MORAVIAN MUSIC FOUNDATION
PUBLICATIONS
No. 6

MUSICAL LIFE IN THE PENNSYLVANIA SETTLEMENTS OF THE UNITAS FRATRUM

By
HANS T. DAVID

Reprinted from
TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Moravian Historical Society
1942

With a Foreword by Donald M. McCorkle

THE MORAVIAN MUSIC FOUNDATION, INC.
WINSTON-SALEM, N. C., 1959

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FOREWORD TO THE FACSIMILE EDITION

By

Donald M. McCorkle
Director, Moravian Music Foundation

The Moravian Music Foundation is particularly pleased to be able to issue a reprint of Hans T. David's very fine and thorough survey of musical life in the Pennsylvania settlements of the *Unitas Fratrum,* or Moravian Church. The fact that it was written over twenty years ago in no way detracts from its eminence as the basic scholarly study of Moravian music in Pennsylvania. As the author himself states in his Prefatory Note, his study caused to be examined for the first time the entire musical material preserved in the Pennsylvania libraries of the Moravian Church. Much water has gone over the dam in twenty years, but it can be doubted whether the music of the early American Moravians would have its wide recognition today were it not for the pioneering studies of Hans David.

For permission to reprint the article from the pages of the *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society,* XIII (1942), we are very much indebted to the author and the Society, both of whom, when approached with a desire to make the article better known among musicians, gave their blessings readily. For the writer of this Foreword the issuance of the reprint is an especially felicitous moment: Slightly less than ten years ago, when beginning his own studies in musical Moraviana, he and Inter-Library Loan people sought in vain to locate a copy, even though the article was noted in several sources as a basic study!

The author was invited to prepare a foreword of his own to update the article to take account of recent discoveries and bibliography. He declined by very graciously requesting the present writer to do whatever was desirable or necessary. The task has not been difficult, for, other than some addenda and corrigenda (listed on pp. 43-44) made possible by recent research in Bethlehem and Winston-Salem, the article can continue to stand without apology.

Since 1950 Mr. David has been professor of musicology at the University of Michigan, and is best known for his (with Arthur Mendel) *The Bach Reader* (New York, 1945). In 1954 and 1955 his critical editions of the Six Quintets by John Frederik Peter and ten sacred songs by Moravian composers, originally published by the New York Public Library, were reissued by the C. F. Peters Corporation of New York.

(Addenda and Corrigenda are given on pp. 43-44)

Musical Life in the Pennsylvania Settlements of the *Unitas Fratrum*

A Paper read at the annual meeting of the Moravian Historical Society at Nazareth, Pa., on October 13, 1938

By Dr. Hans Theodore David

Prefatory Note

The American Philosophical Society generously made a grant, in 1937, for a study of the music of the American Moravians. This grant was given from the Penrose Fund for the Advancement of Knowledge through Investigation to the Moravian Seminary and College for Women at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, as a preliminary contribution to the latter's bicentenary celebration, due in 1942. The grant made it possible to examine, for the first time, the entire musical material preserved in the Pennsylvania libraries of the Moravian Church. The material chiefly came from the Central Church at Bethlehem and the Moravian Church at Lititz; it is now assembled in the fireproof Moravian Archives on the campus of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary, at Bethlehem.

The project was supervised by the late Dr. Albert G. Rau, who was the first to realize that the early American Moravians not only had liked music but also created a considerable number of compositions, many of which could still be found. The detailed research was carried out by the author of the following paper. The main tasks were to determine which compositions had been composed in America, and to prepare a critical catalogue of these compositions. Through the cooperation of the New York Public Library, the Works Progress Administration, and the Federal Music Project, it was furthermore possible to make a number of outstanding compositions by American Moravians available in blackline prints.

The following paper attempts to draw a general sketch of the history of music in the Pennsylvania settlements of the

Moravians as it is mirrored in the musical material preserved rather than in literary sources. The original paper has been enlarged for publication.

1

Religious and Political Background

Bohemia and Moravia have been for centuries a major scene in the political as well as spiritual history of Europe. The territory united after the first World War in the state of Czechoslovakia had been conquered successively by Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavic tribes. The struggle of the Czechs to maintain their language and at least some independence against the Germans, who were either their neighbors or their masters, turned the country again and again into a battlefield.

Christianity came to the Czechs from the East, brought by Greek monks. Later the Byzantine influence was supplanted by domination of the Roman Church. Opposition to the Roman Church, however, was stronger in Bohemia and Moravia than in any other country, and it was here that the Reformation started.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Jan Hus was the spiritual leader of the Bohemians. Hus, for some time rector of Prague University, was cherished as a preacher both in Czech and Latin; among his works was an *Orthographia bohemica,* which testifies to his interest in Czech matters. Hus, whose religious teaching was largely based on the works of John Wycliffe, was accused of heresy and summoned to appear before the Council of Constance. The Emperor granted him a safe conduct. Nevertheless, Hus was imprisoned, condemned, and burnt at the stake on July 6, 1415. This date may be called the birthday of the Reformation. A revolution of religious as well as national and social character broke out. Pope and Emperor tried without success to wipe out the Hussites. But almost from the beginning the Hussites themselves were split into a more radical and a more moderate group, and civil strife filled the intervals between the wars with the common enemies. Finally, the radical group of Hussites was crushed. The victorious group came to terms with the Roman Church and formed the national Church of Bohemia. But the representatives of the new church failed to

display the moral fibre that made Hus such an imposing personality. A new group arose within the Bohemian Church. Its members settled, in 1457, on the estate of Lititz, which belonged to George of Podebrad, Regent and later King of Bohemia. The congregation of the "Brethren and Sisters of the Law of Christ", as they first called themselves, soon assumed the name of *Unitas Fratrum.* In 1467, it became the first Church to break away entirely from the Papacy.

As the Reformation spread, the persecution of the Protestants grew more and more virulent. When the Thirty Years' War ended, in 1648, the Protestants in Bohemia and Moravia were completely suppressed. But the faith and the traditions of the Church of the United Brethren were secretly passed on from generation to generation, and in the eighteenth century a Renewed Church arose.

Nicolaus Ludwig, Count of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, allowed a group of the Brethren to settle on his private estate in Saxony. The new center of the *Unitas Fratrum* was christened Herrnhut—the "Shelter of the Lord". The settlement developed successfully, but not without inner conflicts and external difficulties. Zinzendorf himself met persecution and was for a number of years banished from Saxony. His followers were known in Germany as *Böhmische Brüder* or *Herrnhuter.* In England, they were nicknamed "Moravian Brethren", or simply "Moravians", and although the German element predominated over the Czech in the Renewed Church, the *Unitas Fratrum* itself finally assumed the official designation "Moravian Church".

The *Unitas Fratrum* was the first Protestant Church devoted to missionary work for religious rather than political reasons. To evangelize the heathen, the Moravians settled in the most remote corners of the earth. In the 1730's, missionaries went to Ceylon, West Africa, Greenland, Lapland, and to the Samoyedes on the shore of the Arctic Ocean. The same decade witnessed the foundation of Moravian settlements in the Western Hemisphere: in the West Indies (1732), and then in South America and Georgia (1735).

To take up arms was against the principles of many of the Moravians. Those who had settled in Georgia left that colony when the war between England and Spain broke out. They went north

with George Whitefield, the famous preacher and evangelist, and arrived at Philadelphia on April 20, 1740. Whitefield, planning to open a school for Negro children, employed the Moravians to erect a large stone house, but, before it was finished, difficulties arose between Whitefield and the Moravians, and the latter left Whitefield's property. They joined forces with another group of Brethren, who had just arrived from Europe to settle in Pennsylvania. A site on the north shore of the Lehigh River was selected, and Zinzendorf himself, on Christmas Eve, 1741, gave the name of Bethlehem to the new community. Two years later, Whitefield's tract of land was purchased by the Moravians; thus the settlement at Nazareth began. The large stone house was completed and eventually became the Museum of the Moravian Historical Society. A third Moravian center was established in Lancaster County; it received the name of Litiz (more recently spelled *Lititz*). Other colonies were added in Pennsylvania, in the neighboring colonies, and in North Carolina, where Salem (now part of Winston-Salem) became the most flourishing. Moravian congregations were also founded in places of non-Moravian origin like Lancaster, Yorktown, and Philadelphia.

The settlements of the Moravians, carefully planned and strictly organized, were highly regarded in Colonial and Revolutionary America. Among the visitors to Bethlehem were Martha Washington and almost all the early Presidents of the United States. A "presbyter in the Protestant Episcopalian Church," John Cosens Ogden, considered an *Excursion into Bethlehem and Nazareth in Pennsylvania in the Year 1799* a worthy topic for a book, and that book met with such success that it went through two editions (Philadelphia, 1800 and 1805). More than fifty years later, the settlements still possessed so much of their fascinating original character that one of the Moravians themselves, James Henry, gave a comprehensive account of them to the outside world in a book of *Sketches of Moravian Life and Character* (Philadelphia, 1859).

