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*It is with pleasure that we inaugurate the reprint of the entire seven volumes of The Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning. The journal began in 1990 as The Quarterly. In 1992, with volume 3, the name changed to The Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning and continued until 1997. The journal contained articles on issues that were timely when they appeared and are now important for their historical relevance. For many authors, it was their first major publication. Visions of Research in Music Education will publish facsimiles of each issue as it originally appeared. Each article will be a separate pdf file. Jason D. Vodicka has accepted my invitation to serve as guest editor for the reprint project and will compose a new editorial to introduce each volume. Chad Keilman is the production manager. I express deepest thanks to Richard Colwell for granting VRME permission to re-publish The Quarterly in online format. He has graciously prepared an introduction to the reprint series.*

# Lowell Mason, *The Cherokee Singing Book,* And The Missionary Ethic

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One of the intriguing riddles about Lowell Mason concerns the reason for his efforts to revise or eliminate “bad” tunes and encourage “scientific” reform in pedagogy. Writers such as Gilbert Chase have attributed this impulse to a “typical” American belief in progress, and most writers since have echoed this theme.<sup>1</sup> More recently, authors such as Carol Pemberton have recognized the pervasive religious influence in Mason’s life, but the degree that religious attitudes shaped and motivated Mason has been left largely unexplored.

There is evidence that New England religious attitudes and Mason’s general religious frame of mind influenced Mason’s actions. Missionary activities gave New England religion a powerful impulse to reform, and Mason was at the center of that activity. From 1843 to 1846, Mason assisted the leadership of the major American missionary organization in compiling a special music instruction book in Cherokee, *The Cherokee Singing Book (1846)*,<sup>2</sup> one of the first books published in the Sequoyan syllabary. Though Mason assisted with the publication of the book, he also found fault with it. Correspondence between missionary-linguists on the frontier and their Boston leaders about Mason’s advice confirms the influence Mason had in his church and its religious and lay benevolent organizations. The correspondence, seen in the light of evangelical Calvinism, reveals some of Mason’s attitudes toward music and toward those outside his re-

ligious circle, such as the Cherokees, and provides a way to see the riddle of Mason in a new light.

Mason, as a religious person, was essentially a follower and associate of the famous Lyman Beecher and a believer in Beecher’s “New Light” Calvinist theology. “New Light” beliefs resulted in strong religious and social reform and provided the catalyst for a strong missionary movement. To better understand Mason, his work, and his attitudes toward Native Americans, it is useful to see Mason in context of these beliefs as exemplified in the New England missionary movement.

## Lowell Mason’s Missionary Connections

Mason’s interests in missionary activities had a long history. As a New England expatriate in Savannah, Georgia, in the 1810s, he demonstrated outstanding leadership in missionary activities in the little New England enclave there.<sup>3</sup> His interests remained undiminished when he moved to Boston in 1827. David Noyes, a member of the Prudential Committee of New England’s most powerful missionary society and a trusted deacon in Lyman Beecher’s Hanover Street Church, played an important role in convincing Mason to organize the music program for Beecher.<sup>4</sup> At the time of Mason’s move, the headquarters—the missionary “rooms”—of the society were located in the basement of Hanover Street Church. The officers and secretaries of this society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), were trusted friends and advisors to Lyman Beecher, one of America’s most influential ministers and an important figure in the missionary movement.<sup>5</sup>

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Mason worked closely with David Greene, a member of Beecher's church, a friend of Beecher, and later domestic secretary of the ABCFM. Mason compiled with Greene the commercially successful *Church Psalms: A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, Adapted to Public Worship* in 1831, which became the standard hymnal in Mason's churches and served as a basis for later compilations and abridgements used in orthodox churches.<sup>6</sup> Mason and Greene had a close working relationship. Greene consulted with Mason on musical matters in the missionary organization for two decades, until his retirement in the late 1840s. Greene served as Vice President on the governing board of the Boston academy with the famous Congregationalist writer Jacob Abbott and other Boston evangelicals from Beecher's circles.<sup>7</sup> Greene would later ask Mason to assist with the compilation of *The Cherokee Singing Book* for the ABCFM.

