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The Relationship Between Lowell Mason and the Boston Handel and Haydn Society, 1815-1827

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LOWELL MASON AND THE BOSTON HANDEL AND HAYDN SOCIETY, 1815–1827

Dissertation

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Musicology and Ethnomusicology in the College of Fine Arts at the University of Kentucky

By
Todd R. Jones
Greenville, South Carolina
Director: Dr. Ronald A. Pen, Professor of Music
Lexington, Kentucky
2017

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The relationship between Lowell Mason (1792–1872) and the Boston Handel and Haydn Society (est. 1815) has long been recognized as a crucial development in the history of American music. In 1821, Mason and the HHS contracted to publish a collection of church music that Mason had edited. While living in Savannah, GA, Mason had imported several recent British collections that adapted for church tunes works by Franz Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, and Ignaz Pleyel. His study with German émigré Frederick L. Abel allowed him to harmonize older tunes in standard counterpoint. In the historiography of American music, the collection has ever since been named as one of the chief forces establishing standard counterpoint in the mainstream of American music. The collection’s profits also helped the HHS survive the next several years, and the prestige of eventually being known as the collection’s editor helped launch Mason’s influential career in church music, music education, and music publishing. In 1827, that career took a dramatic turn when Mason returned to Boston to assume the presidency of the HHS and the care of music in several churches.

This project shows that the social ties between Mason and the HHS begin earlier and are far more indebted to Calvinist orthodox Christianity than previous studies have shown. With special attention to Mason’s personal papers housed at Yale University, to the HHS records held at the Boston Public Library, and to newly indexed Savannah newspapers, it shows that Mason’s relationship with the Society grew from relationships begun before he left his native Massachusetts in 1812. The depth of the relationship grew steadily until 1827, marked at first by indirect contact and in 1821 by Mason’s trip to Boston. Mason’s 1827 return to Boston, often surprising to scholars, appears here as a logical consequence of the support given by the Society’s previous president, Amasa Winchester, for Mason’s work in church music. Mason’s departure from the Society seems to be based on his zeal, closely related to his evangelical goals, for universal music education.
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LOWELL MASON AND THE BOSTON HANDEL AND HAYDN SOCIETY, 1815–1827

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April 2017
To Lorna, who heard everything
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The faults of this dissertation are entirely mine. Errors in research, errors in logic, errors in style, and errors in grammar certainly remain. “Who can understand his [own] errors?”¹ I take full responsibility both for those flaws that no one has yet noticed and for those that others have pointed out and which even my corrections have failed to fix. But the fact that this research has happened at all, much less that it has any quality, is directly due to the assistance of dozens of people and institutions. They have provided academic, spiritual, and even financial assistance, and I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to acknowledge them.

For an academic exercise like a dissertation, the academic assistance might seem the most important. This assistance begins with my parents, and especially with my mother, who from my earliest years worked to instill in me the love of reading and learning without which this project would have been impossible. My father’s wise counsel, some during and some long after I had completed my studies under his direct academic leadership, has also helped direct my thoughts at several crucial times in my academic career. Academic assistance continued with the teachers and professors who pushed me to learn and succeed. At Bob Jones University, the teaching of Ed Panosian taught a philosophy of history; that of Brenda Schoolfield introduced me to archival studies and indirectly to the

¹ Psalm 19:12a.
digital humanities; that of John Matzko built something like a historian out of a very undisciplined reader and writer; and that of Karen Wilson gave multiple new layers of musicological understanding. I am humbled to be teaching the music history classes that Dr. Wilson taught so faithfully for so many years. In addition, the teaching of Fred Coleman inspired and built a musical-historical and musical-theological framework; and that of the BJU Seminary faculty (especially Jim Berg, Ken Casillas, David O. Beale, and Dan Olinger) solidified my musicological perspective as a conservative Christian. I am truly grateful not only for the seat time in classes but also for the personal time that each of these invested outside class. Always a friend, Ed Dunbar has also encouraged my musicological study from its beginning, and I am grateful for the opportunity I now have of serving with him. Many of the other members of the BJU music faculty (especially Mark Parker) have also continued to encourage me throughout the process, and the staff of BJU’s Mack Library have provided personal assistance all along. My father-in-law, David Fisher, has been very encouraging ever since I began considering this course of study. Many of my students at BJU have also taken a personal interest in my research, and that interest has encouraged me to continue. I sincerely hope that the completion of this project will allow me to serve them even better. Rachel Larson, not only a devoted teacher but also a loyal friend, read through this dissertation as carefully as anyone. I am a better historian of America and can offer a much better dissertation because of her tireless work.
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Music Library and Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library provided ample space during a crowded research season. The Boston Public Library’s Rare Books and Manuscripts Department helped sort through the Handel and Haydn Society’s massive archival collection to find appropriate sources for this project. Staff from the Congregational Library and Archives (also in Boston) did the same thing for the archives for Park Street Church and also helped locate records from several other churches. The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, the New Jersey Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society (Worcester, MA), the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Peabody Essex Museum’s Phillips Library (Peabody, MA), the Anna E. Kresge Memorial Library of Covenant College (Lookout Mountain, GA), the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga Library, Emory University’s Pitts Theology Library, and the University of Georgia’s Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library all welcomed my visits and helped me plan an efficient use of research time. Emory University, the University of Georgia, the University of Glasgow, the Sibley Library (Rochester, NY), and other libraries graciously sent sources or loaned sources to other libraries for my use. Dale Hansen of Manhattan’s Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, where Mason served in his later years, invested heavily in this project. Dale corresponded professionally, showed FAPC’s archives personally, and sent a wealth of sources both electronically and by mail. Nancy Hollomon at Boston’s Church of the Covenant also provided personal assistance and did so with great kindness. I hope to do more work with these sources soon.
I am also grateful for the opportunities I’ve had to present material at academic
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Finally, I sincerely hope that everyone who reads this project will realize I give all the credit for my intellectual gifts, my academic successes, my financial

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2 See John M. McCluskey, “Music as Narrative in American College Football” (PhD diss., University of Kentucky, 2016), vii.
survival, and especially my spiritual life to my Creator. I have no right to do otherwise; He has arranged all my circumstances and opportunities, has brought every single one of these people into my life, and has given me every ability I possess. His Son’s death has freed me from guilt, and His Spirit’s work is the only reason I can live righteously. I look forward to seeing Him face to face.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION TO A RELATIONSHIP

Background

It is a story familiar to many students of American music. In 1821 the Boston Handel and Haydn Society (HHS) and Lowell Mason (1792–1872) contracted to publish a tunebook Mason had compiled. The collection sold very well, and the HHS certainly benefited; its half of the profits from that publication provided a major portion of its income for well over a decade, and it enjoyed Mason’s presidency for five of those years. Mason received much more than money: even without the first edition publicizing his role, the collection helped launch his career.

At the time of the contract, Mason had been living in Savannah, Georgia for more than eight years since leaving his hometown of Medfield, Massachusetts. In 1817 he had returned briefly to Massachusetts to marry Abigail Gregory. Abigail was from Westborough, MA (a day’s walk from Medfield) but returned to Savannah with Mason. By 1823, shortly after the contract, the Masons had two children. In 1827, however, Mason left a comfortable job and a history of highly regarded sacred music performances in Savannah and returned permanently to Massachusetts. He became the HHS president and directed most of its activities.
He also took charge of the music at several Boston churches and was soon investing significant time in educating children.

By 1832 Mason’s other interests, especially the Boston Academy of Music, had led him away from the HHS presidency. While the Academy sometimes presented concerts to rival those of the HHS, much of Mason’s later career was taken up with pedagogy for children and music educators. In 1838, the Boston School Committee began official funding for musical instruction in its public schools, and Mason served as superintendent of the music faculty until 1845. The HHS, in contrast, began hiring professional conductors a few years after Mason’s departure. By 1850, the professionals of the Germania Society had begun to assist the HHS. More than a century before the HHS would become known for faithfulness to known eighteenth-century performance practice, its artistic ideals had already led it far from Mason.

**Thesis**

This study shows that Mason’s relationship with the HHS began earlier and had deeper roots—and far deeper ties to a specific segment of American evangelical religion—than previous studies have shown. In many narratives dating back to Mason’s lifetime, Mason’s relationship with the HHS appears as a classic rags-to-riches tale of a hard-working New Englander doing well enough to make it big
back home.¹ Mason has appeared sometimes as the one who saved American music from (or who banished, depending on various authors’ perspectives) shape notes and parallel fifths, sometimes as a semi-plagiarist making a fortune on the backs of English and German publishers, and sometimes as a hack musician who profoundly misunderstood even the origins of the pedagogy for which music educators still esteem him.² This study argues that by 1821, Mason was fully prepared for a partnership with the HHS and that the 1827 election makes a great deal of sense when viewed in context of Mason’s religious world. Relationships Mason had formed in his youth, attention he had paid to HHS activities, and his participation in Savannah’s musical life and in the Boston musical press had built bridges between him and the HHS.

In addition to the details of the Mason–HHS relationship itself, this study exposes the religious world that both parties inhabited. The conversion Mason experienced in 1813 or 1814 gave him the zeal not only for participating but for taking leadership in all sorts of musical activities that affected the American evangelical world. The specific location, especially of Mason but also to some

¹ Perhaps the most romantic version of this story is found in John W. Moore, Complete Encyclopaedia of Music, Elementary, Technical, Historical, Biographical, Vocal, and Instrumental (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1854), 767.
extent of the HHS, within that world is a highlight of this study. Mason’s 
spiritual leaders included Lyman Beecher, one of the pastors who invited Mason 
to Boston in 1826 and to move to Boston in 1827 and who pastored the first 
church Mason served after his arrival there. Especially outside Boston, Beecher 
was fighting an uphill battle, not only against specifically anti-evangelical 
movements, but also against the forces of religious democratization. For 
example, a highly influential 1814 address by Beecher attacked not urbane elites 
who rejected orthodox doctrine but evangelical preachers who could not read. At 
least one “lengthy rebuttal,” however, appeared in print immediately—in 
Beecher’s own parish of Litchfield, MA.3 Egalitarianism, the theological 
equivalent of William Billings’s compositional aesthetics, was the great foe that 
both Lyman Beecher’s evangelicalism and Mason’s musical aesthetics battled 
outside Boston. Mason’s collection provided a welcome common ground 
through which educated Congregationalist and Presbyterian ministers could 
support the music of the most culturally ambitious singing schools in their 
towns.

Even before leaving New England in 1812, Mason had studied music with men 
who would later help him build connections to the HHS and to its musical 
world. Mason’s teacher Amos Albee (1772–1823) and his possible teacher Oliver

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3 Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University 
Shaw (1779–1848) both appear in early records of the Society. Shaw commuted from Providence to Boston to participate in HHS concerts. Albee corresponded with the HHS about repertoire and was made an honorary member in 1823. More important than either one’s specific ties to the HHS, however, were the aesthetic affinities with the HHS that Albee and perhaps Shaw instilled in Mason even during his teen years. Neither Albee nor Shaw had direct control over HHS activities, but both supported the Society’s aesthetic goals.

After moving to Savannah, Mason may have been interested in the Society as soon as it was established and certainly pursued very similar musical activities and social status. Leading singing schools in learning “approved music,” as well as assisting and holding sacred concerts on behalf of charitable organizations, paralleled what the HHS and its members did in Boston. Mason’s participation in civic events, such as the visits of President James Madison and the Marquis de Lafayette, also corresponded with HHS civic involvement. Furthermore, his personal conversion to Orthodox Calvinist evangelicalism shortly after arriving in Savannah made Mason a passionate advocate of the Society’s favorite church music—not only on aesthetic but also on theological grounds. 4 In addition,

4 See Chapter Three for discussion of “orthodox” and “Calvinist.” Congregational churches of Mason’s day used “Orthodox” to distance their beliefs from Unitarian theology. The name for Unitarian theology comes from its teaching that Jesus of Nazareth was not part of the Christian Godhead, as opposed to the Trinitarian teaching that both He and the Holy Spirit are. In the words of church historian Justo L. González, “There were many other points of disagreement with orthodoxy”: Unitarians stressed “human freedom and intellectual capabilities in contrast to the orthodox emphasis on divine mystery and human sin.” The Reformation to the Present Day, vol. 2 of The Story of Christianity: (1985; rpt. Peabody, MA: Prince Press, 2004), 240.
Mason’s Savannah pastor Henry K. Kollock helped provide ties for Mason to Boston evangelicalism itself.

After studying in Savannah with German émigré Frederick L. Abel (1794–1820), who had arrived in Savannah in 1816, Mason began compiling a tunebook that would put his studies to use. Mason provided textbook harmonizations for a wide variety of psalm tunes popular in America, from the sixteenth-century tune OLD HUNDRED to tunes by country English singing-masters of the eighteenth century, like William Tans’ur and Aaron Williams, who had inspired William Billings and the Yankee tunesmiths. Especially in rural towns with long histories of singing schools, such tunes and anthems had by the tunebook’s 1821 appearance become an institution, much to the chagrin of urbane Americans.5 Mason also imported adaptations of themes from Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Pleyel in a percentage far greater than any other American publication had ever done before.6 Other Americans had imported several tunes from this repertoire, but Mason made it one of the collection’s three chief selling points. Along with the tunes in Viennese Classical style, Mason emphasized a judicious selection from older melodies and a comprehensive application of standard

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5 See, for example, Edward Everett’s review of an 1820 tunebook publication in “Sacred Music,” The North American Review 11:28, n.s. 2:3 (July 1820), 38. For more detail on this review, as well as Mason’s use of it, see Chapter Five.

6 See Oliver Shaw, Sacred Melodies: Selected from Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Others, with Several Original Compositions, Arranged with an Accompaniment for the Pianoforte or Organ. Providence: Miller & Hutchens, 1818); Thomas Hastings and Solomon Warriner, Musica Sacra: or Springfield and Utica Collections United, rev. ed. (Utica, NY: William Williams, 1818).
harmonization. In sharp contrast to most tunebook compilers, Mason minimized his own role as composer and even as editor; the HHS agreed to do so as well. The most prominent name on the final product, printed in late 1821 and copyrighted in early 1822, was that of the self-assumed intellectual leader of Boston’s church music: the British émigré organist G.K. Jackson (c. 1757–1822). This study reveals that Mason’s manuscript came to Boston ready for “country choirs” and that the revisions recommended by Jackson made it much more challenging for more experienced choirs.

With Boston distribution, the Society’s official backing, and highly marketable selling points, the collection’s success was immediate. Mason’s career between 1821 and 1827 shows that he apparently took several steps as a direct result of his new status. After Jackson died in 1822, Mason became the collection’s recognized editor, though the change did not affect the title page until several more editions passed. Mason corresponded with the HHS about its other publications, and he began releasing compositions and even a full collection under his own name. He also began receiving more recognition, both for his tunebook and for his concerts, in Savannah.

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7 The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music (Boston: West, Richardson & Lord, 1822).
8 LM to J.R. Parker, 20 June 1821, cited in Pemberton, Life and Work, 32.
In 1826, visiting Boston to update the collection’s publishing contract, Mason twice gave an address on church music. Evangelicals in Boston were in 1826 highly excited about numerical growth but discouraged about the state of their music. Mason’s combination of the theology of music and aesthetic approaches to music, along with his passionately delivered, thoroughly practical remarks (partially indebted to Thomas Hastings’s 1822 *Dissertation on Musical Taste*), ignited an immediate response. A committee that formed the night of his first address soon began urging him to return to Boston and guaranteeing his salary for two years. The second year’s salary was to be based on personal subscriptions; subscriber Amasa Winchester (1776–1843), one of those most eager for the change, was the current HHS president. Mason declined the committee’s first several offers and even helped establish a new church in Savannah in the summer of 1827. Toward the end of the summer he received word that Winchester was stepping down from the HHS and that he could be elected president. The exact day Mason arrived in Boston is not known, but by August 31 he had appeared at the HHS to accept the presidency.

Mason’s presidency of the HHS (1827–32) was the closest and most regular contact Mason would ever have with the works of Handel, Haydn, and Mozart. Almost immediately after arriving in Boston, the zeal that Mason had developed for universal participation in evangelical church music began pushing him into the growing debate over music education. By the time he was ready to establish
the Boston Academy of Music as an educational center, he was ready to leave the
HHS. Building literacy and appreciation for religious participation, rather than
performing masterpieces in religious presentations, would become the hallmarks
of Mason’s career. The HHS continued to perform those masterpieces, eventually
growing much more ambitious than the HHS Mason knew. The relationship was
mutually profitable, and the end of the relationship was too.

Methodology
This dissertation is a mostly chronological narrative based primarily on archival
research. As an archival study, this project focuses on certain primary
documents, including some that seem not to have been studied before and
offering new readings for what appear to be the most influential secondary
interpretations of those documents. This method is appropriate for several
reasons: the staggering number of secondary sources on Mason specifically, the
contrast between the chronological focus taken here and that of most Mason
scholars, and the lack of systematic archival research done on Mason’s early life.

Justification
As the first American to grow independently wealthy through musical activities,
Lowell Mason was already a legend during his lifetime. In his fifty-year
publishing career, Mason left many sources for historians. By the middle of the
twentieth century, hundreds of books and articles were available on Mason:
contemporaries’ memories about Mason, scholars’ studied opinions about Mason, and explorations of Mason’s world.\textsuperscript{9} Since the digital revolution, that catalog could easily number in the thousands.

Very few of those sources, however, have evidenced consultation of primary documents from the period covered here. Several large repositories of primary sources about Lowell Mason before his move to Boston, and specifically his relationship with the HHS before assuming its presidency, seem never to have been discussed before. The most important of these is the manuscript, discussed in Chapter Five, from which came the \textit{Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music} (Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1822) and on which Mason’s official relationship with the HHS began.\textsuperscript{10} Most primary and secondary scholarship on Mason, even from his own lifetime, focuses on his later career and work in music education.\textsuperscript{11}


\textsuperscript{10} Arthur L. Rich (Lowell Mason, “The Father of Singing Among the Children” [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946], 140) and the finding aid for the Lowell Mason Papers at Yale University (MSS 33, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library) have noted its existence.

\textsuperscript{11} For example, Rich’s book reaches 1827 on p. 13 and is almost entirely based to that point on secondary sources published after Mason’s death. To be fair, it must be noted that most of what Mason left for posterity dates from after 1827, not only in publication but also in manuscript. Of the dozens of works Mason published, only two had appeared by 1827. The vast majority of Mason’s surviving correspondence likewise dates from later in his life.
Primary Archives Consulted

This project draws on primary sources from several non-circulating manuscript collections. The most important is the Lowell Mason Papers, MSS 33 of the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library at Yale University. In addition to holding the largest extant collection of Mason’s correspondence, including several records from before 1827, the Lowell Mason Papers also contain the manuscript that became the *Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music*. This project documents some of the many differences between Mason’s manuscript and the published collection. Most of the relevant correspondence has been discussed in some detail in secondary sources already, but even in those sources further analysis casts doubt on some earlier conclusions.

The other most important set of archival records is that of the Handel and Haydn Society, MS 5084 at the Boston Public Library. The Society’s detailed minutes of 1815 to 1845, also consulted in 2014, reveal many ties between the Society’s early years and Mason’s life before returning to Boston. In addition to discussions of Mason’s work, photographed sections of the archives also include records of the Society’s contracts with Mason, correspondence with Mason’s teachers Amos Albee and Oliver Shaw, performance and rehearsal records, and membership records that show links to the Committee named above. The most curious may be the volume of HHS programs given in 1906 to the HHS from the Mason family and believed by both parties at the time to be Mason’s own compilation.
With annotations for twenty-two HHS performances from 1815 to 1822 and
given to the HHS in 1906 by Mason’s family, the volume has several mysteries
that form an important part of the discussion for Chapter Four. While it is highly
unlikely that Mason compiled the volume himself, its very existence and
provenance does suggest that Mason took an interest in the HHS from its
beginning. In addition, records of the HHS presidency of Amasa Winchester,
Mason’s immediate and antepenultimate predecessor, show a connection to the
Lowell Mason Papers’ correspondence from the Committee for the Improvement
of Music in Several Churches [Boston].

Other non-circulating collections consulted for this project include the records of
several Boston churches where Mason served after arriving in Boston in 1827.
The records of Park Street Church (RG 1284), Bowdoin Street Church (Hanover
Street Church 1825–1830), and Union Church (Essex Street Church 1819–after
1822), all held at the Congregational Library and Archives, I consulted in the
summer of 2014. The records of Park Street Church, particularly extensive,
include records of its Committee on Singing and helped to corroborate some of
the research done by the Handel and Haydn Society on the relationship between
the Park Street choir and the HHS.12 Park Street records also include Lowell
Mason’s 1829 account of his conversion to Christianity and detail some of the

12 See, for example, H.K. Oliver to Luther Farnham, 20 February 1869, cited in J.S. Dwight and
C.C. Perkins, History of the Handel and Haydn Society, of Boston, Massachusetts, vol. 1 (Boston: A.
Mudge & Son, 1893 [1883]), C.C. Perkins, chapter 1, 33–34.
church’s history with Mason’s first Savannah pastor—Henry K. Kollock. The archives of the Church of the Covenant (Central Congregational Church 1843–1931), held at the church and consulted in the summer of 2014, also contain material especially helpful for understanding Mason’s last several years in Boston.

The American Antiquarian Society (Worcester, MA) holds the business records, dated 1792–1855, of West, Richardson, and Lord. Under the name of Richardson & Lord, this firm was Mason’s first publisher. the copyright holder of many of his works throughout his lifetime. Partner Melvin Lord was a member of the HHS, and his correspondence with Amos Albee in early 1818 helps explain an often-cited letter that Mason sent the HHS in 1869. The records of Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, provided digitally and in print by the church, show some of Mason’s expectations and practice of church music from the 1850s. Mason led the music there for much of the decade, and one of the first things he did after returning from his tour in Europe was to dismiss the church choir permanently.

Microform and Digital Archives Consulted

In the spring of 2014 I consulted the microform records of Independent Presbyterian Church, Savannah held at Emory University. These records corroborated former researchers’ findings related to Mason’s work there. The
records also shed light on the ecclesiological paradox of the name “Independent Presbyterian Church,” which Lowell Mason joined in 1815.

The two most important digital archives consulted for this project are certainly (1) Savannah Historic Newspapers Archive, part of the Digital Library of Georgia and based at the University of Georgia Libraries,13 and (2) the Hymn Tune Index, as online at http://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu/ (accessed 16 January 2017).

Savannah Historic Newspapers significantly expands the available set of data on Mason’s activities in Savannah, especially through its inclusion of the successive titles of Savannah’s Republican.14 According to database metadata, the Republican was the only newspaper in Savannah until November 1818 and served as the Whig newspaper even after the establishment of the Democratic-supporting Georgian.15 While the archive’s scans and indexing are not error-free and while some important sources may have been missed, the searches nevertheless yielded what appear to be several new facts about Mason’s activities in Savannah. These early issues show, for instance, that Mason’s partnership with Edward Stebbins began significantly earlier than known before, that Mason was

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13 The database is open access and online since 2014 at http://savnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers-j2k/search (accessed 16 January 2017).
14 Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger (1809–1816); Savannah Republican (1816–1818).
15 “About the Savannah Historic Newspapers Archive,” http://savnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers-j2k/about/ (accessed 16 January, 2017). The database as consulted does not include issues of the Columbian Museum and Savannah Daily Gazette consulted by other scholars for 1817 onwards. My primary method for mining this database during 2016 and 2017 was to locate instances of the word “Mason” for the years 1813 to 1827. I also used other search terms such as “music,” “piano,” “sacred concert,” and “oratorio” in addition to a few other proper names like “Bosworth,” “Williams,” and “Schenk.”
the secretary of a Savannah choral society in 1816, and that Mason advertised music for sale in the fall of 1815. They also show that Mason’s traveling companion Bosworth was a piano tuner who had indeed made previous trips to Savannah.16

The Hymn Tune Index, in its own words, “contains all hymn tunes printed anywhere in the world with English-language texts up to 1820, and their publication history up to that date.”17 In other words, every English-language source Mason could have used for the manuscript he completed in 1820 is available for study. This index shows that several tunes occasionally attributed to Mason’s collection were extant before his work. It also helps corroborate that (as his 1821 letter to J.R. Parker claimed) Mason borrowed from William Gardiner’s Sacred Melodies (London: 1812–15) far more heavily than any other American tunebook ever had.18

Other important digital primary sources for this project include works contemporary to Mason and now accessible through Google Books

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16 Mason’s first letter from Savannah, written the day of his arrival, speaks of the expectations he had formed on “Mr. Bosworth’s account.” LM to Johnson and Caty Mason, 21 January 1813, cited in Pemberton, Life and Work, 14.


18 William Gardiner, Sacred Melodies from Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, Adapted to the Best English Poets and Appropriated to the Use of the British Church (London: Clementi, 1812–1815).
(books.google.com), the HathiTrust Digital Library (https://www.hathitrust.org/), the Petrucci Music Library (http://imslp.org/), the Internet Archive (https://archive.org/), and other similar sites. These sites made easily accessible a host of important nineteenth-century works related to this project, including but by no means limited to sermons published by Henry Kollock, Mason’s pastor in Savannah; works published by the Handel and Haydn Society before and after Mason’s collection; American predecessors to Mason’s collection, like the Bridgewater Collection and John Whitaker’s *The Seraph*; and the early history of the HHS written by Charles C. Perkins (which includes accounts from Mason and his 1821 traveling companion S. Jubal Howe). This vast array of open-access materials greatly enriched my understanding of Mason’s world and ability to compare Mason’s work with that of his contemporaries.

Sources from Other Disciplines

In addition to archival research, this study owes a debt to the historiography of American Christianity, especially that of the early nineteenth century. The most important such work informing this project is probably Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*.19 Relying especially on analyses of early America by Gordon S. Wood, Hatch helped redefine the way that historians of American religion understand the early nineteenth century. Democratization over time, Hatch claims, is one of the most important ways to understand

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American Christianity—especially between 1795 and 1830.20 Hatch’s work particularly undergirds the discussion in Chapter Three of Mason’s religion and religious context.

**Delimitations**

This study interacts with a few archival studies of early nineteenth century Savannah and with early histories of the HHS, but it certainly makes no attempt to account for all published secondary sources on either Mason or the HHS. Based on the revolution in sources mentioned above, another biography of Lowell Mason is long overdue. This project, however, focuses on events in Mason’s early life that seem most pertinent to the development of his relationship with the Handel and Haydn Society. Specifically, this project discusses events up to 1827, when Mason’s relationship with the HHS became far more intimate and intricate and his life became much more public. While the Epilogue contains some thoughts that may provide direction for further research on Mason’s relationship with the HHS after August 1827, anything near a comprehensive account of the Mason–HHS relationship of 1827–1832 would be also something very like a comprehensive history of the HHS. As noted above, Mason’s musical career after 1827 also becomes much more multi-faceted and

20 “The theme of democratization is central to understanding the development of American Christianity, and . . . the years of the early republic [1790–1830] are the most crucial in revealing that process” (Hatch, Democratization, 3). “The democratization of Christianity . . . has less to do with the specifics of polity and governance and more with the incarnation of the church into popular culture” (ibid., 9)
much more publicized; bibliographic control of the following years would require a much broader documentary base. This chronological limitation allows the project a much higher level of clarity than would otherwise be possible, while leaving ample room for further study in the future.

The activities of the HHS likewise appear here primarily to show how the development of the HHS in 1815–1827 led to situations in which publishing Mason’s manuscript collection of church music in 1821—and electing him as president in 1827—made sense. The Society’s own histories have produced fine studies of its rich archives, and those volumes can provide context and interpretation for the events and trends discussed in this study. The Society’s relationship with its other presidents, especially Mason’s fellow tunebook compilers Bartholomew Brown (president 1836–37), George J. Webb (1837–38, 1840–42), and Charles Zeuner (1838–39), could provide helpful expansion on this project but are not covered here.

As the archival study of a developing relationship between an individual and an organization, this project includes minimal analysis of the music under discussion. Exceptions include the correctness of Mason’s counterpoint as displayed in the *Handel and Haydn Society Collection* (especially in the manuscript version provided by Mason) and the departures from textbook contrapuntal practice displayed by collections like the Bridgewater Collection, a predecessor
of Mason’s and his chief competitor. As shown in Chapter Five, further study on the originality of Mason’s counterpoint—which was sometimes copied from “correct” sources and sometimes provided a “correct” version that may or may not have existed before—is certainly warranted. Nor does this study attempt to correct what is probably the large number of misattributions given in Mason’s work. The fact that source selection was a selling point important enough to include specific names in his collection’s full title hardly led Mason to question his sources’ attributions, especially to the composers he considered “classical”: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Pleyel. Mason was more careful than some of his contemporaries in ascribing favorite tunes to famous names, but this study also does not attempt to track down whether any of Mason’s attributions were new ones designed to inflate his collection’s importance.21

**Significance of the Topic**

Mason’s career is a topic long considered worthy of major space in the history of American music, and the collection of church music the Handel and Haydn Society published for him in 1821–22 is often recognized as the primary reason his career turned from business to music. One recent historical survey of American music proceeds primarily by topic and genre: Mason is the earliest

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21 Based on brief surveys of Mason’s sources at the Hymn Tune Index, Mason’s attributions do appear to have come mostly from his sources.
person (and one of only five) to receive his own chapter.\textsuperscript{22} Mason’s uncanny sense of the economic possibilities for musical activities, the wide influence of his pedagogy, and the folk-like assimilation over multiple generations of many of his hymn tunes makes him a figure larger than life. Even without organizing history around lives of the Great Men, Mason’s multifaceted successes and controversial qualities continue to make him a fascinating subject in American music. The discoveries unearthed and interpretations provided in this study shed much greater light than before on how Mason prepared for his stratospheric rise.

The data unearthed in this study also helps explain Mason’s motivations for his musical activities. Aesthetics, pedagogy, business, and religion were a powerful formula for Mason throughout his life. His evangelical Calvinist Christianity, however, both formed his central identity and shaped his aesthetic, pedagogical, and business activities. This study points the way to understanding how religion interacted with those activities, especially when the business of music was still a relatively small part of his life.

Based on a reading of this study, readers might be forgiven for thinking that launching Mason’s career is the primary historical datum of the Handel and Haydn Society’s early years. While the truth is far more complicated, what must

\textsuperscript{22} Richard Crawford, \textit{America’s Musical Life} (New York: Norton, 2001). Besides Mason, the only musicians whose careers receive entire or near-entire chapters are Louis Moreau Gottschalk, Edward MacDowell, John Phillip Sousa, and Charles Ives.
not be forgotten is that a relationship with Mason formed a natural part of the Society’s activities in 1815–1827. HHS historians have sometimes been puzzled by the Society’s focus on tunebooks in its early years, but they are beginning to grapple with the question much more evenhandedly.23

Literture Review

As one of the most important figures in American music, Mason and his relationship with the HHS have long received scholarly attention. The Handel and Haydn Society (HHS) has a rich tradition of internal historical analysis, including several self-published histories. Historians who have studied records from the Society’s early years include C.C. Perkins (before 1886), H. Earle Johnson (1943, 1965), Jan Swafford (2014), Matthew Guerreri (2014), and Michael Broyles (1991, 1992).24 Broyles’s work especially has done much to reestablish the socioeconomic context for the Society’s early years.


Perkins had the advantage of interviewing and soliciting memoirs from participants in the Society’s early years. His work on the 1821 contract depends heavily on accounts given by Lowell Mason (1869) and Jubal Howe (1871) but is the primary source for transmitting those accounts. Mason’s letter to Luther Farnham, the Society’s first historian, includes his claim to have sent repertoire to the HHS, albeit indirectly, as early as 1817. Howe’s account is the most detailed available of Mason’s 1821 trip to Boston.

A founding member of the Sonneck Society (now the Society for American Music), Johnson made a broad archival study of performances of art music in Boston during the early Republic (*Musical Interludes in Boston, 1795–1830, 1943*) before authoring the HHS history published in 1965 at the Society’s 150th anniversary. Johnson’s rich research and colorful analysis help bring many important characters to life from the Society’s early years: Gottlieb Graupner, G.K. Jackson, Amasa Winchester, HHS organists S.P. Taylor and Sophia Hewitt Ostinelli in engaging prose. Johnson’s appreciation for the HHS, however, was less for its early publications than for the elevated performance standards it came to enjoy long after its relationship with Mason had ended.

In studying primary documents relating to Mason’s early life, no scholar has ever approached the breadth and depth of the work done by Mason’s grandson Henry Lowell Mason (1864–1957). For H.L. Mason, writing his famous
grandfather’s biography, like writing the synopses for his favorite operas and “biographies of leading singers,” was the labor of love to which he devoted many leisure hours. He spent decades contacting Mason’s old acquaintances, collecting source materials, cataloguing hymn tunes, buying up correspondence, and researching in Mason’s hometown of Medfield, MA. H.L. Mason presented a brief summary of his work to the Hymn Society, but the 545-page typescript his estate left to Yale University covers Mason’s life, in loving detail, to the early 1850s. This study tests some of H.L. Mason’s claims and sheds further light on the links between the HHS and Mason’s early life. One of the chief problems with approaching H.L. Mason’s work is that a diary he claimed to have consulted was stolen from him during his last years. That diary covered at least part of Mason’s years in Savannah, making it more difficult to dismiss the claims based on it. A dedicated but hagiographical historian, H.L. Mason was often willing to make claims and assumptions (“first,” “original,” “best”) that scholarship has since proven wrong. As noted by Mason biographer Pemberton, however, H.L. Mason deserves full recognition for the vast amount

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25 Opera Stories . . . Contains, in Few Words, the Stories (Divided into Acts) of 174 Operas, 6 Ballets and One Mystery Play; Also Portraits of Leading Singers (Boston: 1913).

26 The Library of Congress helped publish Hymn-Tunes of Lowell Mason: A Bibliography, compiled by Henry L. Mason (Cambridge, MA: The University Press, 1944). This work attributes some pieces in the Handel and Haydn Collection as Mason’s own compositions, but none of them have been proven true and several proven false.

27 Lowell Mason, an Appreciation of His Life and Work (New York: Hymn Society, 1941); “Lowell Mason: His Life and Work,” unpublished typescript, Yale MSS 033, Lowell Mason Papers, Box 12; compare to the digitized typescript copy online at https://archive.org/details/historyoflowellm00unse (accessed 1 October 2016), digitization sponsored by the Boston Public Library and contributed by the Lowell Mason House. Unless otherwise noted, pagination follows the Yale typescript of H.L. Mason’s work.
of materials he collected. Pemberton’s work would have been “impossible” without H.L. Mason’s.28

Most scholars of pre-Boston Mason have limited their archival work to sources in Savannah, GA (where Mason lived 1813–1827). Others have consulted source on Mason’s early life as part of larger projects focusing much more on Mason’s later life. Those who have studied primary sources specifically related to Mason’s activities in Savannah are Margaret Freeman LaFar (1944), Douglas A. Moore (1967), and Mary F. Keating (1989).29 LaFar prepared her article as a speech for a 1942 Savannah celebration of Mason’s sesquicentennial. Her work also borders on hagiography, with breathless asides and exclamation points in abundance. Her factual claims, however, are far easier to trace than H.L. Mason’s. She studied nineteenth-century histories of Savannah and may have been the first to comb Mason entries in Savannah newspapers.30 She also consulted internally conducted histories of Independent Presbyterian Church and corresponded with H.L. Mason. Perhaps her most valuable research, however, comes from the

30 She notes that indices did not include all Savannah newspapers for all of Mason’s stay there.
Record Book of the Savannah Sabbath School that Mason helped establish, over which he presided as superintendent, and for which he wrote voluminously.

Douglas A. Moore’s 1967 MFA thesis provided one of the chief sources on Mason’s Savannah years for Carol A. Pemberton’s 1971 dissertation and 1985 biography. By Moore’s day, the indices of Savannah newspapers had improved considerably, and his analysis of Mason’s musical and extra-musical activities as reported in Savannah newspapers shows fine historical and music-historical insight, though his lack of exposure to early nineteenth century anthem literature leads him to credit Mason as possibly the source of the long-popular anthem “Lord of All Power and Might” (British clergyman William Mason, 1724–97). Moore is the only source yet located who mentions a letter from Mason to John Rowe Parker in 1819, long before Mason’s celebrated 1821 letter to the same. Moore consulted the histories and corresponded with the historian of the Independent Presbyterian Church and may have located the letter in the church’s records, but his bibliography gives no locations of his sources for Mason’s correspondence.

Keating’s twelve-page article for The Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education used Pemberton’s work as a principal source. Citing secondary sources about the Savannah of Mason’s 1813–1827 residency and newspaper reports
about events Mason attended, Keating attempted to provide a richer local context for Mason’s life in Savannah.

In addition to the microform records noted above, the most accessible history of the Independent Presbyterian Church is the one written by Lowry Axley and published in 1958. Rightfully proud of the church’s famous music director, Axley relied primarily on the church’s internal records (though many were destroyed in the 1820 fire) and the collections of the Georgia Historical Society.

As a study of Mason’s life, this project covers very similar ground to the early sections of Carol A. Pemberton’s sweeping biographical study of Mason. Pemberton completed her dissertation in 1971 and published it in book form, with some bibliographic updates and significant cuts, in 1985. Pemberton relies heavily on H.L. Mason’s work to help piece together certain sections of her work and occasionally borders on hagiography herself.31 Pemberton’s historical assumptions, even when not relying on H.L. Mason, also belie her lack of exposure to contextual fields such as early American psalmody and early American music, fields crucial for understanding Mason’s work. She approached Mason as a hero of music education first and as a church musician second.32

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31 Hubert Henderson may have been the first to point this out publicly in a review of the 1985 publication, American Music 6:3 (Autumn 1988): 323-326.
32 The titles for Mason with which Pemberton begins her preface show her focus (Life and Work, ix).
Pemberton’s work remains extremely valuable for Mason scholarship. Her archival research included significant time with the Lowell Mason Papers of Yale University33 and the Boston Public Library. Her wide engagement with dissertations and theses on sections of Mason’s life and work serves, as she hoped, as “a shortcut to pertinent materials.” Pemberton’s work made it possible for Mason’s life to appear as a whole; she made a valiant attempt to compile a comprehensive list of Mason’s works. In her 1988 bio-bibliography, she even attempted to do the same for works about Mason.

Pemberton also acquired enough primary source material to produce a string of articles on Mason. True to her focus, nearly all those articles focus on Mason’s pedagogical work and publications after his move to Boston. One, however, co-authored with George N. Heller but not subject to peer review, specifically studies The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music.34 For context, the article relies mostly on Pemberton’s prior research and secondary sources (with the benefit of the New Grove Dictionary of American Music) but also used Mason’s source The Seraph, edited by John Whitaker (London: 1818). The article bears no signs of having consulted Nicholas Temperley’s Hymn Tune Index, published earlier in the same decade. Of most benefit, however, is the

33 When Pemberton performed her study, Yale had recently received H.L. Mason’s collections of correspondence and typescript biography.
article’s detailed description and catalog of the book’s contents. Tables catalog several of the collection’s musical characteristics, such as number of pieces with various poetic meters. Two appendices list the published collection’s attributions by author, one alphabetized, with page numbers (A), and one ranked in order of frequency (B). It also calls the 1822 publication “the beginning of a relationship critical to Lowell Mason’s success in publishing” (31)—another way of looking at Mason’s relationship to the HHS.