Among the distinctive features of the Moravian settlements was their rich musical life. Benjamin Franklin, who, as lieutenant general of forces fighting the Indians in 1755-1756, temporarily made Bethlehem his headquarters, mentions in a frequently quoted passage of his *Autobiography* that in the Bethlehem

church he heard "good musick, the organ accompanied with violins, hautboys, flutes, clarinets, etc." Martha Washington, who passed through Bethlehem in 1779, and George Washington, who stayed there in 1782, were both entertained with music of various kinds. Ogden describes one of the regular services, during which several hymns were sung. Henry devotes one of his sketches to the musical activities of the Moravians. And, in addition, we have a quaint little monograph on *Music in Bethlehem* by another Moravian, Rufus A. Grider[1].

"Music"—in Oscar Sonneck's words[2]—"was essential to the daily life of these sturdy people." At a time when Puritan circles objected even to organs in their churches, music was in fact cultivated in the Moravian settlements with hardly any restriction. Thus a wonderful musical development took place in these cultural outposts—a development that was unique in eighteenth-century America.

2

Musical Background

The Bohemians of both Czech and German extraction are known for their musical talent. Many excellent musicians, especially instrumentalists, have come from Austrian Bohemia or Czechoslovakia. In the nineteenth century, Bedrich Smetana and Antonín Dvorak rose to international fame. The importance of Bohemian musicians was even greater in the eighteenth century. The "Mannheim" School, foremost exponent in the development of the new classical style, was founded by the Bohemian, Johann Stamitz, and the Moravian, Franz Xaver Richter; and their works became popular even with the French, who rarely had had reason to look eastward for artistic rather than political reasons.

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[1] First published as a chapter in John Hill Martin, *Historical Sketch of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1872; corrected second printing, 1873; also separately as *Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem*, Philadelphia, 1873. Large excerpts are given in *Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century*, a publication of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, Philadelphia, vol. 2, 1927, pp. 254-270.

[2] *Early Concert-Life in America*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 157.

The musical inclination of the Czechs can be traced back beyond the fifteenth century. Popular sacred songs of the Bohemian Catholics as well as the Hussites have been preserved, and we have also a few manuscripts prepared for the service of Hussite groups[3]. The Moravian Brethren cultivated this tradition and gave it increased weight. A Czech hymn-book was published in 1501, the first Protestant hymn-book on record[4]. Martin Luther took over a number of hymns of the Brethren when he had the first books of chorales prepared for his own followers. In 1531, a German edition of hymns of the *Unitas Fratrum* was published by Michael Weisse[5]; from then on, the hymn-books with German words outnumber those with Czech words.

The Brethren have always proved themselves keenly interested in historical study. Accordingly, a hymn-book of 1639 was prefaced with rich biographical and bibliographical notes. A hymn-book of the same type was printed as late as 1780; a complete manuscript copy of this edition, made at "Yorktown" (York, Pa.) in the 1780's, is preserved in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem[6].

The musical activity of the *Unitas Fratrum* took a new turn through the efforts of Count Zinzendorf. He was a gifted poet who used to express his religious thoughts and feelings in improvised hymns. He created the hymn-book of the Renewed Church. This hymn-book, printed at various places in succession, went through editions of differing sizes and changing contents. It is usually referred to as *Brüder-Gesangbuch.* The main editions were chronologically arranged, and eventually a separate volume of

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[3] August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, third ed., vol. 3, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 428-430.

[4] J. T. Müller, *Bohemian Brethren's Hymnody*, in John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, London, 1908, pp. 153-160.

[5] Original title: *Ein New Gesengbuchlen*, MDXXXI. A facsimile reprint, edited by Wilhelm Thomas, was published in Kassel, 1931, with the title: Michael Weisse, *Gesangbuch der Böhmischen Brüder vom Jahre 1531.*

[6] The hymns and tunes of the Moravian Brethren were also used by the Schwenkfeldians, and thus a valuable collection of early German hymn-books of the *Unitas Fratrum* has been assembled at the Library of the Schwenkfelder Historical Society at Pennsburg, Pa.

historical and biographical commentary was added. In America, the *Brüder-Gesangbuch* was used up to the beginning of the present century.

The tunes used with the hymns of the *Brüder-Gesangbuch* were first collected, in 1755, by Johann Daniel Grimm, a "Professor of Music" and composer of *Airs* which "possess great originality." Grimm's collection of hymn-tunes, with a later appendix, contains almost a thousand tunes with a figured bass for the organ; it was never published[7].

In the task of providing appropriate music for the service of the *Unitas Fratrum,* Zinzendorf was effectively aided by Christian Gregor, the first outstanding musical personality in the Renewed Moravian Church. Born at Dirsdorf, in Silesia, in 1723, he studied in his early years the "Science of Music with that diligence and attention, which renders German Musicians so eminent in their profession"; he was "justly esteemed for his musical and poetical talents, which he employed for the benefit of the Church; and greatly encouraged the study and practice of Music among young people"[8]. Serving for a number of years as organist at Herrnhut, Gregor was charged with the editing of the first printed tune-book of the Renewed Church. He selected a number of tunes from Grimm's tune-book, adding more than 60 "new" tunes, apparently of his own composition[9]. Gregor later entered the ministry of the Church and was consecrated a bishop in 1789. He died at Zeist, in Holland, in 1791.

Gregor developed a new type of composition which gave the service of the Church a distinct character. Zinzendorf and his

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[7] The characterization of Grimm is taken from Latrobe's preface to his edition of *Anthems for One, Two and more Voices, performed in the Church of the United Brethren,* London, 1811; Latrobe gives Grimm's middle name as Henry, probably by mistake. Grimm's *Choral-Buch, Darinnen enthalten alle Melodien so in den Brüder-Gesängen vorkommen,* is described in Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder,* Gütersloh, 1889-1893, vol. 6, pp. 545-546. For biographical information on Grimm see Zahn, *op. cit.,* vol. 5, p. 451.

[8] Latrobe, *op. cit.*

[9] The original title of Gregor's tune-book is: *Choral-Buch enthaltend alle zu dem Gesangbuche der Evangelischen Brüder-Gemeinen vom Jahre 1778 gehörige Melodien,* Leipzig, 1784. *Cf.* Zahn, *op. cit.,* vol. 5, pp. 452-453, and vol. 6, pp. 358-359.

helpers worked out a complete *Liturgie* for all special occasions. The text of these liturgies was collected and first published in 1770. Many of them were completely set to music by Gregor and other Moravians. They were performed by the *liturgus,* the choir, strings, and organ. Musically they were quite simple, written chiefly in a syllabic style with numerous repeated notes, reminiscent of Gregorian chant and Lutheran litanies. The chorus parts were mostly kept in four-part writing note against note. The instruments at first played in unison with the voices throughout, but later they were given slightly more independence, and even short interludes were introduced.

Gregor relates in his autobiography that he began in 1759 to arrange cantatas for the use of the Church[10]. Soon afterwards, he wrote his first original works. Gregor established the type of composition predominantly cultivated by the musicians of the Renewed Moravian Church: a rather short anthem, generally in one movement, for chorus with instruments. Gregor's anthems were more melodious, varied, and vivid than his liturgies, but he hardly ever introduced elements of polyphonic writing, in contrast to contemporary masters like Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Carl Heinrich Graun who kept the polyphonic tradition alive through some of their sacred works. For the chorus, Gregor wrote in a plain, straightforward manner that made performance by little-trained groups possible. The instruments, which usually contributed a prelude, interludes, and a postlude, were treated with less caution than the voices. Gregor regularly required only a group of strings and the organ; later composers added wind instruments on occasion. In America, Gregor's anthems were much liked and used; thus many of them have been preserved in the Moravian Archives.

Gregor's example was followed by other Moravians. Among them were Johann Gottfried Gebhard, who is mentioned as *Musik-Direktor* at the Barby seminary, about 1786, and who pub-

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[10] It was a custom of the Moravians to read at funerals a *Lebenslauf,* a short biography of the deceased. Commonly these biographical notes were written by the Brethren and Sisters themselves in anticipation of their end. The biographies of outstanding members of the Church were published in the *Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine.* Gregor's is found in the issue of 1818, vol. 1, and in the issue of 1882, vol. 1, pp. 865-903.

lished a few works for the *clavecin* and piano[11]; Johann Ludwig Freydt, who held the post of *Musik-Direktor* at Niesky and Barby for many years[12]; Carl Friedrich Hasse, who lived for a while in a village near Bautzen and then went to England[13]; and Johann Christian Geisler, certain of whose compositions are preserved at Bethlehem, possibly in holograph manuscripts. Little information about these men could be found without recurrence to the European archives of the Church. They are represented by a few works in the Bethlehem archives, but their musical output as well as their influence seems to have been small.