The Boston Academy of Music had strong ties to these orthodox, "New Light" Calvinists—who were the minority in Unitarian Boston—and to the ABCFM, which itself was largely a product of the same group. There was even overlapping leadership. Of the list of people identified by Pemberton as being among the original founding members of the academy, most were from the orthodox Calvinist churches Mason served. Three members of the original officers and academy Governing Committee, David Noyes, William J. Hubbard, and William W. Stone, were also on the Prudential Committee which governed the ABCFM.<sup>8</sup> These men would have felt comfortable in the Boston Academy of Music, for the organizational structure of the academy resembled the corporate structure of the ABCFM, and it included a similar mixture of strong church leaders and well known political figures. The academy also attempted to be ecumenical, much like other evangelical lay organizations in Boston.<sup>9</sup>

“Mason and the missionaries would find no irony in having the Cherokees sing ‘America’ seven years after their forced removal from their homes in Georgia.”

Mason was at the forefront of Boston missionary activity. The circle of Boston churches, Hanover, Park Street, and Central, that Mason served were at the center of New England missionary efforts and the scenes in the early nineteenth century of elaborate ordination ceremonies for young missionaries leaving for ABCFM posts around the world. Mason conducted monthly services for missionary work at Park Street Church in 1830, using several special hymns composed for missionary work, including “Watchman Tell

Us of the Night” and “From Greenland’s Icy Mountains.”<sup>10</sup> At least one tune, “Evarts,” is likely named for one of the founders of the ABCFM and the father-in-law of the missionary whom Mason would later help compile *The Cherokee Singing Book*. Mason taught at Andover Theological Seminary, the center of New England missionary training and an evangelical Calvinist stronghold.<sup>11</sup>

Mason had ties with individual missionaries. In 1846, Mason invited Mary Cornelia Butler, daughter of Cherokee missionary Elizur

Butler, to live with his family for three months in order to receive music instruction and have the opportunity to sing in Mason’s choir. Mason also assisted the famous Cherokee missionary Samuel A. Worcester (through David Greene) with mission music, advising on types of instruments to purchase, assisting Worcester in composing hymns, harmonizing Worcester’s tunes, and answering questions about how to teach music fundamentals.<sup>12</sup> Mason’s hymn collections were purchased for use in the Cherokee missions.<sup>13</sup>

Much of Mason’s work had a peculiarly missionary character. His reformist attitudes about music and hymn texts, his belief in his version of Pestalozzism, his drive to reform church music, his efforts to train church musicians in the “correct” procedures, and his polemical writings about what constitutes appropriate church music all suggest an evan-

gelical mind.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, Mason's "New Light" churches and their leaders were among those most influenced by the thought of the New England theologian Samuel Hopkins, producing in them a peculiar form of selfless benevolence that resulted in effective missionary and reform efforts.<sup>15</sup>

### **The ABCFM and the Cherokee Missions**

The ABCFM, a Congregationalist corporation formed in 1810, became the largest and most powerful missionary organization in the U.S. in the early nineteenth century. By mid-century, ABCFM missionary enterprises reached every corner of the globe. The members of its operational board included many prominent men, including New England governors and congressmen, and, as we have seen, some served on the governing board of Mason's Boston Academy of Music. The organization was managed from Boston by a General Secretary appointed by the board of the organization. Supposedly nonpolitical, it frequently became involved in U.S. diplomacy abroad and sometimes became a factor in U.S. foreign relations.<sup>16</sup> The ABCFM had strong support in churches in every corner of New England, but its main offices were located in Boston. Spending ever larger sums as the century progressed, the ABCFM became big business in New England, organizing over 1,600 missionary societies to support it by mid-century.<sup>17</sup>

The Cherokee missions in the southeastern U. S. were among the earliest and most important domestic efforts of the ABCFM. For decades, supporters eagerly read about the events unfolding among these people in the periodicals of the missionary movement. By the time the ABCFM built their stations in northern Georgia, the Cherokees had adapted to white farming practices and lifestyles and differed little, at least on the surface, from neighboring Georgians. A few Cherokees had amassed considerable wealth through mercantile establishments or plantation agriculture. There had been intermarriage with southern settlers and traders for generations, and there were a large number of Cherokees of mixed ancestry with close ties to white society and culture. The tribe

had organized the Cherokee Nation with a written language, constitution, laws and court system, and a newspaper—in part to forestall government attempts to seize their lands. By the 1820s, the Cherokees were largely literate, and a few were highly educated, having attended the best schools in New England through the efforts of Moravian missions and the ABCFM.<sup>18</sup>

