

2023

(Special Section, Hymns Beyond the Congregation II): Spiritual Concert-Fundraisers, Singing Conventions, and Cherokee Language Learning Academies: Vernacular Southern Hymnbooks in Noncongregational Settings

Jesse P. Karlsberg
Emory University

Kaylina M. Crawley
Tennessee State University

Sara S. Hopkins
Western Carolina University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://elischolar.library.yale.edu/yjmr>



Part of the [Musicology Commons](#), [Native American Studies Commons](#), and the [Religion Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Karlsberg, Jesse P.; Crawley, Kaylina M.; and Hopkins, Sara S. (2023) "(Special Section, Hymns Beyond the Congregation II): Spiritual Concert-Fundraisers, Singing Conventions, and Cherokee Language Learning Academies: Vernacular Southern Hymnbooks in Noncongregational Settings," *Yale Journal of Music & Religion*: Vol. 9: No. 1, Article 8.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17132/2377-231X.1237>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by EliScholar – A Digital Platform for Scholarly Publishing at Yale. It has been accepted for inclusion in Yale Journal of Music & Religion by an authorized editor of EliScholar – A Digital Platform for Scholarly Publishing at Yale. For more information, please contact elischolar@yale.edu.

(Special Section, Hymns Beyond the Congregation II): Spiritual Concert-Fundraisers, Singing Conventions, and Cherokee Language Learning Academies: Vernacular Southern Hymnbooks in Noncongregational Settings

Cover Page Footnote

We are grateful to special issue editors Erin Johnson-Williams and Phil Burnett for their encouragement to write this essay and helpful edits. Thanks to two anonymous readers for the Yale Journal of Music and Religion for thoughtful reviews which helped us refine our terminology. Finally, thanks to Meredith Doster for many useful suggestions that helped us clarify our writing and strengthen our argument and to Erin Fulton for conducting music bibliographical research that informed our analyses. This essay has been made possible in part by a major grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (RQ-260871-18).

Spiritual Concert-Fundraisers, Singing Conventions, and Cherokee-Language Learning Academies

Vernacular Southern Hymnbooks in Noncongregational Settings

Jesse P. Karlsberg, Kaylina Madison Crawley, and Sara Snyder Hopkins

Noncongregational settings were integral to hymnody in the postbellum settler colonial context of the southern United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The incorporation of hymn singing into a wide range of noncongregational settings served Black, white, and Native populations in navigating unsettled racial dynamics during this period across the U.S. South and its diasporas. Hymn books themselves have long been racialized repositories of meaning for associated communities of practice. Scholars of hymnody draw on a range of methodological perspectives yet have seldom considered the books in which hymns are compiled. The lack of attention to the history of the book may be one reason why scholars of congregational music have typically understood hymn singing as an activity historically limited to the orbit of Christian churches.¹ This discourse locates the rise of sacred music in more diverse settings as a response to a late twentieth-century decentering of church institutions that reshaped ecclesial life. In contrast, our work explores the multiple categories of books compiling hymns set to music that constructed nineteenth- and early twentieth-century noncongregational communities.² These hymn books included shape-note tune books like *The Sacred Harp* (1844), spiritual collections like *Jubilee Songs* (1872), and gospel songbooks like *Class, Choir and Congregation* (1888). Features of these music books' bibliographic forms, and elements of their music stylistic

contents, facilitated their use in diverse communal settings, including fundraising performances for Black institutions and interdenominational shape-note singing conventions. Other works from this period were intended for congregational use yet featured bibliographic formats that impeded their adoption by those congregations. Today, historical hymnbooks such as the *Cherokee Singing Book* (1846) are finding new scholarly interlocutors, making these works available to new communities of practice that include and extend beyond ecclesial and scholarly circles.³ This essay features three case studies examining hymn collections intended or repurposed for a range of noncongregational uses. We argue that taking noncongregational contexts seriously helps to unpack hymns' connections to race and place, reveal relationships between hymn books' music genre affiliations and formats and their musical-religious functions, and illuminate latent pedagogical and research opportunities.

As coauthors, we draw these three case studies from the corpus of the Sounding Spirit Collaborative, a scholarly initiative promoting research and public understanding through engagement with southern vernacular sacred music books published between 1850 and 1925.⁴ Sounding Spirit is publishing five digital annotated facsimile editions and preparing a digital library featuring more than 1,250 digitized sacred music books. These hymnals, songbooks, tune books, and sheet music reached audiences in a diverse U.S. South

where hymn singing took place in both church-centric settings and other spheres of life: in homes; social, occupational, and political networks; educational institutions; and on the concert stage.⁵

We categorize these other spheres of hymn singing as “noncongregational,” and emphasize that studying hymns can generate insights into lived experiences of race, place, class, and coloniality as well as conceptions of the sacred. Recent scholarship on Christian sacred music in varied contemporary settings has capaciously theorized the congregation as a “fluid, contingent, social constellation that is actively performed into being through a set of communal practices” that may encompass “a range of different gatherings in one network, while also accounting for appropriations of these gatherings in the field.” This means that music making can take place in settings that “extend far beyond weekly Christian worship, encompassing home group Bible studies, worship conferences, music festivals, social media, college campus ministries, intentional communities, or communes.”⁶ These understandings, advanced by Monique M. Ingalls; Mirella Klomp; and Andrew Mall, Jeffers Engelhardt, and Ingalls, respectively, explicitly identify “religious worship” and “sacred meaning-making” as the context in which congregational music making takes place.⁷ Although these definitions expand “the notion of ‘congregation’ beyond the local church setting,” they remain focused, as Ingalls notes, on gatherings “where participants understand the primary activity as being religious worship.”⁸

Our understanding of *noncongregational* hymn singing shares with Klomp and Marcel Barnard’s notion of “sacro-soundscapes” and Klomp’s theorization of “ecclesioscapes”

an interest in “understanding the broad field of communal gatherings where sacred meaning-making occurs,” within which sacred music may “originate in a specific place and time and move along with the people who sing the songs, the musicians who play the music, and . . . find temporary dwellings.”⁹ Like Ingalls, Klomp theorizes “ecclesioscapes” as a way to analyze a broad range of sacred meaning making.¹⁰ We adopt the term “noncongregational” to emphasize that hymn singing takes place in both sacred and nonsacred contexts. If the ecclesioscape helps interpret how these settings contribute to sacred meaning making, the explicitly noncongregational framework this essay adopts—even when congregations are involved—helps center other forms of meaning making through communal hymn singing, including racial, geographic, and political contexts.

Our scholarship also links historical and contemporary noncongregational settings to bibliographic form and genre. We argue that elements of bibliographic form signaled books’ intended communities of use. So, too, genres of music and styles of hymn arrangements. Noncongregational settings prompted important formal and stylistic divergences from formats and repertoire targeting congregational settings. The success and failure of hymnbooks with which various nineteenth- and early twentieth-century southerners made music together can be explained by their divergence from or correspondence with these context-specific expectations. One of our case studies examines books intended for a noncongregational setting. The other two case studies involve books designed for congregational adoption that employed stylistic, pedagogical, and formal elements associated with *noncongregational* settings,

contributing to their lack of adoption by their intended church communities. In the noncongregational hymn book communities in which these texts do find use, the books themselves have frequently become central to identity formation.

In our exploration of noncongregational settings and bibliographic form, this essay engages the many ways, as Rhae Lynn Barnes and Glenda Goodman write, “an ideology of racial difference is baked into American music history.”¹¹ The hymn books and attendant music cultures our case studies detail refract the “waves of colonization, forced migration, enslavement, expulsion, and immigration” that helped constitute the music of the nineteenth-century Americas.¹² A study of these hymn books must investigate how form and setting carry both racial and colonial ideologies. As Maria Ryan argues, sacred musical objects cannot be disconnected from the “imperial and colonial networks” of enslavement. Writing about the intersections of racial ideologies and debates over styles of psalmody in early nineteenth-century colonial Jamaican Anglican churches, Ryan argues that the study of sacred musical texts offers “an opportunity to attend to the entanglement of music, race, power, and listening.”¹³ Racial and colonial contexts also shape sacred music books in noncongregational settings. Writing about the conventions that asserted “Black worth, ambition, and belonging in North America,” P. Gabrielle Foreman notes that “Black convention culture existed in close relation to nineteenth-century Black print culture.”¹⁴ Glenda Goodman illustrates how Native and colonial ways of knowing in eighteenth-century Connecticut enabled sacred music books to function “as much as instruments of sociability as they were tools

of literacy . . . fostering a covenant between . . . residents, both Native and colonist.”¹⁵ Our work interrogates the ways musical style and bibliographic form surface the racial and colonial dynamics underpinning noncongregational hymn singing.

This article first situates our analysis in discourses on form and function in music publishing and scholarly arguments detailing how books function within hymn book communities. These theoretical frameworks contextualize our discussion of noncongregational hymn singing settings. The next three sections feature case studies, each contributed by one of the article’s three coauthors. First, Kaylina Madison Crawley discusses how spiritual collections published between 1872 and 1902 supported both fundraising and the expression, preservation, and performance of Black identity for individuals associated with Black institutions of higher learning. Next, Jesse P. Karlsberg describes formal features of sacred music books intended for use at singing conventions and analyzes the hybrid form of a work that proved unsuccessful in bridging singing convention and congregational contexts. Finally, Sara Snyder Hopkins details how contemporary language learners are finding value in a Cherokee-language tune book that failed to reach its intended historical audience of church congregations. We conclude by arguing that our case studies point to the wide variety of historical and contemporary noncongregational hymn singing contexts that will benefit from book historical research. Probing the prevalence and diversity of extra-ecclesial hymn singing across time and place, our work examines the racial and colonial entanglements of such sacred music practices.

Form and Function in Hymn Book Communities

This essay builds on scholarship that connects books' formats to their musical contents and intended functions. The bibliographic concept of format refers to elements of books' physical form and construction including types of bindings, the number and dimensions of gatherings of folded and cut paper, and characteristics of paper used.¹⁶ Hymn books' musical contents and intended musical functions are essential to understanding their formats.¹⁷

Just as awareness of a book's musical function can support interpretation of its bibliographical form, we argue that bibliographic form can be a resource in parsing musical function. The forms of songbooks and hymnals can facilitate a range of intended musical, social, and religious functions. To intended audiences, bibliographic forms can also signify alignment with a particular musical, religious, political, or cultural setting. In this essay, our case studies assess whether a book's formal features, such as its binding, page dimensions, or the layout of musical and textual elements, meet, miss, or even misconstrue the expectations associated with a given musical-religious function. The alignment or lack of alignment between bibliographic form and the formal expectations associated with its intended setting can provide important evidence in analyzing why a book met or failed to meet its maker's goals. This fit or misfit can also help in gauging how genre and form intersect with a text's racial, religious, or political context.

