THE BEGINNINGS OF MUSIC IN THE BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS:
DECISIONS OF THE BOSTON SCHOOL COMMITTEE IN 1837
AND 1845 IN LIGHT OF RELIGIOUS AND MORAL
CONCERNS OF THE TIME

DISSERTATION

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The research problems of this dissertation were: 1) A description of the perceived value of music in light of political undercurrents in Boston prior to and during the years under investigation, and 2) the profile of the constituency of the Boston School Committee and Committee on Music in 1837 and 1845. Questions addressed the effect of religious and moral concerns of the day on the decision by the School Committee in 1837 to try music in the curriculum, and the possible effect of religious politics on Lowell Mason’s dismissal from the schools in 1845.

In the minds of mid-nineteenth century Bostonians, religious and moral values were intrinsic to the very nature of music. Key members on the School Committee portrayed music as being spiritual yet nonsectarian in its influence. Therefore, the findings suggest that music was believed to provide common ground between opposing and diverse religious sects.

Reasons given for Mason’s dismissal by John Sargent, a member of the Committee on Music, showed parallels to H. W.
Day's accusations in the press a year earlier that Mason had managed his position in a sectarian manner. Sargent's background supports the theory that religious politics were at work in Mason's dismissal.

Although members of the School Committee of 1845 were religious, only isolated cases support the proposition that any of them would have opposed Mason strictly on the basis of religious issues. Evidence suggests that their passivity to the action by the Committee on Music was probably due to concurrent public criticism of attempts at school reform within the Committee. While under such scrutiny, Committee members' inaction regarding Mason's dismissal may have reflected a desire not to jeopardize their own positions as a political body.
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August 28, 1838, the day when the Boston School Committee voted to employ a music teacher in the city’s public schools, marks the official beginning of public school music in the United States. This action was the culmination of the work of several individuals who had sought to introduce music into the school curriculum as early as 1830.¹

Between 1825 and 1830, William C. Woodbridge, an American geographer, observed music instruction in German and Swiss schools based upon the educational philosophy of Heinrich Pestalozzi. Greatly impressed with what he had seen, Woodbridge decided to propose a similar implementation of vocal music into the Boston school curriculum. He gathered around him citizens who had the skills and knowledge to turn the proposal into reality. Perhaps the most notable of these citizens was Lowell Mason, at that time primarily a church musician and singing instructor. Other citizens came from many occupational backgrounds but

¹The most detailed account of such attempts has been provided by Bruce Dunbar Wilson’s “A Documentary History of Music in the Public Schools of the City of Boston, 1830-1850,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1973 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, No. 73-24, 719), 1:20-76.
became equally influential in the new movement. One of those individuals, George Snelling, suggested to the Primary School Board that music be taught experimentally in some of Boston's primary schools; in 1832 the proposal was approved. However, even though it was accepted, the plan failed to be implemented.²

In 1833, the Boston Academy of Music was founded. This newly formed organization was composed of men who, spanning a variety of occupational backgrounds, were united in their desire to promote music both in education and in the Boston society as a whole. In 1836, Samuel A. Eliot, president of the Boston Academy of Music, presented a petition to the Boston School Committee seeking to introduce music into the schools. While this petition was referred to a special subcommittee for consideration, there is no record that the subcommittee ever forwarded a recommendation regarding that petition.³

In 1837, Samuel A. Eliot was elected mayor of Boston, a position which also made him chairman of the School Committee.⁴ Soon after taking office, Eliot used his new position to assign a new subcommittee to report on the

²According to Tellstrom, an experiment was begun, but "was never completely carried through." A. Theodore Tellstrom, Music in American Education: Past and Present (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971), 38.

³Wilson, 1:60.

⁴Wilson, 1:62.
possibility of introducing music instruction into the schools. The chairman of the subcommittee, Thomas Kemper Davis, an attorney, prepared a report in which he provided several rationales in support of public music education. This report was presented to the School Committee on August 24, 1837, and prompted the School Committee's vote on September 19 to accept the year long experiment of music in the Boston schools. Deliberation by city officials over financial concerns would have killed the project had it not been for the offer of Lowell Mason to teach that year without pay.

The experiment was considered so successful that on August 28, 1838, a regular salaried position was created for music instructor of the upper grades in all the Grammar and Writing schools of Boston. Lowell Mason continued to play a prominent role in the Boston schools, both as music instructor and supervisor, hiring assistants to work under him. This prominent role is responsible for his being credited with bringing music into the American school curriculum, but Wilson has clearly shown that several other individuals were involved in working toward the end of making music a part of the Boston school curriculum.  

My study particularly addresses the motivations of those persons other than Lowell Mason for considering music

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*Wilson, 1:20-76.*
an important part of the general curriculum. Specifically, I propose that a clear relationship may be found between the religious conflicts and moral concerns of the time and the decision of the Boston School Committee to try the experiment of music in the curriculum in 1837. I also propose that a similar relationship may be found in regard to the School Committee of 1845 and the decision to dismiss Lowell Mason that year.

Rationale and Research Questions

In Davis's report presented to the School Committee on August 24, 1837, several reasons were cited for including music in the curriculum, among them the intellectual, moral, and physical advantages to the learner.® Intellectually, the report stressed that music had its place among the seven liberal arts of scholastic ages; memory, comparison, and attention were noted to be enhanced by the study of musical principles. Musical advantages from the activity of singing were cited, in that the exercise of the lungs was thought to defend the students against various diseases. Davis states that it is "self-evident that exercises in

® Only vocal music was being recommended; instrumental music was not considered at all in this call for music in the schools.

™ Musical Tract—No. 1: Report of the School Committee of the City of Boston, on the Expediency of Introducing Musical Instruction into the Public Schools (Thomas Kemper Davis, chairman (Boston: The Boston Academy of Music, 1840)), 2.
Vocal Music when not carried to an unreasonable excess, must expand the chest, and thereby strengthen the lungs and vital organs."

Beyond these frequently quoted intellectual and physical aspects, additional statements supporting the moral effects of music appear in the report:

Now it is a curious fact, that the natural scale of musical sound can only produce good, virtuous, and kindly feelings. You must reverse this scale, if you would call forth the sentiments of a corrupt, degraded, and degenerate character. . . . if there be this necessary concordance between certain sounds and certain trains of moral feeling, is it unphilosophical to say that exercises in Vocal Music may be so directed and arranged as to produce those habits of feeling of which these sounds are the types?" 

The argument goes on to suggest that music could be used to affect the moral government of the schools. It should be noted also that the theme of music as a carrier of moral effects recurs several times throughout the document:

Music has its moral purposes, which dancing has not.10

Music, when kept to its legitimate uses, calls forth none but the better feelings of our nature.11

The great point to be considered in reference to the introduction of Vocal Music into popular elementary instruction is, that thereby you set in motion a mighty power which silently, but surely in the end, will humanize, refine, and elevate a whole community. . . .

*Musical Tract, 3.

*Musical Tract, 3.

*Musical Tract, 6.

*Musical Tract, 10.
Music is allied to the highest sentiments of man's moral nature, love of God, love of country, love of friends. Wo [sic] to the nation in which these sentiments are allowed to go to decay!  

In addition to these moral reasons, a religious purpose is stated as well:

There is one other consideration to which the Committee ask the serious attention of the Board. It is this. By the regulations of the School Committee it is provided, that in all the Public Schools, the day shall open with becoming exercises of devotion. How naturally and how beautifully Vocal Music would mingle with these exercises; and what unity, harmony and meaning might thus be given to that which at present, it is feared, is too often found to be a lifeless or an unfruitful service, need only be suggested to be understood. The Committee ask the Board to pause and consider whether the importance has been sufficiently looked to, of letting in a predominating religious sentiment, independently of all forms of faith, to preside over the destinies of our Schools.  

In this argument, T. Kemper Davis clearly is distinguishing between religious reasons for music in the schools and the moral reasons which had already been presented. More importantly, he appears to affix a certain importance to this rationale by offering it last. By recommending a "predominating religious sentiment," he could be suggesting a superior role for religion in the schools. On the other hand, Davis proposes introducing this religious element

13Musical Tract, 11.

13Musical Tract, 4-5. In his History of Public School Music in the United States (New and Augmented ed., 1939), p. 43, Edward Bailey Birge errs in quoting the final statement of this passage as "to preside over the religious [italics mine] destinies of our school." The word "religious" is not repeated thus in earlier versions.
"independently of all forms of faith." It is apparent that more than a moral effect was intended, for that had already been discussed. But a clear line is drawn to exclude the doctrinal stances of any particular sect. It is unlikely that Davis, being an attorney, would build his case on a foundation of haphazard statements. Perhaps, by recommending the introduction of a "religious sentiment, independently of all forms of faith," he intended that music would override sectarian religious differences in Boston. If so, the question arises as to what contemporary religious controversies necessitated this exact wording.

Statements as to the religious and moral values of music were not new. These values, which have been considered extra-musical in our own century, were expressed as part of music's nature in those documents calling for the introduction of music into the school curriculum. The earliest known of these is the lecture, "On Vocal Music as a Branch of Common Education," which William C. Woodbridge delivered before the American Institute of Instruction in 1830.14 The address contains numerous allusions to moral and religious matters; a few of the more prominent passages will suffice to show the importance of these values of music

14See The Introductory Discourse and Lectures Delivered in Boston, Before the Convention of Teachers, and Other Friends of Education, Assembled to Form the American Institute of Instruction (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little and Wilkins, 1831), 231-255.
in the speaker’s mind. One particular portion summarizes these views:

[Music] might assist in subduing to peace the unsated cravings of the lust for gold, the devouring rage of ambition, and the ferocious spirit of party that infest our lands — more unsparing, more desolating in their ravages, than the wild beasts that were subdued by the harp of Orpheus. It might do much to calm the demoniac passions, and overcome the grovelling propensities which follow in their train. . . .

The immediate object to be accomplished by making vocal music a branch of common education, is to cultivate one of the faculties which our Creator, in his wisdom, has seen fit to bestow upon us. . . . But the ultimate objects are those for which it is obvious this gift was bestowed. The first and highest is to unite with our fellow Christians in expressing our gratitude and love to our heavenly Father. In doing this, we rouse and excite our own devotional feelings and stir up each other to new life in the worship of God.\[*\]

To support his views, Woodbridge turns to opinions expressed by Martin Luther, who admonished the young to esteem highly this “gift of God; the knowledge and diligent use of which, will, at all times, drive off evil thoughts, and diminish the effect of evil society and vices.”\[*\] Woodbridge concludes his arguments with the conviction that music would have no small influence on school discipline, drawing upon Plato,\[*\] as well as Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg and Johann Jacob Wehrli.\[*\]

\[* Introductory Discourse, 237-38.\]
\[* Introductory Discourse, 241, punctuated as in the original.\]
\[* Introductory Discourse, 242.\]
\[* Introductory Discourse, 249.\]
The attitudes noted in Woodbridge's speech are echoed once again in later proposals for music in the curriculum. J. Baxter Upham quotes the report of George H. Snelling, dated December, 1831.19 In the report, Snelling had strongly urged the Primary School Board of Boston to adopt music as a regular study in its primary schools:

... Not only as a vehicle of moral instruction, but as in itself an exercise favorable to a healthy state of the mind and the feelings, the cultivation of this art should hold an important place among the means of acting upon the character of children. ...

... If a taste of this kind can be made a source of satisfying enjoyment, the resort to gross indulgences will of course be discouraged, and the purity and happiness of social life be promoted.20

The Boston Academy of Music's petition of 1836, which immediately preceded the successful attempt to introduce music into the public school curriculum in 1837, likewise makes reference to the ennobling effect of music. Although a brief document, the petition includes this appraisal of the art:

... Whenever it has been extensively & regularly pursued, whether in ancient or modern times, it has produced favorable results visible in the character of nations; & it has speedily effected a change for the better, in the deportment, the disposition, & the

19 J. Baxter Upham, "Report of the Committee on Music," Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Boston, 1869 (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1870), 115-158. According to a footnote in Wilson, "A Documentary History," 2:81, the manuscript of Snelling's report, which was used by Upham, has since been lost.

20 Upham, 124.
aptitude for other studies in the few schools into which it has been introduced in this town & vicinity.\textsuperscript{21}

The overview of related research in music education reveals no clues as to the historical significance of the statements which I have noted. Although there is evidence that the School Committee watched the beginning music program with apprehensive scrutiny,\textsuperscript{22} the Committee's decisions immediately following the introduction of school music reflect no unusual concern for religious and moral matters. However, one incident warrants investigation. Late in 1844, Lowell Mason, Boston's first superintendent of school music, was attacked several times in the press, eventually leading to a vote by the subcommittee on music to dismiss him.\textsuperscript{23}

Researchers have not been able to establish concrete conclusions as to why Lowell Mason was dismissed. Whatever the unseen motives may have been for the action taken, the initial charges brought against him were that he was too "sectarian" in the management of his position, hiring music

\textsuperscript{21}Memorial to School Committee on Instruction of Music into Schools, 1836, Harvard University, Archives, Samuel A. Eliot Papers.

\textsuperscript{22}See Wilson, 1:77ff.

teachers primarily of his own religious affiliation. The term "sectarian" once again brings to mind the words of T. Kemper Davis's report of 1837, that music could introduce into "the schools a predominating religious sentiment, independently of all forms of faith [italics mine], to preside over the destinies of our Schools." Does the concern that Mason's approach was "sectarian" carry with it a significance greater than is known to the modern reader? Was sectarianism a volatile issue in Boston during the early days of music in its schools?

In order to answer these questions, two major areas of investigation are important. First, one must consider the religious and related moral environment of the Boston community as a whole. A knowledge of New England church history during and immediately preceding the time under investigation is important, as is an uncovering of statements revealing the public perspectives on those events. Second, and most important, one should take a close look both at the moral and religious convictions of the Boston School Committee members who made the decision to try music in the curriculum, and also the convictions of the Committee members at the time of Lowell Mason's dismissal. It was for these reasons that my purpose was to investigate


the decisions the Boston School Committee made in 1837 and 1845 concerning music, and to discuss these decisions in light of the religious and moral concerns of the time.

The research problems and related questions were:

1. A description of the perceived value of music in light of political undercurrents in Boston prior to and during the years under investigation.

   a) What specific movements and events prompted public controversy regarding the direction of religious and moral values in Boston?
   b) What were the public concerns regarding religious and moral education in the schools?
   c) Did any of the persons who were outspoken on religious or moral education have close affiliations with those who were directly responsible for music in the schools?
   d) What were the views expressed publicly in Boston concerning music as related to religious or moral values?

2. The profile of the constituency of the Boston School Committee and Committee on Music in 1837 and 1845.

   a) Who were the members of the committees and what were their professions, religious backgrounds, and moral convictions?
   b) What was their involvement in the overall activities
of the Boston community, and what were their interests in music?

c) How did they make decisions concerning music in the curriculum and music teaching personnel?

d) What relationships did they have to Lowell Mason?

**Definition of Terms**

Definitions of the following terms served to clarify and delineate the scope of the study.

1. **Religious**—pertaining to the worship and knowledge of God, particularly when defined by the doctrines of specific sects in the context of Christianity.

2. **Moral**—pertaining to principles of right and wrong, character, or conduct, which may be the by-product of religion, but is not necessarily specified as such.

3. **Boston School Committees**—those members of 1837 who voted to try the experiment of music in the school curriculum, and (b) those members of 1845, and specifically the members of the Committee on Music, who voted to dismiss Mason. The members responsible for the two decisions were:

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26The list for 1837 refers only to those who were present on September 19, 1837, to vote on the proposal to try the experiment of music in the Boston schools. Those members not present on September 19, 1837 were Rev. William Hague, Nathan Hale, George W. Light, Charles A. Macomber, Isaac McLellan, Jr., Dr. Ezra Palmer, Jr., Rev. Dr. Francis Parkman, and George G. Smith. See Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1837-1841, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library. The list for 1845 includes only those
Related Research

The works reviewed below are (a) efforts in writing histories of music education in the United States or in the city of Boston, (b) studies concerning Pestalozzianism in American music education, and (c) studies on the life and work of Lowell Mason.

Histories of Music Education

members who were present at the special meeting of October 8, 1845. At that meeting, a resolution was passed confirming Lowell Mason’s integrity, but also, by inaction, allowing the dismissal of Mason by the Committee on Music to remain as it was. The members not present on October 8, 1845 were Thomas A. Davis, Rev. William Hague, Samuel G. Howe, Theophilus Parsons, Erastus O. Pinney, and Rev. Alexander Young. See Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1842–1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.
A work which has served as an important forerunner to the proposed study is that by Bruce Dunbar Wilson. Wilson attempts to reconstruct an accurate history of music in the Boston schools between 1830 and 1850. Wilson’s work is in two volumes, the second volume being over 300 pages of copies of the primary documents related to the investigation. By bringing such documents before the public Wilson has endeavored to clarify and correct misconceptions which secondary sources perpetuated for many years. The wealth of information in these uncovered primary sources constitutes the dissertation’s greatest strength. A contemplation of these sources also led to the basic questions of my study.

In volume I, Wilson presents the history of public school music in Boston from 1830 to 1850. Volume II is arranged as four appendices: Woodbridge’s speech of 1830, “On Vocal Music as a Branch of Common Education;” “Documents of the Boston Academy of Music;” “Documents of the School Committee and Related Bodies” (the heart of the volume); and “Contemporaneous Views of Music in the Boston Public Schools.” The allusions to religious or moral factors associated with music and found in these primary documents are numerable.

Wilson endeavors to show that, although Mason played a prominent role, the successful introduction of music into the Boston schools was more the result of a group effort than the work of one man. Wilson particularly draws attention to William C. Woodbridge and the Boston Academy of Music as important catalysts to the growing public desire for music in the schools.²⁸ He notes that between 1830 and 1850 approximately thirty-two Academy members served either on the School Committee or the Primary School Board and during some of these years, as many as five out of twenty-six School Committee members also were members of the Academy.²⁹

Wilson suggests that the liaison between the Academy and music supervision in the Boston schools may have led to Mason's dismissal in 1845.³⁰ When music became a curriculum subject in 1838, Lowell Mason was given the title "Master of Music." Although not clearly stated in writing as such, Mason came to function as a music superintendent with the power to hire assistants to teach in the various schools. Thus, Wilson indicates that through Mason, the Boston Academy of Music obtained a controlling hand in the area of school music. Masters in other subject areas were elected

²⁸Wilson, 1:20, 35-36, 59.
²⁹Wilson, 1:53.
³⁰Wilson, 1:78.
by a vote of the entire School Committee for a one-year term.31 The Master of Music, on the other hand, was chosen and reconfirmed year after year by the three member Committee on Music rather than by the School Committee as a whole.

In regard to Mason’s assistants, Wilson quotes Mason as saying that when music was first introduced into the schools, there was only “one person who could be found who would attempt to teach, and for several years but one other who engaged in the work with success.”32 However, at the time of Mason’s speaking fourteen years later, he was able to add that there were more young men prepared and willing to teach than there were schools. Wilson found documentation that seven persons were definitely hired to be Mason’s assistants before 1845, although he acknowledged there were probably more. The seven were Artemas Nixon Johnson, James C. Johnson, Albert J. Drake, George Frederick Root, Benjamin Franklin Baker, a “Mr. Brown,” and Jonathan Call Woodman.33

Wilson gives evidence that the teaching of Mason’s assistants was above standard for the day. Artemas N. Johnson had already established himself as a teacher and

31Wilson, 1:82.
32Wilson, 1:100.
33Wilson, 1:100.
church musician prior to his work in the Boston public
schools beginning in 1838, and his long career marked him as
"one of the most successful teachers of these early
years." 34 James C. Johnson and Albert Drake taught in the
public schools into the 1850's. Although George F. Root
began teaching in the Boston schools when he was only
nineteen, he continued in the Boston schools until 1844,
when, like Woodman, he "went on to a distinguished career in
New York." 35 Wilson states that Baker, who later replaced
Mason, was reputed to be an excellent teacher, and was
Mason's chief competitor in conducting summer music classes
for teachers. 36

According to Wilson, only once did School Committee
documents reflect any dissatisfaction with Mason's
assistants. 37 When the committee on the Wells School
ascertained that Mason could teach music there if the
schedule were changed, they asked him to do so, as the
school had "not been fortunate in the assistants sent by Mr.
Mason." 38 Although H. W. Day's editorial attacks in 1844
sought to make the assistants appear inexperienced, and

34 Wilson, 1:100-01.
35 Wilson, 1:101, 104.
36 Wilson, 1:103.
37 Wilson, 1:105.
38 Wilson, 2:155.
pawns to do Mason's bidding, Wilson concluded that there was "abundant evidence . . . that those whom Mason was known to have employed far exceeded any reasonable expectation of capability." 39

Wilson states that "challenges to Mason's personal eminence and that of the Boston Academy of Music itself had arisen out of the bitter professional jealousies among Boston musicians during the early 1840's." 40 Some, resenting the position of Mason and the Academy in the National Musical Conventions of those years, split off from the original unified group, so that two conventions of opposing factions took place by 1841. 41 The defecting group eventually came to be led by Benjamin F. Baker and Isaac Woodbury. Wilson strongly suggests that this opposing faction influenced the Committee on Music to dismiss Mason in 1845. 42 After Mason's dismissal, the School Committee, possibly tiring of the jealousies prevalent among Boston musicians, adopted a new rule requiring the Committee on Music to submit its nominee for Master of Music to the entire School Committee for approval. 43

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39 Wilson, 1:107-08.
40 Wilson, 1:88.
41 Wilson, 1:121-22. Note particularly the footnote on p. 121.
42 Wilson, 1:127.
43 Wilson, 1:130.
Wilson dismisses the accusation that Mason was too "sectarian" in his choice of assistants, as probably insignificant. The indictment had come from H. W. Day, editor of The American Journal of Music and Musical Visitor. Day indicated that Mason, a Congregational Trinitarian, had hired assistants, all of whom were of the same faith as Mason, except for Benjamin F. Baker, a Unitarian. Day claimed that Baker was fired, but later rehired by Mason in response to pressures Mason received from unnamed persons. However, Wilson suggests that the reason for Mason's action against Baker was more likely due to Baker's leadership position in the opposing musical convention than his religious persuasion. Nevertheless, a footnote in volume II of Wilson's dissertation is revealing. The footnote refers to John T. Sargent and William J. Dale, the two members of the Committee on Music who were responsible for dismissing Mason and hiring Baker in his place. It simply states: "Sargent was a Unitarian minister, and Dale a physician. Sargent's denomination was related to Mason's subsequent dismissal from the schools." A referral to H. W. Day's articles is given. But Wilson provides no further information. In spite of his statement regarding the relationship of Sargent's denomination to Mason's dismissal,

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{44}} \text{Wilson, 1:127-28.} \]

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{45}} \text{Wilson, 1:161.} \]
he offers no knowledge of a historical situation explaining animosity between the religious groups. If it is true that Sargent's Unitarian beliefs were related to Mason's dismissal, further research is needed to understand the religious concerns of the day, and what effect they might have had on the role of music instruction in the Boston schools.

Edward Bailey Birge's *History of Public School Music in the United States* pioneered the writing of history of music education in America. In Birge's brief account of the beginnings of school music in Boston, he acknowledges that "it must not be supposed that the idea of public school music belonged exclusively to one man or group of men, either in Boston or anywhere else." He indicates that the initial agitation for the idea started with William C. Woodbridge in his 1830 address before the American Institute of Instruction. He also notes George H. Snelling's attempt to introduce music as a regular study in the primary schools in 1832.

Nevertheless, much of Birge's emphasis remains on the work of Lowell Mason. Birge generously credited Mason

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Birge, 36–37.
for the growth of school music following its introduction into the Boston schools.

Public school music, as contemplated by its founder Lowell Mason, was part of a general educational plan which included every community activity. . . . His broad conception of the musical need of the country, and his ability to win others to his point of view, together with his rare skill as a teacher and organizer combined to make the Boston Academy the dominant influence in popular music education during this period. **

The few items in Birge's history relating to religious and moral matters are incidental. However, he does include T. Kemper Davis's report of 1837 to the Boston School Committee. Within it are those statements which have already been noted in the rationale of my study.

Two additional histories of music education in the United States were published in 1971. One was authored by Theodore Tellstrom; the other was written by Lloyd Sunderman. Sunderman* greatly expands the view presented by Birge concerning the factors at work in the initiation of music into the American school curriculum. For example, he devotes a whole chapter to the Pestalozzian concept, including the factors that may have shaped that philosophy, and how it came to play a role in American music education.

Sunderman, like Birge, points to William C. Woodbridge as the "first influential outspoken champion of

**Birge, 60-61.

vocal music in American public schools."^{30} Woodbridge's rationales for school music are understood in greater depth after considering Sunderman's presentation of him as a man with strong religious values. William C. Woodbridge's maternal grandfather was Dr. W. E. Channing, a prominent pastor in Boston, and young William showed an early similar interest; he was studying the Greek Testament by the time he was ten.^{31} In the year after his Yale College graduation at the age of seventeen, the following excerpt from Woodbridge's private journal may be noted:

> The study of the Bible in the original language, enters into my plan of study. My own inclination is to pursue a course of Biblical criticism, Ecclesiastical History, and Doctrinal Theology, as my great object; but to connect it with a revival of my collegiate studies particularly the mathematics and philosophy."^{32}

Woodbridge became a divinity student at the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey in 1817, and it "is suggested that at this period of his life he seriously considered becoming a foreign missionary."^{33} Sunderman quotes a writer in the New York Express, summing up Woodbridge's many significant contributions to the cause

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^{30}Sunderman, Historical Foundations of Music Education, 39.

^{31}Sunderman, 39-40.


^{33}Sunderman, 41.
of American education. Within the lengthy list is the fact that "Mr. Woodbridge moved the first resolution ever offered, recommending the study of the Bible as a classic."

Sunderman's work also provides a one-chapter biography of Lowell Mason. In summarizing Mason's contribution, Sunderman concludes that

He believed ardently in music. In it he saw many values: it united man with his Maker; it brought about the harmonious integration of human personality; ... it was a character builder; it had therapeutic value. ... He further believed that good music in the home is a potent force for creating desirable attitudes on the part of children; feelings demand as much education as the mind; and a habit acquired in activity would influence other habits.

Sunderman quotes a statement from the 1832 edition of The American Annals of Education and Instruction as to the essentials for making a course of school music instruction practicable. The standards recommended include the securing of tunes which are suitable to the students' abilities, "maintaining at the same time a moral and spiritual purpose." Other allusions to moral and spiritual purposes for public school vocal music are found in passages to which Sunderman refers. One from the Tenth Annual Report of the Boston Academy of Music states that

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54 Sunderman, 43, again quoting Alcott, 62-64.
55 Sunderman, 54-55.
there is no longer doubt as to music's "moral effect upon the young," adding that "these schoolroom songs will exert a permanent influence on the character." 57

Tellstrom takes a somewhat different approach from Birge and Sunderman in depicting the progress of music in American education. 58 In his work, philosophical trends, dispersed by various men and events, receive the emphasis. Such can be seen in his treatment of Pestalozzi. For Pestalozzi, education was meant to develop the whole person, morally, physically, and mentally, and among these morality was considered of the greatest importance. 59 He held that a man's usefulness in society was directly related to his moral character which becomes established through the exercise of love and faith. As Pestalozzi insisted that the will must be stimulated by feelings, it is no wonder that he "considered music a prime contributor in effecting the moral aim in education." 60

Tellstrom conveys how William C. Woodbridge came into contact with Pestalozzian principles and how Woodbridge's enthusiasm encouraged Mason to use these principles. From this point the author makes only a brief

58Tellstrom, Music in American Education.
59Tellstrom, 24.
60Tellstrom, 25.
summary of the facts that led to the inclusion of music in the school curriculum. He gives considerable attention to the methodology of Mason's school music texts.

However methodically Mason's published materials were arranged, Tellstrom writes that method was of secondary consequence for Boston's first music superintendent, just as it had been for Pestalozzi. He, like Pestalozzi, sought to develop the whole person and held that the supreme value of music in education was moral in nature. Tellstrom gives Mason's own words: "Music's highest and best influence is its moral influence."61

The most recent general history of music education in the United States is that of James A. Keene.62 Keene strikes a balance between the recounting of historical events and the tracing of philosophical movements.

Keene's rendition of the events surrounding the introduction of music into the Boston schools is rather thorough. He includes the broader perspective of growing interest in public education and the expansion of cultural activities. Keene also describes details of Mason's coming to Boston from Savannah, his contact with Woodbridge, and the efforts by the Boston Academy of Music. However, with

the wealth of material covered, some discrepancies with the statements of other writers occur. One such error is the hyphenated rendering for the "Kemper-Davis" Report of 1837, possibly suggesting a coauthorship. In reality, the subcommittee chairman who presented the report before the School Committee was one man, T. Kemper Davis.63

Keene's account of the events accompanying the dismissal of Lowell Mason by the School Committee in 1845 is basically a duplication of the article by Samuel L. Flueckiger on that subject, and will be dealt with later under studies on the life and work of Lowell Mason.

Studies on Pestalozzianism in American Music Education

Pemberton and Edwards have presented Pestalozzi's moral perspectives on music as a link between the Pestalozzian and religious philosophical eras in American education;64 therefore, a brief description of those

63 Keene, 113. Also in question are two instances on p. 112. Keene states that Samuel Eliot "became chairman of the school committee in 1837 and mayor of Boston in 1838." The same claim is made in Arthur Lowndes Rich, "Lowell Mason, Music Educator" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1940, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, No. 73-3375), 151. His study makes a footnote reference to Lowell Mason, Address on Church Music, 1851, p. 16, perhaps the original source of the statement. Wilson, on the other hand, gives a detailed description of how Eliot's having been elected mayor in December, 1836, automatically made him chairman of the School Committee when it came together in January, 1837. See Wilson, A Documentary History, 1:62. In the second instance in question, on p. 112, Keene cites a speech as being by William Woodbridge, whereas Keene's own footnote shows it to be authored by J. Baxter Upham.

64 See pp. 47-48.
dissertations which relate to Pestalozzianism in the American music curriculum is in order. One such study is that by Howard Ellis.65 Ellis’s primary contribution is his evidence that Mason’s *Manual of the Boston Academy of Music* is substantially a translation of an earlier work in German by Kühler.66 However, this review will be limited to those aspects which relate to topics under consideration in the present study.

Ellis, among other researchers, shows Pestalozzi’s belief that the aim of music instruction is primarily to bring about a moral effect in students through music’s influence on the feelings.67 In 1809, Pestalozzi asked Michael Traugott Pfeiffer and Hans Georg Nägeli to put together a text which would apply the Pestalozzian principles to singing.68 The resulting *Gesangbildungslehre* included songs which dealt with moral behavior, God, the


68 Ellis, 24. On pp. 24-86, Ellis traces several aspects of *Gesangbildungslehre* to broad Pestalozzian principles; he also differentiates those aspects of the work which are contradictory to principles espoused by Pestalozzi.
brotherhood of man, and nature. Ellis traces many of the selections in Lowell Mason and Elam Ives's *Juvenile Lyre* of 1831 to some such songs by Nageli, as well as to others by Kübler. 

Pfeiffer and Nageli rejected the previous practice of confining singing in the schools to the learning of chorales and vocal exercises with religious texts. They felt that moral songs "which teach a child to love humanity ought to come first, followed eventually by religious songs which lead the child to a true respect for God." This was in accordance with Pestalozzi's belief that formal religion is a "delusion" and that "a religion which grows out of man's relation to man is preferable ... to a religion which prepares the individual for life in the future." Ellis offers an additional insight into the possible factors leading to Mason's dismissal in 1845. He emphasizes that one of the accusations against Mason was plagiarism in that Mason's *Manual* was essentially a translation of a German work by Kübler, and that even then, it was a poor

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Ellis, 265.
Ellis, 148.
Ellis, 29.
Ellis, 31.
representation of Pestalozzianism. H. W. Day, the primary accuser, published his own method, The Vocal School or Pestalozzian Method of Instruction in the Elements of Vocal Music, which Ellis maintains is slightly more like the Gesangbildungslehre than Mason's Manual. Ellis continues by stating that "it is entirely possible that when Mason refused to use Day's books in the Boston schools and in his Teacher's Classes, Day subjected Mason to the series of attacks which reached their peak in 1844 and 1845."

A later treatment of Pestalozzianism in early American music education is offered by Jack Shelburn Hall. He considers Pestalozzianism particularly as implemented by Horace Mann and Lowell Mason. Hall's study has within it some blatant weaknesses. Most significant is the fact that he overlooks some very important related literature, including the dissertation by Ellis. Although he lists Ellis's 1955 article concerning Mason and the Manual of the

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73Ellis, 210ff. Ellis states that previous historians "all fail to report" this particular accusation. The truth is, Flueckiger did report it, but made no further comment. See Samuel L. Flueckiger, "Why Lowell Mason Left the Boston Schools," Music Educators Journal 22 (February 1936): 21.

74Ellis, 214.

Boston Academy of Music in his bibliography, he never mentions it in his review of related literature. He lists only three unpublished dissertations in his bibliography: Pemberton's work on Mason, one on the musical activities of New England from 1800 to 1838, and another on the Boston schools between 1771 and 1840.

Hall's chapter on Horace Mann, unlike most of the other sections, cites numerous primary resources, and offers some information which complements the background of the present study. Hall states that Mann, who became the first Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education in June of 1837, strongly supported the viewpoint of his day that music has an effective moral purpose:

Having rejected the Christian nurture theory as a means of inculcating morality in children, Mann needed a substitute. He soon began to rely more on secular devices than religious ones. Important among these was the teaching of vocal music. Mann believed that music could play an important

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76Hall, 295.


80Hall, 122.
role in promoting love in children and protect them from the influences of evil.\textsuperscript{81}

Hall clearly shows that Horace Mann favored Pestalozzian views of music and morality in place of the religiously oriented education that had previously prevailed in Massachusetts.\textsuperscript{82}

Hall cites Walch's conclusion concerning Pestalozzi's belief that education should simultaneously develop the physical, intellectual, and moral aspects of the student. He traces the idea to the Grecian model of the "perfect man."\textsuperscript{83}

Studies Concerning Lowell Mason

For many years, the resources which carried most of what was known about the beginnings of school music in Boston were memorials and reminiscences on the life of Lowell Mason.\textsuperscript{84} As Wilson has noted, these drew heavily upon secondary sources. Samuel L. Flueckiger, however,


\textsuperscript{82}Hall, 131-33.

\textsuperscript{83}Hall, 255, citing Sr. Mary Romana Walch, \textit{Pestalozzi and the Pestalozzian Theory of Education} (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1952), 166. Documents from the time period under investigation which ascribe moral effects to music have been observed to be replete with allusions to the Greeks.

\textsuperscript{84}See Wilson, "A Documentary History," 1:1-3, 6-9.
depended more on primary sources. Flueckiger's dissertation focuses on Mason's contribution to music education in the United States.

Flueckiger provides a detailed account of the history of education in the United States up to the time of his study. He notes that "sectarian religious jealousies" had been a barrier to those calling for public education since Revolutionary days. Eventually, public education was successfully established in Massachusetts, and those promoting it expedited the elimination of sectarianism in the schools. Flueckiger indicates that this was particularly true under the administration of Horace Mann. However, he never clearly substantiates whether or not these

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Samuel Lehmann Flueckiger, "Lowell Mason's Contribution to the Early History of Music Education in the United States" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1936.) Although Flueckiger uses many primary sources, on page 142 of his dissertation, he repeats Birge's error cited previously (see footnote 13). Flueckiger gives the Boston Musical Gazette 1 (Nov. 28; Dec. 12 and 26, 1838), Birge, and several others as references. In checking one of the references given, Frances M. Dickey, "The Early History of Public School Music in the United States," Music Teachers National Association Proceedings (1913): 191-93, the reader will find the word "religious" not included.

Flueckiger, 90.

Flueckiger, 248-49.

Flueckiger, 109. Horace Mann became the first Secretary of Education in Massachusetts in 1837. See Sherman M. Smith, The Relation of the State to Religious Education in Massachusetts (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Book Store, 1926), 144.
events had any effect on the beginnings of music in the Boston schools.

Flueckiger, at times, gives a very personal look at Mason's deeply felt religious beliefs. That Mason's stance was particularly orthodox is apparent during his early work in Boston. For Flueckiger tells us that besides Mason's holding singing classes for the young people of the Hanover Street Church, "he was also active in the group of young people which was making a strong fight against Unitarianism at the time."**

Mason's religious beliefs eventually carried over into his philosophy of education. This is especially apparent in an address delivered before the American Institute of Instruction in New Haven during his latter years. The address is well-summarized by Flueckiger.  

Another case from Mason's later life sheds light on earlier years. In regard to music, Flueckiger quotes a letter of 1855 from Lowell Mason to his son William.  

**Flueckiger, 224-25, with reference to Charles Beecher, ed., Autobiography, Correspondence, etc., of Lyman Beecher, D.D. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1865), 2:154. Dr. Lyman Beecher, pastor of the Hanover Street Church, was a prominent spokesman for the cause of Orthodoxy and against Unitarianism in his day.

**Flueckiger, 208-12, summarizing and quoting Lowell Mason, A Glance at Pestalozzianism . . . (New York: Mason Brothers (?), 1858 (?)).

**Flueckiger, 212-15, quoting letter from Lowell Mason to William Mason, April 12, 1855.
it Mason gives several purposes for music in the scheme of education, from its affective value, to its intellectual pleasure, to its aims at artistic excellence. But a step above these is its moral purpose, which may include the religious, and here then we have the last step or that which unites man to his Maker, or the human to the divine. This is the highest, ultimate end of all that can be drawn out of the kingdom of tones, in man's moral development—or man's moral education.

Lowell Mason admits that until "within the last score of years, it seems to me that I was destitute of any very careful and certain knowledge with respect to music's true end..." By his own time reference then, Mason suggests that it was 1835 and after before he began to clarify this thinking.

Of particular help to the current study is Flueckiger's extensive consideration of the events accompanying the dismissal of Lowell Mason by the School Committee in 1845. That section of his dissertation is incorporated in the 1936 article, "Why Lowell Mason Left the Boston Schools." Flueckiger's article has become the foundation for current day understanding of the event it addresses. Flueckiger shows how attacks on Mr. Mason were

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92 Flueckiger, 214.
93 Flueckiger, 213.
first made public in *The American Journal of Music and Musical Visitor*, by its editor, H. W. Day. Day became Mason’s most outspoken accuser over the course of a full year. His first charge of November 25, 1844, focused on the fear that the music professor acted “in a sectarian manner.”

Day further charged that Mason, being a Congregationalist, had hired assistants, all of whom were likewise Congregationalists, except for one Unitarian, Benjamin F. Baker, “who was for some cause dismissed. But the hornets flew around and he was restored.” Day’s article suggested that more favor had been shown to those who would support Mason’s system of teaching, than to those with the most experience, whether Methodist, Baptist, or of no particular religious persuasion. Numerous later accusations follow from Day’s pen, including the implication that Mason functioned with an eye toward undue financial gain, and the claim that the music teacher’s *Manual* was defective and in no way Pestalozzian as it suggested. Day was a singing school teacher, and it could be surmised that a competitive spirit caused him to desire a teaching position in the schools for himself. However, after Mason was dismissed

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96 *Manual of the Boston Academy of Music, for Instruction in the Elements of Vocal Music, on the System of Pestalozzi*

toward the end of 1845, his position was given to Benjamin F. Baker.

Flueckiger shows that several other journalists besides Day joined the discussion concerning Mason and the School Committee's action. According to Flueckiger, the Daily Atlas reported that only thirteen of the twenty-six members of the School Committee were present at a special October 8 meeting in which a resolution confirmed Mason's integrity but did not reflect any steps to reinstate him. Specifically, Flueckiger's article tells us that "eight voted for the resolution, two did not vote, and three voted against it."**

Flueckiger also refers to an exchange of letters between Lowell Mason and members of the Committee on Music. H. W. Day accused Mason of having an eye toward financial gain.** However, it is noteworthy that, when Mason asked for reasons justifying his dismissal, the Committee on Music never cited that charge. Indeed, Charles Gordon, the

**Flueckiger, 22. It appears that Flueckiger is drawing his information from the (Boston) Daily Atlas (October 13, 1845). Wilson, "A Documentary History," 2:167, gives a different story. The author provides excerpts from the minutes of the special meeting of October 8. He reveals that the attendance recorded at the head of the minutes indicates that only six members were absent. Therefore, unless six more left after the beginning of the meeting, the editorial contention that twelve members were absent appears to be false (italics mine).

**Flueckiger, 22.
chairman of the committee, and apparently good friend of Mason, answered that "there were no charges[,]" but

... as you had held the office several years and had enjoyed its benefits so long[,] it was proper to give to Mr. Baker, who was represented to be a distinguished and successful teacher of music[,] the encouragement of the office. ...\textsuperscript{100}

Flueckiger shows that Mason specifically sought a response from Rev. John T. Sargent, one of the three members of the Committee on Music. When Mason asked, among other things, whether he had not always performed his duties with "ability, fidelity and zeal," Sargent answered in the negative.\textsuperscript{101} Sargent proceeded to explain that the reasons for the two votes to displace Mason, his own and that of Dr. Dale,

were of a nature not affecting or touching your general character. They were founded partly on some suspicion of favoritism on your part in the selection of your assistants; a question whether those assistants were the best, all things considered, and a conviction that other things being equal, some rotation, or exchange of their offices might be desirable.\textsuperscript{102}

In Rev. Sargent's reply, then, we see a return to the charges of favoritism originally put forth by H. W. Day.

\textsuperscript{100}Flueckiger, 22, quoting a letter from Gordon to Mason, dated September 13, 1845. That Gordon was Mason's friend was Day's comment in his editorial of November 30, 1845. See Flueckiger, 21.

\textsuperscript{101}Flueckiger, 22. Both Mason's letter to Sargent, and the responding letter are dated October 13, 1845. The source of these letters is unclear in Flueckiger's article.

\textsuperscript{102}Flueckiger, 22, quoting letter, John T. Sargent to Lowell Mason, October 13, 1845.
Flueckiger then reports a new insight into the case by quoting James C. Johnson, one of Mason's early assistants, who provided a retrospective viewpoint. Johnson blamed two young music teachers for succeeding in the political maneuver that ousted Mason and his helpers, and put themselves in their places. Flueckiger remarks in his summary that the nerves of the School Committee members could have been on edge due to the low ratings resulting from an 1845 school survey which tested the academic ability of Boston's pupils. Whether Mason's assistants were the best possible could have been of special concern to the Committee members at this time when the need to raise school standards was so clearly apparent. However, Wilson concludes that there was abundant evidence for Mason's having employed assistants who "far exceeded any reasonable expectation of capability." Flueckiger in his closing comments also alludes briefly to the charge of partiality, but without reference to any religious innuendos. In the end, he acknowledges that the action of the Committee was taken on rather flimsy grounds and remains inconclusive as to the actual motivations of those voting on the resolution.


105 Flueckiger, 23.
Another biography of Mason in this century is that by Arthur Lowndes Rich. Rich, like Flueckiger, specifically studies Mason as a music educator, and includes the broader context of the growing demand for public education, and increased cultural interest in music. In addition, he gives considerable attention to Mason's connections with his precursors and contemporaries and to his role in the Boston Academy of Music. The largest section of the Rich's study deals with Mason's work in music for school children and its extended influence on American education. A comprehensive list of Mason's writings is given as an appendix.

In regard to Mason's connections, Rich offers a view opposite that of some later research. According to the Rich, contributions of Mason to early music education have been underestimated, and the assistance given him by William Woodbridge and others in the Boston Academy of Music have been stressed beyond their proper significance. He states that Mason never tired of acknowledging the

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107 Rich, 184. At this point Rich refers to two other works: T. F. Seward, The Educational work of Dr. Lowell Mason (undated, probably 1885), 14; and Abbie Hobson, "Lowell Mason, Educator" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Southern California, 1933), 25.
assistance of other men and even magnified their importance which served to promote this viewpoint.

Nevertheless, Rich gives considerable credit to Pestalozzi's influence upon Mason. Rich makes a lengthy comparison of the specific philosophies of the music educator and his predecessor. As in other research, Pestalozzi's belief in music as contributing to moral education is presented.¹⁰⁸

Rich's study is particularly helpful to the investigation at hand in its expose of the thought of Mason, who is again shown to be deeply religious, as evidenced in his own writings and the comments of those who knew him personally.¹⁰⁹ Rich states that this and his music "were the two motifs of his life and of his work."

Several references are made to religious or moral purposes in music. The First Annual Report of the Boston Academy of Music is quoted to clarify the motive for the Academy's interest in vocal music for school children. It was to be taught

not merely as an agreeable accomplishment--much less as a means of attracting attention; but . . . as a preparation for the making the praise of God glorious in families and churches.¹¹⁰

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¹⁰⁸Rich, 84-85.
¹⁰⁹Rich, 52.
¹¹⁰Rich, 170.
In numerous cases, allusions are made to the belief in music's ability to elevate the nation as a whole. One reference to a publication by Mason states that through the inspiration of appropriate song a beneficial influence is exerted upon the moral and ethical attitudes of the rising generation on whose character the future destiny of the country depends.\textsuperscript{11}\textsuperscript{1}

Rich inadvertently reveals that this belief in music's moral powers also was held by other prominent educators of the day. The famous educational reformer, Horace Mann, is quoted: "the social and moral influence of music far transcends in value all its physical or intellectual utilities."\textsuperscript{11}\textsuperscript{2}

Rich's treatment of the 1845 dismissal of Lowell Mason is limited. He primarily refers to Flueckiger's article and the comments of other researchers by means of a footnote.\textsuperscript{11}\textsuperscript{3}

By far the most comprehensive treatment of the life

\textsuperscript{11}\textsuperscript{1}Rich, 64 giving reference to Lowell Mason, The Juvenile Lyre; or hymns and songs, religious, moral and cheerful, set to appropriate music, for the use of primary and common schools (Boston: Richardson, Lord and Holbrook, 1832). The statement again brings to mind the religious purpose in the later report of 1837, that music would "preside over the destinies of our schools."

\textsuperscript{11}\textsuperscript{2}Rich, 114, quoting Horace Mann, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts (1844), 459.

\textsuperscript{11}\textsuperscript{3}Rich, 181.
of Lowell Mason is Carol Pemberton's dissertation. Pemberton draws together the several facets of Mason's life and career into one unified work. Of particular aid to her research was the use of the unfinished manuscript biography of Lowell Mason by his grandson, Henry Lowell Mason. This biography, other sources, and Pemberton's own writing have provided an intimate view of Mason. Pemberton sides with those who see Mason as the one person primarily responsible for the Boston Academy of Music and for the success of music in the Boston schools, a view controverted by others.

Pemberton's detailed historical accounts and quotations bring to life a clear image of Mason's character in regard to his religious background and moral attitudes. In the latter part of his life, Mason expressed a sincere gratitude for the early religious instruction afforded him, especially by his mother. The Mason family had been long-time residents of Medfield, Massachusetts and were faithful adherents to the Congregational faith, then the established church of that state. Congregationalism found its root in the Calvinistic tenets of the early Puritans.


115Pemberton, 237, 239.

116Pemberton, 6-7.
The commitment of the Masons is seen by their response to the Unitarian-Universalist movements, which confronted the older New England theology in the early decades of the 19th century. As the new theology reached Medfield, the parish congregation of the Johnson Mason family (Lowell's father) became predominately Unitarian. Therefore, several of the members, including the Masons, split away to become a second congregation which was decidedly orthodox, or trinitarian, in theology. By this time, Lowell had left Medfield. But a similar commitment is seen in his own "life-long evangelicalism, his preference for simple, straight-forward preaching," and "for non-liturgical services." Lowell recorded his conversion experience at Savannah, Georgia, in his diary entry of October 20, 1814:

I have been looking over this book and reflecting upon my journey from Mass. to Georgia. I give up myself to God, resting my soul on the merit of Jesus for Salvation. O receive me my blessed Saviour for in this is my hope, my only hope.

One of the many roles which Mason took upon himself while in Savannah, was that as superintendent of a large non-sectarian Sunday school under the auspices of the Savannah Sunday School Union Society, formed in November.

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117 Pemberton, 19, with reference to an explanatory letter from Henry Lowell Mason to Mrs. Hattie Woodruff Hillyer, Sept. 2, 1909.

119 Pemberton, 44-45.

119 Pemberton, 45, quoting Henry Lowell Mason, manuscript, 90.
1816. In a circular of early 1817, Mason reflects his own strong views in urging the enrollment of children: "To teach them their situation as sinners, to direct them to that Saviour who alone can save them, and to regulate their lives by the word of God is our great object. . . ." 120

While in Savannah, Mason aided in numerous other services, including the founding of the Savannah Missionary Society and the first Black Sunday School in North America. 121

Lowell looked back on these early years of spiritual involvement as being especially worthwhile, for he later gave these comments:

Felt disposed to chant a psalm of praise—read and sung over "Praise the Lord O my Soul" & also "O Sing unto the Lord a new Song." I have read . . . Biddolph on conformity to the world—It condemns me. In mus’l matters especially I have been too much conformed to this world. The Bos. Ac[.] of Mus. is the cause of my associating much with merely worldly people—& I need more Christian influence— . . . as I had in Savannah. 122

Mason's return to Boston in 1827 was in response to an offer of employment by three congregational churches there: the Hanover Street Church, the Essex Street Church, and the Park Street Church. 123 The congregations sought his

120Pemberton, 47.
121Pemberton, 53-54, 46. A footnote gives Mason credit for the initiative taken in the latter endeavor.
122Pemberton, 226, quoting Mason's diary entrance written about April 30, 1837, on his ocean voyage to Europe. Pemberton states it to be "by the sixth day out," the ship having left New York April 25.
123Pemberton, 119.
help in the upgrading of the quality of music in their services. The terms of Mason's employment were that he would serve for six months in each church, but he prolonged his service at Park Street Church to two and a half years. Eventually Mason remained at the Hanover Street Church, later named the Bowdoin Street Church, pastored by Dr. Lyman Beecher. When Dr. Beecher moved to Cincinnati in 1832, he was replaced by Rev. Hubbard Winslow. Winslow served on the Boston School Committee in 1838. Mason accepted a position at the Central Congregational Church in January, 1844. According to Pemberton, Mason worked closely with outstanding religious leaders. "Their orthodox beliefs and evangelical zeal (shown most dramatically by Dr. Lyman Beecher) solidified Lowell's religious convictions." 

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124 Pemberton, 127.

125 Pemberton, 127. See footnote 89 concerning Beecher.

126 See Stimpson's Boston Directory; Containing the Names of the Inhabitants, Their Occupations, Places of Business, and Dwelling Houses, and the City Register, With Lists of the Streets, Lanes, and Wharves, the City Officers, Public Offices and Banks, and Other Useful Information (Boston: Charles Stimpson, Jr., 1838).

127 Pemberton, 136-38. The pastor at Central Congregational Church was Rev. William M. Rogers (Pemberton, 128). The congregation was originally organized in 1835 as the Franklin Street Church, and by 1841 was the "fastest growing and most popular Trinitarian Society in Boston" (Pemberton, 136).

