D. H. Mansfield and

The American Vocalist

by

David William Deacon

A Thesis submitted to the faculty of The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Curriculum of Folklore.

Chapel Hill

1991

Approved by:

______________  Advisor

______________  Reader

______________  Reader
## Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction ........................................ 3
Chapter Two: D. H. Mansfield's Background, Life, and Character ........................................ 24
Chapter Three: The Social Context of The American Vocalist ........................................ 54
Chapter Four: The Religious Context of D. H. Mansfield and The American Vocalist ........................................ 73
Chapter FIVE: The American Vocalist: Publication and Contents ........................................ 95
APPENDIX A .................................................................. 157
  Index of Tunes .......................................................... 157
  Index of First Lines .................................................... 170
WORKS CITED ................................................................ 182
Chapter One: Introduction

Peru, Vermont lies on the old turnpike that cut across the northern parts of Windham and Bennington Counties. At the eastern end of the highway is Bellows Falls, an old industrial and transportation center and gateway to the Upper Valley of the Connecticut River; at the western end is Manchester, the northern shire town of Bennington County. Along the way the traveler passes through agricultural and lumbering towns (Chester, Andover, Londonderry, Landgrove, and Peru) and over the Green Mountains at Bromley Mountain. Peru, the last stop before the old resort town of Manchester, is tucked snugly against the eastern slope of the mountains.

Nancy M. Haynes, who contributed the article on Peru to Abby Maria Hemenway's Vermont Historical Gazetteer, wrote, "The West part of the town is a primeval wilderness; the mountains high, rugged and broken upon the summit," (Hemenway 206). Haynes continued:

From some parts of the town the view of the surrounding country is exceedingly grand. Wachusett Mountain in Mass., and Monadnock in N.H., are discernible in the far distance, while near, billow upon billow of the Green Mountain Range rises. . . . Between the latter and us lies a vast
basin, miles in extent, comprising woodland and meadow, cornfields and pastures dotted with farmhouses, humble it is true, but full of happiness withal. There years pass gently and peacefully, each telling its tale of births and deaths, of change and decay, but all so quietly that to learn the history of one is to know the history of all. (Hemenway 208).

Indeed, the history of Peru speaks quietly. I became acquainted with Peru through the Long Trail, the leg of the Appalachian Trail which passes through Vermont. The Peru station of the trail is at the end of a narrow, unimproved town highway. Here are mossy, wooded highlands, with soft beds of shamrocks, and tangled, lush woods, well-suited to contemplative hikes, but hard country off of which to live. Less than a mile from the access of the Long Trail, there is a single grave, set back several feet from the road. The inscription reads:

Johnnie M.
Son of
J. T. & L. Howard
Crushed to death by
a load of logs here
Sept. 21, 1887
Æ. 13 yrs.

This grave quietly tells a story of the hard country around Peru. This was a town that, even in Vermont's golden age of the late nineteenth century, was still poor. One day I went to visit Johnny Howard's grave, to walk a stretch of the Long Trail, and to visit the Johnny Appleseed Bookshop (once owned
by the poet Walter Hard) in Manchester. The book I found this day was an oblong hymnal (about six and one-quarter by nine and one-half inches), titled *The American Vocalist*, compiled by the Rev. D. H. Mansfield, and published in Boston in 1849. The title page announced ambitiously that the book embraced "a greater variety of music for congregations, societies, singing schools, and choirs, than any other collection extant." In its format, *The American Vocalist* resembles contemporary Northern tunebooks, for like Lowell Mason's *Carmina Sacra* and the *Hallelujah*, it presents the tunes in open scores with the air above the bass. The book contains 522 tunes separated into three sections, in the common "Watts and Select" format with the most formal "Church Music" in the first section, the "more important Vestry Music" in the middle, and "the lighter kind of Vestry Music" (including camp-meeting spirituals) at the end. The first section is the largest, with 352 tunes, including a wealth of material from the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century composers from New England such as William Billings, Abraham Maxim, and Daniel Read; it also contains fifty-seven fuging tunes. While the first section is heavy on old, genteel music, the second and third sections (containing 170 tunes between them) have a folky tone. The second section
contains tunes such as "When Marshalled on the Nightly Plain" (a setting of the popular "Bonny Doon") and "Star in the East," which are common in Southern as well as other folky Northern tunebooks. Moreover, the harmonies of these tunes, while not contrapuntal or polyphonic like Southern harmonies, are often stark and open; Mansfield harmonized twenty-two songs with fewer than four voices.

This book, well-used, with its broken covers mended with plaid fabric on the inside, and protected with a handmade leather cover on the outside, held for me another quiet story. Several things about the book impressed me: immediately, I was impressed by how well used the book was, but also by the good condition in which it had remained through more than one hundred and thirty years, including a half century of regular use. The book was signed in several places with faded pencil; inside the back cover the inscription was still legible:

Harvey Stone
Peru Vermont
A.D. 1850 December 5

In the first section of the book, penciled "X"s marked favorite hymns. One of the Stones had used shreds of a Windham County Reformer dated Friday, September 29, 1893, to mark other favorites, and on a page in the second section of
the book was a shopping list with materials for clothing and curtains (cloth, hooks, calico, indigo, and so on).

What sort of family and community used *The American Vocalist*? The book's original owner, Harvey Stone, was one of the leaders of Peru's Methodist society. Peru had only two churches: Congregational and Methodist (Hemenway 101, 106). Its neighbor on the east, the tiny gore (a small tract of land that because of rugged terrain could not be included in any of the adjoining towns) of Landgrove, had only a Methodist church, while Manchester, on the west, had only Congregational (Hemenway 198). On the eastern side of Landgrove, Londonderry, which as its name suggests was originally Presbyterian, was still split between Calvinism, in its Congregational form, and Arminian Methodism (Child 247-8). Because of "death and removal" (specifically the great western exodus started by the cold year of 1816), Methodism was failing in this region by 1850, when Harvey Stone acquired his copy of *The American Vocalist* (Batchelder 106). But Harvey, his brother Hezekiah, and his sister Lenora (whose shopping list, I assume, marks the page in the hymnal) remained Methodists throughout their lives. Ira K. Batchelder, in his *Reunion Celebration Together with an Historical Sketch of Peru, Bennington County, Vermont, and*
Its Inhabitants from the First Settlement of the Town,

described the Stone family in 1891:

Harvey and Hezekiah Stone, sons of Joseph Stone, were born on the farm where they now live, and received their education in the town. They inherited the farm from their father, and have always lived on it, their only sister keeping house for them. They attend strictly to their own business, although financially they stand among the highest in town. They are the only representatives of the large family which existed in town sixty years ago. Harvey Stone has been an active citizen, and has been elected to important offices. He is a hearty supporter of the Methodist Church (133-4).

Batchelder recorded other details about the Stones.

Their father, Joseph Stone, was one of three brothers who settled in Peru between 1802 and 1808. The first, Samuel, came from Gardner, Massachusetts in 1802, and "commenced clearing the unbroken forest with strong hands and determined will that overcomes all obstacles, having soon a clearing large enough to build a log house" (68). Joseph Stone, father of Harvey, came two years later. Batchelder writes:

He made cardboards, which were used for carding wool and tow in the domestic factories of the land, transporting his goods to Gardner by team. Uncle Joe would inspect the wilderness to find smooth beech, of which he made his cardboards, and no landmarks interfered with his right to do this. Mr. Stone married Polly Stiles in 1828, and moved on to the place which his children now occupy. He began new on this place, erected all the buildings and made the road. Mr. Stone died in 1856, aged 75 years, leaving three children, Harvey, Hezekiah and Lenora, who are all unmarried and living on the old homestead (69).
Finally, Capt. Josiah Stone:

Capt. Josiah Stone came from Gardner in 1808, and began on a new lot east of his brother Samuel's. He built the best log house in the town, it being made of peeled spruce, long and straight, nicely laid up, and all made square at the corners. The house had two large rooms, with a stone fireplace in the centre of each, and a comfortable chamber. The house was shingled, and the family occupied it about thirty years as it was first built. Capt. Stone soon had cultivated land in the place of the forest, and planted an orchard, where he had a quantity of grafted fruit, which the boys would watch and sometimes take. It was not long before he commenced making sugar, at first using troughs to catch the sap, but soon had the best pine buckets, which he made himself. He boiled the sap in a three-barrel kettle, made more than an inch thick, and shaped like an earthen bowl, it having ears on the sides by which it was hung over the fire. When the fire was in full blaze the sap would boil furiously, but a slice of pork thrown into it would prevent its running over. If this sugar was not as nice as our modern sugar it was sweet and palatable, even if it had been strained in order to get the coals and leaves out of it, and everybody was invited to try it in the sugaring time. Capt. Stone was skilled in manufacturing salts for market. He would cut and pile the maple and birch, then burn it and collect the ashes, obtain lye, boil it and run it into casks or kettles to harden. On one occasion he had a five-pail kettle of salts that had hardened, and in trying to split the salts, for which he used an iron wedge, he split the salts and the kettle as well (70).

What made The American Vocalist peculiarly suited to the tastes of the Stones, and their evangelical brethren in the surrounding area, was their economic and political marginality. Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., in his And They All Sang Hallelujah, notes that this was the salient characteristic of
the Southern plain folk who attended camp-meetings during the first half of the nineteenth century (18-9, 22). In the Northeast, a similar group of people (yeoman farmers who were not particularly well educated and who were under-represented in government) was attracted to experimental religion); the Stones were solid representatives of this group.

From their memorials, we see that the Stones shared with their Southern brethren an identity partly based on having conquered a wilderness. We see the Stones clearing their own land, building their own buildings, and exploiting the resources of the wilderness, but despite their resourcefulness there lingered the fact that the mountain country of Peru just was not productive, and poverty lingered over the area like the heavy overcast before a snowstorm. Indeed, as early as 1803, more than ten years before the turnpike made Peru accessible, the town was concerned about its reputation as a poverty-stricken town:

Sometime [sic] between December, 1803, and February, 1804, the name of the town was changed from Bromley to Peru. It is said this change was made because Bromley, so far as it had any reputation abroad, was noted for being a poverty stricken place, and few would go there to settle; but the name of Peru being associated with the wealth of the South American province, conveyed an entirely different impression. And indeed, very soon after the change, people began to come to the place, and for a time the town increased quite rapidly. It is thought by some even now, that Peru
is a poor township of land; true, there is no great
wealth here, but there have been 16 years (not
consecutive) during which no "poor" have been upon
the town. Truly here, if anywhere, has been
answered the prayer of Agur, "Give me neither
poverty nor riches." (Hemenway 207).
Besides being poor, the town was also dangerous. This
was country in which youths were killed in logging accidents,
in which wolves killed livestock, and in which exposure to
the winter elements could be fatal. The town of Stratton, to
the south, and Mount Holly, to the north of Peru, remembered
young women who froze on a mountain, and both of these towns
had these events memorialized by poems written by Seba Smith
(famous for lampooning Andrew Jackson through the character
of Maj. Jack Downing). While the "Stratton Mountain
Tragedy," about a woman who strips herself to save her baby,
was based on an actual event and remained a local song,
"Young Charlotte" enjoyed a much broader circulation and was
localized to commemorate an event which may have never
happened in the Green Mountains, or at least one in which the
circumstances were different (Flanders, 1931:27-8). But
whatever the truth of the songs, they were popular because
they were plausible: people really did freeze to death in
the mountains. Nancy Haynes, in her history of Peru in
Hemenway's Gazetteer, recorded the following story:

For sometime previous to Feb. 1832, the wolves so
molested the sheep in Peru, that two young men,
Joseph Long and Joseph Barnard took their guns and watched for them, one night where they had been the previous night and killed several sheep. Soon they were heard howling, but passed by, about 40 rods from the barn . . . and took their meal from a horse which had been killed there, which, it is supposed, they scented in the distance. The next morning it was decided the wolves must be ferreted out. Seth Lyons and Isaac Long started in search of them, on snow shoes with food sufficient to last some time. It was warm and pleasant when they set off, but soon the weather became intensely cold. They followed on the track of the wolves, until Mr. Long's snow shoes became unfastened, and the hands of both men were so stiff with cold they could not fasten them. They came to a branch of the Otter Creek, but instead of following the wolves farther, they followed the river down. They were obliged in some places, to go so close to the shelving edge of the stream, that, being almost frozen, they could not keep their balance, and fell into the water two or three times. They had now been out three days and two nights, when Mr. Long, sinking into the snow at every step, became so weary he could go no further. Mr. Lyons left him to seek help, expecting he would perish before aid could be obtained. At length he came out at Danby Borough, and with others went back for Mr. Long, who was carried back to the borough senseless, his right hand frozen tight to his gun, which he had used as a cane. His boots had to be cut from his feet and his body was badly frozen (Hemenway 211).

In this hard country, the hopeful Gospel preached by the

Methodists offered comfort. The citizens of Peru may not

have had comfort or prosperity in their present

circumstances, but the Methodists assured them that God

offered free grace to all. They could go to the "kingdom";

all they had to do was accept the offer.
The music in which Methodists made this offer belongs to one of the more recently explored branches of folksong. In 1939, Phillips Barry, in a note in Helen Hartness Flanders's *New Green Mountain Songster*, could still write, "Folk hymnody is a field of research as yet largely unworked" (54). When he wrote this, George Pullen Jackson had published two books detailing his research in this field, *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands* and *Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America*. In the first book, Jackson wrote of eighteenth-century Yankee singing masters and of how new, genteel, urban music, emanating from Boston during the 1820s, pushed these itinerant teachers to the South and West (16). These singing masters settled in southeastern Pennsylvania, where they joined the local Pennsylvanian teachers. Gradually, they and their descendents wandered down the Valley of Virginia and across the upland South (22-4). By 1937, when Jackson published *Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America*, he had identified two important books containing folk tunes from the "deep North": probably the first folk tunebook, the *Christian Harmony or Songster's Companion*, compiled by Jeremiah Ingalls (a resident of the upper Connecticut valley in Vermont) in 1805, and the *Revivalist*, published in Troy, New York, in 1868 (245). Moreover, he had also discovered
The Christian Lyre, compiled by Joshua Leavitt and published in New York in 1833, and a rural, Pennsylvania tunebook, Church Harmony, compiled by Henry Smith in 1834. By 1942, when Jackson published Down-East Spirituals and Others, he had discovered several other important Northern books, A. D. Merrill's Wesleyan Harmony, H. W. Day's Revival Hymns, and Joshua Himes's Millenial Harp. These books, together with the wealth of Southern shape-note material he discovered, helped him to develop a balanced view of Northern and Southern spiritual folksong traditions. Jackson did much to fill the need of which Barry had written.

Since Jackson's time, many people have written about Southern spiritual folksong traditions. Glenn C. Wilcox edited a reprint of the 1854 edition of Walker's The Southern Harmony, Daniel W. Patterson and John F. Garst have done the same for McCurry's The Social Harp, and Dorothy D. Horn, Ron Petersen, and Candra Phillips have edited Swan's The New Harp of Columbia. Dorothy D. Horn has also written of Southern revival music in a book titled Sing to Me of Heaven. In 1987, Joseph Dennie Scott wrote a dissertation titled "The Tunebooks of William Hauser ("The Hesperian Harp," "The Olive Leaf") in which he analyzed the texts and tunes Hauser's books (DAI 48, 776A). In 1988, Daniel W. Patterson published
an article titled "William Hauser's Hesperian Harp and Olive Leaf: Shape-Note Tunebooks as Emblems of Change and Progress." Buell E. Cobb has written a modern assessment of the Sacred Harp tradition. Finally, Dickson D. Bruce has written about plainfolk, camp-meeting religion, examining shape-note tunebooks for information about Southern folk religious beliefs.

Several studies have focused on specifically Methodist church music. Two dissertations have discussed musical trends in the Methodist church during the nineteenth century. These are: "A Study of Tastes in American Church Music as Reflected in the Music of the Methodist Episcopal Church to 1900," by Double E. Hill, (DAI 23: 4377-8A) and "Evolving Tastes in Hymntunes of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Nineteenth Century," by Terry L. Baldridge, (DAI 43: 2485A). Finally, Thomas Frank Bickley, wrote a master's thesis titled, "David's Harp (1813), a Methodist Tunebook from Baltimore: An Analysis and Facsimile" (MAI 22: 280).

Northern research on vernacular musical styles has tended to emphasize either older or more elite trends than Southern research. James Lyon's Urania: A Choice Selection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems and Hymns (1761) has been republished in a facsimile edition. William Billings has received much
Several studies have focussed on Northern revival music. James Cecil Downey, has written about eighteenth-century Northern revival music in his dissertation, "The Music of American Revivalism" (*DAI* 29: 3168A), and a book, "Revivalism, The Gospel Songs, and Social Reform." David Grover Klocko has written about Jeremiah Ingalls in his dissertation, "Jeremiah Ingalls's 'Christian Harmony: or, Songster's Companion' (1805)" (*DAI* 39:1182A) and has edited a facsimile edition of that tunebook (1986). C. D. Stribling examined *The Christian Lyre* in a thesis titled "Joshua Leavitt's 'The Christian Lyre': A Historical Evaluation." Finally, in a study of a tradition that stretched from the North to the South, Daniel W. Patterson has examined the manuscript record and the surviving oral tradition of Shaker music in *The Shaker Spiritual*. Since Phillips Barry wrote his notes for *The New Green Mountain Songster* many scholars have examined spiritual folk songs and the rural New England, however, there is still plenty to keep scholars busy. Despite the recent popularity of Sacred Harp singing in Vermont, and the recent publication of *The Northern Harmony* (a collection of eighteenth-century music from New England set in four-shape notation compiled by Larry Gordon, Anthony G. Barrand, and Carol Moody), there appears to be no unbroken
spiritual folksong tradition in the "deep North." Research among the various Pentecostal and Full Gospel churches that are widespread in Maine, however, could turn up some interesting data to prove otherwise.

The field of nineteenth-century Northern tunebooks, in particular, still has much to offer. While Jackson identified folk tunes in the Millerite tunebook, The Millenial Harp, and devoted two chapters of his White and Negro Spirituals to the importance of spiritual folk songs within the Adventist movement, a complete study of Adventist musical trends could prove rewarding (1943:101-9). Moreover, a complete study of revival hymnody--and even just conservative, anti-Pestalozzian hymnody--in mid-nineteenth-century Maine, and northern New England in general, still needs to be done. Tunebooks such as The Cumberland Collection, published in Portland in 1839, The Wesleyan Sacred Harp published in the same city in 1853, as well as numerous words-only religious songsters, could help to enlarge our understanding of the musical world of which D. H. Mansfield was a part. The Rev. William McDonald, one of the compilers of the last book mentioned, spent some of his pastoral career at a station near the town at which Mansfield was stationed. McDonald even composed a tune which he called
"Mansfield." I have found a tune arranged by McDonald, "The Heavenly Home," in Great Revival Hymns, compiled by Homer Rodeheaver and B. D. Ackley, and published in Chicago in 1911 (Number 278).

My purpose in examining The American Vocalist is to fill a gap in our understanding of religious folksongs in northern New England. Folklorists and hymnologists have largely overlooked this important book. George Pullen Jackson does not seem to have had access to it. Phillips Barry, mentions it in passing in The New Green Mountain Songster (1). Daniel W. Patterson notices it for its two Shaker songs (545). Frank J. Metcalf, in his American Composers and Compilers of Sacred Music mentions it in his discussion of A. D. Merrill's song, "Joyfully, Joyfully Onward I Move," but fails to describe it in its own right. Not only has the book been ignored, but some of the information about it has been, in at least two instances, incorrect. John Weeks Moore, for example, writing during Mansfield's lifetime, quoted liberally from the book's preface but identified Mansfield as a Bostonian. Frances Turgeon Wiggin, in her Maine Composers and their Music: A Biographical Dictionary stated that Mansfield was born and lived in Bangor--yes, he lived in Bangor, but only for two of his forty-five years. These
details might seem small, but I believe that *The American Vocalist* would have been altogether different if Mansfield had been a city-dweller.

*The American Vocalist* is an important book for a variety of reasons. First, the book is remarkable for the liberal and ecumenical spirit of its contents. At a time when Northern tunebooks often represented only one musical and religious tradition—European-inspired "New Music," music for "Old Folks Concerts," or revival music—Mansfield included some of everything. The Vocalist appears to have been a source for songs in other collections such as *The Revivalist*, *The Wesleyan Sacred Harp*, and *The Golden Harp*. The Vocalist also invites us to take a fresh look at the relationship between Northern and Southern traditions, for it seems more closely related (by its format, the inclusiveness of its contents and resulting tension between folk and genteel elements, specific melodic variants, and to a lesser extent its open harmonies) to Southern books than other Northern tunebooks do. *The American Vocalist* does not invite us to cast out the old theories of Northern and Southern folk hymnody. Rather, it helps us to refine and expand our understanding of this field. Jackson's theories about the movement of folk spirituals from north to south and back
north again and about the role of urban, religious musical culture as the enemy folk hymnody still hold (1952b:365, 369). The Vocalist suggests, however, that the Northern spiritual folksong tradition was stronger, more widespread, and more long-lived than Jackson supposed. I replace Jackson's image of a flood-tide with that of estuary waters where currents move in two directions simultaneously (1952b:365). Moreover, I try to demonstrate that the Southern plainfolk religious trends that Dickson D. Bruce explored had parallels in the culture of northern New England: the social and spiritual needs as well as the cultural expressions they inspired appear in similar forms in mid-coast Maine. Finally, what has made The American Vocalist an attractive subject is the small community from which it came. D. H. Mansfield's home community, the Waldo Patent in modern "mid-coast" Maine, was colorful, though terribly poor and bitterly divided. Despite its poverty, the community produced people such as Mansfield, various town historians, and newspaper reporters who documented local culture. Similarly, the Maine and East Maine Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church were meticulous in recording their own history and attitudes toward their faith. The history of the East Maine Conference, compiled by one of
Mansfield's closest friends, and the conference minutes, for several years edited by Mansfield, are excellent resources. All these religious and secular materials bear a distinctive stamp from a tradition of ethnic diversity and bitter class rivalry.

In this study of D. H. Mansfield and *The American Vocalist*, I concentrate on four areas. The first chapter is a biographical sketch: I discuss his family—a combination of Massachusetts Yankee and old Waldo Patent stock, his life—and his personality. How can records of his career as a Methodist minister help us to understand his attitudes as a tunebook compiler? The second chapter is a discussion of the secular community of the Waldo Patent. How did the patterns of settlement in the first half of the eighteenth century, the efforts by land speculators to develop the territory at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, and the bitter and persistent class consciousness of the region influence Mansfield as he compiled his book? The third chapter examines the religious life of the Waldo Patent: the initial establishment of ethnic churches, their decline and the rise of the Congregational church, and finally the rise of the denominations which appealed to the plainfolk of the patent. Finally, I look at *The American*
Vocalist itself: the history of its publication, its reception, the audience that Mansfield wanted to serve, and finally its contents. I concentrate on the second and third sections of the Vocalist because they contain almost all of the book's folk material. In examining the book's contents, I use George Pullen Jackson's collections and Daniel W. Patterson's The Shaker Spiritual to show similarities in melodic characteristics, styles of transcription, and actual melodic variants between the Vocalist and already recognized bodies of spiritual folksongs. Finally, I examine the Millennialist strain the texts in the Vocalist--almost half of the texts in the second and third sections of the book either appeared in The Millenial Harp, the Millerites' hymnal, or develop some aspect of Millennialist doctrine. In this way I try to show the place of The American Vocalist in the history of folk tunebooks and also in the plainfolk, religious community of mid-coast Maine.
Chapter Two:  D. H. Mansfield's Background, Life, and Character

In the history of American tunebooks, D. H. Mansfield was a transitional figure, for in his American Vocalist he tried to reconcile conservative and progressive as well as folk and elite musical elements. Although his repertory is decidedly conservative, he recognized his debt—at least for his pedagogy—to the urban, Northeastern musical community. In his career as a Methodist minister we also see his simultaneous conservative and progressive allegiances, for while he clearly was a product of the old, egalitarian Methodism and fervently clung to that spirit, he represented modern, institutionalized Methodism in his role as agent for the East Maine Conference Seminary (popularly called the "Bucksport Seminary"). Mansfield's voice in his tunebook, however, was conservative. He saw his role as that of preserver: he sought to preserve the music of "Puritanic New England" and the plainfolk revival community (1849:ii). Mansfield was a product of both of these communities.
The Mansfield family was old, English Puritan stock. Seven generations before Daniel's lifetime, about 1636, Andrew Mansfield left Norfolk, England, and landed in this country at Boston. Soon he was followed by his father, Robert, and by 1638 they had traveled north to the part of Lynn, Massachusetts, which is now called Lynnfield. Here the family prospered, farming, and becoming active in town affairs (Lewis 172). Before the American Revolution, the Mansfields were gentlemen and even slave owners (Lewis 344).

In the second half of the eighteenth century, as speculators began to open new lands on the New England frontier, D. H. Mansfield's grandfather, father, and uncles gradually moved north. About 1766, his grandparents--Daniel and Lydia Mansfield--left Lynn, travelled to Marblehead, and finally settled in New Ipswich, New Hampshire, a town between Ashburnham, Massachusetts, and Jaffrey, New Hampshire. Daniel Mansfield settled into the life of a self-sufficient farmer, and built a Georgian-plan, Federal-style house, which still stands, west of the Mason town line.

In the late 1780s, two of his sons--Jacob and another Daniel Mansfield, the oldest of the Mansfield children in New Ipswich--left the town for the Barrettstown (or "Barrettston") Plantation in mid-coast Maine. The Twenty
Associates of Lincolnshire, the owners of the land, had contracted with Charles Barrett, a land speculator who lived in New Ipswich, to settle their tract; they had given him the inland portion of the town Camden and all of the future town of Hope (which he had named for himself) on the condition that he settle forty people. Jacob Mansfield responded to Barrett's call for settlers, and in May of 1789 bought his first 160-acre parcel. Jacob's younger brother Daniel followed him, settling in Camden, closer to the sea.