In relating form and contents to what we call "hymn book communities," we also draw on scholarship that articulates

how books function within "communities of practice," "textual communities," or "cultures of print." A community of practice coalesces around a shared activity through which its participants develop increasing proficiency.¹⁸ Communities of practice are essentially meaning-making enterprises whose members collaboratively position themselves as a group delineated from others.¹⁹ Congregations can be understood as communities of practice that model engagement, joint commitment, and a shared repertoire.²⁰ Hymn books within a community-of-practice framework function both as repositories of repertoire for shared singing and as textual objects around which communities of practice arise. Brian Stock describes "textual communities" as "groups of people whose social activities are centered around texts."²¹ Textual communities are constructed or "imagined," as articulated by Benedict Anderson, as contributing to the kinds of political consciousness that give rise to larger group identities.²² Whereas preliterate groups oriented around "a literate interpreter," by the industrialized nineteenth century, textual communities connected "geographically-separated readers" and provided "an alternative to local relationships." Religious studies scholar Candy Gunther Brown argues that "in the face of wrenching cultural and political transitions, textual practices have offered some measure of stability—even if the textual communities themselves were always fluid."²³ These imagined communities have spawned longstanding publishing practices referred to as "cultures of print." These include music publishing practices that facilitate the production of bibliographic forms or print genres legible to their intended audiences.²⁴

Sacred music books have long constructed hymn book communities. In the case studies that follow, we analyze some of the noncongregational settings around which these communities have formed and navigated cultural and political change. We assess the bibliographic forms at the centers of cultures of print connected with these case studies—like oblong tune books, jubilee ensembles’ spiritual collections, or shape-note gospel songbooks. In assessing how the hymn books we introduce variably met or upended formal expectations associated with these hymn book communities—with uneven results—we push the consideration of noncongregational hymn singing into understudied periods and unpack racial, political, and religious contexts underpinning these format and genre conventions.

Spiritual Collections and Black Educational Institutions, 1872–1902

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, a wave of spiritual collections emerged from singing groups formed at Black institutions in the southern United States.²⁵ During enslavement and the Civil War, spirituals were a genre of hymnody that spanned congregational and noncongregational settings. Passed down communally in oral tradition, this genre of sacred song was a crucial form of Black spiritual expression. The practice of singing spirituals took on additional significance after the Civil War as African Americans sought to reassemble elements of their heritage and culture in a nation that remained hostile to Black personhood. Unlike proto-ethnographic documentary collections such as *Slave Songs of the United States* (1867),²⁶ spiritual collections of Black institutions featured choral arrangements of spiritual songs and sought to advance the fundraising needs

of their sponsoring institution. Frequently compiled by white administrators, these collections capitalized on white enthusiasm for products that packaged the promise of higher education for uplifting Black students and singers. These collections also served a documentary function, preserving the spiritual repertoires of Black institutions’ choral ensembles, including those previously known to members of the schools’ extended communities.

This case study discusses three significant spiritual collections: *Jubilee Songs as Sung by the Jubilee Singers, of Fisk University* (1872) by George White and Theodore Seward, *Cabin and Plantation Songs as Sung by the Hampton Students* (1874) by Thomas Putnam Fenner, and *New Jubilee Songs as Sung by the Fisk Jubilee Singers of Fisk University* (1902) by Frederick Jerome Work.²⁷ These three editions came from Fisk University and the Hampton Institute, homes to the most influential touring ensembles and those best represented in scholarly studies of Black sacred music. The editors of these compilations collected spirituals from faculty, staff, alumni, students and their families, church musicians, and local storytellers. Although these collections included arrangements reflecting the cultivated performance style of touring ensembles, they also represented the community members who shared important source materials. Analyzing these collections documents relationships between the role of spirituals in broader Black communities, the performance practice of choral ensembles at historically Black colleges and universities, and the manuscript compilation practices of ensemble directors as the views of institutions’ administrators toward spirituals shifted.

Go down, Moses.

1. When Is-rael was in E-gypt's land : Let my peo - ple go,

Op-pressed so hard they could not stand, Let my peo - ple go.

Go down, Mo - ses, way down in E - gypt land,

Tell ole Pha - roh, Let my peo - ple go.

2 Thus saith the Lord, bold Moses said,
Let my people go ;
If not I'll smite your first-born dead,
Let my people go.
Go down, Moses, etc.

3 No more shall they in bondage toil,
Let my people go ;
Let them come out with Egypt's spoil,
Let my people go.
Go down, Moses, etc.

4 When Israel out of Egypt came,
Let my people go ;
And left the proud oppressive land,
Let my people go.
Go down, Moses, etc.

Figure 1: "Go Down, Moses," a spiritual, arranged in SATB format, in *Jubilee Songs* (1872). Mills Music Library Digital Collections, University of Wisconsin-Madison, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/MillsSpColl.JubileeSongs>.

The arranged spirituals of the Jubilee Singers of Fisk University were the first to be published and came to define the genre in the second half of the nineteenth century. Founded in 1866 to educate Black children of the formerly enslaved, by 1871 Fisk was at risk of closure due to its precarious financial situation. In response to the fiscal crisis, white Ohioan and Fisk treasurer George Leonard White (1838–1895) selected 12 students to embark on a concert tour to help raise money for the school.

White's arrangements recast spirituals in diatonic harmony and relied heavily on primary triads and dominant seventh chords,²⁸ creating a musical style more palatable for white audiences and aligned with the Fisk vision of racial uplift.²⁹ Once the Fisk Jubilee Singers began touring, spirituals quickly eclipsed classical and popular music in their programming, catering to the tastes and beliefs of their white audiences.³⁰ The fundraising experiment was a financial success that led to a sequence of concert tours across the United States and Europe that lasted until 1878.

Jubilee Songs as Sung by the Jubilee Singers, of Fisk University represents the first example of a songbook created through a Black university containing sacred repertoire yet connected to the nonecclesial setting of the concert performance. Published in 1872 after the ensemble's first tour, the collection was jointly compiled by the Singers' first two directors, White and Theodore Frelinghuysen Seward (1835–1902). The first edition contains 24 songs presented either in unison or in simple SATB setting with conventional voice leading (see Fig. 1).³¹ Several successive early editions of the songbook documented the ensemble's expanding repertoire and contributed to the fundraising efforts.³² Alongside a growing

selection of spirituals, these works included an evolving narrative recounting the ensemble's travels. By 1875, this narrative appeared as a multichapter story prior to the presentation of spirituals in each edition.³³ Subsequently, other singing groups began to travel, performing similarly stylized arrangements that they later published.³⁴ Even as the spiritual remained a form of communal and participatory Black spiritual expression, the rise of concert performances pioneered by the Fisk Jubilee Singers became a prominent noncongregational setting for a hymn genre that contributed to public perception and reception of African Americans. Meanwhile, as concerts of arranged spirituals became a popular fundraising strategy at Black institutions whose songbooks featuring their ensembles' arrangements became desired collectibles, these works increasingly represented academic endeavors for their compilers.

Beyond the Fisk network, *Cabin and Plantation Songs as Sung by the Hampton Students* (1874) was a notable early Black spiritual ensemble songbook compiled by Thomas Putnam Fenner (1829–1912) and published in New York by G. P. Putnam's Sons. A white singer and musician, Fenner led the music department of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute of Virginia (founded in 1868). In the preface, he echoed other compilers in articulating preservation as a motivation for publication:

One reason for publishing this slave music is, that it is rapidly passing away. It may be that this people which has developed such a wonderful musical sense in its degradation will, in its maturity, produce a composer who could bring a music of the future out of this music of the past. At present, however, the freedmen have an unfortunate inclination to despise it, as a vestige of

slavery; those who learned it in the old time, when it was the natural outpouring of their sorrows and longings, are dying off, and if efforts are not made for its preservation, the country will soon have lost this wonderful music of bondage.³⁵

Fenner's collection features a broadly distinct selection of songs from White and Seward's and, later, J. B. T. Marsh's Fisk editions. The collection also employs a distinctive format that speaks to Fenner's preservation-oriented mindset. For many songs, the first one or two verses are set with the music, with additional verses printed beneath the score. "In Dat Great Gittin-up Mornin," for example, is published with an overwhelming 60 verses,³⁶ even though few of these additional stanzas would have been sung in concert. Their inclusion instead served Fenner's goal of preservation and could further prove useful for someone studying the lyrics. Yet like the Fisk collections, *Cabin and Plantation Songs* also functioned as a product complementing the Hampton Chorus concert tours in fundraising for students' tuition. The book contained announcements at its front and back detailing student need and how to send donations. These advertisements also emphasized Hampton's mission of training its Black students to become teachers,³⁷ serving the important function of making patrons aware of institutional priorities and needs (see Fig. 2).

Much as Fenner feared, the Black spiritual did begin to wane in both practice and performance. The popularity of the spiritual sung by jubilee ensembles in concert format decreased in the 1880s. Many institutions that had previously sponsored large ensembles winnowed their groups to male quartets, including Fisk University. A lack of funds to front the sizable cost of group tours with

dwindling profits compounded a reticence by the first Black generation of university administrators to promote the performance of songs emblematic of a painful past. Even so, the academic project of preservation Fenner championed persisted across this period of decline. Associations dedicated to further archiving spirituals before their feared disappearance emerged, such as the Hampton Folk-Lore Society at Hampton Institute in 1893.³⁸

This need to preserve the Black spiritual repertoire was the primary motivation of scholars who would compile and publish new songbooks in the years to come. Frederick Jerome Work's 1902 collection, *New Jubilee Songs*, represents this preservation-minded approach to the publication and performance of spiritual arrangements. An African American, Work (1880–1942) hailed from a family deeply committed to the documentation and performance of Black sacred music. He spent decades in the orbit of historically Black institutions in Arkansas, Missouri, and Tennessee. Work's brother John W. Work II and nephew John W. Work III both served as directors of the Fisk Jubilee Singers. Frederick Work was the first graduate of Fisk University to edit a spiritual collection. Published after the popular market for Black institutions' spiritual collections had waned, *New Jubilee Songs* reached an audience of spiritual ensembles themselves. The Fisk Jubilee Singers and ensembles at other historically Black colleges used the collection extensively.

Work considered himself a collector and historian, an orientation evident in the content of *New Jubilee Songs*. Documenting the repertoire of vocal ensembles at the turn of the century, Work hoped to show spirituals maintaining their

The Trustees of the Hampton Normal
and Agricultural Institute have
undertaken to raise an En-
dowment Fund of

TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS!