Overview

This project explores the first twelve years of Mason’s relationship with the Handel and Haydn Society in mostly chronological order. Chapter Two explores the ties with the Handel and Haydn Society that Mason had formed before leaving Massachusetts, especially with Amos Albee and Oliver Shaw. Both Albee and Shaw would go on to have their own relationships with the HHS while Mason lived in Savannah, and sending material sent via Albee seems to have been Mason’s first attempt at contact with the HHS. Chapters Three and Four cover very similar chronological territory from two different perspectives. Chapter Three discusses how Mason established an adult life in Savannah, specifically establishing a position in Savannah society and musical culture very similar to the position of the HHS in Boston. Chapter Four discusses several ways in which Mason seems to have been interested specifically in the HHS from its inception, especially in its performing and its publishing activities. Chapter
Five discusses the process by which Mason compiled a church music collection and the process that manuscript collection underwent to become the published collection of 1822. It highlights especially the differences between Mason’s manuscript and the published version. Chapter Six discusses developments in Mason’s relationship with the HHS, as seen both in Savannah and Boston, up until the time of his arrival in Boston. In addition to summarizing this study’s conclusions and suggestions for further research, Chapter Seven also sketches a brief outline of Mason’s relationship with the HHS after 1827, first during his terms as president (1827–32) and trustee (1832–33). Its outline also includes the sometimes-heated contract negotiations that arose after Mason’s Boston Academy of Music (est. 1832–33) began competing with the HHS in publishing. Mason withdrew from the HHS in 1838, the same year Boston public schools began to fund music instruction. Mason’s zeal for universal music literacy, derived from his passion for evangelical church music, had pushed the HHS out of his life.
CHAPTER TWO
BEFORE HANDEL AND HAYDN:
YOUNG LOWELL MASON AND THE EARLY AMERICAN HANDEL

The year 1815 included two events that would prove highly important to American cultural history. In February, news reached the Eastern seaboard that the War of 1812 was over, both by the Treaty of Ghent and by a decisive victory at New Orleans. Boston’s celebrations of the war’s end included performances of Handel’s *Dettingen Te Deum* and excerpts from *Judas Maccabeus*.¹ “A few weeks later,” to use Howard Serwer’s understated method of connection, Boston musicians under Gottlieb Graupner (1767–1836) established the Boston Handel and Haydn Society. Similar societies had existed in New York, Philadelphia, and previously in Boston, but had usually met with financial woes within a few years. Serwer attributes the financial stability of the 1815 Boston group to the huge success of its publishing efforts.²

This chapter will focus on Handel’s reception in the English-speaking (more properly, English-reading) American colonies.³ Serwer’s “Handel Amongst the

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¹ The second program of the Philadelphia Handelian Society’s season was Feb. 2 and included excerpts from *Judas Maccabeus*, *Theodora*, a Handel *Te Deum*, and of course *Messiah*; but news of the victories had not yet reached the city.
Moderns,” though mostly limited to Boston, is the most thorough critical analysis located to date of Handel reception in pre-1815 America. Studies by Virginia Larkin Redway and Ralph T. Daniel, while providing helpful data, both ignore reports of Handel’s British activities and thus offer few explanations for Handel’s American reception in the holistic context of the developing society.\(^4\) Certainly in the life of Lowell Mason, the founding of the HHS would prove every bit as important as the end of the war.

Americans had devoured news from New Orleans, knowing all along that each update was itself outdated. Jackson’s troops repelled the main British attack on January 8, but it was February before news reached most Eastern cities.\(^5\) News of the previous December’s Treaty of Ghent arrived a week or so later.

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\(^5\) Because of the naval blockades, news along the Ohio River had been more current than along the Atlantic seaboard. News of the seemingly miraculous victory finally came when a Jan. 9 letter from Louisiana Governor William C. C. Claiborne to Kentucky Governor Isaac Shelby reached the Ohio River valley in late January. The eastern cities started receiving reports about a week later.
Introduction

The Boston Handel and Haydn Society was founded upon the ideals of those who had raised George F. Handel (1685–1759) to his status as a musical hero of the British state. The Society’s stated purpose was “improving the style of performing sacred musick, and introducing into general use, the works of Handel, Haydn, and other eminent composers.” For the Society, music was fully capable of “subduing the ferocious passions of man, and giving innocent pleasure to society.” As music’s “admirers,” they were despondent that the young American nation had “neglected” music, leaving it “far from exciting the feelings, or exercising the powers, to which it is accustomed in the old world.”

Handel and Haydn were chosen as namesakes because of the power they had displayed in Messiah and The Creation. Messiah and The Creation were “core works” of the Society’s first several concert seasons, and its patronage produced a Messiah publication by 1816. The Society claimed that its performances were necessary because “most of the works of the greatest composers of sacred musick, have never found those, in our land, who have even attempted their performance” (Constitution, 3). Serwer calls this “something of an exaggeration” because of the performances already undertaken on American soil. But the

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6 Constitution of the Handel and Haydn Society. Instituted April, 1815 ([Boston]: Stebbins, 1815), 4. The transcriptions and citations of archaic materials in this study retain many archaic spellings and stylings.

7 Ibid., 3.


9 Ibid., 123.
founders were almost surely in dead earnest; either they were unaware of some of the older performances or (more likely) they meant that (1) a majority of Handel’s works had never received what might be called “full” American performances (excerpts, usually one at a time, were the rule) and (2) nearly all of them had many selections that had yet to premiere in America. Even the oratorios had hardly saturated the American market, and Messiah itself had never been performed in its entirety. Indeed, it would be several years before the Society itself would attempt such a feat.

These aesthetic opinions held by the Society’s founders followed a long tradition of Anglo-American thought reaching at least back to Restoration England and directly related to Handel’s early American reputation. The power of music, especially the power of sacred music to effect moral improvement the listener, had long been a point of contention in England’s debates over its sacred musical practice. Handel himself had regained England’s national esteem, never to lose it again, with a 1736 setting of John Dryden’s 1697 Alexander’s Feast, Or the Power of Music. Dryden’s poem was an ode for the St. Cecilia’s Day celebration of that year, itself part of a tradition arguing—in celebratory form, of course—that music had such power and that sacred music’s guardians especially were responsible to wield it.10 Handel’s setting, which included a place for his own

organ concerto, emphasized his ability to wield that power; and the English public had agreed. Statues of him soon arose, not only in the symbolically nation-building Vauxhall Gardens, but also eventually in Westminster Abbey, the official public shrine to England’s view of its ideal self through art, science, and public service.\footnote{For a thorough exposition of the importance of Alexander’s Feast in helping form Handel’s national reputation and iconography, see Suzanne Aspden, “‘Fam’d Handel Breathing, Tho’ Transformed to Stone’: The Composer as Monument,” JAMS 55:1 (1990): 56–65.} With monuments and monumental commemoration concerts, by 1800 Handel had become a national hero.

Not all Englishmen, however, shared those opinions about sacred music, much less about Handel’s itself. Dissenting views, insomuch as they existed in publication, ran not so much against the power of music \textit{per se} as against the likelihood that a given performance or composition would exert that power for good.\footnote{In one example, a 1784–85 sermon series on Charles Jennens’s libretto for Messiah, Evangelical leader John Newton (1725–1807) claimed that “true Christians, without the assistance of either vocal or instrumental music, may find greater pleasure in a humble contemplation on the words of the Messiah, than they can derive from the utmost efforts of musical genius.” Messiah: Fifty Expository Discourses, on the Series of Scriptural Passages, Which Form the Subject of the Celebrated Oratorio of Handel, vol. 1, Messiah. His Character, Advent, and Humiliation (London: J. Johnson, 1798), 2, emphasis original.}

Handel’s Early American Image

Handel’s reception by the American public aptly shows how much of America was preparing to accept the Society’s inherited ideals but also that much of America would eventually shift away from them. American performances and
newspaper reports presented what can only be called a gentrified Handel, a representation which usually ignored Handel’s instrumental music, hardly mentioned his operas, and focused almost exclusively on his oratorios and on reporting the music he supplied for the British royal family. Many of Handel’s early American performers also shared important aesthetic, theological, and even political commitments that contributed to their repertoire choices. Several were, for example, Anglican/Episcopalian organists who were far more urbane, far more liturgical, and far less populist than the average American in the early Republic. Simply put, there were religious, political, and cultural limitations inherent in promoting and appreciating Handel’s music.

A Mother Country’s Reception

Early America’s reception of Handel’s music was itself birthed by the reception taking place in the mother country. This reception exerted a powerful influence on American musicians.

Handel as English National Icon

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the English nation’s fondness for the work of George F. Handel was unparalleled in the history of Western civilization. After George III took the throne in 1760, he promoted Handel’s music more than any European monarch had ever done for a dead composer. However strange it may have seemed to others, supporting Handel’s
music over that of living composers must have made perfect sense to the new king. The Elector of Hanover had hired Handel in 1710, even before becoming George I of Great Britain (1714). During the reigns of George I and George II, Handel had composed music for many of the House of Hanover’s most public ceremonies and had helped cement the royal family’s prestige in the eyes of the English public.\(^{13}\)

Appreciation of Handel’s music also extended far outside the royal family. While Handel arrived in London speaking German and composing Italian opera, he produced music there that could truly be called the national music of the British Empire. It seems entirely safe to say that never had such a broad section of a nation’s population shared with its monarch so much appreciation for music composed by one naturalized composer—dead or alive. The most prominent illustration of this appreciation is certainly the series of commemorative concerts held in Westminster Abbey beginning in 1784. George III had encouraged the concerts, and they had involved forces larger than any before known in

\(^{13}\) During his early years in London, Handel had temporarily lost his position under the Elector. When the Elector received the British crown in 1714, however, he reinstated Handel’s salary. (See Anthony Hicks, “Handel,” Grove Music Online, accessed 3 March 2017.) Handel’s works for royal ceremonies covered everything from royal weddings to royal funerals and were widely publicized. For a dissenting view on the importance of the Hanoverian royalty to Handel’s prestige, see David Hunter, “Handel and the Jacobites,” Music & Letters 82:4 (2001): 543–56. Hunter’s reminders that “we should not assume that the Jacobites were uniformly anti-Handel” (545) and that Handel “did not restrict his patronage-seeking or limit his appeal to one political party or faith” (546) are well taken. They do little, however, to adjust the historic record of England’s appropriation of Handel after his death. Opera, oratorio, and occasional music for national observances simply held more appeal for some parties and faiths than for others. In this respect, Jacobites and Hanoverians were more alike than they realized.
European history. 14 By the early years of the American republic, Handel had truly become a national hero for his adopted home.

A Complicated Icon

Handel’s status was iconic, but it was also complicated. Handel had become a hero to a wide swath of the genteel public: the aristocracy and most sectors of the gentry. Even if every member of these classes supported Handel, however, they hardly constituted a literal majority of England’s population. Few from the lower classes had met him, and the urban commercial class was much less unified in supporting him than the aristocracy and gentry were. In early America, where true aristocracy was nonexistent and holders of small properties held much greater political power than in England, Handel’s music could lay far less claim on the populace. Out of Handel’s royal patronage, broad aristocratic support, and gentry’s near-deification, only the gentry’s opinion carried much weight in the United States.

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14 England had begun to connect more of its population directly to the government even before the Hanoverian accession. Suffrage itself would not expand until 1832, but the Civil War, Glorious Revolution, and Hanoverian Accession itself can all be seen as expansions of the gentry’s power that had remained intact through the Stuart Restoration and Whig-Tory split. What Handel was seen as doing for English music can be viewed similarly as the gentrification of aristocratic musical culture (as opposed to what might be called the democratization of it in Arne and the ballad-operatists). This parallel development of British government and English music meant that the Handel commemorations could easily take on national political significance on a scale unprecedented in music history. See especially William Weber, “The 1784 Handel Commemoration as Political Ritual,” Journal of British Studies 28:1 (Jan 1999): 43–69, for the event’s political background and significance.
A Royal Complication

Especially after the War for Independence, the patronage George III gave Handel was hardly persuasive for most people living under the early American Republic. It was the king’s ministers who had passed what American colonists had called the “Intolerable Acts.” His forces had fought against Washington’s army in the War for Independence. It was the king’s memory that Rip Van Winkle vainly sought to invoke after his twenty-year nap.15 American colonists sometimes blamed the king himself for all the alleged injustices they had suffered at English hands, most famously in the 1776 Declaration of Independence: “The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States.”16 Handel’s American reception, tied so firmly to the prestige of Hanoverian royalty and the glory of the British state, was by necessity much more politically complex than its English counterpart.


16 Transcript at www.archives.gov, “Declaration of Independence - Transcript,” https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript (accessed 9 April 2011). As the Declaration also recounts, the colonists had often appealed to the king personally, only to be rejected. Whether the rejection arose more from the any tyrannical ambitions the king may have held or the national interests Parliament and George’s ministries held in their own decisions was irrelevant to the Declaration itself.
Victory in the War of 1812 decisively established the fledgling United States of America (in American minds at least) as a full member of the newly reconstituted post-Napoleonic European civilization. Whether to submit to England and its empire was no longer an open question. A near-century of heated colonial-national political debate on that score could now be laid to rest. The news of political peace, however, did not settle all debates. For centuries, the state of Britain’s politics had been inextricably bound to the life of England’s national church.17 Moreover, the heady combination of politics and religion had long exerted heavy influence on questions of culture—including musical debates.

The English Background of Early American (Sacred) Music

Debates over music had indeed raged in England for centuries. Scholars, churchmen, politicians, and musicians had especially debated what music was appropriate for use in the English church, and these debates had affected all levels of English musical life. Ever since the English state had left the Roman church under Henry VIII, the uneasy coalition between the Anglican church and the British state had been played out in sacred music, especially of England’s great cathedrals but also of the parish churches. During the Long Parliament and Protectorate of 1649–60, most of those cathedrals had endured the removal of

17 New England’s founders had attempted to build their own state church, but they had not since the Restoration exerted complete British rule. In 1833 Massachusetts disestablished the last state church founded on Puritan principles.
their organs and the enforcement of Puritan liturgical simplicity. The musical glories of the English Renaissance—Tallis, Gibbons, Byrd, Morley, Weelkes, and more—had fallen silent.¹⁸

After Charles II returned to the monarchy in 1660, so did musical art to the cathedrals. Purcell and his Restoration contemporaries created beauty in music as Dryden and his contemporaries did in literature. By the time the House of Orange took power in 1688–89, the Church of England had been firmly established as a permanently non-Catholic institution under the rule of a permanently non-Catholic monarchy. The House of Hanover, in the person of Handel’s original patron, George I, succeeded the House of Orange precisely for that reason.

But the political and religious unity of England was still, as shown by the rebellions of the eighteenth century, highly fragile. Just as the Stuarts still had supporters willing to risk everything for the sake of Bonnie Prince Charlie, so too the Puritans had many followers in parish churches and dissenting groups. The national unity created by Handel’s music and his patron’s rule was simply a middle ground between two extremes.

¹⁸ Interpretations in the historical portions of this narrative are related to those found in J.C.D. Clark, Revolution and Rebellion: State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Cambridge: University Press, 1986), 141–46.
Early American (Sacred) Music in the British (Anglican) Empire

These debates over sacred music’s power had hardly come to closure in the American colonies. Massachusetts and several other New England colonies (though specifically not Rhode Island) had established varying forms of Puritanism. Several southern colonies, Virginia taking the lead, had established Anglicanism. Maryland sheltered adherents to Roman Catholicism. Pennsylvania was famous for sheltering outcasts from every dissenting group. The complex combination of colonial religious establishments, along with the often-precarious position of dissenters, forms the background to the First Amendment’s pledge that “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.”

Debates over Protestant church music for the English-speaking Atlantic world were an integral part of early American political debates about religion and its relationship to the state. The seventeenth-century Puritan founders of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut had held strong opinions on the subject. Their opinion, like that of the Puritan Protectorate and Parliament, was that lyrics from the Christian Bible (especially the Book of Psalms) were the only ones fit for divine worship. Moreover, carefully metricized translation, and unison a capella singing, and “sturdy” tunes were necessary for preserving the primacy of those lyrics. Cotton Mather, one of the last Massachusetts citizens with any public influence to maintain Puritan opinion, published Magnalia Christi Americana in
1702, hoping to convince New Englanders not to reject their Puritan religiocultural heritage. This heritage, following the Reformed Protestant tradition, held that “scriptural purity” was infinitely more important than artistic beauty and that simplicity must be the primary guiding rule in constructing liturgies. Mather’s hortatory historical sketch is worth quoting at length for its self-conscious preservation of Puritan ideals on both sides of the Atlantic:

About the year 1639 the New-English reformers . . . were willing that the ordinance of “The singing of psalms,” should be restored among them unto a share in that purity. Though they blessed God for the religious endeavours of them who had translated the Psalms into the metre usually annexed at the end of the Bible, yet they beheld in the translations so many detractions from, additions to, and variations of, not only the text, but the very sense of the psalmist, that it was an offence unto them. [They resolved] then upon a new translation.19

Mather proceeds to quote, from the preface to the Bay Psalm Book, the aesthetic philosophy of its translators:

If . . . the verses are not alwayes so smooth and elegant as some may desire or expect; let them consider that Gods Altar needs not our polishings: Ex. 20. for wee have respected rather a plaine translation, then [sic] to smooth our verses with the sweetnes of any paraphrase, and soe have attended Conscience rather than Elegance, fidelity rather than poetry, in translating the hebrew words into english language, and Davids poetry into english metre; that soe wee may sing in Sion the Lords songs of prayse

19 From Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana; or, The Ecclesiastical History of New-England (1702: rpt. Hartford: Silas Andrus & Son, 1855), 1:405–6, cited in David W. Music, Hymnology: A Collection of Source Readings (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996), 92, with spellings retained. The Bay Psalm Book (1640) was the first book printed in England’s American colonies, and Mather’s grandfathers were two of the original translators.
according to his owne will, until hee take us from hence, and wipe away all our tears, & bid us enter into our masters ioye to sing eternall Halleluiuhs.\textsuperscript{20}

As the eighteenth century progressed, however, Boston, New England, and America knew less and less of the homogenized Puritanism that had characterized the early years of Massachusetts. A drift away from Puritan theology (and aesthetics) had begun, and Mather’s efforts did little to reverse it. Harvard College was turning out ministerial graduates who might teach “Regular Singing” but were far less likely to uphold Puritan dogma than to teach Unitarian theology. Yale College, founded in 1701 as an orthodox alternative to Harvard, also took steps in the same direction.\textsuperscript{21} Colonies in the middle Atlantic and southern region, several dominated by Anglicanism or based on religious freedom for all, certainly enforced no Puritan musical opinions. The last commercial printing for Mather’s beloved \textit{Bay Psalm Book} came in 1762. The Puritans’ descendants drew church music from psalm paraphrases by English Dissenter Isaac Watts (1674–1748), or from sources further removed both textually and musically from the original Calvinist ideal.

\textsuperscript{20} Preface to \textit{The Whole Book of Psalms Faithfully Translated into English Metre} (Cambridge, MA: Stephen Daye, 1640; facsimile rpt. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1905, as \textit{The Bay Psalm Book}), fascicle **3v–4. Mather references Exodus 20:25, a passage immediately after the giving of the Decalogue that forbids the use of any tools on any stone altar erected for worshiping Jehovah.

\textsuperscript{21} Yale’s journey away from Puritanism was slowed during the presidency of Timothy Dwight (1795–1817). After the Great Awakening, Princeton had become the primary center for evangelical training but was dominated by Presbyterian rather than by Congregational theology.
Even the Great Awakening, the revival of American religion in the 1740s, did little to revive Puritan musical aesthetics. Jonathan Edwards, a leader among orthodox revivalist Congregationalists, agreed with the Puritans on most doctrinal questions but used Watts for his music rather than the *Bay Psalm Book* Mather had urged two generations earlier. Wesleyanism and Methodists accounted for other revivals, but Wesleyanism had come out of high Anglicanism rather than the Reformed tradition and was ambivalent rather than antagonistic to artistic music (John Wesley hesitant, Charles enthusiastic). What became American evangelicalism was far more “democratic,” to use Nathan Hatch’s term, than American Puritanism had been.

**Handel Further Gentrified: American Reports 1717–59**

The earliest mentions of Handel in American newspapers are highly instructive when seen in context of this English-American religious history. Colonists and early Americans paid close attention to news from London, and reports including Handel’s name appeared in American newspapers several times during his lifetime (see Table 2.1). This succession of reports is most striking, however, for its relative inattention to the role by which Handel entered English

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Table 2.1. Handel in American Newspapers, 1717–1759

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Works Mentioned</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Occasion</th>
<th>Source(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Riccardo Primo</strong></td>
<td>1728</td>
<td>“Prodigious Concourse of the Nobility”</td>
<td>The Boston News-Letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate</td>
<td>1732</td>
<td>Feast of the Sons of the Clergy</td>
<td>The Boston News-Letter, July 6, p. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floridante revival</td>
<td>1733a</td>
<td>Royal family’s attendance</td>
<td>The Weekly Rehearsal (Boston), June 11, p. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esther, Te Deum, and “anthems”(^A)</td>
<td>1733b</td>
<td>Visit to and honors at Oxford</td>
<td>The Weekly Rehearsal (Boston), Sept. 17, p. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HWV 262</td>
<td>1734</td>
<td>Princess Anne’s wedding</td>
<td>The New-England Weekly Journal (Boston), May 20, p. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HWV 263</td>
<td>1736</td>
<td>The Prince of Wales’s wedding</td>
<td>The New-York Weekly Journal, June 28, p. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Mr. Handel’s Opera”</td>
<td>1737a</td>
<td>Castrato Annibali’s performance for the Queen</td>
<td>The American Weekly Mercury (Philadelphia), Feb. 15, p. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siroe</td>
<td>1737b</td>
<td>Queen’s absence at command performance</td>
<td>The Boston Evening-Post, March 21, p. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dettingen Te Deum and Anthem</td>
<td>1743</td>
<td>Preparations for George II’s return from battle</td>
<td>The Boston Gazette, Dec. 13, p. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music for the Royal Fireworks</td>
<td>1749a</td>
<td>Event preparations</td>
<td>The New-York Evening Post, May 1, p. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace Anthem</td>
<td>1749b</td>
<td>Thanksgiving observance by the royal family at the Chapel Royal</td>
<td>The Weekly Post-Boy (New York), July 3, p. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Deum in D(^B)</td>
<td>1751</td>
<td>Foundling Hospital performance</td>
<td>The Boston Evening Post, Aug. 5, p. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messiah</td>
<td>1759</td>
<td>Poem written by “J.L.” after attendance at Messiah(^C)</td>
<td>The New-Hampshire Gazette, June 29, p. 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: America’s Historical Newspapers (Readex), accessed through http://www.newsbank.com, searching for “Handel,” “Hendel,” and “Haendel,” accessed April 10, 2011. The fact that the Readex database is neither comprehensive nor comprehensively indexed affects the certainty of this study’s conclusions. Search results included some unrelated terms (“handle,” “hand, I,” etc.) and thus may have missed some related ones. The Boston reprint of the Microcosm poem, for example, included “Handel” but did not appear in the list of results.

\(^A\) “One of which, almost certainly, would have been ‘Zadock the priest’.” H. Diack Johnstone, “Handel at Oxford in 1733,” *Early Music* 31:1 (May 2003): 256. “The other might possibly have been the Chapel Royal version of ‘I will magnifie thee,’ a score of which survives in the Goodson/Fawcett materials in the library of Christ Church, Oxford” (260).


\(^C\) Likely the April 6 performance also attended by Handel himself; the London news in this issue was mostly from April and included other reports dated April 6.
society: a composer of Italian opera. Opera, like several of the other genres, is mentioned primarily as connected to the royal family and the “Concourse of the Nobility.”

Besides those listed in Table 2.1, other contemporary reports of the living Handel in American papers include the following:

- A 1748 reprint of an anonymous satirical 1738 letter mocking an “Oculary Harpsicord” (meant to display music through color to the deaf) and using Handel’s name as shorthand for the power of music.
- A 1756 (re?)print of an Addison parody praising James Bridges’s automaton, “the Microcosm” and using Handel’s name in a similar way to the previous article.
- Announcements of a performance of Handel’s music in New York, recorded in an English-language newspaper, March 18, 1756. The concert celebrated City Hall’s new organ and served as an advertisement for its builder, William Ash.

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24 The advertisement for Lockwood’s musical clock refers to “Opera’s” and Handel in the same breath, but also Corelli, Geminiani, and others. Based on its name-dropping, it nearly seems to have been written by a late Londoner, or at least someone posing as such. Josiah Flagg’s Boston concert of 1771 (see below) included the overture to Il Pastor Fido, but did not explicitly name it an opera.

25 What early Americans called “opera” in the late eighteenth century was often ballad opera or comic opera, far from the early-eighteenth century world of Handelian opera seria.


28 New-York Mercury, March 8 and 15, p. 3.
A 1756 report pointing out the use of Handel’s “Prophetic visions strike my eye” (from The Occasional Oratorio).\textsuperscript{29}

None of these mentions of Handel focus on Italian opera for its own sake, that favorite pastime expected of “every one, who has the Pleasure of thinking himself a fine Gentleman” (sarcasm from The [London] Weekly Journal).\textsuperscript{30}

Rivalries between sopranos, castrati, composers seem to have been worth little to colonial newsman.\textsuperscript{31} A delicious exception (or culpable, depending on one’s view of Italian opera), from 1737, mentions opera but not Handel: “Any one spinner or weaver, is of more real Value to a nation than all the Singers and Fidlers [sic] of Italy: An Article which we wish the L--ds of the Hay-Market would take to their consideration as Englishmen.”\textsuperscript{32} This was high mockery on a philosophical level, with little contextual knowledge needed to understand the point. To balance the equation even further, references to the castrati and prima donne of Handel’s day were extremely rare during Handel’s lifetime. Farinelli’s 1737 departure for

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{29} Pennsylvania Gazette, Jan. 20, 1757, p. 1. The performance took place in the College of Philadelphia’s production of Thompson and Mallet’s 1751 The Redemption of England from the Cruelties of the Danish Invasion by Alfred the Great.
\item \textsuperscript{31} American cities were prime markets for ballad opera, comic opera, and even high English opera; see especially David McKay, “Opera in Colonial Boston,” American Music 3:2 (Summer 1985): 133–142, which shows that Selby’s Boston lagged far behind Charleston, New York, and Reinagle’s Philadelphia (see below) in its operatic progress.
\end{itemize}
Madrid, however, which directly affected Handel’s English reputation, did receive notice.\textsuperscript{33}

This focus on the royal and aristocratic backing for Handel’s operatic activities, rather than on the operas’ music and personnel, surely owes something to the cultural level on which newspapers themselves operated in the eighteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic. The colonial newspapers’ main source, London newspapers, were themselves not the main source of their own patrons’ news about opera, except as advertisements for some performances. But mocking the aristocracy’s operatic pleasures was rarely meaningful for American editors when so few of their readers could even identify any of the parties involved.

As Table 2.1 shows, the colonial papers did point out the Handel that the lower gentry could appreciate: Handel the composer for royal public ceremonies (though the 1727 coronation may have gone unnoticed), Handel the greatest of all composers available for charity concerts, and Handel the legendary wielder of harmony. The most thoughtful American reader, if limited to newspapers for London news and American concert reports, could easily have been forgiven for

\textsuperscript{33} Searches in “America’s Historical Newspapers” for “Farinelli” yielded only six results before 1770 (three of which were gift reports); “Senesino” was not mentioned until 1801, and “Carestini” not at all. The fared little better. “Durastante” / “Durastanti” was absent until an 1805 encyclopedia of the arts.
thinking Handel an English-born gentleman and a career composer of English vocal music.

Handel Performed and Published: 1756–1815

Such ignorance could hardly stand for long, especially with John Mainwaring’s remarkable 1760 Handel biography for sale in Boston by 1761. The 1756 New York organ concert mentioned above had included “The Sword That’s Drawn in Virtue’s Cause,” like “Prophetic Visions” an *Occasional Oratorio* aria. It had also included, however (the concert was, after all, an organ advertisement) “a song in praise of musick, particularly of an organ.” The proceeds had gone “for the benefit of a poor widow.” The effect was to combine the charitable use for Handel’s music with the morally uplifting music made possible, according to the long tradition mentioned above, by St. Cecilia.

By 1762, “a Gentleman lately arrived from London” had advertised prints of Handel pieces, including arias, for sale in New York (*Gazette*, p. 3; *Mercury*, p. 4; August 9, 16). The same pieces were advertised again in Boston in 1764, with Handel’s organ concertos and the *Musicae Spiritus* collection added to the collection. The

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34 *Boston Gazette*, July 6, 1761, p. 4. Handel’s Westminster Abbey monument had already been announced in Boston (*Gazette*, May 18, 1761, p. 1). Mainwaring’s biography, one of the first book-length biographies of a composer, appeared several decades before musical biography became “a distinct literary genre” (Maynard Solomon, “Biography,” *Grove Music Online*).

35 *New-York Mercury*, 8 and 15 March 1756, p. 3.

36 June 25, July 2, July 9, July 16 (*Boston Evening-Post*, p. 2; *Boston Post Boy*, p. 1); July 5 and 12 (*Boston News-Letter*, p. 4/supp. 1); July 23 (*Evening-Post*, p. 4). The wealthiest colonists, of course, could also acquire Handel publications from England in person or in shipment, no local
unnamed music importer may well have found a ready market, for American presses soon issued Handel compositions. Josiah Flagg’s *Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* (Boston: Revere & Flagg, 1764), usually given as the first such print, included an unattributed march by Handel from *Riccardo Primo* as an anonymous “March from Richard 3d.”

Flagg also programmed major Boston premieres of Handel works in 1771 and 1773, suggesting that his lack of attribution was not spiteful. These premieres included excerpts of *Acis and Galatea* along with English vocal works and instrumental music.37 In 1770, William Tuckey premiered a major portion of *Messiah* in New York. Handel performances seem to have stopped after Flagg’s concert in 1773.38 Some of Handel’s colonial supporters may even have been Loyalists; as explained above, the close ties of Handel’s music to the royal

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38 Further research may be able to determine how closely significant number of colonial American supporters of Handelian music may have been Loyalists who actually left the country. The dearth of Handel performances during the war years also had several more pragmatic reasons; the King’s Chapel (Boston), which had hosted several of the Handel performances, closed for several years during the War for Independence.
family’s Hanoverian prestige made it less likely that staunch anti-royalists would support Handel.

In 1786, Alexander Reinagle organized a New York concert imitating London’s Handel commemorations. Andrew Adgate and his Uranian Society of Philadelphia followed a similar plan in the same year. Handel in 1780s America belonged to William Selby, organist at what had been Boston’s King’s Chapel, after it reopened following the war.\(^{39}\) From 1782 to 1793, Selby organized several major concerts, many of which involved multiple Handel pieces. One was a 1786 Handel commemoration that imitated the great London commemorations that had begun a few years earlier. For this work Sonneck dubs Selby “an indirect founder of the Handel and Haydn Society.”\(^{40}\) Through report, performance, and publication, Handel’s reputation continued to grow.\(^{41}\) American papers covered the London commemorations thoroughly, and their coverage no doubt helped to provoke the 1786 concerts in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York.

Regarding performance history, it is difficult to choose whether Howard Serwer’s gloomy late-twentieth century vision is better than Virginia Larkin

\(^{39}\) After the War for Independence, the Church of England changed its name to The Episcopal Church, and the King’s Chapel (Boston) began calling itself the Stone Chapel or “the Chapel-Church” after reopening.

\(^{40}\) Sonneck, 274.

\(^{41}\) *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of sacred harmony . . .* (Worcester, MA: Isaiah Thomas, 1786) included the first American printing of the “Hallelujah” chorus—as well as Thomas’s challenge in the preface that he thought Continental performers were up to the task.
Redway’s mid-twentieth century triumphalist one. Serwer says, “Handel’s music was performed only infrequently in colonial times and during the first two decades of the Republic.” Larkin is nearly the opposite: “During no period after the middle of the eighteenth century did the colonial Americans cease to perform Handel compositions. From Boston to Charleston, there resounded a constantly increasing volume of Handelian music.” Like most historical generalizations, both contain potentially misleading implications. The interpreter’s view of the documentary evidence will largely be shaped by the narrative imposed upon it.

Builders of a Reception: Handel’s Early Promoters

Redway’s assertion that “people of all sorts and degrees, and organizations of all kinds, paid their tribute to the great master” (ibid.) is especially difficult to accept. Of the names above mentioned, nearly all associated with one religious group—the Church of England (see Table 2.2). This fact appears significant when connected with the account above—the seventeenth-century Puritan opposition and eighteenth-century evangelical ambivalence toward Anglican church music. Anglican (after independence, Episcopal) churches often sponsored the American concerts including Handel’s works. These promoters were following in the footsteps of Handel’s oratorio librettists, most of whom had used their work

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42 “Handel Amongst the Moderns,” 123.
43 “Handel in Early America,” 200.
Table 2.2. Key Figures in Handel’s Early American Reception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Events</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Known Church Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Josiah Flagg</td>
<td>1764–73: 1st publications of Handel’s music, Boston’s Handel premieres</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Tuckey</td>
<td>1770–72: American premiere of Messiah</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Selby</td>
<td>1782–92: major concerts</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Reinagle</td>
<td>1786: imitation of Handel commemoration</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Adgate</td>
<td>1784–87: Uranian Academy; 1786: Commemoration imitation</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gottlieb Graupner</td>
<td>1795–96</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1797–1815: cofounder, Handel &amp; Haydn Society</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Congregational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hubbard</td>
<td>1807: Handel Society founder and president</td>
<td>Dartmouth College</td>
<td>probably Congregational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.K. Jackson</td>
<td>Handelian Society Handel &amp; Haydn Society</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...to serve the musical philosophy of High Anglicanism and several of whom had been members of its clergy.44 Several of Handel’s American promoters wrote tracts that echoed some of the same themes.45 Several were organists, practitioners of the very instrument that St. Cecilia had supposedly sanctified but that New England’s founders and their English companions had so opposed.

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The Handel of 1815

Much of the promotion of Handel that took place in the late colonial period and the early Republic seems directly linked to those movements within the Church of England dedicated to promoting music’s beneficial power. Links to royal patronage, however, could be problematic in the early Republic. The change of church names from “The King’s Chapel” to “the Stone Chapel” illustrates the complex political situation faced by early American lovers of Handel’s musical monuments. Some Americans were highly sensitive to any implications of royal prestige, that great theme which had underscored so much of what Americans had heard about Handel. And the idea that the same music could not only affect the emotions but also effect moral improvement in its listeners was bound to be unpopular in anti-royalist environments.

The correlation mentioned above between Anglicanism and Handel’s music was much stronger before the War for Independence. According to Table 2.2, Handel’s music broadened its denominational base after 1782. The ties of Gottlieb Graupner and G.K. Jackson, however, preserved the connection more clearly in Boston than in Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New York. Prints of Handel’s works appeared regularly in tunebooks from a wide range of sources, especially Messiah favorites (the “Hallelujah” chorus and a simplified choral version of “I Know That My Redeemer Liveth”). By the time the Boston Handel and Haydn Society came into being in 1815, lovers of Handel’s music had built a
coalition including Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians, likely including some whose interest was purely secular. For those involved in such a supra-denominational enterprise, theological rigor was less important than aesthetic profundity. The coalition crossed theological divides that were deeper than denominational ones; some of its members were Evangelical, and some were Unitarian.

Young Lowell Mason

When Lowell Mason began his eight-week trip from Massachusetts in late 1812, he already had a general knowledge of and appreciation for the Handel of early America, or at least the Handel of Boston: the Boston musical and cultural environment from which the Boston Handel and Haydn Society (HHS) would soon come. Documented mostly by Mason’s own accounts left in his later years, accounts of Mason’s musical pursuits in Massachusetts during his youth are still fragmentary. The studies of these early years prepared him well for his later career, but their significance is rarely discussed at length. The connections Mason had formed by 1812, however, certainly with Amos Albee and possibly with Oliver Shaw and Joseph S. Buckminster, created strong links to the social network that would birth the HHS in 1815.
Mason and Amos Albee

Around 1805 Mason attended a singing school led by Amos Albee (1772–1823), compiler of the *Norfolk Collection of Sacred Harmony*. In the broader field of American music, this set of facts is often where Albee’s biography begins and ends. Pemberton adds that Albee was also from Medfield and belonged to the Norfolk Musical Society (of Medfield and Dedham) and that Mason held a lifelong respect for him.

Albee and Psalmodic Reform

Scholars of early American psalmody have shown that Albee was acquainted with some of the latest trends in American music during the years 1805–1820, and was open to the new reforming styles without breaking completely from older styles. After Albee had his first tunes published in 1802 and then published the *Norfolk Collection* in 1805, he also subscribed to Gottlieb Graupner’s *Monitor*,

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For example, Albee appears in Grove Music Online only in the Lowell Mason biographical article by Harry Eskew et al., and the journal aggregator JSTOR similarly mentions Albee only in two Mason tributes (both accessed 20 April 2016).

or Celestial Harmony (Boston, [1806]) and the 1809 Boston release of the collection popularly known as “the Lock Hospital Collection” (London, 1st ed. 1769).⁴⁹

Albee’s subscriptions show that his interests were not bound up wholly in the local psalmody of rural Massachusetts. In discussing the subscriptions, Cooke wonders whether Albee, along with other subscribers, “hoped to establish reputations as being up-to-date in their musical taste” and whether Albee hoped that Boston’s Gottlieb Graupner would stock the Norfolk Collection in his own prominent Boston store.⁵⁰ In fact, each of these sources was influential in the cultural formation of the Handel and Haydn Society. Graupner’s crucial role in the founding and early years of the Society are well documented,⁵¹ and the Lock Hospital Collection would also play a prominent role in the Society’s beginning. The collection served along with the Massachusetts Compiler as repertoire for several of the society’s first rehearsals and at least one early performance.⁵² The Compiler represented an attempt at more than fashion. According to Crawford

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⁵⁰ Ibid., 130.
⁵² Handel and Haydn Society Records, MS 5084, Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, Boston Public Library (hereafter HHS Records), Box 1, Folders 40–42, Meeting Minutes: Folder 40, minutes for May 1815 (May 4, 9, 30); and Folder 41, minutes for Oct.–Dec. 1819 (leading up to performance of December 21).
and Cooke, its preface includes “the lengthiest exposition of music theory printed in America during the [eighteenth] century.”\textsuperscript{53} For early-nineteenth century New Englanders, the elegant hymnody of the Lock Hospital Collection represented a solid link to both musical fashion and cultural prestige, as well as an artistic application of the theoretical ambition displayed in the Compiler.\textsuperscript{54} Not only had the Lock Hospital Collection been recently fashionable in London society, but it also represented a culturally prestigious world of making sacred music for charitable purposes that was similar in many ways to the Foundling Hospital’s relationship with Handel’s Messiah. By contrast, the vigorous output of country psalmists like Aaron Williams (see Figure 2.1), William Tans’ur, and others who inspired Billings’s creative output had little respectability in the cosmopolitan world of Regency England. With Graupner’s sources as well as

\textsuperscript{53} Richard Crawford and Nym Cooke, “Holyoke, Samuel (Adams),”  Grove Music Online, accessed 10 November 2014. See also J.L. Willhide, “Samuel Holyoke: American Music Educator” (diss., University of Southern California, 1954). Hans Gram, Samuel Holyoke, and Oliver Holden collaborated on the ambitious effort. A Danish émigré, Gram was the organist at Brattle Street Church. Though Massachusetts natives, Holyoke and Holden still shared Gram’s concern for providing a welcoming environment for the musically accomplished who were in 1795, as the preface stated, “daily seeking an asylum in this country.” According to Maribel Meisel, “Gram’s relationship [to his co-editors] . . . needs further exploration.” Gram arrived in Boston around 1785 via the West Indies and soon became a prominent musician (Grove Music Online, “Gram, Hans,” accessed 10 November 2014). In his recent edition of Holden’s works, David W. Music shows that Holden in the 1790s was a member of (and likely director of music for) First Baptist Church of Boston. Music, Oliver Holden (1765–1844): Selected Works (London: Routledge, 2008), xxii–xxiii. Holyoke was a Harvard graduate from a prominent New England family who became a master of singing schools.

\textsuperscript{54} In 1812 Nathaniel Tucker donated fifteen copies of the Lock Hospital Collection to the Park Street Singing Society, and the Society promised to “use their utmost endeavors to render themselves worthy of so valuable a gift.” “Boston, Mass. Park Street Church records, 1804-1978, 2009” (The Congregational Library & Archives, Boston, MA), Records of the Park Street Singing Society, 1810–1827, Box 59 (5 May 1812).
Figure 2.1. Aaron Williams (1731–1776), St. Thomas

I love your kingdom, Lord, the house of your abode,
I love your church, O God—her walls before you stand,
For her my tears shall fall, for her my prayers ascend,
Beyond my highest joy I prize her heavenly ways,
Sure as your truth shall last, to Zion shall be given

the Church our blest Redeemer saved with his own precious blood.
dear as the apple of your eye, and graven on your hand.
hers sweet communion, so solemn vows, her hymns of love and praise.
the brightest glories earth can yield, and brighter bliss of heaven.

ST. THOMAS, probably Aaron Williams’s most widely used tune by the 20th century. Text: Timothy Dwight (1752-1817), alt. Tune: *New Universal Psalmodist*, 1770. As available online at www.hymnary.org/text/i_love_thy_kingdom_lord, accessed 6 May 2016. This harmonization is often credited (without date) to Mason. Mason’s first published harmonization, in the 1822 HHS Collection, 1st edition (p. 139), preserves much more of Williams’s characteristic rhythmic vigor and parallel motion. Mason’s MSS of the collection (Lowell Mason Papers, Yale MSS 33, Box 1, Folder 22, page 125) has less thorough figured bass than the published version but seems little changed otherwise.

with the Lock Hospital Collection’s repertory (see Figure 2.2), Albee was creating links that would prove helpful later for his young student.