128 Pemberton, 140-41.
Mason's close ties with orthodoxy also are seen in his amicable association with Andover Seminary. The seminary had been founded in 1807 as a reaction against the Unitarian movement taking hold at Harvard. Mason taught a large music class for the seminarians at Andover from 1836 through September, 1844, and developed many deep and long-lasting friendships in this tenure.\(^\text{129}\)

As with the dissertations previously discussed, Pemberton's work includes quotes which reveal the often stated beliefs in the religious and moral effects of music. She more explicitly states that

As exponents of music education, both Woodbridge and Mason grasped, exposed, and indeed, hammered upon all possible links between music and religion. This was of great advantage to their cause. In fact, it may be that music was finally admitted to the public school curriculum because the public had been persuaded of the morally uplifting nature of music and of musical participation.\(^\text{130}\)

She also presents another's description of the relationship between these emphases and Pestalozzianism:

The uniting point between the religious and the Pestalozzian philosophies of education . . . was the belief that music was a definite aid in the formation of good character . . . . This belief came at the end of the main influential period of the religious philosophy [in America] and the beginning of the Pestalozzian one.\(^\text{131}\)

\(^{129}\)Pemberton, 195-97.

\(^{130}\)Pemberton, 163.

In dealing with the events surrounding Mason’s dismissal in 1845, Pemberton essentially echoes the account and conclusions given by Flueckiger. She does indicate that “early in 1845, a ‘political revolution’ struck the School Committee,” using the expression of Henry Lowell Mason.\textsuperscript{132}

Several quotations given by Pemberton suggest Mason’s integrity. George F. Root, the singing school teacher and long-time associate of Mason, offered that in respect to money making, “Lowell Mason was the most misjudged man . . . [he] ever knew.”\textsuperscript{133} Pemberton reveals that Mason was “not disposed to religious controversy.” He professed a hatred of “politics and chicanery” and “detested controversy and squabbling among his associates; he consistently tried to stay aloof.”\textsuperscript{134}

In summary of the related literature, virtually all the research somewhere makes incidental allusions to the moral and religious perspectives surrounding the formative years of Boston’s public school music. However, none have revealed the context of events which stimulated these perspectives, or addressed what role they may have played in justifying music’s place in the curriculum. In addition.

\textsuperscript{132} Pemberton, 252.

\textsuperscript{133} Pemberton, 283.

\textsuperscript{134} Pemberton, 316, 321, 319. Pemberton makes reference to correspondence between Mason and William W. Killip, an organist/choir director and close friend of Mason’s.
none of the researchers have probed the relationship of these events and perspectives to the individual members of the Boston School Committee, who actually decided upon the fate of music by their vote, and thus, by political mandate.

The remainder of this dissertation will be organized according to the following chapters:

II. Overview of Religious Politics in Boston from Mid-seventeenth Century Puritanism to 1845

III. Concern for the Role of Religious and Moral Education in the Boston Schools, 1830-1845

IV. The Bostonian Appraisal of Music: Finding Common Ground for Faith and Morality

V. Who’s Who on the Boston School Committee of 1837: Decision-Makers Responsible for Introducing Music into the Curriculum

VI. Who’s Who on the Boston School Committee of 1845: Key Players and Responses in the Dismissal of Lowell Mason

VII. Summary, Conclusions, and Discussion
CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW OF RELIGIOUS POLITICS IN BOSTON FROM MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PURITANISM TO 1845

The opposing factions which marked religious politics in Boston in the 1830's and 1840's did not develop over night. They began in conflicts between the Calvinistic teachings of the Puritans and the entrance of more liberal thought which was imported from Europe a hundred years earlier and continued to grow throughout the 18th century. In order to understand the religious politics of Boston in the 1830's and 1840's, it will be necessary, therefore, to consider first the background from which they evolved. To provide this background, I will use primarily evidence from existing research on the subject.

A Mixed Heritage

The Puritans possessed a faith which intertwined revelation and reason.¹ On the one hand, they believed in a deeply personal Maker who was pleased to make Himself

intuitively known to His children; on the other hand, that faith demanded a rational basis. God, although supernatural, had created the empirical world, and it was to His glory to study and understand what He had created.

Some writers have seen this union of the heart and head as the all too delicate balance which later gave rise to conflicting factions:

Certain elements in Puritanism ... 'were carried into the creeds and practices of the evangelical religious revivals'---the mystical experience of conversion, the ecstasy of a direct spiritual confrontation with God---'but others were perpetuated by the rationalists and the forerunners of Unitarianism'---the tendency toward skepticism, the preference for scientific explanations.²

The Catalysts of Separation

In the eighteenth century, two simultaneous and opposing movements drove the wedge between the rational and intuitive elements of New England's religious heritage: the European Enlightenment which spread across the ocean to the New World, and the spiritual revival in the colonies which came to be known as the First Great Awakening.³

²William G. McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform, 41.

The European Enlightenment

The Enlightenment undermined foundational tenets of Calvinism, altering conceptions of God, man, and the divine-human relationship. The first of the "five points of Calvinism" was that "natural man in his fallen condition is totally unable in the slightest degree to contribute to, or cooperate in his own regeneration." It followed, then, that salvation was totally a work of God, and was neither deserved by the sinner nor earned by his good deeds. "Man's only hope of salvation [was] through grace, imputing to him the atoning merits of Christ's sacrifice." The effective payment for man by that sacrifice was due to Christ's sinlessness as a member of the Trinity.

Like Calvinism, the theology which accompanied the Enlightenment stressed God's role as the Creator and Governor of the universe. But there were polar differences. Although God was called "Father," His fatherhood was void of the justice-demanding wrath depicted


by Calvin. Man was not consigned to heaven or hell irrespective of his good deeds; he had the moral power to work for his own salvation. Thus, the purpose of Christ’s death was “to reveal the Father’s love,” but not to provide a substitutionary payment for man’s sin. As such, Christ’s humanity was stressed rather than his sinless Deity. These liberal thoughts concerning the relationship of man to his God eventually led to beliefs in universal salvation, but initially the liberals were cautious in airing their views. Once they did so, it would bring two strong complaints from the orthodox camp: man had been too highly exalted, and God brought too low.

The Calvinism of early New England held implications not only for the life of the individual believer, but also for civil government. For example, only church members could serve in government. The Biblical injunction that “the powers that be are ordained of God,” clearly meant

*Culver, Horace Mann and Religion, 6.

*See Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 356-58, 401-02; also Culver, Horace Mann and Religion, 6-7. “Enlightenment theology” eventually became apparent in the teachings of Liberal ministers such as Rev. Samuel Barrett, who served on the Boston School Committee of 1837. See chapter 5.

10Ahlstrom, 392.


12Rom. 13:1 (KJV)
that civil government was an extension of God's sovereign hand. To the extent that the government did not contradict clear Biblical mandates, it was to be obeyed and respected. It was no "less a crime to rebel against the civil authorities than the Church, and he who did so would be proceeded against as a 'rebel and traitor to the King of Kings, when He shall hold His great assizes at the end of the world.'"\textsuperscript{13} The early Puritan was to become politically and socially responsible, so that John Cotton, spokesman for early New England Puritanism explained that the church was fulfilling its mission in preparing "fitt instruments both to rule, and to choose rulers."\textsuperscript{14} Thus, however hallowed the conscience of the individual believer, a certain reverence for authority was maintained.

In contrast to Puritan thought, the "enlightened" concepts of John Locke and Thomas Paine, which blossomed in the colonies in the mid-eighteenth century, exalted human reason and the rights of individuals, not just their responsibilities. The role of authority was questioned and this questioning eventually found expression in the battle for national independence:


What is most significant historically is that for the first time in Christendom the people of a commonwealth were offered an authentically religious alternative to orthodox Christianity, and their right to accept and propagate it defended by the civil authority. . . . It was the theology of "Enlightenment". . . that legitimated the thrust of the Declaration and the constitutional structures of "the first new nation" in Christendom.\textsuperscript{15}

The Enlightenment thinking guided the founding fathers of the Revolutionary period. Benjamin Franklin and the other statesmen-founders promoted a "public religion," which was proposed to show "the Excellency of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION above all others ancient or modern," but in practice further separated God from men's affairs, and inserted reason and nature as sacred oracles in place of Biblical revelation and the necessity of a Savior.\textsuperscript{16} The founding fathers set out to show the church-oriented citizens that religion was greater than their own sects and, in doing so, served to divorce civil from religious life. Yet, Franklin intended "not the end of sects but of sectarianism, not the end of their freedoms but the increase of their duty to produce a common morality."\textsuperscript{17} However questionable this thinking was to the more conservative religious groups, the call for Revolution temporarily did unite the colonists in the fight against England.

\textsuperscript{15}Sidney E. Mead, The Old Religion in the Brave New World, 29.

\textsuperscript{16}Marty, Pilgrims in Their Own Land, 154-58.

\textsuperscript{17}Marty, 157.
The Great Awakening

In the Puritanism of 17th century New England, Calvinistic theology applied both to personal piety and to social government. Full membership in the church, as the grounds for involvement in political society, depended upon the ability to recount a specific conversion experience. But this policy posed a problem concerning the children of respected families, who nevertheless could not point to a specific time of conversion. A compromise was reached in 1662 in which those who were baptized as children, and grew up as respectable citizens, agreeing with the doctrines of the church, could formally take on the church covenant without having to recount a specific conversion experience. However, these participants were not full church members and could not attend communion or vote on church business. This compromise came to be known as the Half-Way Covenant. After 1700, the standard was lowered by some clergy, so that all who were baptized and formally assented to the doctrines of the church parish were accepted into full church membership regardless of previous conversion experience. Thus, the levels of commitment in

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1. Marty, Pilgrims in Their Own Land, 111.
2. Marty, Pilgrims in Their Own Land, 112.
congregations became mixed and the fervor of the church waned.

The movement which eventually counteracted the decline in church life was the Great Awakening. The Great Awakening, which flourished in the 1730's and 1740's, was marked, first, by the "whirlwind campaigns" of the "Grand Itinerants," George Whitefield and Gilbert Tennett, followed by other lay itinerants; and second, by the intensified preaching and labors of the regular New England ministers, especially in regard to evangelism.\(^21\)

Opinions have varied as to exactly what was most responsible for the new surge of zeal among the colonists. Many have viewed the Great Awakening as a series of unconnected outbreaks, each taking on the color of its own particular locale.\(^22\) But others believe the renewal to have been initially stimulated by the preaching of Jonathan Edwards, scholar and theologian of Northampton, Connecticut. However it occurred, a return to the importance of a personal conversion experience accompanied by evangelical fervor took place throughout the colonies. The Great Awakening brought about numerous conversions and marked increases in church attendance, even though requirements for membership were more strict than they had been under the Half-Way Covenant.\(^23\)

\(^{21}\)Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 286.

\(^{22}\)Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land*, 108-09.

\(^{23}\)Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 287.
preached to vast crowds from Georgia to New England; while at Boston in 1740, he often preached twice daily, and he said his farewells to thirty thousand Bostonians on the city’s Common.²⁴ Although the settled clergy of Boston favored the Great Awakening three-to-one, opposition to the new movement was most strongly voiced by some of the prominent pastors there.²⁵

Ahlstrom cites the influence of Jonathan Edwards and his thought as the most enduring result of the New England Awakening.²⁶ In the style of Edwards, New England pastors preached with intensified moral resolution, and a national sense of millenial hope was kindled. Interest in religious issues stimulated by the Great Awakening remained alive for a full century after the initial excitement died away.²⁷ However, with the stirred interest came opposition from certain groups of Calvinists who were not ready to adopt all the views of Edwards. These became known as the "Old Calvinists" or "Old Lights," whereas the Edwardseans were called the "New Lights," or the "New Divinity."²⁸ Besides these two orthodox factions, there were those who

²⁴Ahlstrom, 284-85.
²⁵Ahlstrom, 286.
²⁶Ahlstrom, 287.
²⁷Ahlstrom, 288.
²⁸Culver, Horace Mann and Religion, 3-4.
rejected Calvinism altogether, and embraced the liberal thought of the Enlightenment. All three groups were found among the churches of Congregationalism, which managed to survive the Revolution as the state church of Massachusetts.

That the supporters of the Great Awakening emphasized especially the personal, internalized aspect of their salvation, brought a subtle departure from the faith of their Puritan fathers, who saw religion also as a social institution with political concerns. This explains why the political leadership in the mid-eighteenth century shifted into the hands of men such as Benjamin Franklin, who embraced the Enlightenment, men whom the orthodox Christians of the time regarded as "infidels." Although the proponents of the Great Awakening did not involve themselves so much in political affairs, both they and the political founding fathers cherished freedom of conscience in religious matters. And so, the supporters of the Awakening upheld the political leadership in their efforts through the writing of the Constitution and the First Amendment.  

After the new nation had taken shape, the factions became evident. The orthodox who had supported the more

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29 Mead, Old Religion in the Brave New World, 54-55.
30 Mead, 55.
liberal political leaders before the Revolution, now boldly proclaimed their "infidelity" as "a vain and deceitful philosophy because it denied that revelation was confined to the Book and that salvation was exclusively by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ." Even within the confines of the Congregational church, Old Calvinists and Edwardseans vied for the control of local parishes. Some grew tired of the controversies among the Calvinistic parties and turned to more liberal forms of religion. In this way then, the Great Awakening served to consolidate the liberal factions it had opposed.

The Great Awakening thus became the single most important catalyst of that "Arminian" tradition which had been growing surreptitiously and half-consciously since the turn of the century. One can, in fact, regard Charles Chauncy's critique of the Awakening, Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England (1743), as a primary document in the rise of Unitarianism.

Although Congregationalism was the established church of Massachusetts, certain dissenting sects, the Baptists, Quakers, and Episcopalians had won recognition and legal standing as early as 1728; the Methodists and

\[31\text{Mead, Old Religion in the Brave New World, 55.}\]
\[32\text{Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 288.}\]
\[33\text{Ahlstrom, 288. "Arminianism" refers to the views of Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), who was taught in the Genevan school of Calvinism, but established a theology that was opposed to it. Arminius emphasized the reason and free will of man to an extent which, in the Puritan viewpoint, called into question the sovereignty of God. See Buswell, 1:136.}\]
Universalists date approximately from the Revolutionary period. The Universalists generally held to Unitarian theology, denying the doctrine of the Trinity, the doctrine of depravity, and the necessity of regeneration. However, for the most part, Unitarianism in eighteenth century Boston was not known by that name. It more often developed covertly as a liberalizing element within the Congregational church. In 1797, James Freeman, a early herald of Unitarianism, gave this description in a letter to a friend:

Though it is a standing article of most of our social libraries that nothing of a controversial nature should be purchased, yet any book which is presented is freely accepted. I have found means, therefore, of introducing into them some of the Unitarian Tracts with which you have kindly furnished me. . . From these and other causes, the Unitarian doctrine appears to be still upon the increase. I am acquainted with a number of Ministers . . . who avow and publicly preach this sentiment. There are others more cautious, who content themselves with leading their hearers, by a course of rational but prudent Sermons, gradually and insensibly to embrace it. Though this latter mode is not what I entirely approve, yet it produces good effects.

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34 Culver, Horace Mann and Religion, 7.

35 James Freeman, a Harvard graduate, was progressively liberal in thought for his day. When Bishop Seabury of Connecticut and Bishop Provoost of New York would no longer recognize King’s Chapel of Boston as Anglican in November, 1787, the church leadership ordained Freeman, and what had been “the first Episcopal church in New England, became the first Unitarian church in America.” See Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 388.

Although the liberal trends entered quietly, the stage was set for a clash which would radically alter the long-established religious structures of Boston.

**The Inevitable Conflict**

Post-war prosperity brought with it a secularization of New England Calvinism that, at first, was not obvious to all.\(^\text{37}\) It manifested itself more by laxness in religious enthusiasm than by theological battles. The rising Liberal class, without openly denying the austere doctrines of their fathers, silently rejected them.

However, during the last decade of the 18th century, the more conservative of the orthodox camp, taking notice of the spiritual decay in their society, began to speak out. Jedidiah Morse, who was to become a prominent spokesman for orthodoxy, in a book store one day, picked up a tract entitled "Divine and Moral Songs; revised and altered, so as to render them of general use . . . ." He noticed that certain doctrines such as the divinity of Christ had been omitted from this revised edition. His response came in an article in the Boston *Columbian Centinel* called "Beware of Counterfeits" in which he stated that

> ... if this should pass upon the public unnoticed, from altering children's books, more important alterations might be undertaken, until, grown bold in

the business, even the sacred truths of the Holy Bible may be in danger.\(^3\)

Morse's concern about secularizing tendencies in his day took the form of a public controversy around 1798 when he attacked what he believed to be one of the strongest sources of irreligion in this country: the French school of thought personified in Voltaire, Rousseau, and D'Alembert. His belief concurred with Federalist thought that the "French ministers and agents were in secret league with influential representatives of the Democratic party."\(^3\)

Morse was joined by many of his ministerial friends including David Tappan, Professor of Divinity at Harvard College, and Timothy Dwight, the New Divinity leader and President of Yale.\(^4\) These men viewed the influence of the French school as a full-blown conspiracy for exterminating Christianity, belief in a God, "and in a word for destroying whatever is virtuous, refined or desirable, and introducing again savageness and brutism."\(^4\) The controversy eventually

\(^3\)William B. Sprague, Life of Jedidiah Morse (New York, 1874), 54-55, in Morse, Jedidiah Morse, 46.


\(^4\)Morse, Jedidiah Morse, 52-55.

\(^4\)Timothy Dwight, "The Nature and Danger of Infidel Philosophy, Exhibited in Two Discourses, Addressed to the Candidates for the Baccalaureate in Yale College, Sept. 9, 1797," in Early American Imprints (American Antiquarian Society, text-fiche), 95, 33657.
died out when the assailants failed to uncover clear evidence to support their claims. However, when the dust from the disturbance had settled, a clearer line of demarcation had been drawn between the defenders of orthodoxy and those of the rising liberal persuasion.

The Battle Over Institutions of Higher Education

By the turn of the 19th century, the orthodox leaders took up the battle for spiritual renewal in the institutions of higher education. On the Yale campus, Timothy Dwight welcomed his students' questioning of Scriptural truths and he answered their questions with a series of sermons in chapel. Among his topics, Dwight addressed issues of materialism, deism, and the divine inspiration of Scripture. He stated that the philosophies of the ages which had opposed Christianity grew from the same "tradition of men, and the rudiments of the world" which had confronted the apostle Paul, and he challenged the efficacy of the current infidel philosophy to morally reform its disciples. His efforts were rewarded. J. Edwin Orr states that one third of the student body made professions of faith during the year 1802. The pattern continued at


Orr, 79.
Yale and spread to other campuses such as Amherst, Williams, Dartmouth, and Princeton. The renewed spiritual interest was coupled by the movement already beginning to take place throughout the colonies that historians have termed the Second Great Awakening. One writer has called the new thrust "the Contrived Awakening," for unlike the religious upsurge seventy years earlier, the Second Great Awakening was marked by the desperate efforts of the orthodox leaders to stem the tide of growing liberalism. Nevertheless, the movement was broad geographically and wore several faces. In the South, the renewal took the form of emotional camp-meeting revivals, but in the academic institutions of New England, students responded to an appeal first to their intellects and consciences.

A different theological trend took hold at Harvard, for the literature and thinking of the Enlightenment already had left an indelible imprint on America's first institution of higher education. The parting of ways came in 1805. After the death of Rev. Dr. David Tappan two years earlier, the Hollis Professorship of Divinity at Harvard

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45 Orr, 80.
46 McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform, 98ff.
College was left vacant. A strong effort ensued to place a "Unitarian" in the Professor's chair. The orthodox leaders on the governing bodies of the college insisted that the candidate for the chair be one who maintained the Calvinistic stances required by Hollis in founding the professorship. The Liberals maintained that their candidate, Henry Ware, was as sound and orthodox as any of his opposers, but in the mind of Morse and his conservative companions, the liberals had reduced religion to a mere system of morals, which amounted to irreligion. After several postponements of a final decision, and with a change of one vote to make a majority, Henry Ware was elected on February 7, 1805. In 1806 Samuel Webber, another liberal, was elected president in place of the deceased president Willard, and Harvard was firmly held in liberal hands.

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49Culver, Horace Mann and Religion, 9.

50Morse, Jedidiah Morse, 90. Except in isolated cases, the Liberal religious party in New England was not known as "Unitarian" at this time. The term was used by the orthodox to identify their rivals with the established English group, who denied the Trinity and substitutionary atonement of Christ, and exalted the reason and moral ability of mankind.

51Morse, 87, 95.

52Morse, 92.

53Morse, 94.

54Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 394.
The Battle in Pulpits and Pamphlets

Although they had lost a major battle, the Orthodox were not ready to quit. In the same year that Harvard welcomed Henry Ware, Jedidiah Morse and Leonard Woods established the religious monthly the Panoplist, a stark contrast to the existing Liberal voice, the Monthly Anthology. The first issues of the Panoplist were heartily approved by many of the conservative groups both in New England and the British Isles. William Bentley, the prominent Liberal pastor from Salem, summarized the indifferent sentiments of his party in his personal journal:

Dr. Morse's Panoplist is employed with a host of Pamphlets in the good cause of antiquated Orthodoxy. It is hoped their stupidity will work wonders in the reformation from corruption of Christianity.

Both the moderate Calvinists like Morse, and the evangelical enthusiasts of the day, the "Hopkinsians," were making plans to establish their own divinity schools in the aftermath of the Harvard controversy. At first their plans were unknown to one another. Once their intentions became

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55Morse, Jedidiah Morse, 74-81.

56William Bentley, Diary of William Bentley, III, 1805-14, Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., 184, in Morse, Jedidiah Morse, 80. One of the Calvinistic groups, the revivalistic "Hopkinsians," also showed disfavor for the Panoplist, seeing it as a rival to their own Massachusetts Missionary Magazine. However, later efforts by Morse and others brought the merger of the two publications in 1808 (See Morse, 116).
known, they managed to overlook their differences, and jointly founded Andover Theological Seminary in 1808.\textsuperscript{57}

In 1809, Park Street Church was organized in the heart of Boston to serve as a fortress of orthodoxy in the midst of its liberal opposition.\textsuperscript{58} In 1811, Rev. Dr. Edward D. Griffin took leadership in the church to preach in an energetic "Hopkinsian" manner unknown to Boston before this time.

About the same time, John Codman, newly ordained orthodox pastor of the Second Church in Dorchester, took a stand which was afterwards followed by others and which contributed to the impending split in Congregationalism.\textsuperscript{59} It had been the longtime custom of the Congregational pastors to exchange pulpits. John Codman had not taken residence in Dorchester very long before it became evident

\textsuperscript{57}Culver, Horace Mann and Religion, 9. Lowell Mason taught a large music class of seminarians at Andover from 1836 through September, 1844, through which he developed many deep and long-lasting friendships. See Carol Ann Pemberton, "Lowell Mason: His Life and Work: (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Minnesota, 1971), 195-97.

\textsuperscript{58}Culver, 9-10. Park Street Church was one of three Congregational churches in which Lowell Mason assumed musical leadership when first settling in Boston. Under a previous agreement, Mason was to serve each of the churches for separate six-month periods. However, after beginning his tenure at Park Street in the latter half of 1828, he prolonged that period to two and a half years. The pastor of the church at the time was Rev. Edward Beecher. See Pemberton, 127.

\textsuperscript{59}Morse, Jedidiah Morse, 134-35.
that his convictions prevented him from exchanging pulpits with Liberal ministers with whom he disagreed. In the usual bout of opposing forces, his decision not to exchange pulpits with certain others was met with both hearty encouragement and severe criticism depending on the party from which it came.⁶⁰ Some of the criticism came from Codman’s own parish. Nevertheless, Codman held his ground.

To all this resistance by the orthodox, the liberals gave a cold response. Initially, it served their purposes to remain quiet. Even as late as 1813, the self-exposed differences between the various factions of Calvinism required no need for a defensive effort from the liberals. Rev. Holley of Hollis Street Church in Boston summarized the opinions of the liberal leaders that the orthodox would bury themselves:

In many, if not in most instances, where a change from a catholic mode of preaching to the exclusive and denouncing spirit of Andoverian Calvinism has taken place, contentions, divisions, and the multiplication of checks have followed ... The violence and denunciations of Andoverian Calvinists in the metropolis have shown the people, ... the deformity of sectarianism; ... and have given full proof that the project, to revolutionize the town from genuine

⁶⁰Morse, 134. The practice of exchanging pulpits also became problematic for the Unitarian minister, John T. Sargent, and led to the termination of his position in the Suffolk-street Chapel in 1844. In 1845, Rev. Sargent was a member of the Committee on Music which voted to oust Lowell Mason as instructor of music in the Boston schools. See chapter 6.
protestantism to the sentiments and dominion of Andover, must not only fail now, but can never be successful.\textsuperscript{61}

In spite of attempts by the liberal camp not to be too outspoken, one attack finally provoked a defensive stance: Morse's publication of a chapter from Thomas Belsham's \textit{Life of Theophilus Lindsey} in 1815.\textsuperscript{62} The English work recounted the progress of Unitarianism in America and quoted several statements of Boston liberals. The assault proved to be too much for the accused to remain silent. William Ellery Channing, pastor of the Federal Street Church, published an open letter to one of his ministerial colleagues, Samuel Thatcher, bemoaning the unfairness of the attack, and seeking to show the clash between Trinitarianism and Unitarianism as largely a misunderstanding of terms. His response was met by a reply from a stalwart Hopkinsian, Samuel Worcester of Salem. Thus began an exchange of controversial tracts.

Channing took a much less conciliatory approach in his sermon for the ordination of Jared Sparks in 1819. So definitively did the Boston clergyman declare independence from "Calvin's ghost" that "Unitarianism in America is dated

\textsuperscript{61}General Repository and Review, 2 (1813): 372, in Morse, \textit{Jedidiah Morse}, 141-42.

\textsuperscript{62}Ahlstrom, \textit{A Religious History}, 394.
by that sermon. This manifesto of the principles of American Unitarianism stimulated a response from professors at Andover and Harvard which eventually grew to volumes of scholarly doctrinal arguments extending into the early 1830's.

The Battle Goes to Court

Once the Liberal party had adopted the name "Unitarian," the controversy became a legal battle. The setting for the conflict in court grew out of the fact that all residents of a town or parish in Massachusetts were taxed for the support of the established Congregational church in that parish unless especially exempted. Culver reports that when the First Church of Dedham was without a pastor in 1818, the First Church parish, which was largely Liberal in its perspectives, took the initiative to call a Liberal minister, Rev. Alan Lamson. The communicant members of the church refused to concur with the action of the Parish by a vote of eighteen to fourteen. However, the

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63 Stephen Hole Fritchman, Men of Liberty: Ten Unitarian Pioneers (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1944), 114. The change in the open avowal of Unitarian stances by the liberals is highlighted by the fact that only eleven years earlier than the ordination of Jared Sparks, Channing also preached the ordination sermon of John Codman.

64 Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 396.

65 R. B. Culver, Horace Mann and Religion, 15.

66 R. B. Culver, 16.
parish proceeded to gather a council consisting of Channing, Ware, and other liberal leaders to ordain Lamson. At this point, the orthodox portion of the congregation withdrew to a building across the street from the church, so that the question arose as to which of the two parties rightfully held claim to the church property. The outcome was finally determined by a Massachusetts Supreme Court decision in 1820. Chief Justice Isaac Parker, a Unitarian, declared that the larger parish held the right to call the minister of its choice and to retain control of church property even if the communicant members of the church opposed that action.°

The consequences of the Dedham case were far-reaching. A great number of the parishes throughout eastern Massachusetts identified themselves as Unitarian, and called liberal ministers; the dissenting orthodox members left to establish "Second" churches. The liberal faction grew in self-recognition and prominence, eventually founding the American Unitarian Association in 1825.** Culver quotes Dr. Joseph S. Clark as stating that

... by 1836 eighty-one churches had been divided, and 3,900 evangelical members had withdrawn, leaving property valued at $608,958 to be used by the 1,282 Unitarian members who remained. By 1840 ninety-six churches which had been of the old Puritan faith had passed over into Unitarianism, fifteen of them without

°°Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 397.

**Ahlstrom, 397.
schism, and thirty additional parishes had excluded evangelical preaching from their pulpits, resulting in the "withdrawal of the churches from their meeting houses." 

The Trinitarians did what they could to stem the Unitarian success. When Dr. Lyman Beecher, a disciple of Timothy Dwight, came to Boston to take up the defense against Unitarianism in 1826, the orthodox looked to him for renewed hope. Harriet Beecher Stowe records the state of religion in Boston at the time:

When Dr. Beecher came to Boston, Calvinism or orthodoxy was the despised and persecuted form of faith. It was the dethroned royal family wandering like a permitted mendicant in the city where once it had held court, and Unitarianism reigned in its stead. All literary men of Massachusetts were Unitarians. All the trustees and professors of Harvard College were Unitarians. All the elite of wealth and fashion crowded Unitarian churches. The judges on the bench were Unitarian, giving decisions by which the peculiar features of church organization, so carefully ordained by the Pilgrim fathers, had been nullified.

Beecher fired verbal assaults at the Unitarians first from Park Street Church on the edge of the Common, and later in his own Hanover Street Church. Under the leadership of

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69 R. B. Culver, Horace Mann and Religion, 17, with reference to Joseph S. Clark, A Historical Sketch of the Congregational Churches in Massachusetts from 1620 to 1858, 269-72.

70 Marty, Pilgrims in Their Own Land, 236.


72 When Lowell Mason first arrived in Boston in 1827, he served as music director under Rev. Lyman Beecher at the Hanover Street Church. According to previous arrangement,
Beecher, the young men of Hanover Street Church organized themselves as the "Hanover Association of Young Men," to assert the opinion of the orthodox in politics. beecher favored the group, stating that all the political offices were in the hands of the Unitarians except for an occasional Baptist; thus, the Unitarians attracted proselytes among the young men coming to Boston, by virtue of their political position. With Beecher's encouragement, the Association of Young Men, by getting involved in the election processes, secured several votes for orthodox and Democratic policies. beecher's highly visible pulpit ministry and particularly his initiative in promoting humanitarian reform movements did leave their impact on the Boston public, but the prominent position of Unitarianism was already firmly

Mason remained at Hanover Street for only six months before aiding another church for a like period. However, Mason once again served under Beecher in 1831 at the Bowdoin Street Church, which had replaced the Hanover Street Church due to a fire. After Beecher moved to Cincinnati in September, 1832, Mason continued at the Bowdoin Street Church until January 7, 1844. See Pemberton, "Lowell Mason," 127.


74 Darling indicates that in 1827, Orthodoxy and democracy worked together against the domination of Unitarianism and conservatism. See Darling, 55.
The Final Break

The division of Trinitarian and Unitarian hastened the disestablishment of the Congregationalist church as the two factions opposed one another politically. Most denominations, following the lead of the Baptists, began to experiment with a voluntary support system. The Unitarians were the last to adopt that practice. As late as 1830 they were defending the old parish system. On the other side of the political pendulum, the Trinitarians, having suffered extensive losses in the years following the Dedham case described above, were ready for a change of events, and began to back the dissenting denominations in their endeavors for complete disestablishment. Despite Unitarian efforts to postpone the decision, disestablishment was granted in an amendment to the state Bill of Rights in 1833.

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75 Marty, Pilgrims in Their Own Land, 236.

76 Jacob C. Meyer, Church and State in Massachusetts from 1740 to 1833: A Chapter in the History of the Development of Individual Freedom (Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1930), 233.

77 Meyer, 233.

78 Culver, Horace Mann and Religion, 18.
Growing Pains in the New Order

The separation of church from state in Massachusetts in 1833 hardly meant a period of tranquility for the decades which ensued. "The rapid growth of cities, the increased pace of economic activity, and the extension of religious diversity made change itself appear to be the only constant force in society." 79

Growth in Boston's population in the 1830's and 1840's was dynamic. According to the best researched records from the time, Boston numbered 61,392 in 1830; only fifteen years later, in 1845, more than 110,000 called the city home. 80 Much of the increase was due to immigration. In 1830, 5.6 per cent of the city's population were registered as alien; by 1845, the foreign element, including children, had risen to 32.6 per cent. 81 The greatest influx of foreigners came from Ireland, who left their impact not only on population statistics, but also on economy and religion.

Knights gives the description that, unlike the cities further west, Boston was limited in size by its

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81 Knights, 33.
surrounding bays, making growth especially difficult. Increased population in Boston's central area peaked in the late 1830's. Until the 1840's, most of the city's centralization resulted from the movement of the native-born from farms in northern New England. But with the 'forties came the influx of the Irish and other foreigners. The Irish work force depressed the market for unskilled labor, and many of the unskilled native-born workers began to leave Boston in the middle of that decade.\(^2\) Peter Knights indicates the 'forties to be a "crucial period" in Boston's history, demographically, socially, and economically, adding that "almost every measure gathered for [his] study changed sharply during the 'forties."\(^3\)

The 1830's and 1840's saw major growth in transportation with omnibus lines taking their place among coaches and carts in the city, and new railway systems extending to the west.\(^4\) Boston's role as a port city grew steadily, while manufacturing marked the light of a new day. The new industrial enterprises left their impact on the nature of the family, one factory often employing several members from the same family, including women and children.

\(^2\)Knights, 120.

\(^3\)Knights, 125.

\(^4\)Roger Lane, Policing the City: Boston, 1822-1885 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), 52.
The breakdown in family ties brought the lamentations of many.

Harsh judgments on the instability of family life were a stock item of foreign inventories of America. Articles in domestic popular magazines attested to growing doubts about the social worth of the family as the molder of virtuous youth. By the late 1830’s Boston men of wealth and prestige were complaining that "the influence of family is entirely lost. Our young ladies for instance, do not value birth and good breeding half so much as money."85

Prominent educator of the day, George B. Emerson, likewise noted that the cares of business and daily life had caused parents to neglect the concerns of their children.86 However, economic pursuits were not the only factor which contributed to the undermining of family order and harmony. The centralization of the population brought with it crowded living conditions, confronting Boston leadership with the problem of inadequate sanitation facilities.87

Diversity of Religious Thought

The disestablishment of the Congregational church in 1833 did not mean the displacement of religious interest in Boston. On the contrary, a flood gate opened for diverse

86Schultz, 65.
87Schultz, 58.
new sects, while Unitarians and Trinitarians continued to air their differences by means of the press.**

Parallel to the rapid economic growth was a new moral optimism and idealistic devotion to "progress" which affected the outlook of all faiths. Belief in the perfectibility of man marked a further removal from traditional Calvinism. Calvin's predestination of "the elect" was replaced by the millenial hope of a nation:

The Calvinist idea of foreordination, rejected as far as it concerned individuals, was now transferred to a grander object—the manifest destiny of a Christianized America. Men in all walks of life believed that the sovereign Holy Spirit was endowing the nation with resources sufficient to convert and civilize the globe, to purge human society of all its evils, and to usher in Christ's reign on earth. Religious doctrines which Paine, in his book The Age of Reason, had discarded as the tattered vestment of an outworn aristocracy, became the wedding garb of a democratized church, bent on preparing men and institutions for a kind of proletarian marriage supper of the Lamb.°°

William McLoughlin describes this period, sometimes called "the decline of Calvinism" or "the rise of romantic evangelicalism," as "the transformation of Evangelical Calvinism into Evangelical Arminianism."°° He also states


°°°See footnote 33 on p. 60, concerning Arminianism.
that the time could equally be called "the interaction between the Age of Reason and the Age of Romanticism," but regardless, "at the heart of the transformation lay the question of the freedom of the will." ⁹¹

Indeed, the role of human will as balanced against God’s sovereign intervention in man’s salvation had been the issue in the major religious upheavals of America since seventeenth century Puritanism. The proponents of the First Great Awakening, although stressing God’s sovereignty, weakened the old stand on predestination by preaching that man’s repentance would surely bring God’s mercy; the preaching of the Second Great Awakening ignored the matter of predestination altogether. ⁹² The same issues undergirded the Unitarian thrust, exalting the ability of man and lessening the necessity of Christ’s atonement.

Unitarianism in the 1830’s and 1840’s was the religion of the genteel intellectual class of Boston, and came to be associated primarily with that city. ⁹³ By the 1830’s, the efforts of Timothy Dwight and others to keep

⁹¹McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform, 113.
⁹²McLoughlin, 114.
orthodox trinitarianism alive west of the eastern seaboard had successfully contained the Unitarian faith within the Boston area. In Boston, Unitarian leaders such as William Ellery Channing spoke on behalf of the philanthropic concerns of the day, and won support among their listeners for the causes of moral reform.

At the opposite pole from Unitarian intellectualism, the "revival" movement beginning in approximately the 1830's, expressed the new millenial temper in America through impassioned pleas for spiritual conversion. Revivalism took on divergent styles in the various classes of society, the more extreme forms at times being criticized by both the liberals and the orthodox. An article entitled "Dangers of the Times," from the Boston Recorder, a conservative journal, gave this appraisal:

There has been much zeal, during the last few years, for the promotion of religion in our country, from which much good has resulted, but unhappily not without the accompaniment of much evil. Zeal without knowledge and prudence, has led to extravagance and fanaticism.

Although camp meetings with an emotional fervor took hold primarily in the south and among the Methodists and Baptists, a more conservative form of revivalism found fertile soil among the orthodox of New England. Nathaniel

94Berk, Calvinism versus Democracy, 199.
95Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 638.
W. Taylor and Lyman Beecher, pupils of Timothy Dwight, were the timely spokespersons of this latter movement. Together, they restated and reinterpret ed the doctrines of Calvinism in such a way as to promote reform movements among their fellow humans. Although they still taught total dependence on God for salvation, they stressed man's response and moral potential in this life.

Still more prone toward the role of humans in their conversion was the prominent evangelist of the day, Charles Grandison Finney. Finney, formerly a lawyer, considered revivalism a science, which one could initiate by protracted prayer and repentance. He was largely responsible for developing the practice of holding a nightly series of evangelistic meetings, or "revivals" which have continued into the current century. At first, Taylor and Beecher were cautious concerning Finney's techniques, but diverging little from him in doctrine, they eventually associated with and promoted the evangelist.

In August, 1831, Finney came to Boston and began preaching in Park Street and other churches there.

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97Lowe1 Mason served under Dr. Beecher as director of church music at Hanover Street Church. See Chapter 1, 46.

98McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform, 109-111.

99McLoughlin, 114.

100Berk, Calvinism versus Democracy, 197-99.

Finney’s account of this visit and a later one to Boston, reveals important insights concerning the orthodox response to Unitarian prominence in the city during the 1830’s and 1840’s:

In the fall of 1843, I was called again to Boston. . . .

When I arrived there, . . . I found that . . . many forms of error prevailed among the people. Indeed I have found that to be true of Boston, of which Dr. Beecher assured me, the first winter that I labored there. He said to me, "Mr. Finney, you cannot labor here as you do anywhere else. You have got to pursue a different course of instruction, and begin at the foundation; for Unitarianism is a system of denials, and under its teaching, the foundations of Christianity are fallen away. . . ."

I have since found this to be true . . . The mass of the people in Boston, are more unsettled in their religious convictions, than in any other place that I have ever labored in, notwithstanding their intelligence; for they are surely a very intelligent people, on all questions but that of religion. It is extremely difficult to make religious truths lodge in their minds, because the influence of Unitarian teaching has been to lead them to call in question all the principal doctrines of the Bible. Their system is one of denials. Their theology is negative. They deny almost everything, and affirm almost nothing. In such a field, error finds the ears of the people open; and the most irrational views, on religious subjects, come to be held by a great many people. 102

Finney also found the cerebral testimony of the Boston orthodox to be unsupported by personal Christian experience, noting their timidity and concern for "what the Unitarians will say." 103


103 Finney, 384-85.
A movement which in many ways paralleled the rise of Unitarianism in Boston was Universalism. Foundational to Universalism is the teaching that all mankind, not just the Elect, will be saved through the grace of Jesus Christ. The movement first came to Massachusetts from England in the 1770's, but began to thrive under its "definitive prophet," Hosea Ballou, after 1800. Ballou, a Bostonian of Baptist background, added to Universalism a doctrine that turned away from the original position of the substitutionary nature of Christ's sacrifice. His "moral theory" of atonement held that Christ suffered for men, but not in their place. Ballou was influenced by the liberal leaders of Boston Congregationalism, so that the movement tended toward Unitarianism in theology. However, unlike Unitarianism, Universalism held its place among the lower, unlettered classes rather than among the socially elite. The movement grew throughout the nineteenth century, claiming over five hundred ministers in the period 1831-1841.

One of the unconventional religious currents which attracted followers from many levels of society during the

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104 Sebastian Streeter of the Boston School Committee of 1845 was a Universalist pastor. See Chapter 6.

105 Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 482.

106 Ahlstrom, 482.

107 Ahlstrom, 482.
first half of the nineteenth century was that which arose from the teaching of Emanuel Swedenborg. Professing to speak directly to spirits and angels, Swedenborg interpreted the "spiritual" truths of the Bible, not so evident in the written letter. His liberal teaching on Christ and man, and other more unique beliefs concerning visions, healings, sex, and an impersonal Devil found adherents among the intellectually reflective and the eccentric as well. Boston notables, including Ralph Waldo Emerson and James Freeman Clarke, expressed their respect for Swedenborg and espoused many of his views. Swedenborgianism, institutionalized in the New Church, became established in several major American cities including Boston early in the nineteenth century, and

108Ahlfstrom, 483. Peleg W. Chandler and Theophilus Parsons of the Boston School Committee of 1845, were outspoken followers of the Swedenborgian movement. See Chapter 6.


110Hastings, s.v. "Swedenborg."

eventually gave rise to several eccentric religious impulses such as hypnotism and spiritualism.\textsuperscript{112}

In September, 1836, a small gathering of prominent Bostonians including Ralph Waldo Emerson, Bronson Alcott, George Ripley and Orestes Brownson met to establish the Transcendental Club to advance a philosophy which emphasized aesthetic aspects of higher reason in "the Good, the True, the Beautiful," and "the Divine."\textsuperscript{113} Although all but Alcott were Unitarian ministers, the new train of thought proved to be too radical even for the mainline Unitarian consensus and sparked a volatile controversy in that camp. The Transcendentalists decried Unitarianism's cold reliance upon natural law, and replaced all objective norms of truth with the individual mind as the ultimate authority on what is true or false in religion.\textsuperscript{114} In 1838, in his address to the graduating class at Harvard Divinity School, Emerson shocked most of his contemporaries with statements that Christianity historically had too much dwelt on "noxious exaggeration about the person of Jesus," and destroyed "the power of preaching, by withdrawing it from the exploration of the moral nature of man, where the sublime is, where are

\textsuperscript{112}Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 486.

\textsuperscript{113}Ahlstrom, 598, 600.

the resources of astonishment and power."\textsuperscript{115} Emerson's demand to the Harvard Divinity School that ministers should replace their "faith in Christ" with a "faith in man like Christ's" brought sharp opposition from the Unitarian press.\textsuperscript{115} However, the public rebuke prompted Theodore Parker, the young pastor of nearby West Roxbury, to enter the ring on the side of Transcendentalism.\textsuperscript{117}

Parker, influenced by German critical studies of the day, ousted traditional beliefs in the historical foundations of the faith, seeing Biblical miracles as man-made myths attached to the person of Christ, who otherwise was not essential to Christianity.\textsuperscript{116} He further defined his views on Jesus as Thursday Lecturer at First Church in

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\textsuperscript{115}Ralph Waldo Emerson, "An Address to the Senior Class in Divinity College, Cambridge," The Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson vol. 4 (New York: Brentanos, n.d.), 92, 99.
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\textsuperscript{116}Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 605-06.
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\textsuperscript{117}Rev. John T. Sargent, a member of the Boston School Committee and the Committee on Music in 1845, exchanged pulpits with Parker in 1844, drawing criticism from other Unitarian clergymen, and eventually leading to his termination of employment at the Suffolk-street Chapel. In 1845, Sargent voted to replace Lowell Mason with Benjamin Baker, a Unitarian choir director, as Master of Music in the Boston schools. See Chapter 6.
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\textsuperscript{118}John Weiss, Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker, Minister of the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society, Boston (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1864), 101, 122-23.
\end{flushleft}
December, 1844. His boldness in doing so afterwards led to exclusion from the Thursday lecture, and to ostracism by the Boston Association of Unitarian Ministers. Although such was the initial reaction to Transcendentalism, the Romantic new thought with its rejection of historic orthodoxy and the church as an institution had a lasting influence upon Christian thought in America.

There were more conventional forms of religion which stirred controversy in ante-bellum Boston: Roman Catholicism, once virtually non-existent in the city, accompanied the waves of Irish immigrants. Whereas only 2,000 Catholics lived in Boston in 1820, their number grew to over 20,000 by 1835, over one-fourth the total population. As their numbers grew, orthodox leaders Lyman Beecher and Samuel F. B. Morse, son of Jedidiah Morse, made vigorous verbal attacks on the Roman faith.

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119 The Thursday Lecture was a revered institution at the First Church in Boston, although its popularity had declined. According to the pastor of the church, Dr. N. L. Frothingham, "A score or two of venerable women glided silently in at the hour of eleven, and took their seats . . . None came but saints, and these came not with jubilant feet." However, when Parker spoke at the Lecture, the church was crowded. See Robert C. Albrecht, Theodore Parker (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1971), 64.

120 Albrecht, 64-65.

121 Singer, Theological Interpretation of American History, 59.

122 Schultz, The Culture Factory, 63. See also Knights, Plain People of Boston, 20.

123 Schultz, The Culture Factory, 235.
The religion of the Irish brought the ire of many of Boston's residents. Two incidents depict the tensions which existed. The first involved the burning of the Charlestown Convent by a group called the "Boston Truckmen" in 1834.\textsuperscript{124} Animosity between the "Truckmen" and the "Romish" school had been known for some time, and the governmental leaders of Boston had sought to quell hostilities. Nevertheless, the attack came without warning on the night of August 11. Before long a mob of over a thousand surrounded the nunnery. Apparently, no harm was intended to the nuns themselves, who fled to nearby homes. However, no police force was present to protect property and restore peace. When the building was set ablaze, the few Boston fire companies which did come made no effort to stop the destruction.\textsuperscript{125}

The stalwart mother superior warned the attackers that the local bishop would strike back with "twenty thousand Irishmen,"\textsuperscript{126} and the city's residents expected the worst. The students at Harvard prepared to protect their college; the Boston city council spent $1,500 on special constables, and Mayor Lyman called into action the militia. Fortunately, the mayor also called a meeting at Faneuil Hall

\textsuperscript{124}Lane, Policing the City, 29-30.

\textsuperscript{125}Lane, 30.

\textsuperscript{126}Lane, 30.
in which prominent speakers decried this blot on Boston's reputation, and the crisis was laid to rest.127

In June of 1837, Boston firemen returning from fighting a blaze, clashed with an Irish funeral procession in an Irish district.128 Joining the two-hour battle were most of the city's engine companies, and numerous local residents. In the end, the street fighting turned to the raiding of Irish homes, robbing of women and children, and beating of men. More arrests were made of the Irish than of the native Bostonians, and sporadic skirmishes with the immigrants continued in the coming years.

In the 1830's, irreligion as well as opposing religions became a public issue, especially among the orthodox. Abner Kneeland, a Universalist clergyman, alarmed many with his weekly journal, the Boston Investigator, which he founded in 1831.129 The journal promoted religious skepticism, offering comments on sex education and scorning the sanctity of marriage and of God. In an article on atheism in New England, Samuel G. Howe called Kneeland the "hoary-headed apostle of Satan."130 Additional public

127Lane, 30.

128Schultz, The Culture Factory, 240.

129Schultz, 63-64.

response brought Kneeland's indictment in 1834 on the charge of having published a "scandalous, impious, obscene, blasphemous and profane libel of and concerning God."  

The trial went through several stages, but finally resulted in Kneeland being sentenced and jailed for blasphemy in 1838.

Before the final sentence, the case was met with much controversy from the Boston clergy. Dr. Channing, the Unitarian leader, drew up a petition to pardon Kneeland, and among the many signers were such prominent Liberals as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Theodore Parker. However, there were leaders from among both the orthodox and liberal camps who refused to sign the petition to pardon Kneeland, and openly justified his being prosecuted and imprisoned. One such leader was Samuel K. Lothrop, the Unitarian pastor of Brattle Street Church and Boston School Committee member.

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131 Schultz, The Culture Factory, 64.
133 Commager, 40.
134 See [David Henshaw] "Review of the Rev. S. K. Lothrop's Sermon, Delivered in the Brattle Street Church, on Sunday, June 17, 1838" (n.p., n.d.) found in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Lothrop served on the Boston School Committee and Committee on Music in 1837. David Henshaw himself was elected to the School Committee in 1837, but due to accusations of corruption in the voting procedures, was soon replaced by George Bartlett (See chapter 5). Henshaw also published a review of Kneeland’s case, the view of which was in opposition to Lothrop's.
Rev. Lothrop circulated a counter-petition which was likewise signed by "scores of respectable citizens." ¹³⁵

**Concern for "Sectarianism"**

The rapid rise of religious diversity and the schism left from the Unitarian-Trinitarian split kept alive elements of contention between the religious factions of Boston during the 1830's and 1840's. Although there were those who, perhaps with wishful thinking, suggested that questions of sectarian theology were ebbing away, ¹³⁶ animosities continued to surface in the press.¹³⁷ In an age which had felt the severity of religious strife, the label of "sectarian" was an accusation no party wanted to bear.

"Sect" by etymology derives from the Latin *secta* or "following," and refers to any "body of persons adhering to

[David Henshaw] "By a Cosmopolite," *A Review of the Prosecution Against Abner Kneeland, for Blasphemy* (Boston: True and Greene, Printers, 1828), also in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

¹³⁵Commager, 40.


a particular religious faith."  

However, in ante-bellum Boston, the term so often was associated with exclusiveness as to render it offensive. As early as 1805, a liberal reviewer remarked that Jedidiah Morse and Elijah Parish's *A Compendious History of New England* [sic] "smells strongly of sect."  

"Sectarianism" became such a call for alarm that the effect of using the word overshadowed its actual definition. Indeed, just exactly what the term meant drew much discussion in the 1840's. One writer to the editors of the *Boston Recorder* asked, "Can you tell me what is sectarianism? The word is in many mouths, but I am greatly at a loss to know its true meaning."  

Noting that the Bible itself could be viewed by some as sectarian, the writer continued to express that anything in "our holy religion" was libel to the charge of being sectarian in the eyes of the infidel.  

The term "sectarian" found considerable use in the controversy concerning Harvard College. The heart of the  

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issue was that Harvard, although considered a state
institution, was almost exclusively in the hands of
Unitarians.\textsuperscript{142} That fact stoked the anger of the orthodox
who in turn published their sentiments.\textsuperscript{143} The hottest
period of the controversy appears to have been around 1844,
for in that year a Unitarian writer noted that

\begin{quote}

at no previous period has there been a more determined
purpose on the part of those who regard our doctrines as
contrary to the Gospel to eradicate them from the land,
or a stronger hope that their efforts would be crowned
with success.\textsuperscript{144}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{142}The date when Harvard became truly private is
open to interpretation. The 1985 edition of the
Encyclopedia Americana indicates: "After the state, in
1823, ceased contributing to the support of the university
(which had been chiefly self-supporting since 1700), the
composition of the Board of Overseers was gradually changed;
since the Civil War it has been elected by the alumni." See
"Harvard University." However, an 1890 version suggests
unofficial ties with the state to a much later date: "The
State, claiming as founder and patron, till quite recently
regarded the college as a State institution, over which it
should exercise a direct control through the legislature and
the executive, by its authority in the membership and the
election of the whole or a part of the board of overseers."
Encyclopedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and
General Literature, Ninth ed., 1890, s.v. "Harvard College."
For further explanation and study of this complex issue, see
Seymour Martin Lipset and David Riesman, Education and
Politics at Harvard (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company,
1975), 88-90.