The most talented and discriminating among Gregor's followers was Christian Ignatius Latrobe. Born at Fulneck in 1757, he was educated in Germany, spent the larger part of his life in England, and died at Fairfield, near Manchester, in 1836. He was a minister, not a musician by profession, but he was a passionate lover of music and apparently an expert musical scholar. In an England blinded by posthumous admiration of Handel, he propagated the classical polyphony as well as the modern music of the continent. He wrote fine anthems and a set of sonatas for the pianoforte that was published at the suggestion of Haydn and dedicated to him. Latrobe edited the *Hymn-Tunes sung in the Church of the United Brethren*, the first English tune-book of the Moravian Church; he used Gregor's melodies and basses, adding two inner parts in close harmony to the tunes. Latrobe also edited, in 1811, *Anthems for One, Two or more Voices, performed in the Church of the United Brethren;* this collection, the only one of its kind ever published, gave the vocal score of works by Moravian as well as other composers. Latrobe's greatest contribution to music was his *Selection of Sacred Music,* published in six volumes between 1806 and 1826; containing numerous out-

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[11] Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, Leipzig, 1812-1814, vol. 2, column 276. See also Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*, Leipzig, vol. 4, p. 187.

[12] Latrobe included a composition by Freydt in the collection of anthems he edited in 1811; Freydt had already died when Latrobe wrote the preface to that publication.

[13] He, too, is represented in Latrobe's collection of anthems; see also Gerber, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, col. 516.

standing works chiefly by German and Italian composers, it bears witness to Latrobe's uncommon taste and knowledge of musical literature[14].

Several Moravian composers, including Latrobe, wrote instrumental music and let instruments play an important role in their anthems. "The practice of Instrumental Music," Latrobe comments, "is recommended by the Brethren, as a most useful substitute for all those idle pursuits, in which young people too often consume their leisure hours; and since its application as an accompaniment and support to the voice is calculated to produce the most pleasing effect, its use in the Church has been retained." Such an attitude explains, to a great extent, the astonishing musical record of the American settlements of the Moravians, for it was the cultivation of instrumental music and the collaboration of voices and instruments in which the musical efforts of the American Moravians culminated.

3

Beginnings of Music in the Pennsylvania Moravian Settlements

Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Moravian settlements in America were directed, in principle, by the center of the church administration in Germany. The history of the settlements, accordingly, depended more largely than that of many others upon European developments and decisions. Musical life, too, was at first but an offshoot, an imitation of European activities.[15]

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[14] E. Holmes, *The Rev. Christian Latrobe*, in *Musical Times*, September, 1851, gives a lively portrait of this fascinating personality. The article is followed by Latrobe's own account of his friendship with Haydn. See also Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon*, vol. 6, pp. 71-72, and Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 4th ed., London, 1940, vol. 3, pp. 111-112. Earlier editions of Grove's *Dictionary* include a list of contents of the *Selection of Sacred Music*. Copies of the *Anthems* are preserved at Bethlehem and in the New York Public Library; the latter also possesses a copy of the *Selection of Sacred Music*.

[15] The more recent literature on the development of music in the Pennsylvania Moravian settlements comprises the following items:

The Moravian Contribution to Pennsylvania Music, in *Church Music*

The Brethren and Sisters who crossed the ocean brought their hymns with them, and hymn-singing became one of the fundamental expressions of their spirit of faith and fellowship. Hymns were sung when the harvest was brought in, and the watchmen sang hymns to edify sleepless people. Special gatherings were devoted to hymn-singing. Various nationalities were represented at such meetings, and it became a custom to let everybody sing in his native tongue—thus at a love-feast in 1745 not less than thirteen languages were used by the singers.[16]

Many of the Brethren wrote hymns themselves, following the example of Count Zinzendorf. Into the cornerstone of Nazareth Hall, which was planned as a permanent residence for Count Zinzendorf himself and then used as a school building, two hymns written for the occasion were placed, one by Matthias Gottfried Hehl (1705-1787), a bishop of the Church, the other, in the Delaware language, by the Reverend Bernhard Adam Grube (1715-1808). These men, however, do not seem to have written hymn-tunes, and probably no music was included in the cornerstone.[17]

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and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century, vol. 2, pp. 115-237.

Ruth H. Scott, *Music among the Moravians, Bethlehem, Pa., 1741-1876*, a Master's Thesis, Eastman School of Music, Department of Musicology, 1938; a copy available at the New York Public Library.

Albert G. Rau and Hans T. David, *A Catalogue of Music by American Moravians, 1742-1842*, Bethlehem, Pa., 1938.

Theodore M. Finney, *The Collegium Musicum at Lititz, Pennsylvania, during the Eighteenth Century*, in *Papers read by Members of the American Musicological Society at the annual meeting held in Pittsburgh, Pa., 1937*, pp. 45-55.

Hans Theodore David, *Background for Bethlehem* (*i.e.* the Bach Festival): *Moravian Music in Pennsylvania*, in *Magazine of Art*, 1938, pp. 222-225 and 254.

Hans Theodore David, *Music of the early Moravians in America*, in *Musical America*, 1938, pp. 5 and 33.

[16] See Joseph Mortimer Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1892*, Bethlehem, 1903, *passim*.

[17] The history of Nazareth, with occasional reference to music, is given in *Historic Nazareth*, compiled by George M. Shultz, edited by Amos A. Ettinger, and forming *part one* of *Two Centuries of Nazareth, 1740-1940*, Nazareth, 1940. See also Levin T. Reichel, *A History of Nazareth Hall from 1755-1855*, Philadelphia, 1855.

A few instruments were used almost from the beginning. Occasionally a procession is described in which players took part. Such was the case when the Whitefield House was finished; when the cornerstone of Nazareth Hall was laid; when the Hall was inaugurated; when the school, which—in this time of war and war-scare—had been removed to Bethlehem, returned to Nazareth. The music used on such occasions probably consisted entirely or predominantly of hymns.

The next step was the acquisition of keyboard instruments. On January 25, 1744, a *Spinett,* that is a harpsichord, arrived. It was, as the Church diary stated, considerably damaged by the voyage, but the Brethren were able to repair it quickly, and the next day it was first played in the service. In 1746, an organ was installed at Bethlehem by Johann Gottlieb Klemm, who himself moved to Bethlehem in 1757 and stayed there until his death in 1762.[18]

Klemm associated with himself David Tanneberger, a skillful joiner, who had arrived from Europe in 1749, at the age of twenty. Tanneberger gradually became the most famous organ-builder in Pennsylvania. In 1765, he removed his workshop to Lititz, working for Moravian as well as other congregations. While setting up an organ at Yorktown, in 1804, he had a stroke, fell from a scaffold, and died; and the organ was played for the first time at his funeral.[19] How deeply the Moravians were interested in organ building is shown by a treatise on *Die geheim gehaltene Kunst der Mensuration der Orgel Pfeiffen,* that is *"The secret art of mensuration of organ pipes,"* by Georg Andreas Sorge, a competent German composer and theorist. The book, full of diagrams and detailed mathematical tabulations, was especially written, as

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[18] A small organ of this period is now preserved in the museum of the Moravian Historical Society at Nazareth; according to the Rev. George M. Shultz, Librarian of the Society, this is the original first Bethlehem organ.

[19] His *Lebenslauf* is preserved at Lititz. It contains the life story of an industrious, well-balanced personality. His first wife having died, he married again, in 1800, and his second wife asserted that they had never had an unpleasant hour together. With the *Lebenslauf* are found balance sheets, drawn up for his partner Schnell, which show their activities from 1795 to 1804.

Sorge states, for "his friends in Pennsylvania." He mentions furthermore that the copy on hand was the second he dispatched; and since he does not allude to the first as lost, there is a definite possibility that it had been forwarded to Lititz for use by Tanneberger.

It was customary at Herrnhut to announce festivals and, also, the death of members of the community with an ensemble of four trombones. When someone had passed away, three chorales were played, the second of which was chosen according to the age and state of the departed—whether child or adult, male or female, single, married or widowed. In the colonies, horns or trumpets seem to have been used at first in place of the unavailable trombones. Then, in 1754, the first set of trombones was brought to America, and subsequently each congregation was provided with a set. The trombone players were posted out on the gallery of the Brethren's House or in the belfry of the church. They also went out to greet distinguished visitors and led processions like that which proceeded to the graveyard each Easter at sunrise. Trombones, however, were rarely played within the church and hardly ever in concerted music.