**Albee and the Handel and Haydn Society**

By 1817, Albee had begun seeking direct ties with the HHS. Society minutes from 3 October 1817 record a response to a request from Albee for support in
Figure 2.2. Felice de’ Giardini (1716-1796), ITALIAN HYMN

1 Come, thou Almighty King, help us thy name to sing, help us to praise: Father, all glorious, over us, Ancient of Days.
2 Come, thou Incarnate Word, gird on thy might sword, our prayer attend: come, and thy people bless, and give thy word success: and never from us depart, Spirit of power.
3 Come, Holy Comforter, thy sacred witnecess bear in this glad hour: thou who all majesty, may we in glory see, and to eternity love and adore!
4 To Thee, great One in Three, eternal come and reign over us, Ancient of Days.

publishing a collection of sacred music. The HHS promised that if the full collection was as good as the selection they had received, they could “freely recommend it to public patronage.”\(^{55}\) No record of Albee’s later publication survives; if his request had been for financial backing rather than commendation, he may simply have failed to see it through.

The archives at the American Antiquarian Society also contain a plea for financial backing written by Albee to Melvin Lord on 12 January 1818.\(^{56}\) Albee gives his address as Waltham, putting him in the Boston area over a year earlier than known before and in a Boston suburb in which he had not been known to have resided.\(^{57}\) Mason’s relationship with Albee after his childhood singing school has never been discussed, but it seems clear that when Mason claimed to have sent the HHS some music for the Old Colony Collection “through a poor musical friend in Waltham,”\(^{58}\) he referred to Albee.

Albee’s ties with the HHS grew after his move to Watertown, then a small town just outside Cambridge. Albee sent the HHS several Mozart anthems he had

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\(^{55}\) HHS Records, Box 1, Folder 40, 3 October 1817.

\(^{56}\) Albee to Melvin Lord, 12 January 1818, in West, Richardson, and Lord, “Business papers, 1792-1855,” American Antiquarian Society (Worcester, MA), Box 1, Folder 3.


\(^{58}\) LM to Luther Farnham, 14 March 1869, as cited in Charles C. Perkins and John S. Dwight, From the Foundations of the Society Through Its 75th Season, 1815–1890 (Boston: A. Mudge, 1888), vol. 1 of History of the Handel and Haydn Society, 82.
acquired, and in November 1819 the HHS trustees agreed to return them to him, “and also to present him with a number of the Old Colony containing the above anthems.” In April 1820, the HHS paid Albee $10 for Mozart anthems, presumably the same ones.  

Which “number of the Old Colony” the HHS meant in November 1819, and thus which Mozart-attributed piece they referred to, is a difficult question. In December 1817 the HHS had co-issued a second edition of the OCC, and in December 1818 (“the forty-third year of the independence of the United States”) a second volume had appeared under the HHS’s name alone. In 1823 the HHS issued a third edition of Vol. 1. None of the editions of Vol. 1 attribute any pieces to Mozart except one beginning with the English words “Almighty God, When Round Thy Shrine.” Volume 2 contains both a Kyrie and a Gloria by Mozart.  

It seems, however, that Albee felt the freedom to suggest repertoire and that the HHS appreciated his skill in selecting it. In 1823 the HHS voted Albee an honorary member, granting him prestige in Watertown but also attendance

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59 HHS Records, Box 1, Folder 41, 3 November 1819 and 12 April 1820. After the Old Colony Music Society (Plymouth, MA) had begun publishing the Old Colony Collection of Anthems around 1814, the HHS had taken over publication by 1818. The birth of Albee’s son Amos is documented on 17 November 1819 in Watertown Records: The Fourth Book of Town Proceedings, and the Second Book of Births, Marriages and Deaths from 1738 to 1822 (Watertown, MA, c. 1823), 217.

60 See also Chapter Four.
privileges at the HHS performances without imposing the attendance or funding requirements (and without granting the voting rights) of regular members.\textsuperscript{61}

Albee thus proved to be a propitious first teacher in preparing Mason specifically for involvement with the Handel and Haydn Society. Moreover, as a psalmodist open to reform but still “eclectic” in preserving older Americanized styles,\textsuperscript{62} Albee held aesthetic positions that helped prepare Mason not only to value stylistic reforms but also to popularize them.\textsuperscript{63}

Mason and Oliver Shaw

Mason also reportedly studied with Albee’s well-known associate Oliver Shaw (1779–1848), who moved from his hometown of nearby Dedham, MA to

\textsuperscript{61} Charles C. Perkins, \textit{History of the Handel and Haydn Society, of Boston, Massachusetts} (Boston: Mudge, 1903), 122. HHS Records, Box 1, Folder 41, 1 July 1823. The honorary membership names “Amos Albee of Watertown,” allowing Albee a longer stay there than the 1822 end date given in Britton \textit{et al.}, \textit{American Sacred Music Imprints}, 92. For the 1823 meaning of honorary HHS membership, see \textit{Bye-laws Handel & Haydn Society}, HHS Records, Box 1, Folder 20, Article 19.

\textsuperscript{62} This term is used as in \textit{The Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody}, ed. Richard Crawford, Recent Researches in American Music 11–12 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1984), xxiii, xxv, \textit{etc.} Crawford contrasts the “eclectic” collections of Albee, Oliver Shaw, and others with singularly reform-minded collections like \textit{LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship} (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1810), prepared for the cultured Brattle Street Church led by Joseph Stephens Buckminster. The difference is somewhat geographical; many of Crawford’s “eclectic” collections are from smaller inland towns, while the majority of those marked “reform” were published in or very near the large seaport cities. Albee’s colorful contemporary N.D. Gould, also an early-nineteenth century transplant to the Boston region, considered Albee’s collection similar to the reform collections published by singing societies in Salem and Middlesex. \textit{History of Church Music in America} (Boston: A.N. Johnson, 1853), 69–70.

\textsuperscript{63} Few other Americans of Mason’s time could and would have prepared and published a harmonization for \textit{St. Thomas} that would last in standard collections throughout the Victorian era and into the twenty-first century.
Providence, RI in 1807. Though less traceable than Mason’s study with Albee, any connection Mason had with Shaw would have in time proven more helpful in Mason’s introduction to the Handel and Haydn Society.

After being blinded in his early twenties, Shaw had studied with some of New England’s best teachers, including Graupner. In addition to an appreciation for the Viennese classical style, Shaw had an accommodating demeanor, a pleasing tenor voice, and a command of simple, expressive melodic composition and accompaniment. These qualities helped to make him both one of the first great American songwriters and a strong influence on the Handel and Haydn Society’s early years. According to HHS records, Shaw was the fourth man elected to honorary HHS membership (presumably in 1816–1818). He was preceded only by Nahum Mitchell and Bartholomew Brown (HHS original member Benjamin Holt’s fellow editors of the *Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music*) and by Alexis Eustaphieve.

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64 According to a late-nineteenth century biographical sketch of Shaw, Mason once said that he “owed all” to Shaw and was “indebted to him for his start in life.” *Memorial of Oliver Shaw* (Providence, 1884). This claim seems to have entered Mason scholarship through H.L. Mason (“Life and Work,” 66). The sketch’s authors cited Thomas Williams’s 1851 discourse on Shaw’s life as a reference for their overall narrative, but they may also have had opportunity to hear Mason’s remark at least secondhand.


66 Spelled in other sources as Aleksyey Grigorevich Evstafev, Eustaphieve assisted the HHS at several early performances and received honorary membership 3 January 1816 (HHS Records, MS 5084, Boston Public Library, Box 1, Folder 40, *Minutes, 1815–1818*). He was a competent violinist as well as a former chorister in the church at Russia’s London embassy. Leo Wiener,
A native of Middleboro, MA, by 1805 Shaw was practicing music in Dedham, a few miles from Mason’s native Medfield. Herman Mann of Dedham continued to publish Shaw’s work after the latter moved to Providence in 1807. In 1811 Shaw helped found the Psallonian Society of Providence, and one of his fellow members there became the first president of the Handel and Haydn Society (1815–1817).67

That president, “Thomas Smith Webb, Esq.,” was Shaw’s dedicatee for an 1818 tunebook similar to the collection that Mason and the HHS would publish in 1822.68 A comprehensive comparison among the contents and style of William Gardiner’s Sacred Melodies (London: Clementi, 1812–15), Shaw’s 1818 collection, and Mason’s 1822 Handel and Haydn Society Collection would likely shed much light on the social and musical ranges present within even closely related early nineteenth-century psalmodic reform collections. The contents of both earlier collections are available at the Hymn Tune Index, and one quickly recognizable differences between Shaw’s and Mason’s collections is the level of emphasis on

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67 While many of the group’s records have been lost, the group’s name was related to a transliteration of the Greek verb psallō, used in one of the most prominent New Testament commands to participate in music: “Speaking [psallontes] to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord” (Ephesians 5:19).

the editor as a composer. Shaw highlighted a generous selection of his own works among his classical sources, whereas Mason’s collection minimized his own role.69

Compositions and solo performances by Shaw (often, though not exclusively, performances of his own compositions) frequently graced the Handel and Haydn Society’s early programs. Shaw’s first regularly performed piece at HHS events was his 1817 setting of Thomas Moore’s “This World Is All a Fleeting Show.”70 Shaw’s title for his own mildly virtuosic setting, “There’s Nothing True But Heaven” (Figure 2.3) eventually caught on, and the piece was published widely.71 According to mid-twentieth century Providence historian Herbert C. Thrasher, “Nothing True” netted Shaw $1,500, nearly a year’s salary for many professionals of the day.72 Around 1817 the HHS voted Shaw its fourth honorary member. Shaw also seems to have been the Society’s first compensated American

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69 Shaw’s *Melodia Sacra*, or, *Providence Selection of Sacred Musick: From the Latest European Publications, with a Number of Original Compositions* (Providence: Miller & Hutchens, 1819) followed a similar plan as had *Sacred Melodies*.

70 See HHS Minutes for, among other dates, 1 April 1817 (HHS Records, Box 1, Folder 40).

71 *There’s Nothing True But Heav’n: A Favourite Song from Moore’s Sacred Melodies* (Providence: Published and sold by O. Shaw, at his Musical Repository), 1817, available online through the Levy Sheet Music Collection, Johns Hopkins University, http://jhir.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/24454, accessed 9 May 2016. Shaw’s *Mary’s Tears*, another of Shaw’s best-known songs, was also first included in the minutes with Moore’s title (“Were Not the Sinful Mary’s Tears”; HHS Minutes for 5 July 1817).

Figure 2.3. Oliver Shaw, “There’s Nothing True But Heav’n” (1817)

Title sheet and page 1 of Oliver Shaw, “There’s Nothing True But Heav’n,” courtesy of Johns Hopkins University. Shaw claims authorship with “Com[posed] by” at the top right. The ornamented melody demands a skilled solo presentation.
vocalist. If Mason “received constructive assistance” from Shaw before leaving New England in 1812, as H.L. Mason claimed, Shaw’s social connections likely could have profited Mason’s relationship with the HHS at least as much as any “earnest of further endeavor” for Mason’s budding compositional skills.

Elevated Church Worship and Joseph S. Buckminster

Mason may also have left New England as something of a protégé of Joseph Stephens Buckminster (1784–1812). H.L. Mason reports that his grandfather spent the winter of 1810–11 in Boston and was introduced through Hannah Adams to Buckminster, Adams’s benefactor and the pastor of Brattle Street Church in Boston. He also surmises that Buckminster was the avenue through which Mason met Abigail Gregory, Buckminster’s second cousin. The five years between Buckminster’s death and Mason’s 1817 marriage to Abigail may make this less likely.

The younger Mason’s account is difficult to corroborate but is plausible. In 1799 Adams had published one of the earliest secular histories of New England and

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73 Payment to Shaw noted in HHS Minutes, 9 May 1818. Professional HHS vocalists of the period included English professionals Thomas Phillips and Charles Incledon, though Incledon (Minutes, 1815–1818) seems to have received only “thanks.”


had by 1810 become Medfield’s most famous native. Support for her literary efforts from Boston elites included Buckminster’s invitation to his famous library. Adams later said that she used it especially while preparing *A History of the Jews* (1812). A recent biography of Adams dates her writing period of that work to two years, making H.L. Mason’s timeline believable if Mason’s presence in Boston 1810–11 can be assumed. If the contact actually took place, Buckminster would become another of the famous clergymen Mason associated with throughout his life.

Through Albee and perhaps through Shaw, Lowell Mason was introduced not only to the social world of singing schools but also to the networked world of early-nineteenth-century reform psalmody. According to recent research by William Robin, Buckminster also played an important role in reforming American psalmody. Buckminster’s European travels helped fuel his desire for more cosmopolitan church music, and in 1810 (near the time Hannah Adams was

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using his library) Brattle Street Church published a reform collection of its own. Mason’s own copy of the Brattle Street Collection is now in the Yale Music Library. The Brattle Street Church collection’s committee membership, as noted by Robin, was something like a network map for the ties Mason would later form with the HHS. One of its members, Elias Mann, had collaborated with Amos Albee and Oliver Shaw to produce The Columbian Sacred Harmonist (Dedham: H. Mann, 1808). Two others, Bartholomew Brown and Nahum Mitchell, had long been part of the team producing Templi Carmina: Songs of the Temple, or, Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music (26 eds. 1802–39). Mason’s 1821 letter to John Rowe Parker shows not only that Mason viewed the Bridgewater Collection as his chief American competitor but also that he viewed his own attention to counterpoint as superior. In 1815, Brown and Mitchell were named the first two honorary members of the HHS.

Civic Involvement in Mason and the HHS

Mason’s background in music was not the only factor shaping his entrance into Savannah society and, eventually, into a relationship with the HHS. In addition to being a successful merchant and an amateur musician, Mason’s father was

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80 Church in Brattle Square (Boston, Mass), LXXX Psalm and Hymn Tunes for Public Worship: Adapted to the Metres Used in Churches (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1810), hereafter the Brattle Street Collection.
81 See “Lowell Mason bookplate” on copy 1 at http://search.library.yale.edu/catalog/809288, accessed 24 May 2016. Mason’s date of acquiring the collection is not noted online.
82 Robin, “Pleyel’s Hymns,” 57–58.
83 Pemberton, Life and Work, 32.
also involved in local and, during Mason’s adult years, state politics. Mason’s own civil involvement in his few adult years before leaving Medfield has received little attention, and indeed the Mason who left was only twenty years old, too young even to vote. Simply growing up in his father’s home, however, helped prepare Mason for a lifetime of social action and public service.

Civic involvement was especially important in the early years of the HHS. The HHS founding in the spring of 1815 sprang directly out of Boston’s citywide performances celebrating the end of the War of 1812. Both the HHS and Mason earned some of their early local reputations through concerts given for President James Monroe’s goodwill tours, the HHS in Monroe’s July 1817 visit to Boston and Mason during Monroe’s April 1819 visit to Savannah. From the beginning, Mason and the HHS shared a desire not only to perform sacred art music in concert but also to use it as part of publicly supported civic events. The repertoire of the HHS, of course, included much material that had been commissioned or

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84 Ibid., 4. According to Pemberton, Johnson Mason began his career in Medfield public service in 1803, when Lowell Mason was eleven and “while the [business] grew” for the straw bonnets Johnson Mason’s firm manufactured for ladies or for horses. Lowell Mason was thus able to learn by example that civic involvement was a natural outflow of prosperity.
86 For Monroe’s Boston visit, see The Papers of James Monroe: A Documentary History of the Presidential Tours of James Monroe, 1817, 1818, 1819 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 1:213–15. For the Savannah visit, see ibid., 1:631–44. Other civic involvement shared by both Mason and HHS included benefit concerts for local charitable organizations in Boston and Savannah and local greetings to the Marquis de Lafayette.
promoted through royal (civic) patronage; the “Dettingen” Te Deum is perhaps one of the best examples.  

Conclusion

When Mason entered Savannah, he came as the student almost certainly of Amos Albee and possibly of Oliver Shaw, and perhaps even as one of the many youthful acquaintances of Joseph Stevens Buckminster. Albee certainly instilled in young Mason an appreciation for the masters’ contrapuntal skill. It seems that any study with the gifted singer-songwriter Shaw would only have encouraged Mason in melodic composition and would have provided valuable corroboration of his background in psalmody. Furthermore, any time in Buckminster’s music room or with the Brattle Street Collection could have done little if not fan more flames of appreciation for the musical style many were already calling “scientific” for its obedience to standard rules of counterpoint.

This historical survey should not be interpreted as a claim that his background and connections gave Mason an easy path to win the trust of the HHS. It is certainly conceivable that some of Mason’s contemporaries had similar

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87 Civic support was also a crucial factor in the success of the Handel Commemorations from 1784. Those commemorations had “exerted a powerful and ongoing influence” on provincial English music festivals (Pippa Drummond, The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784–1914 [New York: Routledge, 2016], 10). The relationship between the HHS and those provincial festivals also requires further study. Based on initial impressions, many of the pieces (e.g., Gardiner’s Judah) and soloists (e.g., Madame Caradori, Henry Phillips) the HHS imported in its early years especially had already gained notoriety at these festivals.
pedigrees, and the language of the 1822 HHS Collection preface (“Lowell Mason, one of their members now resident in Savannah”) should not be taken as an acknowledgement by the HHS of any long-standing relationship. This survey should show, however, that the Mason who took on the project of compiling and then seeking prestigious publication assistance for a major collection of church music had probably been developing his “taste and science” and even his “zeal for the improvement of Church Music” (ibid.) long before his departure for Savannah.

When the Handel and Haydn Society was founded in 1815, it built upon a century of opinion formed by colonial and early-Republic Americans about Handel’s music. Within a few years, it would become one of the chief curators of that legacy. Mason arrived in Savannah in January 1813 with what seems to have been a rare combination of musical, social, and administrative abilities and connections. These resources, along with those he would gain in the following years, helped prepare Mason for a mutually profitable partnership with the Handel and Haydn Society.
When the Boston Handel and Haydn Society (HHS) was founded in 1815, Lowell Mason was not in Boston. After a grueling journey from New England to Savannah, Georgia, he had begun a new life there in January 1813. By 1821, however, Mason and the HHS had formed a publishing partnership that would profoundly shape each party’s identity for over a decade. In his early years in Savannah (1813–21), Mason experienced a conversion and became even more animated about leadership in music and interdenominational evangelical social action. The steps he took not only prepared him to compile a manuscript attractive to the Society but also created a network of relationships that would help the partnership come into existence.

Upon leaving Medfield, MA in November 1812, Mason planned a brief stay in Savannah, though probably longer than the one planned by his companion

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1 The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music, 1st ed. (Boston: West, Richardson & Lord, 1822).

2 David Bebbington’s definition of evangelicalism, especially as describing the English-speaking world in the long eighteenth century, has become widely influential and provides a helpful point of background: “The four qualities that have been the special marks of Evangelical religion,” the “quadrilateral of priorities that is the basis of Evangelicalism,” are “conversionism, the belief that lives need to be changed; activism, the expression of the gospel in effort; biblicism, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called crucicentrism, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.” D.W. Bebbington, Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s (London: Routledge, 2003), 3–4. Bebbington’s first characteristic points out evangelicals’ emphasis on the need for internal, spiritual change for entrance into the Christian religion.
Nathaniel Bosworth. After his eight-week trip and arrival in Savannah in January 1813, he had not decided whether he would return home within a year. He wrote sixteen months later, however, “Little indeed did I expect to be so long absent.”

Though it would eventually be punctuated by occasional visits, that absence lasted nearly fifteen years.

This study differs in three key ways from previous studies of Mason’s life in Savannah. The first difference is focus. Mason had a broad range of activities in Savannah, but this study looks specifically at how those activities relate to his relationship with the HHS. The second difference is chronological structure. Because the publication partnership that Mason formed with the HHS eventually had such great consequences for his career, this study separates the activities Mason pursued in Savannah before the partnership was formed from those which are more appropriately discussed for their relationship to the actual 1821–1822 Mason–HHS publication or to Mason’s 1827 move to Boston. The third difference is source material, especially in electronic sources. One of the most

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3 LM to the Johnson Mason family, 8 June 1814; Box 4, Folder 7 of MSS 33, the Lowell Mason Papers, at the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University. For LM to Johnson and Caty Mason, 21 January 1813, see Carol A. Pemberton, *Lowell Mason: His Life and Work* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research, 1985), 15; H.L. Mason, “Life and Work,” 83.


5 See the literature review in Chapter One of this dissertation for a more thorough discussion of electronic sources in Mason studies.
important electronic sources for this chapter is the *Savannah Historic Newspapers Archive* (SHNA), a 2014 publication of the Digital Library of Georgia. Previous studies have frequently cited the *Columbian Museum and Savannah Gazette*, but SHNA includes a near-comprehensive archive of the *Republican* from 1809. New findings based on this database include the date of Mason’s partnership with Edward Stebbins (1765–1819) as well as corroboration of many other findings previously available only in Henry Lowell Mason’s unpublished research.

**Mason and Henry Knox Kollock**

After a grueling journey, Mason arrived in Savannah in January 1813, ready to begin establishing a social network, a business plan, and a music career. The day

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6 Savannah Historic Newspapers Archive (hereafter SHNA), online at http://savnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu, accessed 14 October 2016. This study benefited from search terms for most of the proper names listed in this chapter, as well as “concert,” “oratorio,” and “music.” This study also includes an intentionally comprehensive comparison of all instances of “Mason” for the years 1813–1821.

7 *Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, 1809–16; *Savannah Republican*, 1816–18; *Savannah Daily Republican*, 1818–24; *Savannah Republican*, 1824–28. Unless otherwise noted, citations from the *Republican* under any of its titles come from SHNA.

8 Henry Lowell Mason, “Lowell Mason: His Life and Work,” unpublished typescript, Yale MSS 033, Lowell Mason Papers, Box 12, pp. 91–92; see also the digitized typescript online at https://archive.org/details/historyoflowellm00unse (accessed 1 October 2016), digitization sponsored by the Boston Public Library and contributed by the Lowell Mason House. Unless otherwise noted, pagination in this chapter follows the Yale typescript of H.L. Mason’s work.

9 The overland journey was evidently not Mason’s preference (Pemberton, *Life and Work*, 15) but may have been taken in fear of blockades from the British. Congress had declared war on the British in June 1812, and the British had blockaded all ports from Charleston to the south by early November 1812. See British maritime historian Brian Arthur, *How Britain Won the War of 1812: The Royal Navy’s Blockades of the United States*, 1812–1815 (Suffolk, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), 76.
he arrived, he called on Henry Kollock.\textsuperscript{10} It turned out to be a very good decision.

After a promising start to a preaching and teaching career in Princeton, NJ, Henry Knox Kollock (1778–1819) had moved to Savannah in 1806 as pastor of Savannah’s prestigious Presbyterian church.\textsuperscript{11} Kollock’s Princeton biographers J. Jefferson Looney and Ruth L. Woodward called the church “one of the wealthiest and influential churches in the South.”\textsuperscript{12} The Independent Presbyterian Church of Savannah, as Mason knew it, enjoyed a unique church government combining elements of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism. In addition, Kollock had already gained a national reputation for evangelical fervor and a local reputation for literary skill.

Before his rapid decline and death in 1819, Kollock seems to have played important roles in several aspects of Savannah’s religious, cultural, and social action. A list formed from recent nineteenth-century biographies and a brief survey of Savannah newspapers connects Kollock to the following institutions:

\textsuperscript{11} Then known as “The First Presbyterian Church in Savannah” (see Kollock, \textit{Sermons on Various Subjects} [Charleston, SC: Seymour & Williams, 1811], title page), the church’s name would change to “the Independent Presbyterian Church of Savannah” after Kollock withdrew from the Presbytery of Harmony in July 1813. See \textit{Minutes} for 6 May 1814, Independent Presbyterian Church (Savannah, Ga.) records, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University. See also, in the same collection, Independent Presbyterian Church (Savannah, GA), “Savannah, Friday, 6th May, 1814” (Savannah, GA: Braid & Hutton, 1910), detailing the congregation’s official response to the presbytery’s actions.
the Georgia Bible Society, the Savannah Religious Tract Society, the Union Society (specializing in orphan care), the Sabbath School Society, the Savannah Missionary Society, the Georgia Literary Society, the Chatham Academy, and the Savannah Library Society.

Appreciation for Kollock had also grown outside Savannah. In 1810 he had been offered the first presidency of the University of Georgia.\(^{13}\) After a summer preaching tour that included Boston, Kollock had also in 1809 turned down an offer to become the first pastor of Boston’s newly organized Park Street Church.\(^{14}\) Both in Savannah and in New England, Kollock’s connections would prove as profitable for Mason as any Mason had formed in his youth.

Mason’s Relationship with Kollock

According to his own later recollection, Lowell Mason arrived in Savannah with a letter for Kollock.\(^ {15}\) How Mason received the letter, who wrote it, and what it requested (beyond help in finding pupils) may be impossible to know.\(^ {16}\) Mason’s fellow traveler and Medfield native Nathaniel Bosworth had been in Savannah before and may have informed Mason of Kollock’s ability to help Northerners

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\(^{14}\) See the account, for instance, in Garth M. Rosell, *Boston’s Historic Park Street Church: The Story of an Evangelical Landmark* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 2009), 37–41.


\(^{16}\) Brief searches at the OCLC’s WorldCat database (http://www.worldcat.org, accessed 14 October 2016) leave the impression that Henry Kollock’s personal papers were not deposited anywhere.
gain entry into Savannah life. However the connection formed, there were
several obvious results of Mason’s relationship with Kollock.

Perhaps the most important possible result for this project was the link that
Kollock may have formed for Mason not only to Park Street Church (PSC) but
also to the HHS itself. According to PSC historian Garth Rosell, Kollock had been
the source for the “committee of churchmen” (from PSC and others) to learn of
Mason’s musical abilities.17 Formed after Mason delivered an address on church
music in the fall of 1826, this committee began courting him for a series of part-
time but well-paid positions of musical leadership at three of Boston’s
evangelical Congregationalist churches. When Mason arrived in Boston in 1827,
he came not only as HHS president but also to take the first of those positions. By
the time Kollock died unexpectedly in December 1819, Mason had already
become quite influential in the musical life of Independent Presbyterian Church
and of Savannah.18 Any opportunities Kollock had for sharing with his old Park
Street contacts his knowledge of Mason’s skills as organist and choirmaster came
before the 1821 Mason–HHS partnership was formed and several years before
the committee’s 1826 formation.

18 By December 1819, Mason had also already anonymously but successfully submitted repertoire to the HHS for its publication program and had formed a relationship with Bostonian John R. Parker.
There are, however, long-publicized and somewhat plausible links between PSC and the earliest years of the HHS. Many of the citations for these links seem to stem from early HHS histories. H.K. Oliver claimed that as a boy in PSC’s choir ca. 1810, he had sung with future HHS presidents Samuel Richardson and Amasa Winchester, as well as several other longtime HHS members, soloists, and orchestra members. Oliver’s imperfect memory credited Gottlieb Graupner as the father of early HHS organist Sophia Hewitt Ostinelli. Oliver was also, however, the source for Louis Charles Elson’s claim that the HHS “had its inception in the choir of the Park Street Church.” Oliver’s named links appear in HHS records. Elnathan Duren appears in early PSC membership rolls, and several others (Abel Duren, Nathaniel Tucker, and William Eustis) as founding members in 1810 of the PSC Singing Society.

Rosell’s source for claiming the link between Kollock and the 1826 committee is a PSC history from a previous generation, which says only that the committee of churchmen had “hear[d] of [Mason’s] work” at “the First Presbyterian Church of

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19See, for example, H.K. Oliver to Luther Farnham, 20 February 1869, cited in J.S. Dwight and C.C. Perkins, *History of the Handel and Haydn Society, of Boston, Massachusetts*, vol. 1 (Boston: A. Mudge & Son, 1893 [1883]), C.C. Perkins, chapter 1, 33–34. For a recent study of the HHS’s early years, see Michael Broyles, “Music and Class Structure in Antebellum Boston,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44:3 (Autumn 1991): 451–93, especially Table 1 on p. 456. Broyles, however, focused little on the religious background of the HHS. A full study of that background and Park Street Church’s role in it lies outside the scope of this dissertation but would be highly helpful (because of Mason’s relationships with PSC and churches like it) in understanding the similarities and differences at play in Mason’s relationship with the HHS.


21 “Boston, Mass. Park Street Church records, 1804-1978, 2009” (The Congregational Library & Archives, Boston, MA), *Index of Members, 1809–1850*, Box 1, Folder 1; Records of the Park Street Singing Society, 1810–1827, Box 59.
Rosell, knowing of Kollock’s ministry there and perhaps not knowing the date of Kollock’s death, has made a connection that may not be provable. By the time the committee was working in 1826 and 1827, Mason had gained much more national attention through his publications and much more attention in Boston through his work with the HHS. It is not impossible, however, that information received from Kollock before 1819 could have been part of the preparation for the Society’s 1821 partnership with Mason as well as their 1827 election of him as president. As will be seen below, Mason’s relationship with Kollock was still considered noteworthy by the PSC examination committee in 1829, ten years after Kollock’s death.

Christianity has often been one of the most poorly understood factors in Lowell Mason’s motivation and success. For Mason’s biographer Carol Pemberton, Mason was so “relentlessly in the grip of his religion” that reading Mason’s travel journals for “insights into the man” could prove “elusive.” Pemberton seems to have hoped for a “charming travel companion,” but Mason’s religious fervor kept him from fulfilling that role. 23

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Mason would almost certainly have identified himself as a Christian when he arrived in Savannah in January 1813. He had grown up next door to his pastor’s home, and his training in early-nineteenth-century singing schools had usually found its most natural outgrowth in church music. Even visiting a pastor as apparently his first social call and business contact said something about the priority of religion in Mason’s life as well as about Henry Kollock’s social capital in Savannah.

Soon, however, Mason came to view his religion of 1812 and before as unacceptable and upon his early years in Savannah as the turning point of his religious life. Decades later, Mason wrote the daughter of one of his old acquaintances from Athol, Massachusetts, who had experienced a religious conversion soon after Mason’s time there: “Almost immediately after my arrival [in Savannah], I too, as I trust found Him, as ‘the Way, the Truth, the Life’ — & for more than half a century I have been his professed follower. Alas! that I should regard as necessary to underscore the word professed!”

When Mason joined Boston Park Street Church in January 1829, he gave his conversion testimony in fuller detail, including two standard sections: (1) a

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24 LM to Abby Maria (Wood) Bliss, 7 January 1864; Box 4, Folder 35 of MSS 33, the Lowell Mason Papers, at the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University.
conversion experience and (2) evidences of a resultant changed life. About 1813, recorded the examining committee,

under the preaching of Rev. Dr. Kollock . . . [Mason] became serious and disposed to pray; saw something of the character of God, and felt himself to be a sinner. The Saviour appeared precious to him. He joined the church about six months afterward. His principal evidence now is a growing conformity to the precepts of the gospel, and obedience to the will of God.

The committee approved Mason’s testimony immediately, though other applicants were sometimes delayed for further questioning. The committee also tested Mason at length about his adherence to standard Calvinist doctrine: the total depravity of man, the sovereignty and election of God, the Trinity, and “the inspiration [or supernatural origin] of the scriptures.”

It is not clear exactly when this radical change occurred in Mason’s life, but it was certainly before the end of 1814. H.L. Mason records Mason’s emotionally

25 One introduction to conversion narratives in early America (which were sometimes published) is Lisa M. Gordis, “The Conversion Narrative in Early America,” pp. 369–86 in A Companion to the Literatures of Colonial America, Susan Castillo, ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007). A examining committee with scheduled meetings and spiritually respected members, especially for applicants to church membership, was long a widespread practice in Congregational churches, among others.

26 Entry for 1 January 1829 in Examining Committee Minutes, 1828–34 (Box 5), in the Boston, Mass. Park Street Church records, 1804-1978, 2009. RG1284. The Congregational Library and Archives, Boston, MA.

27 Ibid. After several other applicants came, “a subcommittee . . . was appointed to convene with Mrs. Gregory and Mrs. Mason,” Mason’s wife and mother-in-law. Their testimonies were heard on January 9 and presented to the committee on January 15. Mrs. Gregory had professed Christianity in 1810, and Abigail Gregory in 1815 before becoming Abigail Mason in 1817 (ibid.). By the meeting of March 26, a “Mr. Mason” joined the committee, though whether it was Lowell Mason is not clear.
charged entry (“Save me Jesus for this is my only hope”) in a now-lost diary for 20 October 1814, a day that may have been one of the moments Mason contemplated his conversion most seriously.\textsuperscript{28} It may have even been the time of Mason’s conversion itself; “almost immediately after my arrival,” as Mason put it in 1864, could have meant something like October 1814. The date range Mason gave Park Street in 1829, however, points more toward an earlier conversion experience. It may have come in Mason’s first few months in Savannah: Pemberton sees a possible connection between Mason’s conversion and the illness hinted at in H.L. Mason’s study of Mason’s diaries from the summer of 1813.\textsuperscript{29} By June 1814, when Mason wrote his family a passionate plea for their conversion, this experience had probably already taken place. “My pursuits are altered, my occupations are different, my affections, and I hope my heart, changed,” he wrote. The body of the letter addresses his immediate family not only in order of honor but also in categories of his estimation of their spiritual state. To his father: “I have not such proofs of your conversion as I would have.” He urged his mother to “persevere” and to pray for him. To his sister, whose recent letters had displayed a concern for her own soul: “It is first necessary to be convinced—after that, converted.” To his brothers, he wrote authoritatively: “I

\textsuperscript{28} H.L. Mason, “Life and Work,” 90. Some of the diaries consulted by H.L. Mason have since been lost (see Pemberton, \textit{Life and Work}, 45).

can but warn you to ‘flee from the wrath to come,’” an allusion to the words of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.\(^\text{30}\)

Mason’s conversion narratives and their rhetoric must be understood in the context of the Second Great Awakening, and specifically in the context of Kollock’s preaching. Pemberton describes the October 1814 diary entry as an example of Mason’s “gushing and sometimes overbearing piety,”\(^\text{31}\) but his sentiments were not abnormal in the churches he attended. As noted above, Mason later credited “the preaching of Dr. Kollock” with the changes he had experienced. Kollock’s preaching was no less pious and gushing than Mason’s. A member of Kollock’s 1808 Boston audiences later spoke of Kollock’s preaching this way: “Unaccustomed as we were to hear any thing moving [sic], his appeals came upon us like thunder. Crowds hung upon his lips.”\(^\text{32}\) Kollock’s brand of revivalistic and literary rhetoric was something of a foreign language even in the most revival-friendly spot in Boston Congregationalism.

During his early career, Kollock was considered one of the most eloquent graduates of the College of New Jersey. He graduated in 1794, long before the college established a separate seminary (1812) or changed its name to Princeton.

\(^{30}\) LM to Johnson Mason and Family, 8 June 1814.
\(^{31}\) Pemberton, *Life and Work*, 45.
\(^{32}\) As cited in “Historic Sketch of the Park Street Church,” Nathaniel Willis, Samuel Hubbard, and Peter Hobart Jr., contribs., in *The Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Park Street Church and Society* (Boston: Henry Hoyt, 1861), 136.
University (1896). In the years before his visit to Boston, Kollock had briefly held a professorship of preaching at his alma mater. Kollock could speak to urbane audiences much more fluently than could the small-town revivalists of his day, few of whom had received a liberal arts education. Even the founders of Park Street Church, however, which was intended as a bastion of revivalism and anti-Unitarian theology in the center of Boston, were “unaccustomed” to the emotional appeals Kollock had mastered.

An example from Kollock’s 1811 *Sermons on Various Subjects* shows both his sweeping literary style and his commanding, emotional rhetoric:

O Saviour! thou, who when about to re-assume thy glory, wepest at the prospect of the sins and perdition of thy much beloved Jerusalem; how often hast thou seen poor afflicted parents about to receive the crown of immortality, yet having their souls racked at beholding their unholy posterity! Ah! perhaps there are such at this moment somewhere stretched on the bed of languishment! O Saviour! haste to their succor, lest they be driven by the keenness of their tortures to revolt and to murmur at thy holy will!33

Park Street Church’s first pastor, Edward Griffin, preached sermons like “On the Use of Real Fire in Hell” and was noted for eloquence in Boston Congregationalism. His rhetoric, however, while controversial and unapologetic,

was far less emotional than Kollock’s. An inter-disciplinary comparison between Kollock’s rhetoric and Mason’s aesthetics could prove highly fruitful.\textsuperscript{34}

The Religious World of Mason and Kollock

Congregationalist Park Street’s appreciation for the preaching of Kollock, a Presbyterian, points to an important contextual marker both for Lowell Mason’s evangelicalism and for the religious world of the Handel and Haydn Society: the 1801 Plan of Union. Revivalist Presbyterians (strong in the middle and southern states) and revivalist Congregationalists (mostly from New England) had long cooperated when outside their home territories. In the 1790s, the Presbyterians’ annual General Assembly had begun to include a few Congregationalist delegates. In 1801 that Assembly adopted a “Plan of Union” that allowed evangelistic cooperation, multiple options for church governance (one of the key differences between the two groups), and combined clergy.\textsuperscript{35}

This plan affected what were then the Western states such as Ohio; not all established presbyteries allowed such dizzying freedoms. But many revivalist

\textsuperscript{34} For a window into the culture of evangelical Congregationalist psalmody, see Stephen A. Marini, “Hymnody and History: Early American Evangelical Hymns as Sacred Music,” in \textit{Music in American Religious Experience}, eds. Philip V. Bohlman and Maria M. Chow (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 129. Marini notes that Yale president Timothy Dwight’s 1801 New Edition of Isaac Watts’s \textit{The Psalms of David Imitated} was both “a dramatic presentation of evangelical beliefs” and “a radically different approach” from Jesse Mercer’s 1810 \textit{Cluster of Spiritual Songs}.

Congregationalists, like the founders of Park Street Church, participated eagerly. Historian of American religion Nathan O. Hatch points out the “chain of voluntary associations” that attempted to “further extend” the Congregational-Presbyterian influence: the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), the American Home Missionary Society (1816), the American Sunday School Union (1824), and the American Tract Society (1825). Many graduates of Williams College and Andover Seminary were involved in the cooperative efforts. Kollock himself was comfortable in union circumstances: “There was no dispute between Presbyterians and Independents” during his education, he told his presbytery in July 1813 when withdrawing from its control.

Hatch claims that the coalition was a conscious effort to control revivalist communities in the American West. Such communities often turned to more populist understandings of Christianity and indeed were often founded by ministers that Union leaders saw as dangerous. This coalition touched on politics: other than Episcopalianism, the Congregationalism and Presbyterianism that cooperated in the Plan of Union were the only American denominational

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37 H.K. Kollock to the Moderator of the Presbytery of Harmony, July 1813, cited in Independent Presbyterian Church’s resolution dated 24 May 1814 (see note 11 above). When Mason arrived, Kollock’s church was near the conclusion of its withdrawal from the Presbytery of Harmony (SC), as well as near a change of name. Kollock had been suspended from Presbyterian ministry in October 1813 and deposed in April 1814.
systems with any explicit historic ties to political power in England. But outside the settled world of New England and the Eastern cities, Baptists, Methodists, the Disciples of Christ, the Christian Church, and within a few decades even more deeply alienated groups like Adventists and Mormons were all viable alternatives to the more established denominations. Congregational-Presbyterian Unionists were much more likely to vote Whig through the early nineteenth century, and revivalists of more populist traditions were much more likely to vote (and promote) Jeffersonian populist democracy and its later Jacksonian cousin.

Ministers like Kollock (as well as Congregationalist Lyman Beecher and Presbyterian J.W. Alexander, famous ministers who would later work with Mason), were ambivalent about democratization. They shared few cultural assumptions with their populist fellow evangelicals. In that realm they had more in common with the Handel and Haydn Society. In the HHS, singers from Park Street Church (“Brimstone Corner”) mingled with those from the Unitarian Episcopalian “Stone Chapel,” where G.K. Jackson served. J.W. Alexander was pastor of New York’s wealthy Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in the 1850s.

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38 The political prestige of the latter two rested primarily on the power of Puritanism during the English Civil War and Long Parliament (1642–1660), with some lasting legitimacy granted in the reforms of the Glorious Revolution of 1688.
39 “The Jeffersonian notion that people should shake off all servile prejudice and learn to prove things for themselves” was “a compelling theme in popular preaching” in this period (Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 136).
and engaged Mason to direct music there for several years. Alexander also translated Bernard of Clairvaux’s 12th-century Latin hymn “O Sacred Head Now Wounded” and thus helped bring a Lutheran chorale tune and a Bach harmonization into English-speaking worship. Genteel urban culture was nearly as important for union Calvinists as evangelical doctrine was.