To maintain the Hampton work in full strength, with its multiplying outposts and far-spreading influence, while efforts are making for an endowment fund, we ask donations for current expenses. Any amount will be thankfully received, but we would especially urge contributions of yearly scholarships of seventy (70) dollars. A scholarship is tuition, or the expense of educating a student (not his board bill, which he pays partly in cash, and partly—in some cases entirely, by labor.) The course of study is three years. It requires two hundred and ten dollars to train a teacher, who, by his own efforts, will have earned more than is given him. To meet earnest, capable, self-reliant youth half way in their struggles for education, is a wise and helpful charity, stimulating but not weakening them. It is sowing seed for a ready harvest. This school is based on the idea of self-help: value for value is fundamental. Character is developed, and good men and women, rather than polished scholars, are sent into the world. As a class, they labor for temperance, in the Sunday-schools, and for the spread of Christian truth, in the interest of no denomination, and are often opposed by the rigid sectarianism of local churches and ignorant preachers. Ninety per cent. of our 190 graduates are teaching. Four-fifths of them are, we have reason to believe, true Christians.

There never was a time when the colored people needed wise help more than now: never was there such a complete machinery for making contributions effective for their welfare. The foundations of a great educational work are laid at Hampton: it remains to build thereon. Contributions may be sent to

J. F. B. MARSHALL, Treasurer,
Box 10, HAMPTON, VA.

Or to **S. C. ARMSTRONG, Principal.**

Figure 2: Advertisement for a fundraising campaign for the Hampton Institute endowment fund, from *Cabin and Plantation Songs* (1874). Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University, <http://pid.emory.edu/ark:/25593/b6vrc/PDF>.

relevance decades after the Civil War. His compilation followed in the footsteps of *Jubilee Songs* and *Cabin and Plantation Songs* in presenting spirituals in both solo and four-part arrangements for choral ensembles. The collection's 46 sacred songs featured four different arrangement styles aligned with the performance practices of spiritual ensembles: four-part chorus with soprano solo, four-part chorus with no solo, a single line of melody, and call-and-response single melody.³⁹ Yet in a departure from White's approach in particular, Work recaptured elements of the communal and participatory sound of the Black spiritual. The collection retains unique harmonies predating concert arrangements and includes descriptive annotations for several songs (see Fig. 3).

The priorities of administrators and faculty at historically Black institutions shifted across the 30-year period separating the publication of White's *Jubilee Songs* from Work's *New Jubilee Songs*. This case study illustrates how the audiences and contents of spiritual collections shifted in tandem. White's target audience was predominantly white concertgoers. Translating spirituals from oral circulation and arranging them for concert consumption, White imposed standards of western notation and harmony on the music, obscuring characteristics of its sound in oral tradition and traces of its diverse roots. Although Work's project also involved notating spirituals, his approach countered this dislocating potential. Work's target audience spanned spiritual ensembles, scholars, and publics interested in the history and original sound of the spiritual. Building on Fenner's interest in the preservation of Black oral traditions, Work retained harmonic language inspired by the original, communal context of

the spirituals and included annotations inviting further study.

Spiritual collections were noncongregational commercial products either marketed to a predominantly white consumer base or specifically designed to meet shifting performance practices. Even as spirituals retain an important foothold in Black congregational settings, thanks to these products, spirituals are sung by choruses and soloists all over the world.⁴⁰ The omnipresence of this style of hymn singing in choral and educational environments represents the continuation of a performance practice that was first established in the nonecclesial context of student fundraisers.⁴¹ The contemporary repertoire still includes arrangements that were first published in these works. The arrangement and publication of early spiritual collections promoting Black institutions documents the dynamic landscape of Black higher education in its early decades. Black students and educators and white consumers and donors found shifting meanings in these powerful expressions of Black spiritual life.

Bridging Singing Convention and Congregation in Sacred Tunes and Hymns (1913)

Sacred Tunes and Hymns, a 1913 shape-note tune book published in a single print run, was a failed attempt to bridge congregational and singing convention contexts in early twentieth-century Atlanta. The hybrid form of this music book reveals both formal features of hymnals intended for congregational use and those of tune books intended for use at Sacred Harp singing conventions. The repertoire in the music book draws on diverse hymn styles that its compiler, white Atlanta businessman and

* I'M A-GOING TO JOIN THE BAND

LEADER.

I'm a-going to join the band, Hal-le-lu-jah! Can't yousing it...
I'm a-going to join the band,

CHORUS.

..... † O Lord.
I'm a-going to join the band, I'm a-going to join the band.

FINE.

1. The more come in with a free good-will,
2. Jor-dan's stream is so chil-ly and cold, If
3. Watch that Sun, how stead-y she runs;
4. Josh-u-a prayed for to stop the sun, The
5. Going to hang my harp on the wil-low tree, It'll

D.C.

Make the band seem sweet-er still. And
you don't mind it'll chill your soul. And
Don't let her catch you with your work un-done. And
Sun did stop till the bat-tle was won. And
sound way o-ver in Gal-i-lee. And

Exclamations for Verses

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1. Come children!
Join the band!
Sing to Jesus! | 2. Cold Jordan!
Chilly waters!
Watch it, Christians! | 4. Going to heaven!
With Joshua!
And David! |
| | 3. Watch that Sun!
Steady, traveler!
Work, children! | 5. O the willow!
And the children!
Couldn't sing! |

* The chorus in this song, as in "This is a Sin-trying World" and "My Soul's been Anchored in the Lord," is continuous, while the leader interjects whatever exclamations seem to him appropriate. These three songs are the only ones of this peculiar variety which are known to exist.

† These exclamations are not the only ones that can be used. Any others which seem suitable and do not destroy the rhythm may be employed.

Figure 3: Annotations referencing the communal practice of spirituals, in Frederick J. Work's *New Jubilee Songs*, 2nd ed. (1904). Auburn Avenue Research Library, <http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/aaed/do:aar190.001-001-001>.

politician Joseph Stephen James (1849–1931), and music editor, white North Alabama singing teacher and composer Seaborn McDaniel Denson (1854–1936), regarded as a potential nexus between these two contexts. The underpinnings of these editorial choices reveal a vision of nostalgic southern whiteness among early twentieth-century urban southern white elites seeking spiritual solace amid destabilizing racial and social hierarchies. James regarded contemporaneous congregational singing as “tainted” thanks to modern influences he associated with overcivilization, secularism, and Blackness. His and Denson’s *Sacred Tunes and Hymns* sought to assuage these anxieties by drawing power from the antebellum roots of the singing convention setting and reaching to an even deeper transatlantic history of psalmody and English dissenter hymnodists. The editors hoped to fuse this resurrected cultural memory with the contemporaneity of gospel music and mainline white urban congregational hymnody. The failure of *Sacred Tunes and Hymns*, which was not widely adopted, points to musical and social disagreements among Atlanta’s white elites with respect to settings for and styles of sacred music.

James and Denson conceived *Sacred Tunes and Hymns* as a companion book to James’s *Original Sacred Harp* (1911), a revision of the nineteenth-century editions of *The Sacred Harp* (1844), the most successful and enduring nineteenth-century shape-note tune books.⁴² These books of hymns were intended for diverse purposes, but by the second half of the nineteenth century were primarily used in singing school and singing convention contexts. These works employed shape-notes, a music notation system intended to facilitate sight singing of vocal music in

three- and four-part choral settings. Shape-note tune books included a range of hymn genres: early eighteenth-century English psalm tunes, late eighteenth-century New England fusing tunes, plain tunes, odes and anthems, early nineteenth-century southern and western folk hymns, and southern mid-nineteenth-century revival choruses.⁴³ The books’ oblong dimensions accommodated a “dispersed” harmonic style with “free-moving” harmony parts “separated from each other by wide intervals”⁴⁴ and lack of instrumental accompaniment. This format also made it possible to print many of the shorter hymn settings on a single oblong brace. Typically hardbound, shape-note tune books were meant to be durable, and surviving copies frequently show signs of sustained use.

Singing conventions emerged as a prominent setting for hymn singing from shape-note tune books following the publication of *The Sacred Harp* in 1844. Styled after democratic deliberative bodies and church associations, singing conventions featured elected officers, constitutions governing regular order, and appointed committees. Conventions featured occasional speechifying and preaching, but the main activity was singing by a large voluntary assembly seated by voice parts that faced one another around a hollow square. A “committee on arrangements” selected leaders from the institution’s membership and visiting representatives from other “singing classes” who directed selections of their choice from the tune book(s) adopted by the convention. Singing conventions were typically annual events that lasted three or even four full days. Large conventions sponsored smaller singings across a given geography. Together, these convenings anchored regional networks.⁴⁵

The singing convention setting favored styles of hymn tunes like the fusing tune and revival chorus that found little favor in congregational contexts. Typical fusing tunes begin with a brief homophonic passage, followed by a section where the parts enter at regular intervals, resolving to homophony at the conclusion of the song. The style fell out of favor in congregational settings around 1800 following criticism of the textual counterpoint created by the staggered entrances, which made it difficult for worshippers to understand the hymn text. Yet fusing tunes were regularly reprinted in shape-note tune books and became popular in the “singers’ setting” of the convention where singers found the melodically and rhythmically lively parts satisfying.⁴⁶ Revival choruses emerged from the miscegenated context of the Second Great Awakening’s revival camp meetings. They appeared in three- and four-part arrangements in shape-note tune books pairing a hymn text fragment with an interrupting refrain and wandering chorus.⁴⁷ These songs made poor vehicles for multistanza hymns and soon receded from congregational worship. Yet their emotional intensity and rousing choruses rendered these songs well suited to the large-group context of the singing convention.

Singing conventions remained a popular noncongregational setting as new styles of hymnody proliferated and found use at these gatherings across the second half of the nineteenth century. Concurrently, gospel music emerged by the 1870s and was championed by urban northern revivalists following in the footsteps of Sunday school music book editors. These Sunday school volumes featured homophonic “scientific” tunes by northeastern music

reformers who adopted European rules of counterpoint.⁴⁸ Gospel music was embraced in thriving singing schools across southern geographies led by singer-teacher-compilers like Aldine S. Kieffer, A. J. Showalter, and James W. Vaughan. These men established singing institutes, published songbooks, and composed prolifically.⁴⁹ Title pages of songbooks published in this era identified a range of potential settings for use, including both congregational and noncongregational contexts. Works like *The Temple Star* (1877) and *Class, Choir, and Congregation* (1888) were adopted by singing conventions,⁵⁰ where the a cappella hollow-square format prevailed in some quarters even as instrumental accompaniment took hold elsewhere.⁵¹ Gospel music’s typical keyboard accompaniment and harmonic style also necessitated a shift in bibliographic form, propelling sacred music publishing from the oblong shape-note tune book to an upright format with a grand staff. Meanwhile, popular styles of hymn settings in gospel songbooks, such as the gospel chorus, in which an often strophic verse is followed by a chorus with any of a range of responsorial effects, continued to reward the large-scale class singing of convention settings.⁵² Gospel music soon predominated singing conventions, though a minority retained shape-note tune books like *The Sacred Harp* and *The Christian Harmony* (1867) as their primary or sole collection.

