## Shaping and Sharing Techniques for Sight-Singing

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Between John Cabot's discoveries in the New World and the turn of the new millennium lay five hundred years of a remarkable English and American choral music tradition. The body of choral literature on which this tradition feasts is much like an iceberg: most of us only experience its tip during a lifetime. If we think carefully about this picture, two primary factors determine how much repertoire each of us is able to perform as a choral singer. First, we must have ample opportunities to sing choral music. Since most choral directors maintain an active and ongoing search for good choral singers, finding an excellent choir in which to sing should not present a problem. Beyond that negligible hurdle then, one must have the skill to learn music quickly and accurately, by note, rather than by rote. Without facile sight-singing skills, the unsophisticated singer is relegated to the slow and tedious process of learning music by imitation. How can such a singer ever hope to plumb the depths of fascinating and meaningful choral literature and to attempt that which is challenging?

Over time, methods for teaching sight-singing have changed, but in many ways they have remained remarkably the same. Ideas—such as those involving the use of one's hand—which became popular a thousand years ago are still useful, though they have evolved as they have been shared with various groups of learners. For the purposes of this study, the focus is on historical methods for teaching melodic sight-singing in England and America.

Five hundred years ago when Cabot set sail, choral singing was enjoyed primarily by choirs of men and boys in cathedrals and collegiate chapels. The modal melodic patterns found in complex votive antiphons composed in the early Renaissance era were learned by way of a system dating from the Middle Ages. In his ground-breaking writings, the Benedictine monk Guido d'Arrezo (c. 991-after 1033) lamented the inefficiency of learning chants by heart. Wouldn't it be preferable if there were a system of notation to enable singers to learn chants by sight? To distinguish among pitches, he introduced a stave with lines. Two were colored: yellow for C and red for F, to draw attention to the half steps, B and E, in the respective spaces beneath the colored lines. An ascending scale of pitches was designated, beginning with the Greek letter *gamma* on the lowest line of the F or bass clef, proceeding up through the Roman alphabet for two and a half octaves. Thus, the alphabet letters by which most of us label our note names are essentially those bequeathed to us by Guido a thousand years ago.

Guido, however, was not persuaded that sight-singing with absolute note names was the best teaching method. In an attempt to develop a system that would

prove relative, that is, one capable of modulation or what he termed "mutation," he made use of a chant-like tune, possibly self-composed, to the hymn text *Ut queant laxis*. (Ex. 1)

Ex. 1 C D F Ut que-ant	Guido d'Arezzo  DE D  laxis	Ut queant laxis D D C D E E re-so-na-re fi-bris
<b>EFG E</b> Mi- ra	<b>D EC D</b> ge-sto-rum	F G a G FED D fa-mu-li tuo rum,
<b>GaG FE</b> Sol ve	F G D pol-lu-ti	a G a F Ga a la-bi-i re-atum
<b>GF ED C E</b> San-cte Jo-ar	_	(Guido, 1950, p. 124)

The first syllable of each succeeding line of text was set to a pitch one step higher in the scale. Only the first six steps of the scale were used, and these formed a hexachord, which we may describe today as *do-re-mi-fa-sol-la*. At the midpoint of the hexachord lay a minor second. On either side of the half step lay, moving in each direction, two whole steps. Guido viewed the semi-tone as a valuable recurring landmark for the singer. He sought to discover a single teaching technique that could transfer from mode to mode, and in the hexachord he found his perfect tool. By slowly comparing a new melody with the phrases associated with the syllables *ut-re-mi-fa-sol-la*, a chorister could figure out how to "prick," that is, notate, a melody, and vice versa. The term *gamut* became an apt term to denote the clear connection between the absolute and relative note names. The bass clef first line "G," called *gamma*, was semantically linked to the sol-fa syllable *ut*, and the result was the word *gam-ut*.

In addition to the marriage of the textually-derived syllables to absolute note names, Guido is credited with another well known sight-singing technique, that of the "Guidonian hand." In the words of Thomas Morley, as published in London in 1597, one hundred years after Cabot's voyage:

to the intent [Guido's] invention might the longer remain and the more easily be learned of children, he framed and applied his scale to the hand, setting upon every joint a several key, beginning at the thumb's end and descending on the inside, then orderly through the lowest joints of every finger, ascending on the little finger and then upon the tops of the rest, still going about, setting his last key E la (e") upon the upper joint of the middle finger on the outside. (Morley, 1597/1973, p. 104)

With the Guidonian hand, choristers from the eleventh century on could visualize the scale in a kinesthetic manner. The gamut could be practiced with the use of the teacher's or the student's own hand.

