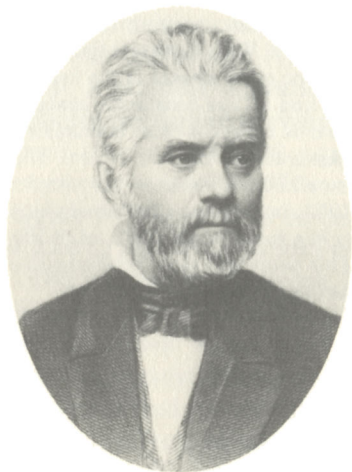


*Lowell
Mason,*



*Samuel A.
Worcester,*



and the
Cherokee Singing Book

By William R. Lee

Historians have noted the brilliant adaptation of the Cherokees to Euro-American culture after 1800, especially with respect to farming, weaving, building, language, and politics.¹ Cherokees also proved themselves equally adaptable to Euro-American music. Although music played an important role in Cherokee life, historians have said less about their music. Early missionaries noted the singular Cherokee accomplishments in music, especially the quality of their singing. The first book printed in

CHEROKEE SINGING BOOK

the remarkable Sequoyan syllabary was the *Cherokee Hymn Book*, a small, text-only aid to worship.²

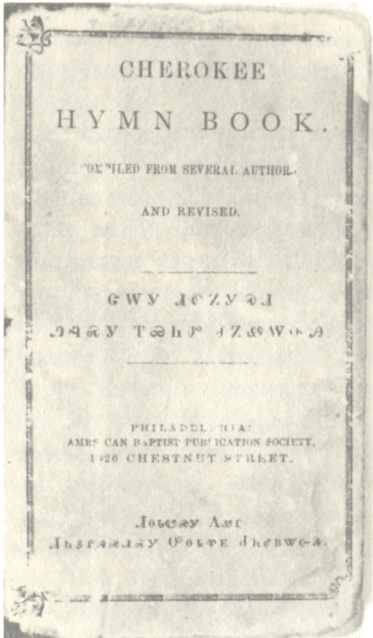
In the 1840s New England evangelicals, predominantly Presbyterians and Congregationalists, sponsored efforts in the western Cherokee Nation to assemble a book that included both music and text in Cherokee that became known as *The Cherokee Singing Book* (1846).³ Cherokee linguists and New England missionaries in Indian Territory and the financial sponsors and advisors in Boston shared responsibility for the compilation.

The undertaking brought together the famous Cherokee missionary Samuel A. Worcester and one of the most influential nineteenth-century musicians in the United States, Lowell Mason. Both were dedicated New England evangelicals. Mason was a strong follower of the famous clergyman Lyman Beecher and a believer in Beecher's "New-Light" Calvinistic theology. "New-Light" beliefs resulted in religious and social reform and spurred significant nineteenth-century educational and missionary efforts.⁴ The New England evangelicals' ideas about musical culture affected events in the Cherokee Nation.

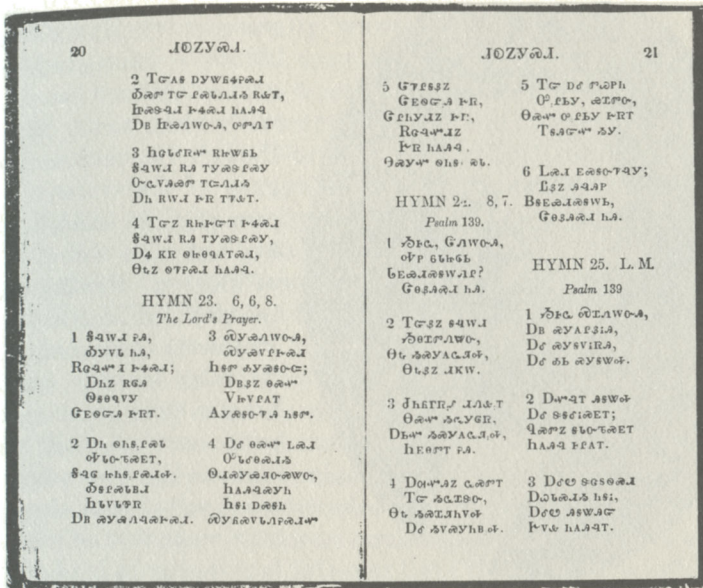
To better understand the development of *The Cherokee Singing Book*, it is useful to see Mason and Worcester with respect to the beliefs and activities of the New England missionary movement. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) directed the educational efforts of New England evangelicals among North American tribes. The ABCFM, a Congregationalist- and Presbyterian-dominated corporation formed in 1810, became the largest and most powerful missionary organization in the United States in the early nineteenth century. By midcentury 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, some of whom also served on the governing board of Lowell Mason's Boston Academy of Music. A general secretary, appointed by the board, managed the organization from Boston. Supposedly nonpolitical, it frequently became involved in United States diplomacy abroad and sometimes became a factor in United States foreign relations.⁵ Although its main offices were located in Boston, the ABCFM had strong support from churches in every corner of New England. Spending ever larger sums as the century progressed, it became big business in New England and organized more than 1,600 supporting missionary societies throughout the region by midcentury.⁶