\textsuperscript{143}See "Harvard College, or What Constitutes Freedom
from Sectarianism?," Boston Recorder, 25 July 1844, 117.
Also, "What Is Sectarianism?," Boston Recorder, 6 March
1845, 38.

\textsuperscript{144}"Harvard College, or What Constitutes Freedom
from Sectarianism?," Boston Recorder, 25 July 1844, 117.
In 1845, Harvard President Quincy insisted that "sectarianism" consisted in "no salvation out of our communion," and that, as such, the Unitarian faith was not sectarian.\textsuperscript{145} The orthodox insisted that until "the Board of Overseers shall be composed of an equal representation of the religious sects of New England," the professors "selected without reference to their religious tenets," and funds "expended for the support of religious teachers who shall not inculcate Unitarianism," Harvard was "as literally and emphatically sectarian, as the theological school at Andover."\textsuperscript{146}

Bostonians also expressed concern over sectarian teaching at the common school level. Although some promoted the use of their own particular creeds in the schools, others deemed it a necessity to teach only those aspects of the Bible which were common to all denominations, or otherwise to exclude religious instruction from the schools altogether.\textsuperscript{147} In both cases, the particular denominations could organize evening schools in religion without the restraint of sectarian compromise.

\textsuperscript{145}See "What Is Sectarianism?," \textit{Boston Recorder}, 6 March 1845, 38.

\textsuperscript{146}"Harvard College, or What Constitutes Freedom from Sectarianism?," \textit{Boston Recorder}, 25 July 1844, 117.

\textsuperscript{147}See B., "Religion Without Sectarianism," \textit{Boston Recorder}, 16 November 1838, 181.
Humanitarian Reform Movements

For all the religious differences in Boston in the 1830's and 1840's, social reform sounded a note common to all faiths. Both liberal and orthodox leaders led in group efforts to elevate the welfare of their fellow men. Some reform societies managed to unite those of opposite theologies for the sake of a noble cause, although differing religious opinions did make decisions on policy difficult at times.

It was an age of fervent nationalism and utopian hopes. That a group entitled "Friends of Universal Reform" should be organized in Boston in 1840 suggests the extent of the reformation attitude.

Nothing in America was safe from the reformer's burning gaze during the first half of the nineteenth century. Everything from diet and dress to the social structure itself---even the family and motherhood---were up for critical review, while panaceas and nostrums ranged from graham crackers and bloomers to free love and socialism. Crackpots and dreamers, sober philosophers and millennial prophets had their moment if not their day.

In regard to voluntary religious organizations for such social tasks as caring for the poor, sheltering unwed mothers, and reclaiming the "down-and-out," Boston

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148 Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 428.


150 Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 637.
exelled.\textsuperscript{151} Schultz cites the English writer, Harriet Martineau, who observed of Boston in the 1830's: "I know of no large city where there is so much mutual helpfulness, so little neglect and ignorance of the concerns of other classes."\textsuperscript{152}

Although Boston's Blacks never constituted more than about 3 per cent of the city's population in the 1830's and 1840's,\textsuperscript{153} black concerns and particularly abolitionism did have their place in political issues there. Disruption stimulated controversy. In 1826, unnamed individuals destroyed several houses on "Nigger Hill;" three years later white sailors attacked Blacks on Ann Street.\textsuperscript{154} In 1835, a mob of anti-abolitionists broke up a meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.\textsuperscript{155}

In a still later incident of 1842, a group of Boston constables took it upon themselves to capture George Latimer, a fugitive slave, unwarranted by the slave's owner.\textsuperscript{156} In order to free Latimer, it was necessary for the abolitionists of Massachusetts to buy him. The instance

\textsuperscript{151}Schultz, The Culture Factory, 62.
\textsuperscript{152}Schultz, 63.
\textsuperscript{153}Knights, Plain People of Boston, 29.
\textsuperscript{154}Schultz, The Culture Factory, 239-40.
\textsuperscript{155}Schultz, 183.
\textsuperscript{156}Lane, Policing the City, 51.
raised an uproar, resulting in sixty-two thousand signatures calling for corrective legislation. In March, 1843 the General Court passed the first of the northern personal liberty laws, forbidding the reclaiming of slaves by officers and public officials.

Blacks in Boston were free. Nevertheless, prejudice and inequality limited their progress. Reformers such as David Walker, and David and Lydia Child led the demand for racial equality, especially in education. The joint efforts of the Childs resulted in the construction of the new Smith School for black students in 1835.

By far the most prominent champion of abolitionism in Boston was William Lloyd Garrison. In January, 1831, he founded the Public Liberator and Journal of the Times through which he voiced his bold stance. Garrison shunned attempts at compromise, and called for immediate abolition. His non-negotiating position made him famous to some and infamous to others.

William Ellery Channing, the leading liberal minister of Boston, testified to the impact Lydia Child's best known work, *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of

158 Schultz, 182.
160 Ahlstrom, 652.
Americans Called Africans, had on him. Channing himself took up the cause, organizing a meeting of protesters at Faneuil Hall in the mid-1840's. Conservative religious spokesmen such as Lyman Beecher and Charles Finney also joined the abolitionist ranks.  

By the Mid-1840's, abolitionists were beginning to leave their mark on Massachusetts. Religious leaders and other activists had joined forces to transform a once "despised and persecuted protest movement into a nationally organized crusade" which was "far beyond the reach of catcalls and rotten eggs."  

Lyman Beecher's coming to Boston in 1826 was a major stimulus to the growth of organizations for other areas of humanitarian reform. It was Beecher's practice to organize church members and new converts into voluntary associations promoting everything from the abolishment of dueling to the establishment of blue laws in observation of the "Sabbath."

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161 Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 653. Several members of the Boston School Committee in 1837 and 1845, including Rollin H. Neale, John T. Sargent, Baron Stow, and Sebastian Streeter, made clear statements against slavery. Samuel A. Eliot, chairman of the Committee in 1837, although against slavery, recommended compromise on anti-slavery issues when he served as a U. S. congressman, bringing the criticism of strict abolitionists.

162 Ahlstrom, A Religious History, 653.

163 McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform, 112.
One of those organizations which reflected the spirit of moral reform of the time was the American Temperance Society founded in 1826. The organization replaced the weaker Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance which had been founded in 1816. Still other temperance societies, including student groups on the college campuses, heralded the evils of alcohol. Popular thought had it that drunkenness lay at the roots of most poverty and crime, so that in a state law of 1835, the "crime of drunkenness by the voluntary use of intoxicating liquor" was a punishable moral offense. The "crime" was most visibly that of the Irish immigrants. Receiving pressure from those marketing liquor, yet wishing to eliminate its abuses, city officials struggled over what restrictions should be made on the sale and use of alcohol throughout the 1830's.

Whether or not intemperance was the primary source of poverty, poverty was clearly increasing in Boston. Knights indicates that unskilled and menial heads of

164 McLoughlin, 112.
165 Lane, Policing the City, 42.
166 See "Progress of Temperance: Colleges," Boston Recorder, 8 September 1830, 142.
167 Schultz, The Culture Factory, 238.
168 Schultz, 239.
169 Lane, 43-45.
households increased by 85 per cent in the 1830’s, but by 230 per cent in the 1840’s. As with intemperance, the poor were found most often among the foreign element of the population.

In 1845, for example, the total number of applicants for aid from the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism was 4,531; foreigners accounted for 4,075 of the petitioners, Americans only 456. Boston mayors complained that immigrants, especially the Irish, were draining the public treasury.171

The foreign poor endured insufferable living quarters in crowded slums of the city’s central sector. Families squeezed into restricted attic spaces or basements devoid of light and fresh air.172 Impure water and food made for unsanitary conditions which cultivated disease and despair. One writer in the American Annals of Education suggested that by their neglect of the poor, the Bostonians were preparing “a new set of white slaves at the North . . . who will be as ignorant and corrupt as those of a different color.”173

Measures to relieve the situation of poverty began as early as 1822 with the establishment of the House of Industry.174 The institution was an attempt to reclaim the

170Knights, Plain People of Boston, 83.
171Schultz, The Culture Factory, 238.
172Schultz, 221-224.
174Schultz, 224.
poor through opportunities for useful labor and moral uplift. However, the most active concern was initiated by the Unitarian minister, Joseph Tuckerman. Tuckerman’s efforts were channeled through the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, a Unitarian organization with the purpose of providing aid to the city’s poor. The philosophy which Tuckerman espoused promoted the “social gospel” that Christianity was characteristically a social principle rather than a personal pact with God. Citizens of various backgrounds, including members of the Boston School Committee, found it a necessity to deal with the problems of the poor.

The unnumbered ills of the growing city placed formidable pressures upon the Boston leadership to find solutions. Demands of diverse interest groups summoned a time which “witnessed the threat of a radical realignment of parties in almost every election.” The municipal authorities faced a host of unanswered questions:

Should antislavery men . . . be allowed the use of Faneuil Hall? Should they be protected in private meetings? Should the growing interest in the dignity of woman express itself in an attempt to end prostitution? Were gambling and other vices objectionable only when


176 Ahlstrom, 639.


178 Lane, *Policing the City*, 43.
committed in public? Was truancy a matter for the police? Was drunkenness a crime, sin, or disease?\textsuperscript{179} 

Calls to raise morality and relieve human suffering were prominent in public speeches, sermons, and the press. Many sought religious answers, but religious organizations had become too diverse and disjointed to unite the people's efforts under any one faith. Another humanitarian effort was making its bid.\textsuperscript{180} Horace Mann defined the new movement as being "such a culture of our moral affections and religious susceptibilities, as . . . shall lead to a subjection or conformity of all our appetites, propensities, and sentiments to the will of Heaven."\textsuperscript{181} That new hope was public education.\textsuperscript{182}

\textsuperscript{179}Lane, 47.

\textsuperscript{180}Schultz, The Culture Factory, 256-57.

\textsuperscript{181}Mary P. Mann, ed., Life and Works of Horace Mann (Cambridge: Published for the editor, 1867), vol. 2, Lectures and Annual Reports, by Horace Mann, 144.

CHAPTER III

CONCERN FOR THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS AND MORAL EDUCATION

IN THE BOSTON SCHOOLS, 1830-1845

In ante-bellum Boston, both religious individuals among the city's public and members of the Massachusetts Board of Education looked upon the common school cause as a means of culturing moral improvement. Nevertheless, there were discrepancies in views of exactly what was to be taught in moral and religious instruction, and those conflicts of opinion were the seeds which eventually came to fruition in the controversies which marked the late 1830's and much of the 1840's. The root issues behind those conflicts lay in

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1Mary P. Mann, ed., Life and Works of Horace Mann (Cambridge: Published for the editor, 1867), vol. 2, Lectures and Annual Reports, by Horace Mann, 144; R. C. Waterston, "On Moral and Spiritual Culture in Early Education," The Introductory Discourse and Lectures Delivered Before the American Institute of Instruction in Boston, August, 1835 (Boston: Charles J. Hendee, 1835), 235-50; Jacob Abbott, A Lecture on Moral Education, Delivered in Boston, Before the American Institute of Instruction, August 26, 1831 (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little and Wilkins, 1831), 22. The modern day equivalent of the term "common school" is "public school."

2For example, see The Common School Controversy; Consisting of Three Letters of the Secretary of the Board of Education, of the State of Massachusetts, in Reply to Charges Preferred Against the Board, by the Editor of the

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how people of opposing denominational viewpoints defined the lines between religious and moral, sectarian and non-sectarian. For some, morality was ultimately futile without a religious (Christian) base. For others, the teaching of any specific religious doctrines became sectarianism.

Leaders in education, though sometimes differing in their religious viewpoints, were quick to speak in behalf of how education could be used for moral purposes. Horace Mann, Secretary of the Board of Education, so much believed in the power of public education to elevate national morality, that he called it "the greatest discovery ever made by man." In 1842, George B. Emerson, prominent educator and strong supporter of Mann, gave a lecture on moral education before the American Institute of Instruction, which was eagerly received by his audience:

Christian Witness and by Edward A. Newton, Esq., of Pittsfield, Once a Member of the Board; to Which Are Added Extracts from the Daily Press, in Regard to the Controversy (Boston: J. N. Bradley & Co., 1844), 27.

For example, see Nehemiah Adams's comments on pp. 124-25, or those of Richard S. Storrs on pp. 130-31.

For one of the examples which will follow, see Horace Mann's statements on pp. 115-16.

Common School Journal 3 (1 January 1841): 15. The modern day equivalent of the term "common school" is "public school." The editor of the Common School Journal was Horace Mann, the first Secretary of the Board of Education in the state of Massachusetts.

In 1830, the American Institute of Instruction was organized by teachers and others, to "diffuse information in regard to education and to mold public opinion in favor of
The enthusiasm inspired by this noble subject, treated in so worthy a manner, was too deep to find utterance in the common and boisterous expressions of applause; but as soon as the lecturer closed, a motion was made to print five thousand extra copies for distribution. This motion was immediately seconded, and advocated by gentlemen of all parties, . . . when the question was put to vote, the whole audience rose, as one man, in testimony of their gratitude to the author for so noble a production.  

In his lecture, Emerson stated that moral education was "to awaken conscience, to give it activity, and to establish the preeminence which belongs to it among the feelings, propensities, and powers, of the human mind and character."  

Others speaking on the same subject, stressed the religious roots behind moral standards.  


"George B. Emerson, "Moral Education: A Lecture Delivered on the Sixteenth of August at New Bedford, Before the American Institute of Instruction by . . . the President of the Institute," The Common School Journal 4 (15 September 1842): 273-88. For Emerson's support of the educational policies promoted by Horace Mann, see Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Massachusetts Public Schools, 39-40; also Horace Mann to Samuel G. Howe, 25 September 1844, and 8 October 1844, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.  

"Emerson, "Moral Education," 274.  

*For examples, see [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody], Record of a School: Exemplifying the General Principles of Spiritual Culture (Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1835); C. C. Felton, "Obstacles to the Progress of Knowledge," The Christian Examiner and General Review 8, n.s., 3 (March 1830): 99-115; R. C. Waterston, "On Moral and Spiritual
first president of the Boston Academy of Music, closed his lecture on moral education before the American Institute of Instruction in 1831 with the statement that "social virtue ought . . . to stand on the foundation of religious principle," which he defined as "a strong personal affection for the great Creator." Abbott concluded:

Moral education and religious education are therefore distinct, and it was the former subject which was assigned to me. I could not however close my remarks without expressing the sentiment which is unquestionably common to us all, that the members of the great human family will be most just and benevolent to each other, when they are bound most closely to their common father above.

Hubbard Winslow, Lowell Mason's pastor from 1832 to 1844 and School Committee member in 1838, went a step further: 

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10 Jacob Abbott, A Lecture on Moral Education, Delivered in Boston, before the American Institute of Instruction, August 26, 1831 (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little and Wilkins, 1831), 22. In view of the purpose of this study, it should be noted that it was also before the American Institute of Instruction and during the same year that William C. Woodbridge first called for music as a branch of public education. Woodbridge became the editor of the Annals of the American Institute of Instruction.

11 Jacob Abbott, A Lecture on Moral Education, Delivered in Boston, Before the American Institute of Instruction, August 26, 1831 (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little and Wilkins, 1831), 22.

12 See Chapter 1, 46.
further, decrying the teaching of moral education in the schools, which had taken a turn from Biblical mandates:

Moral education, is carrying into effect the divine government over accountable minds. All dangerous innovations in this department, are evasions of the thorough discipline enjoined in the Bible. Our noble ancestors made the Bible a school-book, and insisted upon its authority in the government of their schools and families. But we have nearly banished it from our schools, and many of us even from our families, at least as supreme authority in the training of our children; inculcating what we consider a more humane, enlightened, refined system of government.¹³

Thus, the plea for moral education in the schools was virtually unanimous, but religious differences prevented a consensus as to what was the foundation of moral education and how it should be taught in the schools. Those differences of opinion led to open conflict between the Massachusetts Board of Education and conservative religious factions in Boston.

Religious Attacks on Horace Mann and the Massachusetts Board of Education

Several previous works have given accounts of the facts which follow. The most extensive sources from which

¹³Hubbard Winslow, On the Dangerous Tendency to Innovations and Extremes in Education. Delivered Before the American Institute of Instruction, August, 1834 (Boston: Tuttle and Weeks, 1835), 15. Winslow goes on to criticize experiments in the schools that would replace corporal punishment ("the rod") with mere persuasion.
some of this information may be obtained are those by Raymond Culver and William Dunn.\textsuperscript{14}

On April 20, 1837, the Massachusetts state legislature passed the law which created a Board of Education.\textsuperscript{15} At the first meeting of the Board two months later, Horace Mann, President of the Massachusetts Senate, a Whig\textsuperscript{16} and Unitarian, was chosen Secretary.\textsuperscript{17} Mann embarked upon his work as Secretary of the Board of Education with


\textsuperscript{15}Culver, 30; Sherman M. Smith, The Relation of the State to Religious Education in Massachusetts (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse U. Book Store, 1926), 143.

\textsuperscript{16}The Whigs were the conservative political party which formed in the first half of the nineteenth century in opposition to the liberal Democratic party. The wealthy urban capitalists and those from prestigious families were often Whigs. Although Unitarians were Liberals theologically, they were often conservative politically and identified with the Whig party. See C. L. Barnhart, ed., The American College Dictionary (New York: Random House, 1970), s.v. "Whig;" Arthur B. Darling, Political Changes in Massachusetts, 1824-1848: A Study of Liberal Movements in Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press), 3, 55.

\textsuperscript{17}Culver, 32. Of the other members, six were Unitarian, two were Orthodox Congregationalists, and one was an Episcopalian. Except for one Democrat, all were Whigs. According to Culver, when Mann became Secretary, his place on the Board was filled by Rev. George Putnam, a Whig and Unitarian pastor. See Culver, 31-32.
diligent enthusiasm. However, his efforts did not progress without opposition. Four major controversies either directly or indirectly involved Mann with religious issues before 1845.

Researchers have disagreed as to the true motives which sparked the disputes, as well as in their viewpoints of how the controversies affected public education in America. Raymond Culver saw Mann as the preserver of non-sectarian religion in public education, saving the schools from "the destruction that would have followed had the agents of reaction had their way." Sherman Smith concluded that Mann actually increased religious and moral instruction which was, at the same time, free from sectarianism. But he added some in Massachusetts wrongly interpreted that instruction as the promotion of Unitarianism, deism, or naturalism. William Dunn took the position that doctrinal religion, previously welcomed, was legally restricted and almost eliminated from the schools by


3 Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Schools, 238.

4 Smith, The Relation of the State to Religious Education, 318.
Mann; in its place the Secretary of the Board of Education substituted a weaker, even if more generally acceptable system of ethics and natural theology.22

The researchers' difficulties in interpreting the controversies no doubt resulted from the same struggle which confronted the opposing religious groups in the 1830's and 1840's. What for one person constituted nonsectarianism, was for another a sectarian stance in itself. The liberals wished to keep a broad religious influence in the schools, apart from the teaching of any orthodox doctrines. On the other hand, the orthodox contended that without those doctrines, the heart of Christianity was removed. The disputes between religious conservatives and Horace Mann illustrate the reality that with education comes the communication of values.

In order to understand the moral and religious concerns which were imminent during the early days of music in the schools, a review of the controversies surrounding Horace Mann and the Massachusetts Board of Education will be presented below. The essential elements of the disputes are as follow:

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<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Controversy</th>
<th>Key Parties</th>
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Issue: the acceptance of school textbooks recommended by the Board of Education which were represented as not favoring any particular sect of Christianity

2. 1840-41 Movement to Abolish the Board of Ed. House Comm. on Ed. (Frederick Emerson) Horace Mann

Issues: 1) the contention that the Board had endangered the rights of parents to mold the political, moral, and religious opinions of their children
2) the fear that the Board's abstraction of sectarian doctrines from school textbooks would rob the literature of its significance and promote skepticism
3) the conservation of governmental spending


Issue: the interpretation of what the school law of 1827 disallowed as being "sectarian"

4. Sept., 1844-1845 Attack of the Boston Assoc. Schoolmasters Schoolmasters Joseph Hale Horace Mann

Issues: 1) questioning of the practicability of Mann's educational theories
2) the Prussian methods of instruction
3) the teaching of reading by "words" rather than by "letters"
4) the role of corporal punishment in the schools

All four controversies are summarized below.
The Massachusetts School Library and the
Attack of Frederick A. Packard

One of the major educational issues of Mann's tenure
as Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education was the
Board's decision to recommend textbooks to the school
committees of the towns and cities for use in their
schools. 23 By law, one of the duties of the Board was the
diffusion of information as to the most approved methods of
educating the youth of the state. 24 However, whether it was
the place of the Board to recommend books became a point of
debate beginning in the late 1830's. 25

Even before the disestablishment of the
Congregational Church in 1833, the Massachusetts educational
act of 1827 26 had stated that school committees "shall never
direct any school books to be purchased or used, in any of
the schools under their superintendence, which are
calculated to favour any particular religious sect or


24 Culver, 30-31.

25 For example, see the account of Mann's inquiry as to whether the towns and cities would welcome such recommendations on pp. 121-22.

26 This law in the educational act of 1827 is sometimes referred to as the statute of 1826. This is due to the fact that, even though the law was passed in March, 1827, it was numbered with the laws for the legislative session beginning in 1826. See Culver, 22.
In passing, it is noteworthy that the same statement later was echoed by T. Kemper Davis in proposing music for the Boston schools. The educational act specified that "Instructors of Youth" were to impress upon the minds of children, the principles of piety, justice, and sacred regard to truth, love to their country, humanity, and universal benevolence, sobriety, industry, and frugality, chastity, moderation, and temperance, and those other virtues, which are the ornament of human society, and the basis upon which the Republican Constitution is founded.

The injunction to teach "the principles of piety," nevertheless left room for religious teaching of some sort, and later became a point of contention. In 1835, the law concerning nonsectarian texts was revised to read: "The school committee shall never direct to be purchased any books which are calculated to favor the tenets of any

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27 Laws of the State of Massachusetts, January sess. (1827), chap. 143, 563.

28 The injunction in the Massachusetts educational act not "to favour any particular religious sect or tenet," preceded the report to the Boston School Committee of August, 1837 by a decade. In that report, T. Kemper Davis represented the sub-committee favoring the inclusion of music in the Boston school curriculum, for a religious purpose, "independently of all forms of faith." See Chapter 1, 6.

29 Laws of the State of Massachusetts, (10 March 1827), chap. 143, sec. 3, in Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Schools, 22.

30 See Frederick A. Packard's reference to the interpretation of "piety" on page 127.
particular sect of Christians." The question, then, could arise as to what were the essential tenets of Christianity which had not been conceived by any particular sect.

Such was the issue with which Horace Mann was confronted when he proposed that the Board of Education select books to form a library for recommendation to the school committees of the districts in 1838. In his First Report, read to the Board of Education on January 1, 1838, Mann gave the reasons for his proposal; as his statements became the target of controversy, an extended quotation is warranted:

To prevent the school from being converted into an engine of religious proselytism; to debar successive teachers in the same school, from successively inculcating hostile religious creeds, until the children in their simple-mindedness should be alienated, not only from creeds, but from religion itself; the statute of 1826 specially provided, that no school books should be used in any of the public schools, "calculated to favor any particular religious sect or tenet." The language of the Revised Statutes is slightly altered, but the sense remains the same. Probably, no one would desire a repeal of this law, while the danger impends, it was designed to repel. The consequence of the enactment, however, has been, that among the vast libraries of books, expository of the doctrines of revealed religion, none have been found, free from that advocacy of particular "tenets" or "sects," which includes them within the scope of the legal prohibition; or, at least, no such books have been approved by the committees, and introduced into the schools. Independently, therefore,

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Revised Statutes of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts 1835, (Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, 1836), Chap. 23, Sec. 23, 22, in Dunn, What Happened to Religious Education?, 118.

Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Schools, 43-44.
of the immeasurable importance of moral teaching, in itself considered, this entire exclusion of religious teaching, though justifiable under the circumstances, enhances and magnifies a thousand fold, the indispensableness of moral instruction and training. \(^{33}\)

Mann continued by recommending the inculcation of ethics and "natural theology" or "natural religion," \(^{34}\) and decrying the fact that of all the books used in the Massachusetts schools, only three had this object in view. He stated that those three were used in "only six of the two thousand nine hundred and eighteen schools, from which returns [had] been received." \(^{35}\)

In spite of Mann's emphasis on teaching natural theology in the schools, he also believed that "the Gospel" should be "sacredly included; and all dogmatical theology and sectarianism sacredly excluded." \(^{36}\) Perhaps by including

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\(^{34}\)Natural theology refers to "such theology as could be inferred from nature without revelation." The term is contrasted with "revealed theology" which designates that theology based on "facts concerning God and His universe that are revealed only in the Scriptures." See James Oliver Buswell, A Systematic Theology of the Christian Religion, I (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1962) 90; and Lewis Sperry Chafer, Lewis Sperry Chafer Systematic Theology, ed. John F. Walvoord (Wheaton, Illinois: Victor Books, a division of Scripture Press, 1988), 1:38.

\(^{35}\)First Report, 265.

\(^{36}\)Horace Mann, Go Forth and Teach, An Oration Delivered Before the Authorities of the City of Boston, July 4, 1842 (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, city printer, 1842), 37.
the Gospel, Mann meant his belief that the Bible should be
read in the schools, but without further comment:

... our system ... founds its morals on the basis of
religion; it welcomes the religion of the Bible; and, in
receiving the Bible, it allows it to do what it is
allowed to do in no other system,—to speak for itself.
But here it stops, not because it claims to have
compassed all truth; but because it disclaims to act as
an umpire between the hostile religious opinions. 37

One thing is certain. By "the Gospel," Mann did not
mean the teachings of Calvin and the Puritans concerning the
substitutionary death of Christ for depraved men. Mann had
cast off such doctrines while still a teenager. A brief
consideration of Mann's background with respect to Calvinism
will help to explain the conflicts he experienced with the
Orthodox during his educational career, and will clarify
Mann's use of religious terms.

Horace Mann was born in 1796 into a strict
Calvinistic family. 38 Years later, in a letter to a
friend, Mann recorded his impressions of his religious
beginnings and of his boyhood pastor, Dr. Emmons:

He was a extra or hyper-Calvinist,—a man of pure
intellect, whose logic was never softened in its
severity by the infusion of any kindliness of
sentiment. He expounded all the doctrines of total
depravity, election, and reprobation, and not only
the eternity, but the extremity, of hell-torments,
unflinchingly and in their most terrible
significance; ... It might be that I accepted the

37Twelfth Report of the Secretary of the Board of
Education, 116-17, in Dunn, What Happened to Religious
Education?, 148.

38Dunn, What Happened to Religious Education?, 122.
doctrines too literally, or did not temper them with the proper qualifications; but, in the way in which they came to my youthful mind, a certain number of souls were to be forever lost, and nothing—not powers, nor principalities, nor man, nor angel, nor Christ, nor the Holy Spirit, nay, not God himself—could save them; for he had sworn, before time was, to get eternal glory out of their eternal torment. 39

The death of seventeen-year-old Stephen Mann became a crisis point for his brother Horace, then fourteen. 40 Stephen, who had not experienced the orthodox form of conversion, drowned in a local pond while avoiding a Sunday church service. Dr. Emmons addressed the young people at the funeral on the subject of “dying unconverted.” 41 In the bitterness of that experience, Horace Mann determined that, regardless of the eternal consequences, he would have no part of such a God, seen to him as an “Infinite Malignity personified.” 42

In adulthood, Mann’s animosity toward Calvinism remained, as a letter three years before his death indicates:

I feel constantly, and more and more deeply, what an unspeakable calamity a Calvinistic education is. What a dreadful thing it was to me! If it did not succeed in making me that horrible thing, a Calvinist, it did

39 Mann, Life of Horace Mann, 13.
41 Mann, 16; Dunn, What Happened to Religious Education?, 124.
42 Mann, Life of Horace Mann, 17.
succes\textsuperscript{\textdegree} in depriving me of that filial love for God, that tenderness, that sweetness, that intimacy, that desiring, nestling love, which I say it is natural the child should feel towards a Father who combines all excellence.\textsuperscript{43}

In spite of his boyhood experiences, Horace Mann kept a decidedly religious perspective, but one oriented toward liberal persuasions somewhere between deism and the Unitarian church, which he attended most of his life.\textsuperscript{44} Clearly, Mann also promoted a form of religion in the schools. In 1846, he wrote to a group of school children:

\begin{quote}
You must be religious; that is, you must be grateful to God, obey his laws, love and imitate his infinite excellences. . . . There is no other conceivable privation to be compared with an ignorance of our Creator. If a man be blind, he but loses the outward light. . . . But if he is "without God," he is a wanderer and a solitary in the universe, with no haven or hope before him, when beaten upon by the storms of fate; . . .\textsuperscript{45}
\end{quote}

Mann also held a sustained interest in phrenology, a popular theory in his day, which taught that mental and moral traits depended upon the physical constitution of a person.\textsuperscript{46} The leading spokesman for the belief was the

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{43}Horace Mann to Rev. Austin Craig, Boston, [probably January 1856], in Mary P. Mann, \textit{Life of Horace Mann}, 479-80.

\textsuperscript{44}Dunn, \textit{What Happened to Religious Education?}, 126-27. Deism refers to thought, stimulated by the French enlightenment, that God made the world, but is not supernaturally involved with it.


\textsuperscript{46}Emerson, "Moral Education," 274.
\end{quote}
Scotsman, George Combe, with whom Horace Mann maintained regular correspondence; Mann embraced many of Combe's teachings, not the least of which was faith in the infinite perfectibility of man. So it was that Mann entered his work as Secretary of the Board of Education with a hatred of Calvinism, yet an acknowledgment of God, and a religious faith in the ability of man to improve himself morally. With this perspective, Mann favored the recommendation of non-sectarian textbooks for the schools of Massachusetts.

On April 19, 1838, the Board of Education authorized its Secretary to make arrangements with a publisher to print and publish two series of books, which together came to be known as the Massachusetts School Library. It was the policy of the Board that "each volume be previously approved by every member of the Board;" however, two of the orthodox members, Mr. Newton and Dr. Robbins, were not present at the meeting on April 19. Dr. Robbins, an orthodox Congregationalist, supported the plan. On the other hand, Mr. Newton, an Episcopalian, vehemently opposed it. Culver cites Newton's response in a letter to the Board four months

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48Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Schools, 44, 54.

49Culver, 44-45.
after the decision authorizing the Massachusetts School Library. In the letter, Newton disapproved of the proposed plan, reminding the Board of their stipulation that "each volume of the Library should be previously approved by every member of the Board & be accompanied by the testimony of their approbation." Newton stated that if the Board did not withdraw the stipulation, he would resign his seat as a member.

Newton's letter was referred to a committee composed of the other two orthodox members of the Board and one Unitarian minister, who prepared a report that was presented the following day. The committee, acknowledging the Revised Statute of 1835 which excluded books from the schools that favored any sect of Christians, reported that it was the duty of the Board to do all in their power to promote moral education and the teaching of religious principles common to all denominations. As the publishing house to which the project had been assigned had already spent several hundred dollars preparing to publish "such books as the Board may unanimously recommend," the Board would continue its plan to publish the Library. As a result, Newton resigned.

Culver suggests that Newton, being from a conservative and aristocratic background, had never been in

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*Culver, 47, quoting the report of the committee to consider the letter of Edward A. Newton, dated July 20, 1838.*
harmony with the democratic procedures of his associates on the Board, and had merely used the issue of the Massachusetts School Library as an excuse to resign.\textsuperscript{51}

Culver gives evidence that Newton did not carry his share of the Board's work, bringing Horace Mann's appraisal: "If there be no more life in the body than in the head, it will decompose very soon." Nevertheless, when Newton assaulted the Board and its Secretary in the Christian Witness six years later, his arguments were clearly religious in nature, a fact that will be seen in the section which addresses that conflict.\textsuperscript{52}

In its First Report of 1838, the Board of Education continued its promotion of the Library, suggesting that a formal recommendation of books might rid the schools of the "evils" resulting from the "multiplicity" of texts:

Such a recommendation would probably cause them to be generally adopted; but should this not prove effectual, and the evil be found to continue, it might hereafter be deemed expedient to require the use of the books thus recommended, as a condition of receiving a share of the benefit of the school fund.\textsuperscript{53}

The formal recommendation of school textbooks or the requirement of their use in order to receive funds never became a reality under Horace Mann's tenure. However, the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{51}Culver, 45-46.
\item \textsuperscript{52}See pp. 139-41.
\item \textsuperscript{53}First Annual Report of the Board of Education in Common School Journal 1 (15 August 1839): 245.
\end{itemize}
printing of this suggestion may have stirred public concern. For, in a circular sent to the school committees in 1838, Mann posed the question: "Would it be generally acceptable to the friends of Education in your town to have the Board of Education recommend books for the use of the Schools?" To this question, twenty of thirty-three towns said 'no'.

However, Mann found that towns favoring the Board's recommendation of textbooks comprised more than seven-eighths of the state population.

The issues of religious education in the schools, of non-sectarian textbooks and the Board of Education, became a point of discussion in a meeting of the "friends of Education" at Boston in November, 1838. In attendance, among others, were Horace Mann, and at least two members of


55 Second Annual Report, 344. Resistance to the recommendation of textbooks by the Board was also voiced elsewhere. An article in the North American Review suggests an alternate plan through the school committees, stating that it would "certainly be better than the course which is recommended and almost demanded in some of the "Reports," that the Board of Education should make the selection." See "Massachusetts Common School System," North American Review 52 (April 1841): 174.

56 "Education Convention," Boston Recorder, 9 November 1838, 179.
the Boston School Committee of 1837: Mayor Samuel A. Elliot
and Frederick Emerson.\footnote{"Education Convention," 179. Frederick Emerson also was a member of the School Committee in 1845. Others at the meeting who were at some time members of the Boston School Committee included Rev. John Pierpont (1838), and Rev. Nehemiah Adams (1844).}

During the discussion, Rev. Nehemiah Adams noted

that the course of the Board of Education in relation to religious education in schools was a very difficult and delicate one; . . . It was said that their object was to give a Christian education. But, the question was, who is to decide what are the principles of the Christian religion: The feeling is, that to attempt this will be to teach sectarianism.\footnote{"Education Convention," 179.}

Adams illustrated his remark by recounting an incident that took place in the Primary School Committee. He stated that a member of the committee objected to the introduction of a book because it contained a verse which taught the doctrine of future punishment as the consequence of lying and stealing. He further remarked that, on the other hand, even the exclusion of teachings might be grounds for complaint:

"If anything is taught as the Christian religion, which falls short of it, there is equal ground of complaint, as though error were directly taught."\footnote{"Education Convention," 179.}

To illustrate his point, Adams cited a stanza in a reader by Rev. Pierpont
which was used in the schools. Adams showed that the well-known hymn had been altered by omitting from the original a reference to Satan, and replacing that reference with less striking words. He felt that doing so would suggest to the discerning child that the author of the book and the School Committee did not believe in the existence of such a being.

Rev. Pierpont, who was also at the meeting, rose to state that the alteration alluded to was in no book which he had given to the public. However, the Boston Recorder, in giving the account of the meeting, pointed out that Rev. Pierpont's memory had failed him, and cited the specific reference in The Young Reader by Pierpont. The Recorder added in passing that Rev. Pierpont since had made a satisfactory explanation of his error to Rev. Adams.

In the words of the Recorder, Rev. Adams concluded that

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Rev. Adams was pastor of the Union Church, an Orthodox church, begun in the early 1820's, as part of the efforts to halt the growth of Unitarianism. Rev. Pierpont was pastor of the Hollis Street Church, a popular Unitarian church of Boston. See "Churches and Ministers," in Stimpson's Boston Directory: Containing the Names of the Inhabitants, Their Occupations, Places of Business, and Dwelling Houses, and the City Register, with Lists of the Streets, Lanes and Wharves, the City Officers, Public Offices and Banks, and Other Useful Information (Boston: Charles Stimpson, Jr.), 1837; also, the same in Stimpson's Boston Directory, 1838; Edward E. Hale, "Historical Discourse," in Memorials of the History for Half a Century of the South Congregational Church, Boston, Collected for Its Jubilee Celebration, February 3, 1878 (Boston: Franklin Press: Rand, Avery & Company, 1878), 7-8, 15-16.
He had never in his life seen so much dissension and so much jealousy as existed in relation to the schools in this city; and a great part of it he suspected, arose from this very thing [religious differences]. A hundred eyes were upon this Board of Education, and he sincerely sympathized with them.®

Adams stated that he saw no way to satisfy all the conflicting views, without completely abolishing religious teaching from the schools and leaving it to parents, ministers, and Sunday school teachers. When Adams had finished, Frederick Emerson expressed his own concern, remarking that he believed it possible to teach the fundamental principles of Christianity in the schools of Boston.®

Such issues as those discussed above suggest the difficulties before the Board in the publication of the Massachusetts School Library. However, in the end, the project succeeded. With the understanding that each book of the Library was to have the unanimous approval of the Board, and that selection of the Library by the school committees was optional, the first ten volumes were published in September, 1839.®

Simultaneously with the efforts of the Board of Education to publish the Massachusetts School Library was an attempt by a more conservative source to introduce its own

®1 "Education Convention," 179.
®2 "Education Convention," 179.
®3 Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Schools, 54.
choice of books into the schools. The American Sunday School Union based in Philadelphia had prepared a select library for use in the common schools, and charged its secretary, Frederick A. Packard with the task of promoting it. In Packard's first contact with Horace Mann, he inquired if one of the Union's school texts, Abbott's Child at Home would be acceptable in the Massachusetts school system. In his reply, dated March 18, 1838, Mann stated that the book would receive objections from both Universalists and Unitarians primarily for its emphasis on eternal punishment and the duty of obedience, without equal emphasis on "God in an amiable or lovely aspect."

Packard's answer came in a letter of March 28, 1838. Packard acknowledged that portions of Child at Home would be offensive to Universalists, but could not conceive how "piety," defined as "discharge of duty to God," could be taught in the schools without "favoring some particular religious tenet." Thus, at the heart of the issue between the two men was the question, "What constitutes

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64 McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education, 54; Smith, Relation of the State to Religious Education, 147.

65 Horace Mann to Frederick A. Packard, 18 March 1838, in Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Schools, Appendix A, 241-42.

66 Frederick A. Packard to Horace Mann, 28 March 1838, in Culver, Appendix A, 243-45.

67 Frederick A. Packard to Horace Mann, 28 March 1838, in Culver, Appendix A, 243-45.
sectarianism?" The committee of the American Sunday School Union which had chosen its select library was composed of Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians. As such, the doctrines taught in the books would be nonsectarian enough for Packard. However, Mann maintained that "nonsectarian" included nonevangelical groups, such as the Unitarians and Universalists.  

When Mann learned that Packard was going to be in Boston in June, 1838, he arranged for a meeting in which the two discussed the topic of religious education, and in which Mann handed Packard a letter he had not yet mailed to him. The following day, Packard went to New Bedford to address the Massachusetts General Association of orthodox Congregational Churches. Packard reported that the schools were going through a change in which books containing orthodox doctrines would be rejected or avoided by the Board of Education and its Secretary. Dr. Thomas Robbins, an orthodox member of the Board of Education, then spoke in reply to Packard's remarks, saying that the Board as yet had not voted to recommend or reject any books for the schools, and he hoped that none would anticipate the action of the Board before it occurred.

**McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education, 57.**  
**Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Schools, 64-65.**  
**Culver, 65.**  
**Culver, 66.**
When the Association voted to let Packard speak once again, Packard proposed to read from the letter which Mann had given him the day before. Before doing so, Packard commented that Mann, an honorable gentleman, had no idea that the letter would be used in this manner. The comment brought a number of protests.  

In response, Packard recanted on what he had said, and requested that the incident not be mentioned outside of the meeting. However, Dr. Robbins wrote to Mann concerning what had happened, resulting in an additional exchange of pointed letters between Mann and Packard.

By the fall of 1838, Packard ceased to correspond directly with Mann, taking his complaints to the public by way of the press. A pamphlet containing four letters to Dr. Humphrey, the orthodox president of Amherst College, was published in Boston, after the initial two letters were printed in the New York Observer. Although anonymous, Culver has traced the letters to authorship by Packard. In the letters, Packard referred to Mann's First Report, drawing attention to Mann's statement which called the

72 Culver, 66.
73 Culver, 56-82.
74 See Culver, Chapter 6, "Packard Carries the Attack to the Newspapers," 83-110.
75 McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education, 59.
76 Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Schools, 94.
entire exclusion of religious teaching by law justifiable, and recommended the teaching of ethics and natural religion. The series of letters precipitated comment from both sides of the controversy in the journals and newspapers of Boston. The issues at times were complicated and subtle and the orthodox were divided; according to Culver, many of the orthodox such as Dr. Robbins clearly supported Mann. Still others, though remaining cordial with Mann and the Board, voiced their differences in personal letters or journals. Such was the case of Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs. Storrs's letter to Mann subsequent to articles the pastor wrote for the Boston Recorder reveals both respect for the efforts of the Board and disagreement over principles; an excerpt is included here to clarify the subtleties of the dispute:

Will you allow me to say, my dear Sir, that I have no confidence in the ultimate success of any project for the intellectual and moral improvement of our youth, which is not based on the religion of the Bible? And will you allow me to say further, that by the religion of the Bible, I mean the kernel, not the shell—the substance, not the shadow? Those there are, as you are well aware, who profess great veneration for the Bible, and talk much of piety, and of the dignity and even innocency of

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78 McCluskey, 61.

79 Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Schools, 103, 108-09.

80 Dunn, What Happened to Religious Education?, 158.
human nature, while they treat with great contumely
every doctrine regarded by others as essential to the
Christian system. 

Storrs also pointed out that all but three of the members of
the Board were Unitarian.

However, several forces came to the aid of Horace
Mann and the Board of Education through supportive letters
printed in the Boston papers, a resolution favorable to Mann
offered at the Middlesex County Association for the
Improvement of Common Schools, and even an editorial
reversal in the Trumpet and Universalist Magazine. At the
end of the controversy stimulated by Packard, the plans of
Horace Mann and the Board of Education regarding the
Massachusetts School Library remained as they had been.
Nevertheless, the dispute revealed a common concern as to
what role religion would take in the schools, and the
issues discussed were to rise again in the years to come.

A Move to Abolish the Board of Education
When the Board of Education was established in 1837,
the Whig party was in power in Massachusetts. However,

Rev. Richard S. Storrs to Horace Mann, Braintree,
20 February 1839, in Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the
Schools, 99.

Culver, 100. Culver indicates that, although this
charge was valid, it was answered by the fact that
subsequent appointments to the Board put the majority in the
hands of the Orthodox. See Culver, 101.


Dunn, 122.
the installation of Marcus Morton as governor in 1840 marked a shift in favor of the Democrats. The new governor stated the policy that the power of the Board of Education should be given to the towns, and that the Normal Schools, which the Board had created for the training of teachers, should be eliminated. As a result, a committee of the House of Representatives considered the topic and brought before the House a bill to abolish the Board and the Normal Schools.

Although the Democratic party was predominantly Trinitarian, and the Unitarians affiliated themselves mostly with the Whigs, the opposing factions in the dispute concerning the continuance of the Board of Education cannot be clearly defined along party lines; Robert Rantoul, a Unitarian and Democrat, was one of Mann’s strongest champions in the legislature, whereas Rev. Allen W. Dodge, a Trinitarian and a Whig, vigorously led the committee recommending the abolishment of the Board. It was a

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**Dunn, 159.** Some saw the Normal Schools as an attempt to inculcate a particular religious philosophy into the teaching of the common schools. Culver shows this assumption to be false, in that the Board initially offered the position of principal in the Normal Schools to several Orthodox leaders, who, nevertheless, rejected the offer. See Culver, *Horace Mann and Religion in the Schools*, Chapter 7, "The Founding of the Normal Schools."

**Dunn, 159.**


**McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education**, 61.
political battle. Nevertheless, two of the reasons to abolish the Board given by the House Committee on Education had religious roots. The first suggested that the Board had usurped the rightful place of parents:

Undoubtedly, Common Schools may be used as a potent means of engrafting into the minds of children, political, religious, and moral opinions;—but, in a country like this, where such diversity of sentiments exists, especially upon theological subjects, and where morality is considered a part of religion, and is, to some extent, modified by sectarian views, the difficulty and danger of attempting to introduce these subjects into our schools, according to one fixed and settled plan, to be devised by a central Board, must be obvious. The right to mould the political, moral, and religious, opinions of his children, is a right exclusively and jealously reserved by our laws to every parent; and for the government to attempt, directly or indirectly, as to these matters, to stand in the parent’s place, is an undertaking of very questionable policy.**

The second complaint of a religious nature echoed previous anxieties concerning the project of the Board to organize a selected library of books for the districts. The Committee on Education conceded its belief that the Board would endeavor to keep the library free from sectarian or political objections, but considered it an impossibility to do so in a way which would be desirable.

Books, which confine themselves to the mere statement of undisputed propositions, whether in politics, religion, or morals, must be meager, indeed; nor is it possible to abstract, from treatises on these subjects, all that would give offence, without abstracting, at the same time, the whole substance of the matter. . . . A book, upon politics, morals, or religion, containing no party

**"Attempt to Abolish the Board of Education and the Normal Schools," Common School Journal, 2 (1 August 1840): 227.
or sectarian views, will be apt to contain no distinct views of any kind, and will be likely to leave the mind in a state of doubt and skepticism, much more to be deplored than any party or sectarian bias.\(^90\)

Those not consenting to the view of the majority of the Committee on Education submitted a minority report.\(^91\)
The minority members answered the accusation that nonsectarian books would be those robbed of meaning, by giving *Paley's Natural Theology* as an example: "This is well known to be one of the soundest treatises ever written and yet it has been well said of it, that no one could tell whether its author were orthodox or heterodox, churchman or dissenter."\(^92\) Further, the minority called to their aid the comments of Prof. Stowe, no doubt, Rev. Calvin E. Stowe, professor in the Lane Seminary at Cincinnati, Ohio:\(^93\)

I pity the poor bigot . . . or the narrow-souled unbeliever, who can form no idea of religious principle, except as a sectarian thing; who is himself so utterly unsusceptible of ennobling emotions, that he cannot even conceive it possible that any man should have a principle of virtue and piety superior to all external forms, and untrammelled by metaphysical systems. From the aid of such men we have nothing to hope, in the cause of sound education; . . .\(^94\)

\(^90\)"Attempt to Abolish the Board of Education," 228.

\(^91\)"Attempt to Abolish the Board of Education," 230. Culver shows how Horace Mann was active in helping to prepare the defense of the Board through interaction with the minority leaders of the Committee on Education. See Culver, *Horace Mann and Religion in the Schools*, 138.

\(^92\)"Attempt to Abolish the Board of Education," 233.

\(^93\)See "Attempt to Abolish the Board of Education," 247.

\(^94\)"Attempt to Abolish the Board of Education," 233.
When all debate had finished, the bill to abolish the Board of Education was defeated by a vote of 245 to 182. When an attempt to abolish the Board came again, in 1841, under a new governor, the argument given was to conserve governmental spending. However, Horace Mann clearly saw this second attempt as being prompted by religious motives, for he wrote in his journal:

Thus another blow is aimed at our existence, and by men who would prefer that good should not be done, rather than that it should be done by men whose views on religious subjects differ from their own. The validity of their claim to Christianity is in the inverse ratio to the claim itself; they claim the whole, but possess nothing.

The measure, presented near the end of the legislative session, was once again defeated by a vote of 131 to 114.

The two attempts to abolish the Board of Education and the Normal Schools became the point of departure for discussion at the American Institute of Education in the fall of 1841. After several speakers spoke on the topic of the evening, Dr. Howe, of the Perkins Institute for the

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95 Dunn, What Happened to Religious Education?, 159.
96 McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education, 65.
98 McCluskey, 65.
99 "Normal Schools" [Reprinted from the Salem Gazette], Common School Journal 3 (1 November 1841): 328-33.
Blind, arose, requesting permission to read from an article in the Edinburgh Review.\textsuperscript{100} The article spoke of the opposition to the Board of Education in the state of Massachusetts:

> It has proceeded, not from religious and enlightened individuals, . . . but, apparently, from persons who are hostile to all improvements in the public mind, and who consider their own influence in danger of being diminished in proportion as that of reason and morality is increased.\textsuperscript{101}

The article from the Edinburgh Review lauded the minority report of the House Committee on Education of 1840, which had supported the Board of Education and Horace Mann. The writer of the article further stated that the minority report "contrasted favorably with the malignant spirit and illogical composition of that of the majority."\textsuperscript{102}

As Howe concluded his remarks, Mr. Frederick Emerson, Boston School Committee member and state congressman who had originally drafted the majority report

\textsuperscript{100}Samuel Gridley Howe, a strong supporter and confidant of Horace Mann, served on the Boston School Committee of 1845. Howe was one of three Committee members who signed the request for a special meeting on October, 8, 1845. At the meeting, the School Committee sustained the decision of the Committee on Music to replace Lowell Mason in the position of Master of Music in the Boston schools. However, the official minutes of the School Committee indicate that Howe was not present at the meeting itself. See Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1837-1841, 8 October 1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library. Also, see pp. 150-58, regarding a plan by Mann and Howe to bring a "revolution" in the School Committee of 1845.

\textsuperscript{101}"Normal Schools," 328.

\textsuperscript{102}"Normal Schools," 329.
mentioned above, asserted that the article from Edinburgh had been written by George Combe, the Scottish phrenologist and friend of Horace Mann. After Dr. Howe replied that Emerson's claim was unlikely as Mr. Combe was currently on this continent, Emerson reasserted his claim, adding that the article had originated in the publishing house of the Massachusetts Board of Education. The Common School Journal states that a general smile went around the assembly at this last assertion. In response, Emerson proceeded to defend the majority report, restating its position that the Board overstepped its bounds in authorizing the publication of a hundred volumes, which he asserted had a "peculiar cast of religious and political opinion," and "were to take possession of the reading and writing public of Massachusetts." However, before the end of the meeting, Mr. George S. Hillard, a School Committee member in 1844, commented that "he could not ... suppose it possible that Mr. Emerson could think people so simple as to believe that the alleged reasons of the opposition were the real ones."

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103 See pp. 118-19 regarding Mann's friendship with Combe.

104 "Normal Schools," 330. These concerns of Emerson are considered in light of his professional background in Chapter 5, 181-184.

105 "Normal Schools," 330.

106 "Normal Schools," 332.
Hillard's remark may be explained by a footnote to this account of the meeting, which presented a letter from the publishers for the Board of Education, Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. The publishers indicated to Horace Mann that they had no knowledge of the article in the Edinburgh Review until after its publication, nor did they know its author. The publishers added that Emerson's hostility toward the Board of Education had never ceased since his disappointment in not being appointed to its membership, as he had wanted. Culver also has indicated that subsequent to the meeting, Horace Mann refused to recommend Emerson's text on arithmetic to the schools, which increased Emerson's antagonism.

Nevertheless, Emerson apparently had some way of knowing that the article in the Edinburgh Review was by Combe, for Emerson's assertion was indeed true. In a letter from Mann to Combe of October 13, 1841, Mann relayed that the public was puzzled as to who wrote the article:

Conjecture has been active in divining its authorship; but even our friend Dr. Howe is at fault. As it bore no resemblance to your ordinary style, . . . he thought it could not be yours. . . . To all, however, and especially to my friends, it is in the highest degree

107 "Normal Schools," 330.

gratifying, --- I mean, to all whom you would like to gratify, --- for one of the authors of the report to abolish the Board is incensed against it, and asserts that it was written here, and sent to Edinburgh to be printed and sent back; but nobody believes him.  