As a *Sacred Harp* proponent, Joseph Stephen James entered this dynamic musical environment in the first decade of the twentieth century facing two challenges he saw as connected: modernizing Sacred Harp singing for a changing world, and repairing a South that—in his estimation—was diminishing spiritually and politically due to diverse forces challenging white

supremacy and gender hierarchies. James was a booster for a “New South,” active in Democratic politics, railroad building, and other legal and business arenas.⁵³ He worried about the impact of art music and music associated with Black and immigrant populations on the quality of congregational singing.⁵⁴ When Benjamin Franklin White compiled *The Sacred Harp*, it faced a competitive marketplace for oblong shape-note tune books. By White’s death in 1879, many singers had become attached to *The Sacred Harp* as the centerpiece of the hymn book community that formed around singing conventions employing the tune book. While most singers turned from *The Sacred Harp* to new gospel songbooks, those committed to the older tune book negotiated dissonance between its outmoded bibliographic form and music and the contemporary world. With the backing of a major singing convention he cofounded with one of White’s children, James edited *Original Sacred Harp* (1911) and two companion volumes, *Union Harp and History of Songs* (1909) and *Sacred Tunes and Hymns* (1913), in an attempt to modernize Sacred Harp singing by aligning it with a particular set of urban white southern Christian values.⁵⁵ With *Sacred Tunes and Hymns* in particular, James planned to bridge the singing convention setting of *The Sacred Harp* with congregational contexts. In his preface, James presented the book as “suitable for church worship of all kinds, Sunday-schools, singing conventions, and all other musical assemblies or gatherings.”⁵⁶ James hoped to accommodate a modernizing world by bridging congregational and noncongregational contexts while simultaneously curing what he diagnosed as problematic overcivilization, secularism,

and Black influence in contemporaneous church music.⁵⁷ James attempted this bridging in *Sacred Tunes and Hymns* by mixing both *formal* and *music-stylistic* elements of shape-note tune books like *The Sacred Harp* with those common to contemporaneous church hymnals.

James’s design for *Sacred Tunes and Hymns* blended bibliographic forms of the tune book with those of the denominational hymnal (see Fig. 4). Hardbound with oblong dimensions, the book’s format draws inspiration from tune books like *The Sacred Harp*. Yet the book’s songs are organized thematically under religious subject headings, a practice associated with denominational hymnals. *Sacred Tunes and Hymns* also adopts the four shape-note system associated with *The Sacred Harp* that had been eclipsed by seven shape-note and conventional round-note systems common in gospel songbooks and denominational hymnals by the late nineteenth century. The book’s unusual page layout illustrates its compilers’ interest in meeting expectations of both church congregations and Sacred Harp singing convention participants. Each page pairs a single four-staff brace of music with a grand staff keyboard reduction labeled “for instrument only.” The resulting book makes norms of both genres of print visible and, in its idiosyncrasy, signals their distance from one another.

Sacred Tunes and Hymns features an inclusive yet largely retrospective array of hymn genres that represent James’s attempt to identify a repertoire conducive to both congregational and singing convention contexts. The music book draws significantly on some of the styles associated with *The Sacred Harp* and other nineteenth-century shape-note tune books.⁵⁸ It includes a large number of

nineteenth-century revival choruses and eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century dispersed-harmony plain tunes and folk hymns. For James, these genres conveyed meanings connected to discrete times and places: the antebellum setting of camp meeting revivals and singing conventions and eighteenth-century England, where psalm tunes and prolific dissenting hymn writers like Isaac Watts and John Newton operated. The book features only a handful of fusing tunes and none of the odes or anthems from the Sacred Harp repertoire, an omission that signals James's perception of these styles' incompatibility with congregational settings. James also includes comparatively few of the minor tunes that comprise roughly 25 percent of *Original Sacred Harp*, conceding to modern

tastes. Alongside these careful selections from the Sacred Harp repertoire, James included many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century gospel songs as well as several nineteenth-century scientific tunes (see Fig. 5). As evinced by historical notes in his *Union Harp*, James knew some of these songs from his youth. James's personal experience led him to connect this repertoire to a rural southern setting, despite the music's stylistic distance from the songs of *The Sacred Harp*.⁵⁹ Including gospel songs alongside plain tunes and revival choruses, James defined a repertoire spanning contemporary and antebellum hymn genres popular in varied singing convention settings that he believed would also be suitable for "church worship of all kinds."⁶⁰

176

JUDGEMENT OF GOD.

ROLL JORDAN. L. M.

"Blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations."—JER. 51; 27.

Key of F Major. A. W. AND JOHN G. McCURRY, 1855.

1. He comes! He comes! the Judge severe, Roll Jordan roll,
The seventh trumpet speaks Him near, Roll Jordan roll, I want to go to heaven I do, Hallelujah Lord; We'll praise the Lord in heaven above, Roll Jordan roll,

2. His lightning flash, His thunders roll, Roll Jordan roll.
How welcome to the faithful soul; Roll Jordan roll, I want to go to heaven I do, Hallelujah Lord; We'll praise the Lord in heaven above, Roll Jordan roll.

FOR INSTRUMENT ONLY.

For History of this Song, see page 501 in the Original Sacred Harp, 1911.

Figure 4: ROLL JORDAN, a revival chorus, in *Sacred Tunes and Hymns* (1913), featuring a religious subject heading and the tune book's distinctive pairing of a four-staff brace of music with a grand staff. Sacred Harp Museum.

Despite James's accommodations, *Sacred Tunes and Hymns* did not gain a foothold in congregational settings, and the book saw only a single printing. Although it was adopted alongside James's other tune books at the singing convention that had authorized its publication, *Sacred Tunes and Hymns* remained overshadowed by *Original Sacred Harp*.⁶¹ No evidence has emerged of its use by congregations and the book faded from view after a short decade. Despite its failure, *Sacred Tunes and Hymns* offers a significant window into the stylistic and formal boundaries of the singing convention as a context for hymnody. The book's unique composition also affords insights into the contemporaneous congregational hymn singing context.

Articulating the compatibility of diverse hymn genres helped James demonstrate what he understood as the modern relevance of Sacred Harp singing. James hoped that hymns "of religious sentiment [and] character" would have a restorative effect on what he regarded as the "badly tainted"⁶² southern church music in the early twentieth century. In the preface to James's *Original Sacred Harp*, the book's authors condemned church music inflected with "secular, operatic, rag-time, and jig melodies,"⁶³ a range of influences James may have connected to femininity, Blackness, immigrant populations, and popular music. These musics provoked anxiety among members of the urban white southern elite who, like James, were navigating the New South's destabilizing

94

I FEEL LIKE TRAVELING ON. L. M.

"I am filled with comfort. I am exceeding joyful."—2 Cor. 7: 4.

W. M. HUNTER, D. D. Key of G Major. ARR. BY JAS. D. VAUGHAN.

With feeling.

1. My heav'nly home is bright and fair, I feel like trav - el - ing on, No pain nor death can en - ter there, I feel like trav - el - ing on.
 2. It's glitt'ring tow'rs the sun outshine, I feel like trav - el - ing on, That heav'nly mansion shall be mine; I feel like trav - el - ing on.

3. Let oth - ers seek a home be - low, I feel like trav - el - ing on, Which flames devour or waves o'erflow, I feel like trav - el - ing on.
 4. The Lord has been so good to me, I feel like trav - el - ing on, Un - til that bless - ed home I see, I feel like trav - el - ing on.

FOR INSTRUMENT ONLY.

Figure 5: Excerpt from I FEEL LIKE TRAVELING ON, a gospel song, in *Sacred Tunes and Hymns* (1913). Sacred Harp Museum.

racial and social hierarchies.⁶⁴ For James, the singing convention and its array of hymn genres and bibliographic elements represented “a great body and class of sacred tunes” that was “as far from” such undesired influences “as it is possible.”⁶⁵ *Sacred Tunes and Hymns*, in bridging congregational and singing convention formats and styles, represents James’s attempt to reintroduce this sacred music to congregational settings. In his quest to make convention favorites feel vital to contemporary congregations, James ultimately illustrated the musical and bibliographical incompatibility of the varied settings in which Atlanta’s white elites made meaning through hymn singing.

Language Learning with the *Cherokee Singing Book* (1846)⁶⁶

I’m sitting in the floor in a circle with six third graders holding a rubber mallet with a xylophone in front of me. “Didinogi! Hisgi diganoyvlisdodi,” I say. [Let’s sing! Five notes.] “Do, le, mi, ga, so. So, ga, mi, le, do.” We sing the syllables on the first five notes of the C-major scale—up then down—as I play them on the xylophone with the mallet. “Hawa! Nogwu kilo kena nole dikanogisdisgesdi.” [Okay! Now someone come and play the instrument.] An eager student scurries over to the xylophone and takes the mallet. I point to a small poster in front of the xylophone that represents the xylophone bars. Starting with C, the solfège notes are written in the Cherokee syllabary: V ḡ H Ḣ Ḥ. Below is written the phrase “ḢḤḢḤ ḢḤḢḤ ḢḤḢḤ ḢḤḢḤ” [galvladi nivalisdi nole eladi, to make them high and low] along with notes stepping up and then back down with the solfège symbols written in them.

The student looks at the paper for a moment then slowly taps the five notes up then down on the xylophone. Each student comes and takes a turn doing the same.

This ethnographic excerpt is representative of the kind of applied language work I did from 2011 to 2016 as the music and arts teacher at New Kituwah Academy, the Cherokee-language immersion school of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. Located in Cherokee, North Carolina, the school serves students from kindergarten through sixth grade and also includes a prekindergarten division. The solfège names were modified to accommodate the phonemes of the Cherokee language. I extracted the solfège as well as phrasing about ascending and descending the scale from the *Cherokee Singing Book* and adapted the terms for classroom teaching (see Fig. 6).

The *Cherokee Singing Book* was published in 1846 for a single run of at most 1,000 copies. The text was a collaboration between translator and Christian minister Stephen Foreman (1807–1881) and missionary Samuel Worcester (1798–1859), who wanted a text for teaching

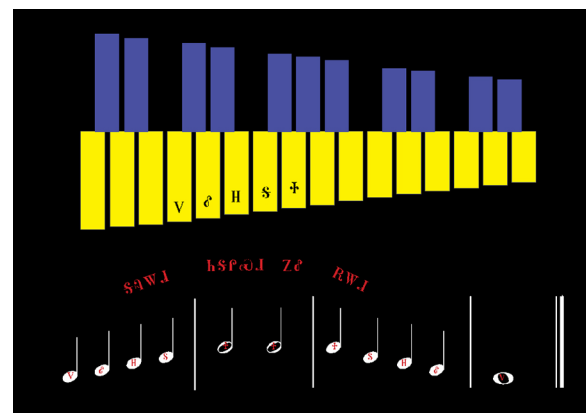


Figure 6: Diagram used to teach music on the xylophone using the Cherokee syllabary. New Kituwah Academy.

music to Cherokee-speaking community members, particularly congregants at Worcester's Park Hill Presbyterian Church in Oklahoma. The rudiments of music explained in the first 16 pages of the oblong quarto book are largely adapted from composer and music educator Lowell Mason's *The Choir* (1832) and other materials (see Fig. 7). Worcester collaborated with Mason (1792–1872) on the *Singing Book's* content and tune selection.⁶⁷ The text contains 122 tunes, most from Mason, with hymn texts in the Cherokee language derived primarily from the text-only *Cherokee Hymns* (1844).⁶⁸ The rudiments and hymn texts are all presented in Cherokee using the Sequoyan syllabary writing system unique to the Cherokee language.