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

The Cherokee missions in the southeastern United States were among the earliest and most important domestic efforts of the ABCFM. For decades supporters eagerly read about the unfolding events in the periodicals of the missionary movement. By the time the ABCFM built stations in northern Georgia, the Cherokees had adapted to white farming practices and lifestyles and often differed little from neighboring frontier Georgians. A few Cherokees had amassed considerable wealth through mercantile establishments or plantation agriculture. Intermarriage with Southern settlers and traders created a large number of Cherokees of mixed ancestry with close ties to white society and culture. In an effort to forestall government attempts to seize their lands, the tribe organized the Cherokee Nation with a written language, a constitution, laws and court system, and a newspaper. By the 1820s most Cherokees were literate and a few were highly educated, having attended the best schools in New England through the efforts of Moravian missions and the ABCFM.⁷ After the tragedy of the Cherokee “trail of tears,” most of the missions moved to the West to present-day Oklahoma.



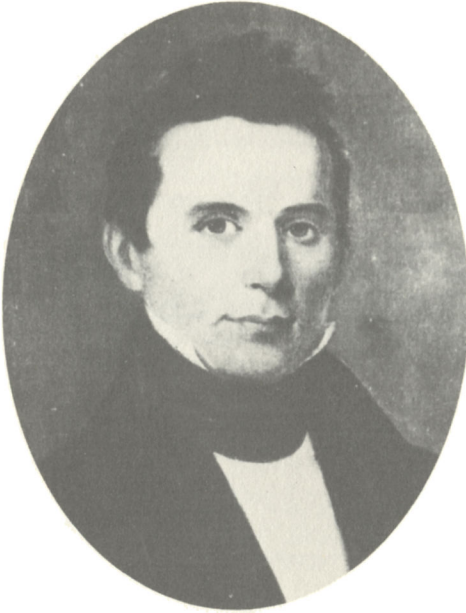
The 1829 Cherokee Hymn Book (left and opposite), a small text-only aid to worship, was the first book printed in the Sequoyan syllabary (Courtesy State Museum of History Collections, Oklahoma Historical Society; all photographs courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society unless noted).



At the time the ABCFM organized missions among the Cherokees, singing of hymns was widespread, with notable success in Methodist and Baptist camp meetings. Although popular with the Cherokees, the revival meetings were considered crude by some ABCFM missionaries. While the emotional and less doctrinaire Methodists and Baptists were more effective in making converts, the Congregationalists and Presbyterians through the ABCFM were more successful in education, translating, and lobbying the federal government for Cherokee rights.⁸ After the ABCFM compiled and translated the successful *Cherokee Hymn Book*, the more evangelical Baptists kept it in circulation to the end of the century.⁹

In 1825 the ABCFM sent Reverend Samuel A. Worcester to Brainerd Mission in Tennessee near the Georgia line, and in 1827 to New Echota, the Cherokee capital in present-day Georgia. Worcester, a nephew of an ABCFM founder, graduated from Andover Theological Seminary in 1823. He had some knowledge of printing and an amateur's grasp of the principles of music. Worcester later earned the respect and admiration of the Cherokees by translating and publishing basic works in Cherokee and by spending more than a year in a Georgia prison in the 1830s on charges he allegedly helped the Cherokees resist removal from Georgia.¹⁰

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA



Cherokee editor Elias Boudinot assisted Samuel Worcester with the translation of portions of the Bible for the Cherokee Hymn Book.