The Attack in the "Christian Witness"

In the two years following the attempts in the legislature to dissolve the Board of Education, the policies of the Board and its Secretary gained strength in their acceptance by the public. But in 1844, two attacks revealed that animosities against Mann were yet alive. The first was begun by Edward A. Newton, the Episcopalian Whig who had resigned his seat on the Board of Education in 1838 due to conflict over the publication of the Massachusetts School Library.

On February 23, 1844, the Christian Witness and Church Advocate published a letter from Newton to its editor, Mark A. De Wolfe Howe, which made reference to a recent Supreme Court case in Washington. In the case,  

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109 Horace Mann, Boston, to George Combe, 13 October 1841, in Mary Peabody Mann, Life of Horace Mann, 155-56. Culver notes that "the name of Frederick Emerson, which appears in the original, is omitted from the copy in the Life." See Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Schools, 159.

110 Culver, 163-80.

111 See pp. 119-20.

112 The Common School Controversy: Consisting of Three Letters of the Secretary of the Board of education, of the State of Massachusetts, in Reply to Charges Preferred Against the Board, by the Editor of the Christian Witness
the family of Stephen Girard attempted to break his will to establish a home for boys which would bar the entrance of all clergymen, and thereby disallow any sectarian influence. Daniel Webster argued that such an institution would "lay the axe at the root of Christianity itself," while adopting a rationalistic philosophy. In his letter to the Christian Witness, Newton praised the skillful arguments of Webster, then proceeded to his main purpose in writing:

But what are we doing now? Can any one tell wherein the system of Mr. Girard, and the present system of our "Board of Education," or rather of its Secretary, differs; or where the essential line of agreement, varies? I abstain from pressing the subject further at present, desiring only at this time to draw the attention of Christians of all denominations, holding Orthodox creeds, to the grave question, with the hope that they will examine for themselves. The letter by Newton initiated an exchange of remarks in the press between the former member of the Board and its Secretary. The Witness, an Episcopalian publication backed Newton, whereas several other journals and newspapers

and by Edward A. Newton, Esq., of Pittsfield, Once a Member of the Board; to Which Are Added Extracts from the Daily Press, in Regard to the Controversy (Boston: J. N. Bradley & Co., 1844) 3. See also M. A. De Wolfe Howe, Roxbury, to Horace Mann, 27 February 1844, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

113 McCluskey, Public Schools And Moral Education, 67.

114 The Common School Controversy, 3.

115 Note the contents of The Common School Controversy and the phrase in its full title: "Charges Preferred Against the Board by the Editor of the Christian Witness and by Edward A. Newton. . . ."
spoke out in defense of Mann and the Board. The story of the dispute was retold in a sequence of articles gathered together and published in the pamphlet called The Common School Controversy, a document prepared in support of Mann.

The Witness quoted the Christian Reflector, a Baptist publication, which initially did appear to comply with the stance of the Witness and Newton:

To us, it seems that the present system of our Board of Education differs none too much to say the least, from the system of Mr. Girard. . . . Is it not true that many of our teachers dare not, or do not venture to give any religious instruction whatever; . . . ? But our fathers thought, and our statesmen affirm, that morality cannot be taught effectually without religion.

In spite of this quotation, The Common School Controversy closes with a note that, as their pamphlet was going to

116 The Common School Controversy, 32-55.

117 See footnote 112 for the full title and publication facts. The compilers remark that they chose the essays from newspapers included in their pamphlet "because they show the state of public feeling upon the vital question, whether our schools shall be schools for the whole people, or whether they shall be sectarian nurseries of bigotry, intolerance and all uncharitableness." See The Common School Controversy, 32.

118 The Common School Controversy, 6-7. The editor of the Christian Reflector was Rev. Hiram A. Graves, a member of the Boston School Committee of 1845. Through his instrumentality, the Christian Reflector and the Christian Watchman, another Baptist publication, later became united in one paper. See William Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit; or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations, from the Early Settlement of the Country to the Close of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-Five, With Historical Introductions 6 (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1860), 823-24.
press, the compilers saw an article in the Christian Reflector disavowing any approval of the position of the Witness. The Reflector "apologized for having allowed the quotation 'to pass without comment,' on the ground that it did not wish 'to be involved in the discussion,' and added its desire that the confidence of the public in the Board of Education would increase.

Mann's response to the accusations against the Board and himself was published in the Witness on March 29, 1844. His numerous arguments included that the public schools, rather than being the "system of the Board of Education, or rather, of its Secretary," was established and defined by the laws of the State. Girard's school prohibited clergymen from entering the campus, whereas five of the eight appointed members of the current Board were clergymen, and a majority of the members of the school committees throughout the State were clergymen; further, these committee members were not only allowed, but required to visit and report on the schools in their districts. Mann indicated that the daily reading of the Bible was required in the Normal Schools, the only schools over which the Board had direct jurisdiction. Mann stated that the Bible was more universally read in the public schools than it was at

119The Common School Controversy, 55.
120The Common School Controversy, 7.
the establishment of the Board seven years before; "thirty fold more of instruction in morality and in religious truth is given in them than was given seven years ago." Mann stressed that the law outlawing books favoring "any particular sect of Christians" actually implied that Christian books may be introduced, and that Christian books were not necessarily sectarian.

To Mann's lengthy letter, the editor of the Witness, M. A. De Wolfe Howe, added his own comments. He admitted that there was doubtless more religious teaching of a certain cast in the schools than formerly, that more teachers imparted something they called religion. But he added that some were "silenced, or modified into moral lecturers, who once dispensed truths which are religion." Mann replied that the Biblical doctrines which M. A. De Wolfe Howe said were being disallowed in the schools, were

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121 The Common School Controversy, 13. However, Mann's statement apparently is not meant to imply that there was little sectarian teaching done when he began his duties as Secretary of the Board of Education, for Dunn makes the following statement, quoting p. 113 of Mann's Twelfth Report: "When [Mann] came into office he found sectarian textbooks in use, he heard oral instruction as 'doctrinal, as any ever heard from the pulpit. . . . ' and directions by committeemen to teachers ordering the use of sectarian catechisms." See Dunn, What Happened to Religious Education?, 147.

122 The Common School Controversy, 8-13.

123 The Common School Controversy, 14-16.
indeed allowed, through the reading of the Bible without further comment.\textsuperscript{124}

The editor turned to the recurring question, "What is 'sectarian religion' in the context of the law of 1827?" He suggested that "sectarian" at the time the law was written meant the particulars of church ordinances and government.\textsuperscript{125}

But the greatest rebuke to Horace Mann's assailants was a letter from Samuel M. Burnside to Mann on June 4, 1844, which was later published in the Worcester Aegis.\textsuperscript{126} Mr. Burnside served as a member of the Massachusetts legislature in 1827, and had been instrumental in drawing up the bill which excluded sectarian books from the schools. Burnside stated that Newton's interpretation of the bill as referring to ecclesiastical systems of church government and discipline was unfounded. The Committee on Education rather understood the bill to exclude doctrinal subjects of dogmatic theology, and according to Burnside, no other portion of the bill met with so much approval as this portion, even by the orthodox.\textsuperscript{127} Thus, the question as to

\textsuperscript{124}The Common School Controversy, 18.

\textsuperscript{125}Newton also adopted and expounded upon this interpretation of the law of 1827 in his letter of May 17, 1844, printed in the Christian Witness. See The Common School Controversy, 22.

\textsuperscript{126}The Common School Controversy, 48.

\textsuperscript{127}The Common School Controversy, 49.
the meaning of "sectarian" in the law of 1827 was given an answer by one of the persons directly responsible for the law's existence. The strength of the argument by the editor of the Christian Witness failed.

The Attack of the Boston Schoolmasters

Soon after the controversy started by Edward A. Newman, Horace Mann faced still another conflict, also described by Culver and Dunn. It involved the reactions of the Boston schoolmasters to educational reforms proposed by Horace Mann in his Seventh Annual Report as Secretary of the Board of Education. On September 1, 1844, a committee of the "Association of Masters of the Boston Schools" issued a one hundred and forty-four page pamphlet entitled, Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report of the Hon. Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. The Remarks, signed by thirty-one schoolmasters, had four sections, of which only the fourth, "School Discipline," held religious or moral implications. However,


129 Culver, Horace Mann and Religion in the Schools, 189.

130 The first three issues discussed in the Remarks were: 1) the practicability of Mann's educational policies, 2) the use of Prussian methods of instruction in America, and 3) the teaching of reading by learning "words" before "letters." See Culver, 189.
underlying the educational issues of the controversy were tensions which Mann perceived as religious in nature.\textsuperscript{131} Those tensions would later culminate in the political setting which confronted the Boston School Committee at the time of Lowell Mason's dismissal in 1845.\textsuperscript{132}

In his \textit{Seventh Report}, Mann had reviewed the disciplinary measures taken in the European schools which he had recently visited.\textsuperscript{133} In concurrence with what he had seen there, Mann favored corporal punishment only after all other persuasive efforts had failed, suggesting agreement with Dr. Vogel of Leipzig that "when we teachers become fully competent to our work, the necessity of corporal punishment will cease altogether."\textsuperscript{134}

Whereas a review by the \textit{Christian Examiner}, a Unitarian publication, called Mann's \textit{Seventh Report} "the most remarkable document upon education which has appeared in Massachusetts,"\textsuperscript{135} an entirely different appraisal came from the \textit{Remarks} of the schoolmasters of Boston. In the

\textsuperscript{131}Mann's own statements indicated this concern. See pp. 149-50.

\textsuperscript{132}See the beginning of the section on Mason, p. 159; also Chapter 6, 273.


\textsuperscript{134}"Common Schools," 417.

\textsuperscript{135}"Common Schools," 420.
section of the Remarks on school discipline, the schoolmasters complained that Mann saw the resort to corporal punishment "not as inherent in the nature of things, but only as a temporary evil" to be avoided:

he speaks of corporal punishment, as "a relic of barbarism," fast disappearing, and tolerated any longer upon the list of means, rather because teachers are incompetent, than because pupils are incorrigible.\textsuperscript{136}

The schoolmasters stated that in their day, talk of "authority" and "command" were unpopular terms; teachers were expected to "persuade, and invite, and win" the student's obedience.\textsuperscript{137} However, the schoolmasters shunned the popular trends, claiming that their command over the student was based upon the Biblical principle that their authority or "higher power" was ordained by God:

\begin{quote}
Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.\textsuperscript{138}
\end{quote}

They further maintained that moral suasion, however beautiful in theory, without ready measures of discipline to be taken by the one who presides, was sure to fail.\textsuperscript{139}

\textsuperscript{136}[Association of Masters of the Boston Public Schools], Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report of the Hon. Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1844), 105.

\textsuperscript{137}Remarks, 128.

\textsuperscript{138}Remarks, 129.

\textsuperscript{139}Remarks, 130-31.
In reference to school discipline, Horace Mann's Reply to the "Remarks of Thirty-One Schoolmasters specifically addressed corporal punishment, stating that there was ample evidence that "the rod" had been abused in the schools. He called the schoolmasters' philosophical motto, "Authority, Force, Fear, Pain!" At the end of the report, Mann stated that he also was committed to using the Bible in the schools, but that he intended to stand against the attacks of political or religious bigots, suggesting his assessment of the attitudes of the schoolmasters.

This fourth section of Mann's Reply called forth a Rejoinder from his opponents. Joseph Hale, one of the thirty-one signers of the Remarks, wrote the document, dated April, 1845. Hale pointed out that the conflict concerning corporal punishment had as its base a religious issue, the doctrine of moral depravity:

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140 Horace Mann, Reply to the "Remarks" of Thirty-One Boston Schoolmasters on the Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education (Boston: Wm. B. Fowle and Nahum Capen, 1844), 119.

141 Reply, 130.

142 Reply, 172-73.

143 [Association of Masters of the Boston Public Schools], Rejoinder to the "Reply" of the Hon. Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, to the "Remarks" of the Association of Boston Masters, upon His Seventh Annual Report (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1845).

144 Rejoinder, 61.
If I am said to dwell upon what are called religious doctrines, I answer that the subject itself, when viewed in its widest relations, inclines that way. . . . If then all authority is of God, and must be obeyed, it becomes indispensable, in order to settle the question whether compulsion may ever be absolutely necessary or not, that we decide whether there is in the nature of man an innate element of evil, prompting him to rebellion. If there is, then compulsion results from resistance; if not, then the impulses are all that is necessary to secure duty; temptation is at an end; virtue is a negation; vice a nonentity . . . .

Hale stressed that he aimed at the spirit of obedience in the child rather than the "letter," and that whoever interpreted his opinions as excusing a frequent and reckless use of the rod misinterpreted them.

The shift to a clearly religious stance brought forth Horace Mann's belief that behind the entire controversy was a sectarian plot:

One of the Masters said in my hearing, and has been known to say the same thing repeatedly to others;---that the plan now was to convert this whole controversy into a sectarian movement against the Board, in order, by combining religious opposition with the opposition of malcontents from all other causes, to overthrow the Board of Education!

Whether such a plan was valid or not, Mann expected that the outcome of his conflict with the schoolmasters would

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149 Rejoinder, 56-57. The link between authority as ordained by God and moral depravity is reminiscent of early Puritan thought. See Chapter 2, 52-54.

146 Rejoinder, 57-60.

147 Horace Mann, Answer to the "Rejoinder" of Twenty-Nine Schoolmasters, Part of the "Thirty-one" Who Published "Remarks" on the Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education (Boston: Wm. B. Fowle and N. Capen, 1845), 16-17.
eventually mean the termination of either their position or his own. He wrote to Samuel G. Howe, Director of the Perkins Institute for the Blind:

The foe think the Board of Education already destroyed, & that it only remains to record the sentence. But we will see who will be Mordecai & who Haman. Thirty-one of them hung on the same shaft would look like a string of onions.¹⁴⁸

Mann was continually alert to steps that could be taken to turn public opinion in his favor. His correspondence with close friends Samuel G. Howe and Theodore Parker, reveals careful plans to synchronize their writing of articles with others by George B. Emerson and William B. Fowle, in order to guarantee their greatest effect on the public.¹⁴⁹

Of particular importance to this chapter is Horace Mann’s letter to Howe, quoted in full in Appendix A, indicating his desire to affect a change in the Boston School Committee of 1845:

What I have been thinking of is this: If a majority of the right kind of men could be elected on the

¹⁴⁸Horace Mann to Samuel G. Howe, 25 September 1844, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. Mann refers to an event from the book of Esther, when the Jews were in captivity under Persian rule. In the account, Haman, a high official of the Persian king, prepared a gallows, intending to hang Mordecai, a Jew, upon it. However, the wicked plot was discovered, and the king ordered that Haman be hung on the gallows himself.

¹⁴⁹See Theodore Parker, West Roxbury, to Horace Mann, 17 September 1844, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Horace Mann to Samuel G. Howe, 25 September 1844, Massachusetts Historical Society; and Horace Mann to Samuel G. Howe, 8 October 1844, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
school committee this year, there might be a purgation of the masters of one school; & I can find at least two men . . . in the State, who will take one of the city schools, & with proper assistants,—which I should let them select,—would carry it on, . . . This would be a Paradise at work, that nobody could gainsay. This would effect a revolution in the whole schools of Boston. I think I could find four such men who would carry on two schools. But for this the first step is to get the committee.¹⁵⁰

Schultz has interpreted the efforts of Mann and his associates to bring about a change in the School Committee of 1845 as efforts to break traditional inertia on the Committee and among the schoolmasters, and make way for necessary reforms in a growing Boston. He makes no mention, however, of the religious tensions between Mann and his opponents, except referring to Allen W. Dodge's accusation that the Board of Education was an agent of Unitarianism in the attempt of 1840 to abolish the Board and its Secretary.¹⁵¹

Mann's remarks to Howe proposing a change in the School Committee followed his comments of concern in the same letter that certain individuals were stirring up the religious side of the controversy between the Boston schoolmasters and the Board of Education.¹⁵² Mann noted

¹⁵⁰Horace Mann to Samuel G. Howe, 8 October 1844, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.


¹⁵²Mann to Howe, 8 October 1844.
antagonism from Rev. Amos A. Phelps, Frederick Packard, and another Fred, apparently Frederick Emerson of the School Committee. The context of the letter, then, suggests religious innuendos by Mann in his desire for a change in the School Committee of 1845. Also, Mann had already stated his belief that religious opponents were planning to combine efforts with other malcontents to turn the whole controversy with the schoolmasters into a sectarian movement to eliminate the Board of Education.

Howe responded to Mann's plan to bring a "revolution" into the Boston schools with concerted efforts to get men on the School Committee who would back Mann's reforms. Howe managed to win the election to one of the two positions from ward 12 of the city for himself. However, residents of ward 4 in East Boston looked upon Howe's endeavors to influence the nominations in the political meetings of that district as an intrusion.

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153 See more concerning Emerson in Chapter 5, 206ff.
154 See p. 149.
155 "Lyman School, East Boston," Boston Daily Times, 1 September 1845. The article tells of the complaints of pupils from the Lyman School with their parents that S. G. Howe had administered the (difficult) annual exams at the school in a harsh manner. It also gives an account of Howe's participation at meetings of the Whig party earlier in the year, and how he worked to get certain candidates on the School Committee.
156 "School Committee," Boston Daily Advertiser, December 12, 1844.
157 Boston Daily Times, 1 September 1845.
According to the *Boston Daily Times*, Howe's choice, Charles Sumner, did receive the nomination, but the potential victory was met with resentment and never came to pass:

After the meeting, some of the citizens of East Boston, connected with all the different political parties, consulted together, and agreed to run a candidate in opposition to Mr. Sumner, for two reasons:---1st. To maintain a right always conceded to East Boston, of having a representative in the School Committee; and 2d. To resist a supposed interference on the part of Dr. Howe. A candidate was agreed upon and elected.\(^{158}\)

Writings from the time do not reveal clearly which members elected to the School Committee for 1845 resulted from the attempts made by Mann and Howe. However, the selection of Committee members to assume responsibility for the annual examination of the schools prompted a letter from Howe to Mann suggesting that William Brigham had been among Mann's choices:

\[\text{[The schoolmasters] went to the Mayor and endeavoured to persuade him not to place either Brigham or myself on either of these screwing machines, as they call them, because we were openly pledged to support all your measures. I am told they are in a flutter because the Mayor did put both of us on,}^{159}\text{---Brigham on the Writing, myself on the Grammar Committee.}\]

\(^{158}\) *Boston Daily Times*, 1 September 1845. An excerpt from this article was also reprinted in [Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe], *Review of the Reports of the Annual Visiting Committees, of the Public Schools of the City of Boston, 1845* (Boston: Charles Stimpson, 1846), 12-13.

The annual examinations of the schools provided an opportunity for the supporters of Mann to show the needs for reform. The examinations were administered in the two departments of each school: the Grammar School and the Writing School. The pupils divided their time equally between each department. Samuel G. Howe, Theophilus Parsons, and Rev. Rollin H. Meale were appointed to examine the Grammar Schools, whereas William Brigham, Rev. Hiram A. Graves and Rev. J. I. T. Coolidge were appointed to examine the Writing Schools.

The examining committees of 1845 criticized the procedures of the previous examining committees, which inspected the schools for a few brief hours and tested the students only by oral means. In 1845, Samuel G. Howe

160 City Document—No. 26, Report of the Annual Visiting Committees of the Public Schools of the City of Boston, 1845 (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, City Printer, 1845), 152.

161 William Bentley Fowle, The Scholiast Schooled: An Examination of the Review of the Reports of the Annual Visiting Committees of the Public Schools of the City of Boston, for 1845, by "Scholiast" (Cambridge: Metcalf and Company, 1846), 17. Fowle was one of the men who planned with Mann to synchronize publications so as to have the best effect on the public regarding their policies. In a letter from Mann to Samuel G. Howe, discussing this strategy, Mann stated, "... you can hold a counsel of war with Fisher, & also ask Fowle whether a third person should come in at this stage or at a later one." Horace Mann to Samuel G. Howe, 25 September 1844, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

162 Samuel Gridley Howe et al., To the Citizens of Boston, . . . upon the Grammar and Writing Departments of the City Schools, for 1845. . . . (Boston: Eastburn's Press,
devised written tests, for the stated purpose of establishing a clear standard for measuring academic achievement. Upon administering the test, the examining committees found the academic level of students in the Boston schools to be inadequate, which reflected on their teachers and the latter's mode of instruction.

The two committees incorporated the results of the examinations and their proposed reforms in their Report presented to the School Committee on August 7, 1845. Some of the reforms recommended by the examining committees included the abolition of the two-department system, thus dispensing with sixteen of the headmasters, in order to unite each school under one head. Governing those

1846), 2-3.

163Howe et al., 2-3; see also Howe to Mann, (September 1845), in Richards, Letters and Journals, 2:182-83. In this letter to Mann, Howe refers to the questions on the examinations as "my questions." Richards was mistaken in giving September as the date of the letter since it spoke of the examinations being in progress. Her own comments showed the Report of the examiners to have been a month earlier (See Richards, 177).

164Howe et al., 5-6.


166Note that this measure alone would have helped to bring about a change in the personnel among the schoolmasters, as Horace Mann had desired.
schools would be a superintendent to act as an agent of the School Committee, give unity to the overall system of schools, and efficiency to the measures of the General Board. The reformers also proposed higher motives in school discipline than the habitual use of corporal punishment.\textsuperscript{167}

The Report brought varied reactions. An article in the \textit{Boston Atlas} called the document "masterly."\textsuperscript{168} But others were less complimentary. Even members of the School Committee made the Report a matter of dispute among themselves, as the \textit{Boston Daily Times} records:

The School Committee met in the Common Council Room on Saturday . . . Instead of attending to . . . business, however, the Board got into one of those silly, unprofitable and unbusiness-like discussions which have disgraced themselves and done injury to the cause of education which they seek to benefit. If such be the course of our intellectual leaders & of our educational guardians, what will be the course of those who graduate from institutions over which they preside. The great trouble has arisen, as we believe, from the very singular & objectionable, course of certain persons who have recently brought forth a Report, which is said to be a libel on our schools by its errors & misstatements, and from the obstinate and ill-timed movements in its defense of those who advocate it.\textsuperscript{169}

The article indicates that, as the meeting continued,

\textsuperscript{167}Howe et al., 1.

\textsuperscript{168}\textit{Boston Atlas}, 11 August 1845, in Harold Schwartz, \textit{Samuel Gridley Howe}, 132. The \textit{Boston Atlas} was edited by Thomas M. Brewer, who was a member of the Boston School Committee in 1845. See Chapter 6.

\textsuperscript{169}"Meeting of the School Committee," \textit{Boston Daily Times}, 1 September 1845.
"members got into a violent altercation as to what was done and said at former meetings."  

The report of the examining committees also provoked a review by the "Scholiast," accusing Horace Mann of being the true source behind the reform movement. The "Scholiast" was actually Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe, the editor of the Christian Witness who had previously attacked Mann.  

M. A. De Wolfe Howe commented that some of Mann's reformers gained places on the examining committees because the mayor, "by a law of courtesy," appointed those who showed particular interest in such matters. The editor of the Christian Witness presented the testimony of children from the Lyman School of East Boston, who complained about the unfair difficulty of the test questions, and believed that Samuel G. Howe, who examined their school, was attempting to make them look bad.

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170 "Meeting of the School Committee," Boston Daily Times, 1 September 1845.


172 [Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe], Review of the Reports of the Annual Visiting Committees, of the Public Schools of the City of Boston, 1845 (Boston; Charles Stimpson, 1846), 16-17.

According to M. A. De Wolfe Howe, the examining committees were not united in their purposes. When Rollin H. Neale of the examining committees was asked, "Do you think that this method was pursued, to break down the schools?," he answered emphatically, "I am afraid so!"\footnote{De Wolfe Howe, 21.}

William B. Fowle, under the pseudonym, "a Bostonian," replied in defense of Mann in the pamphlet entitled \textit{The Scholiast Schooled}.\footnote{Fowle, \textit{The Scholiast Schooled}.} Fowle attempted to show how absurd it would be that Mann could have influenced Mayor Thomas A. Davis, an orthodox man, in his appointment of the examining committees.\footnote{Fowle, 17.} Counteracting M. A. De Wolfe Howe's accusations, Fowle suggested that the "Scholiast" had been called into service by the Thirty-one Boston Schoolmasters.\footnote{Fowle, 5, 15.} Despite such journalistic efforts by supporters of Mann, the Report of the examining committee created such a stir among the public, that five of the six men who examined the schools in 1845 were removed from the School Committee in the elections for 1846.\footnote{Fowle, 62. Theophilus Parsons was the one School Committee member that had examined the schools in 1845 and continued on the School Committee in 1846. See Howe et al., \textit{To the Citizens of Boston}, 10.}
In view of the attacks that were made upon the examining committees, S. G. Howe, Brigham, and Coolidge circulated an open letter, justifying their attempts at reform. According to the letter, even "certain members of the Common Council, in their public places, have not hesitated to make such declarations as show that their minds have been poisoned, and that our measures have been grossly misrepresented to them." At the end of the letter, Rev. Neale added a note that he felt he owed it to his profession to withdraw from the conflict. Theophilus Parsons also included a letter separate from the one by Howe, Brigham, and Coolidge. Parsons commented that issues such as the concern over reform measures, have a strong tendency to assume a partisan or sectarian character. However, he considered the Orthodox belief that the proposed reforms had their origin in a source which was hostile to religion as without grounds. Rev. Graves had left the country due to illness and was not represented in the letters.

Mason’s Attempt to Avoid the Controversy

The examining committees’ Report and the initial public reactions to it immediately preceded the dismissal of Lowell Mason by the Committee on Music, September 11, 1845. Earlier, in June of 1845, two letters from Mason to Horace

179 Howe et al., To the Citizens of Boston, 1.
180 Howe et al., 2, 9, 11.
Mann showed that Mason had desired to remain outside any controversy regarding Mann and the teachers of the Boston schools.\textsuperscript{181} A schoolmaster had asked Mason when or how long Mann had visited a music lesson under Mason's instruction.\textsuperscript{182} Mann then asked Mason what he had replied to the teacher. Mason answered Mann that it was his impression that the Secretary had remained only part of the lesson which occurred five or six years earlier.\textsuperscript{183} However, Mann reminded him that he had remained for the whole lesson, and Mason confirmed that he had indeed conversed with Mann after the lesson was over. Mason said he did not doubt Mann's rendition, since Mann said he clearly remembered the lesson. Mason added the post script: "If you can do us well without naming me in any reply you may make I shall be glad."\textsuperscript{184}

Just five days later, Mason wrote another letter to Mann, stating that he could not withhold from Mann the use of the statement which he had made to him, but that his

\textsuperscript{181}Lowell Mason, Boston, to Horace Mann, 16 June 1845, and 21 June 1845, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

\textsuperscript{182}Lowell Mason, Boston, to Horace Mann, 16 June 1845, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

\textsuperscript{183}Mason to Mann, 16 June 1845.

\textsuperscript{184}Mason to Mann, 16 June 1845.
request had reflected a desire not to appear in the controversy.  

An additional letter makes it clear that Mason in no way related the conflicts between Horace Mann and the Boston schoolmasters with his own dismissal from the schools in 1845. Looking back on that time years later, Mason wrote to Mann, taking a clear stance in praise of the policies the Secretary had carried out in regard to the teachers:

I shall never cease to entertain for you great respect & affection. Your stirring up amongst the teachers in Mass. some 8 or 10 years ago was of the highest benefit; the fruits still follow. But we begin to need a little more of that thorough going, searching process. I am inclined to think that ten or twenty years teaching in a common school is about enough to put any one to sleep... An occasional turning over, upsetting, or turning out, is therefore quite necessary—else one settles down, stupid & inactive.

Summary

Although Lowell Mason did not consider the controversies that plagued Horace Mann to have any direct effect on his dismissal as Master of Music, the year 1845 was indeed one of political instability for the schoolmasters, as well as for the School Committee. The reformers showed the spotlight on the inadequacies of former School Committee members and the schoolmasters. On the

185 Lowell Mason, Boston, to Horace Mann, 21 June 1845, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

186 Lowell Mason, New York, to Horace Mann, 20 January 1855, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
other hand, religious conservatives and the public, by their vote, focused upon the motives and procedures of the reformers.

The conflicts concerning Mann and the Board of Education had originated in issues of sectarianism, and then moved to such issues as academic achievement and teaching methods. What ultimately survived any of these controversies was Mann's policy of restricting religious teaching in the schools to the inculcation of ethics and natural theology. That policy determined the values which inevitably accompanied public education in Massachusetts. Religious and moral teaching in the schools essentially became synonymous.
CHAPTER IV

THE BOSTONIAN APPRAISAL OF MUSIC: FINDING COMMON GROUND FOR FAITH AND MORALITY

Coinciding with a time of religiously oriented political efforts and calls for moral education was the prominent public belief in the power of music to elevate character.¹ The primary stimulus for raising the public opinion of music and making it acceptable as a school subject was the Boston Academy of Music.² However, journals and individuals outside the Boston Academy of Music also furthered the cause of music.³ Three aspects of how music was promoted will be presented: 1) the appeal for music as

¹Statements revealing belief in the moral influence of music have been presented throughout the overview of related research in Chapter 1.

²The Boston Academy of Music's major role in promoting music has already been established by Wilson and Keene, but will again be substantiated in the pages which follow (See Chapter 1, 15-16, 26-27).


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an agent of moral reform, 2) support for the moral nature of
music in the revival of classicism, and 3) the appeal for
music as an avenue of spiritual uplift. The documentation
will reveal that the modern perspective which considers
religious and moral values associated with music as being
extra-musical, does not reflect the spirit of mid-nineteenth
century thinking among Bostonians. They viewed religious
and moral values intrinsic to the very nature of music.4

Music as an Agent for Moral Reform

By 1840, Boston journals suggested that music was
included in education primarily for its moral influence:

Some ten or twenty years ago public opinion, so far from
allowing to the art of Music a moral influence, ascribed
to it decidedly a demoralizing one, . . . At the present
time, however, it is so generally conceded that
dissipation is not necessarily in the train of Music,
that it would be superfluous to combat this prejudice, . . .
Nay, a moral influence of it, begins to be so
generally assumed, that great exertions have been made
for some years, to make, if possible, a musical people
of us; that is, to diffuse an elementary knowledge of
the art of singing throughout the country. Witness the
labors of the Boston Academy of Music, . . .5

4For example, see "On the Moral Influence of Music," The Musical Magazine, 23 May 1840, 172-74; Boston Academy of
Music, Tenth Annual Report of the Boston Academy of Music,
Read at the Anniversary Meeting, in the Odeon, July, 1841
(Boston: Press of T. R. Marvin, 1841), 9; "The Moral
Effects of Music," The Musical Visitor 2 (3 March 1842):
157; John S. Dwight, "Address Delivered Before the Harvard
Magazine 3 (1841): 13. These and other examples will be
presented throughout the remainder of this chapter.

5"On the Moral Influence of Music," The Musical
Magazine, 23 May 1840, 172-73; the article is continued in
the following issue, 6 June 1840.
In 1841, The Common School Journal also noted the increased appreciation for music in the schools because of its moral effects. The journal, edited by Horace Mann, printed an excerpt from the report of the Charlestown School Committee in a section entitled "Moral Objects to Be Aimed at in School":

. . . our Common Schools can be made to improve the hearts, as well as develop the intellects, of the pupils. Good feelings, and pure tastes, and elevated sentiments, can be nurtured. Already is this done. How has music made our schools radiant with happy faces! Who now doubts its benefits? They are seen and felt, and cannot be denied. Words would be wasted to enumerate them. Yet a few years ago, and the plan of introducing music was resisted as disorganizing, . . .°

Publications and speeches discussed the manner in which music evoked its effects. Samuel A. Eliot, in the combined role of president of the Boston Academy of Music, mayor, and chairman of the School Committee, used his position to spread his estimation of music. More than once, he expressed his belief that music became morally effective through its influence on the emotions. In his "Address on the Opening of the Odeon," Eliot stated that from its "appeals to the feelings, the emotions, the passions, music

derives its moral power." Eliot’s lecture before the Musical Convention in 1840 began:

Music is an art which addresses itself to the emotions. It is not an instrument of the intellect, intended to convey ideas distinctly to the mind, but is designed to awaken feelings, to suggest & heighten emotions, & contents itself with the vague yet powerful effects it can produce upon the heart through the medium of a delicate sense.

Journals of the day echoed Eliot’s opinion, linking music to a moral effect through the emotions. Some writers maintained that music had an intrinsic power to produce particular emotions, whereas others felt the effect to be merely the result of ideas associated with certain kinds of music. Music could work for evil as well.


"On the Moral Influence of Music," 23 May 1840, 174. T. Kemper Davis, who authored the report recommending the introduction of music into the Boston schools, seems to have shared this viewpoint. See Chapter 1, 5.

Harrington, "Introducing Vocal Music As a Branch of Education," 73.
as for good, swelling "the chorus of revelry and riot," as well as "the praises of goodness and of God." \(^{12}\)

From a twentieth century perspective, journalists sometimes went to extremes recounting how music halted a treacherous act or reformed bad morals. \(^{13}\) Other claims maintained that the singing of sacred music left an influence which tended to eliminate profane language. \(^{14}\)

Further, Artemas Johnson, who taught music under Lowell Mason's superintendence, relayed a *London Times* account, in which the committee of the journeymen mechanics of London awarded a Mr. Hullah a silver vase for introducing vocal music among them. According to the article in the *London Times*, the address accompanying the presentation stated that "thousands who formerly spent their evenings in beer shops, 


\(^{13}\)An article from the *Boston Musical Gazette* illustrates such claims in the story of Stradella, a 17th century Italian singer. According to the *Gazette*, Stradella eloped with a Venetian lady of rank and fled the wrath of her family. The hired assassins, who were commissioned to carry out revenge, found the couple in Rome, at a time when Stradella was performing in an oratorio. So moved were the men upon hearing the singing of Stradella, that they turned from their original plot and determined to protect rather than kill him. See "Power of Music," *Boston Musical Gazette* 1 (11 July 1838), 44. The same story also occurs as "The Power of Song," *The Musical Magazine*, 22 June 1839, 201-03.

and in vicious amusements," now devoted themselves to music, "with the happiest effect, upon the moral and social character." In a lecture to promote vocal music in the schools, Joseph Harrington echoed Johnson's views, stating that young men, who gathered in the evenings as a club to practice music, were given "moral stability" in place of the allurements of "the theatre, the barroom, the gaming table, and the brothel."

Of particular interest to this study are comments by writers and lecturers who saw music as a means of establishing discipline in the schools. In the same lecture as that mentioned above, Joseph Harrington enumerated several aspects in which music affected school discipline. First, he maintained music made students more regular in their attendance, proving its popularity. It made children more happy while at school, and "reconcile[d] them to their severe duties." When times at school grew weary and students drowsy, songs brought refreshment; music calmed the


16Harrington, "Vocal Music As a Branch of Education," 66. Harrington was principal of the Hawes School in Boston where Lowell Mason first tried the experiment of teaching music. See Boston Academy of Music, Sixth Annual Report of the Boston Academy of Music, Read at the Anniversary Meeting, in the Odeon, May, 1838 (Boston: Printed by Perkins and Marvin, 1838), 8, 10.
boisterous and quieted the uneasy. Most important according to Harrington's viewpoint, music "prepare[d] a whole school, by the magic of its influence, for communion with God in prayer."17

An unnamed teacher wrote a letter to H. W. Day, editor of The Musical Visitor, telling of an incident in which "the power of music" turned aside the anger of one of his students.18 The teacher exhausted all his arguments and kind words in an attempt to quell the anger of the little girl. He was alarmed to see a twelve-year-old "in such a satanic state of mind."19 However, as he led the girl in the slow singing of a scale, he was amazed to see her countenance completely change. Relating the incident to a Biblical account in which David caused an evil spirit to leave Saul by playing the harp for his king, the teacher concluded in saying, "Satan had fled."20

Some lecturers reasoned that if music could produce a moral effect on students by its own power, music accompanied by words would only serve to heighten that

17 Harrington, 64-65.
Music teacher Artemas Johnson proposed the inculcation of specific teachings through songs, as one of the principal arguments in favor of music in the common schools:

... by means of songs containing moral and religious lessons, the youthful mind may be stored with truths, which will never be obliterated. He who said "let me make the ballads of a nation, and you may make its laws," well understood the power of music in this respect.  

Johnson based his proposal on the comment of a German writer who said, "A man often forgets his friends, his early instructions, his native land and sometimes even his native language, but the songs of his childhood and of his youth, never fade from his memory."

The importance placed upon the use of song texts for teaching moral and religious lessons makes an examination of the music texts first used in the Boston schools of

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23 Johnson, 250.
particular interest. The Juvenile Singing School, by Lowell Mason and George J. Webb, was the initial music book from which Boston public school students sang. In 1841, Lowell Mason asked his pupils to purchase his new work, The Boston School Song Book for use in their music classes. The two works were similar in that they both were primarily collections of songs. The Boston School Song Book added some items, including rounds, musical sentences, short exercises for sight-singing, and a section of didactic questions on the elements of music.

The majority of songs in both works made direct statements or allusions to broad religious beliefs or moral principles. Although the allusions were common, none could be considered "sectarian" in the context of mid-nineteenth century Boston. The "religious" kind of text in the song books can be illustrated by a stanza from a song which reflected on the end of the day:

But woe to him, whose eye, that hour is dim
With sin-remembering tears!
No anguish ever can restore to him,
The joys of wasted years!
Oh, precious is the power,
And time that God hath given!


Wilson, 111-112. The 1845 edition of The Boston School Song Book has been used in Appendix B.
May I each passing hour,
Lay up some store for heaven!²⁶

More often the texts of songs spurred character attitudes in daily tasks, as in this round:

Spirits bright!
Make our labors light.
Teach us all the pleasing art,
To do our work with cheerful heart.²⁷

The Boston School Song Book contained a slightly larger number of songs with religious or moral texts, and included Biblical references in some of the brief musical statements or "sentences," a feature not seen in The Juvenile Singing School.²⁸ In both works, the texts of songs about nature or other non-moral topics often make an analogy in the final verses to inculcate a moral principle. A more extensive selection of lyrics from the music books used in the Boston schools between 1837 and 1845, has been provided in Appendix B.

Support for the Moral Nature of Music in the Revival of Classicism

One could wonder what source supported the Boston Academy of Music and other Bostonians' belief in the moral


²⁸For example, see p. 329 in Appendix B. Also note the use of Scripture on p. 333.
influence of music. In the report to the School Committee of 1837 calling for the introduction of vocal music into the schools of Boston, T. Kemper Davis looked to the ancient Greeks, stating that "the best defence of Music and of Drawing, as branches of Public Education, is to be found in Aristotle." Davis illustrated the power of music with Greek fables concerning Orpheus and Apollo. Thus, the Greek perspective on music became a ready tool for the promotion of music in schools centuries later.

Fascination with ancient cultures, and especially the Greeks, was repeated in much of the literature recounting the benefits of music in the 1830's and 1840's. The Musical Magazine, edited by Lowell Mason and his teaching partner at the Boston Academy of Music, George Webb, carried a series of articles on the music of the ancients, which were published monthly beginning in November, 1835, and extended to the summer of the next year. Artemas N. Johnson noted that

The idea that music exercises ... a powerful influence upon the character of a people, is not new. History tells us that among the ancient Greeks, while music was

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29Musical Tract---No. 1: Report of the School Committee of the City of Boston, on the Expediency of Introducing Musical Instruction into the Public Schools [Thomas Kemper Davis, chairman (Boston: The Boston Academy of Music, 1840)], 8.

30Musical Tract---No. 1, 11.

used to awaken patriotic and religious feelings, its influence was highly beneficial; but when it became generally used in bacchanalian and love songs, a corruption of the national manners was the consequence.  

Later in the same lecture, Johnson turned to Plato for a justification of music in the schools:

Even Plato was impressed with the importance of introducing music among the studies of the young. In his dialogues, he says, "music improves every power of the soul, not alone in art, but also in knowledge, so that in the end she begets a love of the good, as well as a love of the beautiful; therefore, in my opinion, it should occupy a prominent place in the education of youth."  

Other accounts made even bolder claims for the Greek concepts of music in politics and morals declaring that "the barbarism of nations had been tamed . . . by the powers of music."  

Samuel A. Eliot, president of the Boston Academy of Music during the initiation of music into the schools, was no less bold when he claimed that the national anthem of "God save the King" has produced a positive effect upon the nation who have so long sung it, and that it has in fact saved the King from many a revolutionary impulse. We believe, too, that the aid of

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33 Johnson, 254.

music was invoked, not in vain, in our own late elections.\textsuperscript{35}

An example of the extent to which Greek culture inspired mid-nineteenth century Bostonians was the fact that the Boston Academy of Music gave their theater a Greek name. The Academy's Third Annual Report read,

To the Building thus described, the Government have given the name of 'Odeon.' This term, accented on the second syllable, is of Greek derivation, and was applied to a temple at Athens, built by Pericles, and appropriated to musical purposes, popular meetings, &c. Ecclesiastical writers also use the term to designate the choir of a church.\textsuperscript{36}

Numerous other writings of the day referred to the Greeks and their views on music.\textsuperscript{37}

The many allusions to Greece and the ancients in writings on music coincided with a broad general interest in classicism in Boston during the ante-bellum decades.\textsuperscript{38} "It


was as though Greek . . . and Roman culture had suddenly become symbols of all that was free, refined, thoughtful, and ---especially---beautiful in human life." The Greek war of independence in the late 1820's also drew sympathy from Bostonians, so much so that some of the city's young men, including Samuel Gridley Howe, later a member of the Boston School Committee, enlisted to fight alongside the Greek soldiers.39

**Music as a Means of Spiritual Uplift**

In a letter to Boston pastors, dated October 16, 1841, the Boston Academy of Music pointed out the attention it had given to the improvement of church music and the instruction of the young, particularly in its exertions to introduce music into the Boston schools.40 The letter indicated that the Academy gave its attention to these


groups because its members were convinced "of the highly beneficial effects which are produced upon the character," by music, and of music's "cultivation of the best feelings of our nature, the purest religion, and the most elevated piety."\(^{41}\) The moral and religious emphasis in the letter was not merely a political move to garner the interest of pastors, for the preamble of the Constitution of the Boston Academy of Music began with a similar thought:

> Considering the favorable moral and religious influence which may be exerted, especially upon the young, by the knowledge and practice of appropriate Music, and the important place which Psalmody justly holds in religious worship, it seems highly desirable that measures should be adopted for promoting Instruction in Music, . . .\(^{42}\)

Boston journalists and lecturers exalted the nature of music beyond a merely moral influence as "the connecting link between the bodily and spiritual world."\(^{43}\)

\(^{41}\)Boston Academy of Music, Tenth Annual Report, 9.

\(^{42}\)Boston Academy of Music, Constitution, bound with the annual reports of the Boston Academy of Music before Seventh Annual Report of the Boston Academy of Music, Read at the Anniversary Meeting, in the Odeon, July, 1839 (Boston: Printed by Perkins and Marvin, 1839), Massachusetts Historical Society. Allusions to the moral and religious benefits of music recur throughout the twelve Reports. See particularly the Ninth Annual Report, 8, and the Tenth Annual Report, 7-11, 17, 22-28. Also see the reasons for the cultivation of music included in Boston Academy of Music (George Hood), Musical Tract—No. 2, in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

all," one writer contended, "[music] enlivens our holiest of feelings, those of religion."\textsuperscript{44} Joseph Harrington, principal of the Hawes School, considered music's "bearing upon the worship of God" the most important reason for school music, defending "the expediency of musical instruction . . . as all important to us as religious beings."\textsuperscript{45} Still another promoter of school music wrote:

The education of the young in sacred music is an object of high importance. Music, as well as the reading of our own language, should be taught in our common schools; and our children accustomed to sing, as well as to talk and read. Then, whoever becomes a christian will be prepared for the delightful work of singing the praises of God.\textsuperscript{46}

In the language of the Boston press of the 1830's and 1840's, music was "drawn from . . . its heavenly source."\textsuperscript{47} As music was a gift of God, man had "no right to neglect its cultivation."\textsuperscript{48} The human voice was to be

\begin{quotation}
\end{quotation}

\textsuperscript{44} "On the Moral Influence of Music," 23 May 1840, 174.

\textsuperscript{45} Harrington, "Vocal Music As a Branch of Education," 69. Bruce Wilson notes that Harrington's lecture occurred just three days before the School Committee voted on August 28, 1838, to make music a regular part of the public school curriculum. Note a similar statement to Harrington's in W. E. Channing, "Popular Amusements," from an address on temperance, The Western Messenger: Devoted to Religion and Literature 4, no. 5 (January 1838): 344-45.

\textsuperscript{46} Hooker, A Plea for Sacred Music, 15.


\textsuperscript{48} Johnson, "On Vocal Music in Common Schools," 249.
improved under the stewardship of man and returned in worship to its Creator. Stating that music would be cultivated in heaven, a journalist argued, "... is not an art which we are to use in heaven to be cultivated on earth?" His conclusion was: "If the great end of education is to fit men for the service and enjoyment of God, then it is very clear that instruction in Sacred Music is a very important part of education."

Samuel A. Eliot mirrored the attitude of his contemporaries in answering why music was given to the generations of men:

Why was this power given to them? Why are we made sensible of delight from the vibration of a string, or a certain motion of the air? Does not every musical air & combination murmur, in an accent which cannot be mistaken "God is good"?

An article in the Boston Musical Gazette almost echoed Eliot's sentiments in describing how the elements of music in congregational worship "seemed all to say---'Lo, God is good.'"

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"F., "Sacred Music As a Part of Education," 117.

here!" Some, as in the case of one writer in *The Western Messenger*, went so far as to stress the need for music in the schools in order to improve church music. Thus, the desires of the churches overlapped with the stated purposes of others who promoted music in education.

**Music As a Nonsectarian Influence**

Although Bostonians welcomed the perceived religious influence of music, any sectarian elements accompanying music remained a matter of concern. In this regard, the *Musical Visitor* was quick to defend itself against the suspicions of its readers:

> In answer to some inquiries, we reply, that we aim at the promotion of music, to aid in the advancement of the interests of religion and education. We do not expect to please every individual, but shall give as little offence as may be consistent with a faithful discharge of duty. The Visitor cannot be called sectarian by any honest person. All Institutions and religious societies are noticed in the same manner, without respect to denominational views . . . the field is wide enough, without making any encroachment on the religious views of our subscribers.

Anxiety over sectarianism in music also surfaced in a review by *The Western Messenger* of an article from the

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C., "Church Music---No. 2," *The Western Messenger; Devoted to Religion and Literature* 1, no. 3 (September 1835): 174; C., "Church Music---No. 3," *The Western Messenger; Devoted to Religion and literature* 1, no. 8 (February 1836): 575. *The Western Messenger* was a publication of the Western Unitarian Association.

*Musical Visitor* 2, no. 18 (1 January 1842): 146.
Cincinnati Journal. This article criticized Timothy Mason, brother of Lowell Mason, for including a selection in a concert at the Second Presbyterian Church, the words of which were thought to smack of "popery." The writer in The Western Messenger defended Mason, calling the selection non-Catholic, and asserting that the occasion had been a concert, not a worship service.

John S. Dwight, a spokesman for the transcendentalist movement, expounded the view which eventually allowed music to be accepted as religiously influential without being sectarian. The Boston Academy of Music lauded lectures on music given by Dwight, some of which the Academy itself financially supported. In his address before the Harvard Musical Association of August 25, 1841, Dwight decried the classification of music into categories of "secular" and "sacred." Rather, he felt that, in the hands of a true artist, "music is all sacred, . . . a sort of Holy Writ; a prophecy of what life is to

*C., C. P., "The Concert and the Church," The Western Messenger: Devoted to Religion and Literature 6, no. 5 (March 1839): 339-41.

**A description of the transcendentalist movement is in Chapter 2, 86-88.


be."® Dwight freely applied scriptural references and religious terms to his description of music:

Pleasure is less dangerous, less sensual, less trivial, when music intellectualizes it. The believer in depravity, the strictest ascetic, will allow that 'to the pure all things are pure,' were we only pure. . . . In [the inspired masters'] mysterious realm of music, . . . there is no secular, no sacred; all is soul and beauty; all is liberal, disinterested, pure; no doubt, no dogmatism can enter there . . . .

Music for Dwight was a spiritual language:

I call it the language of natural religion, and class it among the evidences of our religious nature. It is the natural language of emotions and aspirations, which imply the existence of more than is seen, . . . . There is most music where there is most of this spontaneous spirituality, . . . . not where men have most strictness of faith or observance, but where they live practically above what is narrowly called the Practical, and seem to know that they have souls to satisfy as well as bodies.®

Thus, Dwight's description of music as "the language of natural religion" echoed the very viewpoint of Horace Mann regarding what was to be the nature of religious education in Massachusetts.® Although Mann's perspectives were first tried by conflict, those views eventually took root in the Boston schools. In such a period of controversy, music, considered to have a religious

®®Dwight, 8-9.
®®Dwight, 14.
®®Dwight, 13.
®®See Chapter 3, 116.
influence, yet one not distinctively sectarian, was a welcome addition to the school curriculum.
On September 19, 1837, in response to T. Kemper Davis's report of August 24, the Boston School Committee voted in favor of trying the year-long experiment of music in the schools. Appropriations for carrying out the experiment were held back when a joint committee of the city's Common Council and Board of Aldermen could not come to a majority vote either for or against the proposal. However, when Lowell Mason returned from a European trip in October, 1837, he offered to teach without compensation during the year in which school music was to be tested. With the financial obstacle removed, the School Committee reconfirmed its decision to try the experiment of offering music in the schools, at a meeting of November 14, 1837. This time the experiment involved only one school, the Hawes School, rather than four as previously proposed. At the

1 Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1837-1841, 19 September 1837, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.
end of the year-long trial period, on August 28, 1838, the School Committee formally established a paid position for music instruction in the Boston schools.²

In this chapter, I will examine the backgrounds of the Committee members responsible for placing music in the schools, with a view to the religious and moral reasons given in Davis’s report to justify that action. Only those members present at the meeting on September 19, 1837, will be considered, since that was the original date on which a majority of the Committee moved in favor of trying music in the schools. I will present the Committee members’ professions, their prominence in community affairs, and their musical interests in light of their religious and moral concerns.

Professions and Prominence in Community Affairs

Of the eighteen members who attended the Boston School Committee meeting September 19, 1837, there were four physicians, three merchants, four lawyers, five clergymen, one teacher, and one grocer.³ The four


³The beginning of the official minutes for the meeting of the Boston School Committee on September 19, 1837 gives those members present. Those not included were Nathan Hale, a newspaper editor; George W. Light, a bookseller; Charles Macomber, a merchant; Isaac McLellan, Jr., a merchant; Francis Parkman, a Unitarian pastor; George G.
physicians were Martin Gay, George Bartlett, E. W. Leach, and Marshall Sears Perry. Samuel A. Eliot, Edward Wigglesworth, and Philip Marett were merchants. Those members who chose the law profession were Thomas Kemper Davis, Ivers J. Austin, Henry B. Rogers, and Justin Field. Clergymen at the meeting were represented by Horace L. Conolly, Alexander Young, Samuel K. Lothrop, Samuel Barrett, and Baron Stow. The teacher on the Committee was Frederick Emerson, and the grocer, Simon W. Robinson.

Merchants

Included as a merchant is Samuel A. Eliot, the mayor of Boston in 1837, and Chairman of the School Committee. Although Eliot spent much of his time in political roles or public service, his inherited wealth rested in commercial investments. His grandson, also named Samuel A. Eliot, noted that the elder Eliot bought into three Boston banks, three insurance companies, and increasingly into manufacturing companies.

