs, but no music. It included most songs in English, but the publishers also incorporated some Greek, Latin, French and German songs without translation. The book attributed at least eleven of the songs to Yale, one to Harvard, and two to Princeton. The contents included "Integer Vitae" and "Gaudeamus" as the first two songs. For "Gaudeamus," an added notation below the song included a reference to Yale and Howitt's *Student life of Germany*. The preface to Kenyon's collection noted the numerous songs that compliers omitted due to limited space. It also cited the bond to Germans students:

> Student Songs, however circumscribed a locality their birthplace may have been, are nevertheless true Cosmopolitans, and the Bursch that sings "Gaudeamus" in quaint old Fatherland, and the American Student who chants the same strain in the New World, hold a common property in its language and air.[80]

Songs of Amherst (1860) included 62 songs divided into Introductory Songs, Mountain Songs, Examination Songs, Society Songs, Biennial Songs, Miscellaneous Songs, and Alumni and Parting Songs. The preface noted the purpose of the book, "To apply spirited language to themes connected with college-life, and make adaptations to familiar airs, is the one purpose of

[80] Kenyon College., *Student Songs* (Pittsburgh,: W.S. Haven, 1860), Preface.

the book. Hence we have in many cases discarded good poetry for *better* songs." It also stated that all but seven of the songs were original to Amherst. Some of the songs, including the first, "Old Amherst Brave," added musical notation. Students or graduates composed most of the songs to the sounds of familiar tunes of the period.

These songbooks were part of the original flurry of college song publishing during the mid and late 1850s. The additional songbooks represented the influence of Harvard and Yale, but they also made original contributions of their own. While Harvard and Yale led the way, and other college collections bore some marks of the pioneers, many institutions amassed their own unique collection of college verse that captured the individual flavor of the campus.

CHAPTER 6

EPILOGUE

Singing produced a profound and lasting impact on American college campuses and from many different perspectives. Music and singing always existed on American college campuses in some form and tended to mirror society as a whole. From the influence of psalm singing, as evidenced by Samuel Sewall, to the confirmation of secular ballads in student's commonplace books, music permeated the colonies from the beginning of American higher education. Instruments in the homes of Puritan Harvard graduates as well as Puritan religious leaders showed that Puritans enjoyed music beyond the glum perception that their name implied. College presidents used song to build an early religious regimen of chapel attendance. They also used music to enhance formal college ceremonies.

The growing complexity of eighteenth century America led to further developments in college singing. The focus on improving the quality of sacred singing promoted an even greater diversity of secular singing. The secular diversions of singing schools in the early century led to the more sophisticated art music of the later period. The popularity of odes influenced commencement celebrations. The patriotism of the Revolution popularized patriotic ballads and independence concerts on college campuses. Literary societies enjoyed elaborate musical plays in addition to their well-known debates. The secret society and fraternity movement adopted many Masonic rites and singing rituals.

The greatest impact on college singing during the nineteenth century centered on German influences. America's search for artistic music led to Europe and primarily to German

composers. The interest in German music spawned college music societies. German immigrant singing groups increased the interest in the more casual part-singing harmonies and glee club organizations. American colleges adopted rituals and songs of German colleges and *burschen* life.

Finally, advances in the publishing industry extended the reach of information including the first efforts at college song collections. The pride of insiders (faculty, students, alumni, and administration) satisfied the curiosity of the general public, or the outsiders. Perhaps this development initiated the public fascination with college life that Thelin observed in his *A History of American Higher Education*. Thelin noted that the public's interest in college life grew progressively between 1890 and 1910 and continued for the next several decades. By the 1920s colleges and publishing companies offered an endless supply of college songs and college song anthologies that captured the mystique of college life.[1]

This research confirmed that music and singing existed as a perpetual influence in American higher education. While some forms matured in sophistication, other casual trends came and went. Still others remained an ingrained part of informal college student life and formal institutional observances. The inspiration for music and singing originated and evolved from many diverse influences. Colleges and college students adapted music and songs of the broader society to suit both formal and informal workings of college life. In so doing, American higher education created its own unique customs. Colleges and their students enriched the diversity of song by fostering trends of both cultivated and vernacular music traditions that blended the sacred and secular, as well as the formal and informal songs of the campus.