The first step toward a more elaborate church music was taken in Bethlehem as early as 1744, when a *Collegium musicum* was founded. The name had originally denoted informal gatherings of students or amateurs performing music for their own pleasure and enlightenment. It was taken over for musical meetings at Herrnhut; there, the *Collegium musicum* is said to have been initiated by August Gottlieb Spangenberg, a bishop and one of the outstanding personalities of the Renewed Moravian Church. At Bethlehem, the idea was introduced by Johann Christoph Pyrlaeus, who had arrived with the first group of Brethren sent from Europe to reinforce the original settlers of Bethlehem. His task probably was simply to give singing and playing lessons. He soon became the *Adjunct* of Count Zinzendorf and then his successor as a minister at Philadelphia. The *Collegium musicum* was taken over by Johann Erich Westmann, who is reported to have devoted an hour every evening to the work. But he, too, left Bethlehem after a short sojourn, and apparently no real progress was made. The problems of the *Collegium musicum* were discussed at a meeting in 1748, at which Spangenberg, who had arrived in the

meantime, was present. Fourteen players were available then, but Spangenberg did not think that the time had yet come to aspire to church music of higher standing.

Without a doubt, however, the interest in music was growing. Among the remnants of the *Gemeinmusik* of Bethlehem, that is the musical library of the community, a number of items have been found that may go back to the 1740's and 1750's. They include miscellaneous collections of arias, songs, and cantatas, apparently brought from Europe; a few volumes of instrumental music; and even a book in lute tablature containing hymns and dances. There are also a few particularly interesting manuscripts that belonged to the Sisters' House at Bethlehem. They contain anthems arranged for choir with strings and harp; one of them even was worked out for choir and strings with two harps and a harpsichord. Whether originally written out for the Sisters' House or deposited there afterwards, they were evidently arranged for local use, representing perhaps the oldest extant material prepared by Moravians in America. In the old diaries and other contemporary sources we find passing remarks that Christian Friedrich Oerter arranged cantatas and that Georg Neisser, the first Bethlehem schoolmaster, was skilful in the preparation of scores. No work of either man can now be identified, but perhaps it was either Oerter or Neisser who made the arrangements preserved in the manuscripts from the Sisters' House.

4

Jeremiah Dencke and Immanuel Nitschmann

In 1761, two men arrived from Europe who were to give a decisive impulse to musical art in the Moravian communities: Jeremiah Dencke, who played the organ and became the first composer among the Moravians in America, and Immanuel Nitschmann, who played the violin and throughout his life proved himself a faithful servant of music. Prior to the time of their arrival, the cultivation of music seems to have been a rather continuous struggle. Now music reached a truly artistic level, and the Moravians succeeded in maintaining that level through the decades which followed, in spite of the difficulties of life at the edge of the wilderness.

Dencke was born at Langenbilau, Silesia, on October 2, 1725. He became organist at Gnadenfrei and, in 1748, at Herrnhut. He held church offices at various places. In America, he served first as *Brüderpfleger* (chaplain of the single Brethren) at Christianspring, near Nazareth. From 1772 to 1784, he was warden of the Bethlehem congregation; this period included the hard years of the Revolutionary War, during which the Brethren's House was used as a hospital. Dencke worked as pastor successively at Bethlehem, Lititz, and Nazareth. He finally returned to Bethlehem, where he spent his last years as overseer of the married people. He died on May 28, 1795, survived by his third wife, Elizabeth Leinbach of Oley, Pa.

In 1766, a synod was held at Bethlehem. It was opened with a composition by Dencke, the oldest surviving piece of music composed by a Moravian in America. It was a simple anthem, almost in the style of a liturgy, for chorus and strings with a figured bass for the organ. In the following two years, Dencke composed music for three services of the Church. The first was written for the annual festival of the younger girls; the second for the Christmas service of the children; the third for the Christmas service of the congregation. For each of the services, Dencke wrote several compositions, all for a solo soprano with accompaniment of strings and organ.[20]

Dencke, who was considered worthy to serve as organist at Herrnhut, must have been an outstanding musician. His compositions are well written and quite attractive. The voice part is melodious, introducing at places elements of the recitative and even the chorale with considerable effectiveness. The instruments are cleverly used in the best style of this pre-Classical period. Some of the movements were later made into choruses and a few independent choruses by Dencke are also preserved. Unfortunately, he did not compose much; apparently in later life he was too much burdened by his offices to have time for composing. His influence, nevertheless, must have been considerable. Ap-

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[20] Dencke's *Musick zum Mädgen-Fest 1767* is included in *Ten Sacred Songs for Soprano, Strings, and Organ*, No. 1 of *Music of the Moravians in America*, edited by the author of this paper, issued by the New York Public Library, 1938-1939. The volume contains, in addition, songs by Johann Friedrich Peter, Simon Peter, Herbst, Müller, and Antes.

parently he was the first to compose anything more than hymns in the settlements, and apparently he was the first to introduce a really concerted music into the service of the American Moravian Church. His works have an even broader significance. As far as we can ascertain, they represent the earliest of their kind preserved from Colonial times. In their modest way, they are free of provincialism, and they were hardly ever equalled afterwards except by other Moravian composers.[21]

Nitschmann was a less fortunate personality. Born at Herrnhut on April 2, 1736, he studied the history of the Church. But, for undisclosed reasons, not much use was made of his spiritual talents, and he had the feeling, as he mentions in his autobiographical notes, that he had not fulfilled his vocation. He served as a minister and for many years compiled the church diary, but he was able to devote much time to music. He was too modest to attempt composition; instead, he copied music in his big, steady hand, building up the first music library of the Bethlehem community.

In the 1760's and 1770's, all compositions that were to be performed during one service were written together on folio sheets. The music included was largely by Gregor and Geisler. Almost all the folio sheets were written by Nitschmann. Later, the compositions were separated and smaller sheets used; a considerable number of these copies were also made by Nitschmann, aided now by Jacob Van Vleck, his brother-in-law.

Presumably in the 1770's, Nitschmann wrote out the complete parts to Handel's *Messiah*. Whether the work was performed as a whole, we cannot tell. The parts, however, show signs of heavy use, and undoubtedly they served frequently at least for the performance of selections.

Nitschmann's interest was not confined to church music. As a violinist, he naturally liked instrumental music. The archives at Bethlehem include a number of symphonies copied by Nitsch-

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[21] None of the earlier accounts of the musical development in the Moravian settlements or more generally in Colonial America mentions Dencke. The author feels that the discovery of his compositions was the most valuable result of the investigation made possible through the grant by the American Philosophical Society.

mann—in America, as the watermarks indicate. The compositions were by Benda, Fils, Förster, and Riepel. Nitschmann also arranged arias from operas by Hasse and Graun for three violins, viola, and figured bass. All of this music was evidently meant for use by the *Collegium musicum*. In 1780, this body numbered eleven players, including two flutists and two French-horn players. Nitschmann, together with Van Vleck, played the first violin. There can be little doubt that Nitschmann had a good share in making the *Collegium musicum* of Bethlehem an efficient organization, able to support a comparatively elaborate church music and to perform the symphonies of the period.

Nazareth and Lititz, too, had their *Collegia musica*, but little information about their early activities can be gathered. The *Collegium musicum* at Nazareth probably used chiefly material brought over from Bethlehem, only a few miles away; whatever library it may have possessed is lost or scattered. At Lititz, scanty material antedating the 1780's has been preserved. Among the ministers there, Bishop Hehl and the Reverend Grube deserve mention; both were interested in music and fragments of compositions by both have been found. Grube is said to have founded an orchestra at Lititz in 1765, but the remnants of the first library of the Lititz church indicate that the music performed in church was for many years restricted to choral pieces with organ accompaniment. Strings seem to have been introduced into church music in the late 1770's; we may assume that only then the *Collegium musicum* began to cultivate instrumental music on a larger scale. In 1778, an enterprising young musician, Tobias Hirte, made some improvements at the site of the large spring around which the settlement had grown, and it became a *rendezvous* of soldiers and musicians, Sisters and other Brethren from the community; but such intercourse was immediately stopped and Hirte heavily rebuked.

5

Simon and Johann Friedrich Peter

Nine years after Dencke and Nitschmann, in 1770, the most gifted of the American Moravian composers and perhaps the most gifted of the Moravian composers in general arrived: Johann Friedrich Peter. He was the son of the older Johann Fried-

rich Peter, who had crossed the ocean together with Dencke and Nitschmann to serve as minister to the Bethlehem congregation.