“The First Presbyterian Church in Savannah,” as Kollock’s post was named on the 1811 title page of his published sermons, was thus well positioned to catapult a newly converted Massachusetts musician to national prominence. The Plan of Union remained in force until 1852.40 Until his death in 1872, however, Mason lived in the passionate, urbane, non-liturgical, moderate Calvinist, missionary, evangelical world that gave birth to it. The “confusion” about Mason’s church affiliation related by Pemberton is entirely plausible wherever that world is forgotten.41

Independent Presbyterian Church

In addition to a national reputation and a penchant for interdenominational cooperation, Henry Kollock also was the pastor of a large church, until Kollock’s 1813 withdrawal known as First Presbyterian Church but thereafter as

40 Longfield, Presbyterians and American Culture, 110.
41 Life and Work, 16. Pemberton rightly points out that evangelicalism, nonliturgical services, and “simple but straightforward preaching” meant more to Mason than any denominational labels. Before leaving Savannah, Mason would prepare a collection for Episcopalian use: Select Chants, Doxologies, etc. Adapted to the Use of the Protestant Episcopalian Church in the United States (Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1824).
Independent Presbyterian Church (hereafter IPC). Mason provided leadership for the music of IPC from 1815 to his departure in 1827, an important part of his preparation for leadership in the HHS as well as for leadership in Boston churches.42 The leadership of IPC in the Savannah community is also worth mentioning.

IPC claimed many influential Savannahians in its membership. Late-nineteenth century sources claimed that the building completed during Kollock’s pastorate could accommodate 1,350 attendees and still was often uncomfortably full during his preaching.43 Pemberton points out that Mason’s 1815–1818 business partner, Edward Stebbins, was chairman of IPC’s board of trustees and was, like Mason, a Massachusetts native.44

According to nineteenth-century sources, Edward Stebbins was born in 1765 at West Springfield, MA.45 It is unclear when Stebbins moved to Savannah, but Savannah municipal records list Stebbins as one of the city’s aldermen, elected

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42 See especially LaFar, “Activities in Savannah,” 133, for a nuanced discussion of Mason’s roles at IPC.
five times between 1802 and 1809. Georgia state legislation of 1811 names him as one of Savannah’s city commissioners. Several other members of the church’s leadership between 1800 and 1829 also won elections to the Savannah council.

Singing Schools

Kollock “thinks I shall meet with encouragement,” Mason told his parents upon his arrival in Savannah, and Mason wasted no time carrying out what was probably his plan all along. Two days later, he began advertising plans for a singing school, to begin once “a sufficient number of scholars” enrolled. The opening advertisement displayed some claim to historical knowledge: Mason had secured “Free Mason’s hall,” which he called “the room occupied by Mr. Cummins, the last season.” Seven days later, headlined under his own name,
Mason announced the school’s starting date as Feb. 1.\textsuperscript{50} By the fall Mason had begun another class, and in November 1814 he began another singing school at “Solomon’s Lodge,” probably the same location.\textsuperscript{51} Announcements of Mason’s singing schools reappear periodically throughout his years in Savannah.\textsuperscript{52}

\textbf{Charitable Organizations}

Between 1813 and 1821, Mason joined a network of charitable societies that provided multiple links to the world of the Handel and Haydn Society. In his first few months in Savannah and possibly in connection with his first efforts at a singing school, Mason taught music to the children under the care of the Savannah Female Asylum. Although the Asylum compensated Mason,\textsuperscript{53} his work with Savannah voluntary and charitable organizations continued with paid

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\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Ibid.}, 30 January (3), 2 February (1), 6 February (1), 1813; 25 November (3), 27 November (1), 2 December (1), 4 December (1), 11 December (1), 14 December (3), 16 December (3), 1813; 1 November 1814 (3); available online at http://savnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/, accessed 21 June 2016.

\textsuperscript{51} Commencement of 29 November marked \textit{ibid.}, 24 November (4); see also 8, 13 December (4); available online at http://savnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/, accessed 21 June 2016. H.L. Mason, “Life and Work,” 89 (and as cited by Pemberton, \textit{Life and Work}, 28), notes that thirty pupils enrolled and gives Solomon’s Lodge as the first site. As “Solomon’s Lodge” had long been a name for Savannah’s gathering of Masons, the different appellation in the later advertisement may simply have reflected Mason’s growth in understanding Savannah’s civic culture. It is also possible that Mason’s lost diary (see above) recorded a change of location after the initial announcements had appeared.

\textsuperscript{52} These early singing schools are often omitted from mainstream accounts of Mason’s activities in Savannah. For instance, LaFar, “Activities in Savannah,” seems not to have had access to news reports earlier than 1816.

\textsuperscript{53} The public release of Asylum accounts for 1813 showed Mason as having been paid 8 May 1813. \textit{Republican; and Savannah Evening Ledger}, 6 January 1814 (2).
and probably unpaid administrative, economic, and musical efforts throughout his time in Savannah.

By 1816, Mason had begun administrative duties with the Savannah Sabbath School and the Savannah Religious Tract Society. Mason’s executive role with the Savannah Sunday School (announced 3 December 1816) allowed him considerable freedom and earned him significant local attention. Until he gained national attention from the Handel and Haydn Society Collection’s publication, Sunday School superintendent may have been Mason’s most recognizable public role in Savannah. Margaret Freeman LaFar’s early work in Savannah archives uncovered a wealth of material relating to the Savannah Sunday School, including the school’s papers (merged into those of First Baptist Church). Mason himself often wrote lengthy pleas to the school’s committee, parents, and clergy, circulating reports privately and sometimes posting them publicly.

By 1817, Mason was at least helping sell tickets through his firm for the sacred concert given for the benefit of “benevolent purposes” by the “Apollinian Society” [sic] and the Old Hundred Society May 27. As Mason had been

54 According to the Savannah Republican announcements Mason placed 17 August and 16 November 1816, the Religious Tract Society’s meetings were held at the home of Mason’s own pastor, Dr. Henry Kollock.
55 LaFar, “Activities in Savannah,” 116–25. Mason’s circular of late 1817 ran to almost five hundred words. See ibid., 121; Savannah Republican, 25 November 1817 (1).
56 Ibid., 22 & 27 May 1817 (3). Tickets were $1.00 each and were sold at two other locations. LaFar, “Activities in Savannah,” 130, notes the separate concert given in 1818. Moore, “Lowell Mason in Savannah,” 15, notes the correct date. Pemberton, Life and Work, 11, gives “Apollonian,”
secretary for the Apollonian Society the year before, it is certainly safe to concur with LaFar that Mason had further involvement with the concert itself. During the same week, however, Mason was also making an announcement for (and almost certainly attending) the annual meeting of the Religious Tract Society, held at his own church. In 1818 Mason joined the Union Society and soon became its secretary as well. Mason’s service to charitable and non-profit organizations also often led to remuneration, and not just at Independent Presbyterian Church. He later said, in an often-quoted fragment, “While in Savannah, I eked out my salary by being secretary of the Union Society; Librarian of the Savannah Library, etc.”

As noted by LaFar, Moore, Pemberton, and others, Mason’s involvement in Savannah charities became a major part of his life—and, seemingly, of Savannah too. A thorough study of levels of charitable involvement among members of various social classes may show whether Mason actually was the factotum he

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a far more common adjectival formation but one which appears far less frequently in the Republican. A reference to a concert in which “the amateurs of the Apollonian Society” participated in also appears in 1823 (Savannah Georgian, April 24, p. 2).

57 See Savannah Republican, 2 July 1816 (3), in which Mason gives “Appolonian”; LaFar, “Activities in Savannah,” 131. This term, presumably referring to Apollo, the Greek god of music, is spelled several ways in the Savannah Republican over the years 1816–19. “Appolinian” is the most common, with “Apollonian” and “Apollinian” also appearing. “Apollonian” is used here for consistency. The Apollonian Society (if the various spellings can be assumed to have had a unified source) gave occasional concerts in at least the years 1816–23, especially until 1819.

58 Savannah Republican, 24 May 1817 (3).

seems to have been. Surely few other moderate-income Savannah residents, however, served as secretary for so many different charitable groups.

**Financial and Social Respectability**

Stebbins and Mason, 1815–1818

In addition to support for charitable organizations and his musical activities, Mason also immediately followed the HHS model by pursuing financial and social respectability. Mason sometimes earned income from his charitable work (especially the Union Society and Independent Presbyterian Church) and his singing schools certainly supplemented that income. His main sources during these years, however, were business and banking.

At first, Mason may have supplemented his income working for a shoe salesman named John Douglass. Upon his arrival, Mason mentioned Douglass’s store as across the street from his own rooms.60 Douglass’s store was vacated by August of that year; but later, in August and September 1815, Mason mentioned “Douglass’s shoe store” as the place to find his supply of music.61 It is also possible that the 1813 proximity was a mere coincidence and that only Mason’s inventory, not Mason himself, was available at Douglass’s store in the summer of 1815. It seems less than likely, however, that Mason would choose Douglass’s

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60 Republican; and Savannah Evening Ledger, 23 January 1813 (3).
61 Ibid., 24 August 1813 (3); 26 August 1815 (4) and, among others, 12 September (1).
shoe store over one of Savannah’s bookstores without having at least a personal relationship with Douglass.

By November 1815, Mason had joined fellow Massachusetts native Edward Stebbins (1765–1819) to form the mercantile firm of Stebbins and Mason.62 Stebbins and Mason imported luxury goods such as organs and Merino shawls but also functional items like “best cotton Bagging” and even “fashionable straw BONNETS.” While a formal survey of the social strata occupied by Savannah’s various dry-goods merchants of the day is beyond the scope of this project, briefly comparing Stebbins and Mason advertisements during the years 1816–18 with those of its competitors leaves the impression that goods intended for sensible but comfortable lives were the firm’s specialty and that it was one of the leading firms in the city.63

In 1818 the Stebbins and Mason firm ceased business. Its advertisements, which had appeared regularly throughout the time of partnership, seem to have disappeared in January, though shipments kept arriving until early spring.64 In April, the firm assigned its stock and stand to James McHenry and Moses Sewall

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62 Ibid., 16 November 1815 (3). The earliest proof of partnership noticed by Pemberton was a Savannah Gazette advertisement from 21 January 1817. Pemberton, Life and Work, 15; see also, for instance, James Keene, Giants of Music Education (Centennial, CO: Glenbridge Publishing, 2010), 11.

63 See, for example, Savannah Republican, 27 October 1816 (3). Competitors included firms like Duel, Gresham & Co.; Carnochan & Mitchel; D. Ponce; and others.

64 Daily Savannah Republican, 14 April 1818 (3, 4).
“for the payment of certain confidential debts.” Stebbins and Mason both took actions to put the firm’s finances in order, putting accounts receivable in collectors’ hands and taking ownership of firms assumedly smaller and indebted to them. Stebbins’s name appeared in notices of several sheriff’s sales early that year, seemingly collecting sums due him; occasionally the notices included Mason’s name as well. By June, Stebbins and Mason could be referred to as “the late firm.” In July, the firm’s store was referred to publicly as the one “lately occupied by Messrs. Stebbins and Mason.” It is not yet clear why the partnership dissolved. Edward Stebbins was twenty years older than his junior partner and died in 1819; perhaps by 1818 his health or disposition made daily business no longer practical. At any rate, as both partners cooperated in the collection of debts, it does not appear that the social aspect of the partners’ relationship or Stebbins’s overall function ceased immediately.

Mason and Bosworth

Mason also served as an agent for Nathaniel Bosworth’s 1815 efforts to start piano and flute studios. Bosworth had made the eight-week trip from Medfield to Savannah with Mason in 1812–13 and had even before that spent time in

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65 Ibid., 24 April 1818 (1).
66 Ibid., 7 June 1818 (1).
67 Ibid., 25 July 1818 (1).
68 That summer, Sarah Blacksell had assigned Stebbins power of attorney during her absence from the area. Ibid., 24 July 1818 (1).
69 Bosworth claimed that “Any notice left with Mr. L. Mason . . . will be attended to.” Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger, 16 November 1815 (3).
Savannah.70 He was probably the same “itinerant craftsman and music store proprietor . . . first recorded in Savannah, Georgia, in 1811.”71 According to the Republican, Bosworth actually announced his recent arrival as early as 15 December 1810 (p. 2), continued to offer piano tuning and music lessons until at least 5 March 1811 (3), returned by 14 January 1812 (2), and “returned from the northward” again in January 1813, the same month Mason’s announcement appeared.

Bosworth’s business sense seems to have been far less keen than that of his traveling companion. He took a week longer than Mason to “inform . . . the citizens of Savannah” of his arrival.72 His description of the opportunities available in Savannah may have been part of the main impetus for Mason’s decision to move there. Upon his own arrival, however, Mason was less than convinced by Bosworth’s claims. “My prospects are materially different from what I expected by Mr. Bosworth’s account,” Mason wrote his parents 21 January 1813 after calling on Henry Kollock.73 What kind of picture Bosworth had painted for his young Medfield neighbor it may be impossible to know. Based on this statement and Bosworth’s patterns of itinerancy, Mason may have

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71 Michael D. Friesen, “Organs and Organbuilding in North Carolina in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,” *The Tracker: Journal of the Organ Historical Society* 45:2 (2001): 35. The article includes references to Bosworth’s activities in other southern cities such as Wilmington, NC.
72 Republican; and Savannah Evening Ledger, 30 January 1813 (1).
expected a high probability of quick financial gain from teaching music in Savannah.

Respectable Singing Schools

Advertisements for Mason’s singing schools during these years also show a pursuit of respectability. In November 1819, his upcoming school was announced not by Mason himself but by the Chatham Academy, where Mason taught. By this point, Mason had certainly begun work on the manuscript eventually published by the HHS. The advertisement of Mason’s school, in making its aesthetic claims, called upon two of the collection’s great goals: “Particular attention will be paid to the selection of the best music, and to correctness of taste and performance.”

Signing the advertisement was W.T. Williams, treasurer of Chatham Academy and a Savannah bookseller—and probably the Philadelphia native of that name who became Savannah’s mayor in 1828.

Williams may have been a lover of music himself; like the store kept by Stebbins and Mason, Williams’s bookstore also occasionally sold tickets for sacred music concerts. Whether Williams or Mason scripted the advertisement,

74 Savannah Daily Republican, 23 Nov. 1819 (1).
75 Jones, Vedder, and Weldon, History of Savannah, 529; Paul M. Pressly, “The Northern Roots of Savannah’s Antebellum Elite, 1780s-1850s,” Georgia Historical Quarterly 87:2 (Summer 2003): 165.
76 For instance, Savannah Daily Republican, 3 March 1819 (1); 19 Feb. 1822 (3).
however, the effect was clear: the singers produced by this school could consider themselves inferior to no one.

How successful Mason was at achieving respectability is hard to quantify. As is often pointed out, Mason’s character as reported publicly was sometimes less than impeccable. He was reported for missing military drill and twice for missing jury duty. In 1817 he was one of a few hundred residents whose city tax payments were late enough to receive twenty days’ public notice. Each infraction involved a financial penalty unless Mason was able to give “sufficient” excuse for his absence. During the same time period, however, Mason was being elected secretary for the multiple organizations mentioned above. It seems clear that Mason occasionally allowed his professional services to infringe on his personal responsibilities. If Mason was not by these accounts quite a Rip Van Winkle of Savannah public life, “ready to attend to anybody’s business but his own,” perhaps he might have recognized a likeness. But Mason was recognized and compensated for multiple skills by multiple groups of Savannah residents.

Conclusion

During his first eight years in Savannah, Mason took steps that prepared him well in general for a partnership with the Boston Handel and Haydn Society.

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77 Savannah Republican, 4 October (5), 11 October (3), 1817. Mason’s unpaid city taxes for 1817 were $2.50, one of the common sums due.
After arriving in Savannah a poor New Englander, he had acquired enough property to support a growing family and maintain a public reputation that, if not flawless, had gained respect on several accounts. That reputation included public reports of his business, his work with voluntary societies, and occasionally his musical activities. The Mason who approached the Handel and Haydn Society in 1821 was able to do so on equal social terms.
CHAPTER FOUR

FOLLOWING WITH INTEREST:
LOWELL MASON AND THE HANDEL AND HAYDN SOCIETY 1815-21

When the Boston Handel and Haydn Society (HHS) was founded in 1815, Lowell Mason was a nearly unknown newcomer to Savannah. By 1821, however, Mason was confident that a partnership with the HHS for publishing his first collection of psalmody would be mutually beneficial. The steps Mason took between 1815 and 1821, following the HHS activities and helping carry out similar activities in Savannah, built that confidence.

Following the HHS

By the middle of 1821, Mason was pursuing a publishing agreement with the HHS. His knowledge of the Society’s activities, however, likely began long beforehand. As previous chapters have shown, Mason’s first teacher Amos Albee would build his own relationship with the HHS. Oliver Shaw, who probably also taught Mason, would build an even better one. Even the pastor under whom Mason would serve in Savannah, Henry K. Kollock, had been requested to take leadership over a Boston church—one of the churches whose choir provided a significant percentage of early HHS membership. Based on a study of HHS records and Mason’s own activities of 1815–21, it seems possible that Mason’s interest in the Society’s activities began immediately after the Society’s founding.
By 1818 at the latest, three years before signing any contracts, Mason was already involving himself in the Society’s activities.

HHS Programs

The primary evidence for conjecturing that Mason’s HHS interest may have begun immediately upon the Society’s 1815 founding is a volume of HHS programs. The Handel and Haydn Society’s archive of concert programs, held at the Boston Public Library, does not begin comprehensive coverage until December 1841. The archive does contain however, a bound volume with several programs from the years 1815-22.¹ Pasted inside that volume’s front cover is a typed note on its provenance: “This volume of programs was collected by Lowell Mason and contains criticisms and comments in his own handwriting. The book was sent to me by Mrs. Mary L. Mason, wife of the grandson of Lowell Mason [sic] in April 1906. George F. Daniels, President.”²

A typed description inside the back cover again attributes the collection and the comments to Mason. This collection may be the most important single volume extant in understanding Mason’s knowledge of the Society during the years it covers.

¹ HHS Records, Boston Public Library MSS 5084, Box 7, Folder 31.
² George F. Daniels (1851–1908) was president of the HHS from 1899 to the year of his death.
The collection of programs is indeed worth scrutiny; it contains programs for twenty-two of the Society’s earliest concerts, with handwritten notations on each. Table 4.1 provides a complete listing of the programs. An alphabetized list of the volume’s vocal numbers appears at the end in what appears to be a more careful version of the same hand. That list locates pieces by a single pagination written throughout the volume, continuing the printed pagination of the first program. The collection is by no means complete, including only one performance each from the 1817–18 and 1818–19 seasons. Sixteen of the programs come from the last three seasons of the collection (Fall 1819–Spring 1822). The collection does include, however, programs from the Society’s first and third performances (25 December 1815 and 30 May 1816).

Furthermore, the “criticisms and comments” do seem to be in a single hand throughout. They reflect repertoire sources, solo credits, and artistic comments either about the material or the vocal or instrumental performances. Often the performance is obviously under review, as in the notes about the sacred concert of 3 April 1817. The concert came in the middle of a festival-like set which presented one part each of Messiah and The Creation, with assorted sacred selections sandwiched in between. The concert of 3 April presented Part II. The comment of “Glorious” next to the chorus beginning with “Break forth into joy” could perhaps imply no more than a reading of the score. The comments of “sweetly sung,” however, next to “Their sound is gone out” and “He that
Table 4.1. Programs in HHS Records for HHS Performances, 1815–1822

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yr</th>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Highlights/Selected Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>First performance (Messiah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>No date given; opening with Purcell, “O give thanks”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>Oratorio cycle: Messiah, Creation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>04</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>Oratorio cycle: Messiah, Creation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>04</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>Oratorio cycle: Messiah, Creation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>07</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>President Monroe in audience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Solos by English singer Thomas Philipps (1774–1841)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Assisting “Mrs. French”; her opening solo marked “miserable”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Season opener</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>Second of season; Creation Part II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>02</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Creation Part I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>03</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Good Friday; Messiah (complete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>First use of HHS 1821 Collection of Sacred Music; several HHS premieres using the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>Return to familiar repertoire; abbreviated sources included in printed program (“O C v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Similar to 1820-12-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>03</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>The Intercession by M.P. King (b. 1765)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>04</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>Messiah Part I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td>*Minutes: HHS–Mason partnership confirmed 18 September; Mason received as full member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>*Minutes: Print order of 3,000 copies announced 19 November for 1822 Collection of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>“Mr. Philipps and Miss Davis” donated vocal assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Assistance from Philipps and Davis; secular pieces included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Sweet pizzacato” [sic] marked for John Stevenson’s setting of “Hark! the vesper hymn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>Several critical remarks on solos by “new voices”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>Followed by an alphabetical index of vocal pieces paginated to their earliest appearance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Handel and Haydn Society Records, MS 5084. Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, Boston Public Library. Programs, December 1815–March 1822, Box 7, Folder 31.

dwelleth in heaven,” both also marked with “Stone” (founding member Joshua Stone was a frequent tenor soloist), demand an audience member.\(^3\)

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\(^3\) *Ibid.*, 26. See also “bad singing” and “charming,” next to separate stanzas of one of Miss Bennet’s solos of 21 December 1819 (62).
While some of the notations must have been made near the time of the actual performances, many of the source notations could not have been made until several years later. The abbreviation “S.C.” refers to “[The] Society[’s] Collection [of Sacred Music],” a compilation of oratorio and anthem selections not to be confused with the collection of church music edited by Mason.4 The notation of “S.C. v. 2 p. 120” next to “Come, ever smiling liberty” in the opening HHS performance of 21 December 1815 matches the pagination of the 1822–23 printing of the Society’s Collection of Sacred Music.5 References to The Old Colony Collection also appear from 1815 and agree with the 1818 pagination. Thus the volume’s indexer and compiler seems to have felt the freedom to add source notations—and to have completed at least some of them a few years after the original performances. Because the collection mentions no sources later than the 1822–23 Collection of Sacred Music, it seems likely that the collection was indexed not long after the last performance of 26 March 1822, perhaps before the next performance of 31 May or before the next season began on 12 November.6

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4 The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Sacred Music, vols. 1–2 (Boston: Thomas Badger Jr., 1821, 1823). Further volumes appeared in 1826–27 (Boston: James Loring) and 1831–32 (Boston: Richardson, Lord & Holbrook). Volumes 1 and 2 of the sacred music collection appeared as fascicles during 1820 and 1822, respectively.

5 HHS Records, Programs, 1815–1822, p. 7 (cf. Collection of Sacred Music, vol. 2, p. 120). Volume 2 appeared one fascicle at a time throughout 1822 and was published in 1823 as a bound volume. The page numbers given in the program suggest that the critic either returned to notate the sources or acquired the fascicle version around the same time as the chorus.

6 The Society’s performance of 31 May, the last of the 1821–22 season, was a benefit for its orchestra’s professional members.
Rarely have scholars discussed the collection. Charles C. Perkins’s nineteenth-century histories of the HHS’s early years do not mention the volume; Perkins may well have been ignorant of its existence. The archival study Carol Pemberton undertook for her 1971 dissertation and subsequent publications does not seem to have included the HHS archives at the Boston Public Library. Even Michael Broyles’s studies of the HHS’s early years were not focused on its relationship with Mason.\(^7\) Courtenay Guild’s history of the HHS’s 1904–1933 seasons includes the 1906 presidential address in which Daniels acknowledged the volume’s donation and attributed the collection and comments to Mason.\(^8\)

As established above, some of the comments require the writer to have been present during HHS performances. In addition, the source notes and index (no earlier than 1822, as noted above) are in a similar hand. The programs seem to have originated, then, with a single devotee of the HHS. Whether that devotee was Mason himself is less clear.

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Current HHS records mention no correspondence from 1906.\(^9\) Daniels’s note on
the collection’s provenance, however, undoubtedly reflects correspondence the
HHS had received from Mary Lord Taintor Mason in that year.\(^{10}\) M.L. Mason’s
account, in turn, may well reflect a decades-old Mason family tradition received
through her husband Daniel Gregory Mason and his father, Henry Mason (1831–
1890) and is not to be dismissed lightly. An alternative explanation is that
Mary L.T. Mason had acquired the collection from her first husband, Edward
Palmer Mason (1859–after 1934), D.G. Mason’s older brother. M.L. Taintor and
E.P Mason had married in 1886, raised two sons (b. 1889 and 1890), and divorced
in 1904. The lack of any surviving serious study by E.P. Mason of his
grandfather’s life, however, makes this explanation less likely.\(^{11}\)

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\(^{9}\) The bulk of the records marked “Correspondence” in MS 5084, Rare Books Collection,
Boston Public Library, are in Box 1, Folders 27–34 (none listed 1902–1960). Box 4 also contains
three folders of administrative correspondence (ff. 35–37). Folder 36 is undated and, though
surrounded by materials 1958 and later, warrants further research.

\(^{10}\) Mary Lord Taintor’s birth surname is spelled as in contemporary nineteenth-century
sources instead of the “Tainter” in Michael Broyles with Christian Savage, “Daniel Gregory
18 September 2016 at Grove Music Online (Oxford Music Online). Mary Lord Taintor had
married Daniel Gregory Mason (1873–1953) in 1904, and he had taken a position at Columbia
University in 1905. D.G. Mason’s account of his activities of 1902–1904, including his marriage,

\(^{11}\) While M.L. Taintor’s relationship with the two brothers need not affect the credibility of
her claims regarding the book of programs, it has provided scholars of philosopher Josiah Royce
with a case study in Royce’s understanding of marital and fraternal loyalty. See John
Clendenning and Frank M. Oppenheim, “Letters of Josiah Royce to Daniel Gregory Mason, Mary
Lord Mason, and Edward Palmer Mason, 1900-1904,” *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society*
In addition, Daniel Gregory Mason’s scholarship gives further weight to the claim. By 1902, even before the HHS received this donation in 1906, D.G. Mason had published Lowell Mason’s January 1813 description of his journey to Savannah, along with the charge Johnson Mason had written him just before he had left Medfield. In 1910 he published an edition of diary entries from Lowell Mason’s first European tour, describing in his introduction his use of Mason’s travel journals (since 1970 held at Yale University). It seems reasonable to assume good faith—and thus some knowledge of his grandfather’s hand—on the part of M.L. Mason’s second husband.

Even if D.G. Mason would have confirmed his wife’s 1906 account about his grandfather, however, the claim is almost impossible to accept at face value. Given what is known about Mason’s life in Savannah, is it possible to assume his presence at twenty-two Boston concerts in seventy-five months? Such an assumption would certainly require the Lowell Mason of 1815–1822 to become a well-traveled, long-distance HHS devotee to a degree well beyond any before realized. Such an assumption, however, fares poorly against the tests of travel and handwriting.

Scholars have usually limited Mason’s visits to New England during this time period to two: (1) the journey Mason took July to September 1817 to celebrate his marriage and (2) his journey of late 1821 seeking publication for the manuscript that would become the *Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music*. Accepting Daniels’s 1906 statement (and M.L. Mason’s claim) would require the assumption of several additional trips, such as December 1815, May 1816, April 1817, April 1818, and June 1819. If Mason’s presence in Savannah during even one of the collection’s performances can be established, then another’s hand must be responsible for the annotations.

Voyages on brigs between Boston and Savannah often took eleven days or more, so that round trips to Boston would usually require absences of at least three weeks from Mason’s responsibilities in Savannah. Many of the announcements Mason made in Savannah newspapers were often simple reminders of routine activities and could have been scheduled to run in his absence. Thus Mason’s secretarial announcement of the Savannah Union Society’s quarterly meeting of 1 April 1822, while it was made the same day as the collection’s last performance (26 March), need not have prevented Mason from attending that performance.14 Advertisements for the firm of Mason and Stebbins could also run during Mason’s absences from the city.

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14 *Savannah Daily Republican*, 26 March 1822 (3).
Some of the announcements, however, were harder to plan. One of the most obvious difficulties would have come in December 1819. Ten days after the HHS performance of 21 December 1819, Mason was in Savannah announcing the death of Henry Kollock. Another comes in July 1817. LaFar’s description of Mason’s correspondence noted in “the Sunday School minutes for June 29, 1817” need not refer to an actual writing by Mason on that day. If it does, however, Mason’s travel to Boston before the 5 July HHS performance for President Monroe would have to be considered impossible.

In addition to the difficulties of scheduling travel, assuming Mason’s authorship of the collection’s comments also requires a similarity between the hand responsible for those comments and Mason’s own hand as it survives in other writings. Though Mason’s diaries of his Savannah years consulted by H.L. Mason have not survived, some confirmed samples of Mason’s handwriting do survive from very near the time of the collection. The Lowell Mason Papers at Yale University’s Irving S. Gilmore Music Library contain one of the largest sets of these samples. Yale’s documents include an 1814 letter from Mason to his family and the 1819–20 manuscript copy that would become the 1821 Boston

15 See Margaret Freeman LaFar, “Lowell Mason’s Varied Activities in Savannah,” Georgia Historical Quarterly 28:3 (September 1944): 127.

16 Ibid, 121; HHS, Programs, 1815–1822, 41-48. Besides source notes in a different ink, annotations include “fine symph.” (next to the chorus “He gave hail stones for rain”) and solo credits that more likely require a concert attendee.
Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music.\textsuperscript{17} Based on initial impressions, these samples cast further doubt on the claim that Mason’s “own hand” was making the annotations in the 1815–1822 collection of HHS programs.

Most of the collection’s comments show signs of having been written in some haste. Even the more clearly scripted index, however, seems to come from a wider, rounder, less slanted script than Mason’s. Figures 4.1–4.4 provide the word “glorious” in four settings as an example. Figure 4.1 is Mason’s signed letter from 1814; Figure 4.2, an 1819–1820 manuscript that is unsigned but can be assumed to bear his hand (see Chapter Five). Figure 4.3 is an annotation to one of the programs, probably written during a performance; and Figure 4.4 is the first index entry of the volume in question. In the volume of programs, lowercase $R$ consistently begins with a high stroke similar to that shown in Figures 4.3 and 4.4. Mason’s entries, by contrast, are lower and more slanted, even in the samples from decades later that comprise most of his extant correspondence.\textsuperscript{18} There are similarities of script (e.g., capital $A$) along with differences such as those noted here. In light of the travel difficulties and handwriting differences, it seems

\textsuperscript{17} MSS 33, The Lowell Mason Papers in the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library of Yale University, correspondence, Box 4, Folder 7; HHS Collection manuscript, Box 1, Folder 22. A note at the head of the manuscript, a somewhat later addition, refers to its origin and to the publication date of its printed edition.

\textsuperscript{18} The largest collection is Box 4, Folders 1–11 in Yale’s Lowell Mason Papers, MSS 33.
almost certain that someone besides Mason attended and critiqued the programs and indexed the repertoire.

If Mason was not the attendee, the commentator, or the collection’s indexer, the collection’s origin remains an open question. The source notations, abbreviated as they are from the very beginning (“O.C.” and so on), assume a reader familiar with the American prints of the HHS repertoire: the *Old Colony Collection* (vols. 1
and 2), the Society’s collection of sacred music published in 1821 and 1823, and specific page numbers in the American printings of Messiah and The Creation. As noted above, however, the author attended HHS performances quite regularly, acquired the HHS repertoire, took critical notes, and indexed the notated programs after several years.

Even if Lowell Mason was not the original author of the collection’s handwritten sections, M.L. Mason’s claim could mean that Mason had collected the programs from another source. Could Mason have solicited annotated programs from one of his contacts in Boston? Possibly. The similarity between the critic’s hand and the indexer’s hand, however, means that the collection probably remained in the critic’s possession until its compilation was complete. Even if the collection was made at Mason’s request, it seems unlikely that Mason received any of it, unless he was merely allowed temporary access to the programs, until after 1822.

If the volume did not enter Mason’s possession until after March 1822, it came after Mason’s partnership with the HHS had begun and after Mason’s contacts in Boston had increased dramatically. It is possible, of course, that M.L. Mason was completely mistaken, that Lowell Mason had never seen the volume, and that the collection had come into Mason family hands after Mason’s death. It seems more likely, however, that at some point in his life Mason realized that such a collection was available and acquired it. Whether one of Mason’s Boston contacts
like John Rowe Parker made the original collection and allowed Mason to take it, whether Mason requested the collection and waited until 1822 to have it indexed, or whether another unrelated account traces the acquisition at that time or much later remains to be seen. Based simply on the Mason family’s possession of the volume, it seems likely that Lowell Mason’s interest in the HHS included an interest in the activities of its earliest years and even possible that the interest began immediately upon the founding of the HHS. That interest was almost certainly not, however, the direct knowledge that M.L. Mason’s 1906 donation implied.

Publications and Repertoire

Much stronger evidence for Mason’s attention to the early years of the HHS, especially noticeable by 1818, appears in Mason’s own correspondence. Whether or not he attended any HHS programs before his membership began in 1821, Mason had in the years 1818–1820 become acquainted with tunebooks and choral collections associated with the HHS. These tunebooks especially included two popularly known as the *Old Colony Collection* and the *Bridgewater Collection*. The *Old Colony Collection*, as the following will show, was more closely associated with the early years of the HHS and provided a location for Mason’s first published selections. The *Bridgewater Collection*’s compilers included an original HHS member, and it was one of the collections to receive early HHS endorsements (see below). Primarily for church choirs rather than oratorio
societies, the *Bridgewater Collection* was much more widely used outside the HHS. According to Mason, it provided a close model for the collection that would begin his formal relationship with the Society.\(^{19}\) Mason’s familiarity with these publications provided some of the final steps in his preparation for partnership with the HHS.

*The Old Colony Collection*

In addition to prints of *Messiah* and *The Creation*, the reprinted selections in *The Old Colony Collection of Anthems* (OCC) formed the backbone of the HHS repertoire in its early years. Only as the Society published its own eponymous collection of anthems and oratorio selections in 1820 and onwards did it stop performing from the OCC.\(^{20}\) When the HHS was established in Boston in 1815, the Old Colony Musical Society of Plymouth was an easy ally and had already begun printing repertoire attractive to the HHS.\(^{21}\) Conferring with the OCC’s editors on selection was one of the first acts of the HHS trustees, and HHS rehearsals began using the next OCC printing by October 1815.\(^{22}\)


\(^{20}\) In a brief survey of collections named in rehearsals, the various numbers, editions, and volumes of the Old Colony Collection appear almost constantly in the HHS minutes of 1815–1820. By June 1820, prints of the first fascicle of the Society’s 1821 volume of anthems had appeared. had begun taking over the OCC’s place for providing miscellaneous anthems. BPL MSS 2084, *Minutes, 1819–1824*, 1820 (June 3 printed, June 18 in rehearsal, November 14 performance).

\(^{21}\) *The Old Colony Collection of Anthems*, numbers 1–2 (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1814). Trinity College (Hartford, CT) holds these publications, which were published unbound and included 24 pages each of “oratorio” repertoire from Handel.

\(^{22}\) *Minutes, 1815–1818*, 1815: 31 August, 4 September, 4 October, 30 October (“third number”).
continued through further numbers printed 1815–1817, and a second volume published solely under HHS auspices appeared in 1818.23

By his own later account, Mason’s knowledge of the *Old Colony Collection* was deep and began a few years before his effort to publish his collection.24 He claimed to have submitted to the HHS the Mozart *Kyrie* published in the 1818 volume 2 of the OCC as “Lord have mercy &c.” and “Glory Be to God on High” (see pp. 128, 133). He counted it as the beginning of his publishing relationship with the HHS: it was, he would say, “the first music that I ever furnished” for the Society. The HHS might not even have known about Mason’s role in sending the music; Mason said that he sent the music indirectly, through “a poor musical friend in Waltham,” probably Amos Albee.25 Mason’s claim that the Gloria was “very popular,” however, is corroborated by HHS performance records.26

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23 *The Old Colony Collection of Anthems*, vol. 1 (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1814); vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Boston: Loring, 1817); vol. 2 (Boston: Loring, 1818).


25 Mason’s former teacher Amos Albee was living in Waltham and requesting financial aid in early 1818 (see Chapter Two, n. 50), close to the time when the HHS was preparing vol. 2 of the Old Colony Collection. In late 1819, Albee sent the HHS some works attributed to Mozart and received $10 compensation in early 1820 (see Chapter Two, n. 51). Mason did mention that his friend received payment (LM to Luther Farnham, 14 March 1869), and it is not impossible that Mason’s memory substituted “Waltham” for Watertown, where Albee lived from 1819. The timeline makes it highly improbable, though, that this was the first incident Mason meant. Albee’s 1819 submission may have appeared in the HHS *Collection of Sacred Music* (not to be confused with *Collection of Church Music* collection by Mason) of 1820–21. Further analysis may be able to determine what Albee’s submission was.

26 Ibid. “Glory to God (Mozart)” appears in at least three HHS performances of the 1819–20 and 1820–21 seasons. HHS Records, BPL MSS 2084, Box 1, Folder *Minutes, 1819–1824, 1820* (3 February, 2 May, 14 November). After publishing Mason’s collection, the HHS board voted 7 May 1822 to send Mason thanks for his “copies of Mozart” (*ibid.*). Perhaps Mason revealed in
Mason’s attribution to Mozart may have been faulty; the OCC’s B-flat major Kyrie and Gloria match none of those in B-flat still attributed to Mozart (see Figure 4.5).27 Still, Mason was already familiar enough by 1818 with HHS repertoire to make successful recommendations.

The fact that in the fall of 1821 (according to S. Jubal Howe’s later report) Mason first went to the OCC’s “publisher” in Plymouth—rather than the HHS leadership itself—probably shows that Mason had little knowledge about the specific powers of the HHS board.28 However, Mason’s ability to say in June 1821 that “Dr. Jackson has seen some samples of the manuscript and speaks very highly of them” shows that Mason had some knowledge of Boston’s musical landscape.29 The success of Mason’s 1817–18 recommendations helped prepare him for a much deeper partnership in 1821–22.

1821–22 that he had been the sender in 1817–18 and possibly even in 1819–20, but no such record has yet surfaced. It is much more likely that the May 1822 vote results from Mason submitting for the Society’s Collection of Sacred Music copies of the music that he and the HHS attributed to Mozart and that appeared credited to him in vol. 2 of that work (see Chapter Five). Pemberton’s statement that “Mason had no part in this book” (Life and Work, 33) is correct if it means that Mason was outside the publication’s editorial team, but his credit was public.

27 Missa Brevis (K. 275/ K 6 272b), Litaniae lauretanæ Beata Virgine Maria (K. 109/ K 6 74e), or Litaniae de venerabili altaris sacramento (K. / K 6 125).

28 S. Jubal Howe to S. Jennison (1871), cited in Perkins and Dwight, Foundations of the Society, 81. Like Mason, Jubal Howe (1793–1874) was in 1821 a Massachusetts native, a Savannah resident, and a musician. He remained in Boston when Mason returned, was admitted to HHS membership in 1822, and served as HHS trustee 1828–1830 (Mason’s second and third years as HHS president). Jennison was the Society’s official historian 1873–78 (ibid., 3) and may have recorded the conversation in HHS records or related the information directly to Perkins.

29 LM to J.R. Parker, 20 June 1821; cited in Pemberton, Life and Work, 32.
The Bridgewater Collection

Mason was also familiar well before 1821 with a different kind of collection connected with the HHS. The publication known as The Bridgewater Collection may have been the most popular early-nineteenth century church music collection that included elements of both reform psalmody and the rougher styles popular with earlier American generations. After appearing in 1802, the Bridgewater Collection appeared in dozens of editions into the 1830s. The chief

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30 *Columbian Harmony; or, Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music*, Bartholomew Brown, Nahum Mitchell, and Benjamin Holt, eds. (Boston: [various printers], 26 eds. 1802–39; many later editions substituted *Templi Carmina* for *Columbian Harmony*). See the discussion of Amos Albee’s work as “eclectic” in Chapter Two.
compiler, Bartholomew Brown, had been named an honorary member of the HHS in its first year and would eventually serve as HHS president in 1836–37.31

As the HHS Collection of Sacred Music of 1821–32 would later be, the Old Colony Collection was a collection of what its publishers called “sacred music” such as anthems and oratorio selections. As such, it provided material for HHS performances. By contrast, the Bridgewater Collection contained the style of music then called “church music” or “psalmody”: simple to moderate tunes harmonized for church choirs, with only a few anthems and with oratorio selections limited mostly to staples like the “Hallelujah Chorus.” It was thus far more similar to Mason’s manuscript than either of the other two collections.32 One of the main similarities between the Old Colony Collection and the Bridgewater Collection was that both had a close connection to the HHS. The HHS trustees voted 17 October 1816 to send a letter of approval to the Bridgewater editors for “beauty of style, justness of adoption and correctness of harmony . . . excelled by none.” Co-editor Benjamin Holt would soon serve a year as HHS president, and his fellow editors were named honorary HHS members.33

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31 See, for example, Perkins and Dwight, Foundations of the Society, 111–14. Benjamin Holt was also quick to join the HHS and served as the 1817–18 president.
32 See the next chapter for a stylistic comparison between the Bridgewater Collection and Mason’s own style in the HHS 1822 Collection of Church Music.
33 HHS Records, Minutes, 1815–1818.
By 1821, Mason had familiarized himself with the collection and was confident enough to critique it in a private but prominent place. While asking John Rowe Parker’s assistance in preparing for the publication of his own manuscript, Mason wrote that replacing the *Bridgewater Collection* was his goal. Mason planned to match the collection in “size,” “price,” and purpose—in other words, to compete with it directly. He planned to improve somewhat upon its selection, to include “all the best music” from it but to “omit” most of the music by “inferior authors.” Mason’s consistent application of his through-bass studies gave him confidence that his work was far better than Brown’s. “The Bridgewater . . . really does not deserve public patronage any longer,” he would say, but he believed that his own work “merit[ed] patronage” and was “calculated to improve in a high degree the taste for Sacred Music.”