At the time the ABCFM organized missions among the Cherokees, the singing of hymns was widespread, and Methodist and Baptist camp meetings were notably successful. These revival meetings, popular with the Cherokees, were considered crude by some ABCFM missionaries. The emotional and less doctrinaire Methodists and Baptists were very effective in making converts, and the Congregationalists and Presbyterians—through the ABCFM—much more successful in school keeping, translating, and lobbying the Federal government for Cherokee rights.<sup>19</sup> After the ABCFM had compiled and translated the successful *Cherokee Hymn Book*, it was the Baptists who kept it in circulation to the end of the century.<sup>20</sup>

In 1825 the ABCFM sent Reverend Samuel A. Worcester to Brainerd Mission near the Georgia line in Tennessee, and later to New Echota, the Cherokee capital (in what is now Georgia) in 1827. A nephew of a founder of the ABCFM, Worcester had graduated from Andover in 1823 and had some knowledge of printing and an amateur's grasp of the principles of music. Worcester would earn the respect and admiration of the Cherokees by translating and publishing basic words in Cherokee and later by spending more than a year in a Georgia prison in the 1830s for allegedly helping the Cherokees resist removal from Georgia.<sup>21</sup>

An intelligent, dedicated missionary, Worcester was strongly interested in music and imbued his children with that same interest, though he retained a degree of Calvinist suspicion of it. In 1855, in a letter to his son who was studying in Boston, Worcester agreed to pay for music lessons, but cautioned: "If you don't take lessons, you will have to take great care, lest your musical skill should lead to the consumption of too much of your time in attention to it, and especially

lest it should lead to be inspired by flattery, and lead you to be little else than a musician."<sup>22</sup> When Worcester's daughter Ann Eliza traveled to New England to study, she was introduced by David Greene to Lowell Mason.<sup>23</sup>

One of Worcester's many duties was to translate scriptures into Cherokee. By the 1830s, ABCFM linguists had abandoned efforts to develop a Cherokee alphabet and recognized the utility of the syllabary developed by the great Cherokee, Sequoyah (George Guess). Worcester received approval of the board to purchase a printing press and have type fonts cast in the syllabary. With this equipment, the missionary first printed a small number of hymn texts and religious tracts, the first items ever published in Cherokee. With the help of an Andover-educated Cherokee, Elias Boudinot, Worcester began translating portions of the Bible, and in the late 1820s he and Boudinot printed the first book in Cherokee in the Sequoyan syllabary, the first edition of the *Cherokee Hymns* (1829) at New Echota, Cherokee Nation (now Georgia).<sup>24</sup> During the tragic Cherokee removal from Georgia in 1837, the "Trail of Tears," the press and the type were lost, and Boudinot was murdered by anti-treaty Cherokees on arrival in the West.<sup>25</sup>

### **Compilation of *The Cherokee Singing Book***

Worcester continued his work, settling finally at Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, in what is now Oklahoma. He set up a press, obtained new type, and resumed translating and printing. Though *Cherokee Hymns* continued to be well received, Worcester wanted a book that had music notation and could be used to instruct the Cherokees in music fundamentals. As early as 1839 he wrote David Greene requesting a supply of type for printing hymns. Greene recognized the technical limitations of the mission press for printing music. He suggested that the music for the new book be printed in Boston and shipped to Worcester at Park Hill, where the Cherokee texts could be printed in separately. After some debate, this idea was recognized as unworkable and Greene made arrangements

to have a new music book published in Boston.<sup>26</sup> It would take much correspondence and more than three years (1843 to 1846) of effort to finish the book.

No doubt Greene was aware not only of the limitations of Worcester's printing operation, but of the limitations of Worcester's grasp of music. Ever enthusiastic and resourceful, Worcester composed a few tunes, including a crude temperance song, "The Cold Water Army," published as a broadside with a few notes of music to go with it.<sup>27</sup> This roughly composed music, as well as other music, Worcester sent to Secretary Greene. Later that year Worcester requested that Greene ask Mason for an opinion on some of his efforts. Greene wrote Worcester, "What should I say about your music? I mentioned it to Mr. Mason and requested him to call and examine it, or take it, if he desires. He has not however, passed upon it yet. The air, taken as a simple melody, may be as good as one...of those in Billings...but the harmony seems to me that you violate all principles and rules..." Greene had difficulty seeing Mason, "I find it difficult to get an interview with him at which I may obtain answers to your inquiries..." Finally, Greene spoke with him: "I talked with Mr. Mason on that matter a few days since.... He at last said he would take yours and answer it and at the same time harmonize your tunes and he said your second edition was much better than the first." Greene served as an intermediary between Mason and Worcester, passing Worcester's many questions on theoretic aspects of music to Mason.<sup>28</sup>