The older Peter had been a minister at Heerendijk, in Holland. There two sons were born to him, Simon in 1741, and Johann Friedrich in 1746. The boys were educated at various places in Holland and Germany and then came together to the Colonies. After a short stay at Bethlehem, both were employed as teachers at Nazareth Hall. After a few years they returned to Bethlehem. Then they were separated. Johann Friedrich went to Lititz for half a year, in 1779, and then proceeded to Salem, North Carolina, where he spent ten years. Simon remained at Bethlehem till 1784 and then went to the Southern Province for good; he died at Salem on May 19, 1819. Johann Friedrich returned to the Northern Province in 1790. After a stay at Graceham, Maryland, he served at Hope, New Jersey, for a few years. In December 1793, he was called back to Bethlehem. There he spent the rest of his life, except for two years at Montjoy, a small settlement in Pennsylvania. He was married, in 1786, to Catharina Leinbach of Oley, Pa., a sister or close relative of Dencke's third wife. Peter died at Bethlehem on July 13, 1813.

Both Simon and Johann Friedrich were ministers of the Church and both were able musicians, but the one was more successful as a pastor, the other as a musician, and apparently they were employed in accordance with their gifts. Thus only scanty records are left of Simon's musical activities. We know that he gave lessons in singing as well as organ and violin playing; and that he instructed David Weinland, the first double-bass player at Bethlehem. He wrote a few compositions, only one of which is preserved in Pennsylvania—a fine, expressive solo for soprano with strings and organ[21a]. His influence in the Northern Province apparently was not very great; it may have been more considerable in the North Carolina settlements.

Johann Friedrich Peter, on the other hand, had sufficient time and occasion to develop his natural talents. While at school in Germany, he copied whatever good instrumental music he could lay his hands on. Written between 1767 and 1770, these copies represent an excellent cross section through this period of trans-

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[21a] Included in *Music of the Moravians in America*, No. 1.

ition, which still is not sufficiently explored. They include a dozen symphonies by Carl Friedrich Abel; two symphonies by Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach (which, by the way, are not preserved otherwise); trios by Stamitz; a dozen chamber-music works by Haydn, including one of the string quintets, which was never published; and numerous works by lesser-known composers. Whether he ever had any other musical training we do not know, but the study of these works certainly afforded the finest musical education a young musician could go through at that time.

Peter continued to further music by copying vocal as well as instrumental compositions, excluding, however, secular vocal material. The library of the Bethlehem congregation, as it consisted at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when church music at Bethlehem reached the climax of its development, was largely Peter's work. He usually wrote out the parts to one or two compositions on small sheets. Following a practice common with the Moravian musicians, he added an organ reduction, probably chiefly for rehearsing purposes. The bass of his organ reductions was figured; when chorus and orchestra were sure of their parts, Peter may have improvised a free accompaniment according to the figures. He had a very neat and almost elegant handwriting, and he rarely made a mistake. At first he needed only a single set of vocal parts, but the church choir apparently grew rather steadily. In later years, Peter had the occasional assistance of Hannah Weber, a single Sister, who lived at Bethlehem from 1763 to 1840, and made her living by copying church records and music; and of Christian Friedrich Schaaff, the singing teacher of the children, who arrived from Europe in 1795, stayed at Bethlehem till 1819 and then went to Salem, where he died, a most popular old man, in 1841.

Among Peter's copies are the complete parts of two oratorios: Graun's *Tod Jesu* and Haydn's *Creation.* The parts to Graun's work were written out by Peter and Van Vleck in the 1770's. It is entirely possible and even probable that the work was performed completely before Peter left for Salem, in 1779. The parts are more worn than any others found in the Bethlehem library, and it seems that the work remained for decades the favorite choral work of the Moravians. On the parts for the *Creation,* Peter worked alone. This was his final homage to Haydn, whom he

had begun to esteem when Haydn was still rather unknown. The work was performed in 1811, probably with Peter at the organ. It was the first performance of the work in America, and it lived on in the memory of the Moravians as a high spot in the musical life of Bethlehem.[22]

Peter was 24 years old when he arrived in the Colonies. The idea of becoming a composer apparently had never struck him. But he soon felt that there was need of music for the Church, and he set out to fill some of the gaps himself. He began quite cautiously. First he wrote a modest solo in the manner of Dencke; then two duetti. The succeeding composition was probably for a chorus, but in three parts only. Then he wrote his first four-part choral piece in the unassuming style of a liturgy. All of these first attempts date from Peter's years at Nazareth. Perhaps he progressed in such a careful, almost systematic manner, because he was trying to build up a more efficient church choir; the result, in any case, was that he developed his own creative abilities at the same time. When he returned to Bethlehem, he was ready to compose anthems in concerted style; from then on he seems to have composed anthems rather steadily until a few months before his death.[23]

From 1770 to 1772, Gregor visited the American Provinces of the Moravian Church. We may assume that he advised Peter in musical matters, for, not long afterwards, Peter copied a number of compositions by Gregor, which Gregor himself seems to have handed or dispatched to him.[24]

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[22] See M. D. Herter Norton, *Haydn in America* (*before 1820*) in *Musical Quarterly*, 1932, pp. 309-337.

[23] A preliminary account of his life and work was given by Albert G. Rau in *John Frederick Peter*, an essay published in the *Musical Quarterly*, 1937, pp. 306-313. None of Peter's early compositions were known then.

Peter's first composition for Soprano, Strings, and organ, and a later composition of the same type, written at Salem shortly after his marriage, in 1786, are included in *Music of the Moravians in America*, no. 1. The nos. 2 to 8 of the same series contain seven anthems by Peter, including his last dated composition. The no. 9 contains his six string quintets.

[24] One of these works is the *Freuden-Music zum Friedens-Danck-Feste, 1763*, which appears erroneously in Oscar Sonneck's *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*, Washington, 1905, p. 114, as a composition by Peter.

Peter's own compositions at first showed the influence of Gregor's example. But Peter was younger and more ingenious than Gregor. In Gregor's anthems, we usually find a certain stiffness and pedantry while Peter's display the new flexibility of style that was characteristic of the instrumental compositions he had copied in his youth. Certain minor impurities of his harmonic settings suggest that he was largely self-taught, but his was undoubtedly an original talent and a deeper natural comprehension of harmony than that displayed by any other Moravian composer. He must have been an efficient violinist as well as organist. His vocal parts are pleasing and expressive, but he was, like most of his German contemporaries, an instrumentalist at heart, and it is the eloquent brilliancy of his instrumental parts that give his compositions their characteristic flavor and lasting interest.

A clear development can be traced in Peter's works. At first he was timid and restricted in his means. As time went on, he acquired ease and a definite, reliable technique. After he came back from the Southern Province, he had more and more wind-instruments at his disposal; on one occasion his orchestra consisted of two flutes, two clarinets, two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, timpani, strings, and obbligato organ. The possibilities of a larger orchestra induced him to write anthems of greater extension and of a more monumental character. Among them are a few splendid compositions, but he was, on the whole, not as successful in his larger compositions as in those of a more intimate style. The necessity of writing for the valveless trumpets of the time, which could play only the natural overtones, seems to have curbed his imagination, although he handled the horns, which likewise were valveless, without difficulty.

Most of Peter's later compositions were written out for two choral groups. The one was usually a four-part mixed chorus, the other a three-part chorus of high voices; the top and alto parts of the first chorus generally sang in unison with those of the second while the tenor of the first chorus sang in octaves with the second soprano of the second chorus. The first chorus probably was formed of men and married women, the second of "single Sisters", or unmarried girls—it seems that an originally stricter separation of the sexes on the choir loft had by then been relaxed only as far as the married women were concerned.

Musically Peter's arrangement restored, in a rather original manner, the balance of a chorus in which the women outnumbered the men and the tenors were scarce. That the Bethlehem choir could not muster more male singers may have been largely caused by the fact that the entire orchestra was provided by the Brethren.

While at Bethlehem, Peter wrote a few more anthems in smaller form and with fewer instruments in addition to the more ambitious pieces. In these seemingly modest anthems from his last period his creative work culminates. Rich in original traits and delicate details, they display a touching simplicity that seems to be a perfect expression of true devotion. They stand out even in the rather large and valuable literature of concerted church music by Moravian Brethren, and even today their charm and color have not faded.

Once, Peter entered the field of instrumental music as well: shortly before he left Salem, he wrote a set of six string quintets, for two violins, two violas, and violoncello. Apparently he had just five adequate players at his disposal, but not enough music in which they all could take part; thus he simply wrote a few works for them. The violinists for whom the quintets were written and one of the viola players must have been good instrumentalists, for their parts are quite brilliant and in places not easy. The violoncello part is comparatively simple, and the second viola carefully avoids difficulties. The whole set was composed in approximately six weeks.[25]

The quintets show, quite naturally, the definite influence of the works Peter had copied in Germany. They are the most freely conceived, most lively, and most entertaining among his compositions. They are melodious and abound in violinistic figures, whereas they make little use of the thematic development, the elaboration of short motives, which, passing from Philipp Emanuel Bach to Haydn and Mozart, was characteristic of the fully unfolded Classical style. With most pre-Classical compositions of their type they compare quite favorably. Within the American scene, they represent the earliest chamber-music works

[25] The work is mentioned in Sonneck's *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*, p. 136.

preserved and presumably the finest written in the eighteenth century.