An intelligent, dedicated missionary, Worcester was strongly interested in music and imbued his children with that same interest, though he retained a degree of Calvinistic suspicion of it. In 1855 he wrote his son who was studying in Boston. Having agreed to pay for music lessons, Worcester cautioned, "If you do 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."¹¹ When Worcester's daughter Ann Eliza traveled to New England to study, David Greene, the

secretary of the ABCFM, introduced her to the famous musician Lowell Mason.¹²

One of Worcester's many duties included the translation of 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). With the board's approval, Worcester purchased a printing press and type fonts cast in the syllabary, and printed a small number of hymn texts and religious tracts, the first items published in Cherokee. Assisted by Elias Boudinot, an Andover-educated Cherokee, Worcester translated portions of the Bible, and in the late 1820s they printed in Cherokee the first edition of the *Cherokee Hymn Book* (1829) at New Echota, Cherokee Nation, the first book printed in the Sequoyan syllabary.¹³ During the tragic Cherokee removal from Georgia in 1837, the press and the type were lost, and Boudinot was murdered by anti-treaty Cherokees on arrival in the West.¹⁴

CHEROKEE SINGING BOOK

Worcester and the ABCFM sought to reestablish the press in the West. Worcester especially wanted to publish music for the Cherokees, so the ABCFM consulted Lowell Mason, a Boston musician and patriarch of the most successful family of United States musicians and musical entrepreneurs in the nineteenth century. A strong influence in the Northern evangelical community and a founder of music in the public schools, Mason composed or arranged many well-known hymns such as "Nearer My God to Thee" and "My Faith Looks Up to Thee."¹⁵

From 1843 to 1846 Mason assisted Worcester and the ABCFM in compiling *The Cherokee Singing Book*. Though Mason aided the publication of the book, he also found fault with it. Correspondence between missionary linguists on the frontier and their Boston leaders regarding Mason's advice confirms the influence Mason had in lay religious and educational organizations and Worcester's ingenuity and insight as a missionary among the Cherokees. The correspondence revealed attitudes toward music and toward those outside the Northern religious circle, such as the Cherokees, and provided a way to see in a different light the pervasive influence of New England educational and religious institutions in the West.

Mason's interests in missionary activities had a long history, beginning in the 1810s when he demonstrated outstanding leadership in missionary activities in the little New England enclave in Savannah, Georgia.¹⁶ His interests remained undiminished after 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.¹⁷ At the time of Mason's move to Boston, the headquarters—the missionary "rooms"—of the society were located in the basement of the Hanover Street Church.¹⁸

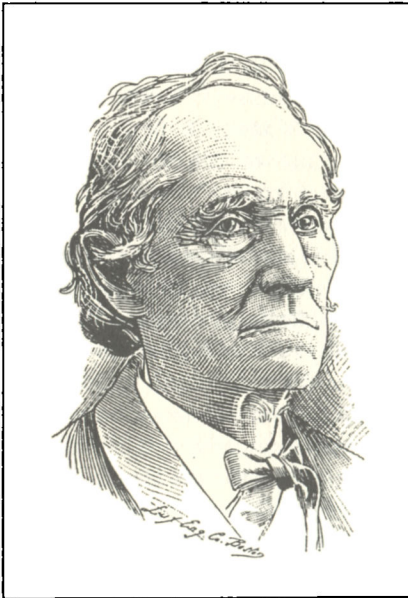
Mason worked closely with his friend David Greene, a member of Beecher's church and later the ABCFM's domestic secretary. Mason and Greene compiled the commercially successful *Church Psalms: A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, Adapted to Public Worship* in 1831, which became the standard hymnal in Mason's churches and served as a basis for later compilations and abridgements used in orthodox churches.¹⁹ Greene consulted with Mason on musical matters in the missionary organization for two decades, until Greene's retirement in the late 1840s. Greene served as vice president on the Boston Academy governing board with the famous Congregationalist writer Jacob Abbott and other Boston evangeli-

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

cals from Beecher's circles.²⁰ Greene later asked Mason to assist with the compilation of *The Cherokee Singing Book*.