Smith, an engraver; William Hague, a Baptist pastor; and Ezra Palmer, Jr., a Physician. See Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1837-1841, in the Rare Book Room of the Boston Public Library, and Stimpson's Boston Directory (1837). See Appendix C.

Eliot, a strong Whig politically, was elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1850. Although he was thoroughly against slavery, he favored compromise by voting for the Fugitive Slave Law, fearing the outbreak of civil war otherwise. His decision brought the antagonism of abolitionists, so that he did not seek re-election, but Eliot kept his concern for the blacks as a private citizen.

According to Claude Fuess in the Dictionary of American Biography, Eliot epitomized the proper Bostonian elite:

He was a high-minded and public-spirited aristocrat, whom even his enemies described as sincere. Sumner said of him (Sept. 2, 1850) that he was "an honest and obstinate man," but a more favorable verdict is that of Webster, who wrote of Eliot (Sept. 12, 1850), "he is considered the impersonation of Boston; ever-intelligent, ever-patriotic, ever-glorious Boston."

Eliot was not the only School Committee member who knew wealth. Philip Marett, a descendant of a pre-Revolutionary family of sea merchants, engaged extensively in European commerce while still a young man. In 1818, he was appointed Vice-consul of Portugal, initially representing the states of Massachusetts and New Hampshire,

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*Johnson, Dictionary of American Biography, 6:82.
but in time also Maine, and Rhode Island.® He owned part of the financially successful business firm, Plympton, Marett & Dorr, and by 1835, when he was elected President of the Common Council of the city, he was also President of the New England Bank.® Marett's wealth and status found expression in the frequent entertainment of guests at his home. By the age of 53, Mr. Marett had accumulated a handsome fortune, and withdrew from active business.¹⁰

Committee member Edward Wigglesworth began a career as a lawyer, but finding the profession unattractive, he abandoned it to aid his father in mercantile affairs.¹¹ However, having considerable affluence by means of his share in his father's estate, he spent much of his time in pursuit of scholarly and cultural affairs.¹² Wigglesworth's prominent New England ancestors dated back to 1638, when an earlier Edward Wigglesworth arrived in Charlestown, just across the bay from Boston. The paternal predecessors of


®Baldwin, 80.

¹⁰Baldwin, 83.


¹²Ellis, 5.
the Edward Wigglesworth on the School Committee included three divinity professors in Harvard College; his mother was the daughter of Prof. Andrews Norton, an eminent Biblical scholar at Harvard.  

Lawyers

Thomas Kemper Davis, the author of the report of 1837 recommending the trial of music in the Boston schools, was like Edward Wigglesworth, in that he had a foundational education in law, yet was wealthy enough to devote much time to literary pursuits. Both ranked first in their graduating classes at Harvard. Wigglesworth most clearly showed his literary abilities in acting as co-editor of the Encyclopaedia Americana. Extant manuscripts reveal Davis's writing skills in his valedictory address at Harvard in 1827, an oration on "The Founders and Benefactors of

13 Ellis, 4.

14 Franklin B. Hough, American Biographical Notes (Albany: J. Munsell, 1875), s.v. "Thomas Kemper Davis."


16 Ellis, 5. Also, see clippings on "Edward Wigglesworth" (Class of 1822), Archives, Pusey Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

17 Thomas Davis, "A Valedictory Oration Before the Class of 1827," Harvard University, July 17, 1827, ADS, Quincy Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
the University" the same year, and an additional commencement speech in 1830, "Every Man a Debtor to His Profession." The latter oration, in particular, includes examples from the ancients, from those as well known as Plato, or lesser known as Lucianus, and Epictetus. Edmund Quincy, a classmate and relative of Davis, attested to the attorney's grasp of both Classical and English literature:

In Greek he especially excelled, . . . I remember asking him one hot summer's day, what he was reading then? "I have just finished Pindar!" was his reply. And the last time I saw him he was amusing himself with Homer in the original. . . . his acquaintance with English literature was perfect and exhaustive. When he said that he had read Bacon or Milton, he did not mean that he was familiar with those of their writings, which even men professing scholarship are usually content with knowing; but that he had read every page, English or Latin, prose or verse, on which they had impressed their minds.

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18 T. Kemper Davis, "Commemorative Oration on 'The Founders and Benefactors of the University' to Be Delivered at Its Annual Commencement, August 29th, Anno Domini 1827," Quincy Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

19 Thomas Kemper Davis, "Every Man a Debtor to His Profession: An English Oration for the Class of Masters of Arts to be spoken (Heaven permitting and assisting) at the Commencement of Harvard University, August 25th, 1830," ADS, Quincy Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.


21 [Edmund Quincy], Obituary of Thomas Kemper Davis, October, 1853, Quincy Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. The Quincys were a prominent Boston family, Josiah Quincy, having served as mayor of the city from 1823 to 1828. See Ronald P. Formisano, "From Deferential-Participant to Party Politics," in Boston 1700-1980: The Evolution of Urban Politics, ed. by Ronald P. Formisano and Constance K. Burns (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press,
Unlike Wigglesworth, Davis remained interested in law beyond his formal training. After graduation from Harvard in 1827, he was a student in Daniel Webster's office, at which time he wrote a speech for a dinner given in Mr. Webster's honor at Fanueil Hall. Davis continued in the law profession until a debilitating accident brought an early end to his career.

Other lawyers on the Boston School Committee of 1837 included Ivers J. Austin and Henry B. Rogers. Austin studied law at Harvard after first graduating from the U. S. Military Academy at West Point in 1828. At least one correspondent considered Austin excellent in his chosen field, for a letter from James W. Gerard spoke of Austin's 1984), 42.

22 Thomas Kemper Davis, Manuscript speech delivered at a dinner given to Mr. Daniel Webster in Fanueil Hall, June 5, 1828, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Boston Public Library. Fanueil Hall was the site of numerous public meetings in antebellum Boston, and continues today as an enclosed mall of shops and cafés.

23 Davis, Speech to Mr. Daniel Webster. A note attached to the speech states, "Injuries received from a fall down stairs while calling on the Actress Ellen Tree resulted in a partial loss of mental strength and the non-fulfillment of his great promise. His career then met with a sad end." See also Quincy, Obituary.

24 James Spear Loring, The Hundred Boston Orators Appointed by the Municipal Authorities and Other Public Bodies, from 1770 to 1852: Comprising Historical Gleanings, Illustrating the Principles and Progress of Our Republican Institutions, 4th ed. (Boston: J. P. Jewett and Company; Cleveland, O.: Jewett, Proctor & Worthington, 1885).
"very able argument" in a case, telling Austin that he was "much struck" with the force of his reasoning, and the authority of his evidence. Another writer stated that Austin's "elaborate report, as chairman of a sub-committee on the reorganization of the public schools of Boston, is a highly valuable document." In 1838, Austin was elected a representative to the state legislature, and he further spread his influence by contributing to the North American Review and the Biblical Journal.

The extant data on the life of Henry B. Rogers reveals little of his professional career in law. However, a letter to his father in 1824 discloses his attendance at Litchfield Law School at the time. Tributes to Rogers emphasized his liberal giving to public charities. During the Civil War, Rogers, being sixty years old, went to Washington to offer his services as Relief Agent of the United States Sanitary Commission. In this capacity, he

2James W. Gerard to Ivers J. Austin, August 6 1840, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Boston Public Library.

2Loring, Hundred Boston Orators, s.v. "Ivers J. Austin."

2Loring, s.v. "Ivers J. Austin."

2H. B. Rogers, Litchfield (Connecticut), to Daniel Denison Rogers, Esq., Boston, 3 May 1824, ALS, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.


30K[napp], "Henry Bromfield Rogers," l.
labored diligently, as seven diaries with his hand-written accounts of sick and dying soldiers record.\(^{31}\)

**Physicians**

The four physicians on the School Committee being considered are Martin Gay, George Bartlett, E. W. Leach, and Marshall Sears Perry. Each were graduates of the medical school at Harvard, Gay in 1826, Bartlett and Perry in 1830, and Leach in 1835.\(^{32}\)

Little is known of Leach and Perry. Upon Perry's death, his pastor, Rev. Ezra Gannett of the Federal Street Church, spoke of the skill, integrity, and extent of Perry's practice in the Boston area, but gave no specifics of his social involvement.\(^{33}\)

Ezekial W. Leach may have been a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for he contributed a volume to the Society "to supply the deficiency that existed in the records of the town of Manchester" in 1839.\(^{34}\)

However, there are no memoirs of him in the proceedings of

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\(^{32}\) See Quinquennial Catalogue [of Harvard University].

\(^{33}\) Gannett, The Physician, 16.

\(^{34}\) E. W. Leach to the librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 16 November 1839, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
the Society. Leach died in 1842 on a voyage from Savannah.  

An obituary in The Boston Daily Advertiser characterized Dr. Martin Gay as inconspicuous in his social station, but respected by the community for the integrity and kindness he showed in his professional services. He was an original member of the Boston Society of Natural History, and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Gay, an expert in toxicology, often testified in court concerning cases of suspected poisoning and questions of medico-chemical science. His sole publication defended the newly discovered use of sulphuric ether in surgical operations.

Besides his training at Harvard, George Bartlett studied medicine under Dr. George C. Shattuck and his father Dr. Zaccheus Bartlett. In a letter to Dr. Shattuck in 1844, a writer, upon meeting the younger Bartlett, praised him for his thoughts on medical philosophy, and soon

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35 Clippings on E. W. Leach (Class of 1835), Archives, Pusey Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.


37 See Appendix C under "Martin Gay" for full title.

38 "George Bartlett," Boston Daily Advertiser (19 July 1865), Clippings on George Bartlett (Class of 1827), Archives, Pusey Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.
afterwards procured a book written by him. Bartlett eventually went insane, and was confined to an asylum before his death in 1865.

Clergymen

Horace L. Conolly was Episcopal rector of St. Matthew's Church when music made its entrance into the schools. What was found of Conolly's ministry was included in J. I. T. Coolidge's account of the history of St. Matthew's Church during Coolidge's ministry there thirty-one years later:

On May 2, 1835, the Rev. H. L. Conolly of Salem was invited to become the Rector of the Church, who entered upon his duties upon the second Sunday after Easter and continued in charge till May 8, 1838. There is literally nothing of interest recorded during his administration, nor can I learn anything definite of the condition of the Church, whether as prosperous or no. A subject, which has been a fruitful one in aftertimes, begins to appear, viz., the tombs under the Church.

Conolly left the ministry by 1858 to engage chiefly in the

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39 Alfred S[tillé] to George C. Shattuck, Jr., M.D., Philadelphia, AMS, October 24, 1844. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. Also, see footnote 6, Appendix C.

40 Boston Daily Advertiser, 19 July 1865.

41 J. I. T. Coolidge, A Discourse Preached on the Third Sunday After Trinity, 1865, Being the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Celebration of the Holy Communion in St. Matthew's Church, South Boston (Boston: Press of David Clapp & Son, 1913), 8. Coolidge was a member of the Boston School Committee in 1845. See Chapter 6.
practice of medicine. Manning Hawthorne has pictured Conolly as intellectually brilliant, but as an unreliable and back-biting social climber; Hawthorne adds that Conolly would not have survived oblivion were it not for his thirty-six year association with Nathaniel Hawthorne, and relaying the story of *Evangeline* to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

More in the mainstream of proper Bostonians, Rev. Alexander Young, respected Unitarian pastor of the New South Church for twenty-nine years, served as an assistant teacher in the Boston Latin School before studying in the Divinity School at Cambridge. Young attended the Latin School when a youth, and his continued support as an alumnus was seen in his serving as Vice-President of the Boston Latin School Association after 1844. While attending Harvard, Young

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43 Hawthorne, 262.


distinguished himself as a student of the Roman classics, and at his graduation he delivered an address in Latin.**

The social status of Committee member, Dr. Samuel K. Lothrop, is seen in the fact that he pastored the Unitarian church in Brattle Square for forty-two years, beginning in 1834.

This church at that time was second to no other church of any denomination in New England in pecuniary ability, in the high social standing of its members, in the number of distinguished men in various professions and in the public service who were its regular attendants, and in the prestige given to it by those who had occupied its pulpit.*

In his thirteenth year, Lothrop's uncle, Rev. Dr. Kirkland, then President of Harvard College, assumed the charge of the boy's education. Several private tutors, including Ralph Waldo Emerson, instructed Lothrop during this period.**

After graduation from Harvard in 1825, Lothrop immediately entered the Divinity School at Cambridge. Lothrop's ordination in 1829 was soon followed by marriage to Mary

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**Ezra S. Gannett, *A Discourse Delivered in the Meetinghouse on Church Green, Boston, on Monday, March 20, 1854, at the Funeral of the Late Rev. Alexander Young, D.D., Pastor of the New South Church* (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Company, 1854), 4. Gannett at this time was pastor of the Federal Street Church, where William Ellery Channing had taken his historical stand for the Unitarianism in America.


**Peabody, 162.
Lyman Buckminster; Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster, who played an active part in the rise of Unitarianism in Boston, was Mary's brother, and the immediate predecessor of Lothrop as pastor of the church in Brattle Square. Beyond his ministerial duties, Lothrop participated in several cultural and benevolent societies, and for a considerable time was one of the editors for The Christian Register.

Another Unitarian pastor of reputation on the School Committee was Samuel Barrett. Although family financial difficulties made a higher education look impossible for Barrett, a former pastor, Rev. Thomas Beede, received him into his own home and prepared him for college. As a result, Barrett entered Harvard College to study for the ministry and graduated with his first degree in 1818.

In order to finance his education, Barrett taught school during all his vacations as an undergraduate. After his graduation, he became a teacher at the Grammar School of Concord, Massachusetts. His periodic vocation as

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52 Pray, 9-10.

53 Pray, 9-10, 12.
a teacher continued as he entered the Divinity School at Cambridge in 1819, teaching first at Concord, then at Malden and Cambridgeport.

Upon graduating with his second degree in 1822, several Unitarian churches extended invitations to Barrett to serve as their pastor, but in the end he supplied the pulpit of the Twelfth Congregational Society at Boston beginning February, 1825. In 1847, Harvard conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Throughout his ministry, Barrett held a prominent position among the Boston public. He served as chaplain of the Senate of Massachusetts as early as 1825-26, and he gave many lectures outside his own parish, even after his resignation from the Twelfth Congregational Society in 1858. Barrett at one time edited the The Christian, the Christian Register, and the Unitarian Advocate, and contributed to the Christian Examiner, the Liberal Preacher, and still others.

The remaining clergyman of those Committee members who attended the meeting on September 19, 1837, was Baron Stow, a Baptist. Stow attended Columbian College, in

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*Pray, 14-15. The position was first offered to Rev. Alexander Young, also a member of the 1837 Boston School Committee, but he declined for another position offered him at the time.

**Pray, 30, 49-53.

***Pray, 31.
Washington, D.C., then remained in the capital two years as the editor of the *Columbian Star*. Throughout his life, Stow used his writing skills in contributions to religious periodicals, including the *Christian Watchman* and the *Christian Era*.

After an initial ministry in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Stow came to Boston in 1832 to pastor the Baldwin-Place Church, where he served for sixteen years; he then pastored the Rowe Street (later known as Clarendon Street) Baptist Church for nineteen years. The *Memorial History of Boston* indicates that Stow's preaching judiciously combined the doctrinal and the practical and "was characterized by a kindling eloquence, which made him one of the most popular pulpit orators of his time." Stow served as President of the Board of Trustees of the Newton Theological Institution from 1854 to 1869. In addition, he was an Overseer of Harvard College, from 1854 to 1864.

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and at the time of his death, held a similar position in the
government of Brown University, from which he received an
honorary doctorate in 1846.\textsuperscript{61}

Extant data on the final two Committee members under
consideration, Frederick Emerson and Simon W. Robinson,
leave more questions than answers. Both served Boston in
the Massachusetts House of Representatives.\textsuperscript{62} Additional
knowledge of Robinson is limited to the designation of his
profession as "grocer" in Stimpson's Boston Directory for
1837.\textsuperscript{63}

Frederick Emerson was a teacher.\textsuperscript{64} However, the
Boston death records give Emerson's occupation as

\textsuperscript{61}Neale, The Pastor and Preacher, 62; Harvard
University, Harvard University Quinquennial Catalogue of the
Officers and Graduates, 1636-1930 (Published by the
University, 1930), 123; Brown University, Historical
Catalogue of Brown University, 1764-1934 (Providence:
Published by the University, 1936), 4, 9.

\textsuperscript{62}See "Commonwealth Officers," in the preliminary
pages of Stimpson's Boston Directory for 1837.

\textsuperscript{63}See also Appendix C, footnote 14.

\textsuperscript{64}Stimpson's Boston Directory, 1844. The reverse
side of the title page of one of Emerson's texts indicates
that he was the "late principal in the department of
arithmetic, Boylston School, Boston." See Frederick
Emerson, The North American Arithmetic, Part Second, Uniting
Oral and Written Exercises, in Corresponding Chapters
(Boston: Jenks and Palmer, [1832]). Stimpson's Boston
Directory for 1837 gives only "Frederic" Emerson, and lists
no profession for him. Also, an additional Frederick
Emerson, Frederick "B." Emerson, is listed in the 1844
directory, but without a profession. As "Frederick Emerson"
the "instructor" was prominent in politics and interested in
educational affairs, it is apparent that this was indeed the
man who served on the School Committee in 1837 and 1845.
"gentleman," suggesting that he may have had such means as to not need regular employment. His financial support may have come primarily from the many editions of geography, history, and especially arithmetic textbooks which he wrote. A note on the back of the title page of Emerson’s *The North American Arithmetic* attested to its broad distribution: "This book is adopted in the Public Schools of the Cities of Boston, Salem, Portland, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, and Louisville, by orders of the respective Boards of School Committee and Trustees." The scope of Emerson’s texts extended to graded levels and modified editions, including two in German; the publication of some of these editions continued beyond Emerson’s lifetime.

The prominent role which the Committee members took in community affairs is evident by virtue of the number of scholarly, charitable, or religious societies in which they were involved. Complete lists of the known organizations in which the Committee members participated are given in

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See Appendix C.

*Frederick Emerson, The North American Arithmetic, Part Second, Uniting Oral and Written Exercises, in Corresponding Chapters* (Boston: Jenks and Palmer, [1832]).

See the list of Emerson’s works in Appendix C.
Appendix C. However, in order to note the most common involvements among them, those organizations of which two or more members took part are given below. An "O" by a name indicates that the School Committee member was an officer in the organization.

American Academy of Arts and Sciences - Gay, Wigglesworth
American Unitarian Association - Barrett (O), Lothrop (O)
Board of Overseers of Harvard College - Barrett, Young, Stow
Boston Provident Association** - Eliot (O), Lothrop (O), Wigglesworth (O)
Benevolent Fraternity of Churches - Barrett (O), Lothrop (O)
Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society - Lothrop (O), Young
Massachusetts General Hospital - Eliot (O), Wigglesworth (O)
Massachusetts Historical Society - Lothrop, Young (O)
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity - Barrett (O), Young (O)


7°This organization ministered to the poor. See Chapter 2, 101-02.

71At least one aspect of this organization was to provide relief for widows and children of Congregational ministers in Massachusetts. See Peabody, "Samuel K. Lothrop," 168.
Religious and Moral Concerns and Their Relationship to Attitudes About Music

Chapter Four presented evidence that Bostonians of the 1830's and 1840's considered religious and moral values to be intrinsic to music. To determine if the School Committee members of 1837 held perspectives similar to those writers on music previously noted, their religious and moral concerns, and their musical interests will be considered below.

Religious Concerns

Of the eighteen School Committee members who attended the meeting of September 19, 1837, nine were Unitarians, two were Baptists, one was Episcopalian, and one was an Orthodox Congregationalist.\(^7\) The religious denominations of Austin, Emerson, Davis, Gay, and Robinson are unknown, although some clues infer reasonable possibilities.

\(^7\)The Society for Promoting Theological Education, established in 1816, resulted in the establishment and support of the Theological School, which, although under the direction of the same board as Harvard, was otherwise distinct from the College. See Samuel A. Eliot, A Sketch of the History of Harvard College and of Its Present State (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1848), 123-25.

\(^7\)See Appendix C.
Ivers J. Austin contributed an article to *The Biblical Journal*, a publication recommended by Orthodox leaders Moses Stuart, and Leonard Woods, among others.\(^7^4\) The article, "Paul's Illustration of the Resurrection," does not deal with issues which clearly separated orthodox from liberal.\(^7^5\) However, the fact that Austin wrote an article for the journal suggests that he himself was orthodox. Nevertheless, Austin also contributed to the *North American Review*, which, although not necessarily dealing with theological subjects, was a publication with strong Unitarian ties.\(^7^6\)

In an oration for Boston's annual Fourth of July celebration, Ivers J. Austin suggested the role of religion in the morality of a nation, exalting the spirit of independence as

The spirit which teaches man, his dignity and his destiny. The power which develops his moral, his intellectual and his physical capacities and assimilates him to his Creator. The great artificer of human character, the mighty controller of human fate.

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\(^7^6\) Loring, s.v. "Ivers J. Austin." Also, see Jaher, "The Politics of the Boston Brahmins," 63.
This spirit restrained by religion and directed by law, enlightened by reason and chastened by virtue, is the hereditary characteristic of the American people.\textsuperscript{77}

Austin voiced some pointed opinions in his speech. He stated that the "sages who formed the Constitution," although unified in their patriotism, came from varied origins. There "still lingered amongst them, the pride of the Cavalier, the vivacity of the Huguenot, the formality of the Quaker, the bigotry of the Roman Catholic, the sternness of the Puritan and the frigid apathy of the German."\textsuperscript{78} He further quoted from Robertson's America that the Pilgrims brought with them a "democratical form of government" which "accorded perfectly with the levelling genius of fanaticism!"\textsuperscript{79} However, such statements and use of quotation still make it impossible to determine conclusively Austin's own religious preference. All that can be concluded is that he did not refrain from stating religious opinions.

Frederick Emerson: Religion, Morality, and Politics

An episode in the life of Frederick Emerson exposes the sometimes subtle relationship of religion, politics, and

\textsuperscript{77}Ivers James Austin, An Oration Delivered by Request of the City Authorities, Before the Citizens of Boston, on the Sixty Third Anniversary of American Independence, July 4, 1839 (Boston: John H. Eastburn, 1839), 5.

\textsuperscript{78}Austin, 22.

\textsuperscript{79}Austin, 6.
moral causes which existed in ante-bellum Boston. According to the Common School Journal, Emerson, having drafted the report in the Massachusetts House of Representatives which was designed to abolish the Board of Education in 1841, complained that the volumes of the Board’s Massachusetts School Library contained “a peculiar cast of religious and political opinion.”\footnote{“Normal Schools” [Reprinted from the Salem Gazette], Common School Journal 3 (1 November 1841): 332.} He further felt that the Library threatened to “take possession of the reading and writing public of Massachusetts.” Emerson made these statements at a meeting of the American Institute of Education in the fall of 1841.\footnote{For a further account of this meeting, see Chapter 3, 135-39.} After Emerson finished his remarks, George S. Hillard arose to comment that “he could not . . . suppose it possible that Mr. Emerson could think people so simple as to believe that the alleged reasons of the opposition were the real ones.”\footnote{“Normal Schools,” 332.} The remark of Hillard suggested that Emerson, a prominent author of school textbooks, feared a monopoly on books which were not his own, rather than an infringement on religious or political rights.

A letter from Horace Mann to Loring Norcross,\footnote{Horace Mann, Boston, to Loring Norcross, 11 March 1846, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.} dated March 11, 1846, explains how Mann rejected Emerson's
textbooks for the schools of Massachusetts shortly after the Secretary of the Board of Education took office in 1837. Mann told Norcross that Emerson sent copies of his arithmetic texts to the Secretary with a note referring him to certain pages and problems which were intended to inculcate an attitude in favor of temperance, a cause which Mann was known to strongly support. Although Mann admitted to holding temperance to be a holy cause, it seemed that two or three questions among thousands of others, "had very little to do with inculcating a love of it, & still less with teaching children to cipher." Mann saw in Emerson's references a design to gain his favor for his books, "not on the ground of their intrinsic merits, but on account of my sympathies for another & an extraneous cause," and concluded:

It is not my practice to recommend school books. I did not recommend his, neither have I decried them. The

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Bruce Wilson indicates that Loring Norcross, a dealer in dry goods, was a member of the Boston Academy of Music in 1837, on the Primary School Board, 1839-55, and on the School Committee, 1851-54. See Bruce Dunbar Wilson, "A Documentary History of Music in the Public Schools of the City of Boston, 1830-1850," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1973 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, No. 73-24, 719), 2:50.

For an explanation of the temperance movement, see Chapter 2, 100. The arithmetic problems which Mann cited from Emerson's textbook were as follows: "If a pint of rum a day will kill a man in a year & a half, how many men would a cargo of 600 hogsheads kill in the same time?" "If 11 young men can become fools by drinking 6 bottles of wine, at $3 a bottle, what would it cost a dinner party of 25, to become fools in like manner?"
course which Mr. E. has pursued towards the Board of Education & towards myself since that time, is generally known; Respecting the motives which have prompted him, I here express no opinion."

Although Mann did not express his opinion, the intimation that Emerson's animosities may have been due to the Secretary's appraisal of his textbooks was certainly evident. In a letter to Horace Mann, the publishers of the Massachusetts School Library indicated that Emerson's hostility also followed the failure of the textbook writer's own attempt to gain a place on the Board of Education.

Nevertheless, Mann's later correspondence again suggested underlying religious conflicts with Emerson. In a letter to Samuel G. Howe in 1844, Mann made an allusion, apparently to Emerson, casting him in the same vein as Frederick Packard, who had stirred up religious antagonism against Mann in regard to the publication of the Massachusetts School Library:

Also the Rev. Mr. Phelps in the Mercantile Journal of Saturday evening, [., . .] I heard during the summer that that scoundrel, Fred. A. Packard[,] had been inflaming him with prejudices on the religious side of this question, & from this article in the Mercantile, I should think him to be a congenial spirit with Fred., or with both Freds.

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"Mann to Norcross, 11 March 1846.


"Horace Mann to [Samuel G.] Howe, 8 October 1844, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. "Rev. Mr. Phelps" refers to Rev. Amos A. Phelps. Rev. Phelps was a member of the Boston Primary School Committee, where he associated closely with Deacon Alvan Phillips, who
At the suggestion of Mann, Samuel G. Howe campaigned and was elected a member of the Boston School Committee alongside Emerson in 1845.


**See Chapter 6. Horace Mann heard about Emerson's publishing concerns again in a letter from Charles Davies in 1847. Davies (with Alfred S. Barnes), a writer of arithmetic texts, explained how Emerson brought a lawsuit against him for incorporating part of Emerson's text into his own. However, Davies recounted that, during the trial, his party discovered Emerson's work to have been taken from a small arithmetic book by an Englishman named Golden. Ivers J. Austin, another member of the School Committee of 1837, served as lawyer for the defendants, Davies and Barnes, against the plaintiff, Emerson. See Charles Davies, New York, to Horace Mann, 10 July 1847, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; also, *The Case of Frederick Emerson versus Charles Davies and Alfred S. Barnes, before Hon. Joseph Story . . . [and] Hon. Peleg Sprague . . . Counsel. John Pickering, George T. Curtis, for plaintiff. Samuel A. Foot, Ivers J. Austin, for defendants* (Boston: S. N. Dickinson & Co., printers, 1845), in *National Union Catalog*, s.v. "Frederick Emerson."
Frederick Emerson's accusation that the Massachusetts School Library had "a peculiar cast of religious and political opinion" may reveal his own religious preference. As the conservative religious critics of the Board accused it of liberalizing tendencies, it would appear that Emerson came from one of the Orthodox groups himself. Although Emerson opposed what he understood to be the Board's religious intent, he similarly felt that it was possible to teach the fundamental principles of Christianity in the schools.

T. Kemper Davis: A Philosophical Stance on Religion

Thomas Kemper Davis assumed a religious posture somewhat unique among his associates on the School Committee. Although Davis exhorted Harvard graduates preparing themselves to be "heralds of Religion" to "spread

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*The term "Orthodox" sometimes applied to groups other than the Trinitarian Congregationalists, including all those who held to teachings of the Trinity, the deity of Christ, and His substitutionary atonement. The point is illustrated by a clipping entitled "What I Saw in Boston," in the back pocket of Neale, Two Hundredth Anniversary, Massachusetts Historical Society: "Men might swear that they were Orthodox, as did Prof. Ware [the Liberal Henry Ware, who came to Harvard in 1805], when he accepted the Professorship in Harvard College on the foundation of the Baptist Hollis. But few persons would allow themselves to be immersed in the name of the Holy Trinity, . . ."

*See Chapter 3, 126, concerning Emerson's comment that Christianity could be taught in the schools.
abroad the gospel," he, himself, favored classical philosophy:

Christians—they might, if they had humility enough, learn from the Heathen Mythology—the absurd Heathen Mythology, as it has been falsely called. Bellerophon... strove to soar to Heaven's Gates... that he might look the regal Sun in the face. Yes---& Jove struck him blind for his presumption.

Let us all pray that we may be permitted to drink a purifying draught from that cup which the Thebian Sage in his Fable of Life has put into the hands of True Philosophy—which opens the mind...

In his early twenties, Davis revealed some of his perspectives on religious fervor in a letter to his friend, Robert C. Winthrop. Davis wrote the letter from a Methodist camp meeting, his vehicle having "abandoned" him, after he had stayed for the "sermons & conversions." Davis had no choice but to stay the night in the camp or walk four or five miles through the woods at the risk of getting lost. After obtaining permission to stay in one of the tents, the young attorney was confronted with a combination of simple hospitality and spiritual inquiry:

I have already I think become quite a favourite with the Old Lady of the Tent---Sister Cook as they call her. She has been stuffing me with apple pie---& asking me

---Davis, "Valedictory Oration."

---Davis, "Every Man a Debtor."

how long it is since I first knew the Lord—a question to which I confess I could return no very definite answer."

Davis described the beautiful, outdoor setting of the camp and the singing of praises "to the Lamb," and about passing "over Jordan," which continued until almost midnight. His candid response reflected his more reserved if not aloof religious stance:

"Now, good Robin, think of words like these set to intoxicating airs, & pealed from the lips of 500 men & women—all drunk with religious ecstasy—and in the place & at the time I have described—and cease to wonder if you ever have wondered, at the contagion of fanaticism. I'm a philosopher. All this ravishes my senses—and tickles my imagination. But the fumes mount not high. My upper region is serene & unaffected.

Good night. The surrounding choristers will I fear grow suspicious of my scribbling."

Davis saw a need for the coupling of religion with education, for in his oration on the founders and benefactors of Harvard University, he commemorated "that solemn ever to be remembered scene, when Religion & Learning were here united in bands we hope never to see torn asunder." In another oration, Davis stated that the only proper education was found in the "educating of the Heart & Mind at the same moment."
Unitarian and Orthodox Viewpoints

The religious perspectives of the other Committee members followed more closely the norm among the elite of Boston. Those who were Unitarians attended some of the denomination's most prestigious churches. Marshall Sears Perry became a communicant at the Federal Street Church, where William Ellery Channing once heralded the beginnings of Unitarianism in America.9 After Perry's death, Ezra Gannett, then pastor of the church, characterized Perry as a man who read religious books, and gave much thought to matters of Christian evidence and doctrine.10 Edward Wigglesworth also was noted to be deeply religious throughout his life, and was an active member of the Federal Street Church, which relocated in 1859, to become the Arlington Street Church.101 One can still read the inscription on a lecturne at the front of the church today: "To the Glory of God and in Loving Memory of Edward Wigglesworth, A Devoted Member of This Church, 1804-1876."

9Gannett, The Physician, 18; for Channing's role at the beginning of Unitarianism in America, see Chapter 2, 70-71.

100Gannett, 18.

Four of the School Committee members being considered, Henry B. Rogers, Philip Marett, George Bartlett, and Samuel A. Eliot, attended King's Chapel, the first Unitarian chapel in New England. A tribute to Rogers recorded that he had been "active in every Unitarian movement since the old Channing days." Channing had been a family friend since Rogers' infancy, and Rogers praised Channing's theology and character in his reflections upon the Unitarian leader's death in 1842. In like manner, a memorialist called Marett "a Unitarian of the Channing school," noting Marett's growth in religious devotion in the thoughts and occasional prayers recorded in his private journal.

Eliot, along with Marett, was a warden of King's.

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103 Knapp, "Henry B. Rogers."

104 Henry Bromfield Rogers, "Reflections on the Death of Rev. Dr. Channing," typewritten copy of manuscript, 1842, Massachusetts Historical Society.

105 Baldwin, "Philip Marett," 85. The journal mentioned by Baldwin is apparently under private ownership or no longer extant.
Chapel. Having the desire to fulfill his father's wishes that his son would enter the ministry, Eliot attended and graduated from the Divinity School at Cambridge. Ordination to a pastorate never followed, for after his father died in 1820, Eliot invested his share of the estate, and pursued other interests. However, in 1832, he aided his brother William, and others, in establishing a church at Nahant, and his contributions to journals occasionally addressed matters of religious importance.

During his days in the Divinity School, Eliot wrote his friend George Bancroft about the stir caused by William E. Channing's sermon, preached at the ordination of Jared Sparks. Channing's sermon clarified the stance of

106 Baldwin, 82; Foote, "Christ Stilling the Waves," 12.


110 S. A. Eliot, Boston, to George Bancroft, Hamburg, Germany, 30 August 1819, Bancroft Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. Channing's sermon was a landmark in the "coming out" of Unitarianism in America. See Chapter 2, 68. George Bancroft, who became known for his historical writings, later served as Collector of the port of Boston, Secretary of the Navy in 1845, and Minister of the U. S. to London, 1846-49. See Winsor, ed., Memorial History of Boston, 3:665.
Unitarianism in America, alarmed the orthodox, and furthered the writing of pamphlets from Andover Seminary.

Eliot wrote his own sketch of the history of American Unitarianism in another letter to Bancroft nine months later. He characterized the American form of Unitarianism as being more conservative than its European counterpart, allowing for the divine origin of Christianity, and the miracles of Jesus. Yet, he kept a rationalist approach to religion, which maintained a deep chasm between his own perspectives and those of the orthodox Calvinists:

... we are quite opposed to the fanatical faith of the Calvinist, & quite as much opposed to the fanatical incredulity of the Naturalist. ... you know Edwards considers it as one of the blissful employments of the saints in heaven to look down upon the torments of the damned in the other world. However, far be it from me to say anything disrespectful of our forefathers; they were as good as they knew how to be; but their religion was certainly what we should call bigotry nowadays ... 112

Eliot foresaw the possibility that the "orthodox" of the future would be Unitarians, that it would be heresy to believe in the Trinity, and prophesied "that in 50 years Andover [would] be an Unitarian seminary." 113


112 Eliot to Bancroft, 29 May 1820. Eliot refers to Jonathan Edwards, a key figure in the Great Awakening of the eighteenth century; see Chapter 2, 57-58.

113 Eliot to Bancroft, 29 May 1820.
Twenty-eight years later, Eliot showed the same religious attitudes in his *Sketch of the History of Harvard College*. He recounted the controversy sparked by the election of a Liberal, Henry Ware to Harvard’s Hollis Professorship of Divinity in 1805, and added that its reverberations could still be occasionally heard. Eliot once again spoke of Edwards and the Great Awakening, and of the "general and violent excitement, commonly called a revival of religion, [which] became frequent and prominent as the result of Whitefield’s preaching." He told how Whitefield’s denunciations of the spiritual climate at Harvard were refuted by Dr. Wigglesworth, then the Hollis Professor of Divinity.

Baron Stow, one of the Baptist pastors on the School Committee of 1837, also spoke of the ministry of George Whitefield, but from a viewpoint opposite to Eliot’s:

... the excitement was, in the main, the product of the Holy Spirit, and ... its fruits were eminently

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115 Eliot, 99. The name Hollis referred the Calvinist man who provided funds to found the professorship. See Chapter 2, 66.


117 Dr. Wigglesworth was the great grandfather of the Edward Wigglesworth, who was on the School Committee in 1837. See Ellis, "Edward Wigglesworth," 4.

118 The other Baptist pastor was William Hague, who was not present at the meeting of the School Committee on September 19, 1837.
favorable to the advancement of true religion. . . . The converts, who received the name of "Separates," were taught to throw aside tradition, and take THE WORD OF GOD ONLY as their guide in all matters of religious faith and practice. This was in perfect coincidence with all Baptist teaching, and, as was predicted by the more sagacious among the opposers of the revival, ultimately led thousands, among whom were many ministers, to embrace our views and enter our churches.\textsuperscript{119}

Most of the extant writings by Stow are memorials of the lives of others, but even in those writings, themes can be found of the supremacy of Christ, and the integrity of the Bible.\textsuperscript{120} Stow once stated:

Put me upon a polar iceberg, where no verdure greets the eye and no flower shed their fragrance; where no sound is heard but the white bear's growl, or the screams of the passing eagle; let me drift where'er the surge may sweep, the tempest's breath prevail; but as you love my soul, and desire its welfare, hold me not a worshipper in any temple where there is no Calvary, no Cross, no atoning Saviour.\textsuperscript{121}

In keeping with his belief that sermons should be an exegesis of the Bible, Stow commented that he "would give more for a text of Scripture than for a cart-load of German divinity," referring to the liberal movements of theology in

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\textsuperscript{119}Baron Stow, \textit{A Discourse, Delivered at the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of the Baldwin Place Baptist Church, July 27, 1843} (Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1843), 7-10.
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\textsuperscript{120}For example, see Sprague, \textit{Annals of the American Pulpit}, 66:379, 711, 749; also "Letter from Rev. Dr. Stow," in Neale, \textit{Two Hundredth Anniversary}, 63-64.
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his day.\textsuperscript{122} In like manner, Stow's devotional work, \textit{Daily Manna for Christian Pilgrims}, promoted meditating on a verse of Scripture for each day of the year.\textsuperscript{123} Memorialists of Unitarian pastor, Alexander Young, stated that his theological positions were equally removed from the extreme left and extreme right of the Unitarian party, and that he was no controversialist.\textsuperscript{124} His peace-making spirit can be seen in his lecture supporting congregationalism as a principle common to both Trinitarians and Unitarians.\textsuperscript{125} However, he had an "aversion to hierarchies of every sort," which included a "jealous dislike" for the decorum of the Episcopal church in this country.\textsuperscript{126} Young also did not hesitate to defend Unitarianism against accusations that it was not adapted to common people. According to Young, opponents of Unitarianism often pointed out that Jesus especially cared

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  \item \textsuperscript{122}Neale, 48; for an explanation of nineteenth-century German theology, see Tim Dowley et al., eds., \textit{Eerdmans' Handbook to the History of Christianity} (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1977), 540-43.
  \item \textsuperscript{123}Baron Stow, \textit{Daily Manna for Christian Pilgrims} (Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1845).
  \item \textsuperscript{124}Gannett and Ellis, \textit{Commemorative Discourses}, 2; Rev. Chandler Robbins, "Alexander Young," 244.
  \item \textsuperscript{125}Alexander Young, \textit{Congregationalism Vindicated[:]} A Discourse Delivered at the Dudleian Lecture, in the Chapel of Harvard College, May 13, 1846 (Boston: William Crosby and Henry P. Nichols, 1846).
  \item \textsuperscript{126}Gannett and Ellis, \textit{Commemorative Discourses}, 3.
\end{itemize}
for the masses, and for the illiterate and poor, contrasted against the elitism and wealth found in the Unitarian churches.\textsuperscript{127} Young argued that reformation in theology usually began with the thoughtful and well-informed, then spread throughout the community.\textsuperscript{128} He further defended Unitarianism as simple (not mysterious as was the teaching of the Trinity), reasonable, scriptural, and practical. He concluded that

If [Unitarianism] has not yet made its way among [the common people], it is because it has not been preached to them at all, or has been preached to them injudiciously and feebly, or has been misrepresented and slandered in their hearing by its enemies.\textsuperscript{129}

Dr. Young was elected a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College in 1837.\textsuperscript{130} However, an act passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1851 annulled a previous statute which provided for the placement of Christian ministers on the Board. The decision resulted in the termination of Young's membership in 1853. Young strongly opposed the action, "and regarded it as prejudicial to the interests of the College."\textsuperscript{131} One could surmise it

\textsuperscript{127}Alexander Young, "Evangelical Unitarianism Adapted to the Poor and Unlearned" (Boston: Gray and Bowen, 1830), in \textit{Discourses on Various Occasions by Alexander Young} (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1845), 3-4.

\textsuperscript{128}Young, \textit{Evangelical Unitarianism}, 5.

\textsuperscript{129}Young, \textit{Evangelical Unitarianism}, 20.

\textsuperscript{130}Gannett and Ellis, \textit{Commemorative Discourses}, 33.

\textsuperscript{131}Gannett and Ellis, 34.
was the criticism that Unitarians controlled the state-supported institution which led to the change of policy.\textsuperscript{132}

Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop of the Committee felt the effects of religious differences when considering an invitation to become pastor of the First Church of Beverly, after his graduation from the Divinity School at Cambridge in 1828. Lothrop declined the position due to diversity of religious opinion in the parish, and opposition by a large minority to the settlement of anyone who was not Orthodox.\textsuperscript{133} When Lothrop settled into his long-time pastorate at the Church in Brattle Square in Boston, he kept within the bounds of conventional Unitarianism; he felt that the more liberal Ralph Waldo Emerson "gave the first check" to the progress of the movement, and Theodore Parker, "dealt it a blow from which it never recovered."\textsuperscript{134}

In 1838, Lothrop entered the ring of those who spoke against Abner Kneeland, the controversial journalist who was prosecuted and imprisoned for the alleged crime of blasphemy.\textsuperscript{135} Though acknowledging Kneeland's liberty to

\textsuperscript{132}See Chapter 2, 93-95.

\textsuperscript{133}Peabody, "Samuel K. Lothrop," 164.

\textsuperscript{134}Eliot, "Samuel Kirkland Lothrop," 3:226. Lothrop maintained this view of Emerson, notwithstanding the fact that Emerson had been his tutor at an earlier age. See p. 195.

\textsuperscript{135}Samuel K. Lothrop, The Nature and Extent of Religious Liberty: A Sermon Preached at the Church in Brattle Square, on Sunday Morning, June 17, 1838 (Boston:
call himself an atheist, Lothrop contended that his atheism would be beyond its proper limits were he "to speak to the heart of the community, to corrupt and mislead it, were he to speak to the passions of the community, to inflame and pervert them. . . ."\textsuperscript{136} Lothrop's sermon brought a scathing review by a previous candidate for the School Committee, David Henshaw. Henshaw had originally been elected to the School Committee in 1837, but due to charges of improper election procedures, was replaced by George Bartlett.\textsuperscript{137} In reference to Lothrop, Henshaw stated, "He who attempts to restrain, by penal laws the liberty of the press is no true friend to moral and religious improvement—he is a bigot, and an egotist, if not an ignoramus."\textsuperscript{138}

Lothrop's professional peer and fellow School Committee member, Samuel Barrett, held the distinction of being the pastor of the Twelfth Congregational Society at

Printed by I. R. Butts, 1838). For more concerning the controversy surrounding Abner Kneeland and Lothrop's reaction against him, see Chapter 2, 90-92.

\textsuperscript{136}Lothrop, 15.

\textsuperscript{137}See Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 9 May 1837; and "Remonstrance, Henry Williams, & al., Apr. Election of D. Henshaw, Esq." in the papers of the Boston School Committee, 1837; both in the Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.

Boston beginning February, 1825. Some distinguished liberal Christians, including Henry Ware and William Channing, undertook the building of this new church in 1824, so that it became the first Unitarian Society in Boston which was not derived from once conservative congregations. Like Lothrop, Barrett complied with the nascent Unitarian movement in Boston, which professed belief in the unity of God, and the death of Christ as a godlike example rather than a substitutionary sacrifice.

Barrett did not hesitate to speak out on controversial religious issues, for Pray's memoir tells us that "while special care was taken to spare individuals and avoid personalities, theological errors and false views of religion were boldly refuted and sternly rebuked."

Entering upon the stage of life when the Unitarian controversy was in full progress and development, . . . his decision was in favor of Liberal Christianity.

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139 The position was first offered to Rev. Alexander Young, also a member of the 1837 Boston School Committee, but he declined for another position offered him at the time. See Lewis G. Pray, Memoir of the Rev. Samuel Barrett, D.D., with a Selected Series of His Discourses (Boston: William V. Spencer, 1867), 14.

140 Samuel Barrett, Two Discourses Preached in the Twelfth Congregational Church, Sunday, February 10, 1850, on the Completion of the Twentyfifth Year of His Ministry (Boston: Printed by Tuttle and Dennett, 1850), 5.

141 Samuel Barrett, What Thinkest Thou?: A Sermon, Preached in the Twelfth Congregational Church, Boston, Sunday, March 5, 1843 (Boston: Printed by Tuttle and Dennett, 1843), 17, 20.

142 Pray, Samuel Barrett, 32.
While, therefore, on the one hand, the pure light of the gospel, "the truth as it is in Jesus," permeated his mind and heart with a joy unspeakable; so, on the other, the popular or prevailing errors in theology filled him with a sadness most profound, and against which his whole nature seemed to rebel. Ever uppermost in thought, therefore, was the obligation of every Christian to aid in the diffusion of the one, and to eradicate and limit, as far as possible, the life and influence of the other.  

For Barrett, religion was not to be left out of the schools. He showed "a strong faith in popular education, especially of the moral and spiritual nature of the young." His interest led him to lay the foundations of a Sunday school at Boston. In a discourse of his later years, Barrett gave specific guidelines for the moral education of youth.

Support of Moral Causes

As was pointed out previously, the School Committee members for 1837 took a part in numerous community organizations, many of which supported the moral and religious causes of the day. Existing memoirs have noted the benevolent giving to such causes by some of the members;

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143Pray, 29.

144Pray, Samuel Barrett, 25.


146See the summary list on pp. 201-02, as well as Appendix C.
Philip Marett upon death left a fortune to be used on behalf of hospitalization, education, the infirm poor, orphans, and the mentally ill.¹⁴⁷

One of the prominent moral crusades of the times was the call to abstinence from alcohol, or "temperance."¹⁴⁸ It should be noted again that, whether for political reasons or out of true concern, Frederick Emerson turned to the temperance issue when seeking Horace Mann's approval of his arithmetic texts.¹⁴⁹ Temperance was a matter which the entire School Committee was called upon to support. In response to a letter signed by Horace Mann and representatives of various temperance societies, the School Committee voted to dismiss students on the last Tuesday in February, 1837, in order to attend the Juvenile Temperance Meeting at the Odeon.¹⁵⁰

Anti-slavery and the conditions of the black people were also growing issues in ante-bellum New England.

¹⁴⁷For example, see Peabody, Another Tribute (Henry Bromfield Rogers); Baldwin, "Philip Marett," 85-87; Ellis, Edward Wigglesworth," 5-6.

¹⁴⁸See Chapter 2, 100, in reference to the temperance movement.

¹⁴⁹Regarding Emerson's efforts to inculcate temperance in his arithmetic texts, see p. 202.

¹⁵⁰Horace Mann, et al., to Samuel Eliot and the Boston School Committee, 15 February 1837, in the papers of the Boston School Committee for 1837, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library. The request was ordered by the School Committee on 23 February 1837.
Although Blacks were free in Boston during the 1830's, reformers prompted concern for the Blacks' particular needs and the establishment of the Smith School for black students in 1835. The School Committee's reports on the Smith School suggested a condescending though concerned attitude. Justin Field, on behalf of the Committee inspecting the Writing Schools in 1835 stated, "The Smith School is believed to be doing as well as could be expected." Edward Wigglesworth, for the Smith Grammar School in 1837 recorded that 91 of 165 students were in attendance the day of the inspection, and added, "The school consists mostly of the children of very poor & degraded persons." The examining committee praised the headmaster of the school for his efforts.

Rev. Samuel Lothrop was noted for welcoming blacks within his congregation. A memoir of Lothrop recounted how the pastor brought Darby Vassal, a former slave, down from what was called the "negro-loft" above the organ to a

151 See Chapter 2, 98, regarding the establishment of the Smith school.

152 "Writing Schools—Annual Examination, Report of Committee," 11 August 1835, in the loose papers of the Boston School Committee for 1835, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.

153 "Grammar Schools Annual Report," August 1837, in the papers of the Boston School Committee for 1837, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.

comfortable seat beside the pulpit. Lothrop's church, the Church in Brattle Square, financially supported Vassall in his latter years.  

As the abolitionist movement gained strength in Massachusetts, School Committee members voiced their support of the Northern cause. Samuel A. Eliot, although in favor of abolition and working for Black causes, sought a compromise, fearing the outbreak of civil war. Other Committee members strongly favored the freeing of the slaves, including Henry B. Rogers and Rev. Alexander Young, but even more so, Rev. Baron Stow. The Baptist clergyman wrote a letter to Horace Mann, giving accolades for the latter's speech on the introduction of slavery into free territory: "Such a plea for God's poor will surely be recognized and blessed by Him whose attributes are all on the side of the oppressed." Stow was among the sixteen pastors who signed a letter to the clergy of Massachusetts,

155Peabody, 169.

156See Chapter 2, 96-99, regarding the abolitionist movement in Boston.

157See p. 185, regarding Eliot's position on slavery while in the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

158Rogers, "Reflections on the Death of Channing;" Gannett, Discourse at the Funeral of Rev. Young, 17.

159Baron Stow, Boston to Horace Mann, 28 July 1848, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
enlisting financial support for settlers in Kansas struggling to keep it a free state.  

Not to be forgotten among the several moral crusades of the day, which the School Committee supported, was public education. Indeed, Samuel Eliot called the "cause of education, the most important cause for America, & if for America, for the world."  

A prominent moral issue before the School Committee was the place and degree of corporal punishment in the schools. Even before the conflict between Horace Mann and the Boston schoolmasters regarding corporal punishment in 1844, the School Committee of 1837 voiced views which were almost prophetic of Mann's. Representing committees examining the schools, Perry, Stow, and Conolly among other School Committee members presented reports which expressed

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160 Charles Lowell et al., Boston, to the clergy of Massachusetts, 28 June 1856, Theodore Parker Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. Signatures also included that of Rollin H. Neale, Baptist pastor on the School Committee in 1845, and those of pastors from the Unitarian, Universalist, Methodist, and Trinitarian Congregational churches.

161 See Chapter 2, 103; also, Chapter 3, 104-08.


163 See Chapter 3, 144-48. The signature of Marshall Sears Perry was also among those of the friends of Mann in a letter pledging their support to the Secretary of the Board of Education during the crisis with the schoolmasters. See Tribute . . .[from supporting friends], Boston, to Horace Mann, 13 January 1845, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
desires that teachers curtail corporal punishment. In its place Conolly proposed the use of moral persuasion, citing the Hawes School as an illustration of the truth that a school can be effectually sustained & governed on other principles than those of the restraints and fears of corporal punishment. An appeal is made to the reason of moral sense of the pupil and is seldom found to fail in its continual influence over their conduct & deportment.

The seriousness of the Committee's concern is best illustrated by what was apparently a worksheet for the wording of a proposed resolution:

Resolved as the opinion of this board that corporeal punishment being in its very essence addressed to the lowest elements of our nature and only necessary when the disposition of the child has been so far brutalized by improper influences that his moral feelings have become blunted, if not destroyed. It is therefore . . . strictly enjoined upon the several instructors of the Public Schools never to make use of corporeal punishment until every other means of influencing the pupil shall first have failed, . . .