Jacob—the father of the compiler—gradually bought and sold pieces of neighboring lots until he had about four hundred acres. His land, a sweeping valley between Hatchett Mountain (1120 feet) and an unnamed hill of about 710 feet, was bounded on three sides by roads: at the northeast corner of his land was a four corners, and at the northwest corner was Boges Upper Pond, which, in the middle of the nineteenth century, was renamed Mansfield Pond. Today, much of the pasture remains, as do traces of the old farm road.

Mansfield Pond is hidden from view during the summer by a thick stand of second-growth trees. Much of the land, climbing the unnamed hill, is a blueberry field. Almost at the top of the hill is the Morey cemetery, named for the
Mansfields' neighbors: here much of Jacob Mansfield's family, including his son D. H., is buried.

In her history of the town of Hope, Anna Simpson Hardy notes Jacob's two principal interests: common schools and the Methodist Church (1990:58, 117). The two-story house that Jacob had built by 1794 served both causes, for its upper story was a large hall used during the week for common school classes and on the Sabbath for worship (117). In 1805, when Barrettstown was incorporated as the town of Hope, the town built a district school house at the four corners by the Mansfield home, and named it the Mansfield School (58). Hardy notes that the residents of Hope called the Mansfield house the "Chapel House." In 1855, the house's owners, Israel Mansfield (Jacob's oldest son) and James Rudden sold it to the town's Methodist society and officially made it a chapel.

What made Jacob shed the elite religious and social allegiances of his family? His change was a gradual one. His family moved gradually from the center of "Puritanic New England." New Ipswich was still conservative and rigidly Congregational, but it was at least a couple of days away from Massachusetts Bay, and Barrettstown was even more completely separate. Still, his brother in Camden remained
in the standing order. Jacob appears to have identified more closely than his brother with the culture of the Waldo Patent which surrounded Barrettstown, a region noted for its ethnic diversity, poverty, and antipathy to the standing order (religious, economic, and social). By 1795, Jacob had married a woman named Charity Payson. Her family had endured the hardships on the patent in the early days of its settlement, sixty years earlier. From family letters preserved in the Maine Historical Society, we know that Charity's sister Eunice Fairbanks was a Methodist; I suspect that Jacob became a Methodist through the influence of the Payson family. In any case, by marrying Charity, Jacob joined the culture of the surrounding Waldo Patent. This young couple synthesized the cultures of "Puritanic New England" and the turbulent, class-conscious Waldo Patent.

Jacob and Charity raised a large family. Charity had fourteen children, eleven of whom reached adulthood. Tunebook editor Daniel Hale was their tenth child, born June 23, 1810. Jacob supported his family by farming, and like most farmers in the towns surrounding the limestone center of Rockland (then a part of Thomaston) supplemented his income by making barrels. This branch of the Mansfields was a solid plainfolk family.
Not surprisingly, living in the "Chapel House," Daniel Mansfield became interested in religion early. His obituary printed in the East Maine Conference Minutes of 1855 noted that "he was blessed with pious parents and a religious education and when but nine years of age, gave evidence to his friends of a change of heart." (1855:24). He was most likely influenced by the preacher who stopped at the Chapel House in 1819, Henry True, who like Jacob Mansfield had left the standing order for the Methodist Church. John Fairbanks, a singing and common school master and D. H. Mansfield's uncle (he had married Charity's sister Eunice), probably also influenced the child Mansfield.

Mansfield's most important influence, however, was Benjamin Jones, the preacher stationed on the circuit which included Hope during 1829. In this year Mansfield was converted a second time. Jones inspired this conversion, welcomed Mansfield as a member of the Methodist Church, and trained him to become a local preacher. W. H. Pilsbury, the historian of the East Maine Conference, noted that Jones became Mansfield's spiritual father (1886:19). Benjamin Jones assumed two roles for Mansfield: that of spiritual guide and example, and that of teacher. Mansfield learned by his example the qualities of a Methodist minister, and he
received more concrete tutelage in English composition, rhetoric, sermonizing, and the literature and theology of the Methodist Church.

Mansfield's obituary noted that Jones trained Mansfield to be a preacher. At the age of twenty-one, however, Mansfield set out not to preach but to be an itinerant singing master. His travels took him throughout New England and the Middle Atlantic states. According to a newspaper advertisement for *The American Vocalist* in the Belfast, Maine, Republican Journal (November 30, 1849), his purpose in his extensive travels was to acquaint himself with sacred music on a national (or at least a Northern) level. Between 1831 and 1840 (and perhaps sporadically for another five years) Mansfield expanded his musical and religious interests from what he considered the modern spirit of New England Puritanism as well as the spirit of the yeomanry of the Waldo Patent to include what he felt were national musical tastes and religious concerns: hence the musical diversity and ecumenical appeal of his tunebook.

By 1840 Mansfield had settled in Thomaston, Maine, the unofficial capital of the Waldo Patent. The Gardiner Quarterly Meeting assigned him, together with a T. Hill, to preach in the town (which then included the villages of East
and West Thomaston, modern Rockland and Thomaston). Their task was to unify the town's badly divided Methodist society. George Pratt, who was remembered in the East Maine Conference chiefly for his success at this task fifteen years later, described Mansfield's and Hill's task:

Not far from the year 1840, an effort was made to organize permanently a Methodist society in this town. The Rev. H. C. Henries was appointed pastor, but, at a time when all looked like prosperity, a dark cloud shut them in. It seems that a serious difficulty broke out between the minister and his people, in which the former was censured and finally dismissed from the charge. The little society was stunned for years and staggered to and fro like a man null of reason. Some effort was made immediately afterward and they were favored by the labors of the Rev. Daniel Mansfield and the Rev. T. Hill for a season; but nothing could induce them to rally (quoted in Morse 141-2).

Mansfield, whom eulogists remembered for his congenial personality, may have been the obvious choice to reunite the Methodist society in Thomaston, but he failed. After the failure of the Thomaston Methodist society, Mansfield remained in Thomaston, where in 1844 he wrote an obituary for one of the prominent members of the Methodist society at Friendship, on the tip of the Muscongus Peninsula south of Thomaston (Pilsbury 141).

In 1845 Mansfield married his first-cousin-once-removed, Lucy Maria Fairbanks. Lucy Maria, the grand-daughter of the singing master John Fairbanks, was born in Parkman, Ohio, in
the Western Reserve, in 1821. Her father, Major Abner Fairbanks, had served at Fort Erie during the War of 1812 and had continued west after the war. Like the Mansfield family a generation earlier, Abner was attracted to Ohio by a land speculator, Samuel Parkman. Parkman, who owned a large piece of land in the northwestern part of the Waldo Patent, was a friend of the Fairbanks family in Hope (Letter from John Fairbanks to Abner Fairbanks, September 1, 1821). On February 15, 1818, Abner married Nancy McMillan, "a lady of Scottish descent and of rare accomplishments" (Gravestone, Abner Fairbanks, Morey Cemetery, Hope, Maine). Between the end of 1818 and 1824, they had four children: Lewis, Lucy Maria, Winfield Scott, and Caroline.

In 1825, Nancy and the children, except for Lucy Maria, died of dysentery. Judge Robert Parkman adopted Lucy Maria, and Abner returned to Hope, "to die among his kindred in his native place" (Gravestone). He died in February of 1827. Abner's brothers and sisters wanted to take Lucy Maria to Maine. In 1838, when she was seventeen, her uncle, John Fairbanks (son of the singing master), wrote that he wanted to take her to Hope to prevent her from marrying (letter from John Fairbanks to Lewis Wentworth, August 12, 1838). He was
apparently successful, for seven years later, she married D. H. Mansfield.

In 1845 Mansfield was accepted as a probationary member of the Maine Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was appointed to Old Town, a village sixteen miles north of Bangor on the Penobscot River. The Mansfields spent two years in Old Town. In 1846 they had a daughter there, Helen, who died in infancy.

Mansfield's time in Old Town was a success, for at the end of his tenure he was ordained a deacon and assigned to Frankfort. This was a prestigious move for Mansfield. The town of Frankfort (which then included Frankfort and Marsh villages--modern Winterport and Frankfort, respectively) was one of the early Methodist stations east of the Kennebeck: Jesse Lee, the founder of Methodism in Maine, had established a station there early in the 1790s. In Frankfort Mansfield was under the watchful eye of Joshua Hall, the unofficial patriarch of Methodism in eastern Maine. In 1795, Hall had collected Jesse Lee's stations along the Penoscot and had united them into the Penobscot Circuit. The spiritual son of Jesse Lee, Hall was also the spiritual father of Benjamin Jones. Although Hall was superannuated by 1847, he remained active in local and conference affairs for another fifteen
years. By assigning Mansfield to Frankfort, the conference and bishop gave him one more year of the mentor/disciple relationship that was the key to the Methodist church's training of its clergy.

In 1848, when the stations in the Maine Conference that were east of the Kennebeck became the East Maine Conference, the new conference appointed Mansfield to "Belfast Mission." Belfast was an important ship-building, commercial, and agricultural market center at the northern end of the Waldo Patent. It had had Methodist preaching since Joshua Hall had included it on the Penobscot Circuit in 1795, but for the fifty years before Mansfield's time there the preaching had been sporadic. Because the Penobscot valley was the center (symbolically if not geographically) of the new conference, a strong station at the mouth of the river was necessary to the development of the conference. The conference called Belfast a mission because of its undeveloped potential. Mansfield, was a strong candidate for the assignment because he knew the area--Belfast is separated from Hope only by the town of Lincolnville--and because he was already known for his soft-spoken evangelism. The Belfast Republican Journal announced Mansfield's arrival: "We have heard Mr. Mansfield, who is to
be stationed in this town, favorably spoken of, both as a man and a speaker" (August 11, 1848).

Joseph Williamson, one of Belfast's historians, and a contemporary of Mansfield, in a pencil-written annotation to his list of preachers in the town, remembered that Mansfield was a "very popular preacher" and had inspired a revival (Williamson papers, Belfast Free Library, notes for Williamson 304). Indeed, revivalism appears to have been the thrust of Mansfield's ministry in Belfast. During Mansfield's tenure the East Maine Conference established a camp-meeting in towns adjoining Belfast, first on Isleboro, in Penobscot Bay east of the town, and from 1849 until 1933 in Northport, three miles south of Belfast. Mansfield, with his talents in music and preaching, had much to offer to the East Maine Conference's revival efforts.

During the two years that Mansfield was stationed in Belfast his publishers released both editions of his tunebook. The Belfast newspapers announced the first edition of The American Vocalist on November 11, 1848, and on November 30, 1849 they announced the revised edition.

At the annual conference of 1850, the conference assigned Mansfield to the First Methodist Church, Bangor, popularly called the "Brick Chapel." Mansfield's move from
Belfast to Bangor was a shift from the role of missionary to that of administrator and fund-raiser. The Brick Chapel was one of the largest, wealthiest, and most solidly established stations in the conference: in the conference minutes of 1852 Mansfield called the church "redoubtable" (1852:7). In his earlier stations, Mansfield had represented old, egalitarian Methodism, but in Bangor he was firmly intrenched in the modern, increasingly institutionalized trends of the denomination. During his two years in Bangor, his major accomplishments were in raising money for the Missionary Societies of the East Maine and General Conferences. In the minutes of the East Maine Conference for 1851, Mansfield announced that the Brick Chapel had raised $300 for the missionary societies. He noted, "Average per member $2,20 [sic] which exceeds that of any other church in New England" (1851:27).

Bangor was Mansfield's last pastoral charge. His fund-raising efforts were so successful that at the annual meeting of 1852 the conference asked Bishop Osmon Baker (later famous for his role in establishing the Boston University School of Theology) to appoint Mansfield agent of the East Maine Conference Seminary, a request which the Bishop respected. L. L. Knox, the principal of the seminary, noted in his
"Funeral Discourse" for Mansfield that Mansfield, fearing the job as agent would keep him from his chosen work of preaching, accepted the appointment reluctantly.

Mansfield's task as seminary agent was to raise a permanent endowment of $25,000. By the annual conference of 1853 he reported that he had raised the full amount. The conference of 1853 renewed his appointment, and the conference the following year renewed it for a final term. During his final year, he and representatives of other seminaries in the state (including Bucksport's sister school, the Maine Wesleyan Seminary at Kent's Hill) lobbied the state legislature for financial support. While in Augusta during January of 1855 Mansfield contracted a fever, and on Sunday, February 25, he died.

During his time as seminary agent, Mansfield had returned home, in 1852 to the family farm in Hope, and in 1853 to Warren. Anna Simpson Hardy, Hope's historian, noted that he stayed at his father's house, the "Chapel House" (118). In Warren, the Mansfields boarded with Lermond Kelloch (or Kalloch, the clerk of Probate spelled the name both ways), a deacon in the Baptist church. The Mansfields had two daughters in Warren, Caroline Cushing (named after the town of Warren's neighbor to the southeast) and Helen
Maria. While the family was in Warren, in February of 1854, Lucy died of "a rapid consumption" (Belfast Republican Journal, March 3, 1854). Mansfield's obituary in the conference minutes noted, "His companion died one year before him, and they have left two little orphan daughters to the sympathy of the Church which their parents loved." Legally, the church did care for the children: specifically, the guardian appointed by the probate court was Ammi Prince, Mansfield's successor as seminary agent. They spent most of their childhood, however, between their uncle Israel's farm in Hope and their aunt Wealthy's home in Warren.

What sort of man was D. H. Mansfield? We can piece together a portrait of his character from a variety of sources, including the Old Town town history, L. L. Knox's "Funeral Discourse," newspaper and conference obituaries, probate records, and Mansfield's own writings in conference minutes, the conference history, and The American Vocalist. What emerges is a picture of a man devout to an extreme, "inordinately" fond of music, generally soft-spoken but occasionally intemperate in his speech and writing, popular both for his powerful preaching and his social talents,
generally liked by his colleagues but occasionally judged to be too harsh (Norton 104).

L. L. Knox, W. H. Pilsbury, and David Norton, the historian of Old Town, emphasized Mansfield's devotion to the Methodist Church. Indeed, other aspects of his character, including his love of music, stemmed from his religious devotion. For example, David Norton wrote in his Sketches of Old Town: "He was very much imbued with the spirit of his divine mission, and not only carried it out in his action, but he talked it and sung it." Pilsbury wrote that Mansfield was "absorbed entire, soul, spirit and body, in whatever work he undertook, taking hold, holding on, and never letting go, till his work was done" (19).

Mansfield's entire absorption into the Methodist spirit accounted for several of his remarkable characteristics. Both Pilsbury and Knox commented on Mansfield's distinctive prose style. Knox commented:

His sermons were his own; he could not have preached a borrowed sermon; nor could anybody else have borrowed and preached one of his. Thus his discourses were peculiar; and generally they were peculiarly striking and effective (14).

Pilsbury was similarly impressed by Mansfield's command of language--his "most forcible diction" (19). Pilsbury wrote of Mansfield's oratorical and disputative talents:
Gifted with remarkable readiness of perception and thought and with an unlimited ready and easy flow of language, in controversy he could not be taken by surprise. He was direct to his point, and intolerant of rebuff by evasive issues, by which he would not allow himself to be turned aside, and which he managed to turn upon his man, to his own purpose (192).

Pilsbury saw Mansfield's stamp on the conference obituary for Benjamin Jones. What marks this as Mansfield's work is the brilliant imagery—-with the Gospel trumpet, rejoicing converts, and laurels of victory—-and description of setting and events. As in the preface to the Vocalist, he sets religious piety into the unbroken New England wilderness:

He was never so much in his element as when he was preaching pardon and salvation to sinner through the blood of Jesus! It was then that his heart became a gushing fountain. It was then, while tenderness beamed in his eye, and the big tear-drops rolled over his cheek, that Father Jones became a champion of eloquence, and whole congregations were subdued before him.

The hills and valleys, and mountains and rivers of Maine have borne testimony to his toils and faithfulness in storm and sunshine for more than forty years; and her deep forests and silent glens have witnessed his tears and echoed to his prayers for the conversion and salvation of her people. . . .

He gave the trumpet a certain sound. His warnings fell upon the ear of thousands like a solemn cry at midnight, and aroused them from their slumbers to seek a refuge in Christ. His labors, always useful, were almost invariably attended with revival. It is believed that no preacher who survives him in New England ever witnessed a greater number of conversions as the result of his labors.

Such was Father Jones . . . one of the chief-captains of the Lord's host, who fell at his post
upon the walls of Zion, with the shout of victory upon his lips, and covered with laurels of unfading glory. He has no abbeyed burial, but he sleeps in Jesus. His sculptured representative may have no niche in the temple of fame, but HE will stand in a more glorious lot. Thousands welcomed him to the immortal shores, and thousands who lingered still on earth cried as they beheld his upward flight, "My father! my father! the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof!" (Minutes, 1851:32 and in an edited form, Pilsbury 18-9).

Mansfield's love (and oratorical use) of music was another product of his religious zeal. David Norton noted that he "talked and sung" Methodism (emphasis added):

He was a fine singer, and accompanied his voice with the violin, which he was inordinately fond of, and played with a great deal of skill and intelligent science. Many a good sing we have had together, and the aroma of its spirit still lingers around its memories (104).

Pilsbury noted his use of music as an oratorical tool:

Sometimes, when his eloquent oratory failed to carry he would resort to still more eloquent song, where he was entirely at home, and with which he seldom failed (19).

Anna Simpson Hardy, in her history of the town of Hope, recorded an anecdote that when Mansfield entered or left a home he would "sing a verse or two of an appropriate hymn to which the sweetness of his voice lent additional charm" (118).

His eulogists also remembered him for his bursts of anger: David Norton, who knew Mansfield in a social context, found this contradictory to his pious spirit, but his colleague L. L. Knox excused it as a product of his zeal.
Other colleagues (the authors of his obituary in the conference minutes and his friend, W. H. Pilsbury) wrote that his hot temper was a product of his nervous and weak physical and physical constitution. The conference obituary noted his "frail constitution, predisposed to pulmonary disease," and Pilsbury wrote of "his fine strung nervous system" that was "acutely susceptible" to excitement (Conference Minutes, 1855:24 and Pilsbury 192). David Norton, who shared a duplex with the Mansfield's noted his "natural temper, which would sometimes flash out beyond his control," and illustrated his point with the following anecdote:

One day in the month of February, Mrs. Mansfield and Mrs. Norton passed the day with Mrs. Hiram Smith, and in the evening Mansfield and Norton joined the group; it was the season of the February thaw, and it begun [sic] to rain in the afternoon, and rained powerfully all the evening; there was a great depth of snow upon the ground. About ten o'clock, the party began to talk about going home, but on account of the storm, Mrs. Smith urged the party to stay all night, and especially the ladies; but Mrs. Mansfield demurred, and the persuasions of the whole company had no effect to change her determination. So they started for home; the wind blew so hard that no one could carry an umbrella, and thus they had to brave the whole force of the storm, sinking into the snow nearly a foot at every step; arriving near home they found the ditch which they must cross, on the side of the road, filled with water, and in the attempt to cross it Mrs. Mansfield managed to slip and fall at full length upon her back right in the deepest of the puddle, which was deep enough to half cover her person. Mansfield took no notice of her, nor offered to help her, but trudged along into the house and left
her to get out of the trouble as best she could, which she, being very nimble, and urged in her efforts by the chilling water, readily did (118). Mansfield's conference obituary, however, noted:

In his mental constitution there was nothing negative; hence his feelings and convictions were likely to be expressed so forcibly as sometimes to give offence. He was no conservative--to him, between right and wrong there could be no compromise (1855:24).

In his "Funeral Discourse," L. L. Knox developed this theme further. Knox noted, "In some of his pleas for . . . [for the cause of the seminary] his brethren have thought him unduly severe," and then reflecting with blunt honesty continued, "perhaps he was." Knox then tried to explain Mansfield's peculiar temper:

His rebukes were keen-barbed, and so accurately aimed that the right bird generally fluttered. The acuteness of his sensibilities and the ardor of his interest in the object for which he labored, and not the rankling of an unkind emotion in his heart, are the true explanation of his apparent severity. Nothing chafes and crushes a generous mind so much as to find all its great plans of usefulness crippled by the perverse selfishness of those to whom it has a right to look for prompt co-operation in the execution of those plans (14).

The point of Pilsbury's and Knox's emphasis of Mansfield's zeal was that they considered him a martyr to the cause of the seminary. Pilsbury wrote of "his exclusive and unselfish devotion to his work in behalf of the seminary. . ." and "his self martyrdom in its interest" (192). His eulogists wrote in his obituary in the conference minutes:
The last year of his life he was engaged in procuring donations for building a Seminary boarding-house, and when his last illness fastened upon him, he was at Augusta, soliciting from the State Legislature a donation for the seminary. . . . The exhaustion consequent upon the anxiety and toil he endured for this noble enterprise, without doubt, abridged his span of life (1855:24).


In it he showed that Mansfield's death was a providential illustration of these "great doctrines" (13). Specifically, Knox showed that Mansfield accepted the assignment as seminary agent because of his sense of duty:

He consented to take the duties of that agency at first with great reluctance, for he felt that it was withdrawing him from the cherished work of his life. But in this, as in other cases, he regarded the voice of the Conference as a sufficient indication of duty (14).

Knox argued that his death was caused by a combination of factors, beginning with the frustration over ungenerous wealthy members of the church:

When he found an individual possessing abundant means, and recognizing the claims of the church, and professing the high principles of Christian benevolence, who utterly refused any assistance, or who gave with a stinted and grudging hand, his own throbbing ardor was rebuffed and shocked. . . . This he felt most keenly; and coming upon him, as it did, in connection with that sad providence which smote from his embrace the central object of his domestic enjoyments—the wife of his love and mother of his babes—it fitted his susceptible constitution to become an easy victim of disease. The peculiar circumstances attending his efforts to
procure aid from the Legislature for the Institution, contributed still further to the same result; and when the sad announcement was made that he had fallen, we all felt and said that his life had been sacrificed to the interests of the East Maine Conference Seminary (15).

The ideal that was central to Mansfield's thinking as a minister and singing master was the synthesis of the heritage of "Puritanic New England" and Southern Methodism. While he was devout in his Methodism to the point of martyrdom, his identity was self-consciously that of a New Englander. In his earliest writing, an obituary for Frederick Bradford, a prominent member of the Methodist society at Friendship, Maine, he combined the sense of dignity and historical continuity of old New England with the ideal of charity to the poor that was more distinctively Methodist:

He was descended from the family of the early Governors of Massachusetts. He had been a respected member of the Legislature of Maine, and a faithful and efficient class leader in the Methodist Episcopal church for thirty years. The way-worn stranger, and the weary Methodist preacher, always found a home at Father Bradford's. The widow and the fatherless never applied in vain for assistance (Pilsbury 141).

He developed this theme again in his obituary for his spiritual father, Benjamin Jones. In this obituary he defined what he considered to be Puritan ideals as they applied to Methodism:

As a preacher he was decidedly of the Puritan stamp. Few men have been less warped by popular opinion or practice. His profession of religion
was a declaration of independence from every unhallowed bias; of every moral question he was always on found on the right side (Pilsbury 18). Finally, in the preface to *The American Vocalist* he explains why he chose music by "the old composers" such as Billings, Holden, and Read: "Many of them were holy men, and their music, composed among the hills and forests of Puritanic New England, is but an embodiment of pious devotion" (1849:ii).

Mansfield's admiration of Puritanism extended only to its examples of "pious devotion" and integrity of conscience: as a Methodist he accepted neither the Puritans' Calvinism nor their class consciousness. We see Mansfield's sense of duty toward the poor particularly strongly in his selection of tunes for the second and third parts of *The American Vocalist*, the tunes that were popular among the "thousands of illiterate persons" (1849:ii).

Mansfield consistently urged his brethren to be generous to the church. We see this concern in his obituary for Frederick Bradford and also in his role as seminary agent, when he aimed his oratorical spears at ungenerous, wealthy Methodists. He personally gave liberal donations, "to make even change," to the Missionary societies (1852:27). In 1851 he humorously admonished his brethren to be more generous in their offerings:
There are a very few close calculators found in almost all societies who seem to have contracted a special and unaccountable antipathy to that most harmless, inoffensive, and very useful thing—the CONTRIBUTION BOX. God bless them! It is because they are such strangers! A little close acquaintance would do their very souls good! Let the "stewards", then, pass it along, very good-naturedly, as though all was fair weather, and (it's a fact!) these same dear brethren (for they are brethren, and this thing is their only failing) will soon learn to smile most graciously when it is held before their eyes in all the simplicity of its eloquence to plead the cause of the poor and of the benighted. Now it is well known that, in our church, no man is compelled to any thing. All is free. But, I should judge, that three of these long handled contribution boxes, as it regards the reformation and general welfare of society, are about equal to an ordinary preacher (20).

Among his various roles as a member of the East Maine Conference the one in which he was most comfortable was that of preacher, and particularly that of circuit rider. As a preacher he was decidedly of the old school, so much so, that Pilsbury, in his history of the conference, included Mansfield's biography with the memorials of the earliest set of preachers even though Mansfield was really in the conference's third generation. A verse inscribed on Mansfield's gravestone illustrates his identity as a "soldier" in "that hardy, brave, and noble-hearted band" of itinerant preachers:

Thy brethren in the field,
That hardy, brave, and noble-hearted band,
In Zion's ranks oft from their side will miss,
Thy strong, and fearless hand.

In the next verse, the poem notes Mansfield's devotion to the church, calling him a "voice that oft hath cheered her on." Indeed, Mansfield was an active voice in conference affairs from 1849, when he was ordained an elder, until his death six years later. At various times he served on conference standing committees (for Peace, for Education, for Memorials, and for the Publication of the Minutes) and on the committee to examine candidates to membership in the conference (appropriately, he examined candidates in rhetoric, logic, and sermonizing).