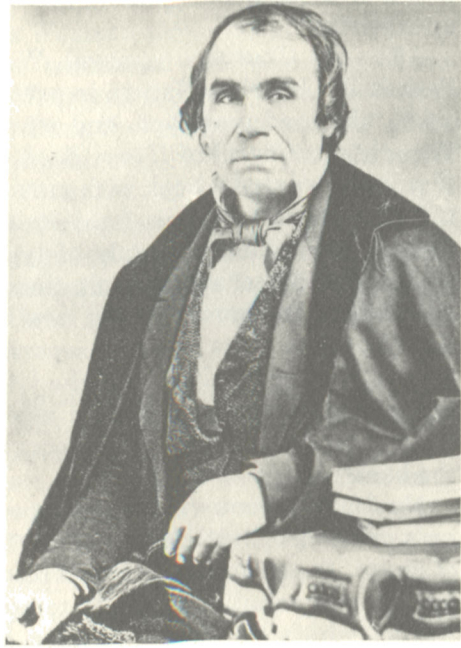
The Boston Academy of Music had strong ties to the orthodox, "New-Light" Calvinists—who were the minority in Unitarian Boston—and to the ABCFM, which itself was largely a product of the same group. The Academy's organizational structure resembled the corporate structure of the ABCFM, and it included a similar mixture of strong church leaders and well-known political figures, and attempted to be ecumenical, much like other evangelical lay organizations in Boston.²¹

Mason was at the forefront of Boston missionary activity in the circle of Boston churches—Hanover, Park Street, and Central—that were at the center of New England missionary efforts. Mason conducted monthly services for missionaries 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."²² At least one tune, "Evarts," was probably named for one of the founders of the ABCFM and the father-in-law of the missionary Mason would help compile *The Cherokee Singing Book*. Mason also taught at Andover Theological Seminary, the center of New England missionary training and an evangelical Calvinist stronghold.²³



*Reverend Samuel A. Worcester (p. 32, right), a Cherokee missionary with a strong interest in music, diligently worked with New England evangelicals to compile *The Cherokee Singing Book*. Although they had their differences, his most important correspondent was Lowell Mason (p. 32, left), an influential nineteenth century musician and founder of the Boston Academy of Music. Others who assisted in the project were Rev. Worcester Willey (left) and Rev. Stephen Foreman (opposite) (Photograph p. 32, left, courtesy Yale University Music Library; used by permission. Sketch at left taken from Worcester Willey, *A Tale of Home and War*, 1888).*

Mason also had direct ties with individual missionaries. In 1846 he 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 Samuel Worcester (through David Greene) with mission music, advised on types of instruments to purchase, assisted Worcester in composing hymns, harmonized Worcester's tunes, and answered questions about how to teach music fundamentals.²⁴ Worcester and the ABCFM purchased Mason's hymn collections for use in the Cherokee missions.²⁵



Much of Mason's work had a peculiarly missionary character. His reformist attitudes about music and hymn texts, his belief in his version of Pestalozzianism, his drive to reform church music, his efforts to train church musicians in the "correct" procedures, and his polemical writings about what constituted appropriate church music, all suggested an evangelical mind.²⁶ Moreover, Mason's "New-Light" churches and their leaders were among those most influenced by the thought of the New England theologian Samuel Hopkins, and produced in them a peculiar form of selfless benevolence that resulted in effective missionary and reform efforts.²⁷

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 attributed the impulse to a "typical" American belief in progress, and most writers since have echoed that theme.²⁸ More recently, authors such as Carol Pemberton have recognized the pervasive religious influence in Mason's life, but the degree to which relig-