[1] Thelin, *History of American Higher Education*, 157-162.

Beyond the period of this study lies much material for further scrutiny. Historically black colleges emerged with their own unique traditions. Fisk University and the Hampton Institute produced collections of songs in the 1870s. Fisk's Jubilee Singers earned worldwide renown. In the early years (before becoming a professional organization), their performances served as fundraising vehicles for the college. While their extensive repertoire included ballads, operas, choruses, and hymns, the plantation and spiritual songs brought them the most fame and captivated the general public. As a writer noted in the *New York Evangelist*, "Every thing becomes new under the charm of their un-English voices." They amassed $40,000 for the college during their initial efforts.[2]

Female colleges also developed their own special musical histories as well. Many of them produced collections of college songs. Vassar and Wellesley led the way in the late 1880s. Elmira and Bryn Mawr followed around the turn of the century. Even as some traditionally male colleges became coeducational, females, in some cases (and by design), maintained a separate physical presence as well as separate collections of songs.

The publishing proliferation of college songs during the first half of the twentieth century provides volumes of material in themselves. Many of these songs continued as staples of college traditions around the country. Other popular singing trends emerged, then receded as new ones appeared.

While some informal student singing endures today, spontaneous singing of undergraduates as highlighted in this study has largely disappeared and shifted toward other interests. Innocuous, good-hearted songs are surely missed by some, but college administrators

[2] Chase, *America's Music, from the Pilgrims to the Present*, 226-231, Chase noted the quote from "Notices from the Press" in Jubilee Singers. and Theodore F. Seward, *Jubilee Songs: As Sung by the Jubilee Singers, of Fisk University* (New York, Chicago,: Biglow & Main, 1872),

likely take some comfort in the predictability of traditional songs at official events, as opposed to the more unpredictable melodies of rambling groups of serenading students. However, the alcohol induced spontaneity at college football games will always provide some measure of guessing about student and alumni behavior.

All things mature, diversify and reconstitute. Some things disappear and new ones emerge. Singing on college campuses is no different. A series of influences helped to create a unique atmosphere of college singing and what later became traditional campus songs. No one ingredient can fully explain the continuation or cessation of singing in college life. And there has always been some ebb and flow in the unscripted behaviors of students are concerned. William Howitt acknowledged this a century and a half earlier reflecting on the singing practices of German students, "'FREE is the Bursch!' exclaims a beautiful student-song—a song beaten so threadbare with continual singing, that now we seldom hear it sung by the student himself."[3]

As went the singing practices of German students, so went similar behaviors of American college students. As extracurricular options multiplied in the early nineteenth century, students selected from more choices in how they spent their non-academic time. Many traditions emerged, but just as many vanished. Institutionally approved traditions remained, but differentiation and variety for class traditions became common.[4]

Student traditions even changed from year to year. Amherst in the 1850s provides a good example. Class Day at Amherst, originally a private student affair, became a public event in 1852. Portions of the day in latter years fluctuated from public to private functions. The extended program usually commenced at 7:30 in the evening in front of the chapel led by a band of music.

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[3] Howitt, *The Student Life of Germany*, 41.

[4] Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs*, 134-135.

The group marched to the rooms of each of the tutors who were ceremoniously serenaded. The evening continued with poems, orations and the singing of an ode. After presenting bouquets to the seniors, the students marched to the Hygeian Hotel for supper.