As work on the singing book progressed, Greene suggested that Worcester consult a newly arrived missionary to the Cherokees, Worcester Willey, to assist with the compilation.<sup>29</sup> Willey selected most of the Eastern tunes and Worcester either composed or collected eight or ten more popular Western ones. The translations of the texts into Cherokee were made by the Princeton-educated Cherokee Stephen Foreman.<sup>30</sup> Worcester used Mason's *Choir and the Manual of the Boston Academy* to write his elements. Thus the "elements section" of the singing book has an interesting history. It is a paraphrase of Mason's work translated into

Cherokee, and Mason's work is a translation from German of the work of G. F. Kübler.<sup>31</sup>

Once Worcester and his colleagues had selected the hymns, Greene set about with Mason's help to have them printed. The printer chosen was Alonzo P. Kenrick, whom Mason used frequently in the late 1840s. Greene was heavily involved. In 1846 he wrote from Boston that the compositor:

is now at work again. He is a remarkably correct and careful man. Mr. Mason will not have anyone else to set his music. This attribute of his is most opportune, so far as I am concerned, as at this time my eyes are in a state not to permit me to use them on any difficult work. Between the compositor and myself and Mr. Mason for the music, I trust we shall make the book tolerably correct.<sup>32</sup>

Though the introductory text was entirely in Cherokee, and he could not read it, Mason criticized it anyway, relying largely on the sequence of the musical examples that Worcester had contrived or copied from other works. Greene wrote Worcester in January, 1846:

Mr. Mason thinks that your introduction and elements, judging, as he of course, must, from the examples, &c which you give, are not sufficiently simple, & that you undertake to teach too much for such a people. He also thinks you have not had access to the latest & best methods of teaching these introductory matters.<sup>33</sup>

*The Cherokee Singing Book* is identical in format and size to the *Choir*, though there are no advertisements, none of the larger works, nor an extensive title page of Mason's compilations. Mason's name does not appear on the title page, but "L.M." appears with each of the works he composed or arranged. The 122 selections are mostly from the *Choir*, often taken without change, though parts have been simplified especially in the bass, or transposed to simpler key. The tune "Cherokee" appears here, likely for the first time. "Cherokee" is likely one of the tunes written by Worcester and harmonized by Mason.<sup>34</sup>

Stung by Mason's criticism, Worcester sought to explain himself:

I presume that, if I were to go over my elements of music again, with Mr. Mason at my elbow, or even with such helps as he could present me with, I could simplify somewhat

more. I first wrote with introduction from the *Choir* [Mason's] for a basis, and then remodelled the whole, writing anew, with the Introduction to the Boston academy's *Collection* as a basis, varying as I thought I could best manage in Cherokee; and taking some examples from other books, and from tunes, and making some myself. I tried beginning with note without a staff, but concluded that I could manage best by placing them upon a staff at the outset. I dispensed with use of the letters A B C D E F G. Habit would very probably make them seem to Mr. Mason indispensable; but it was very difficult to introduce them with Cherokees who know nothing of reading English, and are familiar with five of the characters under entirely different names—and the chief practical inconvenience in dispensing with them consists in the want of a common name for corresponding lines or spaces in the bass & other staves. . . .<sup>35</sup>

He further defended his efforts as both logical and useful:

Mr. Mason thinks I undertake too much. Perhaps so. The most difficult thing I undertook was to explain the reason of the use of flats and sharps in the transposition of the scale. That can be omitted by the teacher if he sees fit. But some will seek for it, and it will direct the teacher if an explanation is asked. It made plain to Mr. Foreman [the Cherokee translator], when he translated it, what he had not understood before.<sup>36</sup>

Mason especially criticized Worcester's choices of tunes. Greene wrote:

Of your tunes he says that most those you have selected from Northern and Eastern books are pretty good, though as he thinks not the best adapted to the Cherokees. Of about 8 or 10 of those which you have obtained from other sources, he speaks with terrible severity as being bad and incapable of being mended. He says that he cannot consciously touch them or have any agency in bringing them out, &c—certainly not further than to see that the printer follows the copy.<sup>37</sup>

Mason's attitude about Worcester's "bad" Western tunes suggests Beecher and the New England evangelical mind and "New-Light" theology. Mason was caught between the need to soften the severe music of the Calvinist past without embracing the musical style of the Methodist and Baptist revivalists, whose activities Lyman Beecher and his followers regarded as crude and inappropriate.