Mason was not alone in his assessment of the *Bridgewater Collection*. The HHS had endorsed the collection in 1816, but an 1820 reviewer of the collection’s 7th edition (Boston, 1819) had a far less complimentary opinion. Counting *Bridgewater* among the “laudable attempts” to reform hymnody by circulating “chaste and classical tunes” (38), the reviewer also acknowledged that few Americans or Europeans had the knowledge of both psalmody and composition.

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34 Mason’s own copy of the 8th edition (Boston, 1820) came to Yale as part of his family’s 1873 bequest and is now available online at https://archive.org/details/templicarminason00brow (accessed 20 December 2016), complete with Mason’s signature on the cover and on the title page.
35 LM to J.R. Parker, 20 June 1821, as in Pemberton, *Life and Work*, 32.
to do so judiciously (39). Because of the Bridgewater Collection’s endorsements “from two of the most respectable musical societies among us” (p. 39; presumably one of the two was the HHS), however, the reviewer set out to expose the collection’s myriad deviations from scientific style and “surprisingly illiterate” introduction. Only “an inconsiderable portion” of the selections did the reviewer recommend wholeheartedly (48). He categorized most of the collection under five headings: (1) “old tunes, with harmony that is decidedly incorrect,” (2) “old tunes, partially correct,” (3) “more modern pieces, with one or two parts added to the score,” (4) “pieces, newly arranged or extracted from larger compositions,” and (5) “pieces, not before published in this country” (40).

The 1820 review probably influenced the opinions Mason expressed to Parker in 1821. Parker was a merchant and publisher but was not a member of the literary elite behind The North American Review. He reprinted the review, however, in the summer of 1820, with “unqualified approbation.”37 Parker’s music journal The Euterpeiad, published in Boston 1820–23, was one of the first periodicals in the country devoted to music. It included frequent notices of HHS activities, including meetings, performances, and publications. In 1818, even before beginning the Euterpeiad, Parker had been voted an honorary HHS member.38

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37 The Euterpeiad (29 July 1820), pp. 70–71; 5 August, pp. 74–75; 12 August, pp. 77–78.
38 BPL MSS 2084, HHS Records, Box 1, Folder 40, Minutes 1815–18, 21 March 1818.
Mason certainly had access to the review as Parker had reprinted it. Though the
review’s appearance in July 1820 may have come late enough in Mason’ 1819–20
compilation process to have had little effect on his collection, his June 1821 letter
to Parker seems to claim affinity between his collection and the July 1820 review.
That letter was not the first correspondence between the two. According to
Douglas F. Moore, Mason had written Parker in 1819 about the Independent
Presbyterian Church’s organ.39 Even if Moore’s attribution was somehow faulty,
further correspondence before 1821 is certain.40 Printer Thomas Badger’s call for
subscriptions had appeared in cities and towns across the North and South, and
the Savannah Daily Georgian had included it in May and June 1820.41 The
Euterpeiad’s list of agents for receiving subscriptions (1 July 1820, p. 55) included
S.C. Schenk of Savannah. A bookseller, Schenk had joined Savannah’s Union
Society in 1818 (the same year Mason and Kollock joined) and almost certainly

Five, n. 41.
40 Parker records that Mason had written him on 4 June 1820 with a contribution for the
Euterpeiad. See John Rowe Parker Collection SC 1995.14, Ruth T. Watanabe Special Collections,
Sibley Music Library, Box 1, Folder 41, finding aid online at
http://www.esm.rochester.edu/sibley
/specialcollections/findingaids/parker/, accessed 1 October 2016. Inspection of the
correspondence may be able to confirm whether Mason contributed the “Communication from
Savannah” included 24 June 1820 and signed “M.” That communication (Euterpeiad, 24 June 1820,
p. 50) is published as an excerpt from Edward Miller, The History and Antiquities of Doncaster and
Its Vicinity, with Anecdotes of Eminent Men (Doncaster: Sheardown, [1804?]), relating to the musical
talents and tastes of Sir William Herschel (1738–1822). By 1820 Herschel was famous for his
pioneering work in astronomy but had been for years a professional musician in Hanover and
England. Miller took credit for discovering him.
had personal contact with Mason. It seems all but certain that Mason subscribed to Parker’s weekly and followed HHS activities in its contents.

Even if arriving at them independently, Mason shared several lines of thought with the Review. When Mason said of his collection, “I know Science will approve,” he may have been referring literally to the opinions published by Edward Everett (1794–1865), the North American Review’s fifth editor and the review’s likely author. As he told Parker, Mason planned to include “all the best music” from the collection. By this Mason may have referred to the pieces that the Review “cheerfully recommended to public patronage” (Review, 47–48).

Indeed, of the nineteen tunes in the Bridgewater Collection specifically commended by the Review, thirteen appear in the published HHSC. Three of those thirteen (DUNDEE, NEWTON, and YARMOUTH) were among the additions made to Mason’s manuscript after submission, additions made either by Mason

42 Minutes of the Union Society: Being an Abstract of Existing Records, from 1750 to 1858 (Savannah: J.M. Cooper, 1860), 59.

43 LM to J.R. Parker, 20 June 1821, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University, MSS 033, Lowell Mason Papers, Box 4, Folder 50. This section was not included in Pemberton’s transcription (Pemberton, Life and Work, 32; see ellipsis after “Whitaker, Webb &c”), and for good reason. Several lines of the original’s text have been damaged, apparently by the seal fixed behind them. One of the two sections thus displaced has been pasted in, evidently in the wrong location. Pemberton’s transcription skips the two lines most affected and assumes the word “pieces” between “several” and “have appeared in the Euterpiad.” The original may have read, “—altho’ it be by such masters as Stevenson, Weyman, Whitaker, Webb &c—prejudice & ignorance will call their alterations I know Science will approve [sic]—several [. . .] have appeared in the Euterpiad which have [. . .] much encouraged me—. . .” On the elite context of The North American Review, whose early subscribers probably included Thomas Jefferson, see The North American Review, “The Magazine’s Historic Past,” online at http://www.webdelso.com/NorthAmReview/NAR/NAR/History.html, accessed 30 September 2016; For Everett’s editorship, see “The North American Review,” The North American Review 201:713 (April 1915): 629.
or by G.K. Jackson. Three of the anthems the *Review* commended were also included in the HHSC’s published version.\footnote{Madan, “Denmark”; Harwood, “The Dying Christian”; Kent, “Blessed be thou” (HHSC pp. 215, 224, 300). The additions may support the assertion above that Mason probably encountered the review late in his compilation process.} Furthermore, when Mason criticized the *Bridgewater Collection*’s inclusion of much music by “Dixon, Leach, and several other inferior authors,” he may have been claiming affinity with the *Review*. The *Review* names Leach and Dixon in a list of those whose works as included the *Bridgewater Collection* “appear rather insipid to us” (47). Mason’s promise to include “some few instances” of three-part harmonization may also have been related to the criticisms in the *Review*. By its account, the Bridgewater compilers had included three-part selections from eighteenth-century collections like the Lock Hospital Collection and had added a fourth vocal line—with “the pencil of a novice.” Assuming that the *Bridgewater Collection*’s audience would demand four-part settings, the *Review* also provides counter-arguments (45).

Sometimes, for Mason and for the *Review*, “scientific” style meant leaving well enough alone.

**Copying the HHS**

In addition to his apparent attention to the HHS itself, Mason also began to participate in musical activities very similar to those of the HHS during the years 1815–21.
In August 1815, even before his partnership with Edward Stebbins began and before the HHS had ever scheduled a public performance, Mason was receiving music for sale in Savannah. His advertisements of August and September (see Figure 4.6) called his stock “one thousand pieces of the most approved MUSIC.” The remainder of the ad Mason probably intended as support for his use of that adjective: a list of twenty-two composers beginning with Haydn, Pleyel, and Mozart; a list of genres beginning with “Overtures,” “Sinfonia’s,” and “Sonata’s” [sic]; and a list of orchestral instruments for which these “celebrated” composers’ works were arranged.45

After the partnership with Stebbins began that fall, Mason’s advertisements of music seem to have ended. By March 1816, however, the firm was offering pianos from Gibson and Davis of New York and an organ from London’s Clementi firm.46 During the years 1816–18, Stebbins and Mason may have been the only Savannah residents regularly offering pianofortes for sale.47

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46 Savannah Republican, 2 March 1816 (4). In August the firm moved to a brick building. Ibid., 15 August 1816 (3).
47 Elias Wallen had advertised pianos for sale at his counting room the year before (ibid., 27 April 1815, p. 4, passim to 3 July 1815, p. 1), but does not seem to have repeated his order. Other pianos were available in Savannah, of course. A piano went to auction on 17 August 1816 (Savannah Republican, Aug. 15, 1816, p. 3). Private sales were sometimes advertised. But the Savannah Republican for 1816, as indexed in Savannah Historic Newspapers (http://savnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/, accessed 27 June 2016) confirms the above impression. Only one other Savannah merchant offered pianos for sale that year. W.T. Williams offered Geil (NY) pianos 2 March 1816 (Savannah Republican, p. 1), the same day Stebbins and Mason made what
Holding Concerts

Documentation for Mason’s participation in the concert life of Savannah has included sacred concerts of 1817 and 1824. In 1816, however, in the midst of a financial and social climb, Mason was already serving as secretary for the

may have been their first offer—and did so no more. Williams was a co-sponsor of the Apollonian Society’s ticket sales that year (see below) and may have been the partner of Seymour in publishing Kollock’s 1811 Sermons on Various Subjects (see Chapter Two).

LaFar, “Activities in Savannah,” 129–130, references the 1817 as concert as covered in the Columbian Museum and Savannah Gazette and misprints the date as 1818. She calls the announcement “one of the first references” to Mason in connection with Savannah’s music but does not seem to have had access to earlier Savannah Republican materials. Douglas A. Moore, “Lowell Mason in Savannah, 1815-1827” (MFA thesis, University of Georgia, 1967), 15, similarly has access only to the Museum and Gazette but provides the correct date.
Apollonian Society, calling the members to prepare for a concert of sacred music at Savannah’s Episcopal church.\textsuperscript{49}

Based on the dates it appears (with various spellings) in the \textit{Savannah Republican}, the Apollonian Society was most active in the years 1816–1819. It seems to have been modeled on a plan somewhat similar to the Handel and Haydn Society; its programming as well as its occasional charitable events compare well with those of the HHS. The society promised to perform, if support warranted, “some of the most admired compositions of Sacred Music by Handel, Haydn, and other eminent masters.”\textsuperscript{50}

The May 1817 concert mentioned above was given jointly by the Old Hundred Society and the Apollonian Society for charitable purposes. The Savannah singers were almost certainly far less accomplished than the HHS and seem to have sung hymn tunes as often as anthems or oratorio selections. The announced program, however, bears some similarities to the programming of the Handel and Haydn Society of the same time. While the Savannah program credits

\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Savannah Republican}, 2 July 1816 (3), 9 July (3). As the announcements mentioned no tickets (unlike that of 27 May the following year), it may be safe to assume the concert was free or semi-private. It may also have been the society’s first concert: further research in local Savannah records may be able to tell.

\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Savannah Gazette} as cited by LaFar, 130; see also \textit{Savannah Republican}, 27 May 1817 (3), online at http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/savnewspapers/id:svr1817-0206, accessed 7 October 2016. This concert may be the source for Pemberton’s assertion regarding Mason’s work at Independent Presbyterian Church: “As early as 1817, his choir presented public concerts of works by European masters, often arranged by Mason himself.” Pemberton, \textit{Life and Work}, 27.
Handel with the vast majority of its works, the most striking commonality is the appearance of Pucitta’s “Strike the cymbal” in both first and second parts of the concert.\footnote{\textit{Savannah Republican}, 27 May 1817 (3). The two titles provide the first and third lines of the text: “Strike the cymbal;/Roll the tymbal;/Let the trump of triumph sound.”} The HHS had premiered the same work in its performance of 1 April 1817, less than two months beforehand. That performance is listed in the collection of programs discussed above, and Pucitta’s piece appeared in the “intermediate selections” between Part 1 of \textit{Messiah} and Part 1 of \textit{The Creation}. The HHS repeated the piece in a similar location in the third concert, an honor it otherwise granted only to selections from Handel’s \textit{Israel in Egypt}.\footnote{HHS Records, \textit{Minutes} 1815–1818, 1–4 April 1817. Vincenzo Pucitta (1778–1861) was music director at King’s Theatre, London 1809–14 and is probably best known today for his operas composed for soprano Angelica Catalani (Andrea Lanza, “Pucitta, Vincenzo,” in Grove Music Online, accessed 7 October 2016).} A simple but striking piece alternating solo and chorus and relating Israel’s response to David’s defeat of Goliath, “Strike the Cymbal” reappeared many more times in HHS performances to 1820.\footnote{Moore notes that the piece also reappeared in Savannah in a May 1824 concert publicly credited to Mason’s leadership (“Mason in Savannah,” 15, 17).}

first to New York in 1816) and continued to appear in memoirs written decades later.\footnote{See New York papers for 24 May 1816 (\textit{New-York Courier}, p. 3; \textit{Evening Post}, p. 3); Ephraim Reed, \textit{Musical Monitor} (1827; online at https://ia601209.us.archive.org/5/items/musicror00reed/musicror00reed.pdf, accessed 17 November 2014); Jane Agar [Mrs. R.P.] Hopper, \textit{Old-Time Primitive Methodism in Canada, 1829–1884} (Toronto: William Briggs, 1904), 40–41. The entire set is attributed to the \textit{Bridgewater Collection}, 12th ed. (1823) by John Robie Eastman, \textit{History of the Town of Andover, New Hampshire: 1751–1906} (Rumford: Concord, NH, 1910), 1:114.} The piece’s in Savannah eight weeks after its Boston premiere may have been coincidental. On the other hand, its appearance shows that the Savannah organizers may have been following the same publishers and trends that the HHS followed, possibly even to HHS programming itself.

Unlike the HHS, most of the Apollonian Society’s concerts seem to have been semi-private. Usually its concert announcements offered no sales but told members to “get their tickets by calling on the subscriber.”\footnote{\textit{Daily Savannah Republican}, 21 May 1818 (1); see also \textit{Savannah Republican}, 20 March 1817 (1); \textit{Savannah Daily Republican}, 24 November 1819 (3); 7 December 1819 (3), 9 December 1819 (1), 23 December.} The Society could also call business meetings for “performing members,” suggesting that membership was by talent or by finance and also that the performers had some administrative control.\footnote{Ibid., 5 November 1819 (3).} The 1817 concert, however, was not the only public charity benefit; in early 1819 the same society assisted a touring soloist named Mrs. French, along with a chorus of young ladies, in a benefit for the Female
Mrs. French was probably the same Philadelphia resident who in June would receive the Boston HHS’s assistance for a concert benefitting the Boston Female Asylum.59

Aesthetics

According to H.L. Mason, by 1819 Lowell Mason had also formulated intense aesthetic opinions and felt the liberty to spread those opinions in Savannah. Before The Euterpeiad began publication or Everett had reviewed the Bridgewater Collection, Mason was defending the roles of both “science” and genius in musical composition. “Science may invent good harmony, agreeable measure, flowing and easy cadence, but genius only can give force to music.”60

H.L. Mason seems to have missed that the Savannah article was not Mason’s own work but was a reprinted excerpt of an 1808 publication by John Hubbard.
of Dartmouth College.\textsuperscript{61} It seems likely, however, that the Mason of 1819—a year after supplying the HHS with a Kyrie and Gloria by “Mozart” and working feverishly on a collection harmonizing Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven melodies—had digested and felt the liberty to spread authoritative aesthetic statements.

One of Hubbard’s examples of “simple melody, with a light accompaniment,” which “the author could not hear performed without tears,” also shows a direct link to new HHS repertoire presented the summer before the Savannah reprint. “Total eclipse” (Handel, \textit{Samson}) had been performed twice in 1818 at HHS events. Distinguished guest soloists Thomas Philipps (1 May, in the HHS premiere) and Charles Incledon (1 July) had arrived ready to sing it.\textsuperscript{62}

A November 1819 announcement of one of Mason’s singing schools also made definite aesthetic claims in addition to promising respectable results: “Particular attention will be paid to the selection of the best music, and to correctness of taste and performance.”\textsuperscript{63} By 1819, Mason could know that when he made such

\textsuperscript{61} John Hubbard, \textit{An Essay on Music: Pronounced Before the Middlesex Musical Society, Sept. 9, A.D. 1807, at Dunstable} (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1808). H.L. Mason’s typescript corresponds with Hubbard, pp. 4–8. Likewise apparently ignorant of Hubbard’s authorship, Pemberton calls the reprint Mason’s “first published statement on music” (\textit{Life and Work}, 28). Extant copies of \textit{The Columbian Museum and Savannah Daily Gazette} should be able to confirm whether Mason publicly acknowledged his debt to Hubbard, who had died in 1810.

\textsuperscript{62} HHS Records, \textit{Minutes, 1815–1818}.

\textsuperscript{63} \textit{Savannah Daily Republican}, 23 Nov. 1819 (1).
claims, he could claim kinship to the HHS not only in the claim itself but also in his definitions of “best” and “correctness.”

**Conclusion**

Between the founding of the Handel and Haydn Society in 1815 and his request for a publication partnership in 1821, Lowell Mason pursued musical activities that helped him understand and even participate in the Society’s programming and repertoire, publication program, and specific aesthetic stance. It is very reasonable to assume that the book of programs his family acquired by 1906 represents, if not any direct contact between Mason and the HHS, at least a personal interest in the HHS programming of 1815–1822 that had begun near that time. Mason’s later claims to have submitted repertoire for the Society’s *Old Colony Collection* suggest that he considered himself by 1817–1818 equal to the Society’s standards of judging propriety for its publications. His familiarity with the *Bridgewater Collection* shows not only that he understood how valuable the collection could be for the Society’s purposes but also that he felt ready by 1821 to critique it from the vantage point of the *Euterpeiad’s* agreement with the *North American Review*. Finally, Mason’s involvement in Savannah’s charitable concerts, the specific programming similarities between those concerts and those of the HHS, and the published statements Mason was willing to make on musical aesthetics suggest that Mason and his Savannah colleagues were creating their own concert life after the image of the HHS and its sister oratorio societies.
around the young Republic. Perhaps the only thing separating Mason and the HHS from a publication partnership was the lack of a suitable collection to publish. By 1821, Mason had prepared just such a collection.
In 1821, Lowell Mason and the Boston Handel and Haydn Society inaugurated a publication partnership around a collection of church music compiled by Mason to be promoted by the Society, with profits to be shared by both.\(^1\) It is difficult to say what exactly the parties anticipated from the project, but it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the collection helped make the compiler famous and keep the institution afloat. Mason produced a collection that could command respect from his intended audience and was at the same time ready for immediate distribution by an outside party. The Handel and Haydn Society saw an opportunity to put its own brand firmly into the tunebook market for relatively little effort, and the result was a very profitable partnership indeed. How the manuscript came to be and what happened to make it a joint publication—especially the differences between the manuscript and the published version—are the subjects of this chapter.

\(^1\) The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music (Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1822), hereafter HHSC; 1st edition unless otherwise noted.
Mason and His Instructor

In 1816, twenty-four-year-old Lowell Mason was by day a junior partner in a merchant firm, on weekends an organist and choirmaster at a large church, and increasingly involved in Savannah’s musical life and volunteer organizations. Frederick L. Abel (1794–1820) arrived in Savannah by August 1816. Under his instruction, Mason prepared by 1820 a manuscript collection he considered worthy of publication. At Abel’s approval (recorded posthumously in HHSC, vi), Mason sensed its completion.

Abel in Savannah

Little is known about F.L. Abel’s activities in Savannah, but recently posted copies of the Savannah Republican, in addition to announcing his 1816 arrival, shed some light. Abel may not have advertised further for students in the

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2 “FREDERICK ABEL, From Germany,” advertised his services in teaching music and painting, tuning (“toning”) pianos, and making miniature portraits. Savannah Republican, 22 August 1816 (3), repeated 24 August (1), 27 August (1), 29 August (1), 31 August (1). Apparently relying on H.L. Mason, Carol A. Pemberton gives Abel’s arrival date as 1817, a date repeated in many sources since. Lowell Mason: His Life and Work (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1985), 26. See also Henry Lowell Mason, “Lowell Mason: His Life and Work,” unpublished typescript, Yale MSS 033, Lowell Mason Papers, Box 12, pp. 94–96; compare to the digitized typescript online at https://archive.org/details/historyoflowellm00unse (accessed 1 October 2016), digitization sponsored by the Boston Public Library and contributed by the Lowell Mason House. Unless otherwise noted, pagination in this chapter follows the Yale typescript of H.L. Mason’s work.

Republican’s pages after his advertisement of 22–31 August 1816. Abel may not have maintained an established residence during the entire period until his 1819 death; he was credited with three letters in a list of those “remaining at the post office” published in 1817.4 Such lists were standard in early American newspapers.5 At least some post offices published such a list as the last step of due diligence performed for undeliverable letters before declaring them dead letters.6

In October 1818, F.L. Abel may have been the “Mr. Abel” listed as a passenger arriving from New York on the sloop Macdonough, though no listing of a previous departure from Savannah has yet appeared.7 F.L. Abel’s brother Johann Leopold Abel (1795–1871) lived for eleven months in Savannah before settling in England in 1820. He claimed, however, not to have arrived in Savannah until September 1819.8 The father of F.L. and J.L. Abel, August Christian Abel (1751–1834), seems to have been honored for his skill in painting nearly as much as for specifically. Even Walter Knape, “Abel,” Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 2nd ed. (Kassel, 1999; online 2016 at https://mggonline.com/article?id=mgg00026&r=mgg00026, accessed 28 December 2016), gives no specific coverage to J.L. or F.L. Abel.

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4 Savannah Republican, 26 July 1817 (6).
7 Daily Savannah Republican, 13 October 1818 (3).
8 Johann Leopold Abel to John D. Sainsbury, 11 November 1823, held at the University of Glasgow (MS Euing R.d.84/1).
his skill on the violin. F.L. Abel’s great-uncle C.F. Abel, however, had gained
great fame and fortune in London in the late eighteenth century.

F.L. Abel was probably also the “Mr. Abel” credited with performing the violin
obligato for Thomas Phillips’s performance on 28 December 1818 of “The
Madman Thus” in The Maid of the Mill. Abel had also done well enough by
October 1819 to require the sheriff’s sale of 50 acres of land for Josiah F. Thomas
to repay a debt to him. After Abel’s death in 1820, the agents of Abel’s heirs
applied for letters of administration to his estate.

Abel as Instructor

While H.L. Mason was apparently ignorant of F.L. Abel’s 1816 arrival in
Savannah, there seems little reason to mistrust Mason’s reading of his

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11 Savannah Daily Republican, 1819: 7 September (1), 9 September (1), 14 September (1), 16 September (1), 18 September (1), 21 September (1), 2 October (4).

grandfather’s now-lost diary; and his claims that Mason’s study with Abel began in 1817 and that Abel used a textbook by the renowned Viennese theorist Johann Georg Albrechtsberger (1736–1809) are likely true. With a reputation bolstered by the acquisition of famous students like the young Beethoven in 1794–95, Albrechtsberger had been “the most sought-after pedagogue in Europe” until his death less than a decade before Abel’s arrival.

H.L. Mason’s specification of Abel’s textbook as Albrechtsberger’s *Gründliche Anweisung zur Composition* requires little more than an ability to supply the title of Albrechtsberger’s *magnum opus*. An English translation of the *Anweisung* is unknown before 1834, and Lowell Mason’s lack of facility with German throughout his life is well documented. Unless Mason’s diary included the title, therefore, Abel’s textbook may have been an English translation of

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13 See Pemberton, *Life and Work*, 90.
14 H.L. Mason, “Life and Work,” 92. What response, if any, Lowell Mason gave to Abel’s August 1816 advertisement mentioned above would be quite helpful to know.
Albrechtsberger’s brief work on figured bass, not quite as well known as the
former but at thirty-five pages in its 1815 translation far more portable. 18 On the
other hand, if Abel had reasonably proficient English, he may have been able to
teach an untranslated German music text in English to an English student like
Mason who read no German.

The labels of “harmony” and “composition,” as the subjects Mason studied with
Abel, have persisted ever since H.L. Mason used them in the middle decades of
the twentieth century. 19 Mason’s own description of his study, “attending to the
principles of Thoro’ bass and Composition under an eminent German master,”
with the purpose of avoiding “every false relation” and “every forbidden
progression,” agrees in the main. 20 When Mason used these terms, he was
bidding for professional acceptance of his harmonizations. His skill in

18 Kurzgefasste Methode den Generalbass zu erlernen (Vienna, ca. 1791; enlarged 2nd ed. 1792;
Eng. trans., 1815), cited by Freeman, “Albrechtsberger” and assumedly following the translation
date given by Robert Eitner in Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon, which Freeman lists
as a source. The translation to which Freeman refers is Principles of Accompaniment or Thorough
Bass . . . translated with annotations by J. Jousse, published in London by Chappell & Co. and held at
the British Library (GB-Lbl). James Coover credits Eitner when dating Jousse’s work at 1815 but
leaves the date in brackets (“Music Theory in Translation: A Bibliography,” Journal of Music
Theory 3:1 [April 1959]: 73). As GB-Lbl assigns a date of 1820 to the translation, however, and as
Jousse’s translation likely comes from his “Lectures on Thorough Bass,” also held at GB-Lbl and
assigned a date of 1818, Abel may have provided a different text altogether in 1817. Freeman’s
bibliography leaves off at 1994, presumably reflecting a lack of updates since the publication of
In her account of Mason’s study with Abel, Pemberton refrains, perhaps wisely, from including
Albrechtsberger’s name or a textbook title (Life and Work, 25–26).

19 “Life and Work,” 92; See, for example, the statement that Mason “studied composition and
harmony with Frederick L. Abel, a German musician who immigrated to Savannah in
1817.” Michael Broyles (with Christian Savage), “(1) Lowell Mason (i),” in Broyles et al., “Mason,”

20 LM to J.R. Parker, 20 June 1821, cited in Pemberton, Life and Work, 32.
“composition” would not play nearly as great a role in his promotion of the collection.

If Abel did indeed use Albrechtsberger’s work, Mason was learning the “mature Classicism” Albrechtsberger had transmitted through his “skillful combination” of contrapuntal and compositional concepts gleaned from earlier writers like Johann Joseph Fux (c. 1660–1741) and Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–1795). Albrechtsberger’s greatest achievement, according to Freeman, was to package this combination in a form “practical and suitable” for use at the turn of the 19th century.21

Abel as Composer

In December 1819, W.T. Williams credited Abel as the composer of two new works Williams offered for sale: a setting with piano accompaniment of “The Whipperwill” [sic] by J.M. Harney, and a piano piece entitled “American Rondo.”22 “The Whipperwill” (excerpt in Figure 5.1) provides some insight to

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21 Freeman, “Albrechtsberger.”
22 Ibid., 23 December 1819 (4). According to Appleton’s Cyclopædia of American Biography, ed. J.G. Wilson and John Fiske, vol. 3 (New York: Appleton, 1888), 85–86, John Milton Harney (1789–1825) edited a Savannah paper until he was “seized with a violent fever in consequence of his exertions at a fire” and returned to his hometown of Bardstown, KY. Both of Abel’s pieces were published in Philadelphia ca. 1820 by G.E. Blake as numbers 34 (crediting “Dr. I.M. Harney”) and 35 of Blake’s Musical Miscellany. Other items Blake’s series credited to Abel include “Genl. Jackson’s Triumph. Grand March for Two Performers” (no. 18, [1818?]) and “Miss M.A. Cowper’s Favorite Waltz: For the Piano Forte” (no. 24, [1819?]). Study of this entire set of pieces could
Abel’s compositional personality. Alberti bass accompaniment, graceful appoggiaturas, striking contrasts, and imitative bird sounds adorn a text that praises the ability of solitude to set the soul free from “worldly noise and folly.”

prove fruitful for understanding Abel’s mediation of his European background in his Savannah environment.
The result is a mildly difficult piece for a trained singer—but a piece that derives much of its effect from skilled pianism (for example, the elaboration of the dominant in m. 26). By contrast, Oliver Shaw’s “There’s Nothing True But Heaven” (see Figure 2.3) places the burden of communication far more on the shoulders of the singer. Just as Shaw traveled to sing his songs around Providence, Boston, and elsewhere with different accompanists, it seems likely that Abel and at least a few of his buyers might have used Abel’s music to provide accompaniment for different singers—perhaps even for different voice students.

Mason and His Manuscript

After what seems to have been between one and two years of study under Abel, Mason began compiling the manuscript that would become the Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music. Mason did not pursue the light classical genres of Abel’s published works but set out instead to compile a tunebook. After the Handel and Haydn Society published Mason’s collection, Mason retained a bound manuscript copy.23 The front page of the manuscript begins, in what appears to be Mason’s hand, “The following collection of Ps.& Hy. Tunes copied & harmonized by Lowell Mason—Savannah Geo. 1819 &

1820—published with some alterations as ‘The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music [sic] in 1821.”24 The collection appeared in late 1821 and was copyrighted in early 1822; taking the statement at face value requires positing that the HHS returned Mason his original manuscript after publication or that Mason made a second copy of his submission. Either way, since the Brandywine paper is consistent with Mason’s early career25 and since it is unlikely that Mason would make such a copy after publication, treating the volume as Mason’s autograph seems more than reasonable.

The Date of the Manuscript

In light of the dates given in the HHSC-MS headnote, it seems that Mason may have studied with Abel for quite some time before beginning to copy and harmonize the psalm and hymn tunes HHSC-MS contains. If Mason began study with Abel in 1817 as noted above, beginning the collection in 1819 may itself have resulted from some measure of Abel’s approval.

25 “T Gilpin” and “Brandywine” appear as watermarks on the paper used in HHSC-MS. The Gilpin brothers, Joshua (1765-1841) and Thomas (1776–1853), were proprietors of the first paper mill in Delaware from 1787 until selling it in 1837. They began producing “endless paper,” rolls that could continue as long as the supply of rags lasted, in 1817—and in so doing revolutionized the American production of paper. See Harold B. Hancock and Norman B. Wilkinson, “The Gilpins and Their Endless Papermaking Machine,” The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 81:4 (1957): 391-405.
Sources for the Manuscript

The description Mason gave John R. Parker of his sources for HHSC-MS may be the best one available:

I have been constantly importing from Europe the best publications of Sacred Music . . . The principle [sic] European publications to which I refer are Dr. Calcott’s & Dr. Arnold’s Coll.—Costellows Coll.—D Weyman’s [Collection] 4 vol.—The Seraph by Whittaker—Gardiners Sacred Melodies &c.26

Heller and Pemberton, in discussing Mason’s work, point to (1) John Wall Calcott’s *The Psalms of David* (London, 1791); (2) John Arnold’s *The Compleat Psalmodist* (1741–79) or *The Essex Harmony* (1767–86) — though realizing that Mason may refer to Samuel Arnold (1740–1802); (3) Thomas Costellow’s *The Sunday Amusement* (c. 1800); and (4) John Whitaker’s *The Seraph* (1818). They wonder whether Mason might have seen Weyman’s *Melodia Sacra*.27 Mason’s copy of Gardiner’s *Sacred Melodies* (London: 1812, 1815) still survives at Yale.

Other Americans had already used most of these sources. Oliver Shaw had even named one of his tunebooks after Gardiner’s *Sacred Melodies* and had, along with printing his own compositions, reprinted several adaptations and tunes from Mason’s sources.28 The similarities are so great that Pemberton seems to confuse

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28 Oliver Shaw, *Sacred Melodies, Selected from Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Others, with Several Original Compositions* (Providence: Miller & Hutchens, 1818).
Shaw's work with a reprint of Gardiner's first volume. Shaw's work, however, included only thirty-five tunes from Gardiner's much larger volume.

Manuscript vs. Publication

Perhaps the most important fact to recognize about Mason's manuscript is that it is far from identical to the publication. Close comparison of HHSC-MS with the published collection of 1822 reveals a wide range of editorial changes. Not falsely did the Society claim that Jackson had “finally and most carefully revised” the finished product (HHSC, iv–v). Some changes in orthography, formatting, and even piece order would have been required; Mason submitted an upright book but planned an oblong book like the Bridgewater Collection (see Chapter Four). The published version also includes differences in attribution, key, articulation, tempo, figured bass, part-writing, and even selection.

Jackson was one of the city’s best-known church musicians, and the HHS approached him specifically about preparing Mason’s work for publication. Mason’s original had included just over two hundred pieces, but Jackson added dozens more for the published collection (see the appendix for a full list).

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29 Life and Work, 33.

30 Sometimes modern scholarship has sided with Mason’s attributions; Mason doubted that Luther composed OLD HUNDRED (HHSC-MS, f. 1r), and he was apparently correct in attributing ST. PAUL’S not to “Dr. Green” but to “Lamp” (HHSC-MS, f. 30; cf. Temperley with Charles G. Manns and Joseph Herl, Hymn Tune Index, tune 1830f).

31 George N. Heller and Carol A. Pemberton, “The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music (1822): Its Context, Content, and Significance,” The Hymn (October 1996), 32, count 272 pieces. My count is 271 (only 270 tunes, as Handel’s “I Know That My
Jackson’s additions have several effects. They highlighted Jackson himself as the collection’s most prominent composer, and they increased the number and average difficulty of anthems included in the collection.

One way of showing the differences between the collection’s two versions is to show the most common attributions for each one (Table 5.1). Jackson’s additions included nine or ten of his own works, several anthems, and four canons. None of Jackson’s pieces and few of the other anthems included in the published collection had appeared in Mason’s original. Additions from Handel included both versions of “I Know That My Redeemer Liveth” (not in HHSC-MS but pp. 102, 123 in HHSC) but also TRUMPET (HHSC, p. 196), a livelier piece that introduces texture changes.

Some of the attributions have since been proven false. For instance, searches of Franz Joseph Haydn’s corpus proved him not to be the composer of LYONS (a tune unnamed in the manuscript but so named in the published version). Hymnologists then long attributed it to J. Michael Haydn (1737–1806) until Bertil

Redeemer Liveth” appears twice), compared to 207 in Mason’s HHSC-MS. For more on Jackson’s additions, see below.
van Boer located its source: a “Tema con variazioni” by Joseph Martin Kraus (1756–92).  

What is important for this study, more than any actual origins, is the effect intended by the collection’s attributions. The three giants of Classicism plus Handel account for more than one-tenth of the collection’s total attributions, and attributions to a range of other famous names lent the entire collection an air of English and Continental greatness. The most attributions in HHSC-MS go to Ignaz Pleyel (1757–1831), who was in 1820 still one of the most popular and most frequently arranged composers of instrumental music in the western world.

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33 “What composer ever created more of a craze than Pleyel? Who enjoyed a more universal reputation or a more absolute domination of the field of instrumental music? During a period of over twenty years, there was no amateur or professional musician who did not delight in the inspirations of his genius; no place so isolated that his compositions were not known; no music dealer for whom he did not guarantee a living. Reproduced in all forms by the speculations of business, his music occupied the leisure of the most inexperienced students as well as of the most accomplished artist.” François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie-universelle des musiciens*, 2nd ed., vol. 7 (Paris, 1870), 78, as cited by Rita Benton, “A La Recherche De Pleyel Perdu, or Perils, Problems, and Procedures of Pleyel Research,” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 17, no. 1/2 (1970): 9[-15]. Benton calls Fétis’s statement an “exaggeration” whose “general outlines nevertheless remain valid” (ibid.). Fétis’s original, the same as in the first edition, vol. 7 (Paris, 1841), 271, reads, “Eh! qui excita jamais plus d’engouement que Pleyel? Quel autre a joui d’une reputation plus universelle, d’une domination plus absolue dans la domaine de la musique instrumental? Pendant plus de vingt ans, il n’est pas d’amateur ni de musician que ne soit délecté des inspirations de son genie; point de lieu si écarte où ses compositions n’aient été connue; point de marchand de musique dont il n’ait fait la fortune. Reproduite sous toutes les forms par les speculations du commerce, sa musique occupait ler loisirs de l’élève le plus inexpérimenté comme de l’artistes le plus habile.” Fétis continues by explaining that Pleyel’s downfall was due to overexposure: “Mais il n’y a rien dont l’usage immodéré n’enfante le dégoût. Pleyel en fit la triste experience.”
Table 5.1. Most Frequent Composer Attributions in the Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music (1821–22)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>HHSC</th>
<th>HHSC-MS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jackson, G.K.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleyel</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haydn</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozart</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beethoven</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harwood</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wainwright</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greene</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HHSC: The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music (Boston: 1821–1822)
HHSC-MS: Lowell Mason, manuscript (1819–1820)

NB: The list given in Heller and Pemberton, “Handel and Haydn Society Collection,” 32, gives eight each for Haydn and Mozart and seven for Handel. The tune from Handel’s setting in Messiah of “I Know That My Redeemer Liveth” appears twice in HHSC and is counted as one here. The two settings share the same text and harmony but have different names (Messiah, p. 102; Bradford, p. 123). The second setting includes a note that the first inclusion was a mistake. Tunes attributed to Haydn in HHSC are, as spelled there, Bowen (HHSC, p. 31), Milton (43), Salsbury (44), South Street (59), Georgetown (73), Tempest (101), Orenburg (117), Westborough (183), and Lyons (208). It is possible that this study has missed an attribution for Mozart in HHSC.

With Jackson off the list in HHSC-MS, much more of the manuscript collection’s weight rests on the combined reputations of Pleyel, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.

Besides adding dozens of pieces, Jackson also apparently cut several pieces from Mason’s manuscript (see Table 5.2). Most are easily traceable in the Hymn Tune Index (HTI) to one or more of Mason’s sources as discussed below. A few merit discussion, particularly but not limited to the three apparently not in HTI.
Table 5.2. Tunes in HHSC-MS not included in HHSC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>f.</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Tune Name</th>
<th>Attr. in MS</th>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>HTI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7v</td>
<td>That day of wrath</td>
<td>JUDGEMENT</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1131(D7)U1223</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9v</td>
<td>O Lord, my God, in mercy turn</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11234321-D77U121D765</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19r</td>
<td>Come hither, all ye</td>
<td>MECKLENBURGH</td>
<td>Emanuel Bach</td>
<td>5U13216(7U1)D7(6)5</td>
<td>5539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19v</td>
<td>Soft be the gently</td>
<td>MADRID</td>
<td>Whitaker</td>
<td>5U1(D7)U1234(D6)7U1</td>
<td>16257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24r</td>
<td>Another fleeting day</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kromer</td>
<td>557(6)5U11(D7U1)2(3)1</td>
<td>15164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37v</td>
<td>Soft be the gently</td>
<td>ASTON</td>
<td>Purcell</td>
<td>13(2)1D7U1D6(5)65</td>
<td>11687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49r</td>
<td>To thee, O Lord</td>
<td>KILMORE</td>
<td>Jno. Elliot</td>
<td>1(2)3(45)U1(D6)5(4)3</td>
<td>14987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59r</td>
<td>God of our life!</td>
<td>MILNERS</td>
<td>Doc. Green</td>
<td>5U1(212)3(2)1(D7U1)2(3)2</td>
<td>14385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59v</td>
<td>While beauty clothes</td>
<td>ST. ANDREWS</td>
<td>J. Blewitt</td>
<td>13(23)4(3)2(12)3(2)1(D7U1)3(2)1(D7)</td>
<td>14386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71r</td>
<td>The days how few</td>
<td>LUCAN</td>
<td>Jno. Elliot</td>
<td>332133(2)1(D7)U1</td>
<td>14988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78v</td>
<td>Lord, let our humble</td>
<td>ORANGE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>134321-545345</td>
<td>863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91r</td>
<td>Ye tribes of Adam</td>
<td>NORWICH</td>
<td>Doc. Green</td>
<td>5U1D7U12321</td>
<td>2916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97r</td>
<td>Angels! roll the stone</td>
<td>COOKHAM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>121232(34)3</td>
<td>2211a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101r</td>
<td>Hark! the herald angels say</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1(2)3(4)556U2(1)D7(65)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120r</td>
<td>How great the compassion</td>
<td>MEDIATION</td>
<td>Harrington</td>
<td>5U1111D77U1D345</td>
<td>16259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124r</td>
<td>Let us awake</td>
<td>AMERICA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>112D7U12~334321</td>
<td>1687c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abbreviations

f. folio (recto/verso)

# tune by order of appearance in HHSC-MS

Incipit Coded as in Nicholas Temperley with Charles G. Manns and Joseph Herl, *The Hymn Tune Index: A Census of English-Language Hymn Tunes in Printed Sources from 1535 to 1820*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), as online at http://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu/, accessed 30 December 2016. “Tunes are coded as follows: 1 for do, 2 for re, 3 for mi, etc.” A number in parentheses denotes an untexted note. An uppercase U or D before a number denotes a melodic shift to the pitch set above or below the previous note. A hyphen appears between phrases within a strophe. Accidentals and rhythmic patterns are ignored.