In 1853, Amherst students introduced new customs of mock recitations and singing by the Class Quartette Club. Various changes introduced by succeeding classes included firing of salutes for each member of the class in 1854, the singing of "Auld Lang Syne" at the public afternoon supper in 1855, as well as a song or class ode prepared for the occasion. The sophomores of later classes introduced a parting song to the seniors.[5] Musical interest continued well through the 1860s and beyond.[6]

George R. Cutting acknowledged, in *Student Life at Amherst*, the haphazard nature of student customs in the introduction to his chapter on college customs and amusements. He declared that student life maintained common practices between institutions and generations. "The same eager craving for amusement, the like seeking for novelty, is as prominently shown in the student of to-day," he stated, "as ever in the past." Yet he tempered this with the fact that changes occur. Cutting stated that students persisted in some activities, just as they abandoned others. "So we find many institutions and customs, which came in with the earlier classes, existing in the later," he noted, "but many others have wholly perished, and only faint traditions remain of the power they once exerted."[7] Thus, Cutting intended to document those traditions, including the traditions of singing, which might have otherwise faded into obscurity.

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[5] Cutting, *Student Life at Amherst College. Its Organizations, Their Membership and History*, 82-84.

[6] Ibid., 92.

[7] Ibid., 91, Cutting made these comments in his introductory paragraph to "College Clubs, Customs, Amusements, Etc."

College singing remained a fixture of college life, but its importance gradually shifted. Lyman Bagg's *Four Years at Yale* included numerous references to song. One of his observations, similar to Cuttings, detailed a change in singing traditions at college functions:

> As the histories have risen in importance the practice of singing has gradually died out. In '69, for the first time, the programme contained none but reprinted songs; yet during the four years that class was in college there was very little singing on Presentation afternoons, and that little was quite independent of the specially prepared songs. Though there is, to be sure, less time left for the purpose than formerly, yet it is doubtless the feeling of sadness, which underlies all the outward jollity of the day, that prevents the Senior from singing, or, when he makes the attempt, from singing with his wonted fervor and heartiness.[8]

Bagg, like Samuel Sewall before him, enjoyed the atmosphere of camaraderie that college singing provided. His observation obviously noted a change of student behavior beyond a simple pining for the "good ole days."

Jonathan Sullivan Dwight expressed similar observations that characterized exhibitions at Harvard. The exhibitions typically included various amateur orations, music and singing. Toward the end of the 1850s, Dwight stated that students suspended the activity of college exhibitions. He indicated that, "For a number of years that field of glory has no longer fascinated that young college amateur's imagination." Although, for the Pierians and Glee Club, he noted, there continued "a sincere zeal for music, and in a somewhat higher sense than before."[9]

Even as student life proceeded into the twentieth century, singing traditions continued, influenced according to popular culture and shifting social priorities. As the historian Helen

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[8] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, 494. Bagg noted that the class of '54 began the tradition of class histories. The 'historians,' chosen by their classmates in their sophomore year, prepared humorous histories of college life and their class for recollection on presentation day (p. 489).

[9] John Sullivan Dwight, "The Pierian Sodality," in *The Harvard Book. A Series of Historical, Biographical, and Descriptive Sketches*, ed. Henry Alden Clark (Cambridge,: Welch Bigelow and company, 1875), 2:367.

Lefkowitz Horowitz noted, hedonism, always a distinct feature of college life, incorporated new elements of each era. Men had always smoked and drank and enjoyed music. Now they did so in the company of women and musical interests shifted to jazz. As the century matured and new temptations, pleasures, and challenges surfaced, they, too, joined into the amusement of college men.[10]

Aside from student interests, college administrations and college presidents played significant roles in shaping approved pastimes, including singing, into official traditions. Institutions and their sanctions curbed some spontaneity among students, though students continued some activities in defiance of authority. The two groups historically shared a contentious relationship. Students spread their wings and experimented as colleges tried to steer their flight in an acceptable direction. Some students naturally rebelled or simply withdrew as institutions adopted previously informal songs and singing traditions as formal songs of the college. Some students saw themselves as conformists to the administrative line. This formalizing of informal behavior surely affected the popularity of certain singing and social activities of students. As Thelin paraphrased Frederick Rudolph, "Student initiated activities had a discernible life cycle." In the initial stage, an activity surfaced informally, even spontaneously. If the activity enjoyed sustained popularity, it attracted scrutiny from the administration, which attempted to control or abolish the practice. Though many administrative efforts failed, ultimately the college tried to control or co-opt the activity by assimilating it in the formal structure of the institution.[11]

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[10] Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, 1st ed. (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1987), 13.