This portrait engraving of Lowell Mason was made on an unknown date by an unknown artist. The engraving is believed to have been published in *New England Magazine*. Credit: Carol Pember-ton and Greenwood Press.

Mason's reforms were not unlike Beecher's efforts to make New England theology more acceptable to the general population without surrendering to the cruder, and much more popular, revivalists of the frontier or to the more liberal Unitarians who dominated in Boston.<sup>38</sup> This new middle-of-the-road interpretation, known then as "Beecherism" or "New-Light theology," allowed Beecher to compete for converts on two fronts, with the revivalists on one hand and the Unitarians on the other.<sup>39</sup>

Mason's and Lyman Beecher's careers were strikingly similar in their reform aspects.<sup>40</sup> Mason was able to assist Beecher's liberalizing of New England orthodoxy by revising and simplifying hymn texts and music,<sup>41</sup> while trying, perhaps, to appeal to the Federalist and commercial elite of the Northeast

through the incorporation of European musical ideals. Beecher was an amateur musician and sometimes had difficulty singing Mason's new texts, but he heartily supported Mason's revisions and wanted New England church music to become more lively and less severe.<sup>42</sup>

Why would Mason encourage the missionaries to use the same hymns for the Cherokees as were sung in New England—good "North-eastern tunes," as Greene called them? He would have been well informed about conditions among the Cherokees because of the high visibility given to Cherokee missionary efforts in his denominational publications and in missionary fund-raising activities of which he was a part. He also was in frequent contact with the leadership of the ABCFM.

Perhaps the reasons for Mason's attitude go much deeper than simple pedagogical con-

siderations. There is a strong hint of New England chauvinism in Mason's insistence on Northeastern tunes. Beecher and his followers, who saw themselves as the natural heirs of Cotton Mather and the Pilgrim fathers, highly valued social order, harmony, and deference to authority, and feared social disorder and conflict. Disorder represented a particularly sinful state. Order represented a virtue, thus their ambivalent attitude toward the American West where disorder seemed endemic. This attitude, with strong historical roots in New England Calvinism, bred an inclination to compel others to a single point of view and saw the individual as subordinate to society. The conservative Calvinists possessed a strong compulsion to make the nation over in the New England image and sought strength in little "New Englands" planted in the West. A consolidated culture was a goal and missionary activities were the means.<sup>43</sup> The Cherokees were seen as a part of that consolidated culture. Mason and the missionaries would find no irony in having the Cherokees sing "America" seven years after their forced removal from their homes in Georgia, and singing the same hymns the same way was likely seen a part of the consolidation process.

Though tolerant in other respects and holding strongly to the belief of the brotherhood of man, the American missionary movement was not known for its open-mindedness about other faiths in its early years, at least among these not in direct contact with other cultures in the field. They strongly rejected the Romantic image of the Indian as a "noble savage"; people of other cultures were seen as wrapped in darkness and depravity, a belief especially prevalent among those influenced by Beecher.<sup>44</sup> In this context the choice of hymn tunes becomes an important issue.

Greene wrote Worcester:

"I laugh at him [Mason], tell him to do the best he can, & so he is to go on. These 'horrible' ones, he says, amount to only 8 or 10. Probably they are some of which the seed was sown in some western wild, and they grew up no one can tell how, till the ears then began to relish them and habit created attachment."<sup>45</sup>

Worcester and his team of compilers and translators found inconsistencies in Mason's

criticisms. Worcester's approach was pragmatic. He wrote Greene:

So Mr. Mason thinks my backwoods tune 'horrible.' If he will come here, and go to some meeting[s] with me, I think I can introduce him to some which I think he would call *more* horrible. But however that may be, I think he need not let the idea of *bringing* them into use trouble his conscience at all. It would be hard to bring in what is *in already*. And as to continuing them in use, I think the admission of them into the book will rather tend to bring *them out* of use than to *keep them in*, because they will help to introduce the book, and the book will introduce better tunes, and the better tunes will supersede the 'horrible' ones. Especially as the first teachers will hardly fail to manifest their partiality for the better tunes above the *wheelbarrow tunes*, as I have heard the other called.<sup>46</sup>

Worcester concluded: "The selection of eastern tunes, I have already said, was made mostly by Mr. Willey. If I should have occasion to publish another edition, I shall desire Mr. Mason to give me a list of such as he would judge suitable."<sup>47</sup> And later, "Nelson Chamberlin, who has taught music among whites, and whom Mr. Willey pronounces qualified, has been teaching a Cherokee Singing School for some time, using my rules in manuscript, and says that he finds no difficulty. His scholars do not speak English and they readily understand the rules."<sup>48</sup>