Peter was a modest and pious man. His *Lebenslauf,* like that of most Moravian Brethren, gives an account of his religious experiences in addition to the strictly biographical notes. Music is mentioned in it but twice. In one place, Peter expresses his thanks to the Savior that he has been given the faculty to embellish with his musical talent the liturgy of the service and festival meetings of the congregation; from which he himself confesses to have derived many a blessed enjoyment in his heart. In the other place, he speaks about the temptation into which his musical talent had brought him, since he noticed that he was esteemed for it by the World and thus was secretly assailed; here again he praises the Savior who heeded his tearful confession and restored his tranquility of spirit through illness.[26]

The latter remark may have a special significance. Peter's quintets were secular compositions, and although the Moravians never objected to even the most brilliant use of instruments in the service of the Church or to the performance of instrumental works, the composition of worldly pieces probably was widely considered as not quite befitting a true servant of the Lord. Peter certainly wrote the quintets with love and conviction, but on second thought he may have agreed that only personal ambition could have induced him to write a work of that kind. He thought well enough of the quintets to take them with him when he returned to the Northern Province, but he never again wrote a piece of instrumental, secular music. The fact may be regretted, but if modesty and piety prevented him from adding more works to instrumental literature—it was the same spirit of modesty and piety that gave his sacred compositions the character of true church music. At that time, most European composers looked upon the composition of sacred music as a secondary task. They wrote music for the various churches in addition to the secular works upon which their main interest was focused, and accordingly their sacred works are rarely inspiring. The entire life of the Moravian Brethren, on the other hand, was devoted to the service of God. Peter in particular was gifted enough to express

[26] Peter's *Lebenslauf* is preserved in manuscript at Bethlehem.

the sincerity of his devotion in music, and thus his sacred compositions became more appropriate and effective examples of their kind than most sacred compositions written at the same time in Europe.

6

Johannes Herbst

The third outstanding composer among the Brethren in America—next to Dencke and Johann Friedrich Peter—was Johannes Herbst. Born at Kempten in 1735, he was educated at Herrnhut. Like many Moravians, he learned a craft, that of a watchmaker. He served the *Unitas Fratrum* in various capacities: as teacher, bookkeeper, minister, and warden. In 1786, he was called to this country. For a few years he served the congregation at Lancaster as minister. In 1791, he moved to Lititz where he spent two full decades. In 1811, he was consecrated a bishop of the Church and went to the Southern Province. He died at Salem in the following year, on January 15, 1812.

Herbst must have had a definite musical training. Among his manuscripts is an *Anleitung zum Generalbassspielen, besonders für Choralspieler,* a "manual for thorough-bass playing, especially for those who play chorales". He was probably not the author of this book, but either copied it from an original manuscript or made it up from lessons; certain remarks suggest Gregor as the author. Herbst used his knowledge of harmony to prepare a book of chorales in four-part open harmony, using Gregor's tunes and basses. This was an innovation, for Gregor's tune-book did not contain middle parts and Latrobe's provided four-part harmony for the organist, but not for a choir of voices or trombones. Up to the time of Herbst—and of Peter, who arranged a small number of chorales for chorus with instruments—the hymn-tunes apparently had been sung only in unison and octaves, while harmony was added by the organ.

Herbst collected anthems throughout his life. He invariably copied the pieces himself, using paper that remained of the same size and quality for decades. He compiled a considerable library in Europe and brought it with him when he came to America. He left the parts at Lititz, but took the scores to Salem, where

they form a still unexplored collection. When he arrived at Lititz, music was still in a rather primitive stage. In his efficient, systematic manner, he immediately started out to build up a more comprehensive church library. The choir of the Lititz church evidently was a well-trained group at that time, and this, too, probably was Herbst's personal accomplishment.

In his copies, Herbst at first did not care to indicate the names of the composers. He must have felt that, while the composition was a contribution to the worship of the Brethren, the individuality of the author did not count for anything. Such an attitude recalls the early Middle Ages when the names of the individual artists were not considered worth mentioning. Later, Herbst changed his point of view, probably because he learned through his own experience that composing was more than fulfilling a duty. Thus we find that in his later manuscripts he carefully named the composer of each piece of music he added to his library. But still, it was the text of a musical number that was important, not its author, and in the catalogue of the Lititz collection, which Herbst compiled in 1795 and regularly brought up to date afterwards, the pieces were arranged alphabetically according to the first words of the text, not according to composers. The same is true of all early catalogues made for use in the Pennsylvania Moravian settlements; one of these, which records the items belonging to the Nazareth community about 1800, does not even include the names of the composers.

Herbst himself began to compose anthems in 1767, or even earlier. His style developed considerably in the more than forty years covered by his compositions. A few of his European compositions are expressive and even audacious, but most of them are rather dull and uninteresting. At this time Herbst preferred to write short numbers with only a modest accompaniment of strings and organ. When he arrived in the States, he was a man of over fifty, and one might be inclined to suppose that by then his stylistic ideas would have been too firmly established to be susceptible of any considerable change. Strangely enough, Herbst's style underwent such a change, apparently under the influence of his new musical surroundings. Now he attempted larger forms, wrote more florid and independent parts for the strings, and added wind instruments to his orchestra. He himself

must have realized that he had acquired practically a new style; for he rewrote a few of his earlier works, elaborating particularly on the instrumental parts. Undoubtedly he composed his most fluent and accomplished music in his last years at Lititz. He lived only a few months after he left the Northern Province, and it is doubtful whether he did any composing at Salem.[27]

Herbst was not as interested in instrumental music as Peter. He did not compose any instrumental works, and among his copies is only a single instrumental composition, a piano sonata by Haydn. His compositions are, in general, less inspired and artistic than Dencke's or Peter's, and only very few of them could still be enjoyed. He was, we may say, a clergyman who wrote some compositions rather than a musician who served God through his music. For his time, however, he was an important figure. His compositions were known in Pennsylvania before he arrived himself. He furnished a composition for the dedication of the church at Lititz, in 1787, and one for the dedication of the church at Bethlehem, in 1806. Many of his cmpositions were copied for the Bethlehem library, and we may assume that his music was used more widely in the settlements than that of any other Moravian composer with the exception of Gregor. Peter's anthems were harder to sing and particularly to play than Herbst's, and thus their popularity apparently never equaled that of Herbst's plainer and more obvious compositions.

7

Other Early Moravian Composers in Pennsylvania

As musical life expanded in the Pennsylvania settlements of the Moravians, an ever increasing number of compositions could be used and was needed. The material on hand was not sufficient, additional material not quickly or easily available. It was there-

[27] Herbst is represented in the series *Music of the Moravians in America* by two compositions, a solo for soprano strings and organ, in no. 1, and one of the anthems of his last period, no. 10. The first probably was written between 1800 and 1806, the second in, or shortly before, 1810.

fore natural that whoever felt possessed of any musical talent tried his hand at furnishing some original music for the service of the Church. A splendid opportunity was thus provided; and this, we may say, was the contribution of Colonial conditions toward the development of musical creation in the Moravian settlements.

Dencke and Herbst underwent some musical training and entered the field of composition before they crossed the ocean. It may be doubted, however, whether either Simon or even Johann Friedrich Peter would ever have ventured to write music themselves, had not the situation in the colonies compelled them to do so. They were joined by a few other Moravian Brethren whom the opportunity made composers. Among them were Jacob Van Vleck, Johann Christian Till, George Godfrey Müller, and a few more at a later time. They all were only composers on occasion, and the output of most of them was small; yet their accomplishments were as varied as their personalities.

Van Vleck was the first American-born among the Moravian composers in Pennsylvania. He came from a Dutch family and was born at New York in 1751. He studied at Nazareth and then for a while at Barby. He returned from Europe in 1778 and became assistant pastor of the Bethlehem congregation. From 1790 to 1800, he was inspector of the Young Ladies' Seminary, which had been founded by Zinzendorf's daughter Benigna, in 1742, and later developed into the Moravian Seminary and College for Women. Then he served as inspector of Nazareth Hall, and successively as pastor at Nazareth, Lititz, and Salem. In 1815, he was consecrated a bishop of the Church and returned to Bethlehem, where he died in 1831.