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

ious attitudes shaped and motivated Mason has been left largely unexplored.²⁹

After the Cherokee removal, Worcester continued his work at Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, in present-day Oklahoma. He set up a press, obtained new type, and resumed translating and printing. Though the *Cherokee Hymn Book* continued to be well received, Worcester wanted a book with musical notation in order to instruct the Cherokees in music fundamentals. In 1839 he wrote David Greene requesting a supply of type for printing hymns. Greene recognized the technical limitations of the mission press and suggested that the music for the new book be printed in Boston with the Cherokee texts printed separately at Park Hill. After some debate, they recognized that the idea was unworkable and Greene made arrangements to have a new music book published in Boston.³⁰ It took 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," which he published as a broadside with a few notes of music to go with it.³¹ Worcester sent the song and other music to Greene. Later that year Worcester requested that Greene ask Mason for an opinion on some of his efforts. In response, 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 and reported, "I find it difficult to get a word with Mr. Mason these days. He is out of the city [and] . . . when here is almost incessantly occupied. Perhaps I may before long get an interview with him at which I may obtain answers to your inquiries." Finally Greene wrote, "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."³²

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.³³ Willey selected

CHEROKEE SINGING BOOK

most of the Eastern tunes and Worcester either composed or collected eight or ten more popular Western songs. Stephen Foreman, a Princeton-educated Cherokee, translated the texts into Cherokee.³⁴ 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 G.F. Kübler's work.³⁵

Once Worcester and his colleagues selected the hymns, Greene with Mason's help had them printed by Alonzo P. Kenrick, whom Mason frequently used in the late 1840s. In 1846 Greene wrote from Boston:

[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 & Mr. Mason for the music, I trust we shall make the book tolerably correct.³⁶

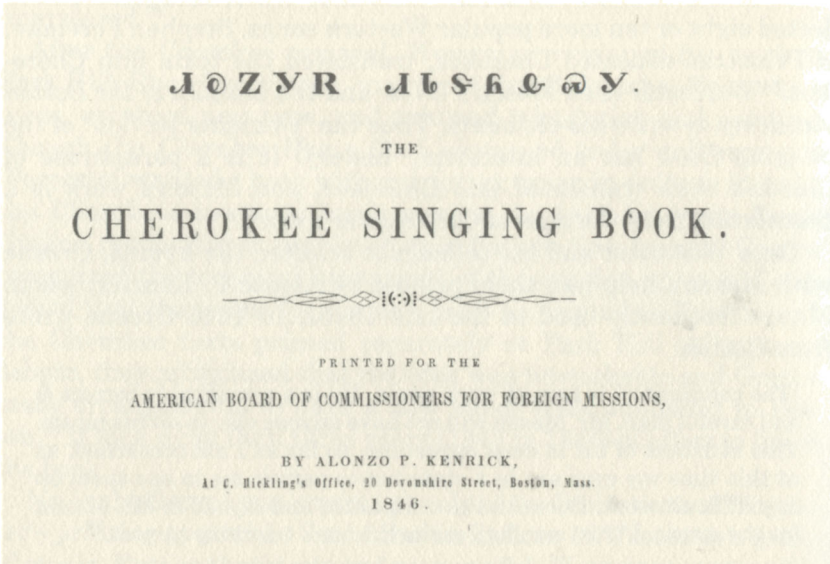
The *Singing Book* was identical in format and size to Mason's *Choir*, though there were no advertisements, none of the larger works, or an extensive title page of Mason's compilations. Mason's name did not appear on the title page. Most of the 122 selections came from the *Choir* without change, although parts were simplified especially in the bass, or transposed to a simpler key. The tune "Cherokee," probably written by Worcester and harmonized by Mason, appeared, likely for the first time.³⁷

Greene's and Worcester's correspondence indicated Mason's views about the project as it evolved and about Worcester's abilities. Although Mason could not read the introductory text written entirely in Cherokee, he 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 & 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.³⁸

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



The Cherokee Singing Book (above and opposite) allowed missionaries for the first time to teach music fundamentals to the Indians they served (The Cherokee Singing Book, published 1846 by Alonzo P. Kenrick, from the Collection of Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma, registration number 4926.154; used by permission).