[11] Thelin, *History of American Higher Education*, 65.

Owen Johnson suggested similar concerns through his character, Dink Stover. Stover, in the 1912 novel *Stover at Yale* lamented the professionalism of college life. Stover argued that colleges had become business colleges. He suggested that this mentality also spread to the extracurricular. College athletics had become professional businesses. The same, he said, held true for the competition for the college newspapers. Colleges removed spontaneity from college life, even song:

> "Take another case. A man has a knack at the banjo or guitar, or has a good voice. What is the spontaneous thing? To meet with other kindred spirits in informal gatherings in one another's rooms or at the fence, according to the whim of the moment. Instead what happens? You have our university musical clubs, thoroughly professional organizations. If you are material, you must get out and begin to work for them – coach with a professional coach, make the Apollo clubs, and, working on, some day in junior year reach the varsity organization and go out on a professional tour. Again an organization conceived on business lines."[12]

While bewailing this state of affairs, Stover's friends repeatedly banged on the door to his room requesting that he join them in fun. Though he did not respond to their requests, he heard them singing as they march down the hall:

> Oh, father and mother pay all the bills,
> And we have all the fun.
> That's the way we do in college life.
> Hooray![13]

It is no secret that college and universities exploited college life and traditions by absorbing into official functions those previously informal customs of student life. College libraries absorbed the literary society libraries. As Horowitz noted, athletic teams came under direction of college coaches. Male singing groups became the official college choral societies directed by music faculty. Student songs became college songs. Secret societies emerged as

[12] Owen Johnson, *Stover at Yale* (New York: Grossett and Dunlap, 1912), 243.

[13] Ibid., 229-232.

honor societies. Many of these student-initiated traditions became the official practices of the college. The formal appropriation of informal traditions obscured any clear delineation between informal college life and the college establishment, and ultimately, toward conformity.[14]

Even recent publications on college community, though not explicitly addressing conformity, laud those mechanisms that build tradition, and fond images of college life in hopes of fostering a lively campus. College heritage and traditions are important to institutions and meaningful to students if they reflect the true nature of campus. As the Carnegie Foundation observed, old yearbooks with depictions of white-glove and black-tie events or May Day ceremonies seem quaint today, and some rituals may not be suited to the present. However, rites, ceremonies, and celebrations united the campus and gave students a sense of belonging to something worthwhile and enduring. "Celebrations, if meaningfully designed," the foundation reported, "sustain the vitality of campuses."[15] Whether colleges use this as a fixture, turned on and off to suit the occasion, commencement or the athletic team, or as one element of a larger effort to build a special sense of belonging on campus, depends on the complex mixture of the institution and its students.

Another influence of the continuation of college singing could relate to a quiet social rebellion coupled with economic realities. Perhaps it is as Horowtiz described, a shift in student priorities, from those who participated fully in college life, to those who wanted no part of it, or the *outsiders*. In the nineteenth century, while the fraternities and secret societies formed, these students stayed on the outside, preferring to focus on the academic, not the extracurricular. In the 1970s the outsiders again represented a significant percentage of the student body preferring to

[14] Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 111.

[15] Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Campus Life: In Search of Community* (Princeton, N.J.: The Carnegie Foundation, 1990), 55.

focus on academics and shunning the alcohol dominated Saturday afternoons of college football games. Minority groups also joined the outsiders, often by exclusion. In the 1980s the *new outsiders*, or students of privilege, joined the traditional outsiders. These affluent students, traditionally the mainstays of college life, now fought to maintain the economic status of their families and had little desire for the trappings, including song, of typical college life. College life only distracted them from their goal of graduation and income. Outsiders influenced change. They voted through lack of involvement.