His prefaces and parenthetical notes as a member of the standing committee for the publication of the minutes between 1849 and 1852 show his values and interests as a member of the conference. In 1852, for example, he declared his support for republicanism, the predominant political stance of his brethren (8). At other times he voiced anti-intellectual opinions. For example, he praised Benjamin Jones for his theological conservatism:

His power of description was more remarkable for a close adherence to Bible delineation than for any
romantic conceptions of an unlicensed imagination. The glorious platform upon which he stood, and every step that conducted him to it, were seen as by sunlight. He never obscured the word of the Lord by drawing around it the drapery of vanity, nor marred its fearful beauties by foolish attempts at wit. He never stooped from the glorious heights of Eternal Truth, to touch even "fancy's loftiest thought." The distance was too great, and the point to be gained in a wrong direction to excite his ambition (32).

He continued this theme in a footnote to the minutes, offering his readers perjorative definitions of "Rationalism" and "Transcendentalism:"

"Rationalism," as applied to religion, is a sullen and dogged opposition to the truths of the Bible,—including a special and sapient determination to discard all FAITH, and to adopt into its creed no proposition either in Nature or Revelation but such as is perfectly comprehended and fully known in all its principles and results. Consequently its creed is a profound and wonderful IGNORANCE of all that is believed, known, heard, seen, or thought of, either in the heavens above or in the earth beneath.

"Transcendentalism," on the other hand, in its popular sense, is a (pretended) thorough acquaintance with the secrets of Omniscience—a complete knowledge of the motives and principles that influence the Almighty in all His designs, and of the laws by which the system of universal Nature is governed—comprehending at a single glance all that has been, is, or will be done in heaven, earth, or hell. Its creed was written with the shadow of a phantom, upon the smooth surface of a mirage by moonlight, by a being that existed only in the imagination, while sitting enveloped in fog upon "the baseless fabric of a vision." It transcends, in depth, the researches of Moses or Solomon, Copernicus or Newton—in height, the sublimities of David, Isaiah, or St. John—in length, the moral law—in breadth, the Gospel of Jesus Christ—and in every direction the limits of
common sense. It is difficult to tell which of these systems is more transcendentally irrational.--Ed (22).

In his comments in the conference minutes, Mansfield again showed his short temper. He cheered on the conference, but he worried that poor record-keeping would frustrate its lofty goals. He persistently admonished his brethren to take greater care and speed preparing their entries. In the minutes of 1851 and 1852, he did this in sarcastic prefaces. In 1851, complaining of his fellow ministers' poor penmanship and his difficulties reading the returns, he invoked the spirit of the sharp-tongued dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin:

An Egyptian hieroglyphic that stands for the proper name of some respectable individual might be read in a dozen ways by as many different persons. The same figures might represent 9 cts, 9,90, or 9000 dollars. Now, it would be, to say the least, very unsatisfactory if a donation of $20, to the Missionary Society by Jonathan Swift should appear "in the print" an offering of 2 cents to some unknown society by "John Smith"!

In 1852, he used puns to chastise his brethren. He complained that the members had not paid attention to his comments the year before. Finally, he said he had had enough, and would no longer serve as a "minute-man:"

Even now, twenty days after adjournment, when the rest of our manuscript has long been ready for the printer, we are compelled to wait for Reports that ought to have been in our hands before session closed! And, what is a little animating, the very
brethren who cause this delay will be the first to sing--
  "Why do our MINUTES move so slow."
Or,--
  "Why should they be HOURS (ours)?  
   Now, we can raise corn on a ledge, or funds from a sand-bank, any time; or lay our course, and sail at decent speed against tide and current, with streamers flying, and the wind dead ahead. But the vast weight of honor, that has for four years past rested on our shoulders as a "Minute"-man, has so egregiously overwhelmed us that we are pretty decidedly averse to another campaign. And, in obedience to an old established law of Nature--the law of self-preservation--we must respectfully ask leave to withdraw our unworthy name, for a while, at least, from the nominee-candidacy.

During his years as seminary agent, Mansfield showed his attachment to his homes in Hope and Warren. He derived his spirit--his passionate spirituality as well as his republicanism--from the Waldo Patent. Returning home, he could bring up his children with the simple, agrarian, egalitarian spirit with which his parents raised him.

Mansfield appears to have identified more closely with Warren than with Hope. Indeed, the conference obituary claimed that he was born in Warren. The oversight is significant, for the cultures of the two towns were distinctive. Hope was a product of "Puritanic New England:" it had been set off from the Waldo Patent; its culture was originally the Puritanic culture of central New England, not the Scots-Irish and German culture of the rest of the patent. Warren, on the other hand, was the heart of the Waldo Patent:
it was noted for its ethnic diversity and its social, economic, and religious strife. While Hope represented Mansfield's own background, Warren represented what Mansfield fought for as a "faithful soldier" of Christ. The poor illiterate persons whom Mansfield championed in his tunebook were by and large citizens more of the Waldo Patent than of Hope.

During his pastoral career, Mansfield was interested in preserving the spirit of Methodism in eastern Maine as the denomination entered a new era. Because of the establishment of the new conference, Methodism in Mansfield's region was becoming increasingly institutionalized. As a fund-raiser for the Missionary Society and agent for the conference seminary, Mansfield was a voice of the new Methodist spirit. Still, he worried that the new conference would suffer from mediocrity and intellectual vanity. He helped Methodism push toward final perfection ("He was no conservative"), but he warned his brethren to stick to the "narrow way" (Minutes, 1855:24). Mansfield's attachment to the old, egalitarian spirit of Methodism sprang from his background as a native of the Waldo Patent. In Mansfield's lifetime, class conflict had severely divided the patent; Methodism was peculiarly suited to address the needs of the agrarian poor. Perhaps
because of his background, Mansfield felt the urgency of the Methodist message: he reflected this in his ideal of generosity, in his respect for the Methodist hierarchy (the authority of the bishops and conferences), in his fastidious record-keeping, and in his sense of duty to the point of self-sacrifice. Finally, he reflected his devotion to the old, informal spirit of Methodism in The American Vocalist with its music of "Puritanic New England" and camp-meeting revivalism.
Chapter Three: The Social Context of The American Vocalist

Although D. H. Mansfield claimed a national audience with the title of his tunebook, he directed the book to an audience which could sympathize with his sentiments about "the hills and forests of Puritanic New England" and his devotion to the "thousands of illiterate persons" who lived there. While this community had spread through much of the Northeast and Mid-West during the beginning of the nineteenth century, it had also shrunk as cities had claimed the hills and stripped the forests in New England. In much of northern New England, however, the relative wilderness remained, at least in the recent memories of the residents of the region. In particular, residents of the Waldo Patent, the region in which Mansfield was born and spent most of his life, maintained an ethos based on an intense (even violent) class consciousness and their ancestors' wilderness experience. It was primarily this community that Mansfield, with his folky and conservative choice of tunes, addressed with his tunebook. To understand The American Vocalist one must
examine the social, political, and economic factors that shaped the secular community of its compiler was a part.

The Waldo Patent was a large tract of land, stretching from modern Waldoboro in the south to the southern end of Bangor in the north. It included much of what we call "mid-coast" Maine today. The patent was part of a larger tract which had been owned by the Council of Plymouth (from 1606), but in 1629 the Council sold to John Beauchamp and Thomas Leverett, the tract between the Muscongus and Penobscot rivers (Locke, 1859:19). Beauchamp and Leverett called their Patent the Lincolnshire or Muscongus Patent.

In 1719 John Leverett, President of Harvard College, became the sole owner of the Patent; he divided it into ten shares, which he sold to a corporation calling itself the "Ten Proprietors" (Locke, 1859:19). They divided their shares into three parts and were joined by the "Twenty Associates," becoming the "Thirty Proprietors." Among the "Twenty Associates" was Thomas Waldo, a merchant from Boston. At the Treaty of Utrecht, the King attempted to repossess the patent, but the thirty proprietors engaged Brigadier Samuel Waldo, son of Thomas, to "obtain a relinquishment of the arbitrary claim presented" (Locke, 1859:20). Waldo won the fight, and the thirty proprietors rewarded him with one half
of their patent. In 1768, after Waldo's death, the "Ten Proprietors," the "Twenty Associates," and the heirs of Samuel Waldo divided the patent, with the "Ten Proprietors" receiving the northernmost 43,000 acres, the "Twenty Associates" receiving 57,000 acres in the middle, and the Waldo heirs receiving the bulk of the land, some 400,000 acres (Locke, 1859:22).

In 1729, Waldo began to settle his land. He travelled to Europe--principally to the German Palatinate and the north of Ireland--and distributed handbills advertising his patent. Waldo's primary goals were to settle people who were Protestant in religion, and not friendly to France in their politics. The groups which responded to Waldo's advertisements were German Palatines, escaping from the religious persecution in their area at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Scots-Irish, escaping the disenfranchisement of non-Anglicans in the wake of the Glorious Revolution (Stahl 85-6).

Jacob Stahl, Waldoboro's twentieth-century historian, shows that the Germans began to arrive on the southern end of the Waldo Patent--the colony which he called "Broad Bay"--in 1729. The largest groups of settlers, however, arrived during the 1740s and later. The German settlers were not
ostensibly a folk group. They were refugees from political and religious persecution, not poverty. They quickly developed a stratified society, and maintained their German identity into the nineteenth century.

In 1735, Waldo's second group of immigrants--Presbyterians from the north of Ireland--arrived on his patent and settled on the banks of the St. George's River in modern Cushing, Warren, Thomaston, and Union. Most of these settlers had been in the New World for a number of years: they were scattered along the coast, from Boston to Pemaquid (modern Newcastle and Damariscotta, Maine) and inland to Londonderry, New Hampshire (Eaton, 1851:52). In 1734, before Waldo had secured the rights to develop his portion of the Muscongus Patent, he hired Robert McIntyre to build a lime kiln on the St. George's River. Encouraged by rich mineral deposits and the potential of abundant farm land, the Scots-Irish settlers followed McIntyre to the St. George's. Waldo gave one hundred acres to each settler, on the condition that they improve the land; he took as rent one peppercorn "if lawfully demanded," Cyrus Eaton, Warren's historian, wrote, "to preserve a kind of feudal claim in the family, and prevent the lands from escheating to the crown" (1851:54).
During this early period English settlers were a minority on the patent. Waldo's primarily English settlement was at the tip of the Muscongus Peninsula, the modern town of Friendship. During the 1780s, the Twenty Associates of Lincolnshire settled their land, a strip extending from the port of Camden to the agricultural town of Liberty and surrounded on three sides by the Waldo Patent, with English Puritan stock from central New England.

Gradually the groups on the patent mingled and produced a cohesive community. While German communities generally remained separate from their Scots-Irish and English neighbors, several of the more entrepreneurial German families spread through the patent: Peter Ott, for example took credit for founding the ostensibly English village of Camden (gravestone in Camden village cemetery). As we have seen with Mansfield's own family, settlers of the Waldo Patent gradually moved in and out of the Twenty Associates' land, diffusing the cultural distinctions between the patents.

What united the old settlers of the three ethnic groups was an identity based on their victory over early hardships. The settlers discovered that Waldo had generally overstated his claims about the condition of the patent. In particular,
the German settlers, arriving in the autumn, discovered no settlement, as Waldo had claimed. Moreover, they discovered that Waldo had divided his land into parcels of awkward sizes, making farming difficult (Eaton, 1851:67). Settlers of every ethnic group had to clear land, fight wolves, and subsist on whatever food they could find.

Several local histories, including John L. Locke's history of Camden and William Crosby's history of Belfast record stories of settlers spending an entire winter eating only clams. Locke writes:

At one time Robert Miller of Belfast, was returning in a boat from Camden with a bag of meal, when he went ashore at Northport to get dinner prepared in a cabin there, which was the only one probably then in Northport. On entering the room, he there found a family sick and destitute, who had subsisted for a number of days on nothing but clams, and appeared to be in a state of starvation. After partaking of a repast he soon got prepared, he shared with them his bag of meal, and went home rejoicing at the privilege of thus feeding the hungry. This incident was commemorated by some poetaster by the following doggerel verse:

"Camden for beauty
Belfast for pride;
If it hadn't been for clams,
Northport would have died" (Locke, 1859:30).

Cyrus Eaton, the historian of the towns of Warren and Thomaston records a similar anecdote about Samuel Payson, D. H. Mansfield's grandfather and one of the early settlers of the part of Warren which became Cushing:
During his residence here, he had much to encounter from wild beasts, poverty, and the scarcity of provisions. Often, (says one of his daughters) whilst weaving, with nothing but alewives to eat, was she compelled to lay her head down upon the beam and weep till rest enabled her to resume the shuttle, and this for days and weeks together. A cow, which they subsequently obtained, added much to the comfort of the family; but one dark evening the boys heard a rustling among the green corn, and the father, not doubting but that it was a marauding bear, levelled his musket in the direction of the sound, fired, and found to his dismay that he had killed his only cow (1851:213-4).

The poverty described in the above stories lasted relatively late—the incidents described happened about the time of the Revolution—and even after the hardships eased they left an imprint on the local culture. Because of the early poverty and the resulting ethos based on the settlers' victory over the wilderness, the culture of the Waldo Patent was similar to the Southern plainfolk culture which Dickson D. Bruce describes in his discussion of the cultural context of camp-meetings (31). We see on the Waldo Patent the same concerns with individualism and ruffianism. Eaton for example writes fondly of Samuel Payson's eccentricities. He also tells of a quick-tempered Irish school teacher who was famous for his sharp tongue and ready wit and Locke mentions the violent tempers that flared in Camden over the issue of American independence (Eaton, 1851:242-3 and Locke, 1859:36).
In the poor, rough communities of the Waldo Patent, folk beliefs, stories, and songs flourished. Eaton, in his *Annals of Warren*, writes of the lack of books on the patent, and describes the oral traditions with which the settlers entertained themselves. Interestingly, he seems to divide their songs into "old ballad" and "broadside ballad" groups:

Few means were found of gratifying, by reading, that love of marvellous adventure and moving incident so pleasing alike to the learned and ignorant. This want was supplied, as in the middle ages, and the ages more remote that preceded the invention of letters, by ballads, songs, and stories which cheered the long evenings and stormy days of winter. These were made up of real encounters with bears and savages on the one hand, and those of giants, witches, and demons in enchanted castles on the other (156). Moreover, in his history of Thomaston, Eaton writes of an Asa Bennett, a ballad maker at the end of the eighteenth century, whose "doggerel rhymes contributed much to the merriment of the huskings, raisings, and other gatherings of the time" (227). He notes that some of Bennett's songs were still popular in 1865.

Although Eaton tries to discount the importance of superstition, he and John Sibley, historian of the town of Union, record examples of these beliefs. Eaton notes, for example, that the Scottish settlers brought with them beliefs in fairies. He writes that the beliefs gradually died out:
The fairies and elves continued their sports, at times, till after the revolutionary war. But the whole tribe of invisible beings seem to have accompanied the settlers from Europe rather from personal attachment, than from any expectation of making a permanent settlement in the new world. As the first emigrants died off, the creatures of their imagination gradually abandoned the new generations that sprung up, and, except perhaps now and then a freak in some obscure quarter, no longer trouble the community (156).

Eaton felt that the early settlers did not generally believe in witchcraft, and that it was mostly the Puritan settlers from Massachusetts and New Hampshire who brought the beliefs. Sibley, however, records a story of a bewitched horse that entertained an entire neighborhood until some of the residents cropped the animal's ears and burned them with a hot poker to drive out the witches (228-9). Finally, we see evidence that the residents of the Waldo Patent believed in witches down to Eaton's, Sibley's, and Mansfield's time in the Belfast Republican Journal of October 5, 1855. It printed a news story from Hampden, the northernmost town in the patent:

An individual given to superstitious notions is also located in this town. He is still in existence. The story goes that he always thought himself the son of a witch when a boy, one day raking in his father's flied [sic], a black cat ran up to him and crouched at his feet. He struck him with the rake, and broke his back. At the same time a loud shriek was heard from the house, and his mother was heard calling him; hurrying to answer her, he was met by her ghostly form; she told him he had broken her back; she was dying, and
he must "do penance for the sin," he must wear his beard for seven times seven years. This command this interesting person obeys.

Gradually, the autonomy of the old communities declined. After the settlers had been on the patent for about thirty years, settlers from Massachusetts began to resettle and claim the territory. On the neighboring Kennebec Patent, during the 1760s, a new professional class displaced the German and Scots-Irish settlers. After the Revolution, the same thing happened to the Waldo Patent: the most celebrated member of this new class was the Revolutionary hero, Henry Knox.

During the Revolution, the Waldo family sided with the Loyalists. The revolutionary government, under the Confiscation Act, took the family's land, and at the end of the war awarded it to Waldo's grand-daughter, Lucy Fluker and her husband, Knox. Knox set about improving the land, buying pieces that the Waldo family had sold as well as portions of the Ten Proprietor's land to the north. He developed the patent's rich limestone deposits, bought from Charles Barrett, the founder of the town of Hope, a series of locks on the St. George's River, and experimented with crops and livestock. To overlook his grand estate, Knox built an extravagant mansion which he named Montpelier.
Knox's ambition--and Lucy's gambling habit--drove him into debt (Locke, 1859:23). He demanded that the squatters buy their land, and he evicted those who refused. The squatters organized for a rebellion. Their leader was Samuel Ely, a Congregational minister, Socinian in his religious views, and something of a professional troublemaker. Convicted for his part in Shays's Rebellion, he was expelled from that state. He travelled north to Vermont and started similar agitation there: the Vermont government expelled him again (Hall 453). He settled on the New Canaan Plantation, now Northport and Lincolnville, where he farmed and preached occasionally in Belfast. In his fight against Knox, he published a pamphlet entitled The Deformity of a Hideous Monster, Discovered in the Province of Maine by a Man in the Woods Looking After Liberty in which he questioned Knox's (and even Waldo's) rights to the land. Knox had him expelled again, but he fled only to Isleboro, a short ferry ride from his home, where he eventually died of drowning (Manuscript in the Williamson papers, Belfast Free Library--the source is John Locke).

Knox's debts eventually overwhelmed him, and he died insolvent in 1806. His estate lost large pieces of his land to foreclosure. When his creditors tried to survey the land,
they encountered the same opposition Knox had met. On the southern end of the patent the Massachusetts legislature threatened to use the militia to enforce the survey, but as Cyrus Eaton noted, the state feared that the militia would not follow orders. This fear, combined with the settlers' threats of insurrection (and acts of intimidation, including leaving an open coffin on the doorsteps of Col. Thatcher, the lawyer for one of the landowners) caused the legislature to postpone the survey (1851:299-300). A similar course of events happened on the northern end of the patent. In the rural towns west of Belfast, townspeople intimidated the surveyor, tarred and feathered him, and ambushed him dressed as Indians (Locke, 1989:215-6 and Robinson, 1983:40-55). The militia in Belfast, fearing that Indians would storm the town in the night, organized to defend themselves, but discovered in the morning the threat had been a bluff. Local historians dubbed this event the "Greene Indian War," and a local ballad maker named Joseph Doloff commemorated the event with a song of twenty-nine stanzas. Doloff satirized the seriousness and military ineptitude of the respectable Belfasters:

Good people all, both great and small,
Give ear to what I write,
I will tell you where a dreadful war
Took place the other night.
In Belfast town some guns did sound,
Which struck like death's alarm,
It was no jeast, for sure the Priest,
Did call all hands to arms. . . .

John Russ now comes without a gun,
An Indian he would kill,
He took a stake, their heads to break,
Priest Johnson cries "Be still."

"Don't you go nigh, for you'll surely die
If you the Indians meet."
He says to all, "I heard a ball.
Lets make our best retreat". . . .

Judge Reed now comes with sword and gun
And ammunition large,
The prudent Squire did not once fire,
Though seven times did charge.

The next morn when light appeared
His gun was two-thirds full,
Although t'was cold, I have been told
The Judge was warm as wool.

Then all the host did brag and boast,
And all as one did say,
"The Indians failed, and we prevailed,
For we have gained the day." (52-5)

In a later generation, the plight of the squatters
attracted the attention of Nathaniel Hawthorne who used the
conflict in his House of The Seven Gables (published in
1851). In the novel, the Pyncheon family claimed "the
greater part of what is now known as Waldo County, in the
State of Maine. . . (25)." Commenting on the virtual land war, Hawthorne wrote:

But, in course of time, the territory was partly
re-granted to more favored individuals, and partly
cleared and occupied by actual settlers. These last, if they ever heard of the Pyncheon title, would have laughed at the idea of any man’s asserting a right—on the strength of mouldy parchments, signed with the faded autographs of governors and legislators long dead and forgotten—to the lands which they or their fathers had wrested from the wild hand of nature, by their own sturdy toil (26).

The lasting effect of the land wars on the character of the region was to solidify the communities, and define ingroups and outgroups: they forced the common people to illustrate graphically their personality traits, especially their belligerence toward authority. The common people—"the thousands of illiterate persons"—on the Waldo Patent had, out of necessity, bonded themselves into a cohesive unit early in their tenancy on the Patent, and they defined themselves by what they were not. They maintained themselves as distinct from the mainstream of Massachusetts culture (although technically part of Massachusetts until 1820): they scoffed at the genteel life of Boston, early laughing at their own fumbling over the novelty of tea, and telling derisive stories about the haughty Lucy Knox.

Cyrus Eaton, generally Whiggish in his sentiments, recorded several of these stories in his history of Thomaston. Eaton consistently portrayed General Knox as kind and hospitable but a browbeaten by his bitter wife. In one story he tells of her religious hypocrisy describing how she
hired a carpenter to alter her pew, "to suit her ease or her fancy," but then was "never seen there but one-half day afterward." Eaton continues to describe her rudeness to a supply preacher whom the General invited to dinner:

On their coming to the table and finding her seated, [General Knox] pleasantly said, "rise, my dear, and the parson will ask a blessing." She took no notice, but sat unmoved in her stateliness. He repeated his request in a more distinct, loud, and emphatic manner. Still she did not move. Then, with something of that stentorian voice which at the battle of Trenton rose above the tempest, he repeated "rise!--my--dear!--the parson is going to ask a blessing!" This being also without effect, the blessing was asked, and the dinner partaken of, without any allusion to the circumstance (221).

In another story, Eaton describes her contempt for the local squatters:

[General Knox] loved to see every one happy, and could sympathized with people of every class and condition, rejoice in their prosperity, and aid them in adversity. His companion, on the contrary, wished to have nothing to do with what she considered the lower classes, unless when she needed their service; and made no visits, exchanged no civilities that we are aware of, with any families in the place--except, perhaps, on one occasion at the house of Capt. Vose. She used to ride out in her coach, the only one in the vicinity; but return, like Noah's dove, finding no place to alight at. On one of these occasions her carriage breaking down, she had to wait for some temporary repairs to be made; the good people of the neighboring house came out, inviting her and her children into their dwelling; but she chose to remain standing in the muddy street till the injury was repaired (221).

Lucy Knox and Montpelier became an symbols of an outgroup. The settlers contrasted her opulence with their
thriftiness, the elegant, Federal-style Montpelier (with its piazzas, arched facade, and decorative urns) with their cabins, built not to afford them a gracious lifestyle in the fashion of the well settled Middle Atlantic, but to shelter them from the deadly winter weather. The settlers defined themselves in their ingroup by their resiliency and ingenuity. They lived a life of hard work, not fancy dinner parties. As Montpelier was an symbol of the outgroup, so their buildings were symbols of their ingroup. The settlers built log cabins, eighteen by twenty feet, with wood and mud, "cat-and-clay," chimneys, and windows protected only by either greased paper or mica, called "isinglass." Cyrus Eaton described the most elegant log cabin, built by Matthias Hawes for his bride Sarah Payson (D. H. Mansfield's uncle and aunt), in Stirlington, the Higland Scots district of Warren:

According to Mrs. Hawes, the house which Mr. Hawes had begun was by some considered "a little more stylish" than any other of the log-houses in the plantation. No other house in Stirlington was shingled. This was covered with shingles made by Mr. Hawes himself. It contained a kitchen, bedroom, buttery, and had a good cellar. The logs of which the walls were made, instead of being rough, were hewed both inside and outside. There was a regularly laid floor; but, as the boards were not nailed down, considerable care was requisite, in drawing up the table for a meal, to prevent it from being upset. On the west end was a place designed for a chimney. For a flue, boards were stuck up endwise, ten or twelve feet apart at the bottom, to secure them from taking fire, and tipped
inward toward the top, so as to leave a comparatively small opening for the passage of the smoke. The fire was built upon the ground, and a flat stone was used for a chimney-back. The only window was made by a wooden slide. This was closed when it stormed and thus the newly married couple saw by means of the light which came down the chimney. As the ground on which the fire was built was lower than the floor, the occupants, when it was cold, sat on the ends of the boards, and suspended their feet in front of the fire (1865:51).

This house, built in 1777, was only twenty years older than Montpelier. The couple lived in relative comfort, the tight log walls keeping out the drafts, and the large fireplace supplying ample heat (with a more than ample virgin forest for fuel only yards from the door). Sarah Payson Hawes had a spinning wheel and loom, occupying, Eaton notes, "a very important portion of the room" (Warren 51-3). Houses were a necessity, but barns were a little more luxurious, and one "Yankee Barn" (a three bay, eaves-front barn of about thirty by forty feet), could hold the grain grown by several families. The settlers built their barns sturdily. With twelve-inch square oak timbers, the barns were a defiant declaration of victory over the forest (1851:39).

While the settlers scorned the Knox's opulence, they laughed at their own lack of social graces. An example of this is the story of the first cup of tea served in Warren, in 1740. Cyrus Eaton thought the story so good that he
included it in both his history of Warren and his history of Thomaston (1851:62 and 1865:48-9). By his accounts, Samuel Waldo encouraged Henry Alexander, one of the Scots-Irish settlers of Warren, to run for the post of Captain of the militia. Alexander was elected, and to celebrate he held a party at his house:

> Tradition relates that on this occasion he procured at the fort one gallon of rum and a pound of tea. Directing his wife to prepare the latter for the women, he served out the former to the men who were enjoying their rude mirth out of doors. On coming in to see how matters went on within, he found his wife had served up the tea leaves, well buttered, as a species of food. On apprising her of her mistake and inquiring for the broth, his wife said, "THAT is good for nothing, for I poured it out, and the very pigs would not drink it." When we consider that tea had been used even in England but seventy years before this, we may well believe the truth of this anecdote (1851:62).