HTI Tune numbers are assigned in Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*. 151
At least two of the pieces could have given further weight to the collection’s list of famous composers. On HTI 11687, whose incipit matches the tune on f. 37v named ASTON and attributed to Purcell, the Hymn Tune Index writes, “This is similar to two works by Henry Purcell: the song ‘I fly from the place’ (in C minor) from his semiopera The Fairy Queen, and the catch ‘Under this stone lies Gabriel John’ (Purcell Society Edition, XXII, p. 16).” The similar attribution for HTI 5539, the tune on f. 37r named MECKLENBURGH and attributed in HHSC-MS to “Emanuel Bach,” is quite appropriate; there is an obvious resemblance to C.P.E. Bach’s “Abendlied” (no. 1 in Gellert Lieder; see Figure 5.2). Before its inclusion in Mason’s source The Seraph, MECKLENBURGH had appeared in several sources on both sides of the Atlantic after its original appearance in 1790.34 Americans had reprinted ASTON at least twice in the 1810s after it had appeared in London in 1802.35 In addition, neither of the two pieces attributed to “Jno. Elliot” in Mason’s manuscript survived Jackson’s edits. According to HTI, KILMORE and LUCAN had first appeared in the source Mason attributed to

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34 John Whitaker, The Seraph, a collection of sacred music . . . with selections from the works of Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Pleyel, and favorite English and Italian composers. . . . To which are added many original pieces, vol. 1 (London: Whitaker & Co., [1818]), 202. The last American print noted by HTI before Mason’s collection is Aitken’s Collection of Divine Music (Philadelphia: John Aitken, [1806]).

35 The first appearance of this tune noted by HTI is Samuel Webbe, jun., A Furst Set of Twelve Psalm Tunes. Partly original, and partly selected from favorite airs of Handel, Corelli &c. (Liverpool: H. Hime, [c.1798–c.1805]). See the reprints by Timothy Olmsted, The Musical Olio, 2nd ed. (Hartford: Peter B. Gleason & Co., 1811); Samuel Tenney, The Hallowell Collection of Sacred Music, 2nd ed. (Hallowell [ME]: E. Goodale, 1819).
Weyman.36 The tunes had also already appeared, however, in American reprints probably also seen by Mason.37 Jackson was famously opinionated, and his reasons for omitting these are not immediately clear. While none of the prints noted above had originated in Boston specifically, Jackson was certainly not in 1821 omitting pieces based on a lack of prior knowledge by American audiences. Further research may be able to determine whether Jackson found them deficient

36 According to HTI, numbers appearing c. 1812-14, bound in David Weyman [of Dublin], Melodia Sacra; or The Psalms of David. The music . . . adapted to . . . the version of . . . Brady and . . . Tate, as used in the United Churches of England and Ireland (Dublin: George Allen, [c. 1816]). If geographical and chronological proximity to Weyman may stand as important criteria for Weyman’s attributions, the most likely candidate is probably the John Elliott (dates unknown) whom William Henry Hamerton succeeded in 1815 as “master of the choristers” for Christ Church, Dublin. Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland, edited by Robert Evans and Maggie Humphreys, s.v. “Hamerton, William Henry” (London: Mansell, 1997), 143; see also William H. Husk, “Hamerton, William Henry,” A Dictionary of Music and Musicians, edited by George Grove, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1879), 647.

37 Thomas Hastings and Solomon Warriner, Musica Sacra: or Springfield and Utica Collections United (Utica: William Williams, 1818); Oliver Shaw, Melodia Sacra or Providence Selection of Sacred Musick (Providence: Miller & Hutchens, 1819).
in harmony or melody (several, though not all, include far more notes than syllables) or had a different reason.

Mason as Composer in the HHSC

It is often claimed that Mason “included some of his own tunes” in the manuscript he took to the Handel and Haydn Society. None of the attributions in HHSC-MS or HHSC include Mason’s name, but the tradition may have started with H.L. Mason’s research on Mason’s hymn tunes. Though he had no positive date for CASTLE-STREET and WATSON’S, two of the tunes published in HHSC, H.L. Mason allowed that they might have been “of his [grandfather’s] own composition” in 1820 and 1821. The tunes are in both HHSC-MS (ff. 10v, 17v) and HHSC (45, 60). The research for HTI, however, proves that CASTLE-STREET had a long publication history in 1820 (HTI 4941). Mason’s collection used version 4941c, which had become far more popular than the other versions since

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39 H.L. Mason, *Hymn-Tunes of Lowell Mason: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, MA: The University Press, 1944), vi, 15, 29. H.L. Mason also dates DARTMOUTH to 1820, as credited in a collection produced decades later by G.F. Root. *The Sabbath Bell* (New York: Mason Bros, 1856), 185: “L. Mason. 1820.” Root may have had Mason’s word on the matter; for a brief overview Mason’s long-standing and intricate relationship with Root, see Polly Carder, “Root and Mason, ‘Pecuniarily Interested,’” *The Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning* 3:3 (Fall 1992): 24–30. Mason may indeed have composed the striking short-meter minor tune, though the date included in *The Sabbath Bell* may be a misprint. The tune appears in neither HHSC nor HHSC-MS. None of the tunes so named in HTI are remotely similar to this DARTMOUTH, and searches for its incipit (HTI code 554321) produce no similar results (accessed 4 January 2017). H.L. Mason repeats the claim at “Life and Work,” 108, and, apparently in error, adds BATH (HTI 758), EFFINGHAM (HTI 5265), and ISLINGTON (one of the variants of HTI 1655) to the list, though omitting DARTMOUTH.
its first known publication in 1802.40 A tune identical to WATSON’S had also appeared, with the same tune name, text, and harmony, in Whitaker’s The Seraph in 1818 (p. 12, see Figure 5.3).41 HHSC seems to have made several changes to Whitaker’s print. The ending instrumental section has disappeared—no surprise, given the long history of a cappella singing in Congregational and Presbyterian churches. In addition, Whitaker’s upright print has become part of an oblong tunebook, the inner voices appear in reverse order, and figured bass substitutes for Whitaker’s realization. HHSC-MS, however, itself in upright format, shows that both realization and figured bass were part of Mason’s original plan (see Figure 5.4). In “translating” Whitaker’s work for use by American choirs,42

40 Perhaps coincidentally, the first known appearance of this version is the first edition of the Bridgewater Collection. Bartholomew Brown, [Benjamin Holt, and Nahum Mitchell], Columbian and European Harmony: or, Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music (Boston: Isaiah Thomas, Ebenezer T. Andrews & John West, 1802). The tune had appeared in several more editions of Bridgewater, including the 8th edition (Boston, 1820), and had already appeared in published shape-note collections such as Wyeth’s Repository of Sacred Music. Part Second. 2nd ed. (Harrisburgh, PA: John Wyeth, 1820).

41 According to the HTI, the unfortunate separation of tune 16271a (Whitaker) from 16271b, a reprint 1818–26 by William Willott (Willott’s Miniature Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, [London: Sold by F. Westley, [c.1820; HTI gives Westley’s dates as c.1818–26]) “will be corrected at the next round of HTI emendations” into a single tune 16271 (Nicholas Temperley, email to the author, 5 January 2017). Former editions of the HTI had credited Willott’s publication with the melody coded 5433(21)D5U123 - 55U1D7(6)55(76)5(4)3(2) - 2235(4)4345 - U1(D7)6(5)4(3)6(5)43(4543)21 but Whitaker’s with 5432(1)D5U123 - 55U1D7(6)55(65)4(3)3(2) - 2344345 - U1(D7)6(5)4(3)6(5)43(4543)21. There are three differences between the two tunes: one additional note on the elongated syllable in the first phrase; a leap of a major third instead of a whole step after the repeated sol in the second phrase, allowing for a continuous run down the scale (“5(76)5(4)3(2)”); and an appoggiatura (“5(4)” in the third phrase. As shown in Figure 5.6, the melody credited to Willott’s publication appears identical to that printed in Whitaker’s Seraph. The error may have been a coding error when inputting the data for Whitaker’s print, or the two prints’ codes may have been inadvertently switched.

42 Peter Mercer-Taylor uses this term, in a sense derived from skopos theory, to describe the work that Mason, his sources, and others did in taking Viennese Classicism from the concert hall to the choir loft. “Lowell Mason as European Art Music’s Translator: Skopos Theory and the Antebellum American Hymn,” paper presented to the Society for Christian Scholarship in Music, 2014. Whitaker’s purposes were highly similar to Mason’s; he intended the collection for
Mason had also evidently further specified performing forces as treble voices for the beautiful duet in mm. 13–14 ("Tasto Solo. P." and specifying "Second Treble" instead of the octave-lower male alto).43

In preparing his manuscript, Mason was not testing his strictly compositional studies. As Figures 5.3 and 5.4 show, even his studies in counterpoint and figured bass were sometimes not strictly necessary. What Mason intended as the collection’s main effect, at least by 1821, was its ability to "supplant" the Bridgewater Collection,44 especially in selection criteria and in enforcing standard rules of counterpoint.

**Mason and the Harmony of the Bridgewater Collection**

Mason’s debt to Gardiner and Whitaker was not only that he planned to highlight melodies “translated” from Viennese Classicism as noted above. Like Whitaker, for instance, Mason planned to follow “the modern principles of

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43 Whitaker requested all female singers to "confine themselves to the Soprano Part, . . . unless they could sing ["the Alto and Tenor parts"] an Octave lower" (The Seraph, vol. 1, front matter p. 5). No further imprints of tune 16271 by 1820 are known to the HTI besides Willott and Whitaker.

44 LM to J.R. Parker, 20 June 1821, MSS 33, Box 4, Folder 50 at the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library of Yale University. Pemberton, *Life and Work*, 32, reads “supplement,” but Mason’s intent is clearly not to appear in combination with Bridgewater (though the two collection were eventually sometimes bound together) but to serve as a replacement.

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thorough bass” and to avoid “every false relation, and every forbidden progression.” What could be called textbook harmony was, with its selection criteria, one of the collection’s main selling points.

The Bridgewater Collection was a similar collection in target audience to Mason’s proposed publication. In addition, the HHS had already endorsed it. The edition

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45 In terms Mason may well have taken to heart, Whitaker faults most “Dissenting Congregations” for rampant “false harmony, forbidden progressions, and injudicious and fruitless attempts at counter-point” (The Seraph, vol. 1, front matter p. 3, emphasis original). The Euterpeiad’s favorable review of The Handel and Haydn Society’s Collection of Sacred Music, no. 1 (24 June 1820), 3, as cited in Pemberton, Life and Work, 33, seems to borrow the Seraph’s vocabulary.
of October 1820 still carried the note the compilers had received from the HHS in 1816:

The Trustees of the Handel and Haydn Society having seen the work entitled “Songs of the Temple, or Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music,” could not refrain from expressing the satisfaction they derived in the examination of its pages. For beauty of style, justness of adaptation, and correctness of harmony, it is equalled by few, and excelled by none of which they have any knowledge . . . M.S. Parker, Secretary.46

Bartholomew Brown and his fellow editors, however, viewed the rules of counterpoint quite differently than Mason did. While crediting those who made “complaints . . . of the alteration of the old Tunes” with only “ignorance,” in evaluating counterpoint the Bridgewater Collection nevertheless preferred familiarity to correctness. Using this reasoning, it “retained” many tunes “with the same dress and accompaniment in which they have been most accustomed to be seen in this country.” Even when the result was “not strictly agreeable . . . to the present rules of counterpoint,” the “familiar” was best:

Plain common chords were exclusively used in ancient Church music, and applied, without regard to connexion, to six of the seven different notes in the scale; and it is doubtful if it has gained much by the modern doctrine of relation. Palestrina in his famous stabat mater [sic], as well as other celebrated authors, used perfect chords of the same kind diatonically, and every note in the scale except the 7th, as a fundamental base. And Dr. Burney, from

46 Templi Carmina. Songs of the Temple, or Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music, 8th ed. (Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1820), ii, emphasis added.
whom most of this account is derived, says, . . . ‘disregard of relation, is doubtless the true secret of ancient church music.47

In this way the Bridgewater Collection gave itself the liberty to retain the predominance of parallel motion, with frequently resulting parallel or direct fifths, in tunes like LITTLE MARLBOROUGH (see Figures 5.5 and 5.6).48 The fifths marked in Figure 5.5 (m. 4, inner voices) are parallel; the Bridgewater editors intended only the treble and “base” (the bottom two staves) to sound at pitch (vii) and advised female singers to sing only the treble (xvi). While boys did sometimes join in early singing societies, the vast majority of singers were male; Mason’s work systematically training children to sing had not yet begun.

While the Bridgewater Collection preferred the familiar to the modern, the quotation above shows that it also claimed ancient respectability. Knowledgeable readers could tell that Brown and his fellow editors were ignorant of both ancient practice and modern standards. As shown in Chapter Four, Mason certainly knew that the Bridgewater Collection’s 7th edition had just received a scathing rebuke from the North American Review a few months before the 8th edition was printed: “It should be distinctly understood . . . that the compositions

47 Ibid., xv-xvi, emphasis added to “it is doubtful…” The collection’s historical survey is indeed highly indebted to Charles Burney’s historical comments on English church music found throughout A General History of Music. The quotation comes from “Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients” (often bound with Burney’s History), section IV.
48 See Figure 5.5, m. 4. Notice also the omitted third in the final cadence.
Figure 5.5. **LITTLE MARLBOROUGH, Bridgewater Collection, 8th ed. (1820), 142**


**Note:** According to HTI, this tune first appeared in Aaron Williams, *Universal Psalmodist* (London: Joseph Johnson, 1763) and became very popular almost immediately in colonial and early Republic imprints.

Figure 5.6. **LITTLE MARLBOROUGH, HHSC (1822), 149.**


to which the doctor here alludes, are of a species entirely different from any thing that appears in the ‘Templi Carmina.’” 49

Guided by the contrapuntal principles learned from F.L. Abel and probably via a text by Albrechtsberger as described above, Mason planned to use what he considered the best of the corrections that recent English collections had made to

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the old tunes that retained in *Bridgewater* their familiar garb. Even when including familiar tunes, he planned for them to “appear in a different dress.” And as shown by Figure 5.6, the HHSC did just that. The HHSC’s version fills the cadences, smooths many of the melodic leaps of the tune (stave 3), and even removes the snappy rhythm of the final cadence, an effect which must have provided great delight to American singers ever since its introduction. What is obvious, however, is the smoother voice leading that characterizes all the combinations. The inner-voice parallel fifths (staves 1–2) that started the second phrase have become, even if a perfect 5th–diminished 5th progression remains in the bass and alto, much more acceptable. While it keeps some of the starkness that characterized the *Bridgewater*’s assumedly familiar harmonies, the HHSC’s version is certainly sweeter and gentler; see especially the graceful turns in stave 1 (mm. 2–3, 12–13).

Mason’s manuscript version of *LITTLE MARLBOROUGH* (HHSC-MS, ff. 78v–79r; see Figure 5.7) realizes the figured bass in the bottom two staves. This clarifies that the HHSC’s top two lines are both to be read an octave lower than scored, in keeping with standard tunebook practice. Mason intended to make even deeper changes to the melody, such as taking out the downward leap and climactic low note at the end of the third phrase (on “shame,” m. 10), while leaving the root-

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position tonic harmony beforehand. One or more of the 263 prints 1763–1820 listed in the Hymn Tune Index may have been the origin for Mason’s harmonization for tunes like LITTLE MARLBOROUGH as included in HHSC-MS, but prints for tune 2934 listed in the Hymn Tune Index include none of Mason’s named pre-1820 sources. Counting on his contrapuntal studies, Mason supplied familiar tunes with his own “scientific” harmonies even when his sources like Gardiner, Whitaker, and Weyman had not.51

Figure 5.7 LITTLE MARLBOROUGH, HHSC-MS, f. 79r, mm. 7–13.

![Sheet Music](image)

Courtesy of the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University. Photograph by Todd Jones.

51 According to H.L. Mason, Mason claimed originality in the harmonization as well as in the selection and “arrange[ment]” (probably, since “harmoniz[ation]” was already included in the list, not referring to the musical reworking of preexisting materials) of the collection. LM to the editor of the Boston Evening Gazette, 26 April 1834, cited in H.L. Mason, “Life and Work,” 114.

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Mason as Editor

In addition to selection and composition, the editorial decisions made in compiling an anthology like Mason’s include room for new marriages of texts to tunes, assignments of tune names, new harmonizations like that Mason possibly provided for LITTLE MARLBOROUGH, new commissioned compositions, and new tune attributions. A thorough study of Mason’s editorial work as displayed in HHSC-MS would be highly welcome. One decision that stands out, however, is the name Mason applied to the tune he included, near the end of HHSC-MS, on f. 124r: AMERICA (HTI Tune 1687c; see Figure 5.8).

Long before soliciting Samuel F. Smith’s poem “My Country, ’Tis of Thee,” Mason seems to have been hoping to take the tune for “God Save the King” away from the British state and turn it into an American anthem. The only other American printing of HTI Tune 1687c known to the Hymn Tune Index between 1776 and 1820 is A Selection of Sacred Harmony (Philadelphia, 1788). Along with the tune’s only known print in colonial America,52 the 1788 print had used “Come, Thou Almighty King.” Mason used that text, apparently following the Bridgewater Collection (eds. 3-5, 8), for Felice de Giardini’s ITALIAN HYMN (f. 123v; HHSC 213). Instead, Mason set to Tune 1687c

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52 James Lyon in Urania, or A Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems, and Hymns (Philadelphia, 1761). For the politics of association with royalty in the early American Republic, see Chapter One.
a similar text, “Let Us Awake Our Joys” by William Kingsbury (1744–1818), which ends each stanza with the proclamation, “Jesus is King!” Mason may have been the first to name this tune AMERICA—but he seems to have named it long before his professional reputation began. The tune does not appear in the 1822 edition; perhaps no one would have been surprised that Jackson neglected to transmit Mason’s effort at Americanizing such a sacred icon of Britishness.

Mason’s Collection and the Handel and Haydn Society

In 1820, Mason and Abel apparently decided the collection was complete.

Organized by poetic meter and mode, it included fully harmonized versions of

53 Kingsbury is credited at Hymnary.org, http://www.hymnary.org/text/let_us_awake_our_joys, accessed 4 January 2017. Hymnary.org also shows that the text was also sometimes set to 1687c once it became known as AMERICA.
over two hundred tunes. Abel presumably signed an endorsement that left room for a published title, and Mason decided to search for a printer. By September 1821, he had contacted the HHS directly.

Mason in the Minutes

On Sept. 14, 1821, the HHS minutes mention Mason’s name for the first time:

“Voted.—That the President, Mr. Holt and V. President be a committee to confer with L. Mason Esq. relative to a manuscript copy of music.” At the meeting of September 18, the committee “reported progress and it was Voted, —. That the Society cooperate with Mr. Mason in the proposed publication. Voted, —. That L. Mason of Savannah be and is hereby elected an honorary member of the Handel and Haydn Society.” On October 12 nominating Mason instead to active membership, at “his own request,” the HHS formally accepted him on October 17 and received his $5 admission fee on November 18. On October 4, the board appointed a committee of similar membership to meet with G.K. Jackson about permission “to dedicate the work to him” and “other subjects relative to its publication.” (Jackson’s endorsement of the manuscript, HHSC, p. vi, is dated the next day.) On November 19 the HHS’s Committee on Publishing Music reported that the Society and Mason “had become jointly and equally concerned in the publication” and had paid Richardson and Lord $500 to print 3,000 copies.

54 Abel died in September 1820, but no record of Abel’s endorsement appeared until the volume’s 1821–22 publication.
The committee sent to Jackson reported the same day that he had “complied with their request.” A publishing partnership, with finances and name recognition from the HHS and labor from Mason, had begun.

Mason’s Collection and Philadelphia

There are definite discrepancies among the accounts of how Mason and his manuscript reached the HHS. According to Pemberton, “Savannah printers were not equipped to handle such a work,” and Mason sought a publisher in Philadelphia before traveling to Boston. Pemberton’s claim that he did so cites no sources, but her account and H.L. Mason’s match closely a picturesque account from 1854, after Mason had become one of the most famous musicians in America, by John Weeks Moore (1807–1889):

In 1820, Mr. Mason was a clerk in a banking institution at Savannah, Georgia . . . While at Savannah, he manifested a greater partiality for the notes of the musical scale than for promissory notes . . . ; consequently, he turned his leisure from the dull monotony of the bank leger, to the soul inspiring pages of the music book . . . When he had finished it, he obtained leave of absence from the bank for a short time, and straightway bent his steps to Philadelphia. He went to the book publishers, and

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55 Minutes, 1819–1824, September to November 1821, Box 1, Folder 41 of MS 5084, Handel and Haydn Society Records, Boston Public Library. While H.L. Mason describes Mason’s election to honorary HHS membership as coincidental (“Life and Work,” 115), it clearly resulted directly from the Society’s acceptance of Mason’s manuscript. On H.L. Mason’s further remark that LM kept his HHS membership “as long as he lived” (ibid., 116), see Chapter Seven.


57 Pemberton, Life and Work, 34; see H.L. Mason, “Life and Work,” 114, which does not mention Philadelphia specifically. Pemberton’s bibliography includes the work by John W. Moore cited below.
offered to give the copyright to any house in the city that would publish it, and give him a few copies for his own use . . . Our young editor then went to Boston, and made the same proposal . . . The young man . . . was about returning to Savannah, when he met a gentleman of considerable musical intelligence, who desired to examine his work. The gentleman expressed great satisfaction with it, and asked the young man what he was going to do with it. “Take it home with me,” was the reply. The gentleman asked permission to show the manuscript to the board of managers of the “Boston Handel and Haydn Society,” of which he was a member . . . Said society offered to take the book and publish it, and give the young editor a certain copyright interest in it.58

Mason’s rejoinder to the unnamed Bostonian was often cited in short, popular accounts of Mason’s life that appeared in the following decades, and Moore’s account from which it comes seems to be the source for Pemberton’s claim.59

Moore’s authority for the account, however, is difficult to prove. A journalist, Moore cites few sources within his articles, claiming to have produced his work through collection, translation, and “original memoirs of eminent living musicians” (3). Though it is certainly possible that Moore solicited Mason’s own account, Moore’s use of “memoir” as a synonym for “biography” (6) makes it less likely.60 Moore credited three others as primary sources of information:


Henry E. Moore (1803–1841), John S. Dwight, and Richard Storrs Willis. Moore claims no definite personal relationship with Dwight or Willis, “from whose journals,” he says, “I have gained much valuable information” (4).61 In “Professor Henry E. Moore,” however, J.W. Moore was almost certainly naming his brother.62 While the possibility of a professional relationship between Mason and Henry E. Moore may also have provided the account63 and while Moore’s integrity seems hardly in question, it does seem possible that Moore allowed himself some of the journalistic exaggeration and romanticization that newspaper readers often expected in colorful rags-to-riches tales like this.64 As

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61 Dwight’s Journal had begun in 1852, and Willis had continued to serve the New York Musical Times (the title Moore credits) after it changed titles in 1852 to the Musical World and New York Musical Times.


63 According to J.W. Moore, H.E. Moore had moved to the Boston area about three years before his death (767). The two issues of the Boston Eoliad (1840–41), edited by H.E. Moore, praise the 1840 convention being held in Boston under Mason’s contested leadership: see the extract at Robert W. John, “Origins of the First Music Educators Convention,” Journal of Research in Music Education 13:4 (Winter 1965), 214. H.E. Moore’s 1840 statement of intent for the Eoliad, as reproduced in Carolann Guglielm, “Musical Life in the United States as Reported in the American Musical Press, 1819-1852” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 1998), 273–74, while eloquent on the need for a weekly music journal, gives little opinion of Mason specifically. Further study of the Eoliad may reveal whether H.E. Moore was part of the pro-Mason party that eventually came more directly under Mason’s leadership or even had a personal relationship with Mason.

64 I use here Robert W. John’s terms to describe newspaper reports of the first musical conventions, appropriate for describing many kinds of 19th-century American journalism, especially outside the most prestigious papers in major cities. “First Music Educators Convention,” 219. At the opening, John follows Moore in describing H.E. Moore’s efforts in 1829–31 New Hampshire conventions (207). According to Johannes Riedel, Moore was also one of the “more conspicuous debtors” to George Hood’s studies of early New England (History of Music in
noted above, G.E. Blake of Philadelphia had published single works by Abel in 1819–1820. Mason could have intended to visit him and may well have corresponded with him. The inclusion of a stop in Philadelphia is neither exaggeration (except to elongate J.W. Moore’s narrative) nor true romanticization. Whether Mason actually visited or corresponded with Philadelphia in 1820–21, however, remains to be confirmed.

Mason’s Collection and Its Route to Boston

The account given later to the Handel and Haydn Society by S. Jubal Howe65 disagrees in some particulars not only with Moore but also with Mason; no other account located in this study credits Mason with being “superintendent of sales in a jeweller’s [sic] shop.”66 Howe claimed, however, to have accompanied Mason on the journey to Boston in September/October 1821 that resulted in the manuscript’s publication.67 Mason’s appearance before the HHS, however, was

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66 Ibid. Jubal Howe eventually became a successful watchmaker, so it is possible that he had contact with Mason in that role, especially during a period before Mason’s tenure at the Planter’s Bank began. According to Perkins, Mason himself told the Society later that at the time of the contract, “I was a bank officer in Savannah” (ibid, 82).

67 Perkins corroborates Howe’s statement by saying that it “agrees in the main” with T.F. Seward, “The Educational Work of Dr. Lowell Mason” (n.p, n.d. [1885?]), 6–7. Seward claimed that Mason provided him with “many . . . facts and incidents” from 1866 until Mason’s death in 1872 (4). Seward’s account, though it does not mention Howe or the first stop Howe mentions (only “the publishing houses” appear), does indeed agree.
nothing like the purely serendipitous circumstance J.W. Moore describes above. Mason’s letter to John R. Parker of June 1821 requested Parker’s help in securing endorsement from the HHS; even before traveling to Boston, Mason had been pursuing the relationship for several months.

In addition to the probably anonymous contact with the HHS described in the previous chapter, Mason had also by 1819 made contact with Boston organ builder William M. Goodrich (1777–1833). Mason’s Savannah church had ordered a new organ from Goodrich as part of a building program. It seems likely that the church’s primary correspondent with Goodrich would have been Mason himself. While manufacturing delays for the organ meant that the building dedication of 9 May 1819 (timed to coincide with the Sunday during President James Monroe’s stop in Savannah) had to proceed a capella, the organ arrived in June 1819. The organ’s arrival was announced on June 22: the brig Almira had just completed an eleven-day trip from Boston, “with a superb organ for the new Independent Presbyterian Church” (see Figure 5.9). The recipients of the ship’s goods included “E. Goodrich.” This recipient may have

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68 LM to J.R. Parker, 20 June 1821, cited in Pemberton, Life and Work, 32, original at Yale University.

69 Pemberton, Life and Work, 26. Pemberton attributes the matched timing to coincidence, but Mason’s apparent hopes for an earlier deadline (“get it up by April,” ibid.; and see citation below) seem to point instead to an event planned for the purpose.

70 Lists of arriving ships’ cargo appeared daily in port city papers like Savannah’s Republican. Breathless comments like this, though, were quite rare. The list of recipients also included
been Ebenezer Goodrich (1782–1841), as his brother’s sometime colleague a possible candidate to oversee the installation of the highly expensive instrument, but a reporter’s misprint of “W. Goodrich” is also possible.71

“George Newhall,” but this likely refers to the Savannah shoe dealer and not to a New England hotelier.

The likelihood that Goodrich “brought along Colonel Newhall,” as Pemberton phrases it (*Life and Work*, 34), is low: Howe’s account given in Perkins (*Foundations*, 81) claims no connection between the two visits. A failure to locate Newhall’s name in indexed lists of ship’s passengers or recipients in 1818–21 does not, however, disprove Howe’s account that Newhall was “a singing-master with a good voice” who visited Savannah, probably in late 1820 or early 1821, on hotel-building business.72 The Savannah Hotel, kept by John Shellman, had indeed been destroyed in the great fire of January 11, 1820. “A large wooden hotel” was “erecting” in September 1820 to replace it, and Shellman announced the opening of “The Mansion House” in January 1821.73

One or more men named Newhall also led music in Boston in the 1820s.74 Newhall may not have been a member of the HHS; the name “Newhall” does not appear in the chronological list of HHS members’ signatures in the years 1816 to

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73 *Savannah Daily Republican*, 5 October 1820 (3); 10 January 1821 (1); see also Gordon B. Smith and Alice W. Kelly, “Family History,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 66:1 (Spring 1982), 106-8.

74 See the announcement by “Messrs. Newhall and Jewett” in the *American Federalist Columbian Centinel* (Boston, Massachusetts) of 22 October 1823 (1) of a singing school, as well as “the direction of Col. Newhall” announced for the dedication of Boston’s Twelfth Congregational Church in the *Boston Commercial Gazette*, 11 October 1824 (2).
1821 or in the alphabetized list of current and former members printed in 1828. Howe credited Newhall with Mason’s 1821 introduction to Jackson.

While Newhall may have met Mason in 1820 and acted on his behalf in 1821, Mason had also by 1819 evidently contacted Boston’s John Rowe Parker. Furthermore, as noted in Chapter Three, Parker’s receipt of Mason’s 1820 submission for an early number of Parker’s *Euterpeiad* survives. In June 1821, Mason would write his famous plea for Parker’s assistance in publishing his manuscript. According to Douglas Moore, however, Mason wrote Parker in March 1819 for assistance in speeding up Goodrich’s organ construction, apparently treating Parker as his primary contact with Goodrich:

> Be so good as to say to Mr. Goodrich that the church is almost done—they have not quite finished putting up pews—but will have done in a week or two more—The organ loft has long been

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75 *Bye-Laws Handel and Haydn Society*, bound MS, Box 1, Folder 20 of Handel and Haydn Society Records, Boston Public Library; *Act of Incorporation and Bye-Laws of the Handel and Haydn Society* (Boston: 1828), 23; Box 1, Folder 19. After beginning with the act of incorporation and by-laws, the bound manuscript proceeds with the signatures of the four who petitioned for its incorporation (Thomas S. Webb, Amasa Winchester, Nathaniel Tucker, and Matthew S. Parker). Immediately follow the signatures of the dozens more who joined in August 1815 or on 1 March, 2 April, or 2 May 1816, with a center column in a common hand for “Date Admitted” and final column in a later hand including remarks on the member’s death, withdrawal, or discharge. Until the 2 May entries, the chronological order is freely mixed. Thereafter, the order of signatures is fairly chronological, with some discrepancies; *Bye-Laws* is a substantial tome, and getting it to rehearsal and getting a member to sign it were not nearly as easy to accomplish as the Society vote that marked admission.

76 Perkins, *Foundations*, 81. Further research may be able to establish a link between Newhall and Jackson outside the HHS.
completed and is waiting for him—I hope he will be here this month—if he is not he will hardly get it up in April.\textsuperscript{77}

Mason’s 1821 letter to John R. Parker also clarifies that he sought publication from Thomas Badger, an HHS member and the Society’s printer for its \textit{Collection of Sacred Music}. In a section not transcribed in Pemberton (\textit{Life and Work}, 32), Mason begins:

\begin{quote}
Dear Sir, I rec’d your letter of 8\textsuperscript{th} inst. this morning—acknowledging rec’t of $5.\text{[illegible]}\textsuperscript{78}—In addition to the two pieces of Mozart published in “Old Colony” I have since sent several others which have not appeared in “The Handel & H. Collection” —“The Day of Judgement” \textsuperscript{sic}\textsuperscript{79} I forwarded & I believe I directed it to Mr. Badger to whom I wrote reflecting a publication of Sacred Music by myself. —To prepare the way for this publication is my object in now writing to you. \textsuperscript{80}
\end{quote}

Thomas Badger, Jr. had joined the HHS in March 1816; in 1821 there were many other HHS members who like Badger were “Original Members,” but only one printed the HHS \textit{Collection} —and its programs. He would have made an excellent

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{77} Moore, “Lowell Mason in Savannah,” 12. Pemberton (\textit{Life and Work}, 26) cites Moore’s record of the 1819 letter. Mason’s contact with Parker before the \textit{Euterpeiad} commenced in 1820, however, must remain on Moore’s word. Moore’s bibliographic entries for Mason’s letters (“Lowell Mason in Savannah,” 43) cite no originals, and Mason correspondence archives at Yale and the University of Maryland contain no such letter. Moore’s work in Savannah archives, especially in the archives of Independent Presbyterian Church (now at Emory University) may have unearthed a copy. Further research in those records or in Parker’s extant correspondence may be able to produce one.

\textsuperscript{78} Mason’s archaic numeric notation deserves further examination.

\textsuperscript{79} Mason may be referring to the piece in HHSC-MS, f. 7\textit{v}, omitted from the 1822 HHSC. He may also be referring to the piece published in 1823 in the \textit{Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Sacred Music}, vol. 2 (see Chapter Five).

\textsuperscript{80} LM to J.R. Parker, 20 June 1821, cited in Pemberton, \textit{Life and Work}, 32. Original in Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University, MSS 033, Lowell Mason Papers, Box 4, Folder 50. For a discussion of the letter’s condition and issues pertaining to its transcription, see Chapter Four, n. 43.
\end{flushright}
printer for Mason’s work, though not (as Mason seems to have requested) for
free. What Mason may not have known was that the relationship between
Badger and Parker had not always been pleasant. Badger printed and posted the
_Euterpeiad_’s early issues. In late 1821, however, he castigated Parker for shopping
the _Euterpeiad_ to other printers. By March 1822 others had taken the job; Parker’s
business practices were not always above reproach.81

In addition to the possible 1819 correspondence, Mason’s 1820 correspondence
with Parker provides a backdrop to his June 1821 letter that has rarely been
discussed. If Mason’s 1821 plea for publishing assistance was the first time
Parker had ever heard of Savannah’s young musician, perhaps historians might
be forgiven for allowing Parker to have ignored it. Because Parker had evidently
accepted Mason’s 1820 submission, however, and because of Parker’s close
contact with the HHS’s activities in the pages of the _Euterpeiad_,82 it seems likely
that Mason had high hopes of his plea resulting in action on Parker’s part.
Seeking endorsement by the Handel and Haydn Society and by G.K. Jackson, he
thought Parker’s efforts could help achieve his goals.

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particularly 78–82. Based on a study of the collection of Parker correspondence held by the
University of Pennsylvania, Johnson cites Badger’s letter of 24 December 1821 on 82.
82 J.R. Parker’s younger brother Matthew S. Parker was one of the four who had petitioned
the Massachusetts legislature for the HHS incorporation and had been the HHS secretary or
served on the HHS board ever since.
Mason, Jubal Howe, and Plymouth

According to Howe, upon arrival in Massachusetts he and Mason headed first to Plymouth to see a man named Hobart, not realizing that “he was not a musician,” before proceeding to Boston. Mason and Howe might not have known that the Handel and Haydn Society had taken over publishing the Old Colony Collection, the reason they called on Hobart; or possibly they hoped Hobart would provide another angle of approach to HHS endorsement.

Mason’s Collection in Boston

After Mason arrived in Boston, Newhall evidently introduced him to Jackson. Mason had told Parker in June that Jackson had already seen samples, but now he brought the entire manuscript. By September 14, as noted above, the HHS board had agreed to confer with him. Over the next two months, the HHS welcomed Mason into active membership, recorded Jackson’s endorsement, and paid for the first printing. Rather than contracting with Thomas Badger, the HHS ordered the job from the firm of Melvin Lord, also an HHS member.

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83 Perkins, Foundations, 81.
84 Ibid. The timing of Howe’s account is unclear relative to the events noted above in the HHS minutes. Newhall may have introduced Mason to Jackson before Mason contacted the HHS and the HHS agreed on 14 September to examine it themselves. If Jackson had already examined the manuscript before 14 September, his initial approval would have provided strong reason for the board to pursue publication.
85 LM to J.R. Parker, 20 June 1821, cited in Pemberton, Life and Work, 32.
From Manuscript to Publication

The extent of the changes made to Mason’s manuscript before publication has apparently never been documented. When the HHS committee went to Jackson to ask permission to dedicate the work to him, the “other subjects relative to its publication” seem likely to have included the bulk of the editorial revisions to the manuscript itself. The first reason they listed for their dedication to Jackson was “a tribute of gratitude, for his great care in revising and correcting their work” (HHSC, p. vii). This dedication is dated October 12, the same day that the HHS nominated Mason to active membership. It seems clear that by that time Jackson had already agreed to make the extensive changes required to turn Mason’s manuscript into a print-ready book.

Changes to Music

Some of the editorial changes have been discussed above; several pieces were cut. One of the omitted pieces would likely have been the first appearance of the British national anthem under the tune name AMERICA. The last fourteen pieces in the published collection, none of which appear in Mason’s original, reveal the editor’s aims (see Table 5.3). In addition to the tune TRUMPET noted above, Mason’s manuscript had included a few pieces such as WEYMOUTH and NEWARK that introduced texture changes and assumed that choirs would do more than simply model (or accompany) congregational singing. But the vast majority of Mason’s selections were fairly homorhythmic hymn-tune harmonizations.
Jackson’s additions provided a substantial amount of far more challenging material, including three of his own anthems. Well-trained church choirs, such as those at many of the churches frequented by members of the Handel and Haydn Society, could theoretically do much more with the published collection than Mason’s original would have allowed. These additions certainly put the HHSC’s overall repertoire much closer to the Society’s performance repertoire.

Jackson did more than just add selections to Mason’s manuscript; several pieces, for instance, are given tune names or renamed. One of those renamed is a responsorial tune with instrumental ending and attributed to “Florio,” likely Pietro Grassi Florio or his son Charles H. Florio.86 HHSC-MS f. 218 names the

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tune BARBARY, and HHSC names it WICKLOW (p. 198). Jackson also changed some of Mason’s harmonizations; for example, see below in Chapter Six, n. 39.

Mason’s manuscript departs from standard tunebook scoring; the second stave from the bottom, in addition to providing the melody or “air,” also includes the inner voices below the melody. Using Mason’s manuscript, a keyboardist could provide parts without having to read open score or figured bass. This feature may also show the manuscript’s origin in the classroom. Except for the addition of figured bass, the scoring of the published collection looks much like the scoring used in the Bridgewater Collection. Considering Mason’s intent to compete with the Bridgewater Collection, it is unwise to assume that he did not request the scoring change himself. Even if he did not, doing so certainly lowered the printing cost.