Sequoyah introduced his syllabic orthography to the Cherokee Nation in 1821. By 1825, much of the population was literate. Through the efforts of Samuel Worcester and bilingual Cherokee printer and translator Elias Boudinot, the syllabary was adapted to a type press that printed the first issue of the national newspaper, *Cherokee Phoenix*, in 1828.⁶⁹ Cherokee printing was both a product of and contributed to the interrelated processes of nation making and Christianization. In the early nineteenth century, many “acculturated” Cherokee leaders, usually of mixed white ancestry, emphasized “civilizing” as a means of defending Cherokee political and territorial sovereignty in the face of ceaseless settler expansion. However, they wanted to do so on Cherokee terms.⁷⁰ The civilizing process resulted in the adoption of a national

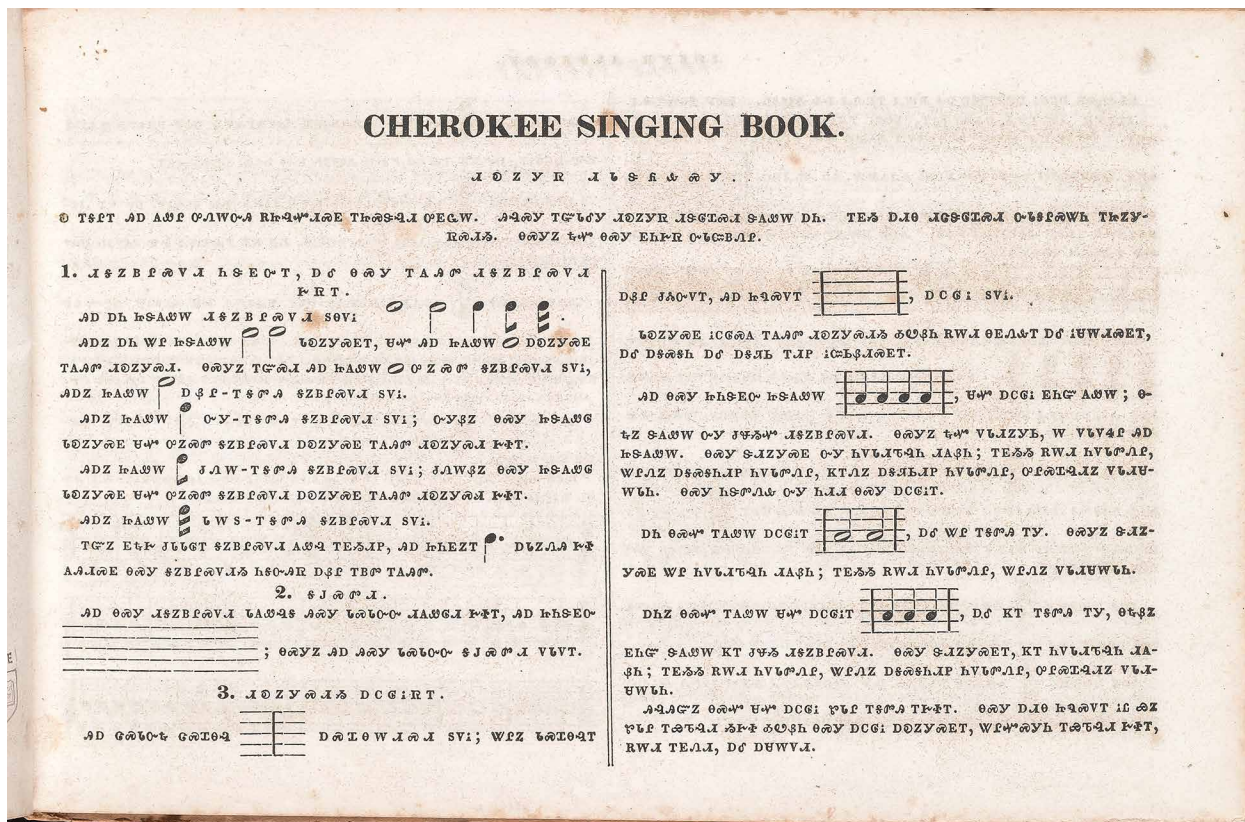


Figure 7: Rudiments of music in the *Cherokee Singing Book* (1846). Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, <https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/10927117>.

constitution and other Euro-American institutions, ownership of private property, use of European agriculture methods, and widescale practice of Christianity.

Boudinot published accounts of acculturation through the *Cherokee Phoenix*. The newspaper presented Cherokees as peaceful, self-governing neighbors deserving support from sympathetic white settlers, even though individual Cherokees and communities did not unilaterally adopt all changes. This public-facing approach served to protect Cherokee autonomy by shielding the true diversity of Cherokee cultural practices.⁷¹ Worcester, like many Christian missionaries to the Cherokees, implicitly participated in putting forward a “civilized” face in his reports and letters, exaggerating the successes of his mission while omitting or downplaying Cherokees’ widescale participation in non-Christian, pre-Contact religious and cultural practices. Worcester’s work was supported by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), which appealed to a white, Protestant Christian audience living predominantly in the Northeast for financial support. From this historical trajectory, Christian texts such as the *Cherokee Singing Book* can be understood as products of colonization and acculturation on one hand, but also stand as powerful symbols of Cherokee national identity and sovereignty on the other.

Cherokees’ insistence on engaging settler cultural practices and institutions on their own terms also helps to explain why, despite Worcester’s enthusiasm for the project, the *Singing Book* was not embraced by his congregation. The *Cherokee Singing Book* reflects Worcester’s own ideas of what literate, white, Protestant education should entail. In his view, civilized people

knew how to read music. For Cherokees, however, hymn singing was primarily transmitted orally, following other contemporaneous “traditional” cultural practices. Worcester’s vision for Cherokee musical literacy was at odds with actual community practice. Moreover, musically literate Cherokees of that era were far more accustomed to shape-notes than the round notation *Cherokee Singing Book* employed. Worcester noted that the text would have been much more popular had it been printed in shape-notes, something to which Mason would not have agreed.⁷² Realizing the steep learning curve, Worcester concluded that the assistance of a music teacher would be necessary to explain the *Singing Book*’s rudiments.⁷³ The *Singing Book*’s failure to reach and maintain popularity with Cherokee people stands in sharp contrast to *Cherokee Hymns* (later called the *Cherokee Hymn Book*), which underwent nine editions with reprints that continue to circulate in Cherokee-speaking circles in Oklahoma and North Carolina to this day. *Cherokee Hymns* was more amenable to the primarily oral Cherokee hymn singing tradition. Printed without musical notation, singers could pair texts with any known tune in the same meter. In contrast, the *Cherokee Singing Book* matched specific tunes with hymn texts, interfering with longstanding community and congregational practices.

Although the *Cherokee Singing Book* included tunes familiar to the congregation, it also reflected Worcester’s implicit goal of reforming Cherokees’ tune repertoire. Mason criticized some of the tunes included in the *Singing Book* as relayed to Worcester through David Greene: “of about 8 or 10 of those [hymns] which you have obtained from other sources [than Mason’s catalog],

[Mason] speaks with terrible severity as being bad and incapable of being mended. He says that he cannot conscientiously touch them or have any agency in bringing them out.”⁷⁴ In response, Worcester responded,

I think [Mason] need not let the idea of *bringing* them into use trouble his conscience at all. It would be hard to *bring in* what is *in* already. And as to *continuing* them in use, I think the admission of them into the book will rather tend to bring them out of use than to keep them in, because they will help to introduce the book, and the book will introduce better tunes, and the better tunes will supersede the “horrible” ones.⁷⁵

Worcester intended for these familiar but “inferior” tunes to attract Cherokee

singers to the *Singing Book* with the motive of using that book to introduce tunes that he and Mason estimated to be superior (see Fig. 8).

Worcester’s expectations around musical literacy and the expansion of his congregation’s repertoire informed the *Singing Book*’s chosen format and were ultimately responsible for its poor circulation. It is likely that the *Singing Book* failed to make inroads into Worcester’s Park Hill congregation due to members’ strong attachments to tunes learned by ear that were already in circulation. Furthermore, the large oblong quarto format of the *Singing Book* was physically unwieldy compared to *Cherokee Hymns*, a small pamphlet-style book that was easy to transport and hold while singing. This portability contributed



Figure 8: GESHUR and HEBRON, two songs by Lowell Mason in the *Cherokee Singing Book* (1846). Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, <https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/10927117>.

to *Cherokee Hymns*' popularity because hymn singing was (and continues to be) part of everyday life for many Cherokees, extending beyond the church setting. Hymns were also sung at family gatherings and community functions. By contrast, the *Singing Book*'s format restricted it to the more formal settings of church and school. For these reasons, the *Singing Book* failed to find a foothold with its initial printing and was quickly forgotten. Approximately one dozen copies made their way into a handful of research library archives across the United States, none of which are located within contemporary Cherokee communities.⁷⁶

In creating a critical edition of the *Cherokee Singing Book*, we hope to resurrect this text from the archive and offer it to a contemporary community of Cherokee language learners and to non-native choral groups who want to responsibly add Indigenous music into their repertoire. I have previously discussed how working with fluent speakers to discuss and translate concepts from the *Singing Book* reveals uniquely Cherokee ways of conceptualizing and describing music and sound.⁷⁷ The Sounding Spirit edition is intended to convey much of that information through page-level annotations and a critical introduction. The edition will also present a full English translation of Cherokee-language content using a four-line simplified interlinear gloss format that includes Cherokee syllabary, phonetic transliteration, word-level gloss, and phrase-level gloss.⁷⁸ The translation work is a joint effort largely undertaken by first-language Cherokee speaker Tom Belt (Cherokee Nation) and me, with contributions from Cherokee speaker Wiggins Blackfox (Eastern Band

of Cherokee Indians) and Hartwell Francis from the Kituwah Preservation and Education Program. Academically, this edition will be of interest to historians and anthropologists, but there are three overlapping communities of practice that can utilize this critical edition of the *Cherokee Singing Book*: adult Cherokee language learners, repertory and heritage language choirs, and Cherokee immersion teachers.