The class consciousness of the Waldo Patent expressed itself during the second quarter of the nineteenth century with heavy support for Andrew Jackson. Jackson was popular generally across Maine, as Seba Smith, in his letters of Maj. Jack Downing illustrated. The republican fervor was great enough during the 1840s that Belfast had two republican papers, the Republican Journal and the Maine Free Press. The republicanism of the Waldo Patent made the territory fertile ground for the egalitarian religious sects, the Methodists and Free Baptists.
Like his fellow townsmen and clergymen generally, D. H. Mansfield was a republican, and this social and political allegiance is the characteristic which makes his tunebook remarkable among contemporary Northern books. Mansfield was born only two years after the Greene Indian War; during his youth the patent was still feeling the effects of the Betterment Act. He absorbed the Waldo Patent's class consciousness, pride its early history, and its healthy folk culture. His background as a member of the community of the Waldo Patent guided him both as a preacher and as a tunebook compiler.
Although D. H. Mansfield fashioned his tunebook to have an ecumenical appeal, he was emphatically a Methodist, and the book bears the stamp of his faith. Methodism was a major voice on the Waldo Patent, but except in the town of Union it was not the dominant denomination. As we have seen, isolation and class-conflict divided communities on the Waldo Patent. The eighteenth-century denominations (the German Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian churches, the Scots-Irish Presbyterian church, and the Congregational church) felt the effects of this social and political strife. The Congregational Church, the dominant denomination at the beginning of the nineteenth century, represented the urban, land-owning class. It failed to address the needs of the agrarian tenantry which flocked to the new "experimental" denominations, the Free Baptists and the Methodists. "Experimental" or "practical" religion was one of the legacies of the Great Awakening. Jonathan Edwards had defined it in his Treatise Concerning the Religious
Affections and his *Dissertation on True Virtue* (Heimert lii, liii). Jesse Lee, the founder of Methodism in Maine, defined experimental religion simply as the knowledge that God had pardoned one's sins (Thrift 7). From the moment of receiving grace, a saint's life would be totally transformed and animated by the Holy Spirit. The experimental religion movement became anti-intellectual; because its followers were "inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost," they felt that their personal relationship with God was more important than formal study (Thrift 41-2). By contrast, the Congregational church on the Waldo Patent was formal and rationalistic. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the rivalry between the head and heart denominations was bitter. Gradually, during Mansfield's lifetime, the denominational rivalry on the Waldo Patent began to fade. During the 1840s, the experimental denominations joined with the rationalistic Congregational and Unitarian churches in condemning slavery. In this period, Methodist and Baptist churches were becoming more formal and institutionalized while the Congregational church joined the Methodists' and Baptists' evangelical fervor. Especially in 1843, when the Millerites believed Christ would begin the Judgment, the Congregationalists joined their Methodist and Baptist brethren in a great inter-
denominational awakening (Williamson 303). Mansfield presented *The American Vocalist* to this religious community; the book was a response to the ecumenical spirit of the 1840s, but it was also a reaction against the growing institutionalization of the Methodist and Baptist churches.

The historical trends of the Waldo Patent during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries affected the religious communities as they affected the secular communities. The assimilation of the German and Scots-Irish communities, rise of land speculators and their failure to make the patent part of the downcountry Massachusetts culture, and the success of the agrarian, inordinately class-conscious plainfolk communities had parallels in the decline of the German and Scots-Irish churches, the short-lived dominance of the Congregational church, and the success of the Baptist, Methodist, and (after these churches had lost much of their relevance to the agrarian communities) Millerite churches. The ethnic diversity— with its attendant distinctive folkways—economic hardships, class strife and resulting prominence of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian political ideals, and finally religious revivalism were the salient characteristics of the patent through Mansfield's lifetime. The culture of the patent, like the culture of the Southern
plainfolk communities, was one of marginality: because the Methodists and Baptists directed their missions to these marginal communities they were successful in this region.

Although the Congregational church was established by Massachusetts law on the Waldo Patent until Maine became a state in 1820, it never captured the hearts of the majority of the region's residents (Pilsbury 7-8). It failed here partly because of the ethnic diversity of the region, and partly because of the political and social allegiances of the church. When Waldo had settled his patent he had cared little about the religious connections of his settlers. He was an absentee landlord and had designed his patent to be self-sufficient: he demanded no rent and no cultural conformity to the rest of Massachusetts. He was so successful that when his successors--General Knox and his creditors--became resident landlords, they found the culture set and the people resistent to their authority. When the land speculators began to resettle the land and claim it for the "standing order" at the end of the eighteenth century, they found opposition from the local ethnic churches: the Lutheran and Reformed churches among the Germans and the Presbyterian church among the Scots-Irish.
Between about 1765 and 1795, however, the Congregational church became the dominant religious force on the patent. During this period, the ethnic churches began to decline. In several parts of the patent--notably Waldoboro and Belfast--this was a natural part of the assimilation of the children and grandchildren of the original settlers. Jasper Stahl, the historian of Waldoboro, notes that the memberships of the Lutheran and Reformed churches declined because of those churches' failure to adapt to the needs of the younger generations. Particularly, the ministers and older church members refused to conduct services in English. The young German-Americans discovered that the Congregational church satisfied their desires for services in English as well as their social aspirations (Stahl 43).

In Belfast, the town's Presbyterians were glad to hear any preacher who would stop in the relatively remote settlement. The accounts by Belfast's various historians (Locke, Crosby, and Williamson) record no stories of factional disputes. The first preachers who visited the town were Presbyterian, but gradually Congregationalists took their places. Congregationalism, with its vestigial Calvinism, appealed to the Presbyterians. The church took hold because of its ability to remain relevant. At the end
of the eighteenth century, the church was rustic and
egalitarian, but as the town developed the church became more
dignified. William G. Crosby, an early settler and
eventually a Governor of Maine, recorded his memories of
Belfast's early religious life for Joseph Williamson to
include in his town history. He described the town's first
church, "We used first to go to meeting in Miller's barn on
this side of the river, & in James Patterson's on the E.
side; had rough boards for seats, & a high place built up for
the minister," (Williamson Papers). By 1818, the town had
built an imposing Federal-style church on the town common, on
a hill overlooking Belfast Bay--by this time the progressive
Belfasters had adopted Unitarianism.

Belfast was the exception, however: generally, the
decline of the ethnic churches and establishment of the
Congregational church divided communities and created
factional disputes which the towns still felt in Mansfield's
time. The most colorful instance of this took place in
Warren: here, the town accused the local minister, John
Urquhart, of bigamy. Urquhart was a prominent member of the
Salem Presbytery, which covered the coastal New England
states, and when the town proved its charges (the first Mrs.
Urquhart arrived in town and discovered her husband had
remarried) the presbytery fractured. Urquhart and his erstwhile defenders left the Presbyterian church, and the presbytery was crippled by the loss of membership (Eaton, 1851:184-8, 205-212). Warren officially adopted Congregationalism.

Still, the Congregational Church was unable to address the needs of the local yeomanry. Stephen Allen, the historian of the Methodist Maine Conference, notes that Congregationalism failed generally across Maine partly because its leaders preached Federalist politics to ostensibly republican audiences (2-3). The anti-Federalist fervor at the end of the eighteenth century was particularly strong on the Waldo Patent. The rise of the Methodist and Baptist societies on the patent spanned the period between Henry Knox's attempts to develop the land at the end of the Revolution and the passage of the Betterment Acts, in 1808, which established land-owners' rights to evict (with proper compensation) squatters.

Congregationalism failed in remote parts of the patent because it was not an evangelical denomination: with its centralized organization, Congregationalism did little to penetrate the inland settlements. By contrast, the Methodists and Baptists were ostensibly evangelists; those
churches found their greatest successes in towns which did not have a Congregational establishment. On the Waldo Patent, these towns were on the Muscongus Peninsula--Friendship and Cushing--and along the first range of hills west of the coastal settlements. The Twenty Associates' land--Hope, Appleton and Searsmont--as well as the Greene Plantation--Montville, Greene and Morrill--became Baptist, while Union became Methodist. In Warren, the town's confidence in its established clergy had been so shaken by the Urquhart scandal that it accepted the Congregational clergy with skepticism: eventually, the Baptist church became the dominant church there.

The Calvinistic Baptists were slow to establish themselves on the Waldo Patent. The first Baptist missionary to the region was Isaac Case, who established a church at Thomaston in 1784. This congregation was strengthened by disaffected members of the Congregational society in Warren in 1792 when a dispute over the Congregational meeting-house caused a split in that church. In 1798, the Bowdoinham Association sent a missionary named Andrew Fuller to minister to the Baptists in Barrettstown; he extended his mission to Warren. By 1800, the Warren Baptists were strong enough--with fifteen members--to apply for exemption from the
ministerial tax. Cyrus Eaton, in his history of Warren, notes the strife that the development the Baptist church caused:

Two religious parties were formed, the difference between which was widened by mutual prejudice and occasional collision; the one rejoicing in the clearness of head, the other in the warmth of heart, and each stigmatized the other's religion as learned coldness, or misguided fervor (288).

The Baptists developed a reputation for being subversive to the standing order, and for attracting "common people." For example, Paul Coffin, a Congregational minister who travelled throughout Maine at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, called the Baptists "superstitious, ignorant, and predestinarian," and wrote of a society of Baptists in western Maine:

Gideon Ford, much of a Baptist, talked with one of his sect with good temper, disputing for them as well as he could. . . . I said to him I do not wonder that common people are baptists, but I do wonder "that men of sense and learning are, since no passage of Scripture denies the church membership of infants, or proves the necessity or reality of dipping" (353).

It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Baptists--by this time "Free" Baptists--had claimed large portions of the Waldo Patent. In 1811, John Colby, a missionary from northeastern Vermont who at age twenty-four was already a veteran of preaching in Ohio, made a trip to the northwestern corner of the Waldo Patent--the towns of
Montville and Searsmont. In Colby's time, Montville had been relatively untouched by religious settlement. The town was noted for its poverty and opposition to land speculators: its distance from Belfast was social as well as geographical. Consequently, townspeople were eager to hear Colby. He inspired a revival: between November of 1811 and February of 1812, Colby, by his own count, baptized eighty-eight people in the town. Colby was noted for his devotion to the poor, and Mansfield attributed this stanza to him:

For lo, a heavenly voice I hear,  
"Go preach my gospel to the poor,  
Bid mourning souls on me believe,  
Bid all the world free grace receive" (1849:340).

In Montville, as elsewhere, Colby was noted for his music and inspiration of enthusiasm. He wrote, for example:

The people in Montville had about given me up,  
as I did not get into town on Saturday night, and concluded I should disappoint them. But all their doubts were dissolved, when they saw me approaching the large barn, where they were assembled. As I entered the assembly, I sang the following hymn:

Brethren we have met again;  
Let us join and pray and sing;  
We're alive, and Jesus reigns,  
Praise him, in the highest strains.

The glory of God rested on the people, and it was a solemn weeping, and rejoicing time with us all (Colby 135).

The Methodists established their first missions on the Waldo Patent in 1793. Their leader was Jesse Lee, a native of Brunswick, Virginia. Lee had been converted in the revival around Brunswick during the 1760s. He started to
preach in southern Virginia and North Carolina shortly after the Revolution, and when he brought Methodism to New England in the 1790s, it retained the flavor of his experience in the South. This was especially true in remote areas such as the Waldo Patent where Methodism resisted institutionalization and retained its egalitarian informality well into the nineteenth century.

Like Colby, Lee was an emotional preacher; indeed, he measured his success by the emotional response of the congregation. On the Amelia Circuit in Virginia in the winter of 1784, for example, he wrote:

On Sunday morning we had a happy love feast; at which time I wept much, and prayed earnestly that the Lord would take every evil temper and every wrong desire out of my heart and fill my soul with perfect love (Thrift 57).

Later, in Brunswick, Virginia, Lee wrote:

I spoke with many tears, and was very happy--the hearers wept greatly--it was a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. When I met the class, the people could hardly speak for weeping. It was a precious day to my soul. When I arose in the morning, I spent some time in walking about, meditating, and in earnest prayer. After a while I went into the woods and sat down, and began to reflect on what the Lord had done for my soul; and then began to think what He was still willing to do for me, till I wept before him. My cry was, "glory to God for ever;" he is the joy of my heart all the day long. . . (Thrift 58).

Lee's emotional style left its mark on the character of Methodism in eastern Maine. Barbara Copeland Wentworth
(1811-1890), a native of Cushing, remembered a camp-meeting "which could be heard for three miles distant, with Shouts as was common in those days (10)." She continued, "For years I did not attend meeting without hearing the shouting that made the church ring" (9). In 1851, Mansfield reflected Lee's ideals of emotional preaching and silent meditation in his obituary for Benjamin Jones.

Lee remained an ideal for Maine Methodists for more than a century. For example, Stephen Allen, the late nineteenth century historian of the Maine Conference, used Lee to point out the ideal characteristics of a Methodist preacher:

He went among strangers, preaching, singing and praying, in barns, school-houses, or in the open air, wherever he could obtain an audience; forming classes whenever two or three were willing to unite with the society. Lee and many other of the early itinerants were good singers; and the admirable lyrics of Charles Wesley were used by them, with wonderful effect. The wretched doggerel so much used at the present time, in our social meetings, had not then come into fashion. Lee's impassioned sermons, fervid prayers and grand singing drew crowds to hear him. His genial manners and ready wit, made him an agreeable guest in the families of the people, especially in the rural neighborhoods (1886:10).

Supporting Lee's legendary position in the history of Maine Methodism, Allen gives us an anecdote about his horsemanship:

Lee was a man of vigorous physique, imposing presence and great power of endurance. In weight, almost two hundred and fifty pounds. In traveling, he rode horse-back, and like most other circuit riders of those times, he was a skillful horseman.
In most of his travels, two horses were required for his use: each for a relay, when the other became fatigued. The horses were trained so that they would come to him at his call; and each would follow the other. So completely did the horses understand their duty, that if any person attempted to frighten away the companion horse, the indignant animal, with a show of teeth and heels, would drive away the intruder, and the itinerant rode on without further molestation (10).

Finally, an illustration of Lee's status in the Methodist culture of the region was the first Methodist church built in Maine—in Readfield, northwest of Augusta—which in the 1930s was renamed the "Jesse Lee United Methodist Church."

Lee claimed the Penobscot River and Bay for Methodism in 1795. He established stations along the Penobscot, from Union, south of Penobscot Bay to Castine at the eastern edge of the bay and north to Orono and appointed Joshua Hall to ride this large circuit. Between 1795 and his death in 1862, Hall was a tremendously important figure in Methodism in eastern Maine. Especially in later years, his chief importance was that he gave continuity to the Maine and East Maine Conferences. Even in Mansfield's time "Father" Hall (as his brethren in the conference affectionately called him) was the only minister who had preached in Maine continuously since the days of Jesse Lee. His role, increasingly, became one of exhorting his brethren to think of the Methodist spirit as it had been planted in Maine by Lee. At the
Northport camp-meeting of 1852, for example, he "exhorted...[the audience] to keep to the old landmarks" (Belfast, Republican Journal, September 16, 1853). In this late period he delighted in telling of his first trip to the Penobscot Circuit—in newspaper accounts and in Williamson's history of Belfast there are three versions of the story. The Belfast Progressive Age recorded this version of the story in an account of the proceedings of the East Maine Conference of 1857:

Arriving in a vessel at Broad Bay (now Waldoboro) with his horse, the same year, he preached his first sermon on Union Common, and thence he passed through Barretttown [sic] (now Hope) and Canaan (now Lincolnville) where he preached, and followed the road, indicated by spotted trees, to Belfast, he preached in the Frothingham house—then occupied by the Millers' [sic]. He was ferried across Belfast river, swimming his horse after him. Wending his way through the wilderness to Buckstown (Bucksport) he there crossed the river by fastening two canoes together, and sharing the room with his bestial companion and the ferryman. Hence he passed on to the settlements along the river as far as Bangor, and penetrated the wilds of Maine as far north as the early pioneers had erected their rude cabins. In most of the settlements he visited, he organized societies, and went on his way rejoicing as a true evangelist (May 28, 1857).

The egalitarian spirit of Jesse Lee's Methodism survived in the East Maine Conference until the Civil War partly because of Hall's prominence.

One of Hall's "old landmarks" of Methodism was the institution of the camp-meeting. Camp-meetings had been
popular in Maine since the first decade of the nineteenth century, within several years of the first meetings in Kentucky. The first recorded camp-meetings on the Waldo Patent took place in 1826 and 1827 in the town of Union. At various times during the first half of the nineteenth century Methodist societies organized camp-meetings along the coast as far east as Mount Desert and even Eastport.

With the formation of the East Maine Conference in 1848, the presiding elders of the new conference organized a conference-wide camp-meeting, held first on Isleboro, and in 1849 and after, in Northport. These meetings survived until 1933, after the Maine and East Maine Conferences had reunited. The trustees of the Northport camp-meeting named their ground "Wesleyan Grove." They selected a natural amphitheater in which the congregation could see, behind the stand, the dramatic backdrop of Penobscot Bay, Isleboro, and Blue Hill. Surrounding the ground, members of the various societies which participated in the meeting erected wooden tent frames over which, during the meetings, they stretched white canvas. The Belfast Republican Journal of September 16, 1853, described that year's meeting:

A hushed audience of five thousand persons, the tents around with the different names upon them, the fleet of steamboats and vessels off the point, the moving of wind through the trees, in the
intervals made by an impressive speaker, suggested the swells of a mighty organ played by a master hand, mingled with the slight deep diapason of the sea, formed a scene of picturesque[sic] and beauty, calculated to strike agreeably the mind of the cultivated and the uncultivated person. Besides the religious impulse, the social sentiment which lead people to associate in masses, and which as a principle is destined to have such an important use, does a large share in bringing people together on such occasions.

Wesleyan Grove was a modern adaptation of an old tool. Its purpose was essentially the same as that of its predecessors: the salvation of souls. H. C. Tilton, a preacher who described the meeting of 1853 for the Republican Journal, noted, "Deep impressions were made. Many went from the ground to think most seriously respecting their religious state." The meetings, however, were part of modern Methodism: they became as much fashionable social outings as religious meetings. John Locke, a newspaper reporter for the Belfast Progressive Age noted:

The remark is often made, that one can find whoever they wish to, by going to the Northport Camp-meeting. It has become, in fact, the place of resort for those in this section who enjoy a religious, intellectual and social feast (September 15, 1859). Another of the "old landmarks" to which Hall referred was the political consciousness of Methodist ministers: the ministers were almost unanimously republican--first Jeffersonian, later Jacksonian, and finally radical. Hall himself followed these ideals passionately, and even
expressed them as state senator from Waldo County (Pilsbury 21). The political connection between Methodism and republicanism was, of course, controversial. During the 1850s, for example, the Maine Free Press, an organ of the conservative wing of the democratic party in Belfast ran articles with titles such as "Still Braying," condemning the political stance of Sullivan Bray, the Methodist preacher stationed at Camden (August 15, 1856). Bray, one of the most venerable preachers in the East Maine Conference, allied himself with the more radical abolitionists, disobeying the advice of the General Conference to refrain from agitating for the abolition of slavery. The East Maine Conference generally stood behind Bray, and in 1852 passed a strongly worded resolution against the Fugitive Slave Act (Conference Minutes 22-3).

What were the doctrinal concerns of Mansfield and his brethren? Methodist doctrine had remained unchanged since the denomination had developed during the 1780s: the "Articles of Religion" published in the Methodist Discipline of 1845 were identical to those published in the first discipline in 1798. The "Articles of Religion" listed Methodist doctrines beginning with the Holy Trinity and
defining "the Word, or Son of God" and the Holy Ghost within that concept (1845:9). The articles defined the Methodist beliefs in the "sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation," Original Sin, Justification by Faith, the denial of Free Will, and the belief that man could "fall into sin after justification." They defined the Church as "a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered according to Christ's ordinance. . . ." The Methodists believed in only two Sacraments: Baptism and the "supper of the Lord." They denied the other sacraments stating that they grew "out of the corrupt following of the Apostles" (1845:8-19).

One of the clearest delineations of Methodist doctrine as it applied to the East Maine Conference was the discourse which L. L. Knox preached in memory of D. H. Mansfield before the annual conference in 1855. Knox used the example of Mansfield's life to review Methodist ideals and doctrines for the Conference, particularly what he called, "the great doctrines of duty, death and destiny" (13). These three doctrines proceeded one from another: death was the central point, separating man from his time of probation when he can answer God's call, and preparing him for the final judgement. About the doctrine of duty, Knox wrote:
By far the majority of our race utterly ignore that high department of their nature which raises them up to celestial relations, and gives a fearful import to the ideas of duty and retribution. Men will not give heed to that great truth, made so clear to us both by the philosophy of the human mind and by the word of God, that responsibility is an essential element of their nature (3).

The "child of God," Knox explained, answered God's call to duty (Mansfield, of course was an example of this first group); by contrast, sinners ignored this call. Knox continued, explaining death first to the sinner and second to the "child of God." He showed that death to the unredeemed was a frightening experience:

To the child of God death is quite another thing. The darkness is all on the earthly side of death: the other shore is radiant with inviting glories. All the attachments of the soul are thither; its eye and heart turn longingly towards heaven, for its friends are there or on their way, its treasures, its home are there (7).

Finally, Knox presented a picture of the resurrection, showing how God will reconstruct people's bodies and minds. He described how the "dissolved and inanimate elements will be gathered up, and the body will be reconstructed" in a perfect form, without blemishes, how the intellect will be restored, "sufficient to endow it with a perfect power to retain, and perfect a readiness to bring forth every thought and impression which had ever been experienced" (11). Thus, Knox continued, at the resurrection, man will be able to comprehend his entire time in earthly probation:
And the mind of man, with its enlarged capacities, grasps the whole; the quickened memory retains the whole--forever. With this great increase of mental capacity, and this inconceivable augmentation of knowledge, man begins the career of his eternal destiny, body and intellect both fitted for an exalted sphere of action and enjoyment (11).

With his perfect body, the sinner, bound to hell, will understand with unbearable poignancy the lost opportunities for salvation. Knox concluded this description of the resurrection by noting that the "moral nature of man" experiences none of the changing powers that perfected the body and intellect. Saints would remain saints, and sinners would remain sinners: each had already chosen his destiny.

Mansfield was zealous in his love of the old landmarks of Methodism, but he was a member of a larger ecumenical community. By his adulthood, the denominations on the patent recognized their common goals: particularly, they were united in their social and political ideals, in their support of temperance and the abolition of slavery. During the years preceding the Civil War, the conservative Republican Journal and the Maine Free Press took strong anti-clerical stances because of every denomination's condemnation of slavery. In Belfast, this ecumenical spirit reached at least as far back as 1843, for Joseph Williamson, one of the town's historians, wrote of a religious revival in that year which swept all the denominations (303). During the 1850s, the trustees of the
Wesleyan Grove camp-meeting ground expressed the ecumenicism by allowing other denominations to use their land.

Where do Mansfield and his tunebook fit into the religious culture of the Waldo Patent? Mansfield united several divergent spiritual strains in his book: the modern, non-denominational religious trends of the middle of the nineteenth century, old Congregationalism, and the traditions of the egalitarian and uninstitutionalized Methodists and Baptists. But it was his devotion to the last strain which made his book unique: while there were at least two other books--The Cumberland Collection and Ancient Harmony Revived--published during the same period in Maine that sought to preserve the music of "Puritanic New England," the Vocalist appears to have been the only book which preserved the Methodist and Baptist revival music of the region.

The Methodist and Baptist movements were successful because of their ministry to the poor and because of their rejection of the genteel formalism of the Congregational church: the hymns that Mansfield recorded were popular for the same reasons as the denominations that used them. The folk hymns that Mansfield recorded were both evangelical tools and the expressions of faith by the experimental religious movement on the patent. Mansfield compiled his
book at a critical time in the history of Methodism on the patent. He preserved the music which expressed the early ideals of the experimental denominations at a moment when these groups were changing rapidly and were in danger of losing touch with their spiritual roots. This was especially true of Methodism, a product of the late-eighteenth-century revivalism of southern Virginia. The split between the Northern and Southern bodies of the church in 1844 and the subsequent increasing institutionalization of the Northern church threatened the basic identity of the Methodists of eastern Maine. The musical and religious need that Mansfield filled was to remind the members of his communities of the simple, anti-formalistic spirit of what the folk hymnists called "pure religion."
Chapter FIVE: The American Vocalist: Publication and Contents

In his preface to The American Vocalist, D. H. Mansfield wrote that his aim was, "to preserve in a single volume, the most valuable music now in existence; much of which had been crowded from our churches, by the soulless and unmeaning harmony of the present." He allied himself with two complementary movements in religious music in New England: the conservative, nationalistic movement that was a reaction against efforts by Lowell Mason and others to instill European tastes and pedagogy into American music, and the camp-meeting movement. Mansfield recognized his debt to Mason's progressive musical community--especially in his pedagogy--and he included enough of its music to make his collection representative, but the thrust of his book was toward the old, indigenous styles which Mason's community threatened to destroy. Mansfield wanted to compile a book that was representative of American musical tastes but also of the American religious spirit: he saw this as pious, democratic, emotional, and non-formalistic. Musically, he
found this spirit in the church music of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—from English composers such as Aaron Williams and William Tans'ur and from American composers such as William Billings, Daniel Read, and Abraham Maxim—in popular vestry music, and in camp-meeting spirituals. He wanted to represent every denomination from the Congregationalists at the institutionalized end of the spectrum, to the Methodists and Baptists in the middle, and to the Millerites and Shakers at the uninstitutionalized end. The strength of his collection, as his title page proclaimed, was that it embraced "a greater variety of music . . . than any other collection extant."