By the end of the sixteenth century, notions of the value of sight-singing and of the hexachord had undergone significant change. The opening premise of Morley's A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music, for example, involves

a young man who seeks music lessons after having been thoroughly embarrassed at a dinner party because his lack of sight-singing skills did not allow him to partake in the singing of madrigals following dinner. In a scene from Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, a young woman is indignant that another character doubts she has knowledge of the basic rudiments of music. "Why, I am past my <u>Gamut</u> long ago!" she proclaims, and continues, "Gamut...A re...B mi...C fa ut...D sol re...E la mi." (Act III, Scene 1) These scenarios provide evidence of the fact that members of the upper crust of society, though not necessarily royalty, were expected to be musically literate. Thus the sociology of sight-singing had changed as well as the method.

Although the *ut-re-mi* terminology is still to be found in Morley's book, the underlay for his examples eliminates the syllables *ut* and *re*. Only four syllables, *fa-sol-la-mi*, remain. How did this metamorphosis occur? A look at the following table (Ex. 2) demonstrates how this relative system's ability to modulate overcame the need for the first two syllables and fulfilled the need for a complete diatonic scale as we know it.

Ex. 2 Guido's <u>Gamut</u> (Morley, 1597/1973, p. 11)

е	<u>e'</u>				La
d	<u>ď'</u>			La	Sol
С	<u>c'</u>			Sol	Fa
b	<u>b</u>			Fa	□ Mi
а	<u>a</u>		La	Mi	Re
G	д		Sol	Re	Ut
F	<u>f</u>		Fa	Ut	
E	e	La	Mi		
D	đ	Sol	Re		
С	C	Fa	Ut		
þ	<u>B</u>	Mi			
Α	A	Re			
<u>r</u>	<u>G</u>	Ut			

The C or so-called natural hexachord begins on fa in the context of the G hexachord. When the syllables run out, one can move to the C hexachord column. When the syllables run out once again, the scale is finished off with the appropriate syllables from the G hexachord. The syllable mi serves appropriately as the seventh or leading tone. It did not appear to be of consequence that the half step between the third and fourth steps of the scale was not denoted by two contiguous syllables associated with a minor second, that is, mi-fa, or ti-do in our modern system. To clarify, the new system of syllables for the major scale was:

Major scale: fa sol la fa sol la mi fa For the minor scale, the sixth degree of the major scale provides the starting point:

Minor scale: la mi fa sol la fa sol la In the twentieth century, many sight-singing teachers in colleges also treat minor scales as do-based with flatted syllables for the third, sixth, and seventh degrees of the scale. At this point, it is worth noting that there appears to be no historical precedent for the use of do as a tonal center for music in the minor mode. All historical systems of relative solmization use la as the tonic in minor keys.

On the Continent, the European system of "fixed do" was codified in France and adopted in Italy around 1600. The syllable si, emanating from the two words "Sancte Iohannis," was added to denote the seventh, or leading tone. The Germans, on the other hand, remained wedded to the use of alphabetic note names, and by this time, they had invented note names for chromatic alterations that are still in use today, for example, C, Cis, D, Dis, for sharped notes, and B, Bes, A, Ais, G, Ges for flatted notes.

Back in England, the four-syllable fa-sol-la system of movable do proved durable and efficient for quite some time, as John Playford explains in the 1674 edition of An Introduction to the Skill of Musick:

in these latter times, Four are only in use, the which are *Sol*, *La*, *Mi*, *Fa*; so that Ut and Re are now changed into *Sol* and *La*, four being found sufficient for expressing the several sounds, and less burthensome for the memory of Practitioners. (Playford, 1674/1966, pp. 1-2)

Playford's ideas appear to have sailed to America with the Puritans, because the ninth edition of the *Bay Psalm Book*, printed in Boston in 1698, places the capital letters "FSLM," to represent the four sol-fa syllables, under the musical notes for the thirteen tunes included.<sup>2</sup>

From then on, the four-syllable system for sight-singing begins a long and sturdy American tradition that continues to this day. In 1721, the Rev. John Tufts published the first edition of a slim volume that Irving Lowens describes as the beginning of organized music education in America. Titled an *Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes*, it was most likely the book described in this advertisement found in a 1721 issue of the *Boston News-Letter*.