Adult second-language learners of Cherokee increasingly carry the torch of Cherokee language revitalization. The Cherokee language is highly endangered, with the average age of remaining fluent first-language speakers estimated at 70 or older. The three federally recognized tribes—Cherokee Nation, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (EBCI), and the United Keetoowah Band—declared a state of emergency for the language in June 2019. Millions of dollars in monetary resources have been dedicated toward combating language loss. For the past two decades, Cherokee Nation and the EBCI have been operating Cherokee-language immersion programs for children. In 2015, Cherokee Nation started the Cherokee Language Master Apprentice Program (CLMAP) to provide language immersion education for adult learners. The EBCI followed suit with its Cherokee Adult Language Learners (CALL) program in 2019. The tribes also offer in-person and online courses to community members who are not enrolled in those programs. Several universities also offer Cherokee language courses: Northeastern University, University of Oklahoma, Stanford University, University of North Carolina at Asheville, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Western Carolina University, Yale University, and

Haskell Indian Nations University. Finally, many Cherokee language learners speak, write, and study the language together using online platforms such as Facebook Groups and Zoom. Learners often study Cherokee-language texts to build their vocabularies and grammatical knowledge. Adult language learners will find this edition of the *Singing Book* well suited for this purpose.

A subset of Cherokee second-language learners will want to perform the hymn texts from the *Cherokee Singing Book* as a heritage performance practice. Alternatively, some singers will be interested in learning to pronounce the language and sing the songs without committing to speaking and learning the grammar, just as singers learn diction in other sung languages such as French or German. As such, this edition of the *Singing Book* will be useful to both sacred and secular choirs within Cherokee communities and at universities looking to incorporate Indigenous song into their repertoires.

Several years ago, I organized a small group of singers at Western Carolina University (WCU) who met weekly to sing Cherokee-language songs, including hymns. WCU is located around 20 miles from the Qualla Boundary, the Eastern Cherokee land trust. One of the singers, Matthew Tooni (EBCI), is an advanced second-language learner who collaborated with WCU choirs (directed by Allison Thorp) when they performed two Cherokee-language songs as part of a “home” themed concert. Tooni helped choir members pronounce the Cherokee correctly and shape their performance to sound closer to how fluent Cherokee speakers sing the hymns.⁷⁹ Another member of our Cherokee singing group, Garrett Scholberg, became

the music and arts teacher at New Kituwah Academy when I left in 2016. Scholberg is also a second-language learner. Scholberg and Tooni have both articulated the desire for a community Cherokee-language choir on the Qualla Boundary dedicated to learning the Cherokee hymn repertoire that is akin to an adult-inclusive version of the Cherokee National Youth Choir (CNYC) based in Oklahoma.⁸⁰ Similarly, I was in the process of establishing an official (for-credit) Cherokee-language choir course at WCU, but its genesis was delayed due to the Covid-19 pandemic. In spring 2023, Scholberg and I initiated a Cherokee Language Repertory Choir that alternates locations weekly between WCU’s campus and New Kituwah Academy. We are using materials from the *Cherokee Singing Book* and other sources and are eager to use the complete edition once it is published. While this new choir is in its infancy, interest is high with more than three dozen people participating thus far. We observe that in a mixed choir setting with varied degrees of Cherokee language experience, pairing musical notation with song texts can bridge the gap between language learners and singers. Literacy is a skill distinct from both speaking and singing. Therefore, the *Singing Book’s* unique pedagogical materials can serve multiple types of students in acquiring better Cherokee syllabary reading skills.

Finally, returning to the ethnographic vignette that opened this case study, Scholberg has already consulted the *Cherokee Singing Book* for teaching music at New Kituwah Academy and is eagerly awaiting the release of this edition. This text is an unparalleled resource for learning Cherokee music terms for teaching in

As both a songbook and Cherokee language text, the *Cherokee Singing Book* will serve real and imagined singing communities and second-language learning communities. Indigenous language archival materials such as the *Cherokee Singing Book* can be used toward revitalizing Indigenous languages and cultural practices, but only with proper contextualization.⁸³ As with bibliographic objects, Indigenous language archival materials often lack cultural contextualization in archival finding aids and library catalogs.⁸⁴ With most existing Native American languages deeply endangered, language scholars and archival institutions are in a unique position to collaborate with Indigenous communities to curate and contextualize the materials they steward in ways that are useful to Indigenous communities for cultural and linguistic revitalization.⁸⁵ The case study of the *Cherokee Singing Book* stands as an example of how archival texts can be rendered usable and readable once more for Indigenous-language communities.

These case studies demonstrate that understanding how hymn books functioned in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries requires looking beyond denominational or liturgical confines to noncongregational environments where hymn singing refracted racial and colonial ideologies (among others) and served as an expressive vehicle for spiritual, educational, and sociopolitical life. These case studies impact the scholarly study of hymn singing in three ways, each pointing to opportunities for further research. First, our study expands the temporality of noncongregational hymn singing. Monique Ingalls argues that a capacious understanding of the congregation

is necessary to contextualize the contemporary worship music that began influencing Christian music making in the 1960s. Importantly, she defines this music in opposition to “traditional” nineteenth- and early twentieth-century hymns.⁸⁶ Mirella Klomp describes “concerts and cultural projects” as contexts for religious music as a phenomenon of “late-modern network cultures” she locates around the end of the twentieth century.⁸⁷ Our case studies, located in both the present and nineteenth- and early twentieth-century pasts, illustrate how a book historical approach documents the importance of noncongregational settings to meaning making since long before late modernity or the rise of praise and worship music. These noncongregational settings (including singing conventions, Black institutions of higher learning, and concert tours) proved important avenues for identity expression and for advancing financial, spiritual, and political agendas.⁸⁸ Glenda Goodman’s research on Mohegan/Brothertown Christian missionary and teacher Joseph Johnson’s interactions with Native and colonist populations in an eighteenth-century Connecticut context depicts an even earlier setting for noncongregational hymn singing “in which sacred and social experiences were intertwined, and in which people of diverse backgrounds shared these experiences regularly and on surprisingly intimate and tantalizingly egalitarian terms.”⁸⁹ Our findings question the presumed connection between extra-ecclesial hymn singing and late modern pluralism and suggest that sacred singing has served diverse and distinct noncongregational purposes over time. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as these case studies document,

hymn singing offered a way of bolstering commercial, political, and cultural projects by associating them with the gravity of the sacred. Together, our case studies and related research point to the need for future scholarship probing the prevalence and variety of noncongregational contexts for hymn singing in a wide range of times and places.

Second, these case studies highlight the value of bibliography as a methodological approach to assessing hymn singing's diverse contexts. Klomp describes how an "ethnographic turn in ecclesiology" has demonstrated "that congregations differ markedly from one to the next" and that there is considerable "diversity of belief and practice" within postmodern congregations.⁹⁰ The obvious temporal confines of ethnographic research may be one reason why Klomp associates diversity of congregational belief and the concomitant diversity of noncongregational hymn-singing settings with the present. As this essay models, book historical research connects bibliographic form and content to social function and context, offering one pathway to identifying similar diversity of belief and practice in the past.

Finally, we suggest that the dearth of book historical approaches to hymn singing may account for the lacunae surrounding sacred music's relationship to race and coloniality. Examining the distribution of hymn tunes and texts published across time and place offers insight into the interplay between print and orality in nourishing musical cultures on the one hand and containing or directing them in the service of racist and colonial enterprises

on the other. Goodman's book historical scholarship illustrates this duality at play in eighteenth-century Connecticut, where Johnson's dissemination of his music books "helped to maintain social balance by linking people from vastly different backgrounds to each other" even as this "balance . . . was short-lived and ultimately served settler colonialist ends."⁹¹ Erin Johnson-Williams's research connecting the publication and transmission of tonic sol-fa hymn collections to "conflicting modes of imperial authority and aesthetic value" offers another model for how book historical research might contribute to understandings of coloniality and race in other hymn book communities in the years around 1900.⁹² Development of digital thematic research collections such as the Sounding Spirit Digital Library will offer further opportunities to pursue these questions, granting researchers access to individual songbooks and corpus-level research data.⁹³ Researchers should continue to develop and utilize such resources to examine how texts and tunes crossed color lines and genre boundaries in different times and places, and to assess how arrangements, formats, and notation systems in hymn books connected to racial, colonial, and sociopolitical ideologies. Our case studies on how the contents and formal features of hymn books facilitated and impeded racially and colonially inflected projects on concert stages, at singing conventions, and in congregational settings show that sacred sources served powerful and diverse social functions in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century U.S. South.

NOTES

1 Congregational music scholars have begun applying methodologies drawn from a range of disciplines, including communications studies, ethnomusicology, history, popular music studies, religious studies, and sociology. See Andrew Mall, Jeffers Engelhardt, and Monique M. Ingalls, eds., *Studying Congregational Music: Key Issues, Methods, and Theoretical Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2021), 1–2, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429492020>. Despite this increasing interdisciplinarity, the emerging field of congregational music studies has paid surprisingly little attention to book history. We model an interdisciplinary methodology that intentionally foregrounds bibliography and contend that book history merits attention by scholars considering hymn singing in congregational contexts as well.

2 In referring to “books compiling hymns set to music,” we aim to draw attention to the variety of formats such collections took in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We also highlight that the vast majority of these works are compilations, rather than single-authored texts. Finally, we emphasize that hymn texts appear in such works with musical settings. For brevity, in this essay we refer to all such works as “hymn books.” We prefer the term “hymn book” to “hymnal,” which connotes text-only hymn collections.

3 We describe the networks that coalesce around hymn books as “hymn book communities,” drawing on scholars’ theorization of “textual communities” and “communities of practice,” discussed below. We prefer the term “hymn book communities” to “textual communities” because we do not want to privilege the textual over the musical in describing the communities of practice that form around these compilations for hymn singing.

4 Jesse P. Karlsberg et al., *Sounding Spirit*, accessed March 4, 2022, <https://soundingspirit.org/>.

5 We conceive of the U.S. South as a constructed and multifaceted geography imbricated in histories of race, settler colonialism, and politics. In addition to the states of the Confederacy, our conception of the South includes borderlands including the border states during the Civil War and geographies diasporically connected to the southeastern United States by the large-scale migrations of Indigenous, Black, and white southerners. On southern diasporas, see James Noble Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners*

Transformed America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Gregory D. Smithers, *Native Southerners: Indigenous History from Origins to Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019), 132–61. On southern geographies and imaginaries, see Allen Tullos et al., *Southern Spaces*, <https://southernspaces.org> (accessed November 29, 2022).

6 Monique Marie Ingalls, *Singing the Congregation: How Contemporary Worship Music Forms Evangelical Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 5; Mirella Klomp, “Ecclesioscapes: Interpreting Gatherings around Christian Music in and Outside the Church through the Dutch Case of the ‘Sing Along Matthäuspasion,’” in *Studying Congregational Music: Key Issues, Methods, and Theoretical Perspectives*, ed. Andrew Mall, Jeffers Engelhardt, and Monique M. Ingalls (London: Routledge, 2021), 256; Mall, Engelhardt, and Ingalls, *Studying Congregational Music*, 3.