Later that year Worcester defended the missionaries' choice of tunes more closely, noting additional inconsistencies in Mason's ideas:

I perceive that the tunes which Mr. Mason says should not have place in a collection of church music on account of associations, except Resolve, were tunes set to temperance songs, and not designed to be used in worship. Resolve Mr. Foreman found in Leavett's Christian Lyre, and adapted it to a Cherokee Hymn, which is popular. I do not admire the tune, but its associations, with us, are only with the hymn "I'll try to prove faithful" and the Cherokee hymn set to the tune. I hardly suppose there is a person in the nation who knows it in any other connection. There *may* be a very few, and more hereafter.

Nelson Chamberlain thinks it rather inconsistent for Mr. Mason to make that objection having himself taken the tune to a glee "We all are nodding &c" and adapting it to the words, "The Lord my pasture shall pre-

pare &c.” But perhaps there is some mistake about this.

I suppose that none of us are always consistent. Mr. Willey objected to Twenty-fourth, because it changed from triple to double measure and back again (a feature which I see Mr. Mason has removed) whereas Mr. Willey himself had selected Ames which changes five times.

Ames is one of Mr. Mason’s tunes. When he forbids similar changes in other people’s tunes, I suppose there must be something different in the nature of the case which I do not perceive, for want of cultivation of musical taste.<sup>49</sup>

Worcester successfully petitioned the Board for partial support of Nelson A. Chamberlain as an itinerant music teacher among the Cherokees, shrewdly justifying his ideas by noting the absence of a shaped note edition of *The Cherokee Singing Book*. “Our singing books will scarcely be of any value without a teacher. If I had had them printed in patent notes, [Worcester wrote in examples of shaped notes at his point], then, indeed, numbers would have run for the book, learned *fa sol la fa sol la me*, caught a few tunes by the ear, and thought they had done wonders. But I know you would not have recommended this.”<sup>50</sup> Indeed, as a long-time friend of Mason, Greene would likely have opposed such an edition. Mason had long fought the use of patent (shaped) notes.<sup>51</sup>

### Conclusion

Mason’s role in the compilation of *The Cherokee Singing Book* was consistent with his beliefs, reputation, and the general theological view of his religious circle. Mason was close to the ABCFM leadership for almost two decades. The missionaries of the ABCFM regarded him highly and repeatedly consulted him in musical matters, both personal and professional. Mason had a long history of freely giving his time to benevolent causes, and it is unlikely that he was paid for his efforts, though no doubt he benefited indirectly through the high visibility that participation in missionary activities brought. This free giving of self is consistent with the Hopkinsian idea of “disinterested benevolence,” helping others without expectation of benefit from man or God, that was characteristic of this particular missionary movement and its leaders.<sup>52</sup>

Mason’s attitude about what music was appropriate for the Cherokees and his apparent lack of sympathy or thought about their musical circumstances was consistent with orthodox Calvinist beliefs about the “heathen” and frontier music of the time and may well be rooted in the reformist, sometimes unbending beliefs of his denomination and its drive for order and consistency. In this instance, inconsistencies in Mason’s ideas were noted by missionaries who sought to use music on the Western frontier in a very practical way.

### Epilogue

The fate of *The Cherokee Singing Book* contrasts sharply with that of Worcester’s and Boudinot’s *Cherokee Hymns*, which was republished toward the end of the century as the *Cherokee Hymn Book* by various tract societies. The *Cherokee Hymn Book* continued to reflect the tastes and needs of the people who used it. It was small and inexpensive, and new hymns were added each time it was published, so that it changed to meet changing tastes through its nine successful editions. Earlier editions were published in the Cherokee Nation, and gospel and “wheelbarrow” tunes were a part of it from the first. More than 30,000 copies were eventually published, and 10,000 additional copies were believed to have been destroyed by Confederate guerillas in 1861, about the time the ABCFM abandoned its missions in the Cherokee Nation.<sup>53</sup> Though some music was eventually added, it continued to consist primarily of texts in the Sequoyan syllabary. A few texts from the works of Mason and Bradbury were eventually added.