A Small Book containing 20 Psalm Tunes, with Directions how to Sing them, contrived in the most easy Method ever yet Invented, for the ease of Learners, whereby even Children, or People of the meanest Capacities, may come to Sing them by Rule...(Lowens, 1964, p. 41)

Congregational singing in America had sunk to a sad state, and those who yearned for improvement were convinced that the ability to read music was the key to success. Learning to "sing by rule" and "by note rather than rote" were battle cries for those who sought to stamp out the "old way of singing." An unofficial race was on to see who could invent the most efficient and thorough method of teaching sight-singing.

The Rev. Tufts' solution—though probably not an original one—was to put the capital letters "FSLM" directly onto the staff in place of actual notes. This idea was useful, since the rhythms of the most popular common meter [8.6.8.6.] hymn tunes were extremely simple [long-short-short-short-short-short-short-long; long-short-short-short-short-short-long]. It is easy to imagine, however, that this system was severely limited by that fact that rhythms could not be simultaneously notated.

Before discussing other new ideas, it is important to note that another sociological shift for music teaching has occurred. If one of Tufts' goals was to teach "People of the meanest Capacities" to sight-read, then a pattern has been set in motion by society that eventually results in education for all classes of children, not just the privileged few. In fact, charity schools, based on English models, were already in place in New York City by 1702 and later in other parts the East Coast.<sup>3</sup>

The years surrounding the American Revolution proved positive and eventful for the youthful America in many ways, not least of which was the growing presence of a native group of amateur musicians who excelled at composing, compiling, and publishing volumes of sacred tunes. Many of these same men became itinerant teachers who traveled from villages to cities to teach the rudiments of music and vocal training in short courses known as Singing Schools. The most revered and important composer among this group was William Billings of Boston who lived from 1746 to 1800. A tanner by trade, Billings published *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, the first volume of wholly American music by a single composer, in 1770. Billings was a master of the popular form called a "fuging tune." His 1770 volume, which includes an "Explanation of the most Useful Terms," defines "Fuge or Fuging" as "Notes flying after of the same. N.B. Fuging is accounted the most grateful both to Performers and Auditors, of any Part in Composition." (Billings, 1770/1981, p. 33)4

We are left to wonder about the teaching methods used to teach sight-singing by Billings and other singing masters in the late eighteenth century. Chapter one in Billings' "Introduction to the Rules of MUSICK, With such Directions for Singing, as is most easy and necessary for Learners" explains the GAMUT thoroughly, as we might expect. (Billings, 1770/1981, p. 13) But while attempts were ongoing to improve upon the ideas of Tufts and other tunebook compilers, no one hit on a sufficiently reliable method until about the time of Billings' death in 1800. The "nub of the problem," as Irving Lowens expresses it, "was to devise a system in which pitch, time, and solmization were combined into a single, easily assimilated notation." (Lowens, 1964, p. 115)

A clever solution was just at hand. In 1801, the first edition appeared of *The Easy Instructor; or a new method of teaching Sacred Harmony* by William Little and William Smith. Very little is known about these two fellows whose new style of musical notation was genuinely inventive and of great value: each of the four sol-fa syllables was assigned a distinct shape for its note head which could be left open or filled-in, as the rhythm dictated. The major mode tonic note, *fa*, was represented by a triangle, *sol* by the usual style of round note, *la* by a square, and *mi* by a diamond. Soon this method was disseminated throughout New England, and compilers

of new tunebooks were quick to have their books printed in shape notes. Each book was prefaced by pages of *rudiments* which singing masters used as a textbook for their singing schools. The sequence of tunes was intended to proceed from easy to difficult: plain tunes first, then more complex fuging tunes, followed by longer anthems and odes at the end.