A final, crossed-out statement at the end of the note referred to corporal discipline as "a punishment fitted only for brutes and for such natures as approach to them."

164 See Papers of the Boston School Committee for 1837, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library, Boston.

165 "Quarterly Report of the Sub-Committee Appointed for the Hawes School," 14 February 1837, Papers of the Boston School Committee for 1837, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.

166 No title or date is given for this note in the papers of the School Committee.
Musical Interests

Samuel A. Eliot's dual role as a member of the Boston School Committee of 1837 and a member of the Boston Academy of Music culminated in the strategic position as both president of the Academy and chairman of the School Committee, vital in the movement to place music in the schools.¹⁶⁷ Eliot's appraisal of music in the petition of 1836 to the School Committee, as well as in public speeches and journals has already been noted.¹⁶⁸ Eliot's grandson related that his grandfather acquired a sensitive love of music and skill in singing while traveling and studying in Europe.¹⁶⁹ After returning to America, Eliot led the music at King's Chapel,¹⁷⁰ and contributed to the choir's singing with his bass voice.¹⁷¹

Memoirs and letters of several members of the School Committee for 1837 reveal passing comments as to their interest in music. The writer of Martin Gay's obituary recorded that the doctor "had a lively sensibility to the

¹⁶⁷ Concerning Eliot's involvement in both organizations, see Chapter 1, 2-3.

¹⁶⁸ See Chapter 1, 9; and Chapter 4, 165-66, 174, 179.

¹⁶⁹ Eliot, "Being Mayor of Boston," 159.


charms of music," and taste for "the beautiful in nature and art . . . cultivated during his travels in Europe . . . ."\textsuperscript{172}
Likewise, memorialists wrote that Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop was "alive to all in nature and in art that is grand or beautiful,"\textsuperscript{173} and that Rev. Alexander Young "loved music, painting, [and] sweet poetry . . . ."\textsuperscript{174} Rev. Baron Stow, along with Rev. S. F. Smith, edited \textit{The Psalmist}, a hymnbook universally used by the Baptist churches of New England around the middle of the century.\textsuperscript{175}

Rev. Samuel Barrett expressed his appreciation of the power of music in his discourse on the completion of the twenty-fifth year of his ministry in 1850.\textsuperscript{176} His words concerning the effect of "certain combinations of sound" are reminiscent of those by Thomas Kemper Davis, concerning the

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{172}"Dr. Martin Gay," \textit{Boston Daily Advertiser}, 28 January 1850, 2.

\textsuperscript{173}Peabody, "Samuel K. Lothrop," 171.

\textsuperscript{174}George E. Ellis [Pastor of Harvard Church, Charlestown], \textit{A Sermon Preached in the Church on Church Green, Boston, on Sunday, March 26, 1854, Being the Sunday After the Interment of the Rev. Alexander Young, D.D., Late Pastor of the New South Church} (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Company, 1854), 24.

\textsuperscript{175}Rollin Heber Neale, D.D., \textit{An Address Delivered on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of the First Baptist Church, Boston, June 7, 1865} (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1865), 38.

\textsuperscript{176}Samuel Barrett, \textit{Two Discourses Preached in the Twelfth Congregational Church, Sunday, February 10, 1850, On the Completion of the Twenty-fifth Year of His Ministry} (Boston: Printed by Tuttle and Dennett, 1850).
\end{footnotesize}
"necessary concordance" between "certain sounds and certain
trains of moral feeling," in his report to the School
Committee in 1837:177

All ages and nations have sanctioned the use of music,
as a help to devotion. Our nature is so constituted,
that certain thoughts and feelings of the mind are
awakened, as well as expressed, by certain combinations
of sound; . . . Church music has a higher end than to
produce admiration, to extort praise, or even to be
enjoyed. Its legitimate function is to excite and
elevate while it gives utterance to the religious
sentiment, . . . .178

Edward Wigglesworth left still more in writing
about music and the arts. A manuscript speech by
Wigglesworth in the Harvard University Archives discloses
his high evaluation of music in the expressive style of his
day.179 The speech has no title, but Wigglesworth
addressed, in his own words, the "gentlemen of the Musical
Society." Like Davis and Eliot, Wigglesworth drew upon
classical literature for his description of music:

The same animated feeling which prompted men to express
themselves with energy of tone, stile and sentiment,
naturally led them to adapt their language to song. . .
. Thus Apollo[,] one of the twelve celestial dieties,
was stiled by the Romans, . . . a harper or poet,
because music and poetry in early periods of association
made one and the same profession.180

177For the full quote by Davis, see Chapter 1, 5.

178Barrett, Two Discourses, 17.

179Edward Wigglesworth, Address to the gentlemen of
the Musical Society, Clippings on Edward Wigglesworth (Class
of 1822), Archives, Pusey Library, Harvard University,
Cambridge.

180Wigglesworth, 4-5.
Mercury is said to have been the inventor of the lyre. . . after he had stolen some bulls from Apollo, . . . he cut several thongs out of the hides he had stolen, fastened them on the shell of the tortoise, and playing with his fingers diverted himself with a kind of music which he had never before heard.\textsuperscript{181}

How highly must [music] have been esteemed by the Grecians, when it was reckoned among the noble qualities of one of their greatest heroes. Epaminondas was not more brave in battle, than skilful in touching the musical string.\textsuperscript{182}

As with other writers of his time, Wigglesworth considered music to have originated with God, for the purpose that man would more effectively worship Him:

It was given to man by his Creator, as an assistant to his tongue. . . . It appears to have been first designed for religion; more properly because it inspires the mind with lively sentiments, exalts it to gratitude and love, prepares it to adore and praise, to sing the greatness of God and proclaim the wonders of his power.\textsuperscript{183}

No less than others, Wigglesworth believed in the moral power of music, which "renders man more capable of discipline, inclines him to humanity, and gives him a relish for virtue."\textsuperscript{184}

In closing, Wigglesworth called upon his listeners to employ music in their lives:

If music be an art so agreeable and useful, I have the confidence that you will still esteem it as worthy your attention. May you cultivate it as that art which

\textsuperscript{181}Wigglesworth, 5-6.
\textsuperscript{182}Wigglesworth, 10.
\textsuperscript{183}Wigglesworth, 9.
\textsuperscript{184}Wigglesworth, 10.
effects the soul by the powers of harmony, in order to excite or assuage the passions according to reason. Cultivated in this manner, it adds a dignity and pleasure to public and social worship, it lifts the soul to heaven, and prepares it for the duties of devotion. It gives a charm to prosperity, sweetens the bitter cup of affliction, forms the heart to friendship, relieves the mind from the fatigues of laborious study. Thus you will find it no less advantageous to the cause of science, than conducive to the pleasure of life.  

Summary

Members of the Boston School Committee for 1837 typically came from families of high social status, which long had ruled as the leadership of the city. Other writers have noted this elite class among the ante-bellum Bostonians, calling them "Proper Bostonians," or a "Brahmin" class, who in their civic positions, took the role of an aristocratic oligarchy. This elite group of men included merchants of modest wealth, and prestigious families, descendants of the Puritan patriarchs or of the patriots of the Revolution. They were lawyers and attorneys, medical doctors, and clergymen who still held the respected position

166Wigglesworth, 11.


167Schultz, The Culture Factory, 134.
in the community cultivated by their Puritan predecessors.\textsuperscript{188}

According to Formisano, Bostonians politically favored their "Brahmins" during the first half of the nineteenth century. The adult male population showed their participation by occasional voting in elections, while keeping "deferential attitudes toward a recognized elite of wealth, status, and talent," a style of politics Formisano labelled "deferential-participant."\textsuperscript{189} In the 1830's, when the rise of middle-class interests gave birth to the Whig and Democratic parties throughout the nation, the elite of Boston, predominantly Whigs, retained their prominent role in the affairs of the city.\textsuperscript{190}

Close family ties and social interdependence of the elite provided a structure of accountability which demanded integrity in business and the benevolent use of wealth. Goodman uses an example in the life of one of the School Committee members to illustrate this attitude of prosperity with dignity:

Trade was honorable because it sharpened one's faculties and trained one's character. Samuel Eliot advised his son to pursue "those paths that will best conduce to the

\textsuperscript{188}Jaher, "The Politics of the Boston Brahmins," 62, 73; Schultz, 134.

\textsuperscript{189}Formisano, 30.

\textsuperscript{190}Formisano, 51-52.
establishment of your character as a gentleman, a man of
honour, the moralist, and the Christian."\textsuperscript{191}

That nine of the Committee members being considered were
Unitarian reflects the fact that Proper Bostonians usually
did embrace that fashionable denomination. Jaher tells us
that in Boston,

Liberal Christian ministers saved the souls of the upper
class at King’s Chapel and the Brattle and Federal
Street Churches; Unitarian scholars informed the
community and deepened their wisdom at Harvard and The
Boston Athenaeum and through The North American Review.
. . . Unitarian pastors, professors and pundits stood
guard over the cultural bailiwick of Brahmin Boston.\textsuperscript{192}

The churches Jaher mentioned were part of the daily lives of
several of the Boston School Committee members. Committee
member, Samuel K. Lothrop, was pastor of the Brattle Street
Church, Marshall Sears Perry and Edward Wigglesworth were
communicants in the Federal Street Church, and Philip
Marett, Henry B. Rogers, and Samuel A. Eliot attended King’s
Chapel. George Bartlett also attended King’s Chapel after
1851.\textsuperscript{193}

\textsuperscript{191}Goodman, "Ethics and Enterprise," 440, quoting from [Mary L. Eliot], Samuel Eliot, 1739-1820 (Boston, 1869), 171. This Samuel Eliot was father of Samuel Atkins
Eliot, the mayor of Boston and chairman of the School
Committee in 1837. See Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds.
Dictionary of American Biography, vol. 6 (New York: Charles
Scribner’s Sons, 1931), s.v. "Samuel Atkins Eliot," by
Claude M. Fuess.


\textsuperscript{193}See Ezra Gannett, The Physician: A Sermon
Delivered in the Freeman-Place Chapel, Before the Federal
Street Congregation, After the Death of Marshall Sears
Perry, M.D. (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Company, 1859),
It was natural that the wealthy civic leaders supported Harvard, as the majority of them graduated from the college themselves. All but five of the nineteen men who voted on school music September 19, 1837, were graduates of Harvard. Barrett, Young, and Stow were later on the Board of Overseers of the institution, and Eliot became its treasurer.

Accompanying that academic tie was the classical scholarship and culture that characterized the upper class. "During the first half of the nineteenth century, Boston earned a reputation as the Athens of America, the republic's foremost patron of the arts, renowned for an extraordinary number of intellectuals, poets, novelists, historians, scientists, preachers and educators." 

194Jaher, 63.

195See Quinquennial Catalogue of Harvard University. Philip Marett, Simon W. Robinson, Frederick Emerson, Justin Field, and Horace L. Conolly did not attend Harvard. Marett attended Yale and Conolly, Bowdoin College; the colleges of the other three men are not known.


That the School Committee members, like others of their time, accepted the perspectives on music held by the ancient Greeks, is evident in the writings of Eliot and Wigglesworth. Intrinsic to music was a potential to elevate morality and stimulate the spiritual side of man without stirring up sectarian differences. Those differences had too often culminated in disputes over the place of religion in the schools and left their negative impact on education. The Committee members sought a unifying factor in hope that popular education would yet hold the key to the redemption of society, and they saw in music a companion to that end.
CHAPTER VI

WHO'S WHO ON THE BOSTON SCHOOL COMMITTEE OF 1845:
KEY PLAYERS AND RESPONSES IN THE
DISMISSAL OF LOWELL MASON

On November 25, 1844, a little less than a year before Lowell Mason was replaced as Master of Music in the Boston schools, H. W. Day, editor of The American Journal of Music and Musical Visitor, launched a series of journalistic attacks on Mason. As was noted in Chapter One, several researchers have already presented many of the facts concerning Day's accusations and the ensuing dismissal of Mason from the schools. However, in order to understand the full context of the School Committee's role in those events, some of the facts previously disclosed will be repeated in this chapter.

Flueckiger has brought out that Day's first charge focused on the fear of Mason's teaching being "managed in a sectarian manner":

Mr. Mason is a Congregationalist, and every school, or the teaching of music in every school, is in the hands of Congregationalist teachers, except one, and he, a Unitarian—Mr. (Benjamin F.) Baker, who was for some cause dismissed. But the hornets flew around and he was restored. The teachers are all employed by Mr. Mason, and we do not think that there is much effort made to secure men the most experienced, but rather such as are pledged to one narrow system of teaching, and such as will sell one man’s books—such as are under one man’s thumb.

There are certainly Methodist and Baptist teachers, and such as make no particular religious professions, who are truly able and competent to teach, but they are not employed.

In the months which followed, Day accused Mason of undue financial gain, and attacked his methods of teaching.

According to Flueckiger, Day was a singing school teacher of Boston, and a compiler of tune books. It would be a logical conclusion then, that Day’s animosities may have stemmed from a spirit of jealous competition. One could also wonder if Day exerted any influence upon the members of the Committee on Music who were responsible for dismissing Mason. Existing records for the members of the Committee on Music do not reveal any relationships with Day. An investigation of Day’s own background and contacts would be warranted, but falls outside the scope of this dissertation. Nevertheless, some clues may exist in

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3 Flueckiger, 20–21.

4 Flueckiger, 20.
comparing Day’s accusations with reasons given by the Committee on Music for their decision concerning Mason, a matter which will be considered in the pages which follow.5

The Dismissal of Lowell Mason

The decision to dismiss Lowell Mason on September 11, 1845 initially rested in the hands of the Committee on Music, a three member subcommittee of the Boston School Committee.6 The three members of the Committee on Music were Charles Gordon, William J. Dale, and John Turner Sargent.7 Gordon, the Chairman of the Committee, was not in favor of dismissing Mason, rather, the decision to do so and to put Benjamin F. Baker in Mason’s place, was made by Dale and Sargent.6

Little can be found concerning the backgrounds of Gordon and Dale. Both men were doctors who received their

5See the comparison of Sargent and Day’s statements on pp. 246-50.

6See the letter from Charles Gordon to Lowell Mason, 11 September 1845, in the loose papers of the Boston School Committee for 1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library. Gordon begins his comments to Mason, “At a meeting of the Committee on Music, held on this day, . . . .” The letter is labelled “copy.” Apparently, the original is no longer extant.

7See Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1842-1845, in the Rare Book Room of the Boston Public Library, 186.

8See Boston Atlas, October 13, 1845.

Dale came from a respected family; both of his grandfathers fought in the Revolutionary War, and his father was a surgeon for the army in the War of 1812. Like his father and grandfathers, Dale later served in the military, and acted as Surgeon-General of Massachusetts in the Civil War.

The religious denominations of Dale and Gordon could not definitely be determined. Gordon’s attendance at

Stimpson’s Boston Directory, 1844, s.v. "Charles Gordon"; Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates (of Harvard University), 1636-1920 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1920), s.v. "Charles Gordon"; Brown University, Historical Catalogue, 1764-1904 (Providence, Rhode Island; Brown University, 1905), 155; [Harvard University], "William Johnson Dale," Memorials of the Class of 1837, 1887, 87. The Boston Evening Transcript of November 5, 1896 gives the brief obituary of William J. Dale, Jr., apparently the son of William Johnson Dale, who did not die until October 7, 1903 (See Boston Evening Transcript, October 7, 1903). As extant information on the latter Dale shows him to be a prominent figure in Boston, and as school records indicate no "Jr." after the name, it is evident that he was the one who served on the School Committee. Also, the Boston Atlas refers to "Dr. Dale" in the articles dealing with the dismissal of Lowell Mason. See Boston Atlas, 13 October 1845.

Quinquennial Catalogue [of Harvard University], s.v. "Charles Gordon."

[Harvard University], 87.

Although I searched for information regarding Dale and Gordon in six libraries in eastern Massachusetts which were thought to be most likely to have it, the religious affiliations of Dale and Gordon were not found.
Brown University may suggest that he came from an orthodox background, for Arthur B. Darling's *Political Changes in Massachusetts, 1824-1828* indicates that Brown was often patronized by orthodox families. However, there were exceptions to that trend, so that it cannot be concluded that Gordon, like Mason, was necessarily orthodox. H. W. Day wrote that Gordon was "Mr. Mason's particular friend," but if so, no extant evidence indicates the cause for that friendship.

On September 13, 1845, Mason wrote to Gordon, indicating his surprise at the action taken by the Committee on Music, and seeking further explanation:

May I be permitted to ask the reason why I am not continued in the office? In particular has there been any want of ability, faithfulness, fidelity, gentlemanly

The libraries at which either personal research or inquiry were made were the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Boston Public Library, Harvard University, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Boston Athenæum, and the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts.

13Brown University in Rhode Island rose from Baptist and Quaker roots, and was more convenient to Boston geographically than Yale, the leading orthodox higher institution of New England. Darling writes that orthodox families with moderate means, often sent their children to Brown. However, that category included such men as Horace Mann, who, contrary to his family background, took a clearly Liberal stance. See Arthur B. Darling, *Political Changes in Massachusetts, 1824-1848: A Study of Liberal Movements in Politics* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1925), 28.

conduct towards Committee or Teachers, or kindness towards the pupils? or have I in any instance failed to give satisfaction? Or is there any charge against me affecting my professional or moral character?  

Gordon responded the same day on behalf of the Committee on Music, stating that the Committee did not charge Mason with lack of ability, or in any way which concerned his professional or moral character; they were "fully satisfied" with the manner in which Mason had carried out his duties. Gordon acknowledged:

I have to say, that the only reason given at the meeting of the Committee was, that, as you had held the office for several years, and had enjoyed its benefits so long, it was proper to give to Mr[.] Baker, who was represented to be a distinguished and successful teacher of music, the encouragement of the office.  

Gordon was seeking to interpret the reasons of Sargent and Dale for their decision. However, it is apparent that Gordon himself did not fully understand the motives of his fellow members of the Committee on Music. For, according to the Boston Atlas, Sargent and Dale made public statements before the School Committee that their chairman "was mistaken in the motives which he assigned to his colleagues,  

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15Lowell] Mason, Boston, to Dr. Chas. Gordon, 13 September 1845, Papers of the Boston School Committee for 1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library. This letter, as well as the reply which follows from Gordon in the text above, are clearly marked "copy." The originals are apparently no longer extant.

16Charles Gordon to Lowell Mason, 13 September 1845, Papers of the Boston School Committee for 1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library, Boston. This letter was marked "copy." The original apparently is no longer extant.
for making the change." Rather than offering encouragement to a new teacher, the two men made the change with the "belief that the public service would be benefitted."¹⁷ No reason is given as to why it was thought the "public service would be benefitted." Perhaps Dale and Sargent thought that better instruction in music would be given by Benjamin Baker. However, the Boston Atlas does not indicate that the two Committee members denied Gordon's affirmation to Mason that they were "fully satisfied" with the manner in which he had discharged his duties.

On the same day that Gordon replied to Mason on behalf of the Committee on Music, Sargent also wrote to Mason, giving three reasons for the action he and Dale had taken. The reasons were founded partly on some suspicion of favoritism on your part in the selection of your assistants; a question whether those assistants were the best, all things considered, and a conviction, that, other things being equal, some rotation, or exchange of their offices might be desirable.¹⁸

I will speak to each of these charges in order.

Sargent's first reason, the suspicion that Mason showed favoritism in the selection of his assistants, sounds very much like H. W. Day's initial attack on Mason in

¹⁷Boston Atlas, 13 October 1845.

November, 1844. Day expressed the fear that Mason had hired his assistants in a sectarian manner, choosing all Congregationalists, except for Benjamin Baker, a Unitarian, who was briefly fired and then rehired. It was Baker whom Sargent and Dale later chose to replace Mason as Superintendent of Music in the Boston schools. Perhaps Sargent felt "the public service would be benefitted" by removing from the schools an Orthodox sectarian policy held by Mason in the choosing of his assistants.

No documents are available which clearly indicate a friendship between Sargent and Baker. However, Sargent was a Unitarian minister-at-large, and *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* indicates that Baker, also a Unitarian, was director of music in several Boston churches from 1839 to 1863. At the time of Mason's dismissal, Baker directed music at the prominent Federal Street Church, where Sargent had received his ordination in October of

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19 See Chapter 1, 35-36, regarding Day's accusations.

1837.\(^{21}\) In light of Sargent and Baker's active involvement within the same denomination, and their ties particularly to the Federal Street Church, it is not unlikely that they knew each other through that common association.

As was alluded to in Chapter One, James C. Johnson, one of Mason's assistants in 1845, had given his own brief account of Mason's dismissal fifty years after the fact.\(^{22}\) Johnson told how two young music teachers, "by shrewd political management," succeeded in "ousting Lowell Mason and his helpers, and introducing themselves in their places."\(^{23}\) Wilson suggested that the two teachers of whom Johnson spoke were Benjamin Baker and Isaac Woodbury, who became one of Baker's assistants after he assumed the superintendence of music in the schools.\(^{24}\) From Johnson's statement, it would appear that Baker did take some


\(^{22}\)See Chapter 1, 39, in regard to Flueckiger's reference to J. C. Johnson.


\(^{24}\)Wilson tells how Baker and Woodbury became leaders in the musical convention which rivaled that led by Lowell Mason. See Chapter 1, 19.
initiative, perhaps in approaching Sargent and Dale regarding the position of Master of Music in the schools. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that H. W. Day also had drawn attention to Baker as Mason's sole non-Congregational (Unitarian) assistant, almost a year before Mason's dismissal, and Sargent, similarly to Day, charged Mason with favoritism in the hiring of his assistants. What relationship Day and Sargent may have had to one another is a matter which remains unknown.

Sargent's second reason given to Mason for his dismissal again echoed H. W. Day's accusations. Sargent questioned "whether [Mason's] assistants were the best, all things considered," and Day had doubted that there was much effort made "to secure men the most experienced." The quality of personnel in the Boston schools was indeed an issue of the day. Horace Mann had endured a bitter conflict with thirty-one Boston schoolmasters, resulting in his efforts to affect a change in the school staff by way of the School Committee of 1845. However, Bruce Wilson briefly considered those who were known to have been Mason's assistants before 1845, and concluded that they "far

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29 See Chapter 3, 145-51 regarding the dispute with the Boston schoolmasters.
exceeded any reasonable expectation of capability."  The quality of Mason’s assistants has never been treated as a separate topic, and more research on those assistants remains to be done in order to confirm Wilson’s conclusion.  

Sargent’s third cause for dismissing Mason, a conviction that “other things being equal, some rotation . . . might be desirable,” leaves ample room for interpretation. In actuality, this reason was not a reason at all, but merely a declaration of Sargent’s desire that Mason be dismissed.

Sargent’s answers to Mason were similar to H. W. Day’s accusations almost a year earlier. Both began with the suspicion that Mason had shown favoritism in hiring his assistants. In both cases, the questioning of the quality of those assistants was placed second, following the charge of favoritism.

Did Sargent’s first reason suggest the same sectarian bias in Mason that Day had indicated? Is there


28In a telephone conversation with Bruce Wilson during the early stages of research for this dissertation, Wilson himself suggested that a study of the life of Artemas N. Johnson, one of Mason’s assistants, was a topic worthy of investigation.
any evidence that Sargent particularly hated orthodox sectarianism so that he would have strongly reacted against such alleged behavior in Mason? A consideration of Sargent’s background will show that he not only despised such conservative stances in his day, but that he looked forward to the time when they would be eliminated.

Sargent’s Religious Background and the Orthodoxy of Lowell Mason

John Turner Sargent graduated from Harvard in 1827, and from the Divinity School at Cambridge in 1830. Although born into wealth, Sargent began his career as a minister-at-large by invitation of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, a Unitarian ministry to the poor. His commission was to gather members for a new congregation, and he started in 1837 with a Sunday school of twenty-three children and six teachers. The same year, Sargent received ordination in Dr. William E. Channing’s church, the Federal Street Church, where two years later, Benjamin Baker

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30 In Memoriam, "Wendell Phillips’ Tribute," 4; For an explanation of the Fraternity of Churches, see Chapter 2, 102.

began serving as director of music. Sargent's young church grew, and was dedicated as the Suffolk Street Chapel in 1840.

John T. Sargent's pastorate at Suffolk Street Chapel took a controversial turn on November 17, 1844, when Sargent exchanged pulpits with a fellow Unitarian pastor, Rev. Theodore Parker of West Roxbury. Parker, whose theological views tended in the direction of transcendentalism, had fallen out of favor with Boston's Unitarian leadership. Sargent's exchange with Parker aroused so much opposition that Sargent was forced by the Fraternity of Churches to choose between changing his policy toward Parker or resigning his pastorate. He chose the latter. Sargent's resignation took effect on January 1, 1845, approximately eight months before his vote to

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32Sargent, Ministry at Suffolk St. Chapel, 9; F. O. Jones, A Handbook of American Music and Musicians, 1886, s.v. "Benjamin F. Baker"; The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography also states that Baker was conductor of music "in several churches in that city from 1839 to 1863, being connected with Dr. Channing's church for nearly eighteen years."

33Sargent, Ministry at Suffolk St. Chapel, 11, 13-14, 36.

34Sargent, Ministry at Suffolk St. Chapel, 4.

35See Chapter 2, 87-88, regarding Parker's views and response to them.

36John T. Sargent, Obstacles to the Truth: A Sermon Preached in Hollis Street Church, on Sunday Morning, Dec. 8, 1844 (Boston: Samuel N. Dickinson, 1845), 17-20.

37Sargent, Obstacles to the Truth, 20.
replace Lowell Mason with Benjamin Baker as Master of Music in the schools of Boston. The executive committee of the Fraternity of Churches, which opposed Sargent's exchange with Parker, was composed of J. I. T. Coolidge, a member of the Boston School Committee of 1845, and Henry B. Rogers, a member of the School Committee of 1837. Samuel K. Lothrop, another member of the School Committee of 1837, was also among the five men accepting Sargent's resignation on behalf of the Fraternity of Churches.38

Although Sargent did not fully agree with Parker on all doctrinal matters,39 he had adopted the policy of allowing any other preachers into his pulpit who had hearts "filled with a religious sympathy" and minds "alive with a desire to do good."40 Sargent called the course taken by the Fraternity of Churches a "sectarian policy which it seems Unitarians, as well as others, are now obliged to practice."41 To Sargent, Parker was the natural by-product of the Unitarians' first principles:

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38Sargent, Obstacles to the Truth, 20. The letters exchanged between Sargent and the Fraternity of Churches are presented as an appendix to this sermon, but do not indicate how the individuals of the Fraternity of Churches voted.

39Sargent, Obstacles to the Truth, 19.

40Sargent, Ministry at Suffolk St. Chapel, 11.

Unitarianism began with a solemn protest against all exclusiveness. . . arrogance and dogmatism. . . Mr. Parker has now become, as it were, the embodiment of Ultra Unitarianism; . . . the full harvest of a liberal theory, run up to seed. . . In his researches he has come, as it were, to the vast cave of unfrequented truth; and, though his voice may ring there like the report of an overloaded gun, we must hear it, and stand the fire as we can, though it be to us as the crack of our doom as a denomination. 42

Sargent's attitudes were tolerant toward liberal thinking, but further investigation reveals Sargent's strong distaste for such Calvinistic views as those held by Mason, views which Sargent considered rigid and intolerant. In a sermon delivered during the time of Sargent's contentions with the Fraternity of Churches, the minister of Suffolk St. cited the inculcation of Calvinistic catechism43 as exemplifying one "obstacle to the truth":

42[Sargent], True Position of Theodore Parker, 21-22.

43Sargent specifies the "old Assembly's Catechism," referring to the teachings of the Westminster Assembly of 17th century England. Ahlstrom writes that the Savoy Declaration, based on the Westminster Confession, after 1708, "stood as the official symbol of American Congregationalism for nearly two hundred years." The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, describes the Shorter Catechism: It "opens with the well-known question and answer: 'What is the chief end of man?' 'Man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever.' Its didactic usefulness is increased by its method, since the answer always embodies the question and forms a sentence complete in itself. It has been in regular use among Congregationalists and Baptists as well as Presbyterians." See Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 131, 160, 163; F. L. Cross, ed., The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), s.v. "Westminster Catechisms."
The first I shall mention is the rigid and constraining influence of early education, or indoctrination, that frost-work of preconceived opinions, which has crystallized and formed around us ever since we first began to recite the old Assembly's Catechism at our grandfather's fireside, and whose doctrines we have never dared to think could be any thing else or less than gospel truth. We received our creed lessons and sectarian tenets... with something like a revulsion, just as we received the medicine which the doctor said was good for us. Our nurses and parents moulded the articles of our belief upon us some how, as savage tribes are said to force the skulls and features of their children into unnatural shapes by compression, and the wonder is that either we or the savages have any brains, or intellects, or freedom left, after such constraining processes.  

Sargent recalled how the orthodox had resisted the liberal movement, but that resistance had only served to make people the more interested:

The ministers of orthodoxy said—"You may not hear these infidels. On your peril you must not!" The people replied,—"As to that, we ourselves will be the judges. We take the risk." And so they went and did hear, and were edified, and Unitarianism grew!

Sargent completed his depiction of orthodoxy by predicting a time when "every such impediment to the progress of truth" would be destroyed:

The sound of drills is abroad among the rocks and the barriers which selfishness and bigotry have built up. As yet they may not ring as loud as the old church bells, that summon the credulous to the oft-repeated story of rigid dogmas, but their steady strokes have the music of a reform... We may throw upon the powder the dampness of our distrust, but the blast will come; it will come; and when it comes be assured the

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"John T. Sargent, Obstacles to the Truth: A Sermon Preached in Hollis Street Church, on Sunday Morning, Dec. 8, 1844 (Boston: Samuel N. Dickinson, 1845), 4-5.

"Sargent, Obstacles to the Truth, 9."
explosion will be thorough and tremendous. It will
shake the old citadel of ultra-conservatism to its
center. It will blow into a thousand fragments many of
those cherished but erroneous opinions to which men have
clung so long as to their life. . . . Old doctrines
which the fathers revered are giving place to more
rational views. Articles of the church, which, in
former days were esteemed as fundamental, are now
exploded or so modified as scarcely to be known.\footnote{46}

In contrast to the views of Sargent, Lowell Mason
held to the "old doctrines which the fathers reverenced."
Many of the conservative religious views of Mason have
already been set forth in Chapter One.\footnote{47} Other excerpts
from writings during the early and latter days of Mason's
adult life reveal his consistent faithfulness to the most
conservative orthodox doctrines; Mason's early pleas to his
brothers concerning their salvation are given as an example:

. . . let the thought of future punishment induce you to
leave the service of Satan for a better master. Learn
to explore this scourer of your disease, even Sin,---
awake to a sense of its danger and enquire in earnest
"What you shall do." You will soon be led to perceive
that "although a man cannot be just with God," yet
["The Son of man is come to seek and save that which
was lost," . . . My brothers--- you are rebels against
God, Sinners by nature, Sinners by practice--- you have
broken the laws of your God, trampled on his grace---
and are now exposed to eternal death.--- You can do
nothing to recommend yourselves to God--- You cannot
save yourselves,--- Christ is the door by which you must
enter--- "Knock and it shall be opened unto you" . . .
\footnote{48}

\footnote{46Sargent, Obstacles to the Truth, 14-15.}

\footnote{47See Chapter 1, 43-47.}

\footnote{48Lowell Mason, Savannah, to Father, Mother, Sister
& Brothers, 8 July 1814, Mason Papers, Beinecke Rare Book
and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven,
Connecticut.
Fifty-six years later, Mason again expressed concern for the eternal welfare of one of his brothers, though with a more gentle approach:

And how is it dear Bro. . . . with you? As you draw near to the banks of the river do you feel ready to brave the waves of Jordan,--- I mean not in your own strength, but in the strength and under the guidance & support of the Heavenly Pilot, on whom we may most safely rely? I hope it is so with you, . . . .49

In similar manner to the examples above, diary entries from Mason's travels in Europe during 1837, record the musician's frequent appraisals of the spiritual condition of those around him, and at times, his conversations with those people regarding their spiritual welfare.50

49Lowell Mason, Orange, N. J., to his brother, 24 December 1870, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Room, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (typewritten copy).

50Note the following entries for example. From May 7, 1837: "I had this morning a very pleasant conversation with Mr. Sturges—who appears to have much feeling similar to my own on religious subjects." May 13, 1837: "Conversed to day with Mr. Anderson on dangerous tendency of his present course & advised him by all means to leave off all drink that intoxicates as his only hope. May the Lord bless it to his good." Also see Lowell Mason, Diary "No. 1, First Visit to Europe," 3 May 1837, 10 May 1837. An additional appraisal from Mason's second diary echoes still more strongly his religious reflections concerning those around him: "There is on board a Mr. Neill, a young clergyman, . . . He is the only man on board so far as I know who has any feelings on religion similar to my own. A Mr. Baker from Providence seems to be one of the worst men that ever I saw—forward to speak—forward to drink & to do whatever is wrong. From some remarks he has made I suppose him an open infidel. . . . It is but little short of hell to a man who fears God, loves the Bible, & respects the Sabbath to be in such Company." See Diary "No. 2, First Visit to Europe," 22 October 1837, AMs, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. From the
A study, then, of Mason's religious beliefs and behavior discloses a conservatism which Sargent wished to see destroyed. Like Mason, Sargent had been assailed on the basis of religious issues. H. W. Day had accused Mason of conservative sectarian policies. Sargent, on the other hand, was rebuked for his liberal tendencies on the basis of what Sargent called a "sectarian policy." As a result, Sargent was forced to leave his position. In light of these facts, Sargent's explanation to Mason that he suspected him of showing "favoritism," appears more specifically to signify "sectarianism," especially since Sargent's reasons show a marked parallel to the accusations which came from the pen of H. W. Day.

Another observation is that John T. Sargent, noted for both his artistic talent and gift of expression in verse, was a writer of hymn texts, some of which were included in his own ordination service and the dedication of Suffolk Street Chapel.\(^1\) Day arranged hymn tunes, and it

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same diary, note also 18 July 1837, 23 October 1837. In all fairness to Mason, it should also be said that, while he disagreed doctrinally with such denominations as the Roman Catholics, he greatly appreciated external devotion shown in their forms of worship, and wished for more of it in the Congregational churches. See Diary "No. 2, First Visit to Europe," 1 August 1847, 6 August 1837.

\(^1\)In Memoriam, 13; Sargent, Ministry at Suffolk St. Chapel, 36. A sample stanza follows:

Again, O God, we raise the song,
Imploring now thy grace to bless;
Here let our lips thy praise prolong,
may be that the two men knew each other through that common interest, an interest also held by Lowell Mason.\textsuperscript{52}

\textbf{Mason's Dismissal Goes Before the School Committee}

After the Committee on Music made its decision to replace Mason with Benjamin F. Baker, School Committee members Samuel G. Howe, Dr. Ezra Palmer, Jr., and William Brigham requested a special meeting in which the decision of the Committee on Music was addressed.\textsuperscript{53} The minutes of the special meeting which took place on October 8, 1845, give only an abbreviated outline of proceedings. No discussion is included, and none of the decisions made reflect any moves toward reinstating Mason.

At the beginning of the meeting, Palmer read a communication from Mason,

complaining of his "unexpected & unjust dismissal from the office of master of music of the grammar schools, by the committee on music" and asking that measures be taken to cause such an investigation of the circumstances as will place the matter in a proper light, before the public, & to enable him to meet the

\begin{center}
While here a Saviour we confess;  
O kindle now the sacred fire  
Of holy faith and pure desire.
\end{center}


\textsuperscript{52}Day arranged and harmonized a collection of hymns selected by Rollin H. Neale, another pastor on the School Committee of 1845. See pp. 279-80.

\textsuperscript{53}Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1842-1845, 5 October 1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.
charges, if there are any, and save his professional character from essential injury.$^4$

Palmer moved that the communication be referred to a special committee, but the motion was tabled.$^5$ The Committee then amended its rules so that the Committee on Music thereafter would nominate a master of music to the board as a whole, rather than directly select him themselves. The only other items included in the minutes of the meeting which related to Mason's request was a resolution

That the sentiments expressive of confidence in the integrity and competency [sic] of the late master of music, Mr. Lowell Mason contained in the note, from the Chairman of the committee on music, dated September 13, 1845, to that gentleman, are hereby fully endorsed by this board.$^6$

An additional resolution was made that a copy of the above resolution would be sent to Mason by the Secretary for the Committee, S. F. McCleary. The "note... dated September 13" referred to that by Gordon previously cited in this chapter,$^7$ and a copy of it was included at the end of the minutes, before the notice of adjournment.

$^4$Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1842-1845, 8 October 1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.

$^5$Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1842-1845, 8 October 1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.

$^6$Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1842-1845, 8 October 1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.

$^7$See p. 245, footnote 16.
What little evidence there is, indicates that Ezra Palmer, Jr., a doctor and graduate from the medical school at Harvard, was the main Committee member who tried to turn Committee action in Mason's favor. It may be that Palmer was a friend of Mason's through a common church affiliation. Boston church records list an Ezra Palmer, apparently the School Committee member's father, who was active in the establishment of new Trinitarian Congregational churches during the first half of the nineteenth century. Representatives from older churches of the denomination


Dr. Ezra Palmer, Jr. was born in 1808. Ezra Palmer (Sr.) was a member of Park Street Church from 1813 until 1825, when he became a charter member of the Hanover Street Church. After a move due to fire, Hanover Street Church was called the Bowdoin Street Church, and was pastored by Rev. Lyman Beecher. In 1827, at approximately the time Mason came to Boston to lead music at Hanover Street, Ezra Palmer once again took the role of a charter member, this time of Salem Church. Palmer returned his membership to Park Street in 1848. Several orthodox churches, including Park Street, came together to instigate Hanover Street Church. Both Hanover Street and Park Street were among the churches which formed Salem Church. See Carol Ann Pemberton, "Lowell Mason; His Life and Work" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Minnesota, 1971), 119, 127; The Articles of Faith, and the Covenant, of Park Street Church, Boston, with a List of the Members (Boston: Press of T. R. Marvin, 1841); The Articles of Faith and Covenant of the Bowdoin Street Church, Boston, with a List of the Members (Boston: Press of T. R. Marvin, 1843); The Articles of Faith, and Covenant, of the Salem Church, Boston, with a List of the Members (Boston: Printed by Geo. W. Light, 1838); all of the above located in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
would combine efforts to establish a new congregation. As the elder Palmer and Lowell Mason were both active in the same circle of orthodox churches, particularly the Park Street and Hanover Street churches, it is feasible that members of the Palmer family were well-known to Mason. However, no writings clearly showing ties between Mason and Ezra Palmer, Jr. are extant. Before attending medical school at Harvard, the younger Palmer graduated from Yale, the stronghold of orthodox teachings during that era. That fact supports the likelihood that Ezra Palmer, Jr., like his father, was orthodox. However, neither record of membership or baptism for Ezra Palmer, Jr. could be found.

An example is the establishment of the Salem Church, for which a council met in the vestry of the Park Street Church. The council included representatives from such congregations as Park Street, Hanover Street, and Union churches. See Articles of Faith, and Covenant, of the Salem Church. The Hanover Street Church had been instigated by Park Street, Old South, and Union churches. See The Articles of Faith and Covenant of the Bowdoin Street Church.

Mason’s involvement in these churches is chronicled in Chapter 1, 45-46. Of incidental interest is the fact that William C. Woodbridge, who initially stirred support for the cause of music in the schools, and Lowell Mason both joined Hanover Street Church in 1834. See The Articles of Faith and Covenant of the Bowdoin Street Church, Boston. With a List of the Members (Boston: Press of T. R. Marvin, 1843), 36-37.

Palmer failed to persuade the School Committee to make any further investigation into the dismissal of Mason, a fact which raises some questions. Were there any religious politics which explain the inaction of the School Committee regarding Lowell Mason? What were the religious affiliations of the Committee members? What relationships did Committee members have to Lowell Mason? In order to answer these questions, the circumstances and backgrounds of those members present at the meeting of October 8, 1845 must be examined.

Political Tensions Within and Outside the School Committee

Some peculiar factors surround the accounts which record who actually attended the special meeting of October 8. The official minutes of the School Committee indicate that Peleg Chandler, President of the Common Council, was acting as chairman in place of Mayor Thomas A. Davis, who was absent due to illness; of the twenty-four other

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3Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1842-1845, 16 January 1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library, regarding the transfer of duties from Mayor Davis to Peleg Chandler. The absence of Davis probably was unfortunate for Mason. Church records indicate that in 1825, Davis became a member of Hanover Street Church, which Mason joined in 1834. Both had previously been members of Park Street Church. In 1835, Davis, along with Artemas N. Johnson and George F. Root, two of Mason's assistants, became an original member of Franklin Street Church, which was renamed the Central Congregational Church in 1841. Mason joined Central in 1844. In the founding of the Franklin Church, male "members of Evangelical Congregational Churches in the city, in concert with the Boston Academy of
members, all were present "except Messrs. Phinney, Parsons, Hague, Young, and Howe." Even though the minutes do not give a detailed description of the meeting, a public dispute arose over the causes of Mason's dismissal. This dispute was articulated in writing between the Boston Atlas and the Mercantile Journal. The Boston Atlas, in refuting claims made in the Mercantile Journal, gave this account which is contrary to the minutes:

But, says the Journal, the letter of the chairman (i.e. Gordon), . . . "has been endorsed by the whole Board." This is not the fact. There are twenty-six members of the Board, and only eight members voted for the resolution in question. There was not even a quorum present when the vote was taken. Two members did not...


Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1842-1845, 8 October 1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library. Assuming the minutes are correct, it was unfortunate for Mason that Thomas A. Davis and Theophilus Parsons were not present at the meeting, since both men are listed as members of the Boston Academy of Music in 1837. See Boston Academy of Music, Fifth Annual Report of the Boston Academy of Music, Read at the Anniversary Meeting, in the Odeon, May, 1837 (Boston: Printed by Perkins and Marvin, 1837), 12.

vote at all,—and three voted against the resolution, and twelve, exclusive of the Mayor, were absent.  

Bruce Wilson, in his dissertation, noted the discrepancy concerning the number of members present, and concluded that "unless six members left the meeting before this resolution came to a vote, the subsequent contention that twelve members were absent on October 8 appears to be false."  

However, Wilson did not consider the fact that the editor of the Boston Atlas, which specifically enumerated the voting of the School Committee, was Thomas M. Brewer, himself a member of the Committee. The official minutes of the School Committee indicated that Brewer was present at the meeting. The writer of the article in the Boston Atlas did not appear to be one who would make rash claims, for earlier in the article he stated, "With regard to the propriety or expediency of the change, we have nothing to say, for the simple reason that we have not sufficient information as to 

---Boston Atlas, 13 October 1845. Few copies of this edition of the Boston Atlas are still extant. The author located this edition in the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. However, the same article is included as part of the review of the entire affair in [H. W. Day], "Mr. Mason and the Public Schools," American Journal of Music and Musical Visitor, 4 (30 November 1845): 123. 


the reality of grounds on which it was made, to justify us in hazarding an opinion."

Thomas Mayo Brewer, the grandson of a Revolutionary patriot, had graduated from the Harvard Medical School in 1838, and began a career as a physician. However, Brewer had inclinations toward literature and politics, and according to Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, became editor of the Boston Atlas, a leading Whig newspaper, in 1840. A memorialist of Brewer remarked that in his capacity as editor, Brewer displayed a "marked ability as a writer and close observer." Although a physician and newspaper editor, Brewer made his most lasting published contributions in the fields of ornithology and oölogy; one of his works, North American Oölogy formed a part of the Smithsonian contributions to knowledge.

The memorialist writing on behalf of Harvard alumni stated that Brewer "was greatly esteemed; his warm sympathy, his loyalty to friends, and to convictions of truth and

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"Boston Atlas, 13 October 1845.


71 [Harvard University], "Thomas Mayo Brewer," 32; Appleton's American Biography, 1:s.v. "Thomas Mayo Brewer."

72 [Harvard University], "Thomas Mayo Brewer," 32.

73 [Harvard University], "Thomas Mayo Brewer," 33.
duty, were marked traits in his character." If that memorialist was correct concerning Brewer’s truthfulness and abilities of observation, it would seem such a precise description as was given in the Boston Atlas of the voting at the meeting on October 8 would be true and accurate. However, no other writings confirm that account. Nor is there any known record of Brewer’s religious affiliation, or indication that he knew Mason personally. One is left with the conclusion that either the detailed account in the Boston Atlas was a lie, some of the Committee members left the meeting before the vote, or S. F. McCleary, the Secretary recording the minutes of the meeting, gave an inaccurate report. A future investigation, then, of McCleary’s background and friendships would be warranted. Nevertheless, as the official minutes are the only extant record indicating the specific School Committee members present at the meeting of October 8, those are the members who are being considered in this chapter.

Another intriguing point is that William Brigham and Samuel G. Howe, the two men who, with Ezra Palmer, Jr., signed the request for the special meeting, were the very two Committee members who are known to have been part of

74[Harvard University], "Thomas Mayo Brewer," 33.

75At the end of the minutes for the meeting, one finds “Attest, S. F. McCleary, Secretary.” Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1842-45, 8 October 1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.
Horace Mann’s attempts to bring a “revolution” in the School Committee of 1845. However, the minutes for the meeting indicate that Howe, himself, did not attend.

Brigham was among the many friends of Horace Mann who signed a letter of support to the Secretary of the Board of Education during the controversy with the Boston schoolmasters. After his graduation from Harvard in 1829, Brigham entered law as his life’s profession. Brigham served as an Overseer of Harvard College, an attorney before the Supreme Court of the United States in 1847, and senator in the Massachusetts Senate in 1866.

*See Chapter 3, 149-52.*

Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1842-1845, 8 October 1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.

Josiah Quincy et al., Boston, to Horace Mann, 13 January 1845, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. Also note Brigham’s friendship with Mann in a letter of 1850, in which Brigham discussed national politics and praised an anti-slavery speech delivered by Mann. William Brigham, Boston, to Horace Mann, 25 November 1850, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

Notice of a meeting of the Board of Overseers, Clippings on William Brigham (Class of 1829), Archives, Pusey Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.


Unidentified newspaper clipping, 9 July 1869, Clippings on William Brigham (Class of 1829), Archives, Pusey Library, Harvard University, Cambridge; Robbins, 281.
An unidentified newspaper clipping in the Harvard Archives tells that William Brigham "took a strong interest in ... the progress of the religious denomination and parish to which he belonged." Unfortunately, the writer did not indicate to which denomination he was referring. However, Brigham contributed the article "Chronicle of the Pilgrim Fathers" to the Christian Examiner, a Unitarian publication, which leads one to assume that Brigham belonged to that denomination.

As has been presented in Chapter Three, Mann's desire to see a change in the School Committee followed an attack by thirty-one Boston schoolmasters on Mann's educational policies. The conflict, which began in 1844 and extended into 1845, often carried with it religious overtones, so much so that Mann feared the whole controversy might become a sectarian movement to overthrow the Board of Education.

One of the issues between Mann and the schoolmasters also entangled John Odin, Jr., one of the School Committee

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Unidentified newspaper clipping, 9 July 1869, Clippings on William Brigham (Class of 1829), Archives, Pusey Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

William Cushing, Index to the Christian Examiner.

See Mann's specific statement in Chapter 3, 147-48.
members for 1845. Odin was a physician whose prominent public service led him to be elected to the Common Council of Boston and the Massachusetts House of Representatives in the 1850's.

The conflict between Odin and the schoolmasters concerned the manner in which school children should be taught to read. In its Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report of the Hon. Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, the Association of Masters mentioned a case which occurred in a primary school under the immediate jurisdiction of Odin. The schoolmasters

"[Association of Masters of the Boston Public Schools], Report of a Committee of the Association of Masters of the Boston Public Schools, on a Letter from Dr. John Odin, Jr., and In Relation to a Report of the Special Committee of the Primary School Board (Boston: William A. Hall & Co., Printers, 1845).


"See Chapter 3, 145, footnote 130.

"[Association of Masters of the Boston Public Schools], Report on Letter from John Odin, 3. Odin served on both School Committee which oversaw the Grammar and Writing Schools, and the Primary School Committee which supervised the youngest level of students in the Primary schools. See Joseph M. Wightman, Annals of the Boston Primary School Committee, from Its First Establishment in 1818, to Its Dissolution in 1855 (Boston: George C. Rand &
used the case in a dispute whether or not reading should be
taught by learning words before letters, a heated issue in
the controversy with Mann. The case was as follows:

A girl, in her tenth year, presented herself for
admission into one of the Grammar Schools, with a
certificate of qualification from the district [Primary
School] committee. The master gave her to read, the
sentence beginning with the words, "Now if Christ be
preached," &c. The third word, she called "Jesus," and
persisted in saying it was so pronounced. . . . The
letter m she called "man." She was sent to the
assistant teachers of the school, who found her totally
ignorant of the alphabet. The master sent her back to
the Primary School with her certificate endorsed: "Not
qualified; can be admitted only by authority of the sub-
committee of the Grammar School."* The

The Association's presentation of the case cast a negative
light on the sub-committee of the Primary School Board of
which Odin was a member. Odin wrote a letter to the
Association of Masters, declaring the masters'
representation of the case untrue, and demanding the public
retraction of their statements." According to the masters,
Odin also gave his own rendition of the case, saying that

Avery, City Printers, 1860), 208.

* [Association of Masters of the Boston Public
Schools], Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report of the Hon.
Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of
Education (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown,
1844), 99, in [Association of Masters of the Boston Public
Schools], Report on Letter from John Odin, 4.

" [Association of Masters of the Public Schools of
Boston], Report on Letter from John Odin, 3.
the girl committed errors due to a confused state of mind when laboring under embarrassment.\footnote{[Association of Masters of the Public Schools of Boston], Report on Letter from John Odin, 7.}

Such disputes and others prompted Horace Mann to enlist S. G. Howe in an attempt to alter the membership of the School Committee in 1845. Mann hoped that by doing so he could bring changes in personnel among the Boston schoolmasters and reforms within the schools.

Perhaps the attempted reform which brought the most public reaction was the annual examination of the schools in 1845.\footnote{A more extended account of the annual examinations in the context of the controversies with Horace Mann is in Chapter 3, 152-55.} The written examinations, devised by Howe and administered by School Committee members Howe, Parsons, Neale, Brigham, Graves, and Coolidge, were criticized for their difficulty and viewed by some as a deliberate attempt to make the schools and their masters look bad. The suspicions regarding the examinations caused distrust and quarrels even among the members of the School Committee itself. The Boston Daily Times gives the synopsis of the School Committee meeting in which "one of those silly, unprofitable and unbusiness-like discussions" led to "a violent altercation." The article added the comment: "If such be the course of our intellectual leaders and of our educational guardians, what will be the course of those who
graduate from institutions over which they preside." In response to the agitation, Howe and Brigham promoted an order that a committee inquire into the circumstances surrounding the examinations; on the other hand, Ezra Palmer, Jr. and Frederick Emerson wished to get on with the election of teachers, the matter for which the meeting had been called.

It is critical to realize that tensions over the reform movement were prevalent at the same time that the episode of Mason's removal from the schools occurred. The Boston Daily Times published accounts of public concern about the examinations and the unrest among the School Committee on September 1, 1845, only ten days before the Committee on Music voted to dismiss Lowell Mason. It may have been that Howe and Brigham were eager to sign the request for the special meeting of October 8 to avoid the appearance that their efforts at reform were in any way related to the decision by the Committee on Music. That the minutes indicate Howe did not actually come to the meeting

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93 "Meeting of the School Committee," Boston Daily Times, 1 September 1845.