Other transformations in student organizations and student composition, likely influenced by the outsiders, contributed to the involvement of students in college life. The Greek societies, long criticized for exclusivity and discrimination, no longer held the allure that they once commanded. A gender shift also occurred. Males once dominated college rolls and the extracurricular world. Today, females outnumber males on college campuses. How this has affected or will affect college life and social activities such as singing is difficult to guess.[16]

How student life will change is like forecasting the weather. While one can pinpoint trends to a certain degree, nailing down cause, effect and direction is a little more opaque. As the folklorist Simon Bronner noted, "Unlike the old popular stereotype of the rah-rah college man decked out in raccoon coat and waving a college banner, today's student is harder to caricature." Student worlds are much more diverse today with more options. "In the absence of publicly shared ritual," Bronner stated, "privatized folklore often serves to culturally identify the connections within these hazy social worlds." Students of today have more clubs, student organizations, teams and religious organizations to choose from than ever before. Singing and other rituals likely exist in these separate worlds, but do they also promote tolerance across the

[16] Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 14-15, 261-265, 275-277.

broader campus? [17] Again, this question also leads back toward conformity, which seems to douse creativity and any spur-of-the-moment whims of undergraduate life.

Singing on campus is definitely less spontaneous and commonplace than it once was, but singing and forms of music exist in greater variations than ever before. From the pomp of college ceremonies to professional music organizations, from social traditions of student groups to the engrained traditions of cheers and songs of college athletics, from the personal audio players to the music of local bars and bands like the taverns before them, music (and singing to a lesser degree) still makes a considerable presence on American college campuses.

Other than the reflexive chants at athletic events, oral singing traditions have not held fast as they previously permeated the collegiate way. While changes occurred, music and singing have always existed in the American colleges in one form or another and will most definitely persist, perhaps in lesser measure, far into the future. College students of public and private residential college and universities will always have their traditions and students will (as students do) create new ones and discard old ones just as was done at Amherst. At community colleges and commuter campuses, college life is less an engaging fixture than is the residential campus. College singing in these institutions is rarer still.

Some may say that the singing traditions in American college life are gone or what is left, the alma maters and fight songs, are trite symbols and scant examples of what used to be a more commonplace, oftentimes creative pastime among students and real college life. This is, for the most case, true, but singing and campus songs still instill and reflect ideals, purposes and camaraderie of a college campus. Student traditions, institutionally supported traditions, and

[17] Simon J. Bronner, *Piled Higher and Deeper: The Folklore of Student Life* (Little Rock, Arkansas: August House, 1995), 229-230.

institutionally driven traditions will likely persist. The fight songs and alma maters often represent some of the most recognized college or university symbols.

Students have a vast number of outlets for music and singing on college campuses. While more varied opportunities exist, the spontaneous singing, even group singing or informal glee or part-singing clubs on a college campus are likely practices of the past. Student behavior is difficult to predict. While singing could enjoy resurgence on occasion, contemporary college life appears less conducive to this sort of spontaneous student singing. Students have many more obligations and distractions to occupy their time.

Still, colleges and universities should be proud of their singing traditions. Most every institution has a unique history of song and singing. The details of these and related college and student practices offer a closer look at the special customs of college life in the developing years of American higher education.

Aside from all of these deep speculations, college singing and college songs in all their various manifestations are a treasure of the American college. They tell us much about its past, present and future. The songs also help us realize how little we have changed, yet how far we have come. They are serious, inspiring, crass, funny, offensive, and smart. But most of all, they provide a rich history in themselves and are a distinctive part of American college life.

NOTE ON SOURCES

Numerous sources on college singing in American higher education exist for the period of 1636-1860. A number of these sources provide a strong foundation for research on college singing. Samuel Eliot Morison's *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (1936) and *The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England* (1980, reprint of 1956 edition) describe the founding of Harvard and student customs in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Percy Scholes' *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (1934) offers insight into religion and song during the colonial period. *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729* provides firsthand accounts of alumni gatherings, commencements and singing of psalms during the early days of Harvard.

The two-volume collection, *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820* (1985), edited by Barbara Lambert includes a wealth of detail on singing and music during colonial times with many photographs and illustrations. The book provides a number of relevant chapters by various authors on topics of religious music, patriotic music, broadside ballads, social music, dancing and musical instruments among others.