Back in England, society's overriding goals for music education were essentially the same as those in America: 1) to educate all children, not just the privileged, and 2) to improve congregational psalmody. Ideas from abroad took hold, especially those of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. Neither was a great musician, but each was greatly convinced that a musical education was invaluable for all children. Rousseau's long struggle to learn how to read music resulted in his invention of a form of musical notation that relied on numbers. He was adamant in his belief that the French method of "fixed do" was a gross error, and that a movable system was most helpful. Like proponents of movable do before and after, he touted the latter method's greatest advantage as being that one need not struggle with transposition or key signatures. Pestalozzi's primary goal as an educator was "to elevate the lowly condition of the common people," (Mark, 1982, p. 91) and the ideas he espoused could be applied to any subject. His inductive methodology soon captured the imagination of music educators on both sides of the Atlantic.

Lowell Mason, born in Massachusetts in 1792, was clearly the most important American music educator of the nineteenth century. Deemed "the father of singing among the children," he secured a place for music education in the public school curricula of Boston and other US cities. At the same time though, he was one of several New Englanders responsible for an attitude that sounded the death knell for shaped-notes as a sight-singing methodology in the urbanized East. For the most part, the repertoire associated with shaped-notes was not composed by men who had the benefit of "proper" music studies. Instead these so-called "Yankee tunesmiths" reflected America's hard-won independence by eschewing European musical ideals. The American Revolution was now a thing of the past, however, and people of influence were quick to look to Europe for the finest quality for all manner of products including education. Church organs became more prevalent, so church choirs were no longer required to sing a cappella. At first organs were shipped from abroad, but gradually factories for all sorts of musical instruments were founded in America, undoubtedly staffed by craftsmen from the old countries. On the Continent, the Classical era was giving way to the Romantic style: music was refined, the melody resided in the top voice,6 and secular works and instrumental music became fashionable. Movable do was still considered the best of solfege in many places, but seven syllables were utilized. The four-shape system, like fugues and fuging tunes, was hopelessly old-fashioned. Shaped-notes were so closely associated with the musical styles of country bumpkins that, in essence, the baby was thrown out with the bath water. (Stegall, 1978, p. 10)

Lowell Mason's excellent teaching materials, published throughout the mideighteenth century, were infused with ideas that many of us assume were developed during the twentieth century by educators such as Kodály, Suzuki, and Ed Gordon. Mason stressed that singing should be taught at first as speaking is, that is, by rote. Then while children continue to learn by imitation, they may gradually learn the signs or notation of musical sounds. "Instruction is first addressed to the ear, afterwards to the eye," he said (Mason & Webb, 1846, p. iii). He also stressed the

importance of analysis: children should experience the whole of something, then think carefully about its parts before re-experiencing the whole again. Concepts should be reviewed often and thoroughly mastered before the teaching of new concepts is attempted.

In regard to the sequencing of melodic material, however, Mason was not particularly creative or thoughtful. He began with scale steps one and two, then added three, and so on. Suggestions and devices he championed for the teaching of note reading included solmization, numeral drills, aural dictation, the musical ladder, modulation, the circle of keys or key-wheel, the blackboard, and the cultivation of a rudimentary form of absolute pitch. (Lowndes, 1946, p. 75) Perhaps inspired by Rousseau, he seemed to rotate his use of numbers and solfège syllables. Others were convinced that numbers were awkward and that major and minor chord patterns, not scale steps, were the way to proceed.

One such thinker was the Englishman John Curwen, a Congregational minister who aimed to improve psalmody among Sunday School children. He experimented quite a lot in his teaching, but he also sought out the best ideas of other well-known music educators. When Lowell Mason came to England in 1851 for the second of two long European tours, he and Curwen commiserated on several occasions about how best to teach vocal music to children. Both were highly indebted to Pestalozzi for general procedural concepts. Curwen became particularly adept at taking other teachers' techniques and improving upon them. For example, he observed and then borrowed several ancillary devices from Sarah Glover, the eldest daughter of an Anglican rector in Norwich.