me with, I could simplify somewhat more. I first wrote with [the] 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[t] I could best manage in Cherokee; and taking some examples from other books, & 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.³⁹

Worcester defended his efforts as 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

CHEROKEE SINGING BOOK

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.⁴⁰

Mason especially criticized Worcester's choices of tunes. Greene related his comments to the missionary:

Of your tunes he says that most [of] 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.⁴¹

Mason's attitude about Worcester's "bad" Western tunes suggests Beecher "New-Light" theology and the New England evangelical mindset. Mason was caught between the need to soften the severe music of the Calvinistic past without embracing the musical style of the Methodist and Baptist revivalists, whose activities Lyman Beecher and his followers regarded as crude and inappropriate. Mason's reforms were not unlike Beecher's efforts to make New England theology more acceptable to the general population

TOUCH NOT THE CUP. 10, 8, 7. 0 AWY, 10, 8, 7. 85

0 AWY 0 AY 0 AY 0 AY. 0 AWY. 0 AWY. 0 AWY 0 AY 0 AY. LAI 0 AY 0 AY.

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

without surrendering to the cruder, and much more popular, revivalists of the frontier or to the more liberal Unitarians who dominated in Boston.⁴² That 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.⁴³

Mason's and Lyman Beecher's careers were strikingly similar in their reform aspects.⁴⁴ Mason was able to assist Beecher's liberalizing of New England orthodoxy by revising and simplifying hymn texts and music, while trying, perhaps, to appeal to the Federalist and commercial elite of the Northeast through the incorporation of European musical ideals.⁴⁵⁷ 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 more lively and less severe.⁴⁶

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

Perhaps the reasons for his attitude went much deeper than simple pedagogical considerations. There was 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. That 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.⁴⁷ 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 Geor-

gia, and singing the same hymns in 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 those 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.⁴⁸

In that context the choice of hymn tunes became 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, & they grew up no on[e] can tell how, till the ears then began to relish them & habit created attachment.⁴⁹

Worcester and his team of compilers and translators found inconsistencies in Mason’s criticisms. Worcester’s approach was pragmatic, as he explained to 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. . . . 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. . . . Nelson Chamberlain, 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.⁵⁰

Later that year Worcester defended the missionaries’ choice of tunes more closely, and noted inconsistencies in Mason’s ideas:

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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 know 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 prepare &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.⁵¹

Worcester successfully petitioned the ABCFM for partial support of Nelson A. Chamberlain as an itinerant music teacher among the Cherokees. He shrewdly justified his ideas by noting the absence of a shaped-note (also called a patent-note) edition of the *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 examples of shaped notes in 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.⁵²

As Mason's long-time friend, Greene would likely have opposed such an edition. Mason had long fought the use of shaped notes.⁵³

Mason's role in the compilation of *The Cherokee Singing Book* was consistent with his beliefs and reputation, and the general theological view of his religious circle. Mason was close to the ABCFM leadership for almost two decades. Worcester and 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 giving his time freely to benevolent causes, and it is unlikely he was paid for his efforts, though no doubt he benefited indirectly through the high visibility that par-

CHEROKEE SINGING BOOK

ticipation in missionary activities brought. That free giving of self was consistent with the idea of Hopkinsian "disinterested benevolence," helping others without expectation of benefit from man or God, that was characteristic of that particular missionary movement and its leaders.⁵⁴

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 Calvinistic beliefs about the "heathen" and frontier music of the time and may well have been 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 Cherokee Nation missionaries who sought to use music on the Western frontier in a very practical way.

The fate of the *Singing Book* contrasts sharply with that of Worcester's and Boudinot's *Cherokee Hymn Book*, which was republished to the end of the century by various tract societies. The *Cherokee Hymn Book* continued to reflect the tastes and needs of the people who used it. It was small, 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 guerrillas in 1861 about the time the ABCFM abandoned its missions in the Cherokee Nation.⁵⁵ 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 would eventually be added.