Van Vleck, who played the violin as well as keyboard instruments, must have been a fine performer. The few compositions he left prove that he might have become a good composer too. He seems to have contributed considerably to the improvement of the *Collegium musicum* at Bethlehem. Eventually he wrote organ parts to anthems which were copied out by Nitschmann; he also collaborated with Peter when the latter worked on the parts for Graun's *Tod Jesu.* He was, however, too many-sided and important a personality to be allowed to devote much time

to music, and, particularly in his later life, music seems to have been fairly crowded out by his many other duties.

Till was American-born like Van Vleck, but his was a life full of misfortune and smacking of failure. Born at Gnadenthal, near Nazareth, in 1762, he was sent to school at Nazareth. Simon Peter noticed his musical inclination and gave him initial instruction. Then he worked at Bethlehem, as apprentice to the nail-smith, as carpenter in the oil mill, and finally as a teacher. While living at the Brethren's House, he formed a string quartet with other Brethren; later Van Vleck joined the group and trained it so well that it could dare to play in public. In 1786, Till went to Hope, New Jersey, as organist and schoolmaster, and then he served as *Hausdiener* (superintendent) at Christiansbrunn, a Brethren's House near Nazareth. In 1793, he returned to Hope and stayed there until the unsuccessful settlement was abandoned, in 1808. He moved to Bethlehem where he earned his living by making furniture; he also built pianos, together with his son. After Peter's death, he became organist of the Bethlehem congregation. He died in 1844, at the age of 82, having played the organ for more than 70 years.

Till was an odd and pitiable figure. His dream was to become a musician, but evidently he did not have sufficient training and was neither gifted nor strong-minded enough to perfect himself. His compositions are poor, and their quality seems to have decreased rather steadily. One of them exists in two versions; the earlier shows some sparks of invention and originality while in the later all interesting details are cut out in favor of commonplace regularity. Till added many items to the library of the Bethlehem *Collegium musicum* and at least doubled the library of the Bethlehem church. His taste was rather indiscriminate, but among his copies were works like Mozart's famous symphony in E-flat major and a cantata by Bach; Till copied the latter in the 1820's from the first edition of any such work published after Bach's death. When Till died, he left behind, too, a rather detailed and personal autobiography—a pathetic account of the hardships of life.

Georg Gottfried Müller — in later years he called himself George Godfrey—was born at Gross Hennersdorf near Herrnhut

in 1762. He came to America in 1784. He served in succession at Nazareth, Lititz, Bethlehem, a small settlement in Ohio, Philadelphia, and Newport, R. I. It seems that he spent a considerable number of years at Lititz. He retired to Lititz at the end of his life and died there in 1821.

Müller's compositions prove him to have been a musician of taste and genuine talent. He was a good violinist and the leader of the orchestra at the Brethren's House at Lititz. He was held in high esteem; once, when a distinguished guest arrived in his absence, a special messenger was sent all the way to Lancaster to call him back, and only after he had returned was the guest entertained with music. Evidently it was Müller who really brought the *Collegium musicum* at Lititz to life. For years, Herbst and Müller collaborated, and probably it was the contact with Müller, more than anything else, that caused the astonishing change of style in Herbst's last compositions.[28]

Among the Moravian composers of this period, there was also a man who was born in America, but left this continent in his youth, never to return: John Antes. He was the son of Henry Antes, an influential friend of the Brethren and later a member of the *Unitas Fratrum*. John was born at Fredericktown, Pa., in 1741. He went to Europe in 1760 and served for a number of years in Egypt. He was beaten there severely by a Bey who tried to extort money from him; the result was that he remained a cripple for the rest of his life. He then went to England where he died in 1811.

Antes is said to have made the personal acquaintance of Haydn. He composed a number of anthems which have melodic charm and a fine, fluent character. None of them seems to date from his American years, but they were copied and used in the settlements. Antes apparently was the only Moravian composer who had chamber music published. Recently an incomplete copy of his third opus was found. The title, with its faulty Italian and odd punctuation, is a curious illustration of international relations: *Tre Trii per due Violini and Violoncello, Obligato, Dedicati a Sua Exellenza G. J. de Heidenstam, Ambassatore de Sa Maj. il Ri de*

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[28] A composition by Müller for soprano, flutes, strings, and organ, is included in *Music of the Moravians in America*, no. 1.

Suede a Constantinopel. Composti a Grand Cairo dal Sigre Giovanni A-t-s, Dilettante Americano.[29]

Antes was most interested in musical mechanics. He is said to have built a complete string quartet; a violin labeled *John Antes in Bethlehem 1759* is preserved at the Museum of the Moravian Historical Society at Nazareth. During his years in England, Antes invented a machine enabling the musician to turn pages with the foot, without interrupting his playing. He furthermore suggested, in a letter to the editor of a German musical magazine, the application of the endless screw to the violin pegs, for more accurate tuning; an increase in the height of the point of the violin bow, to make greater variety in the tension of the hair possible; and the use of sponge or fungus, instead of the leather then employed, as an improvement of the piano hammer.[30]

Latrobe called correctness and simplicity the "two grand sources of beauty in the performance of Music." Correctness and simplicity seem to have been the highest aims of the Moravian composer as well. He wrote for choirs and orchestras that hardly ever counted professional musicians among their members; to be performed by such groups, the compositions were bound to be simple and straightforward. The music was presented, furthermore, in the service of the Church; it had to appeal to the whole congregation, to the entire mixed population of a settlement, not to a selected, sophisticated audience of concert-goers; thus its sincerity as well as its eloquence were immediately tested. Such conditions placed a definite restriction upon the composer; and that restriction probably was felt even more strongly in the Colonies than in Europe. It forced the composer to be direct

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[29] I am indebted to Dr. Carleton Sprague Smith, who first called my attention to the work. It was published by J. Bland, London, without date. The only copy known was acquired by the Sibley Memorial Library of the University of Rochester; unfortunately the first violin part is missing. No information about Antes' earlier publications could be found. One of his songs for soprano, strings, and organ has been reproduced in *Music of the Moravians in America*, no. 1, from a copy by Johann Friedrich Peter. See Sonneck, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 and 177.

[30] *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, Leipzig, vol. 3, 1800-1801, cols. 739-740; *ibid.* vol. 8, 1805-1806, cols. 657-662 and separate plate. See also Gerber, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, col. 123. Antes' *Lebenslauf* was printed in *Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine*, issue of 1845, vol. 1, pp. 249-295.

and natural; and this, in turn, became his greatest asset. If we review the American compositions by the Brethren to the beginning of the nineteenth century, we may find many a dry or awkward piece, but none where the ambition of the composer seems to win out over his modesty and better judgment. Much has been said in praise of Colonial architecture and furniture—it was a similar spirit that manifested itself, not less convincingly, in the early compositions written by Moravians in America.

8

David Moritz Michael and the Climax of Musical Activities in the Settlement

The last decade of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth represent the great creative period of the Brethren in America; this was, at the same time, the golden age of the Moravian *Collegia musica.*

For many years, the difficulty of finding capable players must have been matched by that of providing musical material for their gatherings. Funds to buy printed editions or copies by professional copyists, such as publishers like Breitkopf sold, did not exist at first. The material Nitschmann possessed or provided was rather limited. The music Peter brought with him represented a most considerable addition. Thereafter music had to be borrowed from abroad or from friends in the States and copied. Whoever was able to write music fell to, and thus gradually a fine collection of symphonies as well as chamber-music works was brought together.

To judge from the copies preserved, the orchestra of the Bethlehem *Collegium musicum* in the 1790's was able to play symphonies by van Maldere and Carl Stamitz. Works by John Christian Bach, Haydn, Rosetti, and by other composers whose fame has faded away were at one time or another added to the repertoire. The orchestra must have been an impressive group. All these men had their church or school office, their trade or craft; and here they assembled, like the *Meistersinger* of olden times, to study and enjoy music. They were not backward in their taste or accomplishments: they played the newest and most diffi-

cult orchestral works written by their contemporaries. There was certainly no other group like this in the States then, and hardly any in Europe.

A new and final impulse came in 1795 with the arrival of David Moritz Michael. He was born at Kienhausen, near Erfurt, in 1795, and educated in Germany. He is remembered as an accomplished player on the violin and on almost any wind instrument; he is said to have amused friends by playing duets on two French horns simultaneously. He was familiar with the latest developments of continental music, and he was apparently an excellent teacher and inspiring leader. He went to Nazareth and almost immediately started the *Collegium musicum* on a new basis. The museum at Nazareth preserves a *Verzeichniss derer Musicalien welche im Concert sind gemacht worden,* a "list of the musical pieces that have been done in concert." This booklet contains an imposing series of programs, giving a full account of Michael's activity and the manner in which his example was followed in the years after his departure.