Miss Glover was an erstwhile and musically talented teacher who became renowned for the sweet sound and the solid achievement of her children's choirs. As her reputation spread, she was encouraged to share her techniques for success. In 1835 she published her Scheme to Render Psalmody Congregational. This pamphlet had much in common with Lowell Mason's publications. For example, the first paragraph of her Scheme read: "In teaching children music, I think it best to instruct them on the same principle as they are taught speech; viz., BY DEDUCING THEORY FROM PRACTICE, RATHER THAN PRACTICE FROM THEORY. (Rainbow, 1967, p. 51) Miss Glover's program was also committed to movable do. She used the capital letter of each solfège syllable for shorthand, and found it necessary to change si to ti so that it could not be confused with sol. With the use of her so-called "sol-fa ladder." she drilled students using tuneful material rather than dry, unmusical exercises. She delayed the introduction of staff notation until her system of "Norwich Solfa" notation was thoroughly mastered. With this system of letters, dots, plus signs, and so forth, she could express both the pitch and rhythm of vocal music without the use of staves. She worked hard to develop an association between sound and symbol with her pupils, and she agreed with Mason that the major scale was best viewed as two tetrachords: DRMF and SLTD'. Her search for perfect methods resulted in other unique solutions; however, the best of the lot have been mentioned.

As previously stated, Curwen was quite taken with her techniques, but he was convinced that some of her ideas were not without problems. He took it upon himself to fix these, and dubbed his method "Tonic sol-fa" to avoid confusion with her "Norwich Solfa." She was not pleased with his so-called improvements, but it appears that the two eventually came to have a cordial relationship. Curwen's adapted Tonic sol-fa notation of letters and punctuation marks became quite

popular in England and generated a small publishing empire for the Curwen family. Even Handel's *Messiah* was available in this format. Parts of Great Britain, especially Wales, were so positively convinced of the worth of this notation that some singers never learned to read from staff notation. Many of the older Oxford University Press octavos still stocked in music shops are cluttered with the sol-fa notation above the stave for each part. Without it, a significant number of British singers would be helpless.

In 1869 the Tonic Sol-fa College was founded in London to train teachers to use Curwen's methods. In 1972 the College's council updated the school's curricula to reflect popular ideas from within England and abroad, and, for one thing, the punctuation marks used to denote rhythms were eliminated from sol-fa notation. Learning to sight-sing from staff notation was interwoven with use of the pitch syllables [d, r, m, etc.], and a new body, the Curwen Institute, was formed to encourage use of the new system.

One of the last devices invented by Curwen has proved to be one of the most useful. In 1870 he introduced his "Manual Signs." These hand signs, representing sol-fa syllables, allowed the teacher to face the class instead of looking at a tone ladder known as the "Modulator." The hand signs also had another function. Curwen was convinced that "we sing by recalling the character of the scale rather than by mere intervals." (Rainbow, 1967, pp. 151-152) Thus, the shape of the hand for each sign was engineered to reflect the mood of its syllable. (Rainbow, 1980, 64)

DOH strong or firm tone
RAY rousing or hopeful
ME steady or calm
FAH desolate or awe-inspiring
SOH grand or bright
LAH sad or weeping
TE piercing or sensitive

For chromatic inflections of fah, soh, and te, it was possible to modify the signs slightly.

At the turn of the twentieth century, tonic sol-fa had strong supporters including the church musician, composer, and musicologist John Stainer, and the London *Times* music critic Fuller-Maitland. But music education in both England and the US was in the process of a fundamental change in philosophy. As interest in instrumental music studies boomed, the value of singing and sight-singing was less obvious. Emphasis shifted to music listening and singing as a recreational activity. Music was touted as a humanizing, "feel-good" subject. This is ironic, since one of the best ways to boost self-esteem is to teach children practical skills so that they can do for themselves and thereby feel good about their achievements.

It was not until Zoltán Kodály showed concern for the lack of musical literacy in Hungarians and sought to correct this deficiency in the middle part of the twentieth century that skills in sight-singing once again became a critical concern for music educators. Kodály traveled widely to usurp, as Curwen had, the most successful methods of teaching musicianship skills. In the realm of melodic studies, he latched onto Curwen's tonic sol-fa and manual hand signs, improved upon them, and made them famous around the world as an effective tool for bridging the gap between the ear and the mysteries of staff notation.