Production of the Front Matter

Mason’s manuscript begins immediately with a setting of OLD HUNDRED. Tunebooks, however, always included extensive front matter for use in singing schools or by choir members who had not yet mastered “singing by note.” The HHS had several members with experience in tunebook production, including former president Benjamin Holt. In addition to being a Bridgewater Collection co-

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87 At least one of Mason’s probable sources, Whitaker’s (upright) Seraph, follows the same pattern and explains similar reasons for doing so (vii).
editor, Holt was also part of the committee sent on Sept. 14, 1821, to “confer” with Mason. The committee’s only other members were HHS president Amasa Winchester and vice president John Dodd. The fact that the “Introduction to the Art of Singing” (HHSC ix–xxii) and “Lessons for the Exercise of the Voice” (xxiii) do not appear in the manuscript makes Mason’s authorship of them less certain. Mason could have submitted the front matter separately or even after returning to Georgia; since the entire manuscript collection is on pre-ruled staff paper, he had little incentive to include text-heavy and movable-staff front matter there. His authorship, however, is less than certain; Holt may have been able to produce it as well.88 The “Art of Singing” covers the same ground as the section in the 1820 8th edition of the Bridgewater Collection called “Rudiments of Music.” In the HHSC, however, even the instructions emphasize that certain contrapuntal progressions are “forbidden.”89

A Shrewd Bargain

Mason was hoping to get free copies for his trouble.90 The HHS provided a partner willing to provide the considerable sum needed to set the collection into print. For a sizable collection like Mason’s, the cost for printing and binding even


89 HHSC, xi, in a reminder to perform the tenor line an octave lower than notated.

90 This claim may have started with Moore, Cyclopaedia, 767. However, the HHS minutes of November 1821 confirm that they paid Richardson & Lord themselves.
a small quantity might well have been close to the $500 that the HHS paid for the initial run of 3,000 copies. Similarly, the HHS found a tunebook that met its standards for selection and harmonization, a partner willing to see the project through to further editions, and a potential market far broader than any of its previous publications.

**Conclusion**

By the time Mason headed back to Savannah, he had a publishing contract and a professional membership in the HHS. His study of counterpoint and his purchases of English sacred music had finally brought some credit—at least in private and on paper. What public and financial reward he would get was still highly uncertain, but he had prepared a significant manuscript of music and had obtained support from some of America’s most respected musicians. Within six years, he would become their president.
In the fall of 1821, Mason began an official relationship with the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston (HHS). He joined the HHS as an active member and signed a contract to share any profits from his collection of psalm and hymn tunes, as published under the title *The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music*.¹ The book was highly successful, with a score of editions published over the next seventeen years.

Within six years, Mason had also been elected the president-director of the HHS. How did a relatively unknown musician in Savannah, who wished his role in the collection to remain semi-private information, become in that amount of time the publicly acknowledged leader of arguably the most prestigious musical organization in the early American republic? That story follows below. This chapter shows that during the years 1821 to 1827, Mason leveraged his HHS membership, his success in Savannah, and the opportunities he had for publication and public appearances to greatly increase his reputation. By August

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¹ Hereafter HHSC; 1st edition (Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1822) denoted unless otherwise identified.
1827, even though Mason was still a contested choice, putting him in leadership was also a logical decision for the HHS to make.

“L. Mason of Savannah,” 1821–1827

As the HHSC appeared in 1822, the Savannah press and the *Euterpeiad* recognized Mason’s role in its production (Pemberton, *Life and Work*, 36–38). Mason’s life would never be the same. The collection sold well, and the second edition appeared in 1823.

Continued and Expanded Activities

Membership in and a publishing relationship with the HHS at first changed Mason’s life very little. He continued his secretarial services for various voluntary Savannah associations, duly posting notices for the Savannah Missionary Society, the Union Society, and the Savannah Library Society. Some of the monies due his former firm of Stebbins and Mason were still under negotiation.²

Mason was also still periodically receiving shipments from Boston, and in the spring of 1823 he advertised “pianofortes of various patterns and superior tone” for sale.³ Further research may be able to determine whether the partnership

² “Sheriff’s Sale, continued,” *Savannah Daily Republican*, 4 January 1822 (3).
³ *Savannah Daily Republican*, April 29 to at least May 19 1823 (3). The ad included no location information; while Mason may have been renting warehouse space for his “various” pianofortes,
begun that year between Jonas Chickering (1797–1853), who had joined the HHS in 1818, and James Stewart, who had arrived in Boston in late 1822, was Mason’s source for his venture.4 Mason’s scheduled responsibilities at the Planters’ Bank and the Library Society might have interfered with meeting prospective buyers. He does not seem to have offered more pianofortes while in Savannah, but the action may point to an increase in his available capital as sales for the HHS collection rose.

Expanded Recognition for Musical Activities

Mason also continued what seems to be the entire range of other musical activities he had pursued before the HHS contract, including his work at Independent Presbyterian Church, leading singing schools, and occasional work with Savannah concerts. It seems that recognition for Mason’s work had grown significantly since 1817–1818. As early as 1944, scholars had noticed that the reaction to an 1824 concert praised Mason’s leadership.5

Between 1821 and 1827, Mason also seems to have grown more ambitious in his programming. The concert Mason presented May 16, 1826 presented, as Part I,

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5 Margaret Freeman Lafar, “Lowell Mason's Varied Activities in Savannah,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 28:3 (September 1944), 131, includes an excerpt.
selections from Haydn’s *Creation*. An extensive pre-concert program that appeared in the Savannah news on the day of the program borrows freely from one of Mason’s sources. William Gardiner, the compiler of Classicist tunes in *Sacred Melodies* that Mason had credited with so much of his material for the HHSC, had also annotated and published a translation of Stendhal’s life of Haydn. The 1826 Savannah program included some of the colorful quotations Stendhal had attributed to Haydn on *Creation*: one on its monumental status (“I spend much time over it, because I intend it to last a long time”) and one on the depth of Haydn’s religious feeling (“Before I sat down to the Piano Forte, I prayed to God with earnestness, that He would enable me to praise Him worthily”). The program’s musical annotations are sometimes similarly indebted to Gardiner’s Stendhal, but an American performance history of *Creation* treats Haydn’s work as a foreign subject to the Savannah audience: “The

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7 *Savannah Georgian*, 16 May 1826 (1). As it did the 1824 performance and the 1821 event discussed below, Mason’s church hosted this benefit concert. IPC’s new building (dedicated in 1819) and its William Goodrich organ (according to Douglas Moore and Lowry Axley installed in 1820) made IPC a fine concert space that seems to have surpassed Christ Church, the site of the 1816–1818 concerts noticed in Chapter Three. Furthermore, IPC’s deep involvement in Savannah’s charitable institutions (see especially Chapter Three, which notes other IPC members besides Mason) was likely one of the factors involved in its acceptance of the responsibility.


9 The statements are from *Life of Haydn*, 235 and 315–16.
Creation was published in Boston (Ms.) in 1818 and has been frequently performed in that city since that period. It has also been performed once in Baltimore, and once in New York."¹⁰

The repertoire of this 1826 concert (see Figure 6.1A) represents an ambitious increased level of difficulty from earlier Savannah programs of 1817, 1818, 1821, and 1824.¹¹ Names of great composers had appeared there too, to be sure, but often in hymn-tune arrangements like those published in the HHSC. This night, “selections from Haydn’s Creation” was part 1, with an organ concerto by “Rink” as intermission. Even the second half was mostly selections from lesser oratorios¹² and masses—with annotations for each in the long program (same day, page 1). A quartet seems to have presented two pieces in Latin, though the Benedictus had appeared in translation. The short program print below ends with the Hallelujah Chorus, but the longer annotated program ends instead with

¹⁰ Though all Creation performances by 1826 may not have yet been documented, the unnamed author (perhaps Mason) almost surely had no idea of the performances, for instance, in Bethlehem, PA (1811) and Philadelphia (1821). See, for instance, M.D. Herter Norton, “Haydn in America (Before 1820),” Musical Quarterly 18:2 (April 1932): 309–337; Irving Lowens and Otto Albrecht, Haydn in America, Bibliographies in American Music 5 (Detroit: College Music Society/Information Coordinators, 1979).

¹¹ Pemberton’s discussion groups this concert with the others dating back to 1817: “As early as 1817, his choir presented public concerts of works by European masters, often arranged by Mason himself. Newspapers carried announcements and program notes Mason had written” (Life and Work, 27). No other concert of Mason’s years in Savannah, however, seems to have received this much publicity.

¹² In the years leading up to Mason’s election as HHS president, The Intercession, by M.P. King (1773–1823), was according to H. Earle Johnson the single addition to the HHS core repertoire of Creation and Messiah. Johnson, Hallelujah, Amen! The Story of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston (Boston: Bruce Humphries, 1965), 49. “Eve’s Lamentation” was the oratorio’s most popular number.
a Gloria attributed to Mozart and almost surely the one submitted by Mason for volume 2 of the HHS’s *Old Colony Collection of Anthems*. As the Gloria had not appeared in earlier program announcements (May 10–13), it seems likely to have been a last-minute program change.

Even the label of the event as “sacred concert” — nowhere is it called an “oratorio,” though the works it samples are — may point to a deepened understanding of oratorio as a compositional genre rather than as a social event. The label may well have been inspired, though perhaps unwittingly, by the HHS itself. In 1825–1826 the Society was experimenting with its events, differentiating “oratorio” from “sacred concert” mostly by publicizing the former. Most of the performances of the season are labeled “Sacred Concerts.” The first, November 13, 1825, includes notes on repertoire (*Messiah* and the HHS *Collection of Sacred Music*, vol. 3) and audience (“the friends of the members”). The HHS event of January 31, similar in repertoire (anthems and selections from several oratorios) to that listed above but by contrast open to the public, appears in HHS records as “the 61st Oratorio performed by the Society.” Mason’s program seems to have succeeded, for both the Female Asylum but for Mason’s still growing reputation:

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13 *The Old Colony Collection of Anthems, Selected and Published under the Particular Patronage of the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston*, vol. 2 (Boston: James Loring, 1818), 133–39.
14 *Minutes, 1824–1833*, Box 1, Folder 42 of MS 5084, Handel and Haydn Society Records, Boston Public Library, 13 November 1825, 31 January February 1826.
Figures 6.1A and 6.1B, Concerts of May 16 and May 30, 1826

The concert at the Presbyterian church last evening was well attended . . . The performances were highly creditable to Mr. Mason, under whose direction the Concert was given . . . A repetition of it, with some alterations, we understand has been solicited.\(^{15}\)

The next month the Female Asylum acknowledged receipt of $416.50, a significant sum in 1826. The sum also far more than the HHS was making on its own per-concert ticket sales.\(^{16}\) Savannah’s demand for genteel sacred music had not been satiated nearly as well as Boston’s HHS suppliers had met hers.

If Mason had thoughts of returning to Massachusetts, as his wife expressed in late 1822 to her mother, he could also see that any offer from the North would have to include immediate entry into the middle class. The father of Abigail Mason died in August 1822, and Abigail spent the spring and summer of 1823 in Massachusetts, assisting her mother (she was her parents’ only living child) and giving birth to Lowell Mason Jr. on June 17.\(^{17}\) Abigail Mason’s journey of 1823, the first known return of either spouse to the north for personal reasons since the

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\(^{15}\) Unsigned, this review is apparently an editorial comment from the *Savannah Republican*, 17 May 1826 (3).

\(^{16}\) *Savannah Republican*, 3 June 1826 (2). See ticket sales under $100 each from HHS, *Minutes, 1824–1833*, 7 February and 23 April 1826. The Savannah performance of May 30 had lighter fare, 50-cent tickets, and free admission for children (see below) and likely made up the difference between the $300 estimate given in the *Republican* on 17 May and the total announced by the Asylum.

couple’s 1817 marriage, may also perhaps mark an increase in Mason’s available funds (or financial confidence) related to the collection’s success.

Mason also seems to have allowed either financial security or elevated social status or a combination of both to intrude on civic duty. Mason was one of the Georgia Volunteers who failed to fulfill their duties at the parade of June 1824, and his fine was $2.18 Mason was a regular offender in this regard. The advertisements Mason made for his singing school a few months later, however, promised to charge no more than “sufficient to defray the necessary expenses,” giving as a reason that helping others grow in singing for “accomplishment” and “Public Worship” was for Mason “a principal object.”19 Mason’s advertisement as updated November 27 (promising to begin December 9 if enrollment was high enough) ran all the way through January 25, possibly suggest that Mason’s current workload was high and that the school was not overly successful.20 Mason advertised another singing school the following November.21

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18 Savannah Republican, 29 June 1824 (3). For an overview of many of the variables affecting militia service, see Robert Reinders, “Militia and Public Order in Nineteenth-Century America,” Journal of American Studies 11:1 (1977): 81–101, especially the shift around 1830 from compulsory militia service to volunteer militia service (86). Fines were a major source of income for the regiments, so defaulters were also in a sense underwriters.
19 Ibid., 19 November 1824 (2).
20 Savannah Republican, 25 January 1825 (4). Several of Mason’s announcements that year ran past their scheduled events (e.g., Savannah Georgian, Jul. 19, 1825 (3); Mason’s zeal for secretarial work may have been running out.
21 Savannah Republican, Nov. 8, 1825 (2). He directed prospects to the bookstores of Williams and Schenk and announced a Nov. 13 start date.
Mason and Changes in the Handel and Haydn Society, 1821–1827

The HHS also saw deep and long-lasting effects from its partnership with Mason. The change in the Society’s financial status has always been the most noted one; many scholars have pointed out that the Society kept making money each year from the publication. Scholars also rightly point out that of the dozens of similar organizations founded in the years surrounding the Society’s, almost none were able to sustain their activities longer than a few years.22

What is not always pointed out is that sustained activities did not happen for the HHS right away or automatically. At the same time publication money was flowing in, concert receipts were dropping drastically. In 1826 the members voted to purchase six dollars of tickets each from the HHS, becoming in effect either backers of or salesmen for the Society. The August 1826 official report treated the takeover as a triumph: “The Society can survive if only the members remain true to themselves.”23 But the pointed language alludes to another side of the reality; with artistic progress hard to come by and even maintenance not always easy, the Society’s survival was not in 1826 a foregone conclusion. As a

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22 Johnson ascribes the downfall of several other “small choruses preceding the great Society” to “inner strife” (Hallelujah, 52).
23 “Annual Report,” Minutes, 1824–1833, 4 September 1826. The report also listed a balance in the Church Music account of $964.28 and said, “It must be highly flattering to the Society to learn that the collection with which their name is identified has so extensive a circulation.”
publisher and as a promoter of psalmody, it was faring well; as a performing
organization of sacred masterworks, it was floundering.

During all this, the HHSC frequently provided a bright spot in the HHS’s
discussions of itself. The financial gains were not lost on the Society: immediately
in 1822 the notes record that Publications account could “pay for the
chandeliers.”24 Other improvements followed. The Society’s Publications account
in 1822–23 was still enjoying continuing sales from the Old Colony Collection
and sales of the Society’s Collection of Sacred Music, vol. 1.25 Those sales, however,
tapered off quickly; the Society may especially have overestimated the market for
the 1823 second volume of its collection.

Perhaps an even greater long-term benefit for the HHS, however, was the
national prestige that the HHSC brought. The Society’s correspondence with
oratorio societies in New York, Providence, Salem, and even Philadelphia had
already shown its prestige. The HHS was also encouraged to know that
Beethoven would respond favorably in 1823 to their offer to commission an
oratorio.26 Sales of the Society’s collections of sacred music also increased the

24 Minutes, 1819–1824, July 1822.
25 Johnson credits these sales to the oratorio societies springing up around the country
(Hallelujah, 46–47).
26 See, for instance, Johnson, Hallelujah, 47–48. The HHS had often performed a translated
version of Beethoven’s mighty “Hallelujah” (from Christus am Ölberge, Op. 85) since its earliest
years: “Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah to the Father, and the Son, the Son of God!” See Old
Colony Collection, vol. 2 (Boston: James Loring, 1818), 55–69.
Society’s fame. Compared to the sales of the HHSC, however, these were all semi-private victories. Even the *Euterpeiad*’s reviews went to very few readers. None of these activities affected the young nation’s opinion of the HHS the way that the HHS *Collection of Church Music* did. Thousands of singers across the Republic who would never attempt a full presentation of *Messiah* could nonetheless experience HHS-approved repertoire and harmony firsthand. The HHSC served as an alternative perspective for the critical reviews of the late 1820s. Even as critics ridiculed the Society’s performances, the HHS could congratulate itself that thousands continued to snap up the repertoire it never performed.

The HHS *Collection of Church Music*, however, was not a tool to help save HHS performance life. Charity concerts in Savannah might include hymn tunes based on Mozart, but after a few years the Boston HHS audiences expected more than even the anthems that had been added to Mason’s manuscript for the published version. In stark contrast to its other publications (the Old Colony Collection and its *Collection of Sacred Music*), the HHS did not print the HHSC for public performances.\(^{27}\) As morale flagged, the “stated” monthly meeting (on the first Tuesday of every month August to May) would rehearse from it, but the

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\(^{27}\) More detailed research of the programs of 1821 and following may determine whether any of the HHSC’s contents (especially the anthems) appeared in HHS performances. Comparison of the HHSC with the Society’s other publications (the Old Colony Collection vols. 1–2 and the various volumes of the HHS *Collection of Sacred Music*) may be able to locate commonalities between the Society’s “sacred music” and its “church music.”
monthly meetings were always poorly attended and almost seem to have been more for prospective members—or those whose scruples might prevent them from attending rehearsals or performances on Sundays.28

Thus the publishing program of the HHS, while growing more financially profitable, was also proving problematic. The success of the HHSC that began in 1822 greatly deepened the divide between the Society’s publishing activities and its performance history. One of the results of this divide was that by 1827, Mason’s power as tunebook compiler would not always win him aesthetic or social approval. One unsigned article that appeared in the Columbian Centinel in 1827, the week after Mason’s election as HHS president, was particularly pointed. “A large and respectable number of the society” doubted that electing a non-Bostonian was wise or even constitutional.29

The financial gain Mason received from his publication work was the first any HHS member received from public Society activities. The Society’s constitution was firm that membership would be strictly on an amateur basis: “No one, who

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28 Based on a survey of the monthly meetings, the first time the HHS spent a whole rehearsal singing specifically from the HHSC seems to have been the meeting of December 6, 1826, eight weeks after the HHS voted to dispense with public performances for the season. HHS Records, Minutes, 1815–1818; Minutes, 1819–1824; Minutes, 1824–1833. On the nature of public Sunday performances in early-nineteenth century Boston, see for example, the memories recounted in Edward Everett Hale, “Social Relations,” part 5 of “A New England Boyhood,” in The Atlantic, vol. 70 (Nov. 1892), 608–17, especially 610–11.

is a member of the society, shall be entitled to any compensation for personal
services rendered to the society, in the performance of musick, either on private
or publick occasions.” The HHS paid for its organist and some of its orchestra,
and many of its members were paid in various ways for musical activities
outside the Society. Its editors until Mason, however, had always been acting
amateurs like the rank and file. While the accusations seem to have been as much
an attempt to keep Winchester as to oust Mason (aside from solo work, the
superiority of Winchester’s musical talents to Mason’s it claims would certainly
be hard to prove), it may have related accurately the feelings of “a large and
respectable number of the society.” Mason’s role as HHSC editor was very
different from the public side of Winchester’s duties as HHS president.

Mason, the HHS, and Music Publications 1823–1827

Mason’s relationship with the HHS began as a publication partnership that
involved Mason’s membership in the organization by choice and appreciation
rather than by necessity. Even in assessing Mason’s total impact on the Society
after discussing his five-year presidency, Johnson agrees that publication is
where Mason’s relationship with the HHS matters most. During the years

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30 HHS Constitution, Article VIII (Boston: Stebbins, 1815), 7. This specifically did not disallow
professional musicians (in the modern sense of the term) like Gottlieb Graupner from joining,
only from receiving compensation for HHS musical activities.
31 Johnson, Hallelujah, 50.
1823–1827, Mason and the HHS published several editions of the HHSC together; each party, however, also published works on its own.

Together: *Collection of Church Music*, 2nd ed. (1823)

Several editions of the HHS *Collection of Church Music* appeared under Mason’s editorial supervision before his move to Boston. Each time the print run sold out, each new edition contained new features: especially the rotation of new pieces, the rejection of old ones, and harmonic revisions for various reasons.

After Jackson’s death in 1822 Mason assumed primary editorial duties, though Winchester may well have corrected printer’s proofs (see the *Centinel* piece mentioned above). A brief overview follows below; a more thorough study of the revisions for each edition could shed much more light on the phases of Mason’s pre-presidential editorial work on the Society’s behalf.

As in Savannah, recognition of Mason’s editorial work in the HHSC grew in the years following the HHSC’s release. The second edition omits the dedication to Jackson, who had died in 1822.32 In addition, it omits the certificates that Jackson and Abel had provided as the first edition’s vouchers.33 It seems that the Society

32 See *The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1823).
33 HHSC-1, p. vi-vii.
had grown more confident in its editor. If the collection was already selling so well, why bother with endorsements?

Mason may not have included any tunes of his own composition in the HHSC 1st edition, but he had already acknowledged public status as a composer. On April 25, 1821, a few months before Mason signed his contract with the HHS, Savannah residents held a sacred concert at the Independent Presbyterian Church, where Mason served as choirmaster and organist. It seems very likely that he directed the music; the Savannah Free School Society published “thanks to Mr. Mason” when they acknowledged their share of the proceeds. And even if someone else led the concert, the leaders selected a piece Mason could call his own. The program credits the duet for “There Is a Stream” (see Figure 6.2, Part II, no. 2) to “L. Mason,” a name that by 1821 Savannah newsreaders knew well. Mason was even before his contract with HHS willing to begin airing his compositions publicly, at least in Savannah and possibly when he was directing.

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34 *Savannah Daily Republican*, 17 May 1821 (3). Little is known about the “Harmonic Society,” but a promotion by “X” called the concert the Society’s “first attempt” (Georgian and Evening Advertiser, 24 April 1821 (2). It may have been a successor to the Apollinian Society (active ca. 1816–1819) mentioned in Chapter Three, but Mason’s role certainly seems more prominent.

35 As noted in Chapter One, H.L. Mason credits Mason with composing “Lord of All Power and Might,” which appeared in many collections around Mason’s time but had come across the Atlantic several decades earlier. More research is certainly needed on Mason’s early compositional work.
By 1823, Mason was also willing to publicize his own tunes in Boston. Evidently towards the end of the *Euterpeiad*'s 1820–1823 print run, Mason submitted two tunes for the musical supplement that every issue carried: ANDOVER and BRIDGEPORT. The pieces do not appear in the first edition of the HHSC but appear on pages 75 and 119 of the 1823 2nd edition. Since the musical supplements were
not attached to the issues of the *Euterpeiad*, it is difficult to say whether the HHSC edition or the *Euterpeiad* supplement appeared first. It seems safe to say, however, that these were the first printed pieces Mason claimed as his own compositions.

In addition to inserting his own tunes in the second edition, Mason also removed many of the pieces that Jackson had added. The anthems, for example, that Jackson had added under his own name do not appear in the second edition.\(^{36}\) In fact, while many of Jackson’s harmonized tunes reappear in the second edition, only the canon “Hear My Pray’r, O Lord” (*HHSC*-1 p. 320, *HHSC*-2, p. 337) survives from his own anthems and more intricate pieces.\(^{37}\) Several of the anthems by others were also removed for the second edition, with new pieces inserted like “Unveil Thy Bosom, Faithful Tomb” (from the “Dead March” in Handel’s *Saul*). Few of the added plain tunes seem to have disappeared; Mason apparently focused the repertoire shifts on the set pieces and anthems, as well as providing some new tunes like ANDOVER and BRIDGEPORT and correcting harmonies where errors had appeared. Mason also seems to have been a judicious editor in revisiting previous decisions about his own work. He did not include in the second edition any of the named tunes he had sent in the manuscript copy of the HHSC that had been omitted from the published

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\(^{36}\) These were “Ponder My Words” and “O ’Twas a Joyful Sound,” *HHSC*-1, pp. 310, 318.

\(^{37}\) None of Jackson’s pieces in *HHSC*-1 appear in Mason’s manuscript (see Chapter Four).
He did, however, revise the harmony for the collection’s opening tune, OLD HUNDRED, to one nearly identical to the version he had included in his manuscript.39

Handel and Haydn Alone: Collection of Sacred Music, vol. 2 (1823)

While he was neither responsible for nor financially interested in it, Mason was also concerned about the Society’s more prestigious (if far less profitable) print line, The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Sacred Music. On May 7, 1822, the HHS board voted to thank Mason for providing them with “additional Music of Mozart for their Publication of Sacred Music.”40 Volume 2 of that collection appeared the following year, and it credited Mason with English adaptations for two Mozart selections, “Day of Judgment” (p. 101) and “Glory Be to God on High” (p. 133):

Day of Judgment, day of wonders,
   Day of Judgment, day of wonders,
Hark! the trumpet’s awful sound,
   Louder than a thousand thunders
Shakes the vast creation round.
   How the summons, how the summons
Will the sinner’s heart confound.

38 Compare Table 5.2 with the Alphabetical Index to the second edition (HHSC-2, p. 338).
39 Compare “Collection of Hymn Tunes,” Folder 22, Box 1, MSS 33, The Lowell Mason Papers in the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library of Yale University (hereafter HHSC-MS), f. 1r; HHSC-1, p. 25; HHSC-2, p. 27. Interestingly, Mason kept the published HHSC-1 attribution to Luther, which he seems to have known, although it was common in his day, was faulty (see the attribution in HHSC-MS).
40 Minutes 1819–1824, 7 May 1822.
The poetry, based on the *Dies Irae*, is by John Newton (1774) and had been included in many evangelical tunebooks by Mason’s day.\(^{41}\) Mason inserts repeats in generally the same places Mozart’s *Requiem* does—but by using such a stern text he achieves quite a different effect. While the Dies Irae has a long history of usage outside evangelical circles, is difficult not to imagine HHS members from Unitarian congregations, for whom “the summons” had a very different definition, squirming a bit when preaching such fiery evangelical doctrine. This is probably the piece Mason had sent to Boston by June 1821,\(^{42}\) over a year later

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\(^{41}\) *Olney Hymns* (London: W. Oliver, 1779); see Hymnary.org, http://www.hymnary.org/text/day_of_judgment_day_of_wonders, accessed 11 January 2017. For the text’s inclusion in tunebooks, including American imprints, see the Hymn Tune Index, text DOJDOW, 1 & 2.

\(^{42}\) “In addition to the two pieces of Mozart published in ‘Old Colony’ I have since sent several others which have not appeared in ‘The Handel & H. Collection’—‘The Day of Judgemet’ [sic] I forwarded & I believe I directed it to Mr Badger [HHS printer] to whom I wrote reflecting a publication of Sacred Music by myself.” LM to J.R. Parker, 20 June 1821, Box 1, Folder 50 in Lowell Mason Papers, MSS 33, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University; compare to transcription in Pemberton, *Life and Work*, 32.
recognized officially. The “Gloria” is different from the one included in the Old Colony Collection, vol. 2, and Mason may also have referred to it in his 1821 letter referenced above.

Mason Alone (1824)

The year after the Euterpeiad folded and volume 2 of the HHS collection of sacred music appeared, Mason’s name appeared for the first time on the title page of a published tunebook: Select Chants, Doxologies, &c. Adapted to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Depending on the definition of terms, Mason’s 1821 contract may have required HHS permission for his work. Pemberton says that Mason’s 1821 and 1826 contracts both included a provision that, while unenforced, said “Mason was not to publish any other works” (Life and Work, 39). This is apparently a misreading. In 1834 the HHS collected and printed its contracts with Mason, and the original (which the second left in force) demands mutual consent for all similar publications: “Neither of the parties to this agreement shall be in any way interested or engaged in the publication of any book of Psalmody during the continuance of this agreement, unless it be by consent of each other.” The contract gave Mason

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43 Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1824. “Harmonized and arranged by Lowell Mason” (title page).
44 See page 5 of [James Clark, Jonas Chickering, and Jubal Howe,] Report of a Committee of the Board of Trustees of the Handel and Haydn Society, on the Object of Existing Contracts Between Mr. Lowell Mason and Others for Editing and Publishing Sacred Music (October 1834), Box 1, Folder 23 of HHS Records, Boston Public Library.
no authority over the Society’s collection of sacred music, though Mason’s 1824 publication of chants may have fallen under the definition of “psalmody” current in 1820s Boston.\textsuperscript{45}

Several books of chants had appeared in America previously. Like Mason’s, each was for the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the American successor to the Church of England organized 1789. Further study of this work might show how much of his compositional and contrapuntal study Mason invested in the work—and how freely he borrowed from Vincent Novello’s \textit{The Evening Service}, his source for the tunes like \textit{Hamburg} adapted from chant.\textsuperscript{46} Mason’s publication was not a financial windfall; few copies remain, and no 2nd edition has ever been located.\textsuperscript{47} Nor is it likely that Mason’s business sense allowed for the expectation of future editions that he and the HHS had nurtured for the HHS Collection.\textsuperscript{48} The Episcopal church was already in 1824 a smaller group than the Congregational-Presbyterian evangelicalism where Mason had grown up and continued to serve. It was more important in Mason’s region of residence, the


\textsuperscript{46} Vincent Novello, \textit{The evening service, being a collection of pieces appropriate to vespers, complin \& tenebrae, including the whole of the Gregorian hymns, for every principal festival throughout the year} (London: J.A. Novello, 1822). For instance, see the HHS Collection’s 4th edition (Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1826), pp. 245, 247, 251, 252. For more on the process by which Psalm Tone 1 became a hymn tune, see David W. Music, “The Origins of Lowell Mason’s Tune \textit{Hamburg},” paper presented to the Society for American Music, 2016.

\textsuperscript{47} Further research into the papers of Richardson & Lord (held at the American Antiquarian Society) may locate further data on the sales and publishing history of Mason’s work.

\textsuperscript{48} From the 11 October 1821 HHSC contract, prefacing the contract’s terms for future editions: “It is confidently expected that more than edition of said book will be called for by the public.” HHS, \textit{Existing Contracts}, 5.
most important denominational body in the early history not only of Georgia but also of neighboring South Carolina. And it was a national market; at least one of its congregations had long been established in every large town on the eastern seaboard.

Episcopalian churches were also far less likely than Congregational or Presbyterian ones to harbor enemies of Mason’s “scientific” style and could often be counted on for moral or even financial support. Before the dedication of the new building for Mason’s Presbyterian Church, publicized sacred concerts in Savannah were generally at Christ Church (Episcopal), the oldest Christian church in Georgia and even before the 1838 erection of its current Neo-Classical structure a grand performing space. As 1816 secretary for the “Apollinian Society,” Mason sent advertisements for just such a concert—and in 1817 and 1818, his firm had helped sell tickets for them.49 Furthermore, while some HHS members were from churches similar to Mason’s own, some of them frequented Episcopalian churches and sang in—or even led—their choirs. For instance, Matthew S. Parker led the Trinity Church choir along with his brother, John Rowe Parker.50

49 See Chapter Four.
50 Johnson, Musical Interludes in Boston, 19, cites a public acknowledgement of 1819. King’s Chapel was after 1787 Unitarian and not under the authority of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Further study into the archives of Boston Trinity Church and King’s Chapel may reveal whether the choirs contained many HHS members besides M.S. Parker.
Beyond Mason’s motivation, however, and regardless of any use Mason might have made of the collection at his own church, Mason clearly felt the liberty by 1824 to publicize his editorial activities. That liberty he had not felt in 1821: “I did not wish to be known as a musical man.”\textsuperscript{51} But it had arrived by 1824. Both the 1824 collection of chants and the \textit{Euterpeiad} were niche publications; perhaps most of the choirs singing from the HHSC outside Savannah still had no idea who Mason was. His reputation as “a musical man,” however, was indeed growing.

Together Again: HHSC Editions (1825, 1826)

When the third edition of the HHSC appeared in 1825, the HHS inserted an advertisement for Mason’s editorial work in collecting “several new anthems and set pieces” and collecting and metricizing Gregorian chants (vi). It seems clear that Mason’s work on the 1824 collection of chants affected his work for the HHS. The same advertisement appeared in the fourth edition appeared in 1826 virtually unchanged (vi). The year 1826, however, introduced a new factor in Mason’s relationship with the Society, one that would come to fruition simultaneously with his election to the HHS presidency.

An Unexpected Courtship: Mason in Boston, 1826

On October 7 and 9, 1826, Mason delivered at two Boston churches an invited lecture on church music that would bring him to far greater prominence than ever before. Mason was probably invited while already in Boston; according to H.L. Mason, Mason wrote that he prepared the address “on very short notice amidst numerous engagements.” Mason’s primary engagement in Boston was almost certainly negotiation with the HHS, though the nature of Mason’s other “engagements” are unclear. On August 17, two weeks before the Society’s annual business meeting, the HHS board commissioned a committee of three “to take into consideration the agreement between this Society and L Mason relative to Church Music.” Four weeks later, the board further voted to extend “discretionary powers” to “the committee chosen to confer with L Mason Esq.”

By September 21, 1826, Mason and the HHS had reached a new agreement, in effect an addendum to that of 1821, that guaranteed Mason’s heirs a continuation of Mason’s share in the HHSC’s profits in case of his death. The fact that the negotiations produced only this result suggest that Mason may have requested the addendum himself before August 17. But he was certainly in Boston on HHS business in late September, and it would have been almost impossible to travel to

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53 HHS, Minutes, 1824–1833, 17 August and 15 September 1826. A copy of the contract is in Clark et al., Existing Contracts, pp. 8–9. Pemberton gives 1827 (Life and Work, 39) but is apparently in error.
Savannah and back between signing the HHS contract on September 21 and delivering the address at Hanover Street Church on October 7.

The newly founded Hanover Street (Congregational) Church heard Mason’s address first, and the Third Baptist Church (later known as Charles Street Baptist Church) heard it “two days later, by request.”\(^{54}\) Both churches were highly influential in Boston evangelicalism and nationally in their separate denominations. That very year Hanover Street Church had called the famous Lyman Beecher as its first pastor. Beecher, a fiery leader of Union Congregationalists\(^{55}\) and the father of Harriet Beecher Stowe, seems to have taken the lead in issuing the original invitation to Mason. Given the timing of the call, Mason’s address could easily have served as an announcement of Beecher’s own program for the music under his new pastorate. It also seems possible that Julius Palmer, a deacon serving under Beecher who had enjoyed Mason’s ministry in Savannah, recommended the young musician for the address when he heard Mason was in the city.\(^{56}\) Considering Beecher’s forceful personality, his immediate influence in Boston evangelicalism, and the spirit of those evangelical

\(^{54}\) Pemberton, *Life and Work*, 40.

\(^{55}\) For Beecher’s importance in the early–nineteenth century union of Congregational and Presbyterian orthodox Calvinistic evangelicalism, as well as sociopolitical limitations on that union’s success, see Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 17–18. For the importance of that religious union to Mason’s life and career, see Chapter Three.

\(^{56}\) See Pemberton, *Life and Work*, 43.
churches in 1826, it is little wonder that an address Beecher promoted should find followers in multiple churches.57

Third Baptist Church was under the pastoral care of Daniel Sharp. Sharp was one of the early supporters of Adoniram Judson (1788–1850), whose decision to become a Baptist while on the way to India as a Congregationalist missionary was widely publicized among Baptists and other evangelical groups throughout the nineteenth century. According to Fanny Winchester Hotchkiss, Sharp’s congregation seems to have included the man then president of the Handel and Haydn Society, Amasa Winchester.58 If Hotchkiss’s record is trustworthy, especially given Winchester’s support for Mason outlined below, it seems possible that Winchester and Sharp conferred on the extending the invitation to Mason for the second address. For Mason, the address he presented was the beginning of his reputation as not only a collector, arranger, and occasionally

57 In an account written several years later, Martin Moore says that Lyman Beecher “was greatly instrumental in advancing the cause of evangelical religion” in Boston in 1826–1827. *Boston Revival, 1842: A Brief History of the Evangelical Churches of Boston, Together with a More Particular Account of the Revival of 1842* (Boston: J. Putnam, 1842), 29.

58 Dr. Samuel Stillman (1737–1807) was the pastor at First Baptist of Boston 1765–1807, and Winchester “for many years led the choir of Dr. Stillman’s church . . . After Dr. Stillman’s death, he went for many years to Dr. Sharpe’s church,” almost certainly Third Baptist Church (later known as Charles Street Baptist Church), pastored 1812–53 by Daniel Sharp. Fanny Winchester Hotchkiss, *Winchester Notes* (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse, 1912), 74. Further research in the records of the Charles Street Baptist Church records held at the Franklin Trask Library, Andover Newton Theological School (Newton Center, MA), may be able to prove Winchester’s level of involvement more definitely.
composer of suitable music but as a philosophical leader in American church
music.

Background to Mason’s Address: Boston Revivals

Mason’s address was probably requested not primarily because Hanover Street
was a new church with a prominent pastor but more so because Boston
evangelicalism was hungry for musical growth to match the other kinds of
growth it was then experiencing. Later Bostonians looked back on the years
1823–1827 as a time of great progress for those who shared Lowell Mason’s
passion for Orthodox Calvinist theology.59 The 1826 arrival in Boston of
Beecher—long a prominent speaker in Orthodox Calvinist circles but from 1810
to 1826 a pastor in far less prominent Litchfield, MA—was itself a marker of
Boston evangelicalism’s spiritual ambition. The establishment of five new
churches for Boston’s Orthodox Congregationalists during 1825–1827 was
another.60 When Mason arrived at the newly constructed Hanover Street Church,
then, he was entering a social-religious environment that was enjoying a great
measure of what many evangelicals would call success. Mason’s speech, which

59 M. Moore, *Boston Revival*, 36 (cf. p. 29). Moore’s history focuses on (Congregational)
Calvinist markers of revival, especially increased numbers of church membership. For a broader
Calvinist perspective on different Christian usages of the term “revival,” see J.I. Packer, “Revival,
Theology of,” in *New Dictionary of Theology*, edited by Sinclair B. Ferguson and David F. Wright
(Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998).
60 M. Moore lists South Congregational Church, Hanover Street Church, Green Street Church,
Salem Street Church, and Pine Street Church (*Boston Revival*, 29).
couched a thoroughly practical aesthetics of church music in solidly evangelical-theological terms, thus had a highly expectant audience.

The Content of Mason’s Address

It should not be surprising that the two characteristics on which Mason had first made his name play at least minor roles in the speech’s content. “Solemnity” and “correct harmony” appear in Mason’s first point. They occur, however, only after “simplicity”; the speech was far more for Mason’s fellow urban evangelicals with pretensions to socio-cultural elite status than it was for trained musicians who might or might not share Mason’s theology. Pemberton provides a summary of Mason’s fervently stated points on musical style, text-music relationship, performing forces, music education, and the primacy of worship.

Sources for Mason’s Address

The topic of Mason’s speech was a familiar one. At inauguration ceremonies or festivals for singing societies, clergy often offered lectures that were similar in theology to Mason’s. These lectures were generally far less specific or practical for musicians. The topic had also in 1822 received a full-length treatise from

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61 See, for example, the negative reaction to some portions of Mason’s thought in the overall positive evaluation given in the *North American Review* (Jan. 1827), 244–46. Criticisms include the primacy of worship over aesthetics and the necessity of church membership for church music leadership (245).


63 For instance, see Thomas Williams, *A Discourse, at a Public Meeting of the Singers in the North Parish in Wrentham, 13th May, 1817* (Dedham, MA: Alleyne, 1817).
Thomas Hastings, *Dissertation on Musical Taste*. A recent biographer of Hastings, Hermine Weigel Williams, says that “many of [Mason’s] main points . . . replicate” those of the 1822 *Dissertation*. Mason knew Hastings and the *Dissertation*, and his thoughts are not independent of it. For example, Mason’s description of an unacceptable singing school, where sacred texts are “sung amidst unrestrained levity and folly” (see Pemberton, 41), echoes Hastings closely (*Dissertation*, 75), including Hastings’s phrase “unrestrained levity.”

In addition to being much longer than Mason’s address, Hastings’s discussion also operates on a much more intellectual level. One of the two main “objects” Hastings claims is similar to Mason’s: “to invite publick attention to a neglected science, and to contribute towards the revival of church musick in our American congregations” (*Dissertation*, 3). But from the outset, Hastings positions his thought in the history of aesthetics and attempts to engage the most thoughtful minds in America.

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66 Indeed, a substantial and mostly favorable notice appeared almost immediately in the *North American Review* (October 1822): 402-15.
While the more philosophical sections of Hastings’s discussion seem most indebted to Burney, Hastings may well have known that using the category of “taste” would call to discerning readers’ minds the great eighteenth-century debates on the subject, debates whose combatants included philosophers such as David Hume and Immanuel Kant. Hastings shows no sign, of course, of having read Kant; but his project, which spends much time teaching compositional principles for sacred music, locating sacred music in the context of music in general, and likewise situating music itself in context of the other arts, operates from beginning to end on a far grander and more learned scale than Mason’s. This may be one of the reasons Mason wanted to clarify that his own address was “prepared on very short notice.”

Mason’s address is much more focused than Hastings’s Dissertation. If any tension exists between religion and aesthetics, Mason seems to have been also much more focused on religion. His solution for the problems of church music were just as much religious ones as they were musical ones. Hastings’s

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68 LM to Lyman Beecher et al., 11 October 1826, as cited above.
discussions of the “qualifications” of musicians (see pp. 31, 48, 58), for instance, are focused on musical ones. Mason insisted, however, that there were “other more important qualifications” for a church organist than being “a finished performer” (see Pemberton, *Life and Work*, 42). Hastings, in fact, published respectful reviews of Mason’s address. Mason, in effect, accomplished a skillful blend of the musical detail available in the 1822 Dissertation with the theological force long used in singing-school sermons, avoiding both the philosophical complexities of the Dissertation and the lack of concrete musical direction often found in the sermons.