94 "Meeting of the School Committee," Boston Daily Times, 1 September 1845. See also a quote from the article in Chapter 3, 154-55.

95 The Committee on Music voted to dismiss Mason on September 11, 1845. See p. 242, footnote 6.
also causes one to wonder at his motives for giving his signature.

Flueckiger has noted that the results of the annual examinations were a "rude shock" to the Bostonians. He stated that the "glaring defects" revealed in the school system may have put the School Committee "on edge and more susceptible to the agitation by Baker, Day and their confrères." However, Flueckiger never showed the history of political pressures and religious tensions which were contributing to anxieties of the Boston community concerning public education. The magnitude of criticisms being hurled at the School Committee at the time provides a plausible reason why the Committee would have been hesitant to reveal further internal dissensions, such as in the case of Lowell Mason's dismissal. Still, one wonders if those dissensions among Committee members reflected deep-rooted religious differences which contributed to their response to sectarian accusations surrounding Mason's case. With such religious-political tensions already impending, would the Committee members have wished to be more aggressive in their actions regarding Mason or to have avoided conflict? Did their acquaintance with Mason or lack of personal relationship to him affect their response?

**Samuel L. Flueckiger, "Why Lowell Mason Left the Boston Schools," Music Educators Journal 22 (February 1936): 23."
Religious Interests and Relationships to Mason

Establishing the religious affiliation of the School Committee members who attended the special meeting of October 8, 1845 is a difficult task. The known Unitarians were Sidney Bartlett, J. I. T. Coolidge (who later turned Episcopalian), John T. Sargent, and Edward Wigglesworth. Alvan Simonds was an Orthodox Congregationalist; Hiram A. Graves and Rollin H. Neale were Baptists. There had been a similar representation of these denominations among the Committee members who voted to try the experiment of music in the schools in 1837. Unlike the School Committee in 1837, the School Committee of 1845 included a Universalist, Sebastian Streeter, and a Swedenborgian, Peleg W. Chandler. Unfortunately, the religious affiliation of eleven of the members being considered cannot be definitely determined. Those members are James H. Barnes, Thomas M. Brewer, William Brigham, Henry G. Clark, William J. Dale (Committee on Music), Frederick Emerson, Charles Gordon (Committee on Music), Winslow Lewis, Jr., John Odin, Jr., Ezra Palmer, Jr., and Aurelius D. Parker. Nevertheless, the pages which follow give evidence that the School Committee members for 1845 held a conspicuous interest in

*See Chapter 5, 204 for the comparison.

**These two religious denominations are explained in Chapter 2, 84-86.
religious matters. That proof is seen by the number of clergymen on the Committee, and the laymen among them whose involvements and printed works reflected deep involvement in religious concerns.

Clergymen

Five of those who attended the October 8 meeting made religion a profession. John Sargent and J. I. T. Coolidge were Unitarian clergymen, Hiram A. Graves and Rollin H. Neale led Baptist congregations, and Sebastian Streeter pastored a Universalist church. John T. Sargent's background has already been discussed at length.

Coolidge. Sargent once said that if a pastor came to a change of views during the course of his studies, he had better not tell his people so, or "farewell" would be the only word left to pass between them. That comment seems prophetic of his fellow clergyman on the School Committee, James Ivers Trecothick Coolidge, who eventually

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99In addition to these five, there were two other pastors on the Committee who did not attend the meeting: William Hague, a Baptist, and Alexander Young, a Unitarian. Both were also on the School Committee of 1837, although Hague was not present for the meetings on either occasion being considered in this dissertation. See Stimpson's Boston Directory, 1837 and 1845; Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1837-1841, 19 September 1845; 1842-1845, 8 October 1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.

100John T. Sargent, Obstacles to the Truth: A Sermon Preached in Hollis Street Church, on Sunday Morning, Dec. 8, 1844 (Boston: Samuel N. Dickinson, Printer, 1845), 6.
left a Unitarian pastorate to become a member and priest of
the Episcopal church.\textsuperscript{101}

Born in 1817, Coolidge was only in his late twenties
when he served on the School Committee.\textsuperscript{102} After graduating
from the Harvard Divinity School in 1841, he began his
career as a Unitarian pastor at the Thirteenth
Congregational Church in 1842. However, in the years which
followed, Coolidge's study of the Bible brought him to
conclusions which certain members of his congregation saw
as incompatible with Unitarianism.\textsuperscript{103} Coolidge, sorry to
leave old friends, nevertheless found joy in his new
convictions and resigned his pastorate to join the
Episcopal church in 1858.\textsuperscript{104}

In the farewell discourse to his Unitarian
congregation, Coolidge revealed his orthodox beliefs, much
like those of Lowell Mason. Coolidge explained that the
thoughts which led to changes in his theological position
began when he was still in the Harvard Divinity School. He
had been assigned the theme: "What is the meaning and

\textsuperscript{101}(Harvard University,) General Catalogue of the
Divinity School of Harvard University, 1910 (Cambridge:
Published by the University, 1910), 53.

\textsuperscript{102}(Harvard University), 53.

\textsuperscript{103}James Iver Trescothick Coolidge, A Farewell
Discourse Delivered at the Thirteenth Congregational Church,
on Occasion of Resigning His Charge, Sunday, July 4, 1858,
2d ed. (Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1858), 7-13, 21.

\textsuperscript{104}(Harvard), Catalogue of the Divinity School, 53.
efficacy of the death of Christ?" 105 Although Coolidge wrote down the views he received from his early training, he said that he had recurring doubts as to whether those views were commensurate with Jesus' own words concerning his death and its efficacy. Coolidge's questions persisted until he concluded "Jesus Christ, whatever his nature might be," was not at all equal to mere men, but was one to be worshipped. In calling Him "Master and Lord," Coolidge took a stance which reflected the orthodox view of conversion. 106

During the years which followed in Coolidge's initial pastorate, his study of the Bible led him to three major doctrines which were clearly orthodox and contrary to his previous beliefs: 1) that man was universally alienated from God by his sin, 2) that Christ, as the incarnation of God, reconciled man and God by his death, and 3) that the Bible was a unified book which authoritatively proclaimed the history of that reconciliation between God and men. 107 According to Coolidge, many of his parishioners followed him in his new persuasions, and he would have been ready to

105 J. I. T. Coolidge, A Farewell Discourse Delivered at the Thirteenth Congregational Church, on Occasion of Resigning His Charge, Sunday, July 4, 1858, 2d ed. (Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1858), 7. Coolidge graduated from the Divinity School at Cambridge in 1841. See [Harvard University], Quinquennial Catalogue, s.v. "J. Ivers Trecothick Coolidge."

106 Coolidge, Farewell Discourse, 8.

continue leading the congregation without a denominational name, but others would not allow it. So, Coolidge said his farewells.108

Thus, J. I. T. Coolidge evidenced a reversal of the trends earlier in the century, which gave birth to Unitarianism out of what had once been an orthodox consensus. Although Coolidge was Unitarian in name, his views would probably have caused him to favor Lowell Mason theologically. However, no records suggest their friendship or acquaintance.

Neale. Rollin Heber Neale, a Baptist clergyman, grew from poor and difficult beginnings in Southington, Connecticut.109 Both of Neale's parents had died by the time he was fifteen, and the young teenager would have been left without means to complete his education, had it not been for a group of Baptist pastors who took a particular interest in him. Through their financial help and concern,


Neale attended Columbia College in Washington, D. C., from which he graduated in 1830.  

While at Columbia, Neale began preaching among the Blacks, with whom he also co-laborated, at a lumber yard during vacation periods. His inclination toward pastoral ministries eventually led him to attend Newton Theological Seminary, and to accept the leadership of various Baptist churches. His most prominent pastorate began in 1837 at First Baptist Church of Boston, where he remained for forty years.

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111 J. D. F., "Crayon Sketches."

112 Cathcart, The Baptist Encyclopaedia, 830.

113 Cathcart, 830. The article in the Christian Era, "Crayon Sketches of Distinguished Living Baptist Ministers," tells of Neale's leading an unnamed church in New Haven, Connecticut following his training at Newton. However, a clipping found in the back pocket of an address on the two hundredth anniversary of First Baptist Church in Boston states that the claim that Neale pastored a church in New Haven was a mistake. See "Pastoral Biography," in back pocket of Rollin Heber Neale, D.D., An Address Delivered on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of the First Baptist Church, Boston, June 7, 1865 (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1865).
The small beginnings which Neale had experienced were reversed later in life. The Baptist Encyclopaedia characterizes Neale's role in the Boston community:

He always took an interest in public affairs, and from the pulpit expressed his views upon the great moral questions of the day. . . . while he held a very warm place in the hearts of his own brethren in the ministry, he had the respect and affection of the clerical profession of all denominations in Boston and its vicinity.114

Neale's popularity as a preacher is reflected in the fact that he was cited for selecting the hymns to be included in Revival Hymns, a work which was commonly known as Neale's Revival Hymns.115 The collection was arranged and harmonized by none other than H. W. Day, the editor whose journalistic accusations against Lowell Mason began in 1844.116 Current records of Neale's life do not indicate the extent of contact between Neale and Day. However, as

114Cathcart, 830.

115H. W. Day, Revival Hymns; Principally Selected by the Rev. R. H. Neale: Set to Some of the Most Familiar and Useful Revival Tunes, Many of Which Have Never Before Been Published (Boston: Published at the Musical Visitor Office by Hartley Wood, 1842).

116Neale's enjoyment of hymn singing is suggested in an unidentified newspaper clipping inserted between the pages of his Address Delivered on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of the First Baptist Church, located in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. In the article, the writer speaks of spending a few weeks of the summer in Toronto with Dr. Caldicott, a pastor formerly residing in Roxbury, Massachusetts. The writer recounts evenings spent with families from the church in Toronto: "Good singing and playing on the piano follow, and the evening closes with reading the Scriptures and prayer. The article is initialed "R. H. N.,” supposedly Rollin H. Neale.
Mason was noted for his prominence in hymn writing, the volume to which Neale's name was attached may have been in competition with similar works by Mason. Whether Neale gained financial benefits from sales of the hymnal is not known, but there were few associates Neale could have chosen who were greater enemies of Mason than H. W. Day.

A modern perspective on Baptist traditions might cause one to think Neale held conservative attitudes similar to Mason. But publications of the day stated the opposite, as a writer for the Christian Era said of Neale:

He is not a conservative. He has kept abreast of every moral question without being ranked as a radical. . . . In this regard his life is a mystery. He might have been a banner chieftain in the cause of reform. He is not.\textsuperscript{117}

Neale, as a prominent Baptist clergyman, served on the Board of Overseers of Harvard from 1856 to 1868.\textsuperscript{118}

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\textsuperscript{117}J. D. F., "Crayon Sketches," 28 February 1867.
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\textsuperscript{118}Neale's affiliation with Harvard seems incongruous to a poem written by a fellow Baptist about him. The poem, written to immortalize an event in Neale's life when he was a student at Newton Seminary, suggests that Neale and his comrade, Samuel Swaim, looked negatively on the liberal movement which had taken place at Harvard. The account tells of the two students walking home from a religious meeting:

And musing as they passed along
Where Harvard's shadows fell,
They wondered if that ancient shrine
Had not a tale to tell

Of gifts misused, once offered there
In honor of His name,
Who, veiled in human form, upon
The plains of Bethlehem came.
\end{flushright}
Further, the institution at Cambridge conferred upon Neale an honorary Doctor of Sacred Theology degree in 1857.\textsuperscript{119}

In his sermon entitled, "Religious Liberty," Neale declared that "religion is strictly an individual affair." Indeed, the Baptist pastor further gave room to the transcendentalists, the progressive religious thinkers of the day, saying: "Our policy and our safety consist in simply standing out of their adventurous way, and giving them as wide a range as possible.\textsuperscript{120}

In the same sermon, Neale proclaimed that the American free-school system owed its prosperity, and even its very existence to a spirit of religious freedom. According to Neale, the exclusion of sectarianism from the schools was as it ought to be. He further rejoiced that

See "The Hungry Students" ["Read by Henry S. Washburn, at the recent festival of the Boston Baptist Social Union"], clipping in the back pocket of Rollin Heber Neale, An Address Delivered on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of the First Baptist Church, Boston, June 7, 1865 (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1865), Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

\textsuperscript{119} The degree of Doctor of Divinity also was conferred upon him by Brown University in 1850. See [Harvard University], Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates, 1636-1920 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1920), s.v. "Rollin Heber Neale"; Cathcart, 830.

\textsuperscript{120} Rollin H. Neale, Religious Liberty: A Sermon Delivered Before His Excellency George S. Boutwell, Governor, His Honor Henry W. Cushman, Lieutenant Governor, the Honorable Council, and the Legislature of Massachusetts, at the Annual Election, January 8, 1852 (Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, State Printers, 1852), 12. See Chapter 2, 86-88, in regard to transcendentalism.
teachers were chosen according to their ability to instruct in the usual branches of popular education, rather than because of their church affiliation or religious creed.\textsuperscript{121}

This stand against sectarianism in the schools, which Neale stated seven years after Mason's dismissal, was in opposition to what had been the alleged policies of Mason, and may suggest how Neale voted on October 8, 1845. Whether for this reason, or for the pleasure of lessening Mason's influence in selling hymnals, it could have been to Neale's benefit to leave the decision of the Committee on Music as it was.

Graves. Committee member Hiram A. Graves showed a brilliant intellect at a young age, so much so that he was said to have read through the New Testament at age four.\textsuperscript{122} His early literary and religious interests continued throughout his life, especially after his conversion at age thirteen.

Upon graduating from Middlebury College in 1834, Graves suffered from asthma to the extent that he was

\textsuperscript{121}Neale, Religious Liberty, 22-23.

\textsuperscript{122}William Sprague, D.D., Annals of the American Pulpit; or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations, from the Early Settlement of the Country to the Close of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-Five, with Historical Introductions, vol. 6 (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1860), 823.
unable to pursue a regular course of theological study. Nevertheless, friends urged him to attempt preaching. His efforts led to licensing by the Baptist Church in Ludlow, Vermont in 1835, and pastorates at other Baptist churches followed at Springfield and Lynn, Massachusetts. However, Graves continued to struggle with his health and considered himself too feeble to justify continuing pastoral work.

In 1842, Graves left for Boston, where he became editor of the Christian Reflector, a religious weekly newspaper. In the three or four years in which Graves oversaw that publication, the Reflector gained a wide audience.

In his capacity as an editor, Graves showed tolerance toward other denominations. The Christian Reflector held a journalistic contest for which a committee of scholarly Baptists were chosen as judges. Graves, as editor, perused a small part of an article entitled "Religious Freedom," by Amos Augustus Phelps, a Congregational pastor. Graves's response to the article was to put it in the hands of the committee, anticipating the


124Sprague, 823.

125Sprague, 823.

126Hiram Atwell] Graves to [Amos Augustus Phelps], 29 August 1844, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.
prize. However, the committee objected to some points made by Phelps.\textsuperscript{127} Graves later wrote back to Phelps asking him to resubmit the article:

\begin{quote}
I regret that I did not myself read it. . . . I shall employ a different committee—men, who, if less critical as scholars, are more liberal and more like myself in their opinions.\textsuperscript{128}
\end{quote}

Graves further stated that he would probably publish the article by Phelps, even if it failed of the prize. One of the men whom Graves anticipated being on the "more liberal" committee of judges for the \textit{Christian Reflector} was Rollin H. Neale, whose background was previously discussed.\textsuperscript{129}

\textbf{Streeter.} Little is known of Sebastian Streeter. A memorial of his son, Sebastian Ferris Streeter, indicates that the elder Streeter moved his family to Boston from New Hampshire about 1824.\textsuperscript{130} In Boston, Streeter pastored the First Universalist Society, a church which began in the late 1700's and gave rise to at least four other

\begin{footnotes}
\item[127]Graves to [Phelps], 29 August 1844. See footnote 161 of this chapter.
\item[129]Graves to [Phelps], 9 October 1844.
\item[130]Henry Lewis Steiner, "Sebastian Ferris Streeter," \textit{Memorial Biographies of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society}, vol. 6 (Boston: Published by the Society, 1905), 27.
\end{footnotes}
Universalist congregations in the city. Some of Streeter's orations and sermons are still extant. The New Hymn Book, Designed for Universalist Societies, was compiled by Sebastian and Russell Streeter, and went through at least forty-one editions. Being sixty-two in 1845, Streeter was perhaps the oldest member of the Boston School Committee for that year.

In a sermon recounting the history of the First Universalist Society, Streeter traced the changes in attitudes of other denominations toward Universalism, and in doing so, revealed some of his own attitudes toward those other religious groups. The building in which the church resided had been built by Congregationalists in the mid-eighteenth century, but was sold to the infant Universalist society in 1785. According to Streeter's perspective, God took "the wise in their own craftiness" by causing "the enemies of Universalism to erect a church, and in due time

131Sebastian Streeter, God's Works Remembered: A Valedictory Discourse, Delivered in the Ancient Church, of the First Universalist Society, in Boston, June 24, 1838: Being the Last Sabbath Previous to Taking It Down (Boston: J. N. Bang, Printer, 1838), 15, 19.

132See Appendix D.


134Sebastian Streeter, God's Works Remembered, 10-21. For an explanation of Universalism, see Chapter 2, 84.

135Streeter, 13-14.
to put the friends of this despised and persecuted doctrine in the lawful and peaceable possession of it." However, by 1838 when Streeter delivered the discourse, he could say that, with few exceptions, Universalists were being treated with the respect shown other sects. As the Universalists were rebuilding their place of worship, two Unitarian congregations allowed them to use their buildings when unoccupied, civilities which Streeter said could not have been extended to Universalists ten years earlier.

In summary, it is noteworthy that one-fourth of the School Committee members listed as voting on the resolution concerning Mason's dismissal were clergymen. Two were Unitarians, two were Baptists, and one was a Universalist. However, in this case, denominational title did not always indicate the form of theology which the Committee member embraced. Both Hiram A. Graves and Rollin H. Neale made statements which showed them to be more liberal in their beliefs than other Baptists in the community. J. I. T. Coolidge, although Unitarian in name, was increasingly orthodox in doctrine and eventually transferred his membership to the Episcopal church.

However, mere church affiliation, similar to Mason's or to Baker's, would not be adequate grounds for risking a

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136 Streeter, 14.

137 Streeter, 20-21.
guess as to how Committee members responded to the decision of the Committee on Music regarding Mason. It is noteworthy that taking sides on religious issues was the norm for the day. Sargent, as was previously seen, expressed a strong distaste for "ultra-conservatism;" Streeter could call eighteenth-century Congregationalists the "enemies of Universalism"; Coolidge's shift to more conservative doctrines necessitated removal from his original pastorate. In view of prevailing religious attitudes, accusations that Mason managed his duties in a sectarian manner would have demanded these men's attention. However, no records indicate that any of the pastors on the Committee knew Mason personally. The strongest suggestion of personal interests in regard to Mason's dismissal was Neale's apparent association with H. W. Day in the publishing of a hymnal.

Religious Interests and Printed Works of Laymen on the Committee

Besides the five clergymen present at the School Committee meeting of October 8, 1845, there were also seven physicians, two businessmen, four lawyers, one teacher, and one whose profession was not identified. Even among these who were not ministers by profession, there is sufficient evidence to indicate their interest in religious concerns.

138 See Appendix D.
The School Committee member who presided over the first meeting of the Committee in January, 1845, and appointed the members of the Committee on Music was Peleg Whitman Chandler.\footnote{Official Minutes of the Boston School Committee, 1842-1845, 16 January 1845, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library; Boston Academy of Music, Fifth Annual Report of the Boston Academy of Music, Read at the Anniversary Meeting, in the Odeon, May 1837 (Boston: Printed by Perkins and Marvin, 1837), 11.} Chandler, as President of the Common Council, served as Chairman in place of Mayor Thomas A. Davis, a member of the Boston Academy of Music, who was ill and died later that year.

Chandler. In 1836, while still a law student, Chandler began to act as a reporter of legal proceedings for the "Boston Daily Advertiser." His role with the Advertiser led to the establishment of his own publication in 1838, "The Law Reporter," which he edited until 1847.\footnote{Edward Stanwood, "Memoir of Peleg Whitman Chandler" in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3rd Ser., 1 (Boston: Published by the Society, 1908), 282.}


At the state level, Chandler was a member of the House of Representatives in 1846. In 1849, as a United
States Commissioner of bankruptcy, he published a work on the bankruptcy laws of the United States and their application in Massachusetts to add to his several legal writings.¹⁴² Bowdoin College conferred on Chandler the honorary Doctorate of Laws degree in 1867.¹⁴³

A memorial of Chandler indicates that the lawyer was totally unmoved by the sensational preaching of a religious "revival," which he encountered during his training at Bowdoin College. However, "he fell under the gentle influence of one who had accepted Emanuel Swedenborg as the expounder of a new faith, and Chandler wholeheartedly embraced the new doctrines."¹⁴⁴

Edward Stanwood, writing a memorial of Chandler for the Massachusetts Historical Society, noted that Chandler was deeply religious, although he did not obtrude his


¹⁴⁴Stanwood, "Memoir of Peleg Whitman Chandler," 288. See Chapter 2, 84-86, regarding Emanuel Swedenborg. One could wonder if the man who influenced Chandler to embrace Swedenborgianism was Theophilus Parsons, another member of the School Committee in 1845, and an active participant in the religious movement. Chandler was a relative of Parsons and completed his studies in law under Parsons's supervision. See Reno, "Peleg Whitman Chandler," 592; A Brief Sketch of the History of the Boston Society of the New Jerusalem, with a List of Its Members (Boston: Printed for the Society, 1857).
religious beliefs upon others. In view of his faith, Chandler expressed astonishment when Bowdoin College elected him as a trustee in 1871. The change to a more liberal policy followed a period in which the college had patronized the orthodox Congregationalists of Maine and had attached great importance to the denominational views of its professors.

In the church with which Peleg Chandler was associated, the New-Jerusalem Church, the members discussed whether it was proper to sing hymns in addition to chanting psalms. Chandler gave his opinion in the affirmative. He quoted the founder of the church, Emanuel Swedenborg, to recommend that both hymn singing and the chanting of psalms be used in the church:

The idea is, that there may be in worship and praise harmonious sounds in variety. Some persons are affected in one way, some in another. The use and delights of music depend much upon association.

Chandler's spiritual interest can be seen by some of the printed works he wrote. His acumen in law led him to publish anonymously a volume entitled Observations on the

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145 Stanwood, 288.
146 Stanwood, 284.
148 Giles et al., Use of Hymns, 3.
Authenticity of the Gospels in 1867. Later religious works included The Present Shame and Future Glory of the House of Israel, and an article on the "Witch-Trials in Massachusetts."\(^1\)\(^5\)

Clark. Extant documents reveal little of the life of Dr. Henry Grafton Clark. Unlike the six other physicians on the School Committee of 1845, Clark did not obtain his medical training at Harvard.\(^1\)\(^5\)\(^1\) However, Clark's publications suggest that he was a member of the United States Sanitary Commission and took an active part in promoting the health standards of Boston.\(^1\)\(^5\)\(^2\)

Although extant documents do not indicate Clark's religious affiliation, one of Clark's works reveals his extensive study of the Bible. The volume is entitled Sketch of the Bible, for Children and Youth, and is a condensed version of the "Book of Books," complete with explanatory notes.\(^1\)\(^5\)\(^3\) Unfortunately for any scholar on this subject, those notes do not reflect any particular theological

\(^{1\)\(^4\)}Stanwood, 288.

\(^{1\)\(^5\)\(^0\)}See Appendix D for additional works by Chandler.

\(^{1\)\(^5\)\(^1\)}[Harvard University], Quinquennial Catalogue.

\(^{1\)\(^5\)\(^2\)}See titles under Clark's name in Appendix D.

\(^{1\)\(^5\)\(^3\)}[Henry] Grafton Clark, Sketch of the Bible, for Children and Youth (Boston: Press of Peirce & Parker, 1833).
stance, and the question of Clark’s church background remains unsolved.

Simonds. Although Alvan Simonds worked fifty years as a bank cashier, served in the state legislature in 1836, and the Boston Common Council in 1847 and 1848, “it was to the church that he gave his first love and his best powers.” 154 Simonds identified the time of his conversion as 1827, according to his memorialist, a period “when Park-street Church and the few churches which sympathized with it were at ‘white heat,’ . . . a period unequaled for its intensity of evangelistic and missionary zeal.” 155

Upon joining the Phillips Church, Simonds expressed his orthodox faith by putting Bibles in the homes of South Boston on behalf of the Bible Society, and he led a group from his church in the monthly distribution of religious tracts. 156 Simonds actively engaged in temperance work, and he assumed leadership for several ministries to the poor. 157 His tenure as deacon of Phillips Church lasted thirty-nine years. 158

154 Memorial of Alvan Simonds (Boston: Press of Stanley and Usher, 1887), 8-9, 47.

155 Memorial of Alvan Simonds, 53. In regard to Park Street Church, see Chapter 2, 68.

156 Memorial of Alvan Simonds, 28-29.

157 See Appendix D.

158 Memorial of Alvan Simonds, 30.
An excerpt from Simonds’s journal reveals a faith similar to Lowell Mason’s:

. . . why has God so magnified his grace as to save me from ruin by faith in Jesus Christ? I that am not meet to be a disciple, having so long resisted his calls, despised the riches of his grace and forbearance and longsuffering, and trampled under foot the precious blood of that Saviour who could die even for his enemies. But God hath commended his love to us, in that while we were yet enemies Christ died for us. Oh, what a precious Saviour! Yet some would make him but a man. But such a Saviour is not the one who has died for me. 159

Simonds’s memorialist wrote that, although Simonds was a preeminently religious man, “he never intruded his opinions upon others nor entered into controversy upon doctrinal subjects . . . .” 160 The memorialist’s contention is supported by a letter of Simonds to Rev. Amos A. Phelps, requesting that expressions which Simonds had made to Phelps in private, should not be used in any publication, for fear that they may have been too strong or even prejudiced. 161

159 Memorial of Alvan Simonds, 15. To compare Mason’s religious writing, see pp. 256-57, and Chapter 1, 44-45.

160 Memorial of Alvan Simonds, 12.

161 Alvan Simonds to Rev. Amos A. Phelps, South Boston, 20 March 1843, Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library. Rev. Phelps was pastor of the Berkeley (formerly Pine) Street Church from 1832 to 1834. Justin Winsor, ed. The Memorial History of Boston, Including Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1630-1880, vol. 3, The Revolutionary Period, The Last Hundred Years (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1881), 416. See also Chapter 5, footnote 88 for further information concerning Phelps.
Emerson. Although the church affiliation of Frederick Emerson is not known, his probable orthodoxy has already been suggested and explained in Chapter 5. While a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1841, Emerson drafted a report to abolish the Board of Education. Emerson complained that the volumes of the Board's Massachusetts School Library contained "a peculiar cast of religious and political opinion." As the conservative religious critics of the Board accused it of liberalizing tendencies, it would appear that Emerson came from one of the orthodox groups himself.

Bruce Wilson lists Emerson as the Chairman of the Committee on Music from 1839 to 1841. Since Mason was in good standing with the Committee on Music during that time, one may assume that Frederick Emerson was in favor of Mason's retaining his position in 1845.

Wigglesworth. Edward Wigglesworth served on the School Committee both in 1837 and 1845, so his background has already been presented in Chapter 5. Wigglesworth, a

162See Chapter 5, 211.

163"Normal Schools" [Reprinted from the Salem Gazette], Common School Journal 3 (1 November 1841): 332.


165Chapter 5, 188-89, 214, 233-35.
merchant and a editor, was noted to be deeply religious throughout his life.\textsuperscript{165} He embraced Unitarianism and was an active member of the Federal Street Church, now known as the Arlington Street Church, where a lecturne inscribed in his memory remains today.\textsuperscript{167}

Although no records reveal that Wigglesworth knew Mason personally, he probably did know Benjamin Baker, since Baker was the director of music at the Federal Street Church in 1845.\textsuperscript{168} Excerpts from Wigglesworth's speech on music, given in Chapter 5, also reveal his active interest in the art.\textsuperscript{169} If Wigglesworth was friends with Baker both through the Federal Street Church and a common interest in music, it might have given him ample reason to prefer Baker in the position of Master of Music rather than Mason.

**Bartlett.** Sidney Bartlett was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts and traced his descent to ancestors from the


\textsuperscript{167}Edward Wigglesworth, *Services in Memory of Rev. William E. Channing, D.D. at the Arlington-Street Church, Boston on Sunday Evening, October 6, 1867* (Boston: Press of John Wilson and Son, 1867); "The Arlington Street Church Restoration Program: A Renaissance in Boston," Fund raising pamphlet of the Arlington Street Church, Boston.


\textsuperscript{169}See Chapter 5, 233-35.
"Mayflower" and to other early Pilgrims. After graduating from Harvard, Bartlett set out on a career in law which became the focal point of his life. His life-long career in law began as an attorney in the Court of Common Pleas in 1821, then before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in 1824, and finally the United States Supreme Court in 1855. Judges of the United States Supreme Court praised Bartlett for the effectiveness of his arguments.

Bartlett, a Unitarian, was a member of the prestigious King’s Chapel after 1835. Fellow lawyers described Bartlett as fair and open minded on questions of religion, adding that Bartlett "acknowledged the one great Law-Giver, and accepted as the rule of his life that supreme law 'whose seat is the bosom of God.'"

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171 [Suffolk Bar], Proceedings, 4, 8, 29.

172 William T. Davis, History of the Judiciary of Massachusetts ([Boston]: The Boston Book Company, 1900), xvi; see also [Suffolk Bar], Proceedings, 35.


Summary

There is evidence, then, that even laymen on the School Committee of 1845 showed an active interest in religious affairs. They ranged in church affiliation from orthodox to Unitarian, and varied in their responses to religious conflicts. Alvan Simonds is an example of one who, although zealous in his faith, avoided controversy. Frederick Emerson, on the other hand, brought his religious perspectives into the political arena. Still another response to the religious differences in Boston is that of Sidney Bartlett, who was cited for his open-mindedness on religious matters. So then, just as the Committee members took an interest in religious matters in general, they probably also took special interest in the allegation that Mason managed his position in the schools in a sectarian manner.

In closing, since there are only hints that one or two of the Committee members at the special meeting of October 8 knew Mason, it is unlikely that the School Committee as a whole would have held personal grudges against him. Even if Neale was a friend of H. W. Day, and Wigglesworth of Baker, that does not explain the inaction of the other Committee members. Also, whether the members embraced religious beliefs similar to Mason or Baker does not provide a strong basis for their passivity.
One explanation is plausible. The controversy between Horace Mann and the Boston schoolmasters, a conflict which carried religious overtones, resulted in political pressures that surrounded the School Committee at the time of Mason's dismissal. Evidence indicates that Mann's attempt to bring about a "revolution" in the schools by way of the Committee, created tensions among Committee members. Those tensions when expressed caused criticism from the public regarding the Committee members' governing of the schools. Any more internal contentions before the Boston community, such as conflicting opinions regarding Mason's dismissal, would only make themselves look bad. Since evidence suggests that only a couple of them knew Mason personally, it was to their advantage to leave the decision of the Committee on Music as it was, and not further jeopardize their own positions as a political body.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this dissertation was to investigate the decisions the Boston School Committee made in 1837 and 1845 concerning music, and to discuss those decisions in light of the religious and moral concerns of the time. The research problems and related questions were:

1. A description of the perceived value of music in light of political undercurrents in Boston prior to and during the years under investigation:
   a) What specific movements and events prompted public controversy regarding the direction of religious and moral values in Boston?
   b) What were the public concerns regarding religious and moral education in the schools?
   c) Did any of the persons who were outspoken on religious or moral education have close affiliations with those who were directly responsible for music in the schools?
   d) What were the views expressed publicly in Boston concerning music as related to religious or moral values?

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2. The profile of the constituency of the Boston School Committee and Committee on Music in 1837 and 1845:

a) Who were the members of the committees and what were their professions, religious backgrounds, and moral convictions?

b) What was their involvement in the overall activities of the Boston community, and what were their interests in music?

c) How did they make decisions concerning music in the curriculum and music teaching personnel?

d) What relationships did they have to Lowell Mason?

Three trips were made to Boston to collect copies of printed and manuscript documents. However, a cross-referencing of data revealed discrepancies and additional avenues for research, which prompted further inquiry. Important memoirs, diaries, newspaper articles, and works of School Committee members not available in the Boston area were ordered through interlibrary loan. Telephone calls to private, civic, and university libraries were helpful in confirming facts, and providing dates of Committee members' service in some organizations.

Several secondary sources were employed in the chapters on the history of New England religious politics, and concern for the role of religious and moral education in the Boston schools. Those chapters which dealt with more specific subjects, such as the Bostonian perspectives on
music, decision by the School Committee members of 1837, and those by the Committee of 1845 relied almost exclusively on primary sources.

**Summary of Findings**

The 1830's and 1840's were times of religious and political adjustment in Boston. In the previous century, the French Enlightenment and the Great Awakening century were the ideological movements which split the once Calvinistic churches of New England into orthodox and liberal factions. Intense religious differences culminated in struggles to control higher education, in court battles and pamphlet wars. During the first four decades of the nineteenth century, the liberal segment grew in strength, adopting the name Unitarian and eventually becoming the church of the social elite in the city. By the time music was introduced into the schools, Unitarians were the most prominent denomination among those who held political office in civic affairs. Lowell Mason, on the other hand, worked among the Trinitarian Congregational churches and held to the conservative teachings more typical of an earlier age.

As many of the churches controlled by Unitarians continued to function as part of the Congregational state church of Massachusetts, orthodox Congregationalists joined with dissenting denominations to pass a law in 1833 separating church and state. The legal action opened the
door for a host of new religious sects. In addition, immigration brought a large population of Irish Catholics to Boston, especially in the 1840's.

The new variety of faiths necessitated a change in the role religion was to take in public affairs. Being "sectarian" carried with it a connotation of being bigoted, a description no denomination wished to claim.

Nevertheless, the Puritan heritage of New England left a level of respect for the place of religion in civic life and that acceptance of religion's position carried over into public education. Evidence addressing the second research problem reveals that mid-nineteenth century Bostonians were anxious over the direction that religious and moral instruction would take. The point of conflict culminated from the desire of some to allow only natural theology in the schools and of others to inculcate more specific doctrines. What for some was pure Christianity was anathema to others.

Horace Mann, the first Secretary of the Board of Education in Massachusetts, led efforts to limit religious education in the state to the reading of the Bible and the teaching of natural theology. Between 1838 and 1845, four major attacks on the educational policies of Mann and the Board reflected a concern for what role religious and moral teaching would have in the schools. Issues included the recommendation of textbooks, the meaning of sectarianism in
the schools, the teaching methods embraced by principals or "schoolmasters" of the Boston schools and their use of corporal punishment. In 1845, Horace Mann, wearied by the controversy with the Boston schoolmasters attempted to affect a change in their school personnel. His plan was to first get certain reformers, such as Samuel Howe and William Brigham, elected to the School Committee. These men were instrumental in calling for a more systematic method of examining the academic standards of the schools, and for promoting greater efficiency through a reduction from two schoolmasters over each school to one. The latter reform would help to satisfy Mann's desire to see a change in the staff of the Boston schools. The reforms also proposed that the whole school system be unified under a single superintendent. Although the proposed reforms met the needs of an expanding population, correspondence between Mann and Samuel G. Howe, and other statements by Mann, revealed that the Secretary of the Board saw the opposition from the Boston schoolmasters as sustained by underlying sectarian efforts.

The conflicts concerning Mann and the Board of Education had originated in issues of sectarianism, and then moved to such issues as academic achievement and teaching methods. Mann's policy of restricting religious teaching in the schools to the inculcation of ethics and natural theology was the outcome of the controversies. That policy
determined the values which ultimately accompanied public education in Massachusetts. Religious and moral teaching in the schools essentially became synonymous.

Some of the men who, with various viewpoints, spoke in behalf of moral education during the 1830's and 1840's, were close associates of those who were instrumental in the introduction of music into the schools. Among them were Jacob Abbott, the first president of the Boston Academy of Music, and Hubbard Winslow, one of Lowell Mason's pastors and a member of the School Committee in 1838.

The Boston Academy of Music, in keeping with the moral and religious values of its day, promoted music as an agent of moral reform and spiritual uplift. Samuel A. Eliot, mayor, president of the Boston Academy of Music and chairman of the School Committee in 1837, was particularly outspoken concerning the moral and religious benefits of music. Other individuals followed the lead of the Academy in public speeches and articles in journals such as the Musical Visitor, the Musical Magazine, and Hach's Musical Magazine. Much of their strength of arguments for the moral effectiveness of music derived from the Greeks and other ancient high cultures.

Profiles of School Committee Members

The members of the Boston School Committee for 1837 represented the elite class of Boston and, as such,
reflected the prominent religious, moral, and musical values of their culture. They were predominantly Unitarian with an occasional Baptist or otherwise orthodox member, and had felt the push and pull of religious change during their lifetimes. Most of them were Harvard graduates.

The School Committee members of 1837 promoted the moral causes of the day, taking an active part in organizations to eliminate poverty, reform the intemperate, and heal the sick. They stated their concern that the proper means of discipline be used in the schools, and sympathized with the growing movement to abolish slavery.

Statements made by Committee members showed their belief that music could indeed enhance moral character. A speech prepared by Edward Wiggleworth sounded much like those by Eliot, exalting the moral and religious values in music and drawing upon classical subjects for support. Samuel Barrett espoused similar viewpoints and evidence indicates that T. Kemper Davis, the author of the report proposing school music, as well as Martin Gay, Alexander Young, and Baron Stow also took a strong interest in music for its artistic beauty or perceived ability to affect moral character.

In September of 1845, the Committee on Music, a three member subcommittee of the Boston School Committee, voted to replace Lowell Mason as Master of Music with Benjamin Baker, a Unitarian. John Sargent and William Dale
gave the two votes which determined the decision; Charles Gordon, chairman of the committee, was the one member who wished to keep Mason in the position. The religious affiliation of Dale and Gordon could not be found. However, Sargent, like Baker, was a Unitarian, and a clergyman in that denomination. Religious conflicts within Sargent's own life and personal hardships as a result of those conflicts no doubt had a bearing on his own (contrary) viewpoint toward Mason and Mason's mode of thinking.

In response to the action concerning Mason, Ezra Palmer, Jr., William Brigham, and Samuel G. Howe, all members of the twenty-six member School Committee, signed a request that a special meeting of the entire Committee be called for October 8, 1845. At the meeting, Palmer presented a letter from Mason, requesting that an investigation be made into the reasons for his dismissal and that the matter might be put in proper light before the public. The official minutes of the meeting show none of the discussion which went on between Committee members, nor the tabulation of voting. However, a motion was made that the investigation should be undertaken. Nevertheless, the motion was tabled. A decision followed that a letter be sent to Mason acknowledging his integrity in the position. But no action was taken to reinstate Mason or to study the underlying reasons for the action taken against him.
The official minutes of the meeting of October 8 listed those members who were not present. However, that record is in disagreement with an article from the *Boston Atlas*, which stated that fewer members were present at the special meeting and gave exact numerical results of the voting. It would be easy to assume that the version in the official minutes was the correct one were it not for the fact that the editor of the *Boston Atlas* was Thomas M. Brewer, himself a member of the School Committee. The Secretary who recorded the minutes was Samuel F. McCleary, and the question of which man's account was the true one remains unanswered.

Those members who, according to the minutes, attended the special meeting, held a conspicuous interest in religious matters. Five members, or one-fourth of those attending, were clergymen. Two were Unitarian at the time of Mason's dismissal; two were Baptists and one, a Universalist. Religious involvements and the writing of religious works was common even among the laymen on the Committee. They ranged in church affiliation from orthodox to Unitarian, and varied in their responses to religious conflicts. Statements by Committee members showed the rising popularity of religious tolerance although Sargent and Streeter did not hesitate to voice their abhorrence of orthodox doctrines and denominations. Regardless of the differences in their responses, evidence indicates that
religious activity and concern for issues such as the allegation that Mason managed his position in a sectarian manner, were a regular part of the Committee members' lives.

Conclusions

Members of the Boston School Committee accepted the introduction of music into the schools during a period in which religious thought was basic to everyday life. However, the disestablishment of a state church and the growing diversity of religious sects made a consensus on the role of religion in civic activities difficult.

The need for adjustment was particularly felt in the schools where virtually all agreed that some form of religious or moral instruction was needed. Conflicts of opinion, illustrated by bitter controversy between Horace Mann and members of orthodox sects, brought on the stance which in the end favored Mann's perspective. Religious teaching assumed broad parameters which virtually made it synonymous with moral education.

That position was fortunate for music, which journalists and key members on the School Committee portrayed as spiritual yet nonsectarian in its effects. Writings from the 1830's and 1840's clearly reveal the public mindset that music had the advantage of being able to inculcate religious devotion and morality. The modern
perspective in music education which considers religious and moral values associated with music as extra-musical, does not reflect the spirit of mid-nineteenth century thinking among Bostonians. They viewed religious and moral values intrinsic to the very nature of music. The revival of classical interests, especially in the Greek culture, provided a resource of accepted literature to support arguments concerning the powers of music. The Boston Academy of Music in particular used the renaissance of classicism to its advantage, promoting music as an agent of moral reform and means of spiritual uplift.

The members of the School Committee for 1837 were representative of the Boston elite, trained with a classical education, and products of an age which had seen the ugliness of religious schisms. In accordance with their times, they were ready for a style of education which promoted moral character and provided a spiritual stimulus without increasing sectarian strife. When T. Kemper Davis proposed introducing music into the schools as a moral agent and carrier of "religious sentiment, independently of all forms of faith," he was supplying a solution to the dilemma of sectarian differences which faced the School Committee. In music all faiths were believed to find common ground.

Considering Mason's dismissal in 1845, there are no specific statements which clearly give religious reasons for
the action of the Committee on Music nor the inaction of the School Committee as a whole. However, there is ample evidence that John T. Sargent, who was one of the two members voting to displace Mason, did so with a bias against conservatism and a belief that Mason had a sectarian bent toward orthodox Congregationalism. Both of the reasons which Sargent gave Mason for his action were essentially a paraphrase of the accusations H. W. Day made in the press a year earlier. The first, the suspicion of favoritism in Mason's selection of assistants, paralleled Day's impression that Mason had handled the choice of his assistants in a sectarian manner. Sargent's second reason given to Mason, the question of whether Mason's assistants were the best, again echoed H. W. Day's accusations. Sargent's background and thinking support the conclusion that by "suspicion of favoritism," Sargent referred to his belief like Day's, that Mason took a sectarian approach in his work.

Sargent, noted for both his artistic talent and gift of expression in verse, was a writer of hymn texts. Day arranged hymn tunes, and it is very likely that the two men knew each other through that common interest, an interest also held by Lowell Mason. Further research is needed.

Although the members of the School Committee were concerned about religious matters, only isolated instances suggest that any of the members opposed Mason strictly on
the basis of religious issues. Reasons for the inaction of the School Committee on October 8, 1845 may be found in a knowledge of the external pressures then upon the Committee. Horace Mann had attempted to convert the character of the Boston School Committee of 1845 to one which would rid the schools of the schoolmasters who resisted his reforms. Mann’s letter to Samuel G. Howe, revealing his plan, contained innuendos of religious animosity between himself and the schoolmasters whom the School Committee had chosen to oversee the schools.

Part of the procedure of the reformers on the Committee was to base yearly reports of the schools’ academic standards on written tests administered to the students. Public complaints about how these tests were administered by Committee members were printed in the newspapers the same month in which the Committee on Music voted to replace Mason. The eyes of the community focused on what the Committee might do next.

However, it is apparent that those who were considered reformers on the Committee were only indirectly responsible for the passive response toward Mason’s displacement.¹ Indeed, reformers Samuel G. Howe and

¹A possible exception could be Rev. Rollin H. Neale, who had a part in the publication of a collection of hymns by H. W. Day, and served on the committees which tested the academic standards of the schools. Neale also voiced a distaste for the choosing of teachers according to sectarian preferences. See Chapter 6, 282-83.
William Brigham were the very two members who, with Ezra Palmer, Jr., supported the request for the special meeting of October 8. It may be that Howe and Brigham wished to protect their reputation by making sure no one related their actions of reform to the replacement of Mason. This especially seems to be the case since Howe himself did not attend the meeting on October 8.

Mason had been hesitant to let Mann use his name in Mann’s controversy with the Boston schoolmasters. Nevertheless, correspondence years later reveals that Mason and Mann maintained a positive relationship with one another, and that Mason himself did not relate his dismissal to any efforts by Mann.

It is significant that the controversy between Horace Mann and the Boston schoolmasters, as well as the efforts of the reformers created instability not only among the schoolmasters, but also among the School Committee, who bore the brunt of public criticism and partial expulsion in the election of 1846. In such a potentially eruptive time, disputes among School Committee members over a decision made by the Committee on Music would put themselves in an increasingly negative light before the public. Evidence indicates that very few of the Committee members knew Mason well enough to feel a personal obligation to protect his position. In order to serve their own purposes, it was
safest politically to leave such actions as the dismissal of Mason as it was.

It is interesting to compare the decisions of the School Committee of 1837 with those of the Committee of 1845 concerning music. Whereas the issue in 1837 was whether or not music should be included in the curriculum, music was clearly an accepted subject seven years later. Indeed, in 1845, School Committee members took more control of music by requiring that the Committee on Music submit their recommendation for a music superintendent to the larger body before that decision was finalized.

**Discussion and Recommendation for Further Study**

Too often, modern writers have looked at historical topics from a viewpoint which superimposes their experiences and language on the description of another era. The extensive work of Bruce Wilson has provided copies of documents to illumine the events which took place in the early days of Boston school music. Wilson's dissertation served as a stepping stone to discovering some of the motivational factors behind those events discussed in the present study. Others such as Flueckiger more specifically presented the accusations which came against Lowell Mason in 1844 and led to his leaving the Boston schools the following year. The role of this dissertation has been to show the still broader context in which such historical moments took
place, so that they may be better understood from the religious and moral mindset of the people of that day. Exposure to the context in which music entered the Boston schools has revealed that religious and moral attitudes were a daily way of life to early nineteenth-century Bostonians. The lessons learned on Sunday were not to be separated from the hustle and bustle of week-day activities. Looking back to understand those values so different from our own times, one can respect and identify with the causes for which these people stood. When it came to those life issues which motivate men in every age, the School Committee members and citizens of nineteenth-century Boston were not unlike ourselves.

Exposure to the thinking of the key participants responsible for early school music has also made sense of the perplexing action and subsequent inaction regarding the removal of Mason from the schools. Nevertheless, the investigation has uncovered questions which remain for still another to answer.

The question remains whether the minutes of the special meeting on October 8, 1845 accurately record the names of those members who were present. One wonders about the personal history of Samuel F. McCleary, the secretary who took the minutes. Further investigation should study what relationships McCleary had with associates on the School Committee, with Horace Mann, Mason, and others who
played a part in the conflicts which were stirring over educational issues. A study of those Committee members who were listed as not present on October 8 also might prove helpful.

The "question of whether [Mason's] assistants were the best, all things considered,"² is a topic which also deserves further study. To my knowledge, only one biography has been written on the assistant George F. Root.³ However, for others, such as Artemas N. Johnson, information from writings still exists, but has not been organized into useful accounts of the musician himself.

The career and community involvement of H. W. Day should be studied to see what relationships he may have had with John T. Sargent and other members of the Boston School Committee for 1845. It is not inconceivable that an examination of the hymns which were written in Boston during the time could reveal some with texts by Sargent and music by Day. At any rate, links between Day and Committee members could help to explain further the behavior of the Committee toward Mason at the time of his dismissal.

²John T. Sargent's statement to Mason; see Chapter 6, 246.

³Polly Hinson Carder, "George Frederick Root, Pioneer Music Educator: His Contributions to Mass Instruction in Music" (Doctoral diss., University of Maryland, 1971).
The lessons learned from contemplating the past also have stimulated some thoughts about the present. Seeing the development and final outcome of previous concerns and conflicts, such as those in ante-bellum Boston, makes one alert to the political issues confronting music in the schools today. As one considers the present moral, religious, and other contextual influences, the necessity of understanding the mindset of current decision-makers becomes evident.

Modern day music educators can learn some specific lessons for promoting school music from those who once prompted Boston School Committee members to try music in the curriculum. First, those promoting music in education must make political alliances with school officials and community leaders. It should be remembered that some of music's key promoters, such as the members of the Boston Academy of Music, were mostly non-musicians, men of various professions, who saw in music values which would have a positive effect on the community as a whole.

Second, it is necessary to find a rationale for music in the schools which is common to all sectors of our present culture. Religious conflicts separated the denominations of ante-bellum Boston. However, music as an

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4Some of the following points were clarified in my thinking by reading the similar convictions of Harlan Hoffa in "Arts Education and Politics: The Odd Coupling," Design for Arts in Education (May/June 1988): 2-12.
agent of moral reform and spiritual uplift was desirable to all faiths. Today, battles between the "religious right" and "secular humanism" over issues such as school prayer, and creation vs. evolution show that basic public concerns regarding religion in education have not changed. But, unlike 150 years ago, religious and moral values are no longer considered intrinsic to music. In place of these values, the usefulness of music as an emotional release from modern-day pressures is readily admitted. Therefore, those who would foster a stronger position for music in the schools must be bolder in stating its universally perceived benefits according to this era.

The Boston Academy of Music and others who supported their purposes succeeded in raising the public estimation of music because they aroused interest not only among children, but also among their parents and associates. The task which the promoters of music undertook required the education of the whole community. Likewise, if music is to remain on firm footing in public education today, those who guard its position must also make the glories of music known among adults who have long since left the classroom.
Letter from Horace Mann to Samuel Gridley Howe, [8 October 1844]:

My dear Howe,

The Cossacks thicken upon flank & rear. Have you seen Brownson's notice of the "Remarks," in which he flings the javelin across my position?

Also the Rev. Mr. Phelps in the Mercantile Journal of Saturday evening. I heard during the summer that that scoundrel, Fred. A. Packard had been inflaming him with prejudices on the religious side of this question, & from the article in the Mercantile, I should think him to be a congenial spirit with Fred., or with both Freds.

What renders his communication very noticeable is that, in the end of it, he interfered with my concerns & those of the Board, in precisely the same way that he complains of [our?] regard to his own Board, in the beginning. He speaks of my correspondence, as Secretary of the Board, with Packard. I never had a word of correspondence with him, as Secy. of the Board. He wrote to me in my private capacity, & I answered him in the same. Should you or anybody else take any notice of it, you may say so, as from one who was once a member of the Board, for I was such originally.

I have heard indirectly that May proposes opening a kind of Normal & Model School in Boston, tho' he has never said any thing to me about it.

What I have been thinking of is this: If a majority of the right kind of men could be elected on the school committee this year, there might be a purgation of the masters of one school; & I can find at least two men, if May will be one of them, in the State, who will take one of the city schools, & with proper assistants,---which I should let them select,---would carry it on, without [illegible.] This would be a Paradise at work, that nobody could gainsay. This would effect a revolution in the whole schools of Boston. I think I could find four such men who would carry on two schools. But for this the first step is to get the committee.

I have not done much this week since I saw you. I had nine letters to write one night & an article for the Journal, & then couldn't sleep, & my vitality burns itself out when I lie awake all night.

I look upon my cause as desperate but am determined to have one fight for it, & if I die, I will die game.

What are you going to do? What is Parker going to do? Should they take a scorching article in the N. American? If so, one of you could write it, & the other write something else.