7 Ingalls, *Singing the Congregation*, 23; Klomp, “Ecclesioscapes,” 259.

8 Ingalls, *Singing the Congregation*, 23.

9 Klomp, “Ecclesioscapes,” 259; Mirella Klomp and Marcel Barnard, “Sacro-Soundscapes: Interpreting Contemporary Ritual Performances of Sacred Music through the Case of the Passion in the Netherlands,” *International Journal of Practical Theology* 21/2 (November 27, 2017): 254, <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijpt-2016-0030>.

10 Klomp, “Ecclesioscapes,” 259–61.

11 Rhæe Lynn Barnes, Glenda Goodman (Convenors), et al., “Early American Music and the Construction of Race,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 74/3 (December 1, 2021): 571, <https://doi.org/10.1525/jams.2021.74.3.571>.

12 Ibid., 572.

13 Maria Ryan, “‘The Influence of Melody upon Man in the Wild State of Nature’: Enslaved Parishioners, Anglican Violence, and Racialized Listening in a Jamaica Parish,” *Journal of the Society for American Music* 15/3 (August 2021): 283, 284, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196321000171>.

14 P. Gabrielle Foreman, “Black Organizing, Print Advocacy, and Collective Authorship: The Long History of the Colored Conventions Movement,” in *The Colored Conventions Movement: Black Organizing in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. P. Gabrielle Foreman, Jim Casey, and Sarah Lynn Patterson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 24, 45. On Black sociality and print culture in the nineteenth

century, see also Elizabeth McHenry, *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002).

15 Glenda Goodman, "Joseph Johnson's Lost Gamuts: Native Hymnody, Materials of Exchange, and the Colonialist Archive," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 13/4 (November 2019): 494–95, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196319000385>. On archival traces of sacred music and relations between Native and colonial populations, see also Rachel Wheeler and Sarah Eyerly, "Singing Box 331: Re-Sounding Eighteenth-Century Mohican Hymns from the Moravian Archives," *William and Mary Quarterly* 76/4 (2019): 649–96.

16 G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Concept of Format," *Studies in Bibliography* 53 (January 1, 2000): 67–115.

17 D. W. Krummel, *The Literature of Music Bibliography: An Account of the Writings on the History of Music Printing & Publishing* (Berkeley, CA: Fallen Leaf Press, 1992). Krummel argues that contents and context are especially relevant in music bibliography. Indeed, the definition of the field relies on the acknowledgment that the contents of its books of study are musical, generally sidestepping long-running disputes in the broader field of bibliography about whether the study of books as physical objects should be informed by analysis of their contents and social contexts. See D. W. Krummel, "Musical Functions and Bibliographical Forms," *The Library*, Series 5, 31/4 (December 1, 1976): 327; W. W. Greg, "Bibliography—A Retrospect," in *The Bibliographical Society, 1892–1942: Studies in Retrospect* (London: Printed for the Bibliographical Society, 1945), 25; Hugh Amory, "The Trout and the Milk: An Ethnobiographical Talk," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, New Series, 7/1 (Spring 1996): 50–65; Donald Francis McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

18 Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

19 Penelope Eckert, "Communities of Practice," in *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, ed. Keith Brown (Oxford: Elsevier, January 1, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-044854-2/01276-1>.

20 Etienne Wenger, *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Patricia A. Duff, "Second Language Socialization as Sociocultural Theory: Insights and Issues," *Language Teaching* 40/4 (October 2007): 309–19, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444807004508>.

21 Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 522.

22 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Random House, 1983).

23 Candy Gunther Brown, "Religious Periodicals and Their Textual Communities," in *The Industrial Book, 1840–1880*, ed. Scott E. Casper et al., vol. 3: *A History of the Book in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 270, 278.

24 Jeannine Marie DeLombard, "African American Cultures of Print," in *ibid.*, 360–73; and Amy M. Thomas, "Literacies, Readers, and Cultures of Print in the South," in *ibid.*, 373–90.

25 On arranged spirituals published for Black institutions, see Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 227–31; Kathleen A. Abromeit, *Spirituals: A Multidisciplinary Bibliography for Research and Performance* (Middleton, WI: Music Library Association and A-R Editions, 2015); Sandra Jean Graham, *Spirituals and the Birth of a Black Entertainment Industry* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018), chaps. 2–4.

26 William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware, and Lucy McKim Garrison, eds., *Slave Songs of the United States* (New York: A. Simpson & Co., 1867).

27 Theodore F. Seward, George L. White, and E. M. Cravath, *Jubilee Songs as Sung by the Jubilee Singers, of Fisk University* (Chicago: Biglow and Main Company, 1872); Thomas P. Fenner, *Cabin and Plantation Songs as Sung by the Hampton Students* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1874); Frederick Work, *New Jubilee Songs as Sung by the Fisk Jubilee Singers of Fisk University* (Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1902).

28 John W. Work, ed., *American Negro Songs and Spirituals: A Comprehensive Collection of 230 Folk Songs, Religious and Secular* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1940), 14–15.

29 Sandra Jean Graham, "Spiritual," in *Grove Music Online* (New York: Oxford University Press, July 10, 2012).

30 Kaylina Madison Crawley, "John Wesley Work III: Arranger, Preserver, and Historian of African American Traditional Music" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, Lexington, 2021), 84, https://uknowledge.uky.edu/music_etds/179.

31 Seward and White, *Jubilee Songs*.

32 Later in 1872, Seward compiled a collection with additional spirituals, *Jubilee Songs*

Complete, as Sung by the Jubilee Singers of Fisk University (61 songs). Gustavus Pike (1858–1931) published two collections that emphasized the institution’s fundraising objectives in their titles, *The Jubilee Singers and Their Campaign for Twenty Thousand Dollars* (1873; 61 songs) and *The Singing Campaign for Ten Thousand Pounds* (1875; 71 songs). Later the same year, J. B. T. Marsh (1839–1887) published *The Story of the Jubilee Singers, with Their Songs* (1875). It included 104 songs, documenting the Fisk Jubilee Singers’ expanding repertoire, and featured a narrative of the first and second campaigns that included a trip to London. Marsh published revised and expanded editions during the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s. By 1892, the compilation included 139 songs. For a bibliography of major editions of spirituals sung by the Fisk Jubilee Singers, manuscript collections, recordings, and related resources, see Chris Fenner, “Fisk University: Fisk Jubilee Singers,” Hymnology Archive, <https://www.hymnologyarchive.com/fisk-jubilee-singers> (accessed April 6, 2022).

33 J. B. T. Marsh, ed., *The Story of the Jubilee Singers, with Their Songs* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1875).

34 Graham, *Spirituals and the Birth of a Black Entertainment Industry*, chap. 4.

35 Fenner, *Cabin and Plantation Songs*.

36 *Ibid.*, 70.

37 *Ibid.*, 2, 92.

38 Jamil W. Drake, *To Know the Soul of a People: Religion, Race, and the Making of Southern Folk* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022), ix–xviii; Graham, “Spiritual.”

39 Work, *New Jubilee Songs*.

40 Ensembles that continue to perform spirituals internationally include the Fisk Jubilee Singers (<https://fiskjubileesingers.org/>) and the American Spiritual Ensemble (<https://www.americanspiritualensemble.com/>).

41 A contemporary example of students performing spirituals in noncongregational settings is the biennial Hall Johnson Spirituals Competition held by the National Association of Teachers of Singing. See “NATS American Negro Spiritual Categories,” National Association of Teachers of Singing, https://www.nats.org/American_Negro_Spiritual_Competition.html (accessed April 6, 2022).

42 J. S. James, ed., *Sacred Tunes and Hymns* (Atlanta, GA, 1913); J. S. James et al., eds., *Original Sacred Harp* (Atlanta, GA, 1911); and B. F. White and E. J. King, eds., *The Sacred Harp* (Philadelphia: T. K. & P. G. Collins, 1844).

43 David Warren Steel, *The Makers of the Sacred Harp* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), chap. 8.

44 Thomas J. Denson et al., eds., *Original Sacred Harp: Denson Revision* (Haleyville, AL: Sacred Harp Publishing Company, 1936), 21; and J. S. James, *An Explanation of the Sacred Harp Printed and Published by B. F. White and E. J. King in 1844* (Atlanta, GA: Gordon W. Donaldson, 1920), 10–11. On dispersed harmony, see Jesse P. Karlsberg, “Genre Spanning in the Close and Dispersed Harmony Shape-Note Songs of Sidney Whitfield Denson and Orin Adolphus Parris,” *American Music* 35/1 (Spring 2017): 99–100.

45 On the practices of nineteenth-century singing conventions see, in particular, Kiri Miller, ed., *The Chattahoochee Musical Convention, 1852–2002: A Sacred Harp Historical Sourcebook* (Carrollton, GA: Sacred Harp Museum, 2002). Sacred Harp singing conventions continue to be held across their nineteenth-century southern geography. Since the 1970s, they have also spread to other North American and, in the twenty-first century, European locales. See Jesse P. Karlsberg and Robert A. W. Dunn, “Mapping the ‘Big Minutes’: Visualizing Sacred Harp’s Geographic Coalescence and Expansion, 1995–2014,” *Southern Spaces Blog*, January 23, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.18737/43256.2018>; Ellen Lueck, “Sacred Harp Singing in Europe: Its Pathways, Spaces, and Meanings” (Ph.D. diss., Wesleyan University, 2016).

46 Karlsberg, “Genre Spanning,” 100–101; Irving Lowens, “The Origins of the American Fuging Tune,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 6/1 (April 1, 1953): 43–52, <https://doi.org/10.2307/829998>; Nicholas Temperley, “The Origins of the Fuging Tune,” *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 17 (January 1, 1981): 1–32; Karl Kroeger, *American Fuging-Tunes, 1770–1820: A Descriptive Catalog* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994).

47 Steel, *The Makers of the Sacred Harp*, 8; William H. Tallmadge, “The Black in Jackson’s White Spirituals,” *Black Perspective in Music* 9/2 (October 1, 1981): 139–60, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1214194>; and Jesse P. Karlsberg, “The Black in ‘White Spirituals’: Sacred Harp’s Nineteenth-Century Black Belt Roots” (Atlanta, GA: American Academy of Religion, 2015).

48 On northeastern music reformers’ ideas about the science of music, see Peter Mercer-Taylor, *Gems of Exquisite Beauty: How Hymnody Carried Classical Music to America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 117–25; William Robin,

“Traveling with ‘Ancient Music’: Intellectual and Transatlantic Currents in American Psalmody Reform,” *Journal of Musicology* 32/2 (April 1, 2015): 248, <https://doi.org/10.1525/jm.2015.32.2.246>.

49 James R. Goff, *Close Harmony: A History of Southern Gospel* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Douglas Harrison, *Then Sings My Soul: The Culture of Southern Gospel Music* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012).