Mansfield wanted his "singing book" to be a standard collection. Because of this he wanted to get the book into a final form and leave it unchanged. He published only two editions, the first in the fall of 1848, and the second a year later. The first edition contained 352 tunes. In the first year, it sold about 16,000 copies. This success encouraged Mansfield to enlarge and refine the book without substantially altering the variety of its contents. He omitted one camp-meeting spiritual and several texts, and added 171 tunes. He also moved several hymns from the first to the second section and vice versa, and added his initials
to thirteen hymns which he had composed. Once he had made his additions and corrections, he was satisfied with the collection, and announced that he would make no further changes.

During the two years in which Mansfield's publishers released the *Vocalist*, the compiler lived in Belfast, Maine: the town's newspaper, the *Republican Journal*, announced the new singing book enthusiastically:

Although we do not pretend to a critical knowledge of musical language, yet we do confess to a love of music. We have before us a collection of church music, prepared by Rev. D. H. Mansfield, which we deem really worthy of the attention and patronage, not only of the religious community, but all that numerous class who love music for its own sake (November 3, 1848).

Announcing the revised edition, the same paper ran the following article and advertisement for the hymnal:

THE AMERICAN VOCALIST, by Rev. D. H. Mansfield: Boston, Wm. J. Reynolds & Co., 27 Cornhill.--We would direct the attention of singers and those interested in this beautiful and important part of religious worship, to the above work. The first issue of the Vocalist met a cordial reception at the hands of the public,--so completely so, as to warrant an additional effort for their further gratification. In the revised edition are added 171 beautiful tunes not in the first edition. The book is in three parts, and Mr. Mansfield has employed his excellent taste in placing in each part that music which is best adapted to a particular branch of worship. That portion of our new and fashionable music which a just taste would reject as worthless, has been thrown out; and we are happy to notice that in the first part, adapted to church service, are preserved the finest
compositions of the masters of the German and Italian schools,—Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Pleyel, Mazzinghi, Weber, Neukomm, Cherubini, Giardini, Radiger, Venna, Burgmeller [sic], Malan, Wiesenthal, Wartense, De Pinna, &c., whose music is always the representation of idea, and has a meaning, and is as much worship as words can be. In the second part, adapted to vestry worship, are to be found those more stirring pieces, in which there is a beautiful adaptedness between the words and the airs, which are the finest English, Scottish, Irish, Spanish, and Italian Songs, arranged for four voices. Throughout the book, a whole hymn, instead of a verse is set to a tune. In the work is also a plain and concise System of Elementary Instruction, which is particularly adapted to Singing Schools, Musical Societies, and Choirs. The work may be had at Washburn's and Caldwell's, or of Mr. Mansfield.

A New Singing Book!

THE AMERICAN VOCALIST,
BY REV. D. H. MANSFIELD.

PUBLISHED a few months since, has had a most rapid sale. The Revised Edition is enlarged by the addition of 171 choice tunes, and it now contains more than any other collection. It is divided into three parts, all of which are embraced in one volume, and is designated for the church, the vestry, and the parlor.

PART I. consists of Church Music, old and new, and contains the most valuable productions of Billings, Holden, Maxim, Read, Holyoke, Edson, Kimball, Morgan, Pool, Belknap, West, Wood, Swan, &c., and eminent American Authors now living,—Mason, Webb, Woodbury, White, Kingsley, &c., &c., &c.,—as well as of the most distinguished European composers. . . , in all 330 Church Tunes, adapted to every variety of metre found in the Hymn Books, used by all the religious denominations in the country, besides a large number of Anthems and select pieces for special occasions.

PARTS II. AND III. contain all that is valuable of the Vestry Music now in existence, consisting of the most popular Revival Melodies,
and the most admired English, Scottish, Irish, Spanish, and Italian songs, arranged for four voices, expressly for this work, and accompanied with appropriate sacred poetry, embracing in a single volume more than 500 tunes adapted to every occasion of public and social worship, and containing nearly all the gems of music that have been composed within the last 500 years, and a large number of tunes never before published, the whole designed as a standard in every department of Sacred Harmony.

The poetry would fill a large volume, a whole hymn being set to a tune instead of a single verse. It contains, also, a plain and concise System of Elementary Instruction, and is particularly adapted to Singing Schools, Musical Societies, and Choirs.

MR. MANSFIELD has been a teacher of Vocal Music for eighteen years, has travelled extensively in all the Northern and Middle States, and has spared no pains or expense to make himself acquainted with the kind of music demanded for popular use in this country. No alteration will be made in future editions (November 30, 1849).

The public's reception of the book was spirited. After the first year of healthy sales, the book continued to sell well: 40,000 copies by 1853, and a total of about 100,000 copies over about twenty years (Conference Minutes, 1853:33 and Wiggin:62). Probate records relating to Mansfield's orphan daughters show an average annual earning of about $250 through the Civil War. W. J. Reynolds, the publisher of the revised edition, published an advertising leaflet with unsolicited praises for the book (the American Antiquarian Society preserves a copy from a bookseller in Richmond, Virginia). These recommendations showed the ecumenical appeal of the Vocalist as well as its success across northern
New England. For example, Samuel Souther, Mansfield's Congregational colleague in Belfast wrote:

Much of the Vestry Music is entirely new to me. On a single opening, in the Second Part of the book, I have found on the two pages before me, more true, heart-subduing harmony, than it has been my fortune to find in some whole Collections, that have made quite a noise in the world.

Richard Woodhull, the Congregational minister at Thomaston, wrote:

It is just what I have been wishing to see for several years. Those old tunes--they are so good, so fraught with rich harmony, so adapted to stir the deep feelings of the heart, they constitute a priceless treasure of Sacred Song, unsurpassed by the best compositions of more modern times.

Joseph C. Aspenwall, an occasional member of the Maine Conference then (1849) stationed in Springfield, Vermont, noted the book's popularity in northwestern New England:

It is my opinion, that the AMERICAN VOCALIST is decidedly the best Tune Book, ever used in New England. It has been introduced extensively in this vicinity since published, and has in every instance given excellent satisfaction. The old people receive the tunes as they would an old acquaintance and friend; and the attention of the young is arrested by their grandeur and novelty.

Finally, Mansfield received praises from Henry Little, a fellow singing master and Methodist local preacher from Bucksport, Maine. Little had compiled the Wesleyan Harmony, and had published it in two editions in 1820 and 1821. Little, living less than twenty miles from Belfast and having compiled the only specifically Methodist tunebook to be used
in Maine from 1820 through the time of the Vocalist, was doubtless a great musical influence for Mansfield, and his praises were significant:

From my heart I thank you, for your excellent arrangement of those sweet Melodies, to many of which sacred poetry is now, for the first time, adapted. It is the best Collection of Church Music I have ever seen, and it embraces the only complete collection of Vestry Music that has ever been published. I am glad that it is not a sectarian work. I hope that it may be used in every denomination in the United States.

Mansfield was not unique in his efforts to preserve the music of "Puritanic New England"; indeed, he was part of a growing movement that was reacting against the new music movement led by Lowell Mason and the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston. This movement began as early as the 1830s and lasted through the 1850s and 1860s, when Father Kemp turned it into popular entertainment with his "Old Folks Concerts."

The earliest collection I have found devoted to preserving "ancient harmony" was The New Hampshire Collection, compiled by Henry E. Moore (brother of the musical lexicographer John Weeks Moore) in 1832. The Cumberland Collection, compiled by Benjamin Sweetser, was another such book, published in Portland in 1839, the same year the Portland Sacred Music Society, a self-consciously Pestalozzian club, published its own progressive collection. In 1849, The American Vocalist was one of three collections devoted to old music announced
in the Belfast Republican Journal: the other two were
*Ancient Harmony, Revived*, (the second edition) published in
Hallowell and Boston, and *The Antiquarian*, compiled by
Leonard Marshall and published in Boston.

The *Vocalist* differed from *Ancient Harmony, Revived* and
*The Antiquarian* in its utilitarian approach. Mansfield hoped
to revive nothing, nor did he select tunes simply because
they were old: he selected tunes for their worth and
timelessness. He published modern tunes but tried to keep
them in balance with the rest of the work: if he under-
represented these tunes, he did so because he considered them
inferior. For example, he wrote in the preface to the
*Vocalist*:

> In every part of the United States, even where new
> music is sung in the public congregation because it
> is fashionable, let any one mingle with the devout
> worshippers of God in their social meetings, and he
> will hear—not the scientific gingling of imported
discord, but the simple harmony of old "Turner,"
"Northfield," the "Union Hymn," or something that
moves the hearts of good men, if it does not tickle
the fastidious fancy of infidels (ii).

Mansfield's approach to old music was the opposite of Lowell
Mason's. He wrote that "no publisher dares to issue a
collection of sacred music without inserting enough of it
[the old repertory], say, just to preserve his book" (ii).
Mason did this, grudgingly, calling the old tunes "ballast to
a ship." In the *Carmina Sacra* he placed his emphasis on the
"many new tunes, embracing specimens from distinguished composers of the present day in Europe" (3).

Mansfield organized the first section of the Vocalist according to metre. Within this basic outline he mixed tunes of several categories: the solemn, old tunes from English and German sources that predated the tunes by eighteenth-century American composers; the tunes by Billings, his contemporaries and imitators; the genteel European hymnody which Mason and his community imported and imitated; and a miscellaneous group which included tunes from folk sources. In the first category, he included tunes attributed to Martin Luther (including the erroneous attribution of "Old Hundred" according to the custom of the time) and one attributed to John Huss, the pre-Reformation founder of the Unitas Fratrum. He drew a larger number from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English composers, Thomas Ravenscroft, William Tans'ur, and Aaron Williams, whose tunes Daniel Bailey had first published in this country in 1771 in two books titled the American Harmony (Bailey, 1771 and Moore, 1853:761).

The strength of the first section of the Vocalist was its body of early American hymns by the composers whom Mansfield listed on his title page: "Billings, Holden, Maxim, Edson, Holyoke, Read, Kimball, Morgan, Wood, Swan..."
Among these he included tunes rare in other collections; Phillips Barry noted that William Billings's "Vermont" was such a tune (although Mansfield may have found this in the *Temple Harmony*, compiled by Japheth Washburn of China, Maine, in 1818, (Flanders 1939:1). The highlight of this section of the book, however—and one of the characteristics that made it similar to its Southern contemporaries—was Mansfield's liberal use of fuging tunes. The Methodist *Discipline* discouraged the use of these tunes in worship because to sing them properly demanded a select chorus (1845:80). Henry Little, in his *Wesleyan Harmony*, compiled in Bucksport, Maine, in 1820, avoided fuging tunes, as did his more elite predecessor Samuel Holyoke. Mansfield, however, ignored the Methodist dislike of fuging tunes and included thirty-seven of them in the first edition and fifty-eight in the revised edition. A glance through the *Southern Harmony*, *Social Harp*, and *New Harp of Columbia* reveals that sixteen of the fuging tunes in the *Vocalist* also appear in at least one of the Southern books. (These are: "America," "Delight," "Devotion," "Edom," "Exhortation," "Greenfield," "Greenwich," "Heavenly Vision," "Lenox," "Lisbon," "Milford," "North Salem," "Northfield," "Ocean," "Solitude New," and "Sutton New." ) Mansfield attributes eight of the fuging tunes to
Abraham Maxim, the early nineteenth century composer from central Maine. The fuging tunes, and the non-fuging tunes of the early composers from New England are the backbone of Mansfield's identity as a representative of old New England hymnody. The fuging tunes were the marginal repertory of New England. Disliked by the elite musical community for being both "jingling" and trendy, and by the democratic religious communities for being elite, they lived a short life in New England, ignored between about 1820 and the 1840s, when the growing interest in old hymns led to their revival. Of course, the fuging tunes lived a long and healthy life among the shape-note communities of the upland South. They served different purposes in the South than in the North. In the South they were the apex of the singing master's craft, while in the North they became icons of a more pious age. They lived longer where they were part of a living tradition and not ostensibly statements of nostalgia and conservatism.

Mansfield did not compile the first section of the Vocalist to be folky. An illustration of this point is the distribution of gapped scales in the first part compared with that of the second and third: in the first section, about 69% of the hymns use seven-tone scales and only 25% percent use the five- and six-tone scales that Jackson noted were
defining characteristics of folk hymns (this count excludes the fuging tunes which were composed more for their harmony and counterpoint than for their melodies). In the second and third parts grouped together only 39% of the tunes use full Heptatonic scales and almost 57% of the tunes were built on the common gapped scales. Despite the relatively genteel character of the first section, eighteen of the tunes appear in George Pullen Jackson's collections of spiritual folksongs, and eight of those are in his list of the eighty most popular tunes in Southern tunebooks. Mansfield's tune "Voice of Mercy" (number seventeen on Jackson's "MPT list") appears in the Southern Harmony and the Social Harp as "King of Peace" (pages 6 and 59 respectively--Walker attributes his setting of the tune to Freeman Price, McCurry 263, Jackson 1933:136). Mansfield's tune "Joseph" is the melody for "Joseph and His Brethren," which Jackson found in the Southern book United States Harmony and also for "Kingfield," which Jackson found in the Original Sacred Harp--Mansfield included the text, for the first song in his first edition but omitted it when he made his revisions (Jackson 1937:166 and 1942:42). Two tunes which Jackson did not include in his collections but which are similar to other tunes which he did find are "Zurich," which Mansfield attributes to Carolan, and
"Rest," which appears on the page facing "Joseph." The phrasing patterns of both tunes are ABBA. Mansfield set "Joseph" and "Rest" to two funeral hymns by Charles Wesley ("How blest is our brother bereft" and "Hosanna to Jesus on high!"). "Joseph" is plaintive, while "Rest" is rousing, with its strong, Ionian melody underscoring its vision of the resurrection. The melody of the second hymn resembles ballad tunes, particularly the version of "The House Carpenter" (Child number 243) which Helen Hartness Flanders published in A Garland of Green Mountain Song (80-1).

While in the first section of the Vocalist Mansfield kept his own creative involvement to a minimum, in the second and third sections we see a strong personal stamp: we see his musical tastes and skill, religious concerns, and especially his sense of duty toward the folk communities from which he came and which he served. He transcribed tunes that he had heard and sung, set them to fresh harmonies, and joined them to texts. He told his intentions in his preface:

The Vestry music has been harmonized expressly for this work, and with the design of suiting the popular taste, and thus being useful, rather than of pleasing a few scientific ears, and thus being, in many instances, totally unfitted [sic] for general use. Some tunes, as well as poetry, have been admitted, not so much because they accord with the taste of the compiler, as with the belief, (and I beg the literati to consider this,) that they have been and will be useful to thousands of
illiterate persons, who know more of God's pardoning love, than of Mozart, Beethoven, or the British poets, and whose songs of praise are most assuredly acceptable to Him, though they should prefer the music of old "Canaan" to that of Haydn's "Creation" (ii).

About his transcriptions of folk tunes, he admitted, "a few tunes have been written from memory, the origin of which is uncertain." The result of Mansfield's sense of duty was that the second and third sections of the Vocalist are patently folky.

Like his shaping of the first section, Mansfield's efforts to preserve the vestry and revival music in the second and third sections reflected a larger community. The Vocalist joined books such as H. W. Day's Revival Hymns, Joshua Leavitt's Christian Lyre, and Abraham Merrill's Wesleyan Harmony. The difference between the Vocalist and these books was that The American Vocalist was not designed to serve a narrow market: it was not simply a revival singing book as Day's and Leavitt's books were, nor was it specifically "Wesleyan." It was a general-purpose singing book designed to meet the needs of a wide audience. Moreover, unlike Merrill's and Leavitt's books (Day's books were little more than pamphlets), but like the Southern books, Mansfield presented his tunes in the familiar oblong singing-book format, with each voice set on its own staff,
and the melody on the line above the bass. Mansfield conceded to Mason's innovations in voice leading, and called the top staff the tenor.

To examine the character of the tunes in the Vocalist, we can compare the characteristics of the repertory with those in two related bodies of religious folk song: George Pullen Jackson's collections, especially *Down-East Spirituals and Others*, and Daniel W. Patterson's *The Shaker Spiritual*. A comparison of the Vocalist and Jackson's *Down-East Spirituals and Others* reveals that the distribution of scales in Mansfield's book bears a general resemblance to that of the repertory Jackson presented. Because the Vocalist was not devoted entirely to folk material it includes a greater percentage of tunes using the Ionian mode than Jackson's material. Tunes in the Ionian mode represent 31% of Mansfield's repertory. The tunes that Jackson selected favored the Aeolian mode (about 17%). Mansfield preferred a hexatonic scale--A-B-C-D-E-G-a--to the Aeolian: this scale represents 12.9% of the tunes in the second and third parts of the book. Following these two scales we find another hexatonic scale, C-D-E-F-G-A-c, also with about 12.9% of the repertory, followed by the pentatonic scale, C-D-E-G-A-c, with 11.7%, C-D-E-G-A-B-c with 8.2%, Aeolian with 7.6%, C-D-
E-F-G-B-C with 6.4%, Pentachordal with 2.9%, A-C-D-E-G-a with 2.3%, Dorian, Hexatonic 2b each with 1.2%, and Hexatonic 3b, Pentatonic 4, and Tetrachordal each with .6% (one tune each).

If we omit the tunes ascribed to authors which Jackson did not find in his sources we have a total of 147 tunes in the group, thirty-seven of which are in the Ionian mode; the predominant gapped scales and the Aeolian scale become proportionally more significant. Jackson's repertory is similar except that in his tunes the Aeolian and Pentatonic scales predominate.

Jackson noticed in the Northern books he examined that the compilers tended to "minorize" their Aeolian, Dorian, and minor hexatonic and pentatonic scales. He suggested that this was due not to "a regional difference in folk-singing manner, but merely to a difference in the amount of editorial 'correcting' of tunes which the editors recorded from actual singing" (1942:9). Daniel W. Patterson in The Shaker Spiritual has shown Jackson's speculation was supported by that denomination's body of song. He writes of one Isaac N. Youngs, a member of the community at Lebanon, New York, who, because of his genteel musical sources, transcribed tunes using the harmonic minor. Youngs noted, however, that singers performed the tunes using the Aeolian and Dorian
modes, and wrote, "'there can be no positive rule given' concerning the position of semitones in the minor scale; 'a critical ear alone must determine'" (Patterson 22). Mansfield essentially agreed with Youngs's opinions. In his "Elements of Vocal Music" at the beginning of the Vocalist, he described, however, the melodic minor in which "ascending, six and seven are sharped, and the semitones occur between 2 and 3, and 7 and 8" (xii). In a footnote he described what Jackson calls a "minorized" dorian mode: "In many compositions the sixth descending must also be sharped, though no sign appears." Mansfield probably defined the melodic minor because Lowell Mason did, but Mason continued also to describe the more common harmonic minor (Carmina Sacra 25). Mansfield included only one tune in the second and third sections (his own "The Sure Guide") in which he sharped the ascending sixth, but he follows this tone with a natural seventh, placing the tune into the Dorian mode. Invariably, he presented his Aeolian tunes in the harmonic minor, and in a majority of cases his minor tunes did not use the sixth anyway. Like his Shaker and Southern brethren (Cobb also describes how Sacred Harp singers unconsciously restore Dorian melodies which the compilers had transcribed
using the Aeolian mode, 33-4), Mansfield accepted traditional practices more than musical formalism.

Patterson notes the importance of examining the relationship between tonal range and song type. He writes that in *Down-East Spirituals and Others*, religious ballads typically have a melodic range of a tenth or an eleventh while folk hymns have a smaller range than other Shaker song types. He notes that Shaker hymns typically have a wider tonal range. In the *Vocalist* octave ranges predominate in all categories of song. In religious narrative songs, 36.8% of the tunes have an octave range while 21.1% of the tunes have ranges of a ninth (major and minor) or an eleventh. Among the hymns we find that 31.3% of the tunes have an octave range. A range of a ninth again comes in second, with 22.1%, followed by a tenth with 17.5%, and by an eleventh with 10.7%. Spirituals have the tightest ranges: 52.4% have an octave range, 14.3% have a tenth, and ninths, elevenths, and sixths tie with 9.5% each. A comparison with a body of secular folk songs from northern New England, Helen Hartness Flanders's *Vermont Folk-Songs and Ballads*, reveals that the ranges of Mansfield's hymn tunes resemble those in that collection more closely than those either in Jackson's or Patterson's collections. Among the sixty tunes in Flanders's
collection, 23.3% have a range of an octave, followed by 22% with a range of a ninth, and 13.3% with that of a tenth.

Another indication of the folky character of the Vocalist is the phrase structure of the tunes. The collection favors tunes with repetitious phrases. About 26% of the tunes use the structure AABA. Patterson notes this pattern in Shaker long-phrase hymns and writes of the ways in which the Shaker singers gave variety to potentially monotonous songs (156). He writes that the Shakers would divide a musical phrase--corresponding to a sentence of text--in half, and that these half-phrase units were actually the building blocks of Shaker melodies. Mansfield also notated his tunes in half-phrase units, although his liberal use of repeat signs prevented him from varying these units. In barring his phrases, he divided tunes in two-measure (half-phrase) or four-measure increments, following either the text or the natural flow of the tune. We see this in the tunes such as "Hail, Sweetest, Dearest Tie" (a variant of "Cross of Christ") and "Child of Prosperity" (Jackson, 1937:91). Mansfield used heavy bars to divide the first tune into eight units (including repeats), corresponding to the text. As he barred the tune, it has the phrase structure ABABCC\textsuperscript{1}AB; the tune flows--and Walker presented it in this way--with the
simplified AABA structure (Walker 35). On the other hand, he presented "Child of Prosperity" with its phrases barred according to the way people actually sang the tune. The phrasing of the tune is difficult, and the rhythm resists its 6/8 notation. Mansfield printed the text with six lines to a stanza and two stanzas to four phrases of melody. The melody has natural breaks in the middle of each phrase: we can label its structure AB AB CD A\textsuperscript{1}B\textsuperscript{1} but Mansfield correctly bars it AABA\textsuperscript{1}.

Many of the tunes in the Vocalist follow traditional forms, and it is not surprising that we find almost half (eighty-one out 171) of the tunes in the second and third sections in George Pullen Jackson's collections of spiritual folk songs. Some of the Vocalist's more common tunes (such as "Star in the East" and "O Thou in Whose Presence My Soul Takes Delight") appear in identical or almost identical forms in other books that Jackson drew on for his collections, while others may share only a single phrase or a general melodic affinity.

The Vocalist is one of the few Northern tunebooks which Jackson did not examine (S. Hubbard's and William McDonald's Wesleyan Sacred Harp and The Harmoniad by Asa Fitz are others): Jackson identified books from which Mansfield could
have drawn and one which could have drawn from Mansfield. In particular, Mansfield could have used Ingalls's *Christian Harmony*, Leavitt's *Christian Lyre*, Day's *Revival Hymns*, Merrill's *Wesleyan Harmony*, and Himes's *Millenial Harp*. In turn, Hillman, in his *Revivalist* could have used the *Vocalist* as a source; moreover, William Hauser, in the *Olive Leaf* gave the *Vocalist* as the source for his setting of "What Heavenly Music Do I Hear" (Jackson, 1942:250).

Some of the tunes which the *Vocalist* shares with other Northern books appear in variant forms. Mansfield admitted that he transcribed some tunes from memory (although unlike Hauser, he admitted to no collecting): he preserved local variants of popular revival hymns. We find several variants of melodies in Ingalls's *Christian Harmony*. For example, Mansfield's tune, "Keyes" is a variant of Ingalls's "Soldier of the Cross," while Mansfield's tune "The Pilgrim Stranger" appeared in a variant form in the *Christian Harmony* as "Wandering Pilgrim." Leavitt's, Day's, and Merrill's books were all published closer in time to Mansfield's, and except for the first, were compiled by New Englanders. Mansfield appears to have drawn songs from these books directly, not always depending on his own or others' memories. The *Revivalist*, published in Troy, New York almost twenty years
after the Vocalist, contains interesting examples of folk hymns recorded in different periods and parts of the Northeast. For example, Mansfield's distinctive, Dorian tune, "Go When the Morning Shineth" is related in a general and distant way to Hillman's "Glory in My Soul," while Mansfield's "The Mountain Calvary," appears in the Revivalist with the same text and a closely related tune as do "O Tell Me No More," and "Better Days Are Coming." Moreover, in about ten instances melodies appear in identical forms in the Vocalist and the Revivalist. An interesting example of this is Hillman's setting of a tune which appears in the Vocalist as "Victory" and in the Revivalist as "Christian's Triumph." Mansfield printed the tune in 6/8, but Jackson found the tune in the Revivalist printed in common time. Jackson corrected it to match, unknowingly, Mansfield's setting (Jackson, 1952a:97).

The correlation of the tunes in the Vocalist with those in Jackson's collections illustrates the strength of the Northeastern folk-hymn tradition beyond the geographical and chronological limits he defined in Another Sheaf of White Spirituals (on his mapped, the dotted line showing the tradition between 1750 and 1810 includes southern and western Maine, but stops short of the "mid-coast"), but correlations
with his Southern material suggest a stronger tie between Northern and Southern material than he was prepared to admit (1952a:xiii). Some of Mansfield's tunes that were common in Southern books were also published in contemporary Northern books. These tunes include "Nettleton," "Star in the East," "The Lord Into His Garden Comes," "Pisgah," (see especially "Lord! remember me" in the Millenial Harp, part 1:42), and "The Bower of Prayer" (a song composed by Thomas Ormsby of Bradford, Vermont, and transported south, McKeen 355, 438).