Where is Emerson's article? The adversary has the field so long that they will claim it by possession.
Do the grammar schools keep up their practice of exhibitions yet? If you see anybody, please ask.

Ever yrs. with love from all to all,

Horace Mann

P.S. If you fall in with the Mayor, pray have a little talk with him.

There is an unsettled account between us which, you will recollect, I could not conveniently adjust at [illegible]. Please let me know what it is.
SELECTED TEXTS FROM EARLY SCHOOL SONG BOOKS OF BOSTON


Morn Amid the Mountains

Morn amid the mountains!
Lovely solitude!
Gushing streams and fountains,
Murmur, "God is good!"

Now the glad sun breaking
Pours a golden flood;
Deepest vales awaking
Echo "God is good."

Hymns of praise are ringing
Through the leafy wood—
Songsters sweetly singing,
Warble "God is good!"

Wake, and join the chorus,
Man, with soul endued!
He whose smile is o'er us,
God, oh God is good.

Morning Is Rising

Morning is rising,
Darkness away;
O'er the rich sky beams
Sunshine so gay.

Birds with their music
Fill the fresh air;
And the young breezes
Sweet odors bear.

In the green pastures
Sparkles the dew;
While the swift bees come,
Humming anew.

All things are happy
In the fair light,
Praising their Maker,
Morning and night.
The Child's Angel

I know a kindly angel,
He roams the wide world o'er:
Though seen by none, all-seeing,
He goes from door to door,
He comes from heav'n, his native home;
'Tis God, our Father bids him come.

Where'er in all his wand'ring,
He finds a gentle child,
The joy of friends and parents,
So patient, good, and mild;
In that bright home he long will dwell,
And bless the child he loves so well.

All day he'll smile so sweetly,
And then when night draws nigh
Will bid him softly slumber
And close his weary eye;
And watch through all the silent night,
Around his couch till morning light.

A Pure Heart

Oh, happy as the day is long,
Come rain, come shine, we hear they song;
All to thyself thou hast thy tune,
When those who love to hear are gone.

Thy pleasant thoughts are with thee still,
They quickly come when thou dost will;
And, self-amused, thou'rt never known,
What 'tis to be left all alone.

Oh lovely child so bright and free,
Must this cold world e'er narrow thee?
No! thou may'st live an endless youth,
If thou wilt early love the truth.
Then shrink from nothing but the wrong,
So thou shalt never want a song;
Sweet thoughts will ev'n unbidden start
While thou dost keep a simple heart.

Be Sacred Truth, My Son, Thy Guide

Be sacred truth, my son, thy guide,
Until thy dying day---
Nor turn a finger's breadth aside
From God's appointed way.

Thy heart shall then be free and light,
And near the crystal spring,
Thy music be more gay and bright
Than were the wicked sing.

For oh, no joy shall that man know,
Who bears a guilty breast;
His conscience drives him to and fro,
And never lets him rest.

For him no vernal sunshine smiles,
No gales breathe softly round,
And in the grave—that home of rest,
No peace for him is found.

Oh, then be sacred truth thy guide
Until thy dying day;
Nor turn a finger's breadth aside
From God's appointed way.

Thy children then shall nightly come,
And weep around thy tomb;
And flowers above thy moistened grave
Shall shed their sweet perfume.

See, the Morning Star

See, the morning star so bright,
Ascending,
Come to tell us gloomy night
Is ending.

Paler now, it paler beams,
'Tis morning;
Eastern skies are bright with gleams
Of dawning.

Happy hour, so bright and calm
We greet thee!
All the air is breathing balm,
How sweetly.

Grateful earth her songs of praise
Is pouring;
Hallelujahs we will raise
Adoring.
Over the Mountain

Over the mountain, and over the moor,
Hungry and weary I wander forlorn;
My Father is dead, and my mother is poor,
And she grieves for the days that will never return;
Pity kind gentlemen, friends of humanity,
Cold blows the wind, and the night's coming on.
Give me some food for my mother in charity;
Give me some food and then I will be gone.

Call me not indolent beggar and bold enough,
Fain would I learn both to knit and to sew;
I've two little brothers at home, when they're old enough,
They will work hard for the gifts you bestow.
Pity kind gentlemen, friends of humanity,
Cold blows the wind, and the night's coming on;
Give me some food for my mother, in charity,
Give me some food, and then I will be gone.

This World Is All a Mighty Choir

This world is all a mighty choir,
And we the instruments therein,
The voice of music doth inspire,
And at her signal we begin;
The lords and great ones lead the choir,
Both tune and time, themselves select,
And at their nod we strike the wire
And play, now more, now less correct.

Andante is the poor-man's tempo;
The rich in Allegro you'll find,
With them it's Forte, Maestoso;
But we unheard, are oft behind;
Yet many a one plays very vainly,
And many a harp is poorly strung;
And many you'll find expected only
To blow the bellows all life long.

The Soap Bubble

See our airy bubble, lightly dancing,
Far away on buoyant breezes rise!
Imaged there, a mimic world is glancing,
See it sial along the smiling skies!

Youthful hearts that now so brightly glowing,
Borne away by airy hope on high;
Quickly will a breeze more harshly blowing,
Bid each lovely, golden vision fly.

Thoughtless man! gay dreams around thee hover,
Pomp and pride their richest charms display;
But how soon their empty reign is over,
Like yon globe they quickly pass away.

The Rainbow

See yonder rainbow brightly beaming,
It stands in glory there;
And clouds like waves of silver gleaming,
Are rolling far and near.

The purple blush of dewy morning,
No more its brightness shows;
The fairest tint the rose adorning,
No more in beauty glows.

Some clime celestial must have lent thee,
Thy robe of many dyes;
Bright rainbow! tell us who has sent thee,
To charm our wondering eyes.

Ah! none but He could paint thy beauty,
His skill and power alone;
Thou art a beam of light on duty,
From the ETERNAL SUN.

The Floweret

I saw at morning a flow’ret blue,
All brightly spangled with pearly dew,
But soon came noontide with burning glare,
And ah! my flow’ret lay lifeless there.

And such the story of pride and power,
They bloom at morning like that fair flower;
At evening seek them—their forms are fled,
Their days are numbered, their race is sped.

And thou, vain beauty, come draw thee near,
And learn a lesson of wisdom here!
Seek fairer flowers that bloom on high,
Whose light and fragrance shall never die.
Evening Song

If I've fulfilled my daily task aright,
And every duty done;
Then joy to me when darkest shades of night
Shall cloud the sinking sun!
How cheering, then, how calming
The golden lingering ray;
The eventide is charming
That ends a well spent day.

But woe to him, whose eye, that hour is dim
With sin-remembering tears!
No anguish ever can restore to him,
Oh, precious is the power,
And time that God hath given!
May I each passing hour,
Lay up some store for heaven!

(From Lowell Mason, The Boston School Song Book (Boston: Wilkins, Carter, & Co., 1845):

Bell-Chimes

Wake ye bells, from every echoing steeple!
Brother voices, wake! with loud reply.
Greet the hearts of all the people,
Freedom’s flame is blazing high.

Wake, while thousand hearts, as one, are beating,
Far and wide proclaim their jubilee;
Speed thro’ hill and vale our greeting,
Tell to all the world: We’re free.

Say, we’ve fought the battle for opinion;
Say, we dare to look around, above;
All we feel, we speak; dominion—
There is none we own, but love.

Wake, ye bells! your chimes are blithe as morning,
When its breath makes all the world seem new;
Yet a sound of Sabbath-warning,
Blending with them, says: Be true!

Sentence

God said: “Let there be light!”
God said: “Let there be light!”
AND THERE WAS LIGHT!
The Love of Truth

My days of youth tho' not from folly free,
I prize the truth, the more the world I see.
I'll keep the straight and narrow path, and lead where-e'er
it may,
The voice of truth I'll follow and obey.

My footsteps lead, O truth, and mould my will,
In word and deed my duty to fulfill:
Dishonest arts, and selfish aims to truth can ne'er belong,
No deed of mine, shall be a deed of wrong.

The strength of youth, we see it soon decay,
But strong is truth, and stronger every day:
Though falsehood seem a mighty power which we in vain
assail,
The power of truth will in the end prevail.

My days of youth tho' no from folly free,
I prize the truth, the more the world I see.
I'll keep the straight and narrow path, and lead where-e'er
it may,
The voice of truth I'll follow and obey.

Sentence

Firm, with heart and hand,
Woven be the band
For thee, for thee, our Father land.

Round for Four Voices

When a weary task you find it,
Persevere and never mind it,
Never mind it,
Never mind it.

Round for Two Voices

The noblest hero of the whole,
Is he who can himself control.

Sentence

God commands, and I must do,
He will guide me safely through.
We Know a Land

We know a land of beauty's train,
Adorn'd with streams and groves, and fields,
Where clustering grapes and waving grain,
The ground in rich profusion yields.
This realm of beauty so well know,
Is but the land we call our own.

We know a land of virtu's growth,
A land that no deception knows,
A happy land, where love and truth
Allay the pain of earthly woes.
This worthy land we well may own,
It is a land we call our own.

We know a land where moral light
Has shed its hallow'd influence round:
Whose people know the God of might,
And love the gospel's gladd'ning sound.
This sacred land so lovely shown,
We surely may be proud to own.

We hail thee, land so pure and great;
With welcome honors thee we greet:
Oh! may we every evil hate,
That God may here maintain his seat.
So shall we ever love to own,
That this great nation is our own.

Round for Four Voices

Let us endeavor
To show that whenever
We join in a song,
We keep time together.

The Way to Contentment

Let us with a cheerful mind,
Lead our life uprightly;
Virtue's paths e'er taking,
All that's ill forsaking.

CHORUS:
Come let us all unite in this,
And so contentment we'll possess,
And then we'll all be glad, glad, glad,
And then we'll all be glad.
Let us banish lust and pride,
Living pure and humble;
Given to all well-doing,
Every vice eschewing:

CHORUS

Let us ever cherish truth,
Truth is worth possessing;
Let us live uprightly,
Hourly, daily, nightly.

CHORUS

Let us seek in all we do,
Solid, lasting treasure;
Good we e'er may cherish,
Good that will not perish.

CHORUS

Round for Two Voices

Time and tide will wait for no man.

Old Hundred

Be thou, O God, exalted high,
And as thy glory fills the sky,
So let it be on earth displayed,
Till thou art here as there obeyed.

Marlow

Thee will I bless, O Lord my God,
To thee my voice I'll raise,
Forever spread thy fame abroad,
And daily sing thy praise.

My soul shall glory in the Lord,
His wondrous acts proclaim,
Oh let us now his love record,
And magnify his name.
Round for Two, Three, Four, Five,  
Six, Seven or Eight Voices

Spirits bright!  
Make our labors light.  
Teach us all the pleasing art,  
To do our work with cheerful heart.

"I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills"  
[a chant from Ps. 121]

I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills,  
From whence cometh my help.  
My help cometh from the Lord,  
Which made heaven and earth.

He will not suffer thy foot to be move,  
He that keepeth thee will not slumber.  
Behold, he that keepeth Israel,  
Shall not slumber nor sleep.

The Lord is thy keeper,  
The Lord is thy shade upon thy right hand.  
The sun shall not smite thee by day,  
Nor the moon by night.

The Lord shall preserve thee from all evil,  
He shall preserve thy soul.  
The Lord shall preserve thy going out, and thy coming in,  
From this time forth, and even for evermore, Amen.

Round for Three Voices

What you’ve to do get done today,  
And do not ‘till tomorrow stay,  
There’s always danger in delay.
The following dates, occupations, religious denominations, and printed works are given for each Committee member to the extent that the information is yet extant. Membership in cultural or benevolent societies, as well as service in public offices other than the Boston School Committee, follows the list of the Committee members' publications. Footnotes indicate any discrepancies found.

Dates, religious denominations, and involvement in public roles were derived from the memoirs, obituaries, and records which are noted in the bibliography. The *Massachusetts Vital Records* were helpful in determining death dates that were not otherwise obvious in memoirs and obituaries. However, geographical mobility made a complete record difficult, and systematic record keeping was just beginning in this period. Birth dates for Committee members were before the time of these records, but, as age at the time of death is given, an approximate date of birth can be calculated.

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Occupations of the School Committee members were found in Stimpson's Boston Directory for the year 1837. The National Union Catalog, which was an important aid to this appendix, contains titles of most of the members' printed works. Footnotes indicate the source of other printed works discovered in the process of research, which are not included in the National Union Catalog. The lists of publications have included articles from journals only when those articles were of particular interest to this study.

Having made three trips to Boston to collect copies of printed and manuscript documents, a cross-referencing of data on the School Committee members revealed discrepancies which could be clarified by further inquiry. Important memoirs, which were not available in the Boston area, were ordered through interlibrary loan. Telephone calls to private, civic, and university libraries were helpful in confirming facts, and providing dates of Committee members' service in some organizations. In addition to these methods, a friend, Miss Linda Yee of Brookline, Massachusetts, did helpful follow-up research for the author.

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3 See bibliography for complete title.

Ivers J. Austin (1808-1889)  Lawyer

Works in Print

1837  Argument of Ivers J. Austin, Counsel for the Remonstrants from Watertown, Against the Petition for the Incorporation of the Town of Belmont, Before the Joint Standing Committee on Towns

1839  An Oration Delivered by Request of the City Authorities Before the Citizens of Boston, on the Sixth Third Anniversary of American Independence, July 4, 1839

1841  Argument Before a Division Court Martial, March 23, 1841, for the Trial of William Washburn, on Charges Preferred Against Him by One Appleton

1842  An Account of the Origin of the Mississippi Doctrine of Repudiation; With a Review of the Arguments Which His Excellency Alexander G. McNutt, Late Governor of Mississippi, Advanced in Its Vindication

An Address Delivered Before the Corps of Cadets of the United States Military Academy

1843  "Paul's Illustration of the Resurrection"*

1884  Memoir of Crafts James Wright

Positions Held

1838  Representative to Massachusetts State Legislature

Samuel Barrett (1795-1866)  Reverend  Unitarian

Works in Print

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1809  God is the Shepherd of Believers: A Sermon at Hopkinton on the First Sabbath in June, 1767

1827  One Hundred Scriptural Arguments for the Unitarian Faith

The Doctrine of Religious Experience Explained

Excuses for the Neglect of the Communion Considered

A Sermon Delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. Moses G. Thomas, as Pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Concord, N. H., Feb. 25, 1829

1831  A Discourse, Delivered Before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, June 6, 1831, Before the 192d Anniversary

1832  The Apostle Peter a Unitarian

A Sermon Delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. Moses G. Thomas, as Pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Concord, N. H., Feb. 25, 1829

1833  Sermon: The Kingdom of God is Within You

1834  Sermon Delivered at the Installation of Rev. George R. Noyes, as Pastor of the First Congregational Society in Petersham, Oct. 15, 1834

Apologies for Indifference to Religion and its Institutions Examined

1838  Thou Shalt Not Kill: Sermon, Twelfth Congregational Church, Boston, March 4, 1838, in Consequence of Duel in Washington

1842  A Discourse on the Validity of Presbyterian Ordination Delivered in the Chapel, May 11th, 1842, Being the Anniversary of the Dudleian Lecture
1843  "What Thinkest Thou?" or, Ten Questions Answered

1845  Reflections in a Sunday School

1850  Two Discourses, Preached in the Twelfth Congregational Church, Sunday, February 10, 1850, on the Completion of the Twenty-fifth Year of His Ministry

1851  A Discourse Delivered in the Twelfth Congregational Church, Boston, on Fast Day, April 10, 1851

1857  Youths Devoid of Understanding: A Discourse Delivered in the Twelfth Congregational Church, Boston, on the First Sunday of March

Positions Held

- Secretary of the Berry-street Conference of Ministers
- Chairman of the Committee for the Examination of Students in Natural Philosophy or Physics at Harvard College
- Trustee of the Hopkins Fund

1825-1826  Chaplain to the Senate of Massachusetts

1825-1841  Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association

1828-1843  Trustee of Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity

1835-1852  Board of Overseers of Harvard College

1834-1858  Member of the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Evangelical Missionary Society

1842-1866  Member of the Select Committee of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>Position Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1843-1854</td>
<td>Vice-President of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848-1866</td>
<td>Member of Executive Committee of the Society for Relief of Destitute Clergymen</td>
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<tr>
<td>1852-1858</td>
<td>President of the Fraternity of Churches</td>
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<tr>
<td>1853-1866</td>
<td>Member of the Society for Promoting Theological Education at Cambridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854-1866</td>
<td>President of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858-1866</td>
<td>Vice-President of the Massachusetts Evangelical Missionary Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-1866</td>
<td>Trustee of the Winthrop Ward Fund in Aid of Feeble Unitarian Societies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862-1866</td>
<td>Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

George Bartlett (1807-1864)  Physician  Unitarian

[Works in Print: None found]
[Positions Held: Not found]

Horace L. Conolly (1810-1894)  Reverend  Episcopalian

[Works in Print: None found]
[Positions Held: Not found]

*A letter suggests a book by Bartlett, of which there is no current record. See Alfred. Stillé]. to George C. Shattuck, Jr., M.D., Philadelphia, AMS, October 24, 1844, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. Stillé wrote, "I had not waited for your suggestion to read Dr. Bartlett's book. I met him one afternoon last summer at Dr. Stewardson's, and was so much pleased with the views he then empressed upon medical philosophy, that I procured his book soon after it was published, . . . ."
Thomas Kemper Davis (1808-1853) Attorney

[Works in Print: None found]
[Positions Held: Not found]

Samuel Atkins Eliot (1798-1862) Mayor Unitarian

Works in Print

The Needs of Our Unitarian Work

"Essays on the Evidences of Revealed Religion"

1825

The Aims and Methods of Our Church Schools

Remarks on the Constitution of the Society for the Promotion of Theological Education in Harvard University

1835

Address Before the Boston Academy of Music, on the Opening of the Odeon, Aug. 5, 1835

1836

Outline of the History of Music

1842

Observations on the Bible, for the Use of Young Persons

1848

A Sketch of the History of Harvard College

1849

A Letter to the President of Harvard College

The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself

1853

A Complete System of Education

7Article in the Christian Examiner

8Article in the North American Review
1857

**Slavery and Its Prospects in the United States**

**Positions Held**

- President of the Boston Provident Association
- Director of Music at King’s Chapel
- Warden of King’s Chapel
- Board of Massachusetts General Hospital
- President of the Prison Discipline Society

1835-1847

President of the Boston Academy of Music

1837-1839

Mayor of Boston

1842-1853

Treasurer of Harvard College

1850-1851

United States House of Representatives

Frederick Emerson (1788-1857) Instructor

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"The National Union Catalog indicates Eliot as the "supposed author."

Samuel A. Eliot [1862-1950] states that the earlier Eliot was President of the Prison Discipline Society; Claude M. Fuess states, "As treasurer of the Prison Discipline Society, Eliot..." Perhaps he was both treasurer and president at different times. See Samuel A. Eliot [1862-1950], "Being Mayor of Boston a Hundred Years Ago," in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 66 (Boston: Published by the Society, 1942), 172; Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., Dictionary of American Biography, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1931), "Samuel Atkins Eliot” 1798-1862), by Claude M. Fuess, 6:82.

Stimpson’s Boston Directory, 1844. The 1837 edition gives only “Frederic” Emerson and gives no profession for him. The 1844 edition also gives a Frederick “B.” Emerson, but gives no profession for him. As “Frederick Emerson” the “instructor” was also prominent in politics and interested in educational affairs, it is
Works in Print

1827  Primary Lessons in Arithmetic (3rd ed.)

1832-1837  A Key to the North American Arithmetic, Part Second

1832-1869  The North American Arithmetic, Part Second, uniting Oral and Written Exercises, in Corresponding Chapters

1834-1859  The North American Arithmetic, Part Third, for Advanced Scholars

1838-1847  A Key to the North American Arithmetic, Part Second and Third

1838-1871  The North American Arithmetic, Part First, for Young Learners

1840  The First View of the World, Combining Geography and History

1841-1846  Outlines of Geography and History, Presenting a Concise View of the World

1845  The Case of Frederick Emerson versus Charles Davies and Alfred S. Barnes

1851  Die Nord-Amerikanische Arithmetik, Erster Theil, für Junge Anfänger


Positions Held

1837  Boston Representative to the State House of Massachusetts

Apparent that this was indeed the man who served on the School Committee in 1837 and 1845. His dates here are derived from the Massachusetts Vital Records: Boston Deaths, 1849-1890, s.v. "Frederick Emerson," Record no. 1237, microfiche no. 29 (Oxford, Massachusetts: Holbrook Research Institute, 1987), Boston Public Library.
Justin Field\(^2\) (1784-1862)  Lawyer  Orth. Congregational

[Works in Print: None found]

[Positions Held: Not found]

Martin Gay (1803-1850)  Physician

Works in Print

\(\textcolor{red}{^2}\) Little conclusive information can be found regarding Justin Field. Stimpson's Boston Directory (1837) lists a Justin Field and a Justin Field, Jr., who both lived at the same address, apparently as father and son. The directory gives the occupation of the elder Justin Field as "counsellor" (or lawyer), and of the younger as teacher at the Johnson School. Both Justin Field and Justin Field, Jr., are listed as members of Salem Church in The Articles of Faith, and Covenant, of the Salem Church, Boston: With a List of the Members (Boston: Printed by Geo. W. Light, 1838). A council from Orthodox churches such as Park Street, Union, and Hanover Street churches gathered to establish Salem Church in 1827. The loose papers of the Boston School Committee for the year 1837, located in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Department of the Boston Public Library, speaks of both Justin Fields. Justin Field, Jr. is listed among possible candidates to be considered by the School Committee for the position of writing master in one of the schools. In the records of the annual examinations of the schools for August, 1835, Justin Field (with no "Jr." added) signed in behalf of the committee examining the Smith School. Thus, the differentiation between father and son was made clear in the School Committee documents, and it is apparent that the elder Field was the School Committee member. Lest there be further doubt, information on a Justin Field (1816-1893) who attended Andover Seminary in 1840-41, is given in General Catalogue of the Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts, 1808-1908 (Boston: Thomas Todd, Printer, [1909]). This Justin Field graduated from Amherst in 1835, attended Union Seminary in 1838-39, and was ordained in the Episcopal church in 1842. No account of Field is given in the Andover Catalogue for the years 1835-38. If the Justin Field who attended Andover Seminary was the same as Justin Field, Jr. listed in Stimpson's Boston Directory, he would have been only twenty-one in 1837, an unlikely age for a member of the School Committee, but a feasible age for a beginning teacher.
1847

A Statement of Charles T. Jackson, M.D. to the Discovery of the Applicability of Sulphuric Ether to the Prevention of Pain in Surgical Operations

Positions Held
Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences
Member of the Boston Society of Natural History

Ezekial Walter Leach (d. 1842)Physician Baptist

[Works in Print: None found]
[Positions Held: Not found]

Samuel K. Lothrop (1804-1886) Reverend Unitarian

Works in Print

1834 I Am the Way: Addressed to Those Who "Cannot See Their Way Clear" to Observe the Communion

Moral and Christianizing Influence of Railroads: A Sermon in Brattle St. Church, Boston

1835 An Address Delivered Before the Massachusetts State Temperance Society, May 31, 1835

1837 Why Should We Labor to Extend Our Faith?

1838 The Nature and Extent of Religious Liberty: A Sermon Preached at the Church in Brattle Square, on Sunday Morning, June 17, 1838

13E. W. Leach is not listed in the Massachusetts Vital Records. This death date was taken from some handwritten notes in clippings on Ezekial Walter Leach (Class of 1835-medical school), Archives, Pusey Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.
A Sermon Preached Before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, Boston, June 4, 1838, Being the Occasion of Their .... Anniversary

1840
A Sermon Preached at the Church in Brattle Square, on Sunday Morning, Jan. 19, 1840, on the Destruction of the Lexington by Fire, January 13th

1841
"Monstrat Viam": An Address Delivered Before the Independent Company of Cadets, on Their Centennial Anniversary, October 19, 1841, at the Church in Brattle Square


1842
The Good Man: A Sermon. Preached at the Church in Brattle Square, on the Sunday After the Interment of George Bond, Esq., May 29th, 1842

Missionary Efforts and Theological Education, a Report Made to a Meeting Held at the Hall in Temple Avenue, April 12, 1842

1843
The Christian Name and Christian Liberty: A Sermon Preached at the Church in Brattle Square, on Sunday, October 30, 1842

The Memory of the Dead: A Sermon, Preached at the Unitarian Church in Lynn, February 24, on the Occasion of the Death of Rev. William Gray Swett, Late Pastor of That Church

Preparation for Death: A Sermon Preached in the Church in Brattle Square, March 5, 1843, the Sunday After the Interment of Hon. Peter O. Thacher
1846 The Consolations of Old Age: A Sermon Preached at the First Unitarian Church, in Dover, N.H. on the 28th of June, 1846, Being the One Hundredth Birthday of Ezra Green, M.D., the Oldest Living Alumnus of Harvard College

1847 Life of Samuel Kirkland, Missionary to the Indians

1848 The Memory of the Just Is Blessed: A Sermon Preached at the Church in Brattle Square, on the Sunday After the Interment of William Lawrence, October 22, 1848
The Stay and the Staff Taken Away: A Sermon Preached at the Church in Brattle Square, on the Death of the Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, November 5, 1848

1851 A History of the Church in Brattle Street, Boston

1852 The Divine Presence a Support to Human Frailty: A Sermon Preached in the Brattle Square Church, on the Sunday Succeeding the Death of Hon. Daniel Webster

1853 The Moral Power of Character: A Sermon Preached in the Church in Brattle Square, January 9th, 1853, the Sunday After the Funeral of Amos Lawrence

1854 An Address Delivered at the Opening of the Rooms of the American Unitarian Association, 21 Bromfield Street, March 9, 1854

1855 Dangerous Tendencies of Civilization: A Sermon Preached in the Brattle Street Church, on Fast Day, April 5th, 1855

Massachusetts Election Sermon: Jan. 3, 1855
A Sermon Delivered Before His Excellency Emory Washburn, Governor, His Honor Wm. C. Plunkett, Lieutenant-governor, the Honorable Council, and the Legislature of Massachusetts, at the Annual Election, Wednesday, January 3, 1855

1856
An Address to the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches in Boston. Delivered April 27, 1856

1861
The Causes, Principles and Results of the Present Conflict: A Discourse Delivered Before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company on Its CCXXIII Anniversary, June 3, 1861

The Mature Christian Ripe for the Harvest: A Sermon Preached in the Brattle-Square Church, on the Sunday Succeeding the Death of Moses Grant

1862
Firmness and Gentleness United in the Christian Character: A Sermon Preached in the Brattle-Square Church, Dec. 15, 1861, the Sunday Succeeding the Death of Hon. Richard Sullivan

Memoir of Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch: Prepared Agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society

1863
Sermon, Preached March 1, 1863

1865
Sermon in Sermons Preached in Boston on the Death of Abraham Lincoln

1866
Oration Delivered Before the City Authorities of Boston, on the Fourth of July, 1866

1871
In Memory of Israel Whitney

In Memory of Mr. George Howe

Memorial of Ebenezer Dale
Memorial of the Church in Brattle Square: A Discourse Preached in the Church in Brattle Square, on the Last Sunday of Its Use for Public Worship, July 30, 1871

1873 Sketch of the Wednesday Evening Club, Its Rules, and Members

1874 A Sermon Preached at the Dedication of the Church of Brattle-square Society, on the Corner of Clarendon Street and Commonwealth Avenue, Dec. 22, 1873

1875 Sermon Preached February . . . 1875, the Sunday After the Death of James Lawrence

1876 Letters of Rev. S.K. Lothrop, D.D. to the Proprietors of the Brattle-Square Church, With Their Action Thereupon

1881 Memoir of Hon. Nathan Hale, LL.D.

Positions Held

President of the American Unitarian Association

President of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches

President of the Boston Port and Seamen's Aid Society

Vice-President of the Boston Provident Association

President of the Children's Mission to the Destitute

Vice-President of the Institute of Technology

Treasurer of the Massachusetts Charitable Society

Treasurer of the Massachusetts Congregational Convention

Corresponding Secretary and later President of the Massachusetts Humane Society
Trustee of the Milton Academy

Member of the Society of Cincinnati

President of the Society for Promoting Theological Education
Secretary, and later President of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America

Member of the Thursday Evening Club

Secretary of the Wednesday Evening Century Club

1852-1886 Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society

Philip Marett (1792-1869) Bank president Unitarian

[Works in Print: None found]

Positions Held

Trustee of the Boston Public Library

Warden of King’s Chapel

1818-1830 Vice-Consul of Portugal for Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and eventually also of Maine and Rhode Island

1835 President of the Common Council of Boston

Marshall Sears Perry (1805-1859) Physician Unitarian

Works in Print

1832 First Book of the Fine and Useful Arts, for the Use of Schools and Lyceums

1856 Case of Hon. Charles Sumner, communicated to the Boston Society for Medical Improvement, Dec. 8, 1856
1857 The Principles and Objects of the Massachusetts Medical Society, Delivered at Their Annual Meeting, June 3, 1857

[Positions Held: Not found]

Simon W. Robinson (no dates available) Grocer

[Works in Print: None found]

Positions Held

1837 Boston Representative to the State House of Massachusetts

Henry Bromfield Rogers (1802-1887) Attorney Unitarian

Works in Print

1856 The Duty of Conservative Whigs in the Present Crisis: A Letter to the Hon. Rufus Choate by a Conservative Whig

Positions Held Relief Agent of the United States Sanitary Commission

Baron Stow (1801-1869) Reverend Baptist

Works in Print

1843 A Discourse, Delivered at the One Hundredth Anniversary of the

14Simon W. Robinson is not listed in the Massachusetts Vital Records, nor are any memorials extant. Apparently Robinson died outside the state. However, an obituary of Mrs. Simon W. Robinson is in the Boston Evening Transcript of August 23, 1883.


16Entry in the National Union Catalog gives Henry B. Rogers as the supposed author.
Organization of the Baldwin Place Baptist Church, July 27, 1843

1845

Daily Manna for Christian Pilgrims

1854

The Psalmist: A New Collection of Hymns for the Use of Baptist Churches (authored with Samuel F. Smith)

[Positions Held: Not found]

Edward Wigglesworth (1804-1876) Merchant, Unitarian

Works in Print

1829-1833 Encyclopaedia Americana

1837 Sketch of the Boston Athenaeum

1867 Introductory Remarks to Services in

In the Massachusetts Historical Society, although not listed in the National Union Catalog. In addition, Stow wrote three brief memoirs of prominent clergymen which were included in William B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit; or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations, from the Early Settlement of the Country to the Close of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-five, with Historical Introductions, vol. 6 (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1860). The three clergymen were Rev. William Collier, Rev. James D. Knowles, and Rev. Alonzo King.


Edited by Francis Lieber, assisted by Edward Wigglesworth.
Memory of Rev. William E. Channing,
D.D.

1885

Reflections

Positions Held
Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences
Officer of the Boston Provident Association
Trustee and later Vice-President and President of the Massachusetts General Hospital

Alexander Young (1800-1854) Reverend Unitarian

Works in Print

1829
A Discourse on the Sins of the Tongue

1830
An Address Delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. William Newell, as Pastor of the First Parish in Cambridge, May 19, 1830

Christianity Designed and Adapted to Be a Universal Religion: Discourse Delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. James W. Thompson, as Pastor of the South Congregational Society, Natick, Feb. 17, 1830

Evangelical Unitarianism Adapted to the Poor and Unlearned

John Eliot, the Apostle to the American Indians

1831-1833
The Library of the Old English Prose Writers

1832
The Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, Herbert, and Sanderson, by Izaak Walton, with Some Account of the Author and His Writings

1837
The Good Merchant: A Discourse Delivered in the Church on Church Green, March 26, 1837, the Sunday
After the Decease of William Parsons, Esq.

1838 A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Hon. Nathaniel Bowditch. Delivered in the Church on Church Green, March 25, 1838

1840 The Church, the Pulpit, and the Gospel: A Discourse Delivered at the Ordination of Rev. George Edward Ellis, as Pastor of the Harvard Church, in Charlestown, March 11, 1840

A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Reverend John Thornton Kirkland, D.D., LL.D., Formerly Pastor of the Church on Church Green, Boston, and Late President of Harvard University. Delivered in the Church on Church Green, May 3, 1840

1841 Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625

1845 A Discourse on the Twentieth Anniversary of His Ordination. Delivered in the Church on Church Green, January 19, 1845

Discourses on Various Occasions

1846 Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from 1623 to 1636

Congregationalism Vindicated: A Discourse Delivered at the Dudleian Lecture, in the Chapel of Harvard College, May 13, 1846

1851 The Good Parishioner: A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of Benjamin Rich. Delivered in the Church on Church Green, June 8, 1851

1852 The Beneficent Woman: A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of Mrs. Catharine G. Prescott, Delivered in
Positions Held

the Church on Church Green, May 23, 1852

- Member of the Bible Society
- Vice-President of the Boston Latin School Association
- Member of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society
- Recording Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society
- President of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity
- Director of the Society for Promoting Theological Education
- Member of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America

1837-1853

- Board of Overseers of Harvard College, and Secretary of the Board after 1849
James H. Barnes

[Works in Print: None found]

[Positions Held: Not found]

Sidney Bartlett (1799-1889) Lawyer Unitarian

Works in Print

1855 Copy of the Opinions of the Hon. Sidney Bartlett . . . and Hon. George W. Nesmith . . . in Regard to the Special Guaranteed Stock, Issued by

1 The introduction to Appendix C applies to Appendix D as well.

2 Knowledge of James H. Barnes is somewhat of a mystery. The Massachusetts Vital Records give information of a James H. Barnes who died in Boston at the age of twenty-one in 1861. Born in New Hampshire, he was the son of another James H. Barnes, who apparently was that man which was a member of the Boston School Committee in 1845. Unfortunately, the death records do not list the elder James H. Barnes. See Massachusetts Vital Records: Boston Deaths, 1849-1890, s.v. "James H. Barnes," Record no. 3622 (Oxford, Massachusetts: Holbrook Research Institute, 1987), Boston Public Library. However, there were two other men named James Barnes who were in Boston in the nineteenth century. The first was a merchant, who was born in Roxbury (near Boston), Massachusetts and died in Boston in 1870, at the age of 76. See Massachusetts Vital Records: Boston Deaths, 1849-1890, s.v. "James Barnes," Record no. 2375. The other of the two men named James Barnes was born in Boston in 1801, was a railroad engineer and army officer who took part in prominent battles of the Civil War. See Who Was Who in American History, Historical Volume, 1607-1896: A Component Volume of Who's Who in American History (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Co., 1963), s.v. "James Barnes." As there is no evidence that either of these two men ever lived in New Hampshire, as did James H. Barnes, it is apparent that neither is the man who was a member of the Boston School Committee in 1845. Stimpson's Boston Directory for 1844 lists James H. Barnes, but does not indicate a profession for him. See Stimpson's Boston Directory (1844).
the Connecticut and Passumpsic Rivers R. R. Co.

1858 The Old Colony & Fall River Railroad Company v. the Broadway Railroad Company (Rufus Choate, B. R. Curtis, P. W. Chandler, and G. O. Shattuck, counsel for complainants; Sidney Bartlett, H. W. Paine, and S. W. Bates, counsel for respondents)

1860 To the Citizens of Massachusetts

1867 William Beach Lawrence v. R. H. Dana, Jr. et als. (Counsel for complainant, B. R. Curtis, J. J. Storrow; for respondents, Sidney Bartlett [and others])

(1870) To the Honorable the Committee [sic] on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States [concerning construction of railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean], by Benjamin Robbins Curtis, with a concurrent opinion by Sidney Bartlett

[Positions Held: Not found]

Thomas M. Brewer (1814-1880) Editor

Works in Print

1853 *Wilson's American Ornithology, with Notes by Jardine; to Which Is Added a Synopsis of American Birds, Including Those Described by Bonaparte, Audubon, Nuttall, and Richardson; by T. M. Brewer*

1857 *North American Oology*

1860 *Instructions in Reference to Collecting Nests and Eggs of North American Birds*

1869 *The Geographical Distribution of the Native Birds of the Department of Vera Cruz, with a List of the Migratory*
Species (By F. Sumichrast . . .
translated from the French by T. M.
Brewer, M.D.)

1875 Catalogue of the Birds of New England

A History of North American Birds
[jointly authored by Brewer, with S.
F. Baird, and R. Ridgway]

1879 "Notes on the Nests and Eggs of the
Eight North American Species of
Empidonaces" in Proceedings of the U.
S. National Museum, 1880

1884 The Water Birds of North America
[jointly authored with S. F. Baird,
and R. Ridgway]

Positions Held
Member of the Academy of Arts and
Sciences
Member of the Massachusetts Medical
Society
Member of the Boston Society of
Natural History

William Brigham (1806-1869) Lawyer

Works in Print

1835 An Address Delivered Before the
Inhabitants of Grafton, on the First
Centennial Anniversary of That Town,
April 29, 1835

1836 The Compact with the Charter and Laws
of the Colony of New Plymouth:
Together with the Charter of the
Council at Plymouth, and an Appendix,
Containin the Articles of
Confederation of the United Colonies
of New England, and other Valuable
Documents

1855 Address Delivered Before the Worcester
The Agricultural Society, September 28, 1855

1868 "The Origin of the Name of Flint's Pond, Grafton," in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society 10, March 1868, 137-40

1869 The Colony of New Plymouth, and Its Relations to Massachusetts: a Lecture of a Course by Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Delivered Before the Lowell Institute, Jan. 19, 1869

Positions Held

1847 Attorney before the U. S. Supreme Court
1866 Member of the Massachusetts Senate

Peleg Whitman Chandler (1816-1899) Lawyer Swedenborgian

Works in Print

1841 Review of the D'Hauteville Case: Recently Argued and Determined in the Court of General Sessions, for the City and County of Philadelphia

1842 The Bankrupt Law of the United States, with an Outline of the System; ... with the Rules and Forms in Massachusetts, and References to Recent Decisions

1844 American Criminal Trials

The Morals of Freedom: An Oration Delivered Before the Authorities of the City of Boston, July 4, 1844

*Located in the Massachusetts Historical Society, but not listed in the National Union Catalog.
1850 The Charter and Ordinances of the City of Boston, Together with the Acts of the Legislature Relating to the City; Collated and Revised Pursuant to an Order of the City Council.

1851 Opinion of the City Solicitor, Peleg W. Chandler, May 7, 1851, "as to whom the charge of Faneuil Hall is vested," etc.

1859 A Statement in Reply to Mr. Stevenson's Letter to the Wednesday Evening Club.

1864 Argument in Favor of the Proposed Consolidation of the Western and Worcester Railroad Corporations, Before the Committee on Railways and Canals, March 16th, 1864.

1866 The Present Shame and Future Glory of the House of Israel.


1872 Letters on the Use of Hymns in the Public Services of the New Jerusalem Church.

1880 Memoir of Governor Andrew, with Personal Reminiscences.


Positions Held Reporter of law cases for the Boston Daily Advertiser.

*Located in the Massachusetts Historical Society, but not listed in the National Union Catalog.
Henry Grafton Clark (1814-1892)  Physician

Works in Print

1833  Sketch of the Bible, for Children and Youth


1850  Ship Fever, So Called: Its History, Nature, and Best Treatment

1852  Superiority of Sanitary Measures Over Quarantines: An Address Delivered Before the Suffolk District Medical Society at Its Third Anniversary Meeting, Boston, April 24, 1852

1860  Outline of a Plan for a Free City Hospital

Located in the Massachusetts Historical Society, but not listed in the National Union Catalog.
1862  **First Report to the Commission** (U. S. Sanitary Commission)\(^5\)

1865  **Sanitary Code for Cities**, revised and adopted by the National Quarantine and Sanitary Convention\(^6\)

1868  **Medical Jurisprudence: The Annual Address Before the Massachusetts Medical Society, June 3, 1868**\(^6\)

(positions held: not found)

J. I. T. Coolidge (1817-1913) **Reverend Unitarian**\(^7\)

**Works in Print**

1845  **A Three Years' Ministry: A Sermon Preached February 9, 1845, at the Purchase Street Congregational Church, Being the Third Anniversary of His Ordination**

1848  **A Farewell Discourse, Delivered to the Purchase Street Congregation, April 30, 1848, on Occasion of Leaving Their Old Church**

Jesus, the Manifestation of the Father

The Power of Christianity: A Discourse Preached at the Dedication of the House of the Thirteenth Congregational Church, in Harrison Avenue, Boston, May 3, 1848

1853  **An Address Delivered Before the Boston Young Men's Christian Union, at the Opening of Their Rooms in Bedford Street, Friday Evening, May 6, 1853**

\(^5\)Located in the Massachusetts Historical Society, but not listed in the National Union Catalog.

\(^6\)Coolidge left the Unitarian denomination to become Episcopalian in 1858.
1857 The Perfect and Upright Man: Discourse Preached June 7, 1857 after the Decease of Isaac Williams, Esq.

1858 The Choice of the Cross: A discourse Preached to the Thirteenth Congregational Society, on Sunday, May 2, 1858

A Farewell Discourse Delivered at the Thirteenth Congregational Church, on the Occasion of Resigning His Charge, Sunday, July 4, 1858

1913 A Discourse Preached on the Third Sunday after Trinity, 1866, Being the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Celebration of the Holy Communion in St. Matthew’s Church, South Boston

[Positions Held: Not found]

William Johnson Dale (1815-1903) Physician

[Works in Print: None found]

Positions Held Counsellor of the Massachusetts Medical Society

1861 Surgeon-General of Massachusetts

1861 Acting Assistant Surgeon, United States

1863 Brigadier General in Civil War

Frederick Emerson (see Appendix C)

Charles Gordon (1809-1872) Physician

[Works in Print: None found]

[Positions Held: Not found]

Located in the Massachusetts Historical Society, but not listed in the National Union Catalog.
Hiram Atwell Graves (1813-1850)  Reverend  Baptist

Works in Print

1844 The Family Circle: Its Affections and Pleasures
1848 The Attractions of Heaven

[Positions Held: Not found]

Winslow Lewis, Jr. (1799-1875)  Physician

Works in Print

1835 On the Functions of the Brain and of Each of Its Parts: With Observations on the Possibility of Determining the Instincts, Propensities, and Talents, or the Moral and Intellectual Dispositions of Men and Animals, by the Configuration of the Brain and Head by Franz Josef Gall, translated into English by Winslow, Jr.

1837 The Dissector’s Guide; or, Student’s Companion by Edward William Tuson, with additions by Winslow Lewis, Jr.

1840 An Introduction to the Study of Human Anatomy by James Paxton, with additions by Winslow Lewis, Jr.

1858 Obituary Notice of Stephen Lovell, October 3, 1858

1864 Annual Address of the President of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Delivered January 6th, 1864


1866 Address of Dr. Winslow Lewis, on Resigning the Presidency of the Boston Numismatic Society, January 5, 1865
Valedictory Address on Retiring from the Office of President of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. Delivered at Boston, Mass., Wednesday, February 7, 1866

1870 The Boston Gynaecological Society, and Its Work During 1870

Positions Held
Senior warden in the St. Johns Lodge of Masons

1839 Member of Boston Common Council

1856-1862 Overseer of Harvard College

Rollin Heber Neale (1808-1879) Reverend Baptist

Works in Print

1834 Advantages of Difficulties: A Sermon Delivered at the Dedication of the Baptist Meeting House in Southington, Ct., October 31, 1833

1835 The Fourth Annual Address of the Connecticut Peace Society, Delivered at the First Baptist Church, Hartford, During the Session of the Legislature, May 10, 1835

1842 Revival Hymns: Principally Selected by the Rev. R. H. Neale: Set to Some of the Most Familiar and Useful Revival Tunes, Many of Which Have Never Before Been Published; Arranged and Newly Harmonized by H. W. Day, A. M.

1849 The Incarnation

1851 The Burning Bush; or, the Bible Divinely Protected

1852 Religious Liberty: A Sermon Delivered Before his Excellency George S. Boutwell, Governor, His Honor Henry W. Cushman, Lieutenant Governor, the Honorable Council, and the legislature of Massachusetts, at the Annual Election, January 8, 1852
1855    Holding Forth the Word of Life

1865    An Address Delivered on the Two
        Hundredth Anniversary of the
        Organization of the First Baptist
        Church, Boston, June 7, 1865

        Sermon in Sermons Preached in Boston
        on the Death of Abraham Lincoln

1870    The Pastor and Preacher: A Memorial
        of the Late Rev. Baron Stow, D.D.

Positions Held

1856-1868    Overseer of Harvard College

John Odin, Jr. (1808-64)    Physician

[Works in Print: None found]

Positions Held

1850-1853    Member of the House of Representatives
              of Massachusetts

1852, 1854    Member of Boston Common Council

1853    Inspector of Massachusetts State
        Prison

Ezra Palmer, Jr. (1808-1878)    Physician

[Works in Print: None found]

Positions Held    Member of the St. Andrews Lodge of
                  Masons

Aurelius Dwight Parker (1802-1875)    Lawyer

[Works in Print: None found]

Positions Held    Member of the House of Representatives
                  of Massachusetts

John Turner Sargent (1808-1877)    Reverend    Unitarian
Works in Print

1839  A Discourse on the Death of Hon. William Sullivan, Delivered in King's Chapel, Boston, September 15, 1839

1840  A Discourse Preached at the Dedication of Suffolk Street Chapel, February 5, 1840

1843  A Cup of Blessing; or, The Pastor's Acknowledgment to His People in Return for Their Full Chalice, April 23, 1843

1844  The Rich and the Poor: A Sermon

1845  The Ministry at Suffolk St. Chapel: Its Origin, Progress and Experience

Obstacles to the Truth: A Sermon Preached in Hollis Street Church, Dec. 8, 1844


1846  An Address on Pauperism, Delivered Before the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, in the Central Church, Winter Street, on Sunday Evening, February 22, 1846

1852  Theodore Parker, the Reform Pulpit, and the Influences That Oppose It: A Sermon Preached at the Melodeon, Nov. 7, 1852

Positions Held  President of the Radical Club

Alvan Simonds (1807-1886)  Banker  Orth. Congregational

[Works in Print: None found]

Positions Held  Deacon of Phillips Church
15th Massachusetts Regiment in the Civil War

1832-1886  Member of the Howard Benevolent Society

1869-1883  Treasurer of the Howard Benevolent Society

1883-1886  Vice-president of the Howard Benevolent Society

1833-1836  Overseer of the Poor for Ward XII

1834-1836  Director of the City House of Industry

1836  Representative from Boston to the State Legislature

1838-1853  Superintendent of the Phillips Church Sunday School

1847-1848  Member of the Common Council of Boston

1872  Presidential Elector for Massachusetts (Republican)

Sebastian W. Streeter (1783-1867) Reverend Universalist

Works in Print


1814  An Oration, Pronounced at Hampstead, New-Hampshire, July 4, 1814

1819  A Sermon, Delivered on Christmas Morning, Dec. 25th, A. D. 1819, in the Universalist Meeting-House, in Portsmouth, New-Hampshire

1829  The New Hymn Book, Designed for Universalist Societies, Compiled from Approved Authors, with Variations and Additions (and editions through 1854, jointly authored by Russell Streeter)
1832 Consolatory Views of Death: Sermon Delivered in the Universalist Chapel in Lowell... Sept. 9, 1832... Following the Death of Mrs. Mary Gardner

1838 God's Works Remembered: A Valedictory Discourse, Delivered in the Ancient Church, of the First Universalist Society, in Boston, June 24, 1838; Being the Last Sabbath Previous to Taking It Down

[Positions Held: Not found]

Edward Wigglesworth (See Appendix C)
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C. "Church Music." The Western Messenger, August 1835, 134-38; September 1835, 172-74; February 1836, 572-75.


"The Churchman and the Orthodox." Boston Recorder, 11 March 1836.


"George Bartlett." Boston Daily Advertiser, 19 July 1865.


"Has the Art of Painting or of Music the Greater Influence on the Human Mind: A Discussion in Olympus." The Musical Magazine, 11 April 1840, 119.


"Lyman School, East Boston." Boston Daily Times, 1 September 1845.


"Meeting of the School Committee." Boston Daily Times, 1 September 1845.


"Music in the Common Schools." Boston Musical Gazette, 28 November 1838, 121.


[Answers to letters.] The Musical Visitor, 1 January 1842, 146.


"Notice of Dr. Martin Gay." Boston Daily Advertiser, 28 January 1850.


"Peleg Chandler." [Reprinted from New-Jerusalem Magazine, August 1889.]


"Progress of Temperance: Colleges." *Boston Recorder*, 8 September 1830, 142.


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X., S. [Letter to editor, Mr. Hale.] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 4 October 1837, 207.

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Gordon, Charles, to Horace Mann, Nov. 11, 1848. H. Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.


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Harris, Jeremiah G., to George Bancroft, [1838?]. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.


Howe, M. A. De Wolfe, Roxbury, to Horace Mann, 27 February 1844. Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
Leach, E. W., to the librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 16 November 1839, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

Light, George W., to Dr. Shattuck, n.d. Shattuck Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

Lowell, Charles et al., to the Clergy of Massachusetts June 28, 1856. Theodore Parker Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.


Mann, Horace, to Samuel G. Howe, 25 September 1844, H. Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

Mann, Horace, to Samuel G. Howe, 8 October 1844, H. Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.


Mann, Horace, to L. Norcross, Mar. 11, 1846. H. Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

Mann, Horace, to William C. Woodbridge, Nov. 23, 1844. H. Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (Copy of original).

Mason, Lowell. Diary "No. 1, First Visit to Europe." Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

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Mason, Lowell, Savannah, to Father, Mother, Sister & Brothers, 8 July 1814. Mason Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Mason, Lowell, to Horace Mann, 16 June 1845, H. Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

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Mason, Lowell, New York, to Horace Mann, 10 January 1855, H. Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
Mason, Lowell, Orange, New Jersey, to his brother, 24 December 1870. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Room, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut [typewritten copy].


Stow, Baron, to Horace Mann, July 28, 1848. H. Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

Sumner, Charles et al., to Horace Mann, Jan. 13, 1845. H. Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.


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________. What Thinkest Thou?: A Sermon, Preached in the Twelfth Congregational Church, Boston, Sunday, March 5, 1843. Boston: Printed by Tuttle and Dennett, 1843.


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Channing, W. E. "Popular Amusements." From an address on temperance. The Western Messenger, January 1838, 343.


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Dwight, Sereno Edwards. The Greek Revolution; An Address Delivered in Park Street Church, Boston, on Thursday, April 1, and Repeated at the Request of the Greek Committee, in the Old South Church, on the Evening of April 14, 1824. Boston: Printed by Crocker and Brewster, 1824.


Ellis, George E. A Sermon Preached in the Church on Church Green, Boston, on Sunday, March 26, 1854, Being the Sunday After the Interment of the Rev. Alexander Young, D.D., Late Pastor of the New South Church. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Company, 1854.


[Eliot, Samuel A.] [Address of mayor to 3,000 school students.] The Musical Visitor, 24 September 1841, 107-08.


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[Howe, Mark Antony De Wolfe.] Review of the Reports of the Annual Visiting Committees, of the Public Schools of the City of Boston, 1845. Boston: Charles Stimpson, 1846.

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"William Johnson Dale." Memorials of the Class of 1837, 1887.


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Stimpson's Boston Directory: Containing the Names of the Inhabitants, Their Occupations, Places of Business, and Dwelling Houses, and the City Register, With Lists of the Streets, Lanes, and Wharves, the City Officers, Public Offices and Banks, and Other Useful Information. Boston: Charles Stimpson, 1844.
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