50 David Warren Steel, “Shape-Note Singing in Mississippi: A Preliminary History,” *Sacred Harp Publishing Company Newsletter* 6/2 (December 31, 2017), <http://originalsacredharp.com/2017/12/31/shape-note-singing-mississippi-preliminary-history/>; and Robert L. Vaughn, “Williamson Williams Parks,” *Ministry and Music—Seeking the Old Paths* (blog), April 30, 2015, <http://baptistsearch.blogspot.com/2015/04/williamson-williams-parks.html>.

51 On the range of shape-note singing convention practices, see Derrick Fox, “African American Practice of Shape-Note Singing in the United States,” *Choral Journal* 56/5 (2015): 38–51; Paula Tadlock, “Shape-Note Singing in Mississippi,” in *Discourse in Ethnomusicology: Essays in Honor of George List*, ed. Caroline Card et al. (Bloomington: Ethnomusicology Publications Group, Indiana University, 1978), 191–207.

52 William H. Tallmadge, “The Responsorial and Antiphonal Practice in Gospel Song,” *Ethnomusicology* 12/2 (May 1, 1968): 219–38, <https://doi.org/10.2307/849931>; Karlsberg, “Genre Spanning,” 101.

53 Fannie Mae Davis, *Douglas County, Georgia: From Indian Trail to Interstate 20*, ed. Virginia Voss Pope (Roswell, GA: W. H. Wolfe Associates, 1987).

54 For James’s view of the contemporaneous state of sacred music, see J. S. James et al., eds., *Original Sacred Harp* (Atlanta, GA, 1911), iii.

55 Jesse P. Karlsberg, “Joseph Stephen James’s *Original Sacred Harp*: Introduction to the *Centennial Edition*,” in *Original Sacred Harp: Centennial Edition*, ed. Joseph Stephen James and Jesse P. Karlsberg, *Emory Texts and Studies in Ecclesial Life* 8 (Atlanta, GA: Pitts Theology Library, 2015), v–xvi; Duncan Vinson, “As Far from Secular, Operatic, Rag-Time, and Jig Melodies as Is Possible’: Religion and the Resurgence of Interest in the *Sacred Harp*, 1895–1911,” *Journal of American Folklore* 119/474 (October 1, 2006): 413–43; and J. S. James, ed., *Union Harp and History of Songs* (Douglasville, GA, 1909).

56 James, *Sacred Tunes and Hymns*, [ii].

57 Karlsberg, “Joseph Stephen James’s *Original Sacred Harp*”; Vinson, “As Far from Secular, Operatic, Rag-Time, and Jig Melodies as Is Possible.”

58 This analysis of the contents of *Sacred Tunes and Hymns* draws on a database compiled by Jesse P. Karlsberg and Erin Fulton for Karlsberg’s in-progress *Sacred Tunes and Hymns (1913): A Scholarly Edition*.

59 James, *Union Harp and History of Songs*. See also Karlsberg, “Joseph Stephen James’s *Original Sacred Harp*.”

60 James, *Sacred Tunes and Hymns*, [ii].

61 “Camp Meetin’ Tunes Hold the Spotlight at Singers’ Meeting,” *Atlanta Constitution*, September 9, 1916; Mrs. S. C. Casey, *Minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Session of the United Sacred Harp Musical Association* (Atlanta, GA: Thomason Printing Co., 1921), 30.

62 James et al., *Original Sacred Harp*, iii.

63 Ibid.

64 Karlsberg, “Joseph Stephen James’s *Original Sacred Harp*”; Vinson, “As Far from Secular, Operatic, Rag-Time, and Jig Melodies as Is Possible.” On these dynamics among white New South elites, see also Gavin James Campbell, *Music and the Making of a New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Gavin James Campbell, “‘Old Can Be Used Instead of New’: Shape-Note Singing and the Crisis of Modernity in the New South, 1880–1920,” *Journal of American Folklore* 110/436 (April 1, 1997): 169–88.

65 James et al., *Original Sacred Harp*, iii.

66 This subsection reflects the ethnographic work undertaken by Sara Snyder Hopkins.

67 Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996 [1936]).

68 Samuel A. Worcester and Elias Boudinot, *Cherokee Hymns*, 7th ed. (Park Hill, OK: Mission Press, 1844).

69 Cullen Joe Holland, *Cherokee Newspapers, 1828–1906: Tribal Voice of a People in Transition*, ed. James P. Pate (Tahlequah, OK: Cherokee Heritage Press, 2012 [1956]).

70 William Gerald McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789–1839* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

71 Constance Owl, “Tsalagi Tsulehisanvhi: Uncovering Cherokee Language Articles from the *Cherokee Phoenix* Newspaper, 1828–1834” (M.A. thesis, Western Carolina University, 2020), <http://libres.uncg.edu/ir/wcu/listing.aspx?id=32907>.

72 On Lowell Mason and other music reformers’ opposition to shape-notes, see John Bealle, *Public Worship, Private Faith: Sacred Harp and American*

Folksong (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 41–56.

73 William R. Lee, “Lowell Mason, *The Cherokee Singing Book*, and the Missionary Ethic,” *Quarterly Journal of Music Teaching and Learning* 3/3 (Fall 1992): 21.

74 Quoted in Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, 309.

75 Samuel A. Worcester, letter to David Greene, February 20, 1846, Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, ABC 18: Missions on the American Continents 1811–1919 Unit 6, Reel 747, 18.3.1: Cherokee Missions Vol. 13, Harvard University Library (emphasis in original); Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, 310.

76 Digitized copies are now available and publicly accessible from Yale University’s Beinecke Library and the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University. A new Sounding Spirit critical edition of the *Singing Book* will contribute important historical and linguistic contextualization to a new publicly accessible digitized representation of a copy of the text at Emory University’s Pitts Theology Library.

77 Sara Snyder Hopkins, “‘Going Over’ and Coming Back: Reclaiming the *Cherokee Singing Book* for Contemporary Language Revitalization,” *Indigenous Languages and the Promise of Archives*, ed. Adrianna Link, Abigail Shelton, and Patrick Spero (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021), 379.

78 I chose not to use a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss that requires extensive linguistics training to decipher. Instead, I want the translation to be accessible for Cherokee-language speakers and learners, many of whom do not have a linguistics background.

79 Yustin Riopko, “University Choirs to Explore Theme, ‘Home’ in Upcoming Concert,” *Western Carolina Journalist*, October 24, 2017, <https://thewesterncarolinajournalist.com/2017/10/24/university-choirs-to-explore-theme-home-in-upcoming-concert/>. Tooni has since become a pastor for a church on the Qualla Boundary and advocates for people to sing Cherokee hymns in their traditional church setting.

80 The Cherokee National Youth Choir (CNYC) consists of middle and high school children and fills an ambassadorial role in sharing Cherokee music, language, and culture with the community and the world. The choir records new music every year and has an extensive repertoire that includes many Cherokee-language hymns.

81 William Littlewood, *Communicative Language Teaching: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

82 Lorenza Mondada and Simona Pekarek Doehler, “Second Language Acquisition as Situated

Practice: Task Accomplishment in the French Second Language Classroom,” *Canadian Modern Language Review / Revue canadienne des langues vivantes* 61/4 (2005): 461–90, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cml.2005.0026>. Musical instruction occurring in a second-language immersion setting also reinforces the coacquisition of music and language as interrelated domains of culturally informed neural development. See Erin McMullen and Jenny R. Saffran, “Music and Language: A Developmental Comparison,” *Music Perception* 21/3 (March 1, 2004): 289–311, <https://doi.org/10.1525/mp.2004.21.3.289>; Juniper Stokes, “The Effects of Music on Language Acquisition,” *CELE Journal* 16 (2008): 23–33.

83 Institutional perspectives on Indigenous archival materials have increasingly shifted from ownership to stewardship. Many archival institutions ranging from the American Philosophical Society and the Smithsonian Institution to local and regional archives increasingly work with Indigenous communities to control access to Indigenous materials and documents, with certain culturally sensitive materials unavailable to the general public and requiring written permission from the Indigenous community from which they were sourced for viewing.

84 “Native Language Preservation: A Reference Guide for Establishing Archives and Repositories” (Administration for Native American and the US Department of Health and Human Services, January 1, 2006), <https://web.archive.org/web/20140918035747/http://www.aihec.org/resources/documents/NativeLanguagePreservationReferenceGuide.pdf>.

85 Adrianna Link, Abigail Shelton, and Patrick Spero, *Indigenous Languages and the Promise of Archives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021). For other examples of Cherokee-language archival materials being transformed for contemporary language study, see also Digital Archive of American Indian Languages Preservation and Perseverance, <https://dailp.northeastern.edu/> (accessed March 9, 2022).

86 “Native Language Preservation.”

87 Klomp, “Ecclesioscapes,” 246.

88 Today, communities of practice continue to form around each of our case study texts: Language learners keep excerpts from the *The Cherokee Singing Book* circulating in North Carolina territories, audiences continue to flock to concert settings of spirituals sung by choirs at historically Black colleges and universities, and singers with diverse religious affiliations continue to sing

from shape-note tune books and gospel annuals at singing schools and conventions. See Graham, *Spirituals and the Birth of a Black Entertainment Industry; I'll Keep On Singing: The Southern Gospel Convention Tradition* (Murfreesboro: Middle Tennessee State University, 2009), <https://www.folkstreams.net/films/ill-keep-on-singing>; Kiri Miller, *Traveling Home: Sacred Harp Singing and American Pluralism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008); Lueck, "Sacred Harp Singing in Europe."

89 Goodman, "Joseph Johnson's Lost Gamuts," 490.

90 Klomp, "Ecclesioscapes," 256–57. See also Nicholas M. Healy, "Ecclesiology, Ethnography, and God: An Interplay of Reality Descriptions," in *Perspectives on Ecclesiology and Ethnography*, ed. Pete Ward (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2012), 182–99.

91 Goodman, "Joseph Johnson's Lost Gamuts," 497.

92 Erin Johnson-Williams, "The Examiner and the Evangelist: Authorities of Music and Empire, c.1894," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 145/2 (November 2020): 318, <https://doi.org/10.1017/rma.2020.16>.

93 Jesse P. Karlsberg et al., eds., *Sounding Spirit Digital Library*, <https://library.soundingspirit.org/> (accessed November 15, 2022). On the emergence and research potential of thematic research collections, see Katrina Fenlon, "Thematic Research Collections: Libraries and the Evolution of Alternative Digital Publishing in the Humanities," *Library Trends* 65/4 (September 8, 2017): 523–39, <https://doi.org/10.1353/lib.2017.0016>; Jesse P. Karlsberg and Erin Fulton, "Interinstitutional Thematic Collection Development: Technical and Procedural Considerations from the Sounding Spirit Digital Library," white paper (National Endowment for the Humanities, July 2020), <https://pid.emory.edu/ark:/25593/vmqr9>.