There are, however, some more distantly related tunes which show a more subtle relationship between the traditions. One of these tunes is "Hail Sweetest, Dearest Tie," which Mansfield attributed to William F. Farrington (a friend, mentor, and fellow member of the Maine and East Maine Conferences) but which William Walker, in The Southern Harmony, attributes to L. P. Breedlove (Walker 35). Similarly, Mansfield set a text by John Colby, a Baptist missionary who had converted communities in Mansfield's region of Maine, to a variant of "Supplication," also in the Southern Harmony and number one on Jackson's "Most Popular Tunes" list (1933:133). Further, Jackson found Mansfield's "Gloom of Autumn" in the Hesperian Harp as "Babylon" and in the Southern Harmony and Social Harp as "Mouldering Vine"
He found "O Come, Come Away" in the 1859 edition of the *Sacred Harp* (1952a:188), "The Voyage" in *Good Old Songs* as "Arise My Soul" (1942:184) and "Sinner, Can You Hate the Savior" in the *Original Sacred Harp* as "Pleading Savior" (1937:126). Mansfield's "Saint's Adieu to Earth" appears distantly related (by its 6/8 rhythm and emphasis on the fifth and sixth degrees of the scale) to "You Must Be Bornd Agin" (1952a:15).

We also see some interesting Northern and Southern fragmentary variants in Mansfield's camp-meeting spirituals. Typically, Mansfield set the verses and choruses of his spirituals in different tempos and even different time signatures. These spirituals, like many Northern and Southern spirituals, often borrowed their verses from other hymns. The tunes which correspond to the verses are usually slow, often in "triple measure" (his term, iv), while the choruses are set in a faster tempo, in "double," "quadruple," or "sextuple measure." An example of this melodic and textual borrowing is Mansfield's "The Decision," built on Cennick's "Jesus My All to Heaven Has Gone." The first line of the music, repeated twice for the couplet, is a variant of "Deep Spring," number seven on Jackson's "MPT" list (1933:134). The spiritual states this melodic theme in 3/4;
the rhythm alternates half- and quarter-notes. The chorus joins in after the couplet: it is set in 4/4 and built on eight-notes. Moreover, we find the verse melody of "When We Pass Over Jordan" in three versions in two of Jackson's collections including one from the Denson revision of the Original Sacred Harp and one from William Hauser's Olive Leaf (1942:213, 252 and 1952a:153). Like the song above, the tempo of the melody changes the verse and the chorus: this song remains in 4/4 but while the verse uses mostly quarter-notes, the chorus uses eighth-notes. "Better Days Are Coming," which later appeared in the Revivalist, appears as "Great Day" in the Original Sacred Harp, "Tilton" appears in the Olive Leaf as "Shout Old Satan's Kingdom Down," "The Old Ship of Zion" appears in the Hesperian Harp (Jackson's "B" form of the tune), and "At the Judgment Seat" appears in the Olive Leaf as "There Will Be Mourning" (1952a:38, 1937:179, 1942:265, 1937:211, and 1937:186) Finally, Mansfield included an interesting variant of "Royal Proclamation," a common Southern revival hymn (although I think because of the rhythmic change between the verse and the chorus--and changes from a two-voice to a four-voice harmonization--Mansfield thought of it as a camp-meeting spiritual) first published by Ananias Davison in the Supplement to The Kentucky Harmony,
in 1820. The song is interesting because although it shares the text both to the verse and chorus, its melody, except for the general contour of the first phrase, ascent and descent from the upper octave in the third and fourth phrases, and distinctive chorus, had changed to be almost unidentifiable. Mansfield did not even use the same rhythm: he smoothed Davisson's dotted quarter-note rhythm into an even quarter and eighth-note rhythm (Jackson, 1937:111-2, Patterson:152).

From the variant forms of folk spirituals that we find in both the Vocalist and Jackson's canon, we can establish the position of this book within an already defined tradition, but it is the tunes which we do not find in Jackson that help us to enlarge our understanding of that tradition, both geographically and in terms of the size of its repertory. Mansfield included as many as sixty tunes which Jackson did not find in his sources but which clearly follow the same melodic formulas as the rest of his canon. We find, for example, four tunes in the "Lazarus" tune family: "On the Death of a Child," "Sweet was the Time," "The Impartial Song," and "Child of Prosperity." Among this group we also find the same assortment of gapped scales as in Jackson's sources, particularly the major Pentatonic and
Hexatonic scales (those missing the fourth and seventh tones), and the Hexatonic 2A scale.

One of the interesting features at the beginning of the second section of the Vocalist is Mansfield's use of contemporary popular musical forms. "Go Worship at Emmanuel's Feet," for example, is a polka tune, while "Thou Knowest That I Love Thee," with its 6/8 time signature and dotted rhythm, is reminiscent of a quadrille tune. Similarly, "Compassion," with the same type of rhythm as well as its chromatic turn in the first phrase, is another example of a quadrille. These tunes are noted for their prominent use of leading tones, a feature, which in Mansfield's as in Southern books, is notably lacking in the more archaic tunes. Two related tunes, "My Mother's Last Gift" (which the Wesleyan Sacred Harp credits to "Morris") and "The Great Physician" share these popular characteristics. The latter, however, lacks a leading tone. Finally, "O Fly to Their Bowers" with its jaunty 6/8 rhythm and liberal use of leading tones and subdominants, has a distinctive mid-nineteenth-century flavor.

Mansfield's last major addition to our body of spiritual folk songs is "The Gospel Is Lovely," which he labeled "A Shaker tune" (338). On the facing page he printed the Shaker
text, "The old Israelites knew what it was the must do" set to an interesting member of the "Lazarus" tune family. Although Mansfield only credited the first song to the Shakers, his juxtaposition of the two suggests that he paired them intentionally. Jackson found "The Old Israelites" in George W. Henry's *The Golden Harp*, published in Auburn, New York in 1855 and commented, "This is apparently the only occurrence of the above ballad text in American songlore," (1942:48-9). He was apparently unaware of the *Vocalist*, probably the later compiler's source, as well as the occurrences of the text in at least two words-only songsters. "The Gospel is Lovely" appears to have stopped with the *Vocalist*. Daniel W. Patterson notes that the tune "is a garbled version of a tune known to Sister Mildred [Barker]," a member of the Sabbathday Lake community (545). The tune is notable for its 6/8 meter, constructed with triple groups of eighth-notes (4 4). It uses the common pentatonic scale, C-D-E-G-A-c, and its range—that of a major sixth—is uncommonly narrow. The song, with its driving rhythm and narrow, repetitious melody is unique in the book.

In his study of the *Sacred Harp*, Buell E. Cobb describes the singing style in that tradition. He writes that the printed page accounts for only a part of the *Sacred Harp*
sound, that singers unconsciously restore tunes to their traditional forms, and that common sense often overrides printed instruction (40-45). In the North we have no comparable living tradition. I have found no evidence that the Vocalist was used after the 1890s. In its day, however, the Vocalist was part of a larger tradition. From suggestions in his "Remarks" and in the songs themselves we have clues that the singing styles of people who used the Vocalist were similar to the styles that Cobb describes. We have already seen that Mansfield believed common sense had to govern the performance of minor tunes. Further, Mansfield wrote that he had pitched each tune, "where it can generally be performed with the greatest effect," but that "the tune must be keyed to suit the singers." Cobb notes that Sacred Harp singers also consider the printed pitches to be relative guides (40). Cobb also writes that the Sacred Harp sound--the restoration of traditional styles--comes not from the printed page but from the traditional elements that the singers add to (and the "rhythmic impediments" that they subtract from) the music (44-5, also Jackson, 1933:116, Patterson:27-30). Mansfield believed that singers could not effectively perform a song directly from the printed page; his book was an educational, not a performance, tool:
Every singer should have a tune book; but he ought to commit so thoroughly to memory as not to be entirely dependent upon it in a public performance. The singer who is obliged to refer constantly to the music he is performing, will produce but little effect (xvi).

Finally, from his "Remarks" Mansfield gives his opinions of instrumental accompaniment. Like the folk spiritual singers in the South to the present day and the Shakers until the end of the nineteenth century, Mansfield believed that religious songs were best performed unaccompanied (Patterson:30). He did, however, make a slight concession, and considered musical instruments--like his tunebook--useful educational tools (his own skill as a violinist probably influenced his opinion here). He wrote, "Musical instruments may be useful where singers are not thoroughly trained, but if they are, no instrument can add to the sweetness of their music" (xvi).

In the scores Mansfield marked dynamics, staccato notes, "passing" and "after notes," and especially fermatas (he called them simply "pauses"). Of all the markings, he used fermatas most frequently--in sixty-one (about 36%) of the songs in sections two and three. He used them to capture the nuances of sung, traditional phrasing which he could not capture with the standard notation of rhythms. Usually, fermatas lengthen the last note in a phrase and occasionally the first. Sometimes they emphasize the middle of a phrase,
but occasionally they lengthen a note that does not fall on one of these natural breaking points. In "He Restoreth My Soul," for example, Mansfield barred the phrases according to the flow of melody rather than that of the poetry. Yet, in the middle of the phrase, there is a natural break. In the third and fourth phrases Mansfield lengthened the note which broke the phrase in two, and in the fourth phrase he lengthened the first note of the second half of the phrase. In "On the Death of a Child," the fermatas mark the last note of the first, third, fifth, and seventh phrases. In the fourth phrase the fermata falls on the second unaccented beat of the measure. The melody, a member of the "Lazarus" family, has two eight-measure strains; the fermata at the end of the first helps to mark the end of that strain, but it also adds syncopation. Mansfield's setting of "Amazing Grace" is similar in its use of fermatas (see Jackson, 1942:140 for Jackson's notes on the tune). This tune seems to have a quicker tempo than the usual "New Britain" tune; nevertheless, in the third and fourth phrases fermatas lengthen the third beats in three measures. Finally, in "The Old Fashioned Bible," a fermata emphasizes the word "Bible."

Probably because of their lives in oral tradition, several of the tunes Mansfield collected, resisted notation.
In several instances, Mansfield used fermatas to smooth out rhythmic peculiarities. A basic example of this is "Crucifixion," a close variant of "Saw Ye My Savior" which Jackson found in Henry Smith's *Church Harmony* (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, 1834). Mansfield's and Smith's rhythms resemble each other except that Mansfield fits the tune into eight measures while Smith uses fifteen. Smith uses a syncopated rhythm in the third measure of the first phrase. Where Smith uses an eighth-note followed by a quarter-note, Mansfield uses a quarter-note followed by a dotted eighth-note lengthened by a fermata (Jackson, 1937:44). "Hail, Sweetest, Dearest Tie," would fit loosely into a metre with ten measures in 5/4 and six in 4/4. Mansfield transcribed the tune entirely in 4/4 with fermatas making up the difference. Mansfield attributed this tune to W. F. Farrington (I suspect that he transcribed it from Farrington's singing), but it is a close variant of "Cross of Christ" which Jackson found in the Primitive Baptist book, *Good Old Songs* (it is also in the *Southern Harmony*). The tune, a "close variant of 'James Harris. . . or 'Daemon Lover' or 'House Carpenter'" is one of the strongest folk tunes in the *Vocalist*, and Mansfield preserved it with its non-metronomic metre relatively intact (Jackson, comparing it
to its "worldly relatives," believes the sixth tone should be made sharp and the tune sung in the Dorian mode, 1937:117-8). This use of fermatas is relatively straight-forward--in following this method, however, Mansfield was more like his Shaker brethren than Southern tunebook compilers. Patterson notes that Shaker scribes also used this method of transcribing tunes in 5/4 (24). "Child of Prosperity" presented another problem: in sixteen measures it uses fifteen fermatas. The tune wants no time signature; individual measures fall into 6/8, 7/8, and 8/8, or, because fermatas have a length left up to personal discretion, into none of these metres (352).

These last two tunes give us more information about singing style than we can find elsewhere. While we can only speculate that singing pupils sang these songs in the traditional Anglo-American style of full-voice and with added passing and after notes and other flourishes, Mansfield was careful in transcribing the intricacies of phrasing (Patterson 27, 30-2). The fermatas show a relatively loose rhythm but they also suggest a relaxed tempo, allowing the singer to dwell on the important notes in the tune.

The final traditional aspect of the music in the Vocalist is Mansfield's harmonic settings. Musically,
Mansfield straddled a fence between genteel and folk camps. While he genuinely admired the work of the major musical reformers of his time, the tastes he exhibited in his tunebook were conservative. He wanted his book to be useful to the whole, egalitarian plainfolk religious community and felt that "scientific" harmonies made the music "unfitted for general use" (ii). We see this ambivalence in Mansfield's harmonies, for they are vertical, like the genteel Northern and European harmonies, but they often violate "scientific" rules.

Most of Mansfield's harmonies are strikingly different than those in the contemporary Southern tunebooks. In general, they move from one chord to the next, lacking the contrapuntal and polyphonic character of the Southern folk spirituals. There are, however, exceptions. Twenty-two songs have fewer than four voices (one is a solo); all but three of these are either in a gapped scale or the Aeolian or Dorian mode and thus resist a "scientific" vertical harmony. The two voice songs (there are nine of these), particularly, have counter-melodies rather than usual bass lines. These tunes are some of the most striking folk tunes in the book: their modality is predominantly minor (Pentatonic 2 and minorized Aeolian and Hexatonic 2A), and most belong to both
Northern and Southern traditions (Jackson found five in variant forms in Southern books and another two in Northern).

Mansfield harmonized thirteen songs with only three voices. Four of these have an art song feel (including three in the Ionian mode); the remainder are clearly as folky as the two-voice settings. Of the nine three-voice folk tunes, six have a minor modality (four in Hexatonic 2A and one each in Aeolian and Dorian modes). Like Southern arrangers, Mansfield harmonized his three-voice songs with open harmonies, although the songs have none of the dissonance characteristic of the shape-note arrangements. For example, Mansfield's arrangement of "Pisgah," a popular tune in the South, has twenty-four chords, nineteen of which are not triads. Fifteen chords are open fifths, while three are thirds and the final tone is unison. Suspensions in the tenor voice in measures three and eight add to the contrapunital feel of the arrangement. The independent movement of the tenor and all the voices' resolution to the tonic give each voice a life of its own not unlike Southern arrangements. Another essentially major tune (Hexatonic 1A) is "The Pure Testimony." This song has a closer harmony than "Pisgah": of 78 chords, twenty-two have chords of an open fifth, eighteen have a third, and three are only the root.
Like "Pisgah," open chords on the resolutions of each phrase—the first phrase ends in unison—strengthen the stark sound of the piece. Mansfield voiced his minor, three-voice tunes differently than the major ones. While he used soprano (air), tenor, and bass for his major tunes, he used soprano, alto, and bass for the minor. The result of this is that the minor pieces resemble the two-voice settings with a third, monotonous voice on the top. Still, the songs sound stark and open. "In Evil Long" has thirty-one chords twenty of which are not triads (seven are fifths, nine are thirds, and four are unison). In this song, like "Pisgah," the voices resolve to a unison. The melody of this song is in the Dorian mode: Mansfield used the sharpened sixth to build a "five-of-five" chord, except the resolution is to an open fifth. "The Mountain Calvary" has a slightly closer harmony with twenty-six of its forty-eight chords built on one or two tones (fourteen are a fifth, fourteen are a third, and two are unison). Its final cadence ends on an open fifth.

Mansfield's harmony—the melody uses the Hexatonic 2A scale—weaves in and out of the Dorian mode and the harmonic minor: its dominant appears in major and minor forms, and the raised sixth in the alto voice in the seventh measure suggests (it
is missing the fifth) a "five of seven" chord. The resolution of this chord is to a chord missing its fifth.

Mansfield's two- and three-voice harmonizations show two solutions to the problem of harmonizing modes and gapped scales, but what was the character of his four-voice settings? In general, these settings follow a strict, though simple, vertical pattern. For example, "Deal Gently With Thy Servants, Lord," a variant of "Charlestown" in Good Old Songs and a common tune in shape-note books, follows a simple tonic/dominant progression, with an occasional subdominant, one mediant, and one five-of-five which resolves to the tonic (Jackson, 1942:101). Still, several chords are not triads: mostly they have the root in three voices and the third in another. In the final cadence, Mansfield uses a V7 chord, but he adds the seventh at the expense of the third. Other major tunes, including "The Bower of Prayer," "Saint's Adieu to Earth," and "The Gospel Is Lovely" reveal similar tendencies. In the last two songs, the full cadence resolves to an open chord--the root in three voices and the third in the tenor. Minor tunes, with their "uncertainty of ... structure," presented greater difficulties for Mansfield (1849:xii). Their sound is generally more open than that of major tunes. This is because, like his Southern
counterparts, Mansfield tended to end his full cadences on chords built on only the root and fifth. Cobb notes this tendency in harmonizations in the *Sacred Harp* (41). Two minor songs, "Fellowship with God" and "He Restoreth My Soul" have a more open sound than the rest. The melodies of these songs are related: both are variants of "Night Thought," preserved in the *Christian Lyre* (Jackson, 1942:89). Both are haunting tunes; their melodic resolutions to the dominant, and the awkward sound of their leading tones give the tunes a Phrygian feel which Jackson also notes ("Fellowship with God," particularly, appears to have once used the Hexatonic 5a scale, although Mansfield harmonized it in the harmonic minor—"A minor," its first tone is a "B," four of its phrases resolve to a "G," and four resolve to an "E"). Consequently, they resist a strong vertical chord progression. "Fellowship With God" begins on a dominant chord which resolves to an open tonic chord constructed of fifths. In the chorus, the song avoids the dominant, resolving first to the relative major, and then to the minor fifth. In "He Restoreth My Soul," Mansfield sets up an harmonic tension between the minor tonic and its relative major. This tune is phrased AABBAA: the "A" phrases have an open—and relatively melodic—harmony. Mansfield made
liberal use of two-tone chords built on fifths and thirds; he used minor fifth and seventh chords (the first half-phrase progresses in A minor from A minor to C to E minor to C and rests on G). The "B" phrases, with their strong major feel, have a closer harmony, except in their cadences. Finally, Mansfield harmonized camp-meeting spirituals in the same style as the rest of his tunes. In several songs, he arranged the verse as a solo or duet, and arranged the chorus with all four voices.

In its musical material, the Vocalist is surprisingly close to its Southern counterparts. In its textual material, however, it loses this similarity, and it even departs from the doctrinal opinion of the Methodist conference of which its compiler was a member. Dickson Bruce argues that Millennialism was a relatively weak strain in Southern camp-meeting spirituals (112-13). The texts in the Vocalist, however, have a strong Millennialist tone. When Mansfield published the Vocalist, the Millerite movement--the major expression of Millennialism in Mansfield's region of Maine--was less than five years in the past, and the Adventist movement which grew out of Millerism was becoming an active force in his region. Between 1841 and 1843, Millerism (named for the movement's leader, William Miller, who had calculated
that the Judgment would begin on April 23, 1843) almost displaced slavery as the major issue troubling the Maine Conference (Allen 121-23, Pilsbury 58). The movement dissolved when Christ did not appear; most of the errant Methodist ministers renounced their views and returned to their stations. Nevertheless, Mansfield represented these "heretical" views particularly strongly in his singing book. Indeed, almost half (about 47%) of his texts either appeared in the Millenial Harp, the Millerites' hymnal, or speak of the coming apocalypse, the mustering armies, the re-unification of the churches and peoples, the preparations of the saints for their ascension to heaven, and the closeness of Christ. In the context of the Millerite or Adventist hymns, many of the other texts take on a Millennialist tone.

Millennialism grew out of the "experimental" religion movement of the Great Awakening and late eighteenth century. Millennialism found one expression in Shakerism, but even the more mainstream Methodists and Free Baptists at the beginning of the nineteenth century expressed hopes in their spirituals that they would "soon be in the kingdom" (Vocalist:328). Evidence of this is that twenty-seven of the Millennialist texts in the Vocalist appear in at least one of the revival songsters that were current in Maine and Massachusetts during
the 1820s and '30s. (These books are Myers's Zion Songster--a source for Southern as well as Northern singing book compilers--Meriam's Wesleyan Camp-Meeting Hymn-Book, published in Wendell, Massachusetts, in 1827, Springer's Songs of Zion, published in Hallowell in 1827, Ripley's A Selection of Hymns, for Prayer and Conference Meetings, a Baptist collection from Bangor, 1831, and A Conference Meeting Hymn Book, published in Eastport, Maine, in 1832.)

One of the best examples of Millennialist hymnody in the Vocalist is "The Pure Testimony," a hymn that had been published in the Myers, Springer, and Meriam collections. It describes preparations for the Apocalypse, and is virtually a catalogue of Millennialist themes and images. The purpose of the song, like that of most of the Millennialist hymns in the book, is to exhort sinners to "come out from foul spirits and practices" and to join the last battle against the "great Prince of Darkness." The song begins with the image of the "Pure Testimony"--the Word of God--as a "sharp two edged sword" (Rev. 1:16, 19:15), and continues to describe the condemnation of hypocrites and false teachers (Rev. 2:9-10). The song devotes two seven-line stanzas to the gathering of the nations and the churches, the 144,000 of the tribes of Israel and the "great multitude which no man could number, of
all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues" arrayed in robes washed "in the blood of the Lamb" (Rev. 7:4-9, 14). This theme of the re-unification of the Church also alludes to Rev. 11:15, "and the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ."

Like many of the Millennialist hymns, this song uses the images of the trumpet blasts which herald the beginning of the judgment (Rev. chapters 8 and 9). Finally, the song describes the preparations for the battle itself, the call to "gird on your armor, ye saints of the Lord," and the warning that the "great prince of darkness is mustering his forces," using "slanders, reproaches and vile persecution,/That you in his cause may remain." The song ends with the promise from Rev. 17:14 that "the PURE TESTIMONY will give you the day."

The underlying image of the song is that not of the battle but of the journey toward the battle. In the third stanza the trumpet blows to call the world to follow Jesus, "O come ye from Babylon, Egypt, and Sodom,/And make your way over the plain." The song exhorts the listener to "walk in the Spirit through Jesus' name," and preaches perseverance, "The track of your Savior keep still in your view,/The pure testimony will cut the way through."
The idea that the sinner can choose to "walk in the Spirit" is the doctrine of free grace. It is distinct from free will in that it accepts that man is powerless without the Spirit, yet the Spirit offers grace to any who will accept it. The image of the journey to the "new Jerusalem" is the most important and persistent image in the texts which Mansfield selected for his singing book.

"The Pure Testimony" is important because it combined several images and themes which Millennialist texts used singly. Theme of the gathering of the peoples "into the one Spirit of God," for example, appears in "The Impartial Song," (a song which Samuel Holyoke had published earlier in the *Harmonia Americana*):

> The Spirit is come, and the work is begun,  
> And we all are united in one.

It also provides--with the concept of free grace added--the basis for the camp-meeting spiritual, "The Christian Band," which tells, example by example, who can join the "multitude which no man can number":

> And Jew and Gentile, free and bond,  
> I will be in this band, Hallelujah!  
> And rich and poor the world around,  
> May belong to this band, Hallelujah! (328)
Another camp-meeting spiritual, "Will You Go?" echoes theme again. In this text, the chorus "Will you go? Will you go?" follows the first, second, and last lines:

The way to heaven is free for all,  
For Jew and Gentile, great and small,  
Make up your mind, give God your heart,  
With every sin and idol part,  
And now with saints for glory start (336).

Another example of theme of the gathering of the peoples "into the one Spirit of God" is a chorus for Charles Wesley's text, "Come sinners to the gospel feast," in which Mansfield combines the "Jew and Gentile" phrase from the Millennialist texts with the term "free grace":

Thro' grace, free grace,  
Thro' grace, free grace,  
To all the Jew and Gentile race (291).

Finally, two other spirituals speak of the coming unity:

"The Old Church Yard" has a stanza built on the repeat line, "He'll awake all the nations" and "Soldiers of the Cross" speaks of "pure religion"--religion without denominational distinctions: this, in the context of the Jubilee, assumes the gathering of the kingdoms spoken of in Rev. 11:15.

Mansfield's spirituals dwell heavily not only on theme of unity but on the trumpet image and on the assurance of victory. "Gabriel's Trumpet," a camp-meeting spiritual which appeared in the first but not the revised edition of the
Vocalist (as well as the Millenial Harp), uses the image of the trumpet in the chorus:

For Gabriel's going to blow,
From on high, from on high--
O Gabriel's going to blow,
By and by.

We see the trumpet image in two hymn texts in the revised edition. "Burst Ye Emerald Gates" (which had been published in A Conference Meeting Hymn Book in 1832) has a chorus of trumpets and lutes in its portrayal of the resurrection, "Angel trumps resound his fame:/Lutes of lucid gold proclaim,/All the music of his name" (317), and "What Sound is this Salutes My Ear" (another text from the Millenial Harp) begins with the lines:

What sound is this salutes my ear?
'Tis Gabriel's trump methinks I hear,
'Tis Gabriel's trump methinks I hear,
The expected day has come.

We see the assurance of victory from Rev. 17:14 in several camp-meeting choruses. The chorus to a setting of Cennick's "Children of the heavenly king," for example, proclaims:

Victory! victory,
When we've gained the victory,
Oh how happy we shall be,
When we've gained the victory (344-5).

Two other choruses, "O That Will Be Joyful" and "Give Me Jesus," speak of the resurrection not in hopeful but in certain terms. The first is an adaptation of Watts's "When I
can read my title clear to mansions in the sky": the chorus is, "Oh, that will be joyful, to meet to part no more." The second builds two stanzas on the repeated lines:

When I'm rising hear me shout, [Repeated three times]
I have Jesus.

and:

When in heaven we will sing,
Blessed Jesus (345).

These peculiarly Millennialist texts and choruses set the revival songs in the Vocalist off from their Southern counterparts, but the dominant theme, that of the journey, with its sub-themes of conversion (starting the journey), exile and world-rejection, and hopeful arrival in heaven, belonged to Southern as well as Northern plainfolk traditions; Mansfield (and his sources) adapted them for Millennialist purposes. The journey theme is very broad, covering the three areas of conversion, the actual journey--devotional life both personally and within the community of Christians--and the eventual ascent to heaven.