Like Lowell Mason and, to a certain extent, the Yankee tunesmiths who preceded him, Kodály collected and composed singing materials, sequenced them

according to difficulty, and published them in graded books. The sources of the songs, however, differed substantially among these teachers. The tunesmiths, like Kodály, favored native materials for teaching. Mason, on the other hand, rejected American material in favor of European music. He believed that the Germans excelled at composing songs for children; therefore, he leaned heavily on that repertoire for his school books. (Mason & Webb, 1846, p. iii)

Happily several important American music educators have come along in recent years to reassert the importance of other nineteenth-century ideas about methodology. Edwin Gordon of Temple University has affirmed the value of separating rhythmic and melodic studies and of teaching major and minor simultaneously. His sequencing, like Rousseau's and Glover's, begins with chord tones. At the University of Hartford, John Feierabend has added his stamp of approval to much of Gordon's philosophy and has stressed the correctness of Curwen who criticized Sarah Glover for singing along with her children. As Dr. Feierabend is fond of insisting in workshops, "We must sing for our children, not with them." Provide a model; then listen critically.

What conclusions may be drawn from this brief journey through five hundred years of developments designed to share and shape sight-singing techniques? Of course the value of singing a cappella choral music on a regular basis should never be underestimated. Rote learning of numerous tunes provides students with a vocabulary of patterns on which to build. Educators from Guido forward have stressed the importance of beginning with the known and gradually teaching the unknown. Those who have devoted entire careers to thinking about this important subject have come to the conclusion that the sense of relativity provided by the movable do system is critical to success. To those who raise the inevitable question about how to deal with atonal music in such a system, several replies come to mind. A farmous Kodály teacher was once asked why there were hand signs for fi, si, and ta, but none for the other chromatic syllables. The teacher replied that by the time the student was ready for more chromaticism, he no longer needed the hand signs. By the same token, once solid musicianship is established, singers should be able to teach themselves atonal tunes without the need for solfège syllables. Two other factors may also be considered: most of us hardly ever teach or sing atonal music, but if we discover when we do, that our sight-singing skills are rusty—a dilemma which regular singing can cure — then most of us do have the modern piano at our disposal as a quick aid.

In closing let's remind ourselves that some of the most successful sight-singing techniques have historically been given a black eye by stuffy academics because of their association with teaching to the lower classes. Let's give credit where it is due. The methods succeeded. Guido's hand worked miracles for six hundred years. A significant number of singers in the US still learn to sight-sing with either the old four-shape "fa-sol-la" system or newer systems of seven shaped-notes. Curwen's hand signs teach children all around the world to sight-sing. Shaping devices like these have proved themselves effective wherever they have been closely associated with staff notation. Let's continue to share them with our students, both children and adults, so that choral singing will have an even brighter future during the next five hundred years.

## **Endnotes**

<sup>1</sup>In the nineteenth century, the four-syllable system becomes associated with Lancashire and a book written by James Greenwood and published in 1879 entitled *The Sol-fa System of Teaching Singing as used in Lancashire and Yorkshire* was still for sale in England in the 1930s.

<sup>2</sup>Playford used this manner of notation only in the 1672 edition of his *Introduction*; (Lowens, 1964, p. 35) thus, the compiler of the *Bay Psalm Book* was clearly familiar with this specific edition.

<sup>3</sup>Although there is no conclusive evidence that children in charity schools were taught to sight-sing, the author's own unpublished research (1984) confirms that psalmody was an important part of the curriculum. It is curious that Rainbow quotes Miss Glover as noting "some thought that a plan to teach music scientifically to children in a Charity School was dangerous." (Rainbow, 1967, p. 46)

<sup>4</sup>In a chapter on Singing Schools in his book on this history of music education in the US, James Keene quotes Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896) on the subject of fuging tunes. She describes the singing of fuging music as "a grand wild freedom, an energy of motion,...that well expressed the heart of a people courageous in combat and unshaken in endurance." (Keene, 1982, p. 30) Unfortunately Keene neglects to document the source of this fine quote.

<sup>5</sup>One of the most durable of these books, the *Missouri Harmony*, was compiled in St. Louis, Missouri, and first printed in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1820.

<sup>6</sup>The melody of shaped-note tunes, as well as that of some of the West Gallery repertoire in England, is found in the tenor part. The treble part tends to function as a descant.

<sup>7</sup>According to *The Song-Garden...Second Book*, published by Lowell Mason in 1864, the solfège syllables that he used were "Do, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, Si." (p. 7)

8 Mason's first journey to England and the Continent was in 1837.

<sup>9</sup>A contemporary estimate is that by 1890, more than 39,000 copies of the Tonic Sol-fa edition of *Messiah* had been sold. (Rainbow, 1980, p. 65)

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