In contrast, there would be only one edition of the *Singing Book*. Probably fewer than 1,000 copies were published. Greene retired soon after its publication and Worcester never again mentioned *The Cherokee Singing Book* and Mason in his correspondence to ABCFM superiors. By the late 1850s, Greene and Worcester were dead, Mason had moved to New Jersey, and *The Cherokee Singing Book* was largely forgotten. Surviving copies of the *Singing Book* are located at the Newberry Library and at the Gilcrease Institute in Tulsa, Oklahoma.⁵⁶

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

ENDNOTES

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¹ Among these was the famous Alexis De Tocqueville who described the Cherokees' plight and achievements in 1831–1832 in *Democracy in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 344–349.

² *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Worcester, Samuel Austin"; Worcester Willey, *A Tale of Home and War*, ed. E.P. Howell (Portland, Maine: Brown, Thurston, and Company, 1888), 21–22; Jack Frederick and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick, *The Shadow of Sequoyah: Social Documents of the Cherokees, 1862–1964* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 74–75.

³ 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).

⁴ 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), 115.

⁵ 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), 239, 298.

⁶ William Ellsworth Strong, *The Story of the American Board* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), 145, 239.

⁷ Phillips, *Protestant America*, 64–65; Strong, *Story of the American Board*, chap. 3, 148–149.

⁸ David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Rev. D.S. Butrick, Cherokee Mission, May 19, 1843, 7: 87–89, Archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (hereafter cited as ABCFM Papers); McLoughlin, *Revivals*, 107; Worcester Willey, Dwight Mission, Cherokee Nation, to S.B. Treat, Missionary House, Boston, May, 1849, 13: Item 96, ABCFM Papers.

⁹ ENC [Nelson Chamberlain] to Friend [an older child of Samuel A. Worcester], February 19, 1894, Robertson Family Papers, McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma (hereafter cited as Robertson Papers). From 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 Willey, *Tale of Home and War*, 21–22.

¹⁰ *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Worcester, Samuel Austin."

¹¹ SAW [Samuel A. Worcester] to LW, January 25, 1855, Robertson Papers.

¹² David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, Cherokee Nation, October 2, 1846, 9: 513–514, ABCFM Papers.

¹³ Phillips, *Protestant America*, 69; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Worcester, Samuel."

¹⁴ *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Boudinot, Elias."

¹⁵ *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Mason, Lowell."

CHEROKEE SINGING BOOK

¹⁶ 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.

¹⁷ Lyman Beecher, *Autobiography, Correspondence, Etc., of Lyman Beecher D.D.*, ed. Charles Beecher (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1865), 2: 150; Pemberton, *Mason*, 43.

¹⁸ David Greene, domestic secretary, and Jeremiah Evarts, treasurer, were identified by Beecher in his *Autobiography*, 2: 248, and David Noyes and Rufus Anderson are listed in Pemberton, *Mason*, 43. Beecher's role in the society is outlined in Phillips, *Protestant America*, 92–93, and James C. White, *Personal Reminiscences of Lyman Beecher* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1882), 37. For locations of the headquarters of the ABCFM and its officers, see Strong, *Story of the American Board*, 153, 160.

¹⁹ Pemberton, *Mason*, 50; Beecher, *Autobiography*, 2: 150; Carol A. Pemberton, *Lowell Mason: A Bio-Bibliography*, Bio-Bibliographies in Music, no. 11 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 48, 50, 54–55; Beecher, *Autobiography*, 2: 248.

²⁰ 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. Elliot (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. "Elliot, Samuel A." Beecher left for Cincinnati in the 1830s, but his influence back in Boston continued to be strong.

²¹ Strong, *Story of the American Board*, 154–155, 498–500; McLoughlin, *Revivals*, 111. Beecher's converts were often organized into lay organizations.

²² Phillips, *Protestant America*, 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, Connecticut.

²³ Pemberton, *Mason*, 81; Henry L. Mason, comp., *Hymn-Tunes of Lowell Mason: A Bibliography* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1944), 117; Phillips, *Protestant America*, 2, 20–23.