The Vocalist contains a variety of songs about conversion experiences. Several of these, including "In evil long I took delight" and "Sweet was the time when first I felt," are texts by John Newton. In two ballads, "While nature was sinking in stillness to rest" (Mansfield calls it
"Gethsemane") and "Beside the gospel pool,/ Appointed for the poor," (the title is "The Gospel Pool") a direct experience with Christ causes the conversion. The first ballad had appeared in Day's Revival Hymns and Himes's Millenial Harp earlier in the 1840s, although the text is different in each version (Day's first line is "When nature...," while Himes's version is quite different, see Jackson, 1942:28). This song is interesting for its similarity to secular, patriotic Irish broadside ballads popular during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, particularly, "The Blackbird," and "The Mantle of Green" (Randolph, and Creighton:171). In "The Blackbird," the narrator, taking a walk, hears a woman lamenting the loss of her blackbird, a symbol of the Stuarts. In "The Mantle of Green," a man, again on a walk, falls asleep on "a bank of primroses," and dreams of a "goddess of liberty." She identifies herself as a "daughter of Daniel O'Connell," and tells him that she has come from England "to awaken my brothers/That slumber on Erin's green shore." This song has the garden imagery as well as the character of the mourning redeemer which we find also in "Gethsemane." In this song, a man, taking a contemplative walk, pauses in a garden where he overhears "a voice faint and plaintive... pleading in anguish the poor
sinner's part." The narrator discovers that the mourner is "the loveliest BEING that ever was found." He identifies himself--"'Tis JESUS! from heaven I came!"--and says that he is suffering because of the narrator's sins. Mansfield ends the song here, with the sinner aware of his condition. Himes, however, continues the story through the narrator's conversion, "journey to mansions above," and vision of "the day of bright glory." In "The Gospel Pool," the story is similar but is based on John 4:6-28, the story of Jesus meeting the woman at the well. This song had been popular for most of the nineteenth century in Northern revival songsters: we find it in Harvey's Hymns and Spiritual Songs, on Different Subjects, published Albany in 1812, Nettleton's Village Hymns, the Zion Songster, and Springer's Songs of Zion. This song tells the story of "a sinful soul" waiting beside the "gospel pool" for a cure. A stranger, Jesus, approaches him and says offers him the cure of free grace, "Only consent to be made whole,/You need no longer lie." Jesus's voice "dispelled the charm," making the sinner recognize his sins, and in agony call "for aid divine."

Dickson Bruce divides conversion experiences into three stages: the preconversion life of sin, often accompanied by warnings from converts; a period of "conviction" during which
the sinner recognizes his or her sins, worries about damnation, and rejects his or her former sinful life; and, finally, the actual conversion during which the sinner receives grace and the knowledge that his or her sins are forgiven (63-8). We see evidence that conversion experiences followed similar patterns among Northern revival communities in the autobiography of John Colby, an itinerant Free Baptist preacher from northeastern Vermont whose "hymn" (a religious "come-all-ye" ballad) Mansfield included in the *Vocalist*. Colby describes how his grandmother warned him against sin, and how his feelings of guilt over attending a dance made him recognize his sins and repent (9-10). Finally, he reached his conversion through a vision of the Apocalypse in which he saw that his "name was not enrolled in the Lamb's book of life. . . ." The structure of Colby's conversion followed that which Bruce defines; its details, however, are consistent with the northern New England spiritual song tradition in their Millennialist cast.

Mansfield included several songs that vividly described conversion experiences which paralleled Colby's. Three songs take the form of warnings. These are "Ah, guilty sinner, ruined by transgression" (which had been published earlier by both Leavitt and Merrill), "Delay not, delay not: O sinner
draw near," and "Hearken ye sprightly, and attend ye vain
one," a warning ballad in the tradition of "Wicked Polly"
(Jackson, 1933:189-194). Two more songs, "When thou my
righteous Judge shalt come" (published by Myers, Leavitt, and
Himes) and "There comes a day, a fearful day," describe the
urgency of conversion in the context of the impending
Apocalypse.

"Hearken ye sprightly" (called "Death-bed Reflections")
is interesting because it is a relative (indeed the only one
in the Vocalist) of the ballad "Wicked Polly" (Jackson,
1933:189-93). This ballad is easy to overlook because its
meter, "11s and 5," lacks the easy flow of ballad poetry.
The diction is convoluted, and the last two lines of each
stanza break the sentences uncharacteristically for folk
poetry, "But was myself, in spite of all these warning/Long
life expecting." Moreover, the lines do not rhyme. The
narrative structure and message of the ballad fit the "Wicked
Polly" model exactly. The ballad begins with the traditional
"Come all ye" and continues to explain the narrator's sinful
life, sudden illness, regrets for not listening to warnings,
recognition of his damnation, and death. The song closes
with the traditional warning:

O ghastly death! pray stop one single moment!
While I give warning to my gay companions--
No time is granted for expostulation,—
SHUN MY EXAMPLE.

While the ballad above relates to the first stage of conversion, two visions of the Apocalypse relate to the second, that of conviction. The mourning sinner, who has not yet felt "God's pardoning love," sees the destruction of the world and doubts his own worthiness to be saved from Hell. Both descriptions of the Apocalypse use the worm metaphor from Psa. 22:6—"But I am a worm and no man"—and Isaac Watts—"Would he devote that sacred head/For such a worm as I?" (Vocalist:279). "There comes a day, a fearful day" ends with a plea to God to save the mourning sinner:

Father, Eternal! God of love!  
Look down from mercy's seat above;  
Through Jesus now be reconciled  
To me, a wayward, wandering child (343).

Many of the songs borrow Bunyan's metaphor of the pilgrimage to heaven. Bruce notes this theme in Southern camp-meeting spiritual choruses, and writes that the pilgrimage metaphor was a product of the "saints'" world-rejection, that they looked more to the next world than the present. More accurately, I think, the saints' world-rejection was a product of their identity as pilgrims. The conversion songs above exhorted sinners to disown their worldly attachments, just as Bunyan's Christian—and Christ's
apostles--left his family to seek heaven. The songs about Christian life (life as a pilgrim) fall into two groups: the first about Christian discipline, world rejection and prayer, and the second about the actual journey. Like the conversion songs, these songs derived their urgency from their underlying Millennialist tone: the contemplative, unencumbered Christian was prepared for Gabriel to blow his horn, and the pilgrim knew his (or her) journey was near its end.

"The Old Israelites," a Shaker text first published in Millennial Praises in 1813, combines the elements of world rejection and the journey. This ballad combines images from Exodus and Revelation (as Bunyan had done) using the story of the Israelites' flight to Canaan to explain the saints' journey to heaven. The voice of the ballad shifts back and forth between third and first person: the Israelites' "pillar of light" in the first stanza becomes a "pillar of love which doth onward still move,/And doth gather our souls into one" in the second (Exodus 13:21 and 14:19-20 and Rev. 7:4-9, 11:15). The ballad states its theme--that saints must reject the world to make the journey to Canaan--at the end of the second stanza, "Now all who would stand on the promised land,/Let them take up the cross and go." For the saints,
particularly the Shaker author of this ballad, world-rejection was joyful:

If I'm faithful and true, and my journey pursue,
Till I stand on the heavenly shore,
I shall joyfully see what a blessing to me,
Was the mortifying cross which I bore. . . .
When I all have forsok, like a bubble 'twill look,
From the midst of a glorified throng,
Where all losses are gain, where each sorrow and pain,
Are exchanged for the conqueror's song (339).

Mansfield's other Shaker song, "The Gospel is Lovely," also use theme of the joys of "bearing the cross." Mansfield credits only the tune of this song to the Shakers, but theme of the text is consistent with the Shaker text above (and he printed it on the facing page):

I'm happy, I'm happy in bearing the cross
The comfort I find surpasses all loss,
There's nothing I've left I'd wish to recall.
I count it all worth--just nothing at all.

Mansfield's Shaker songs are one of the most interesting features of the Vocalist because of the rarity of Shaker material in non-Shaker books (Daniel W. Patterson writes of eight of these songs, including the two from the Vocalist):

clearly, Mansfield used this material because it was consistent with the Millennial tone of the book and with themes of travel and world-rejection (Patterson:545).
Complimenting these two songs about world-rejection are several which tell of the joys of Christian discipline without the pilgrimage metaphor. "The Happy Man," for example (a text published earlier in the *Christian Lyre*) describes an ideal for Christian life: a man content with poverty, living prayerfully, and "drawing nourishment from Christ the living vine." Similarly, "How Precious is the Name," a song with the common "Captain Kidd" stanzaic structure (and melody), declares, "I've given all for Christ, he's my all, he's my all." (This text was published earlier in *A Conference Meeting Hymn Book* and *H. W. Day's David's Harp.*) Finally, "Go When the Morning Shineth," another text about the joyful discipline of prayer, concludes with a stanza beginning:

Oh not a joy or blessing  
With this we can compare--  
The power that he hath given us,  
To pour our souls in prayer (268).

Several texts deal not with the joys of world-rejection but with the vanity of worldly things—particularly wealth and secular education—and the necessity of rejecting them. Developing that theme, "The Source of Happiness" (published earlier by Meriam), for example, calls learning, "that boasting, glittering thing," and beauty—using the same image as "The Old Israelites"—"a painted bubble" (335). Finally,
the song states, "Sensual pleasures swell desire,/Just as the fuel feeds the fire," a theme which "Always New," a popular song in Northern and Southern, white and black traditions, develops more fully:

And could we call all Europe ours,  
With India and Peru;  
The mind would feel an aching void,  
And still want something new (Jackson, 1933:249, 1937:225-6, and 1952a:117).

Finally, "Child of Prosperity" echoes secular class conflict in its harsh imagery:

Child of prosperity,  
Nursling of vanity,  
Slave to preferment, to wealth and renown,  
Does love smooth thy pillow,  
Is hushed each rude billow  
Of care in thy breast, is thy wretchedness flown?

The solution to the problem expressed in all of these songs is to accept free grace and to begin a pilgrimage to heaven. "Child of Prosperity" expresses this in an interesting mix of river and maritime imagery. The hymnodist used an ocean voyage as a metaphor for the life of a saint, thus, entering heaven is coming into "the harbor of rest, for no billows are there" (this refers to the spiritual "rude billows" of the first verse.) The hymn also uses the image of heaven from Rev. 22:1, in which the river of life flows from the throne of God and the Lamb. The song ends with the promise that the
saints will enjoy "Peace like a river," flowing to the heavenly home (352).

Songs about the actual journey take several forms. Journeys can be a walk "up the mountain Calvary," or, as in "The Old Israelites," they be travels through the wilderness and across the Jordan into Canaan; they can be more like Bunyan's pilgrimage with its plunge into the river of death before climbing to the Celestial City; or they can take the form of an ocean voyage. Implicit in the songs is the knowledge (more than just a hope) that the journey will soon come to a joyous conclusion. For example, "When We Pass Over Jordan," a camp-meeting spiritual has for its refrain:

    On the other side of Jordan,
    How happy we shall be,
    We'll pass over Jordan,
    And sound the Jubilee (327).

"On the Way to Canaan," (published in The Zion Songster and the Conference Meeting Hymn Book) combines the journey with the battle against Satan, the gathering of the nations with trumpet blasts, and allegorical characters ("Faith," "Hope," "Desire," "Love," and "Patience") after the style of Bunyan. The narrator invites sinners to join the march to Canaan, in spite of Satan's army; he or she offers witnesses--converts who have already felt the rapture of the Jubilee through the power of the Holy Spirit--as proof of the reward at the end.
The song ends with a discussion among the allegorical characters.

"The Pilgrim Stranger" is a dialogue ballad which focuses not on the Jordan, but on the river death at the end of Pilgrim's Progress. Jackson writes that dialogues were popular among early English Methodists, who had sung them with "men sitting on one side of the meeting house, and the women sitting opposite. . . [singing] alternate stanzas" (1939:208). He found "The Pilgrim Stranger" in several books including the Christian Lyre and Good Old Songs (1942:81 and 1939:208). In this song, like in Pilgrim's Progress, a convert and a sinner walk through a wilderness and discuss their journey. The sinner is frightened by the wilderness, but the saint says that she is not afraid because she has a guide who will lead her safely to the end of her journey. The song ends with an image of the resurrection: the saint plunges into the river of death and rises, "Like an angel clothed with light." The concluding stanza speaks of the sadness and alienation of the world after the ascent of his friend, and ends with the Millennial assurance that the narrator will soon experience his own death and resurrection.

The final example of theme of the voyage is the ocean voyage. Transportation imagery was common among revival
songs: Helen Hartness Flanders recorded a song called "The Spiritual Railway," defining, point by point, how the railway corresponds to our journey to heaven (1939:53-4). Barry, writing in the notes to this song, noted that the Shakers were the first to use nautical imagery in a sacred ballad; Patterson recorded a Shaker hymn, "Voyage to Canaan" from Millennial Praises, and wrote that the song drifted through Shaker and non-Shaker traditions, finding its way, via Dover Selection, into the Southern Harmony as "The Spiritual Sailor" (Flanders, 1939:54 and Patterson 157). In the Vocalist, "Child of Prosperity" touches on this theme, and the common camp-meeting spiritual "The Old Ship of Zion" develops it more fully (Jackson recorded both the "Spiritual Sailor" and several versions of "The Old Ship of Zion.") "The Voyage" ("Through tribulation deep/The way to glory is") follows the basic structure of "The Spiritual Railway," explaining how temptations are a hurricane, hope is an anchor, and the Bible a chart. Finally, pilot angels will bring the ship safely into port where the saint will "be safe for evermore." This text is common, appearing as early as 1825 in John C. Totten's Selection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs as well as the Myers, Meriam, Springer, and Leavitt collections.
The reason the voyage image works in these hymns (and *Pilgrim's Progress*) is that the saints understood the destination to be near. Several songs give us more than a hope or even Christ's assurance that saints will enter the kingdom of God: they give us vivid, experiential views ("seen through the eye of faith") of the Jubilee. "The Release" explains these visions of the Jubilee:

A crown of glory bright
By faith I see,
In yonder realms of light
Prepared for me (266).

These songs express their visions either in the present tense or soon in the future, with a joyful emotional intensity that we would expect from the "grand sabbatic year" of 1843 (266). In "The Saint's Adieu To Earth" the narrator bids farewell to various worldly things and explains by what they will be replaced when he reaches heaven. In the first couplet of each quatrain he explains what he is leaving, and in the second he tells what he is gaining in heaven:

Ye mountains and vallies [sic], ye rivers and plains,
Thou earth, and thou ocean, adieu;
More permanent regions, where righteousness reigns,
Present their bright hills to my view (268).

Mansfield, in his arrangement of the song, emphasizes the heavenly aspect by repeating the second couplet as a chorus.
The song ends with the narrator's plea to Jesus to "come quickly" and release his soul so it can "ascend the bright regions of peace."

Two songs, "Burst Ye Emerald Gates" (published in the Conference Meeting Hymn Book and Millennial Harp) and "What Sound Is This Salutes My Ear," take their portrayals of the Jubilee directly from the book of Revelation. "Burst Ye Emerald Gates" also uses images from Pilgrim's Progress, especially the image of heaven with its brilliant light and "melodious noise" (Rev. 21:23-4, Bunyan 250-3). The song also uses the image of the "four and twenty elders" from Rev. 4:4 and 19:4. From Pilgrim's Progress, it uses not only the image of light but of melodious notes:

Sweetest sound in seraph's song,
Sweetest note on mortal's tongue;
Sweetest carol ever sung:
Jesus! Jesus! flow along (316).

"What Sound is This Salutes My Ear" (published earlier in the Millennial Harp and, according to Himes, in the Wesleyan Harp) proclaims "the year of Jubilee" with its vision of heaven from chapters 20 and 21 of Revelation, "Fair Zion rising from the tombs," (20:12-13) and the image of the bridegroom (21:2, 9). This song states in certain terms, voiced in the present tense, the arrival of the Judgment day.
The texts in the Vocalist answer our question of what were the religious concerns of the "thousands of illiterate persons" to whom Mansfield addressed his book. They show us that the experimental religion which George Whitefield and his Methodist and Baptist successors had spread through rural New England was still the primary religious attitude among the plain folk religious communities even while the established churches were becoming more institutionalized. Millennialism refined experimental religious attitudes, but it had been, even among the Methodists and Baptists, a persistent strain in these communities during the developmental period of Northeastern folk hymnody. Many of the texts discussed above had been in circulation among the plainfolk communities since the beginning of the 1830s; a few had been recorded during the second decade of the century. Moreover, "What Sound Is This Salutes My Ear" remained popular in a Methodist setting at least for another decade, for S. Hubbard and William McDonald included it in their Wesleyan Sacred Harp. The popularity of Millennial beliefs explains why Mansfield included two Shaker songs in the Vocalist: they were relevant to the tone and doctrinal message of the book. Finally, the strong Millennial tone of the Vocalist shows us the major difference between Northern
and Southern plainfolk religious attitudes. This difference is interesting for two reasons. First, it is the only major difference between Mansfield's and Southern collections—melodically, the tunes in the Vocalist resemble those which Jackson found in Southern books, and harmonically, Mansfield's unscientific, vertical harmonies share some important characteristics with Southern harmonies. Second, the texts suggest that the spiritual folksongs which D. H. Mansfield recorded in the "deep North" were more than just the "shore line" of the "flood" from the "Kentucky-Tennessee area" as Jackson suggested (1952b:365).
APPENDIX A

Indices, The American Vocalist, 1848 and 1849 Editions.

Note: In the first edition the second part begins with page number 169 and the third part begins with page 227. In the revised edition the second part begins with page number 247 and the third part begins with page 321. Mansfield's first line index was only for "the principal hymns": below is a complete list.

Index of Tunes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tune</th>
<th>Page First Edition</th>
<th>Page Revised Edition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Little While and Ye Shall See Me</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abington</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afton</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aithlone</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akron</td>
<td></td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albany</td>
<td></td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All is Well</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-Saints</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always New</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amazing Grace</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andover</td>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angel's Visits</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Page 1</td>
<td>Page 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antioch</td>
<td>94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archdale</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arlington</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armley</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arne</td>
<td></td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arundel</td>
<td></td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashley</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the Judgement Seat</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atonement</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autumn</td>
<td></td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aylesbury</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballerma</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangor</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barby</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beatitudes, The</td>
<td></td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benevento</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bermondsey</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethesda</td>
<td></td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berthleuem</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better Days Are Coming</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beulah</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackburn</td>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blendon</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blessed be the Lord</td>
<td></td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blessings of a Clear Title, The</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bower of Prayer, The</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boylston</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braintree</td>
<td></td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brattle Street</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brentford</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brethren, Pray</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brethren, Sing</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridgewater</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brighton</td>
<td></td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brookfield</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckfield</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckingham</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burford</td>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burial of Mrs. Judson, The</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burst Ye Emerald Gates</td>
<td></td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caledonia</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvary</td>
<td></td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvary</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>LP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp of the Hebrews</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canaan</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury New</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captive's Lament, The</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmarthen</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carnes</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carthage</td>
<td>136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castle Street</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chardon</td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chariot, The</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child of Prosperity</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child's Evening Prayer</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Band</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian's Requiem, The</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian's Welcome Home, The</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church in Affliction, The</td>
<td></td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church's Welcome, The</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarendon</td>
<td></td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colchester</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus</td>
<td></td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come for All Things Now Are Ready</td>
<td></td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come My Brethren</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come Ye Disconsolate</td>
<td></td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coming Home</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coming To Christ</td>
<td></td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compassion</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complaint</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concord</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrition</td>
<td></td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conway</td>
<td></td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corelli</td>
<td></td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coronation</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corydon</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costellow</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coventry</td>
<td></td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowper</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cranbrook</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crucifixion</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas</td>
<td></td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalston</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Page 1</td>
<td>Page 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danbury</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dartmouth</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darwen</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day of Wrath</td>
<td></td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deal Gently With Thy Servants, Lord</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of the Righteous, The</td>
<td></td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death-Bed Reflections</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision, The</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedham</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delay Not</td>
<td></td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delight</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstration, The</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td></td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devizes</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devotion</td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciple</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dismission</td>
<td></td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doxology</td>
<td></td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dream of Pilate's Wife, The</td>
<td></td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dresden</td>
<td></td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dresden</td>
<td></td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duke Street</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunbar</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dundee</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dying Boy, The</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dying Christian</td>
<td></td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dying Youth's Lament, The</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter Anthem</td>
<td></td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eaton</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eden</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburg</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edom</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effingham</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Element</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elysium</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emmons</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening Hymn</td>
<td></td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening Hymn</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening Prayer</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening Shade</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhortation</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fading Flowers</td>
<td></td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page 1</td>
<td>Page 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faithful Sentinel, The</td>
<td>302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Bible, The</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far From My Thoughts</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farewell, The</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fellowship With God</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence</td>
<td>103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluvanna</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fountain</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral Anthem</td>
<td>220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral Bell</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral Dirge</td>
<td>241</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral Hymn</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral Thought</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabriel's Trumpet</td>
<td>243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galena</td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganges</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden Hymn, The</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garland</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geneva</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gethsemane</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give Me Jesus</td>
<td>345</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glad Tidings</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloom of Autumn</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glory To God in the Highest</td>
<td>240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go When the Morning Shineth</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go Worship at Emmanuel's Feet</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Shepherd, The</td>
<td>347</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel Feast, The</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel Freedom</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel is Lovely, The</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel Pool, The</td>
<td>346</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gratitude</td>
<td>355</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great is the Lord</td>
<td>235</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Physician, The</td>
<td>262</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Light, The</td>
<td>289</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green's Hundredth</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenfield</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenville</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenwich</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grieve Not the Holy Spirit</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilford</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Page 1</td>
<td>Page 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haddam</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hague</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hail Sweetest, Dearest Tie</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hallowell</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamburg</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handel</td>
<td></td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanover</td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy Man, The</td>
<td></td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleigh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartland</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatfield</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He Hath Done All Things Well</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He Hears Thy Sighs</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He Restoreth My Soul</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heath</td>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavenly Vision</td>
<td></td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebron</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helmsley</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hendon</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here is No Rest</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hingham</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinton</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Lord God of Sabaoth</td>
<td></td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope</td>
<td></td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horton</td>
<td></td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotham</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Precious is the Name</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howard</td>
<td></td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hudson</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Have No Father There</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Know That My Redeemer Lives</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Love the Holy Son of God</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Will Arise</td>
<td></td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Would Not Live Alway</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm a Pilgrim</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impartial Song, The</td>
<td></td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Evil Long</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invitation</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td></td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td></td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian Hymn</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jerusalem 57  71
John Colby's Hymn 246  340
Jordan 104
Joseph 97  152
Judea 123  189
Kedron 135  205
Kempton 172
Kendall 96
Kentucky 77  115
Keyes 209  287
Kingsley 199
Knaresboro 48  62
Laban 79  117
Lanesboro 99
Lansdale 119  185
Last Beam is Shining, The 206
Lathrop 124
Lebanon 55  69
Leicester 102
Lena 108  168
Lenox 93  147
Leon 144
Leoni 124  190
Lewiston 73  111
Liberty 135
Limehouse 6  6
Lincoln 40
Linden 103  159
Linstead 124
Lisbon 125
Little Marlboro 70  108
London 95
Long Time Ago 203  281
Lord's Prayer, The 246
Lord, Remember Me 347
Love Feast 172  250
Luton 16  16
Lynnfield 30
Lyons 126  192
Machias 100  156
Majesty 50  64
Marlow 94
Martyr's Death Song 131  197
Martyrdom 97
Martyrs 95
Mathews 4 4
Mear 36 50
Medina 120
Medway 34
Melbourn 96
Mendon 117 183
Mercy Seat, The 309
Meribah 89 140
Middletown 102 158
Milford 83
Millennial Dawn 112 178
Missionary Hymn 113 179
Missionary's Farewell, The 200 278
Monmouth 4 4
Montague 18 18
Morning Breaks 225 319
Mortality 11 11
Mount Auburn 59 73
Mount Vernon 226 176
Mount Vernon 23 23
Mountain Calvary, The 237 331
Munich 9 9
My Mother's Last Gift 180 258

Nantwich 37
Nashville 83 129
National Hymn 122 188
Nazareth 87
New Castle 32 46
New Durham 40 54
New Durham 41 55
New Jerusalem 52 66
New Sabbath 33
Newcourt 82 128
Ninety-Seventh Psalm 33
North Salem 90
Northfield 41 55
Norwell 127
Not Ashamed of Jesus 311
Nothing True But Heaven 195 273
Nuremberg 165

O Come, Come Away 304
O Fly To Their Bowers 179 257
O For a Closer Walk With God 183 261
O Land of Rest! 178 256
O Praise the Lord 178 238
O Tell Me No More 232 326
O That Will Be Joyful 344
O Turn Ye 186 264
O When Shall I See Jesus 342
Ocean 38 52
Ode on Science 214
Oft in the Stilly Night 304
Old Church-Yard, The 243 337
Old Fashioned Bible, The 297
Old Hundred 1 1
Old Israelites, The 245 339
Old Ship of Zion, The 244 338
Olivet 207 285
Olmutz 112
Omega 355
On the Banks of Jordan 221 299
On the Death of a Child 231 325
On the Way To Canaan 235 329
Orangeburg 74 112
Oregon 114 180
Orion 151
Orland 3 3