Bruce Colin Daniels' chapter, "Music and Theater Struggle for Legitimacy" in *Puritans at Play* (1995), gives a comprehensive summary of the influences on music during the colonial period. Original documents of odes and orations from the eighteenth century highlight the function of songs at formal college celebrations. Brooks Mather Kelley's *Yale, A History* (1974) and Edwin Oviatt's *The Beginnings of Yale, 1701-1726* gives various details on the early history

of Yale. Kelley's work and Charles E. Cunningham's *Timothy Dwight, 1752-1817* provides substantial information about President Dwight.

Newspaper records during the century also offer valuable details on the instances of music and college ceremonies. Some rich sources of information are now more readily available that make historical research into that era much more accessible. The "Early American Imprints, Series I: Evans, 1639-1800," "Early American Imprints, Series II: Shaw-Shoemaker, 1801-1819," and "Early American Newspapers, 1690-1876," are now available online and provide instant access to scans of original documents, which, before, could only be accessed (with great difficulty) on micro opaque cards. As a result, this dissertation uses rich sources for the first time, which would have been virtually impossible to access until very recently. The "Making of America" project undertaken by the University of Michigan and Cornell University provide text-searchable scanned images of original books, journals and monographs produced between 1840 and 1900. Both the "Making of America" and the "Early American" collections give researchers a valuable set of new tools for examining the rich details of America's past.[1]

Henry Sheldon covers details of student life and the impact of student societies in his *Student Life and Customs* (1901).[2] Thomas Harding gives a comprehensive overview of college literary societies in the nineteenth century in his *College Literary Societies: Their Contribution to Higher Education in the United States, 1815-1876* (1971) including references to song. Benjamin Homer Hall's *A Collection of College Words and Customs* (1856) and George R. Cutting's *Student Life at Amherst College: Its Organizations, Their Membership and History*

[1] The "Early American" series is available through many libraries as well as at <http://infoweb.newsbank.com>. The "Making of America" series is available at the University of Michigan at <http://www.hti.umich.edu/m/moagrp/> and at Cornell University at <http://library8.library.cornell.edu/moa/>.

[2] Sheldon's book was also published under the title of *The History and Pedagogy of American Student Societies.*

(1871) highlight numerous instances of student life and singing. Writings by Mason Hammond and sketches in F. O. Vaille's *Harvard Book* (1875) lend material about singing at Harvard. *Four Years at Yale* (1871) by Lyman Bagg provides a unique look at Yale student customs and respective groups including many references to college singing. *Yale College* (1879), the two-volume work edited by William Kingsley, provides numerous anecdotal recollections of singing and student activities as described by various authors. A number of other works noted influences on college singing including Frederick Rudolph's *Mark Hopkins and the Log: Williams College, 1836-1872* (1956) and William Howitt's *The Student Life of Germany (1842).*

Songs of Yale (1853) by Root and Lombard serves as the first American college offering of student songs. Charles Wistar Stevens' *College Song Book* (1860) is the first collection of college songs compiling tunes from a variety of colleges. *Songs of Yale* also made a significant impact on Hall's *A Collection of College Words and Customs* (1851 and 1856). The 1856 revision includes numerous references to the *Songs of Yale*. Additionally, Stevens intended *College Song Book* as a companion to Hall's publication.

Two fictional works provide a picture of popular culture and student life during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. William Tucker Washburn's *Fair Harvard: A Story of American College Life* (1869) and Owen Johnson's *Stover at Yale* (1912) recreate the flavor of college life during the period. Both note college singing.

A number of works offer a music history perspective to the investigation. Irving Lowens' *Music and Musicians in Early America* (1964), H. Wiley Hitchcock's *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction* (1969), Gilbert Chase's *America's Music, from the Pilgrims to the Present* (1987) and Michael L. Mark's *A History of American Music Education* (1999) all provide context within music history.

Several sources supply a general framework within higher education. Frederick Rudolph's *The American College and University: A History* (1999, reprint of 1962 edition), Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz's *Campus Life* (1987) and John R. Thelin's *A History of American Higher Education* (2004) all provide context within the history of higher education. All three include various references to singing and college life.

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