**Reception of Mason’s Address**

The response to Mason’s address, delivered as it was in two settings that may well have been electric with evangelical fervor, began the very first night. Pemberton says that “soon after publication” — which was requested on 10 October and took place before the end of the year — several Bostonians formed a committee for improving music in their churches. That committee, though, was the result of nominations given by a committee appointed at Hanover Church on October 7. The original discussion is thus easy to picture as an excited reaction

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69 As noted above, Pemberton (“Life and Work,” 90) correctly cites Hastings’s 1853 edition with similar thoughts, but a brief search of the 1822 edition does not locate them. If the similarities in 1853 are greater than those in 1822, it seems possible that Mason’s thought may even have influenced Hastings’s.

70 See Williams, *Thomas Hastings*, 69–70.

71 *Life and Work*, 42.

72 Committee for the Improvement of Music in Certain Churches (CIMCC), minutes of 28 October and 7 December 1826, Box 4, Folder 38 of MSS 33, the Lowell Mason Papers, Irving S.
in the Hanover Church vestry, though the names of the original conversants do not seem to appear in the committee’s records. Perhaps no one else before Mason had ever entered a room that was so full of religious zeal, so flush with religious success, and called for such a strong connection between evangelical piety and musical art. According to H.L. Mason as noted above, the request for publication, signed by the two churches’ pastors and the man who hosted the October 26 meeting, followed the day after Mason's repetition of his address. Mason evidently granted permission (and presumably the manuscript) three days later. Mason’s address, a brief publication, appeared before the end of the year.73

Reviews were immediate, and several were mostly very favorable. One worth noticing is that of the North American Review, whose criticisms are partially noted above. Hardly an unqualified supporter of Orthodox Calvinism, the Review nevertheless shared enough aesthetic sensibilities with Mason to bestow “some importance to society at large” on Mason’s topic and to consider Mason’s views “on the nature of musical adaption” as “very judicious.”74

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73 Lowell Mason, Address on Church Music: Delivered by Request, on the Evening of Saturday, October 7, 1826, in the Vestry of Hanover Church, and on the Evening of Monday Following in the Third Baptist Church, Boston (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, 1826).

74 North American Review (Jan. 1827), 244–46.
A Committee Attempts to Transplant Mason

The response from Mason’s primary audience was far less ambivalent. In its first formal meeting, the Committee for the Improvement of Music in Certain Churches (CIMCC) passed resolutions that called for “thorough instruction in sacred music” for “those children who have the requisite natural talents.” The second meeting passed a further resolution “that the Choir at least be under the direction of pious men.” Other resolutions reflected some of Mason’s other key points.75

The general committee as chosen December 7, 1826 had several ties with the HHS among its eighteen members. George Denny, a representative of Park Street Church who often served as the committee’s secretary, was an 1820 HHS inductee. David W. Child, from Old South Church, was probably either the David W. Child Jr. who had joined the HHS in 1821 or the David W. Child who joined in 1829. I.S. Withington (con. the typescript, which reads as J.S.), from Old South, is almost certainly Increase Withington, HHS 1821 inductee. And while James Loring from First Baptist Church was not a member of the HHS, he may well have been the man who printed the Society’s Collection of Sacred Music.76

75 CIMCC, minutes of 28 October and 7 December 1826.
76 Ibid.; see also list of current and former HHS members in Act of Incorporation and Bye-Laws of the Handel and Haydn Society (Boston: 1828), 20–24, Box 1, Folder 19 of HHS Records, MS 5084, Boston Public Library.
Around the end of 1826, the committee had resolved to have its churches guarantee one year of lower-middle-class income\textsuperscript{77} for Mason to spend a year in Boston. Furthermore, by February 10, 1827, the committee had empowered a subcommittee to procure personal pledges for a second year, should Mason decide to stay. George Denny sent him the results, pointing out that HHS president Amasa Winchester himself had signed the list willingly.\textsuperscript{78} Mason may have known that others of the subscribers were also HHS members (e.g., Thomas Vose, 1818). Here was an invitation to become the “musical man” Mason had wished not to appear. More than that, it was an invitation to sever his business ties and his Savannah social network and to devote his life to the cause of Orthodox Congregational church music as it could be furthered as a Boston resident.

Mason may have been as surprised to receive the offer as he seems to have been at receiving the original invitation to speak. At any rate, he certainly seems to have had great conflict about how to respond. He refused the committee’s offer, but he did so in such a way that his zealous Bostonian evangelical friends felt the liberty to continue negotiating.

\textsuperscript{77} Compare, for instance, the salary of $2,500 awarded by Independent Presbyterian Church to Rev. Snodgrass, pastor in 1823. \textit{Cash Book, 1822–1827}, Independent Presbyterian Church (Savannah, Ga.) records, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

\textsuperscript{78} George Denny to LM, 30 April 1827, in records of the Committee for the Improvement of Music in Certain Churches.
Mason and his wife Abigail certainly had not always felt bound to stay in Savannah for the rest of their lives, but the subject was a complicated one for them. After the death in 1822 of Daniel Gregory, Abigail Mason’s father, the Masons had told Hannah Gregory that they would be quick to return north “the moment we can see any reasonable prospect of obtaining a decent and comfortable support.” Since then the HHS Collection had provided a tidy supplemental income for the Masons, but nothing like “a decent and comfortable support” on its own. Mason had continued to work at the Planter’s Bank and part-time for various charitable organizations.

Leaving the positions and network of Savannah for even a year or two of guaranteed income was certainly, for Mason’s calculating business mind, a huge risk. According to T.F. Seward, later a close colleague of Mason’s, Mason had been longing to move back to Massachusetts—not to Westborough, where his mother-in-law lived, but to Boston itself: “Mason had stood on the banks of the Savannah River, watching a ship pass on its way to Boston, and said to himself,

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79 [Abigail Mason] to Hannah Gregory, 2 September 1822, Box 4, Folder 15 of MSS 33, Lowell Mason Papers, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University. The letter is credited to Abigail Mason (followed in Pemberton, Life and Work, 24; transcribed at more length in “Life and Work,” 74), perhaps based on the address (“dear mother”) and the scrawled signature. Handwriting comparison suggests that it may be Lowell Mason’s script instead, and the first-person pronouns are all plural. Furthermore, a sentence near the letter’s beginning seems to preclude Abigail’s authorship: “As Abigail will write immediately in answer to your letter, this shall be confined to one subject introduced in Aunt Anna’s letters—that is our future prospects.” Mason addresses Hannah Gregory as “dear mother” in his letters to her catalogued in Yale MSS 33 Box 4, Folder 2. Pemberton agrees, however, that this statement perfectly describes the couple’s attitude (Life and Work, 24) and the attitude of Mason himself (“Life and Work,” 75).
'How I wish I was going to Boston on that schooner to be made president of the Handel and Haydn Society.'“80 In addition to being a businessman, Lowell Mason was also a musician, in some ways, even in the emotionally invested sense of the term, an artist. Mason’s ability to negotiate these two facets of his personality—artist and businessman—is one of the primary reasons he could eventually become the richest musician in America. He must also, however, have experienced great tension in 1827.

While Pemberton’s account of Mason’s decision to move has little documentation and requires some conjecture, her conclusion that “Mason entered into serious negotiations with the Boston Church Committee only after he had decided to move to Boston to lead the Handel and Haydn Society,”81 based on a survey of the same documents, seems fairly accurate. In June 1827, Mason helped charter a new church in Savannah: as Pemberton concludes, “he did not anticipate an imminent move.”82 On July 25, the CIMCC recorded Mason’s refusal of their latest offer. On August 8, the committee recorded that they had no further offers to make him.83 During the month of August, however, Mason changed his mind. On August 31, immediately after the HHS elected him president, he strode into

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81 *Life and Work*, 45.
82 Ibid., 44.
83 Ibid., 43.
Boylston Hall to accept the office. He had evidently been waiting in the wings; the Society’s elections of president-conductor had to that point never been tumultuous. That fall, Mason began carrying out the CIMCC’s requests, beginning at Lyman Beecher’s Hanover Street Church.

The turn of events was truly remarkable; as Pemberton says, it seems clear that Mason decided to move to Boston only when he learned that the HHS would elect him president. No remaining documents prove the assertion, but Amasa Winchester seems the most likely candidate for making it possible.

Amasa Winchester, Mason’s predecessor at the HHS, had not been on the committee when it was formed after Mason’s 1826 lecture. As noted above, however, he joined “willingly” when the committee turned to individual subscribers to better its offers. He was, according to the plea Mason received from Hanover Street deacon Daniel Noyes, the only subscriber not from “our cong[regational] orthodox church.” As noted above, however, Winchester did associate with a prominent Boston church that indeed was very similar in all but its theology of baptism (though possibly also in its members’ average

84 “He addressed the members very pertinently and accepted the trust.” HHS, Minutes 1824–1833 for 31 August, 1827. Perkins (Foundations, 93) mentions the regular monthly meeting of September 4, which HHS minutes indicate Mason attended. Pemberton (Life and Work, 44) says the election was September 3, possibly a scribal error relying on Perkins.
85 Pemberton, Life and Work, 47–48.
86 Ibid., 45.
socioeconomic status) to the Orthodox Congregational churches the committee wanted Mason to serve. That church was also the second church in which Mason had given his 1826 address; Winchester had likely heard Mason’s address himself.\(^8\)

Noyes’s plea is also worth noting for its overtly spiritual dimension; new churches just like the ones on the list were being planted, and the bulk of Mason’s support was Orthodox Congregational churches that Mason would have no qualms about serving.\(^9\) Boston Orthodox Congregationalism was flourishing under a revival, and church music often receives greater attention when churches receive greater attention. It is wise to remember, however, that the word “revival” in the 1820s usually described movements with little cultural clout and even less connection to the repertoire and rules of counterpoint on

\(^{88}\) After naming Lyman Beecher, Pemberton (ibid., 113) labels Daniel Sharp and the other three signees of the October 10, 1826 request for publication of Mason’s address only as “church members.”

\(^{89}\) There may have been some tension in Mason’s mind between Congregationalism and Presbyterianism. Most of the churches he served were highly similar to each other in theology (with interdependent congregations in the former group and denominational authority in the latter), and he did go back and forth between the two sides of the 1801 Plan of Union (see Chapter Two). It is possible, however, that leaving an independent “Presbyterian” church (effectively a Congregationalist church separated from other similar groups) in June 1827 to form a fully Presbyterian assembly had created for Mason a cognitive disconnect that Noyes was addressing. Mason remained in Orthodox Congregational churches (there were many to choose from) his entire time in Boston. He was glad when the church he helped start in New Jersey voted to be Congregational, though, as Pemberton quotes him, “we have Presbyterians all around us” (LM to Ray Palmer, 31 May 1860, cited in Pemberton, Life and Work, 196). Long before 1860, regional migration within the Republic and extensive immigration from non-Anglican nations had made the Plan of Union far less meaningful and powerful. Congregational churches would within a few years form their own denomination, a key predecessor of, among others, the United Church of Christ.
which Mason had made his national reputation. These were cultured Bostonians flocking to formal evangelical churches with choirs and organists, and they distinguished themselves in the strongest terms from revivalist Westerners they had heard about cavorting in camp meetings (see Chapter One on Mason’s religious world). In short, there could be no better audience for Mason’s aesthetics of church music than Boston, and no time was likely better than the mid-1820s.

Pemberton is not sure when Mason learned of the HHS opportunity, but the timeline between August 8 and August 31 allows for a very clear possibility: Winchester decided the time was right to give the HHS to Mason.

Winchester had been trying for several years to step down from running the HHS. He stepped down for the year 1823–24 and had “declined accepting” his reelection in 1824, prompting a constitutional squabble over the legality of electing anyone else. Eventually he seems to have acquiesced (he did have a solo in the Dec. 21 performance of Creation), but board member Otis Everett presided over several meetings. In 1825 Winchester seems not to have attended the business meeting—Everett presided again during the choice of officers—but was elected again. The election of 1826 he seems not to have opposed.90

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90 Minutes, 1824–1833.
Winchester was by all accounts a highly likable, genial man and understood the power of well-timed, perfectly chosen motivation.91 Winchester was also firmly behind the idea of Mason’s move to Boston. George Denny wanted to make sure Mason knew how excited his president was: “I should remark, that Mr. Winchester came forward voluntarily and signed the paper.”92 Denny mentioned no other specific names in what was essentially a cover letter for the offer where the names were all listed.

Given the committee’s series of counter-offers, picturing Mason’s answers as flat denials is difficult. Based on Noyes’s letter of April 30, Mason may have balked at accepting support from Methodist and Baptist churches. Even after the offer came from Congregational churches only, however, Mason was still unready. It seems very possible that Mason’s refusal recorded by the committee on July 25 included at least a hint of his dream to become the Society’s president. It also seems very likely that in the committee’s attempt to better the standing offer between July 25 and August 8, someone mentioned that dream to Winchester.93

Ships often sailed the Boston–Savannah route in about ten days; even if

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91 Mason’s style occasionally seemed nearly dictatorial by contrast. In an anecdote (without citation included but presumably from HHS records), Johnson and Perkins say that one day Mason, frustrated by a trombonist’s failure to reach some high notes, “rapped sharply on the desk” and said, “We cannot have that trombone!” The player “precipitately left the hall.” Mason asked another player, “What would Winchester have done?” Winchester’s imagined response, per the player: “That trombone is very beautiful but, if you please, we will try the air without it, and see how it sounds” (Johnson, Hallelujah, Amen, 41; see also Perkins, Foundations of the Society, 72).

92 George Denny to LM, 30 April 1827 (emphasis original).

93 Records from the Committee for the Improvement of Music in Certain Churches.
Winchester waited until after the August 8 meeting confirmed that the committee’s plans were faltering, just enough time remained for him or an agent like Denny to dash off a quick offer on the next ship and for Mason to pack up some belongings and head for Boston. However Mason got his notice, heading for Boston is exactly what he did.

Conclusion

In August 1827, Lowell Mason stepped into the presidency of the HHS. His assumption of the role did create some tension. But his activities since 1821 had become a much more desirable candidate. The importance of Mason’s work to the Society’s survival, the musical recognition he had enjoyed in Savannah and in national musical publications, and (perhaps most importantly) Boston evangelicals’ enthusiastic reaction to his publicly presented philosophy of church music all combined to make him a candidate worth electing. The final achievement of Amasa Winchester’s HHS presidency was to secure a suitable successor. The long-distance relationship had ended; the honeymoon had begun.

94 Even if Winchester did so, he may not have notified the HHS board; Society minutes record no official meetings between July 22 and August 30.
Mason as President

When Mason became the HHS president in August 1827, he was still relatively unknown. The national reputation he would acquire from his pedagogical work and his later publications was probably hard to foresee. While he had led a few ambitious programs in Savannah, he had never been the regular director of any choral organization and had never presided over any organization with a national reputation and frequent performances. Mason was certainly aware that the HHS presidency would greatly increase the publicity of his musical activities.

Having Mason in Boston also changed the HHS. It made it easier for the HHS to pursue its still-profitable publishing activities. Mason was also the first president to pursue music as his primary profession; writing teacher and founding member Benjamin Holt, co-editor of the Bridgwater Collection, was the closest thing the HHS had ever had. Amasa Winchester had inherited an estate and had enlarged it as a merchant; Robert Rogerson had prospered running a mill. Thomas Smith Webb had been a printer. After one mercantile partnership ended, Mason seems to have settled for wages supplemented by small-time non-profit assistance. Even in his last several years in Savannah, Mason’s financial security
came through music. From 1827, banking was merely a temporary supplement to his activities in conducting, teaching, and publishing music.

Age thirty-five when he arrived in Boston, Mason was the youngest and most ambitious man to become HHS president.¹ Just as Mason’s father had entered Medfield politics after his dry-goods business prospered, each previous HHS president had already achieved a measure of wealth before serving. Holt’s leisure had probably come as much through Bridgewater as through his teaching. Rogerson eventually went bankrupt, but at the time of his election in 1823 he was building the village now known as Rogerson Village (Uxbridge, MA) and at the height of his career.² By contrast, Mason was using the HHS as a platform—not to display his achievements but to achieve. His arrival in Boston was the launching point for his musical career. Mason’s ambition brought a new level of professionalism to the HHS that it seems to have needed desperately. By all accounts, he raised expectations at every level of the organization: the choir, soloists, organist, board, and orchestra alike. Within a few years after his departure, the HHS had begun to pay their presidents.³ Not long afterward, they

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¹ Thomas S. Webb (1771–1819) had been about 44, Benjamin Holt (1773–1861) 45, Winchester (1776–1843) 43, and Robert Rogerson (1786–1862) 37 when first assuming the presidency.
² Rogerson demonstrated his wealth by donating a cello to the HHS upon his election in 1823. Minutes, 1819–1824, Box 1, Folder 41 of HHS Records, MS 5084, Boston Public Library.
³ The first president to receive pay was Bartholomew Brown (1836–37), editor of the Bridgewater Collection. The first president after Mason, Samuel Richardson (1832–34), was president two terms and was the last founding member to preside. Charles C. Perkins calls Brown an original member, but his name does not appear on the list of signees and appears in an 1828 list of the Society’s honorary members. Charles C. Perkins and John S. Dwight, From the
established separate offices for president and conductor. Over time, the HHS moved even further away from the harmonized hymn-tunes that had supported its early years. By contrast, Mason’s career was headed toward eliciting broader levels participation, not preparing newer masterpieces.

**Mason as Bostonian**

Living in Boston made it much easier than before for Mason to do what he did best; publish music and teach musicians. New England was still a major center of American culture in 1827, and Mason was ready to take advantage of Boston’s opportunities. He had produced one HHSC collection in the six years since beginning his HHS publishing contract; while HHSC editions kept their previous pace at nearly one per year, other collections published both with and without the HHS began to appear with lightning speed. Further volumes of the Society’s collection of sacred music and the 1828 and 1830 editions of the Society’s similar collection called *Choral Harmony* represented the highest level of difficulty.

By 1829, however, Mason had also completed the *Juvenile Psalmist*, the year after Pemberton dates his first singing schools for children. It seems to have been Boston church music that moved Winchester to hand Mason the HHS, and Mason’s 1826 address had already declared Mason’s allegiance to elementary-

age music education in pursuing that goal. Mason wanted to see as many young people as possible gain skills for congregational singing. Such work could hardly help the HHS—at least its finances or its programming—at all, even if Mason honored his agreements to split royalties on anything that had appeared in the HHS Collection. And the distance between Mason’s new ventures and the HHS world soon began to show. During the 1830–31 season, Mason missed a few board meetings. On August 1, 1831, the HHS heard a letter from Mason declining reelection—and promptly voted him back in. He missed several more board meetings the following season. By 1832, when Mason stepped down from the HHS presidency, the Boston Academy of Music was beginning its activities. Mason’s workload had increased drastically, and while he continued to serve in 1832–33 as HHS trustee he was absent from most of the meetings.4

Mason as Handel and Haydn Competitor

In Savannah, Mason was (especially after Abel’s death in 1820) one of the few in the city who knew counterpoint. While he was not the only person to offer a singing-school during his years of residence, the number of singing-masters seems to have been very few. Mason knew that Boston was a far better place to launch a music career, but many others had the same thought—especially as his star rose. Mason’s relationships with competitors (whether a Society trombonist, a church he was leaving, or a professional enemy) did not always display the

4 Minutes, 1824–1833, Box 1, Folder 42 in Handel and Haydn Society Records.
selfless attitude his theology demanded. He came to regret his sharp tongue later in life, a regret shown by a lament in an 1858 letter to his sons: “How often do unguarded words come back with injury upon him who uttered them.”

By 1832, Mason had also begun producing non-HHS collections of church music that directly competed with the HHSC. By 1834, HHSC sales had begun to slow. This created great conflict until Mason clarified in 1834 that the HHS would still receive half of his profits. The official HHS committee appointed in 1834 to inspect his contracts also agreed that from beginning to end, Mason and the HHS had enjoyed a mutually profitable relationship. Depending on a former president’s word, however, was not as comforting as depending on a current president’s work. “Repeatedly, money would spark friction between the Society and its illustrious ex-president; repeatedly, money would smooth things over.”

By January 18, 1838, he had requested and received a discharge from HHS membership. The Society again voted him an honorary member, and again he

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5The context clarifies that Mason speaks here of his own past as well as urging his sons to change. LM to sons Daniel Gregory Mason and Lowell Mason Jr., 30 January 1858, quoted in Carol A. Pemberton, “Lowell Mason: His Life and Work” (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1971), 400. The more abridged version of the letter that appears in Pemberton, Lowell Mason: His Life and Work (Ann Arbor, MI: Greenwood Press, 1985), 198, does not include this section but shows that Mason also regretted what he felt had been an extravagant lifestyle.

6 Matthew Guerreri suspects that HHS member and former Mason associate George W. Lucas had already fallen out with Mason by 1834 and may have penned the anonymous attack on Mason’s editorial competence. “Singing, Hymnbooks, and Education,” in The Handel and Haydn Society: Bringing Music to Life for 200 Years (Boston: Handel & Haydn Society, in association with David R. Godine, 2014), 88–89.

7 Several of the 1833–34 trustees had served under Mason’s presidency, and one member of the Contracts committee was Jubal Howe, Mason’s old Savannah friend.

8 Guerreri, “Singing, Hymnbooks, and Education,” 89.
refused the honor. Around 1839, the last edition of HHSC appeared. The 1840 collection edited by then-president George James Webb received little public acclaim, despite being aired at several public rehearsals, and does not seem to have earned a second edition. The HHS was done with tunebooks and ready to turn wholeheartedly to oratorio performance. Though it took a few years, the Society finally did just that. It began to replace publication revenue with increased rentals for its fine performance space, and it weathered the storm. Never again would it publish a tunebook.

Mason’s Genteel World

Mason’s departure from the HHS could perhaps have been predicted even before his arrival. His national reputation was not founded on his ability to produce oratorio, publish oratorio selections, or develop disciplined soloists, all of which he did faithfully as HHS president. It was certainly not in locating or premiering masterpieces or engaging world-class soloists. Rather, Mason had come to

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9 Minutes, 1833–1839, Box 2, Folder 2 of Handel and Haydn Society Records, MS 5084, Boston Public Library. The Board granted Mason’s request for an honorable discharge and unanimously elected him an honorary HHS member “in testimony for his arduous and faithful services in the cause of the society.” An added note in smaller script reads, “Mr. M. did not accept honorary membership.” Pemberton (Life and Work, 34) says that Mason “maintained his membership continuously . . . as long as he lived.” The statement seems to be a paraphrase of H.L. Mason (“Life and Work,” 116), who says that Mason “retained” HHS membership “so long as he lived.” H.L. Mason, who did not consult the HHS records, appears to have been mistaken.

10 As part of its bicentennial celebration in 2015, Handel and Haydn recorded selections from the Old Colony Collection. The Old Colony Collection, The Handel and Haydn Society Chorus conducted by Harry Christophers, CORO COR16145 CD, 2016.
prominence as a fervent apostle of a certain type of music, done at a certain level of quality, in a certain type of church: the genteel evangelical one.

The term *genteel* has meant many things, but the genteel reacted against by early-twentieth century Modernism, especially in literature, seems the closest counterpart to Mason’s world. The theological definition of that world was discussed in Chapter Three, but the sociocultural limitations are related to Mason’s study of counterpoint and composition. This study allowed Mason to provide “translations” (see Peter Mercer-Taylor’s work discussed in Chapter Four) of Viennese Classicism, and it allowed him to provide passable harmonies for tunes that Americans knew and loved but that trained musicians could hardly stand to harmonize. It also allowed him to appreciate what he knew as “Gregorian” chant and oratorio and to produce melodies like **Hamburg** and (though Handel’s works have not yielded an exact model) **Antioch**. Hardly memorable in themselves, both were highly appropriate settings for their original and eventual texts (“When I Survey the Wondrous Cross” and “Joy to the World”). It even prepared him to educate children with methods that trained musicians like George James Webb could almost always appreciate.

What that genteel sense meant for Mason, however, was that not only could he ignore or eliminate fuguing tunes, parallel fifths, and shape notes drawn from the singing-school tradition, but he could also step away from oratorio societies
to focus on music education, could focus on “bottom-up” music education\(^{11}\) and rely on colleagues for leading students in great music, and could even end choral and orchestral participation in church music programs (see his work in the 1850s at Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, Manhattan).\(^{12}\) Mason’s desire to make access to “scientific” music as widely available as possible was the immediate cause for his departure.

The educated church choir and even the educated congregation were Mason’s markers of musical excellence. Evangelical zeal, at the end of Mason’s life, meant even more than the aesthetic standards he continued to champion. His son William P. Mason (1829–1908) became one of the most famous American pianists of the nineteenth century. William Mason provided organ accompaniment for his father’s church music in the 1850s—but he also disagreed with his father on the

\(^{11}\) This is Jan Swafford’s apt term for Mason’s (and the early HHS’s), though not purely democratic, widely republican method of improving music standards in “Two Hundred Years: An Overview,” *The Handel and Haydn Society: Bringing Music to Life for 200 Years* (Boston: Handel & Haydn Society, in association with David R. Godine, 2014), 27.

\(^{12}\) See Robert S. Baker, “A History of Our Church’s Music,” and George T. Peck, “Historical Account,” in *A Noble Landmark of New York* (New York: Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, 1960). Baker is not sure (113) whether a choir existed before Mason’s day, but the approving letter quoted by Peck of J.W. Alexander, then the pastor, is more precise: “Mason is our leader, but . . . he is so bent on severe, plain tunes and congregational singing, that while I am tickled amazingly, the people are disappointed” (33–34). Previous to Mason’s return from Europe, the church had enjoyed a choir. Alexander’s letter, written 11 November 1853, appears in John Hall, ed., *Forty Years’ Familiar Letters of James W. Alexander: Constituting, with Notes, a Memoir of His Life* (New York: Scribner, 1870), 2:191. Hall included a letter from Mason about Alexander: “He told me, when it was suggested that there might be a danger of a return to choir-singing, that he would not remain pastor of a church where the singing was exclusively in the hands of a choir” (ibid.) Alexander’s ideals for church music (“psalmodic service”) appear in the letter of 3 September 1847 (ibid, 2:72–73).
relationship of music to religion. According to Johnson, Mason treated the HHS “as an oversize church choir,” and both Johnson’s view of Mason and Mason’s view of the 1827 HHS seem appropriate. In 1827, the HHS was highly similar to an ambitious church choir, both in the background of its members and in the aspirations of its leadership. Rather than prepare a premiere, most years the HHS leaders had been more than content to publish a new work of sacred music or church music. Leading a church choir or congregation was Mason’s ideal musical experience. As the nineteenth century progressed, the HHS grew further and further away from that ideal, and the tone of Mason’s 1869 letter provides a fitting postscript to his relationship with the HHS. Mason speaks of his publishing relationship and (indirectly) his benevolence of starting that relationship “through a poor friend in Waltham.” If his letter included any statements about artistic excellence, the HHS historians wisely chose not to mention it.

Conclusions and Directions for Further Research

This study has led to several conclusions, some of which confirm previous scholarship. Perhaps the most important conclusion that seems new is the realization of how much Mason and the HHS had in common during 1815–1827.

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13 See also the criticisms as early as 1826 of Mason’s aesthetics of church music as presented in the *North American Review* (Chapter Six).
14 *Hallelujah*, 50.
The ties go far deeper and much further back than has been previously shown. The instructors Mason had in music and aesthetics during his childhood formed many social and musical ties to the HHS from its founding. Henry K. Kollock, who was Mason’s pastor in Savannah (and in one sense, the supervisor of Mason’s musical activities as related to his church) also had close ties to a Boston church that supported the HHS most fully. In addition to the social ties, Calvinist evangelicalism was something that Mason had in common with many (not all) in the HHS. This was especially true for HHS members from Park Street Church and its sister churches like Hanover Street. Scholars should not assume that those Calvinist evangelicals made up the vast majority of supporters for Mason’s “scientific” aesthetics, whether in the HHS or in the Boston Academy that consumed Mason’s time for so much of the 1830s. Nevertheless, acknowledging the importance of Calvinist evangelicals in Boston, Savannah, and elsewhere in supporting the aesthetic mission shared by Mason and the HHS seems a crucial step in seeing early American music for something more like its real self. This reality, so much as can be known, is neither the more or less pure elevation of musical culture celebrated in the early 20th century nor the secularized story that fits more neatly into modern histories. Mason was driven to elevate popular aesthetics and to spread evangelicalism, and his skills in business and related fields helped him garner support both from those like Lyman Beecher and Henry Kollock, who affirmed Mason’s core religious views, and from those like J.R. Parker and G.K. Jackson, who evidently did not.
It is important to remember that Mason helped the HHS survive, and this study clarifies how that happened. No one may ever know what would have happened to the HHS had Mason’s collection not come along, but it seems very possible that the Society would have become just another footnote in Boston’s and American music’s history. The HHS had displayed evangelical fervor, business acumen, and aesthetic ambition from the beginning. No one has ever proven that the combination of those three ingredients ensures long-term success. But when Winchester saw Mason’s manuscript in 1821, he saw an economic opportunity as much as he did an aesthetic or liturgical one. And when Winchester realized in 1827 that he and his fellow subscribers were failing to attract Mason to Boston churches through money alone, he seems to have realized that offering Mason both the churches and the HHS would be literally a win-win-win-win situation. Not only would it benefit the three other parties, but it would also free Winchester from the position he had long been trying to vacate. Many others in Winchester’s position, a few presidents into an organization’s life cycle, would have either drained the organization to maintain the position or would have drained the organization by leaving it. Winchester avoided both pitfalls successfully. By economic and historical standards, at least, everyone involved was better off because of it.

It should not be forgotten that the HHS also helped Mason. Had he not succeeded in partnering with the HHS, Mason’s name might well be no better
known in American music history now than G.K. Jackson’s or Gottlieb Graupner’s. Hymnology records might acclaim Charles Zeuner just as highly as Mason. George Washington Lucas might have ended life just as prosperously as Mason. And George J. Webb might have become just as important to the history of music education. It was the partnership with the HHS that allowed Mason to start slowly and to build an organic social network with Bostonians over time. Bostonians were used to New Englanders coming to make their fortune; some succeeded and many did not. But Mason’s career took few risks. When he finally arrived in Boston, he entered not as an unknown newcomer but as an acknowledged leader in the city’s musical life.

When Mason left the HHS, the parting probably seemed over the next few years to be a positive move for him and a negative one for the Society. His Boston Academy of Music not only sent out hundreds of music teachers but also mounted oratorios that rivaled those of the HHS. The HHS did eventually continue its growth, but in a far different direction. What Mason and the HHS had given each other, in those few magical years, was the ability to become something completely different from anything the other would have chosen. Had their partnership not failed, they might not have succeeded without each other as they did. The HHS would not have been able to provide Mason the

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16 Notably under the leadership of Carl Zerrahn (conductor 1854–95), who had come to Boston as a member of the Germania Orchestra.
democratized evangelical market his vision demanded. And Mason, who had
learned his musical classics mostly in adaptation, even if he focused his
remarkable energies on it, would have been hard pressed to provide the HHS
with the kind of artistic rigor it would need to stay at the top of Boston’s music
world into the 1850s.

Much research remains to be done on the relationship between Mason and the
HHS. Further analysis of the conflicts of the 1830s between Mason and the HHS,
especially in light of the financial pressures caused by the Panic of 1837, would
certainly be desirable. The later editions of the HHS *Collection of Church Music*
deserve careful attention, especially as compared to Mason’s other publications
of the 1830s. The issues of *Choral Harmony* that the HHS produced during
Mason’s presidency deserve analysis, especially for how Mason’s editorial and
publication activities on behalf of the HHS in the field of sacred music compare
to those in the field of church music.

Further research on Mason’s religious world and how it interacted with his
musical and educational one, even before 1827 but certainly afterwards, would
also be highly helpful. Mason’s conversion and its relationship to the Plan of
Union, as related in Chapter Three, is far from a thorough appraisal of Mason’s
religious associations after 1827. Mason was clearly committed throughout his
life to joining and serving in evangelical churches, especially Congregational
ones; but far from clear is how that commitment interacted with his host of associations in publishing, the Boston Academy of Music, and musical conventions, to name a few areas of his later activity. Mason’s publications for Episcopalian churches and his single publication in shape notes\textsuperscript{17} deserve comparison as well as contrast. Research on Mason’s relationships with both rural evangelicals and urbane Unitarians, especially in musical conventions for the former and in the HHS and the Boston Academy of Music for the latter, could also provide excellent counterpoints to this study’s theme of his commitment to the coalition of Congregationalists and Presbyterians he found in Savannah, Boston, and New York.

Little is known of the complex interaction after 1827 among Mason’s church work, his educational work, his publications for these and other circles, his involvement in other activities, and the activities he undertook with the HHS. Simply exposing the human connections between Mason’s different spheres of activity would be highly helpful. For example, Julius Palmer (Boston Academy of Music officer) and Daniel Noyes (Hanover Street Church in 1827, Bowdoin Street Church in 1831, and Central Congregational Church in 1843) both played roles in Mason’s later work in Boston after taking part in the group that brought him there. William C. Woodbridge, the pedagogue who taught Mason the system popularized in American as Pestalozzianism, also was for some time a member

\textsuperscript{17} The Sacred Harp or Beauties of Church Music, coedited with T.B. Mason (Cincinnati, 1842).
of Bowdoin Street Church. How many other HHS members did Mason meet outside Society meetings? What was their relationship in those settings?

Much analysis also remains on Mason’s editorial, harmonic, and compositional style in the context of his contemporaries. Oliver Shaw and Thomas Hastings, the two main editors who had used similar sources to the ones Mason used for the HHSC, had also included many of their own compositions. Furthermore, both editors’ collections appeared in the editors’ hometowns. Mason’s ability to keep his own work in the background while getting it the most publicity possible seems to have been one of the reasons for his collection’s success.

Much work also remains to be done on Mason’s manuscript version of the HHS Collection of Church Music. This study has documented only a few of the changes, especially in harmonization. What overall effect those changes had, as well as reasons Jackson might have had for recommending them, would be highly helpful for understanding the development of Mason’s relationship with the HHS after 1821.

In addition, this entire narrative would benefit from a much broader application of general historical data. The 1814 Treaty of Ghent and the Panic of 1837 are just

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two examples of broad historical events that affect Mason’s life directly, and he lived all the way through the Civil War. A great deal more context in the history of American evangelicalism, such as the missionary movement Mason certainly associated with and the camp-meeting from which he definitely distanced himself, certainly would give this account more vividness. Religion was certainly a high priority for Mason, and study of his relationship to religion even in his European tours of the 1830s and 1850s would be very helpful.

Finally, Mason’s artistic world needs to appear in close juxtaposition to the tunesmith world Mason tried to eradicate and the world of the classics from which he retreated. What was it that made him so successful in the first instance and so quick to retreat in the second? This leads to a parting word.

It is tempting to see Mason’s early relationship with the HHS as one built primarily on aesthetics. It is also tempting to see his departure from the HHS as a religious move that took him back closer to his religious sphere, where he eventually preferred great congregational participation to great choral presentations. While much of the data supports such a reading, it misses some crucial pieces that complicate the situation considerably. One of those pieces is the amount of evangelical involvement in the HHS, as shown by the involvement of Park Street Church’s singers and by Amasa Winchester’s apparent membership in a prominent evangelical Baptist church. When Mason joined the
HHS, he was not moving completely outside his religious world. Another piece is the amount of Unitarian and secular influence in the Boston Academy of Music.\textsuperscript{19} When Mason left the HHS, what he entered was not his religious world. After the preaching of Joseph Freeman at King’s Chapel, Joseph S. Buckminster at Brattle Street Church, and William Ellery Channing at Federal Street Church, the Unitarian theology Mason and his churches fought was much stronger in Boston than in Savannah. Douglas F. Moore seems to have been the first to point it out: Mason eventually grew nostalgic for the Christian fellowship he had enjoyed in Savannah, specifically in the years 1813 to 1827.\textsuperscript{20}

It is far better to see the difference behind Mason’s departure as a socio-aesthetic one, though one closely related to Mason’s religion. What Swafford calls Mason’s “bottom-up” approach to growing music literacy and spreading appreciation for “approved music” (a phrase Mason’s titles often used in promoting his selections) was closely related to his religious zeal. For Mason, the primary reason to appreciate beauty and to read music was to produce and receive


\textsuperscript{20} From LM journal, 1 May 1837: “In musical matters especially I have been to much conformed to the world. The Boston Academy of Music is the cause of my associating much with merely worldly people [Mason may mean people with no religious affiliation]—and I need more Christian influence—I need the strength and encouragement that I should certainly derive from a more constant intercourse with Christians—such as I used to have in Savannah.” \textit{A Yankee Musician in Europe: The 1837 Journals of Lowell Mason}, Michael Broyles, ed. (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research, 1990), 18. See Douglas F. Moore, “The Activities of Lowell Mason in Savannah, Georgia, 1813–1827” (MFA thesis, University of Georgia, 1967), 36, citing the entry as quoted in Daniel Gregory Mason, “Some Unpublished Journals of Dr. Lowell Mason,” \textit{The New Music Review and Church Music Review} (1910), 578.
beautiful music in an evangelical church. He was not opposed to oratorio societies like the HHS, though by 1832 his zeal lay elsewhere. He wanted to fill choir lofts across America with singers trained well enough to present “approved music” in a way that allowed its beauties to shine through. In style, Mason championed “scientific” or “approved” music. In the conflict between skill and difficulty, however, participation was even more important for Mason than the masterpieces like Messiah that he loved best. This was the primary difference between Mason and the HHS in 1832. While the church was his primary focus, he emphasized widespread participation in every musical setting.

This study does not claim that the HHS was less religious or evangelical than the Boston Academy of Music. Instead it claims that Mason’s evangelical ideal, rather than the heights of musical artistry, was universal participation in “scientific” music in evangelical churches. The Academy allowed Mason to pursue the democratic side of his goals much more broadly than the HHS did. That factor seems also to lie at the heart of the separation between Mason and the HHS that continued to grow throughout his lifetime. When he assumed office over the HHS, the Society was able to tear him away from a brand-new Savannah church he had just helped establish. In relinquishing that office, Mason did not prove himself too evangelical for the HHS. More populist than the HHS, however, seems to be a label he might have worn proudly.
APPENDIX

HANDEL AND HAYDN SOCIETY COLLECTION OF CHURCH MUSIC (1822),
PIECES ADDED TO MANUSCRIPT

This tabular appendix gives several details regarding the dozens of pieces that are included in the 1st published edition of the *Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music* (Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1822) but do not appear in “Collection of Ps. & HY. Tunes,” Box 1, Folder 22 of the Lowell Mason Papers, MSS 33 of the Irving S. Gilmore Library, Yale University. See Chapters Five and Six for more details.

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<td>The voice of free grace</td>
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Vita

Name
Todd Jones

Education
1999–2004 Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina
Bachelor of Arts, History
cum laude
2004–2007 Bob Jones University
Master of Music, Church Music
2004–2010 Bob Jones University
Master of Divinity

Professional Positions and Service
2016– Assistant Professor of Music, Bob Jones University
2014 Graduate student member, Strategic Planning Committee,
College of Fine Arts, University of Kentucky
2014 Graduate student member, Search Committee, School of
Music Director, University of Kentucky
2013–14 Assistant director, John Jacob Niles Center for American
Music, University of Kentucky
2013–14 President, Graduate Music Colloquium, University of
Kentucky
2011 Concert host, Osher Lifelong Learning Institute
2006–10 Staff editor, Bob Jones University Press

Awards and Honors
Society for American Music
2014 Student Travel Endowment to attend the 2014 meeting
(Lancaster, PA: March 2014)
American Musicological Society
2013 Membership and Professional Development Travel Grant to
present a paper at the 2013 meeting
University of Kentucky
2016 Keith B. MacAdam American Music Research and Travel
Fund to complete dissertation research (March 2016)
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<th>Year</th>
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<td>2014</td>
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<td>2014</td>
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<td>2014</td>
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<td>2014</td>
<td>Rey M. Longyear Musicology Research and Travel Award to pursue dissertation research (June–July 2014)</td>
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<td>Graduate School Student Travel Support to present papers at the Third North American Conference on Nineteenth-Century Music and the 35th annual meeting of the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic</td>
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Bob Jones University

2004 Who’s Who Among Students at American Colleges and Universities

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