²⁴ David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Samuel A. Worcester, Cherokee Nation, August 1, 1843, 7: 166–167, ABCFM Papers.

²⁵ Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, November 6, 1846, 13: Item 175, ABCFM Papers.

²⁶ Pestalozzianism, named for the Swiss educational reformer Johann H. Pestalozzi, was a system of education in which sense perceptions were trained first and other faculties developed in "natural order." For numerous examples of these activities, see Pemberton, *Mason*, *passim*. What Mason lacked and the missionaries had was the utter abnegation of self that was the evangelical ideal.

²⁷ 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*.

²⁸ Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 154–155; Michael L. Mark and Charles L. Gary, *A History of American Music Education* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 120–121.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

²⁹ Pemberton, *Mason*, 13–16. See also Michael Broyles, *Music of the Highest Class: Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), chap. 62.

³⁰ David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, March 16, 1839, 4: 244–246, and June 27, 1845, 8: 355–357, ABCFM Papers.

³¹ Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, July 18, 1844, 10: Item 190, ABCFM Papers.

³² David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Samuel A. Worcester, July 15, 1843, 7: 136–137, January 27, 1843, 6: 511–512, August 1, 1843, 7: 166–167, ABCFM Papers. Worcester's questions ranged widely, from tunings to transposition.

³³ David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, July 18, 1844, 7: 463–465, ABCFM Papers.

³⁴ Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to S.B. Treat, Boston, June 15, 1850, 13: Item 255, and July 9, 1858, 13: Item 352, ABCFM Papers.

³⁵ Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, February 20, 1846, 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.

³⁶ David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, January 21, 1846, 9: 38–40, ABCFM Papers.

³⁷ 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, August 17, 1846, 13: Item 174, ABCFM Papers.

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

³⁹ Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, February 20, 1846, 13: Item 163, ABCFM Papers.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² McLoughlin, *Revivals*, 107; Worcester Willey, Dwight Mission, Cherokee Nation, to S.B. Treat, Missionary House, Boston, May, 1849, 13: Item 96, ABCFM Papers.

⁴³ Earl Morse Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 436–437, 445–447.

⁴⁴ Milton Rugoff, *The Beechers* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1973), 357.

⁴⁵ Beecher, *Autobiography*, 2: 149–151.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 2: 153–155; White, *Personal Reminiscences*, 17.

⁴⁷ 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, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1972), 459–460.

⁴⁸ 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.

⁴⁹ David Greene, Missionary House, Boston, to Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, January 21, 1846, 9: 38–40, ABCFM Papers.

⁵⁰ Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, February 20, 1846, 13: Item 163, ABCFM Papers.

CHEROKEE SINGING BOOK

⁵¹ Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, August 17, 1846, 13: Item 170, ABCFM Papers.

⁵² Samuel A. Worcester, Park Hill, to David Greene, Boston, April 27, 1846, 13: Item 166, ABCFM Papers.

⁵³ Mark and Gary, *History of American Music Education*, 120–121. Shaped notes became widely used among the Cherokees. Gospel tunes became popular in the twentieth century using a form of solfeggio (a singing exercise using sol-fa syllables) modified to match Cherokee phonemes (the smallest unit of speech that distinguishes one utterance from another). See Frederick and Kilpatrick, *The Shadow of Sequoyah*, 74–75.

⁵⁴ Phillips, *Protestant America*, 2–5. Mason, however, did not embrace the total self-abnegation common among zealous ABCFM missionaries. Missionary-linguist Worcester, for example, would not allow anyone to refer to him as “Doctor” after Williams College gave him an honorary doctorate in linguistics. Mason, however, referred to himself as “Dr. Mason” after receiving the honorary degree from New York University. See Pemberton, *Mason*, 181–182; *New Grove’s Dictionary*, s.v. “Mason, Lowell.”

⁵⁵ Lester Hargrett, *Oklahoma Imprints: 1835–1890* (New York: R.R. Bowker Company for Bibliographical Society of America, 1951), 68.

⁵⁶ Lester Hargrett, comp., *The Gilcrease-Hargrett Catalogue of Imprints*, with Introduction by G.P. Edwards and Foreword by John C. Evers (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 44.