In contrast, there would be only one edition of *The Cherokee Singing Book*. Greene retired soon after its publication, and *The Cherokee Singing Book* and Mason were never again mentioned in Worcester’s correspondence to his ABCFM superiors. Very few copies were published, likely less than a thousand. Surviving copies of the singing book are located at the Newberry Library and at the Gilcrease Institute in Tulsa, Oklahoma.<sup>54</sup> By the late 1850s, Greene and Worcester were dead, and Mason had moved to New Jersey. *The Cherokee Singing Book* was largely forgotten.

## Footnotes

(CN = Cherokee Nation)

1. Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 154-55; Michael L. Mark and Charles L. Gary, *A History of American Music Education* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 120-21.
2. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Cherokee Singing Book* (Boston: The Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, Printed by Alonzo P. Kenrick, 1846).
3. Douglas Moore, "The Activities of Lowell Mason in Savannah, Georgia, 1813-1827" (MFA Thesis, University of Georgia, 1967), 26-29, and Carol A. Pemberton, *Lowell Mason: His Life and Work* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1985), 15-29.
4. Lyman Beecher, *Autobiography, Correspondence, Etc., of Lyman Beecher D.D.*, edited Charles Beecher (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1865), vol. 2, 150; Pemberton, *Mason*, 43.
5. David Greene, Domestic Secretary, and Jeremiah Evarts, Treasurer, were identified by Beecher in his *Autobiography*, 248, and David Noyes and Rufus Anderson are listed in Pemberton, *Mason*, 43. Beecher's role in the society is outlined in Clifton Jenkins Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions 1810-1860* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969) 92-93; and James C. White, *Personal Reminiscences of Lyman Beecher* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1882), 37; for locations of the ABCFM's headquarters and officers, see William Ellsworth Strong, *The Story of the American Board* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), 153, 160.
6. Pemberton, *Mason*, 50; Beecher, *Autobiography*, 150; Carol A. Pemberton, *Lowell Mason: A Bio-Bibliography*, Bio-bibliographies in Music, Number 11, Donald L. Hixon, series advisor, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 48, 50, 54-55; Lyman Beecher, *Autobiography*, vol. 2, 248.
7. The academy list is in Pemberton, *Mason*, 72-73. Most belonged to the small number of New-Light churches, the known exception being Samuel A. Elliott (1798-1862) who was a Unitarian, a Boston Brahmin, and a supporter of music performance and music study in Boston; see *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Elliott, Samuel A." Beecher left for Cincinnati in the 1830s, but his influence in Boston continued to be strong.
8. Members of the ABCFM's governing structure are identified in Strong, *Story of the American Board*, 498-500.
9. *Ibid.*, 154-55; William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religious Change in America 1607-1917*, Chicago History of Religions Series, ed. Martin E. Marty (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978) 111; Beecher's converts were often organized into lay organizations.
10. Clifton J. Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969) 3, 314; Rufus Anderson, *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: ABCFM, 1861), 354n; "Scrapbook of Programs," Lowell Mason Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
11. Pemberton, *Mason*, 81; Henry L. Mason, compiler, *Hymn-Tunes of Lowell Mason: A Bibliography* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1944), 117; Phillips, *Protestant America*, 2, 20-23.
12. David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Samuel A. Worcester, Cherokee Nation, 1 August 1843, Vol. 7, Archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Houghton Library, Harvard University (hereinafter cited as ABCFM Papers).
13. Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, 6 November 1846, Vol. 13, Item 175, ABCFM Papers.
14. For numerous examples of these activities, see Pemberton, *Mason*, passim. What the missionaries possessed and Mason lacked was the utter abnegation of self that was the evangelical ideal.
15. See Oliver Wendell Elsbree, "Samuel Hopkins and His Doctrine of Benevolence," *The New England Quarterly* 8 (1935): 534-550. An account of the relation of this doctrine to this particular religious group is in Phillips, *Protestant America*, 2-8, and passim.
16. Phillips, *Protestant America*, 239, 298.
17. Strong, *Story of the American Board*, 145, 239.
18. Phillips, *Protestant America*, 64-65; Strong, *Story of the American Board*, Chapter III, 148-49.
19. David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Rev. D. S. Butrick, Cherokee Mission, 19 May 1843, Vol. 7, 87-89, ABCFM Papers; McLoughlin, *Revivals*, 107; Worcester Willey, Dwight Mission, CN to S. B. Treat, Missionary House, Boston, May, 1849, Vol. 13, Item 996, ABCFM Papers.
20. ENC [Nelson Chamberlin] to Friend [an older child of Samuel A. Worcester], 19 February 1894, Robertson Family Papers, McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa, Oklahoma (hereinafter cited as Robertson Papers). From the earliest times, observers had regarded the Cherokees as musical. Though such statements from missionaries may appear self-serving, the same observation was made by military people and foreign travelers. Cherokee musicality has been attributed to the nature of the Cherokee language with its largely syllabic structure and its reliance on pitch to

communicate shades of meaning. See Worcester Willey, *A Tale of Home and War*, edited by E. P. Howell (Portland, Maine: Brown, Thurston, and Co., 1888), 21-22.

21. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Worcester, Samuel Austin."

22. SAW [Samuel A. Worcester] to LW, 25 January 1855, Robertson Papers.

23. David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, Cherokees, 2 October 1846, Vol. 9, 513-14, ABCFM Papers.

24. Phillips, *Protestant America*, 69; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Worcester, Samuel."

25. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Boudinot, Elias."

26. David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, CN, 16 March 1839, vol. 4, 244-46; 27 June 1845, vol. 8, 355-57, ABCFM Papers.

27. Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, 18 July 1844, vol. 10, Item 190, ABCFM Papers.

28. David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Samuel A. Worcester, 15 July 1843, vol. 7, 136-37; 27 January 1843, vol. 6, 511-12; 1 August 1843, vol. 7, 166-167, ABCFM Papers. Worcester's questions ranged widely, from tunings to transposition.

29. David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, CN, 18 July 1844, vol. 7, 463-65, ABCFM Papers.

30. Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to S.B. Treat, Boston, 15 June 1850, vol. 13, Item 255; 9 July 1858, vol. 13, Item 352, ABCFM Papers.

31. Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, 20 February 1846, vol. 13, Item 163, ABCFM Papers. An account of the Kübler connection is in Jacklin Bolton Stopp, "A. N. Johnson, Out of Oblivion," *American Music* 3 (Summer 1985): 160.

32. David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, 21 January, 1846, vol. 9, 38-40, ABCFM Papers.

33. Ibid.

34. The published tune "Cherokee" strongly resembles a manuscript tune Worcester sent to Greene with the message, "I should like to know whether this air, one of those which Mr. Mason was so kind as to harmonize for me, is recognized as a borrowed one. If I borrowed it, I do not know whence." Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, 17 August 1846, vol. 13, Item 174, ABCFM Papers.

35. Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, 20 February 1846, vol. 13, Item 163, ABCFM Papers.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. McLoughlin, *Revivals*, 107; Worcester Willey, Dwight Mission, CN, to S. B. Treat, Missionary House, Boston, May, 1849, Vol. 13,

Item 96, ABCFM Papers.

39. Earl Morse Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 436-37, 445-47.

40. Milton Rugoff, *The Beechers* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1973), 357.

41. Beecher, *Autobiography*, 149-51.

42. Ibid, 153-55; White, *Beecher*, 17.

43. McLoughlin, *Revivals*, 112-113; Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catherine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 10-13; Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 459-60.

44. Phillips, *Protestant America*, 270, 373. Letters in the ABCFM archives exhibit strong support for the Cherokees as equals in every way. There is little evidence of strong bigotry among those missionaries in direct contact with the Cherokees.

45. David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, 21 January, 1846, vol. 9, 38-40, ABCFM Papers.

46. Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, 20 February 1846, vol. 13, Item 163, ABCFM Papers.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, 17 August 1846, vol. 13, Item 170, ABCFM Papers.

50. Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, 27 April 1846, vol. 13, Item 166, ABCFM Papers.

51. Mark and Gary, *A History of American Music Education*, 120-121.

52. Phillips, *Protestant America*, 2-5; Mason, however, did not embrace the total self-abnegation common among zealous ABCFM missionaries. The missionary-linguist Samuel A. Worcester, for example, would not allow anyone to refer to him as "Doctor" after Williams College gave him an honorary doctorate in linguistics. This behavior was quite different from Mason's, who referred to himself as "Dr. Mason" after receiving the honorary degree from New York University. See Pemberton, Mason, 181-82; *New Grove Dictionary*, s.v. "Mason, Lowell."

53. Lester Hargrett, *Oklahoma Imprints: 1835-1890* (New York: Published for the Bibliographical Society of America by R. R. Bowker Company, 1951), 68. The 1860 and all subsequent editions were called *Cherokee Hymn Book*. The two titles were used interchangeably in ABCFM correspondence.

54. Lester Hargrett, compiler, *The Gilcrease-Hargrett Catalogue of Imprints*, with an introduction by G. P. Edwards and a foreword by John C. Evers (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 44. 