Palestine 88 134
Paralytic, The 344
Paris 10 10
Park Street 10 9
Passover 111 171
Pearl, The 313
Pearl, The 185 263
Pelham 78 116
Penitence 354
Pennsylvania 198
Pentonville 124
Peterboro 62 76
Pilesgrove 5 5
Pilgrim Stranger, The 248 350
Pilgrim's Farewell, The 312
Pisgah 196 274
Plainfield 84
Pleyel's Hymn 100 156
Plymouth 30 44
Plymouth Dock 85 131
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Page 1</th>
<th>Page 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plympton</td>
<td></td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomfret</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Wayfaring Man, The</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese Hymn</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preston</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princeton</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prodigal's Return, The</td>
<td></td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promises, The</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providence</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 46th</td>
<td></td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm Hundred and Nineteenth</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pure Testimony, The</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putney</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quito</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapture</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravenna</td>
<td></td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Release, The</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remember Me</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest</td>
<td></td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td></td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockingham</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romaine</td>
<td></td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rothwell</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Proclamation, The</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruler's Daughter, The</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbath School Hymn</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacramental Hymn</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailor's Hymn</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint's Adieu To Earth, The</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint's Sweet Home, The</td>
<td></td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Belongeth Unto the Lord</td>
<td></td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td></td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasons</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shades of Evening</td>
<td></td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharon</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shawmut</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Shelburne 90
Sherburne 46 60
Shirland 77 115
Shoe 27 27
Sicilian Hymn 107 167
Siloam 63 77
Silver Street 68 106
Sinner, Can You Hate the Sinner 344
Sister's Farewell, The 318
Smithfield 28 28
Soldiers of Jesus, The 349
Soldiers of the Cross 234 328
Solemn Inquiry, The 201 279
Solitude 315
Solitude New 81
Sonnet 238 332
Sources of Happiness, The 241 335
Spring 44 58
Springfield 116 182
St. Anns 95
St. Johns 88
St. Martins 31 45
St. Thomas 70 108
Stafford 125
Stanley 176
Star in the East 187 265
Star of Bethlehem, The 170 248
Stephens 101
Stonefield 6 6
Stratfield 24 24
Sunderland 39
Sure Guide, The 354
Surry 14 14
Sutton New 44 58
Swanwick 64 78
Sweet Was the time 236 330
Sympathy 90 142
Symphony 129 195

Tamworth 173
Tell Me, Wanderer 305
There are Angels Hovering Round 198 276
There is an Hour of Peaceful Rest 227
There's Not a Star 303
Thou art Gone To the Grave 223
Thou Knowest That I Love Thee 175 253
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>First Page</th>
<th>Second Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tilton</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tisbury</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tottenham</td>
<td>163</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triumph</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truro</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Hymn</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unity</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uxbridge</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vesper Hymn</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victory</td>
<td></td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice of Mercy</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice of My Beloved, The</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voyage, The</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakefield</td>
<td></td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walsal</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wareham</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warning, The</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warwick</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch Night</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchman</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wathman Tell Us of the Night</td>
<td></td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weep Not for Me</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welch</td>
<td></td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wells</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welton</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wendell</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Sudbury</td>
<td></td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weymouth</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What Seraph-Like Music</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What Sound Is This Salutes My Ear</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When Shall We All Meet Again</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When Shall We Meet Again</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When We Pass Over Jordan</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>While Life Prolongs</td>
<td>307</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will You Go</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willington</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Page 1</td>
<td>Page 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilmer</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilmot</td>
<td>173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilton</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchelsea</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windham</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woburn</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodland</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodland</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodstock</td>
<td></td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worthing</td>
<td></td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye Christian Heroes</td>
<td>348</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoakley</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yonder's My Home</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td></td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Convert, The</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zephyr</td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zion</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zurich</td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Index of First Lines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A charge to keep I have</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A father is praying The saviour to hear</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A fountain of life and of grace</td>
<td></td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man of subtle reas'ning asked</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A poor wayfaring man of grief</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afflictions though they seem severe</td>
<td></td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah when shall I awake</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah lovely appearance of death</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah guilty sinner, ruined by transgression</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alas and did my Saviour bleed</td>
<td>201, 220</td>
<td>279, 298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All glory be to God on high</td>
<td></td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All hail the great Immanuel's name!</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All the week we spend</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am I a soldier of the cross</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amazing Grace! how sweet the sound</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And are we yet alive</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And didst thou, Lord, for sinners bleed</td>
<td></td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And must this body die</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arise, my soul, arise,</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As on some lonely building's top,</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At anchor laid, remote from home</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At life's early morn, When my Bible</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awake, my soul, to hymns of praise</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Away from his home</td>
<td></td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Be earth with all her scenes withdrawn  |  15
Be thou, O God, exalted high            |  1
Before Jehovah's awful throne          | 210
Begin, my soul, th'exalted lay         | 145
Behold the glories of the Lamb          |  55
Behold thy waiting servant, Lord       |   92
Behold, the Judge descends             | 129
Beside the gospel pool                  | 346
Bless God, O my soul                    | 128
Blessed, be the Lord for evermore       | 234
Blest are the humble souls who see      | 319
Blest are the sons of peace             |  75
Blest be the Father and his love        |   8
Blow ye the trumpet, blow               |  93
Brightest and best of the sons          | 200
Broad is the road that leads to death   |   2
Brother, I go: farewell! farewell!      | 200
Buried in shadows of the night          |  36
Burst, ye emerald gates, and bring      | 317
By cool Siloam's shady rill             |   7

Can sinners hope for heaven            | 105
Child of prosperity, Nursling of vanity | 250
Children of the heavenly king           | 185, 205
Children of Zion! what harp notes       | 189
Christ, the Lord, is risen today        | 163
Come and let us sweetly join            | 172
Come hither, all ye weary souls         |   4
Come Holy Spirit heavenly dove         |  42
Come humble sinner, in whose breast     |  59
Come let us anew our journey pursue    | 127
Come let us lift our joyful eyes        |  97
Come my beloved, haste away             |  29
Come my brethren, let us try            | 247
Come on, my partners in distress        |  91
Come precious soul, and let us take     | 237
Come said Jesus' sacred voice           | 106
Come saints, and view the Lamb of God   |   6
Come sinners, to the gospel feast       | 172
Come sound his praise abroad            |  68
Come thou almighty King                 | 120
Come thou fount of every blessing       | 230
Come ye disconsolate, where'er you languish | 221
Come ye sinners, poor and needy         | 107
Come ye that love the Lord              | 121, 126
Dark was the night, and cold the ground
Darkness, and clouds of awful shade
Death may dissolve my body now
Death, like an overflowing stream
Delay not, delay not: O sinner draw near
Enlisted in the cause of sin
Ere the blue heavens were stretched abroad
Eternal are thy mercies, Lord!
Eternal Power, Almighty God!

Fading still fading, The last beam
False are the men of high degree
Far be thine honor spread
Far from my tho'ts, vain world, begone
Far from the world, O Lord, I flee
Farewell honor's empty pride
Farewell, Farewell, Farewell, dear friends
Farewell, Mother! tears are streaming
Farewell, my dear brethren, the time
Father of all, Omniscient mind
Father of mercies, in thy word
Father of spirits! hear our prayer
Father, whate'er of earthly bliss
Firm was my health, my day was bright
Fly away to the promised land, sweet Dove
Forgive the song that falls so low
Friend after friend departs
From all that's mortal, all that's vain
From every stormy wind that blows
From Greenland's icy mountains
From the third heaven where God resides
From whence doth this union arise
Gently Lord, O gently lead us
Glory to God in the highest, and on earth
Glory to God on high!
Go when the morning shineth
Go worship at Emmanuel's feet
God is our refuge in distress
God of my life, look gently down
God of the seas, thine awful voice
God, my supporter, and my Hope
Grace! 'tis a charming sound!
Great God, attend while Zion sings
Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised 235
Guide me, O thou great Jehovah 173

Had not thy word been my delight 47 61
Hail the day that saw him rise 102 158
Hail! sov'reign love, that first began 169 247
Hail! thou blest morn 187 265
Hail, sweetest, dearest tie that binds 193 271
Hail, ye sighing sons of sorrow 207 285
Happy soul, thy days are ended 314
Happy the spirit released from its clay 296
Hark from the toms a doleful sound! 37 51, 90
Hark! how the choral song of heav'n 10 9
Hark! how the feathered warblers sing 48 62
Hark! how the gospel trumpet sounds! 120 186
Hark! the pealing Softly stealing 284 262
Hark! the vesper hymn is stealing 159 229
Hark! the voice of love and mercy 176
Hark! what mean those lamentations 109 169
Hark, my soul, it is the Lord! 105 161
Harken ye sprightly, and attend 177 255
He dies! the friend of sinners dies! 252
He framed the globe, he built the sky 86 132
He leads me to the place 77 115
He reigns, the Lord the Saviour reigns 10 10
He sends his showers of blessings down 58 72
Head of the church triumphant 118 184
Hear the royal proclamation, 212 290
Hearts of stone, relent, relent 105 161
Here o'er the earth, as a stranger I roam 175 253
High on his everlasting throne 33
His hoary frost, his fleecy snow 34 48
Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth 228
Hope looks beyond the bounds of time 33 47
Hosanna to Jesus on high 153
How beauteous are their feet 122
How blest is our brother bereft 97 152
How can I sink with such a prop 94
How cheering the thought 134, 203 204, 281
How did my heart rejoice to hear 90
How firm a foundation 182 260
How free the fountain flows 74 112
How gentle God's commands! 124
How happy are the little flock 141
How happy every child of grace 196 274
How happy is the man who has chosen 346
How happy is the pilgrim's lot
How large the promise how divine
How long, dear Saviour, O, how long
How lost was my condition
How painfully pleasing the fond recollection
How pleasant tis to see
How pleasant, how divinely fair
How pleased and blest was I
How precious is the name, brethren sing
How sweet to reflect on the joys
How tedious and tasteless the hours
How vain are all things here below
How vain is all beneath the skies!

I beheld, and lo, a great multitude
I have fought the good fight
I have sought round the verdant earth
I hear the voice of woe
I heard a great voice from heaven
I know that my Redeemer lives
I love the holy Son of God
I love the kingdom of the Lord
I love the volume of thy word
I love this pure religion
I love to steal awhile away
I saw a wide and well-spread board
I will arise, I will arise
I would not live alway
I'll praise my Maker while I've breath
I'm a lonely trav'ler here
I'm a pilgrim, and I'm a stranger
I'm on my way to Canaan
If angels sung a Saviour's birth
In de dark wood, no Indian nigh,
In evil long I took delight
In robes of judgment, lo!
In vain we lavish out our lives
Incumbent on the bending sky
Is this the kind of return
It is not that my lot is low
It was not sleep that bound my sight

Jerusalem! my glorious home!
Jesus died on Calvary's mountain
Jesus drinks the bitter cup
Jesus full of all compassion
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>Page 1</th>
<th>Page 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jesus I my cross have taken</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus my all to heaven is gone</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus sought me when a stranger</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus! transporting sound!</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus, and shall it ever be</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus, lover of my soul</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus, the name high over all</td>
<td></td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus, to every willing mind</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus, with all thy saints above</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joy to the world, the Lord is come!</td>
<td></td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joyfully, joyfully, onward I move</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just as I am, without one plea</td>
<td></td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keep me, Saviour near thy side</td>
<td></td>
<td>162, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingdoms and thrones to God belong</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let every mortal ear attend</td>
<td></td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let him to whom we now belong</td>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let not despair nor fell revenge</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let party names no more</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let songs of endless praise</td>
<td></td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let the world their virtue boast</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let thy kingdom, blessed Saviour</td>
<td></td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let worldly minds the world pursue</td>
<td></td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life is a span, a fleeting hour</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life is the time to serve the Lord</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lift up your heads in joyful hope</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like sheep we went astray</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo! God is here! let us adore</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo! he comes! with clouds descending</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo! the Lord Jehovah liveth!</td>
<td></td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo! what an entertaining sight</td>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord of mercy and of might</td>
<td></td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord of the worlds above</td>
<td></td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord what a feeble piece</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing—Bid</td>
<td></td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing—Fill</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord, how secure and blest are they</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord, in the morning thou shalt hear</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord, in thy great, thy glorious name</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord, thou hast known my inmost mind</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord, thou wilt hear me when I pray</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord, what a thoughtless wretch was I</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord, what is man, poor feeble man?</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord, when thou didst ascend on high</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord, who's the happy man that may</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Loud swell the pealing organ's notes 40
Love divine, all love excelling 175

'Mid scenes of affliction with sorrow 135 204
'Mid scenes of confusion and creature 293
Mine eyes and my desire 124
Morning breaks upon the tomb 225 319
Mother! I'm dying now 214 292
Mournfully, tenderly, bear on the dead 223 301
My country! 'tis of thee 122 188
My God permit me not to be 30
My God the spring of all my joys 217 86, 295
My God, accept my early vows 43
My God, my portion, and my love 95
My God, permit me not to be 34
My heart and flesh cry out for thee 32 46
My passions fly to seek their King 84
My Redeemer, let me be 117 183
My refuge is the God of love 81
My soul be on thy guard 79 117
My soul repeat his praise 78 116
My span of life will soon be done 97
My thoughts that often mount the skies 102

No burning heats of by day 95 149
No more fatigue, no more distress 14 14
Not from the dust afflictions grows 102
Not to our names, thou only just and true 130 196
Now I lay me down to sleep 219 351
Now in a song of grateful praise 210 288
Now let our drooping hearts revive 93
Now let our mournful songs record 42
Now shall my head be lifted high 101
Now shall my inward joys arise 98
Now shall my soul in God rejoice 32
Now the Saviour stands a pleading 344
Now to the Lord a noble song 13 13

O 'twas a joyful sound to hear 36 50
O Almighty God of love 114 180
O come, come away! 304
O could I soar to worlds above 19 19
O for a closer walk with God 183 261
O for a heart to praise my God 99
O for a thousand tongues to sing 62 76
O happy are they, Who the saviour obey 126 192
O holy, holy, holy Lord
O let me feel thy love
O praise the Lord with one consent
O tell me no more of this world's
O tell me where the dove has flown
O there will be mourning
O thou in whose presence my soul
O thou that hear'st the prayer of faith
O thou to whom all creatures bow
O thou who driest the mourner's tear
O turn ye, O turn ye, for why would ye die
O what ship is this that comes sailing by
O when shall I see Jesus
O Zion, afflicted with wave upon wave
Oft as I lay me down to rest
Oft in the stilly night
Oh happy is the man who hears
Oh if poor sinners did but know
Oh no, we cannot sing the song
Oh! land of rest, for thee I sigh
Oh, could I speak the matchless worth
Oh, could our thoughts and wishes fly
On Jordan's stormy banks I stand
On the mountain's top appearing
Once more we come before our God
Once more, my soul, the rising day
Our blest Redeemer, ere he breathed
Our days are as the grass
Our Father in heaven
Our Father who art in heaven
Our life is ever on the wing
Parted many a toil-spent year
Pass a few swiftly fleeing years
Peace, troubled soul, thou need'st not fear!
Peace, troubled soul, whose plaintive moan
Praise God from whom all blessings flow
Praise to God! immortal praise
Prayer is appointed to convey
Preserve me, Lord, in time of need
Prisoners of hope, lift up your heads
Prisoners of hope, lift up your heads
Return, O God of love return
Review the palsied sinner's case
Rise, my soul, and stretch thy wings
Salvation belongeth belongeth unto the Lord 226
Salvation! O the joyful sound 49 63, 100
Save me, O God, the swelling floods 44 58
Saviour, breath an evening blessing 200 278
Saviour, the world's and mine 122 188
Saw ye my Saviour 176 254
See Israel's gentle Shepherd stand 87
See Sodom wrapt in fire! 69 107
See the leaves around us falling 174
See the Lord of Glory dying! 108 168
See what a living stone 125
See, brothers, see! how the day rolls on 194 272
Shall the vile race of flesh and blood 20 20
Shall we go on to sin 67 105
Shepherds, rejoice: lift up your eyes 93
Show pity Lord, O Lord, forgive 39
Since man by sin, has lost his God 182 260
Sing praise! the tomb is void 354
Sinners hear the melting story 175
Sinners, turn, why will ye die 100 156
Sister, thou wast mild and lovely 226 176
Soft be the gently breathing notes 171 38, 249
Soldiers of Christ arise 70, 197 108, 120, 275
Soon shall the glorious morning dawn 64 78
Sovereign grace has power alone 347
Spare us, O Lord, aloud we cry 12 12
Spirit! spirit! spirit, thy labor is o'er 222 300
Stay, thou insulted Spirit, stay 3 3
Sweet is the day of sacred rest 22 22, 37
Sweet is the work, my God, my King 35, 41
Sweet the moments, rich in blessing 172, 314
Sweet was the time when first I felt 37, 236 51, 330

Tell me, wanderer, wildly roving 305
That awful day will surely come 92
The chariot! the chariot! 188 266
The day has come, the joyful day 204 282
The day is far spent, the evening is night 200
The day is past and gone 340
The evening shades of life 76 114
The flowery spring, at God's command 5 5
The glorious time is rolling on 232 326
The God of Abr'am praise 123, 124 189, 190
The God of glory sends his summons forth 198
The God we worship now 67 105
The gospel is lovely and precious to me 244
The great God of love, hath shined 332
The heavens declare thy glory, Lord 34
The hill of Zion yields 80 118
The Lord descended from above 50 64
The Lord hath eyes to give the blind 138
The Lord into his garden comes 228 322
The Lord is our shepherd, our guardian130, 132 196, 202
The Lord is risen indeed, Hallelujah 207
The Lord Jehovah reigns 97 151, 152
The Lord my pasture shall prepare 89 136, 140
The morning light is breaking 112 178
The morning sun shines from the east 214
The old Israelites knew what it was 245 339
The pearl that worldlings covet 185 263, 313
The pure testimony put forth in the Spirit240 334
The righteous souls that take their flight 66 80
The vernal flowers their beauties spread 306
The voice of my beloved sounds 118 184
The wond'ring world inquires to know 35
Thee we adore, Eternal Name 82, 95
There are angels hovering round 198 276
There comes a day, a fearful day 343
There is a band of brethren dear 234 328
There is a fountain, filled with blood 64 78
There is a land of pure delight 35 49, 82, 104
There is a stream whose gentle flow 7 7, 39
There is an hour of peaceful rest 227
There's not a bright and beaming smile 261
There's not a star whose twinkling light 303
There's not in this wide world so blest 196 274
Thine earthly Sabbaths, Lord we love; 14
This book is all that's left me now! 180, 219 258, 308
This day our souls have caught new fire 241 335
This life's a dream, an empty show 28 28
This world is all a fleeting show 195 273
This world's not all a fleeting show 273
Those evening bells, those evening bells 250
Thou art gone to the grave, but we 222
Thou art gone to the grave, we no longer 223
Thou dear Redeemer, dying Lamb 66 80
Thou great Instructor lest I stray 34
Thou sweet gliding Kedron 135, 207 205, 285
Thou whom my soul admires 8 8
Thou, Lord, reign'st in this bosom 175 253
Through every age eternal God 16, 24 16, 24
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Through tribulation deep</th>
<th>239</th>
<th>333</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thus far the Lord hath led me on</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thus saith the high and lofty One</td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thy life I read, my gracious Lord</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thy name, Almighty Lord</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thy word the raging winds control</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Tis a point I long to know</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Tis finished, so the Saviour cried</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Tis the last blooming summer</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Tis the last sun that ever</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To bless thy chosen race</td>
<td></td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To leave my dear friends</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To thy pastures fair and large</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Together let us sweetly live</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tossed upon life's raging billow</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Twas in a vale where osiers grow</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Twas thus by the glare of false science</td>
<td></td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Unveil thy bosom, faithful tomb |     | 241 |

| Vital spark of heavenly flame |     | 216 |

| Watchman! tell us of the night |     | 233 |
| Watchmen, onward to your stations | 119 | 185 |
| We shall see a light appear | 213 | 323 |
| We're travelling home to heaven above | 242 | 336 |
| Welcome sweet day of rest |     | 125 |
| What heavenly music do I hear | 187 | 265 |
| What if the saint must die |     | 122 |
| What seraph-like music falls sweet | 202 | 280 |
| What shall I render to my God |     | 89  |
| What sound is this salutes my ear? |     | 342 |
| What various hindrances we meet | 251 | 353 |
| What's this that steals, that steals | 176 | 254 |
| When all thy mercies, O my God | 63  | 77, 89 |
| When converts first begin to sing | 229 | 323 |
| When for eternal worlds we steer | 238 | 332 |
| When God revealed his gracious name | 61  | 75  |
| When I can read my title clear | 198 | 276, 344 |
| When I'm happy hear me sing |     | 345 |
| When in the sultry glebe I faint |     | 139 |
| When Joseph his brethren beheld | 252 |     |
| When marshalled on the nightly plain | 170 | 248 |
| When overwhelmed with grief | 71  | 109 |
| When shall I see the day | 188 | 266 |
| When shall the voice of singing |     | 177 |
When shall we all meet again? 192 270
When shall we meet again? 125, 181 191, 259
When snows descend and robe the fields 44 58
When strangers stand and hear me tell 21 21
When the Lord of glory cometh 243 337
When the spark of life is waning 217 295
When thou my righteous Judge shalt come 89, 201 140, 279
While life prolongs its precious light 307
When nature was sinking in stillness 239 333
While shepherds watched 46 60, 98
While Thee I seek, protecting Power 54 68
While, with ceaseless course, the sun 104 160
Whither goest thou, pilgrim stranger 248 350
Who is this stranger in distress 15 15
Who shall ascend thy heavenly place 41
Who, from the shades of gloomy night 13 13
Why do we mourn departed friends 58 72
Why should the children of a King 43 57
With a witness within, and a record on high 316
With all my powers of heart and tongue 16 16
With reverence let the saints appear 30 44
With songs and honors sounding loud 65 79
Would Jesus have the sinner die? 82, 186 128, 264

Ye boundless realms of joy 94, 96 148, 150
Ye Christian heralds, go proclaim 17 17
Ye Christian heroes, wake to glory 348
Ye objects of sense and enjoyments of time 191 269
Ye servants of God, your Master proclaim 126 192
Ye simple souls that stray 123 189
Ye soldiers of Jesus 349
Ye sons of men with joy record 18 18
Ye who know your sins forgiven 206 284
You will see the judge descending 243
Your harps, ye trembling saints 127
WORKS CITED


American Harmony, The. 1771. Newbury, Massachusetts: Daniel Bailey. Two collections bound together, one contains works by William Tans'ur, the other of Aaron Williams.


Bunyan, John. n.d. The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to that which is to Come. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott.


"Death of Mr. Mansfield." Bangor Whig and Courier. 27 Feb. 1855.

Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, The. 1845. Cincinnati.


Harvey, Miss H. 1812. *Hymns and Spiritual Songs on Different Subjects Collected from a Variety of Authors*. Albany.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. 1894. *The House of the Seven Gables*. 


History of New Ipswich, from its First Grant in MDCCXXXVI. To the Present Time: With Genealogical Notices of the Principal Families, and also the Proceedings of the Centennial Celebration, September 11, 1850. 1852. Boston: Gould and Lincoln.


Lee, Jesse. 1810. *A Short History of the Methodists, in the United States of America; Beginning in 1766, and Continued till 1809.* To which is Prefixed, a Brief Account of their Rise in England, in the Year 1729, &C. Baltimore.


Letters between Abner Fairbanks, Parkman, Geauga County, Ohio and his parents, Hope and Union, Maine, and among the Fairbanks children and parents, 1815-1838. Typescript. MS 67-3517. Maine Historical Society, Portland. This collection includes:

   Eunice Fairbanks to Abner and Nancy [McMillen] Fairbanks, 5 Feb., 1815;
John Fairbanks and Eunice Fairbanks to Abner Fairbanks, 1 Sept., 1821;

An obituary from an unidentified source for Nancy Fairbanks and the Fairbanks children, Lewis, Winfield S., and Caroline Fairbanks;

Eunice Fairbanks to Abner Fairbanks, 22 Dec., 1825;

F. S. F[airbanks] and Elizabeth Fairbanks to John and Eunice Fairbanks, 11 July, 1827;

John Fairbanks to Lewis Wentworth, 12 Aug., 1838.


Mansfield, Israel and James Rudden to Methodist Episcopal Church. Deed. 22 Mar., 1855.

Mansfield, Rev. D. H. 1849.  The American Vocalist . . . . Revised Edition. Boston: W. J. Reynolds. The revised edition of the Vocalist is much more common than the first. It remained in print until after the Civil War. Reynolds was succeeded by Brown, Taggard, and Chase, Brown and Taggard (by 1859), and eventually Oliver Ditson. Besides the American Antiquarian Society and the Bangor Theological Seminary, the Boston University School of Theology, the Boston Public Library, the New York Public Library, and many other libraries own copies of this common book. The Lowell Mason library of Yale University owns a copy inscribed to Mason by Mansfield.

Map of Waldo County, Maine. 1859. n.p.: J. Chase, Jr.


McKeen, Rev. Silas. 1875. A History of Bradford, Vermont. Containing some account of the place--of its first settlement in 1765, and the principal improvements made, and events which have occurred down to 1874--A Period of One Hundred and Nine Years. With Various Genealogical Records, and Biographical Sketches of Families and Individuals, some Deceased, and Others Still Living. Montpelier: J. D. Clark & Son.


Methodist Hymnal with Tunes. 1878.

Minutes of the East Maine Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church. 1848. Bangor.

Minutes of the East Maine Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church. 1849. Bangor.

Minutes of the East Maine Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church. 1850. Bangor.

Minutes of the East Maine Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church. 1851. Bangor.

Minutes of the East Maine Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church. 1852. Bangor.

Minutes of the East Maine Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church. 1853. Bangor.

Minutes of the East Maine Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church. 1854. Bangor.

Minutes of the East Maine Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church. 1855. Bangor.


"Old Psalm Tunes." *State Signal and New Planet* [Belfast, Maine]. 4 Nov. 1847


Pilsbury, Rev. W. H. 1887. *History of Methodism in East Maine, from the Date of its Coming, in 1793, to 1886*. Augusta: Charles E. Nash. Published in the same volume as Allen 1887.

Lincoln County Registry of Probate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Probate records for Daniel H. Mansfield. Lincoln County Registry of Probate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Sibley, John Langdon. 1851. History of the Town of Union, in the County of Lincoln, Maine, to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century. Boston: Benjamin Mussey.


"Wesleyan Grove Camp Meeting." Progressive Age [Belfast]. 15 Sept. 1859.


Whitcomb, Abner to Jacob Mansfield. Deed. 20 Mar., 1801. Lincoln County Registry of Deeds.