James Henry, in his *Sketches of Moravian Life and Character* describes the meetings of the *Collegium musicum* in his picturesque style:

"In the chapel of Nazareth Hall, the teachers and citizens were wont to assemble in the evenings, and rehearse many of the symphonies of Haydn and other composers, together with an excellent programme of chamber music, in trios, quartettes and quintettes, and when engaged in the symphony, they employed as full an orchestra as they could muster. Each virtuoso, on his own favorite instrument, from the violincello (!) to the kettle-drum, gave his whole soul to the subject, and if the performance, as a *tout-ensemble,* did not arrive at the proficiency of professed artists, they at least displayed the feeling, which is of the first requirements of music, and often redeems the deficiencies of skill."

About 1804, Michael was transferred to Bethlehem. Shortly afterwards the *Collegium musicum* was reorganized and assumed the name of Philharmonic Society. The new institution unfolded an astonishing activity. Concerts were given frequently; no admission was charged, but a collection was taken at the end. Between 1807 and 1819, 241 concerts took place; 28 alone in 1808 and 36 in 1809. The receipts amounted altogether to $301.73, averaging $1.30 for each concert. Hall, fuel, and light were provided by the community; thus the receipts sufficed, in a modest

way, to furnish instruments, strings, some printed music, and bindings for the more frequently used items.[31]

The most splendid event in the history of the Philharmonic Society was the performance of Haydn's *Creation.* Michael played the first violin. The work was repeated again and again in the course of the years. The *Seasons,* too, was performed at an early date and became the uncontested favorite of the Bethlehem populace. The symphonic repertoire was also steadily increased. Among the works procured before 1813 were symphonies by Paul Wranitzky, Friedrich Witt, Anton Eberl, Franz Krommer, and a certain J. C. Röhner; the last is represented by a single work that was at one time "the Principal Symphony or great Crack here in Bethlehem music".[32]

As a composer Michael was a minor figure. His anthems and sacred ariettas show little creative power and technical skill. He wrote, however, a number of compositions for wind instruments and thus created a new type of entertainment in the Moravian settlements. Michael composed, presumably in Europe, fourteen *Parthien,* or suites, for two clarinets, one or two bassoons, and two horns; a few of them require an additional flute or trumpet. These suites were copied out for Bethlehem as well as Lititz and apparently were performed at both places.[33] At Bethlehem, the Brethren played such pieces in the evening from the gallery of the Brethren's House or in the open; at Lititz they may have assembled near the spring where Tobias Hirte had first offered musical entertainment.

In 1808, Michael ventured to write a piece of program music for wind instruments, a kind of "water music", intended for a Whitmonday boat-ride on the Lehigh. Rufus A. Grider, in his *Music in Bethlehem,* gives a vivid account of the occasion:

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[31] The figures are taken from Grider's essay (see above p. 23), which gives a more detailed account of the history of the Philharmonic Society than that attempted here.

[32] Note by Rufus A. Grider on Peter's copy of the symphony; Grider's information came from Jedediah Weiss, prominent among the Bethlehem singers and a man of 77 years when Grider wrote the note, in 1873.

[33] Several of the suites are mentioned in Sonneck's *Bibliography of Early Secular American Music,* p. 113; however, we have no indication that any of them actually represent American items.

"The inhabitants assembled on the river bank, west of the old bridge, about 1 o'clock, P.M.; a large flat bottomed boat or *flat*, propelled by four men with long poles, and provided with seats and music stands, received the musicians. A procession was formed by those who intended to participate in the pleasures of the occasion. When all was in readiness, the boat started, the music began; the party moved up the Lehigh, accompanied by hundreds of listeners, enjoying the music, social concourse and delightful prospect. The scenes of that part of the Lehigh were truly beautiful; the banks were studded with buttonwood, oak, hickory, water-birch, and other trees whose graceful branches extended beyond, and dipped into the silent stream. Islands covered with vegetation, trees and shrubbery, whose shadows were reflected in the water, added to the attractions.

"The walk was level, bounded on the north by fruitful meadows, and cultivated fields and orchards, on rising ground; on the south by the river and adjacent mountains. The season of bloom then often at its height, the apple, peach, cherry and other trees, being then in full blossom, the meadows covered with violets, the river bank with honeysuckle, lupin, and other flowers. The party continued westward one mile, to an eddy caused by a turn of the river, forming a miniature whirlpool (called the deep hole). The poles no longer touched bottom, the water being too deep. The composer, poet like, supposed a case of great peril, caused the music to convey the idea of fear and terror; the boat was kept in the whirlpool long enough for the musicians to act out their part; when it emerged from the eddy into the placid stream, the sounds changed to lively airs and graceful melodies. The boat meanwhile glided with the current and the party wended their way homeward."

Michael's music has been preserved. It consists of three suites for two clarinets, two horns, and a single bassoon, entitled *Bey einer Quelle zu blasen,* "To be played by a spring." The bits of programmatic music mentioned by Grider are found in the third suite; it contains some of the best music Michael ever contrived, but even that can hardly be called interesting enough to warrant a revival.

In the following year, Michael again provided a water music. He now had two bassoons at his disposal; thus he wrote another set of suites, *Bestimmt zu einer Wasserfahrt auf der Lecha,* "Intended for a water ride on the Lehigh", and dedicated them to one of the bassoon players. No programmatic intentions appear in this work.[34]

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[34] Of the first water music, we have only a copy by Hannah Weber; of the second, however, Michael's holograph. Both items are included, as they deserve to be, in Sonneck's work; see *op. cit.*, pp. 145 and 163.

In 1814, the Brethren's House was given up, and Michael returned to Europe. He died at Neuwied in 1823 or 1825.

9

Later Moravian Composers in America

When Peter and Herbst had died and Michael had left the country, music in the Moravian settlements was bound to decline. For a long time, however, it was the quality rather than the extent of musical life that was impaired.

Before the passing of the musical leaders of the older generation, men like Johann Christian Bechler, Peter Ricksecker, and Peter Wolle had taken up composition. They, too, were but occasional composers.

Bechler was born on the island of Oesel in the Baltic Sea in 1784. He came to America in 1806 and became one of the professors at the newly founded theological seminary, which later developed into the Moravian College and Theological Seminary. Bechler served in various capacities at various places in the Northern Province till 1829 and then in the Southern Province till 1835. Consecrated a bishop of the Church, he returned to Europe, worked in the Russian settlements, and died at Herrnhut in 1857. He wrote modest ariettas that were not unattractive; long, heavily scored anthems that show a serious lack of imagination; and a few minor pieces for wind instruments.

Ricksecker was born at Bethlehem in 1791, attended the Seminary at Nazareth, served in Pennsylvania till 1826 and then as missionary in the West Indies. He retired in 1857 and died at Bethlehem in 1873. Among the Moravian composers in America, he was the least talented. His compositions include a *Battle of New Orleans,* a piece of rather naive program music for the pianoforte.

Wolle was born in the West Indies in 1792. In 1800, he entered Nazareth Hall and became one of the first students of the theological seminary. He served as minister at Lancaster, Philadelphia, and Lititz, and then became a bishop of the *Unitas Fratrum;* he died at Bethlehem in 1871. He seems to have been a pupil of Michael and later of Bechler. He had more imagination than

either of them, but he lacked daring, and only one of his compositions, an anthem for double chorus with instruments, stands comparison with the works of the older Brethren.[35]

However small the contribution of these men to truly interesting music may have been, they passed on the devout spirit of the old Moravian composers, and finally another real talent grew up among the American Moravians: Francis Florentine Hagen. He was born at Salem in 1815 and died at Lititz in 1909, after a long life in the service of the Church. Hagen wrote an extended choral cantata of juvenile character, but with ingenious details; a few anthems; and an overture for full orchestra. He also edited the *Church and Home Organist's Companion,* a somewhat promiscuous collection of popular pieces, arranged for the reed organ. Hagen had an unusually fine sense for distinguished popular melody. His early anthems included the *Morgenstern,* a lovely Christmas song that soon became extremely popular with the Moravians; his later anthems were written in a more modern, romantic style.[36]

The spirit in which the Moravian Brethren conceived their works was once finely expressed in words by Bechler. In 1809, Peter had sent one of his compositions to Bechler as a birthday present. The following year, Bechler reciprocated by sending one of his to Peter. Bechler accompanied the anthem with a letter, written in German, in which he asked his friend to accept his newest piece of work with love and to judge it with forbearance. "Everybody," he continued, "does as well as he can, and

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[35] It is reproduced in *Music of the Moravians in America,* no. 11. Wolle edited the *Moravian Tune Book Arranged for four voices with accompaniment for Organ and Piano.* Published in 1836, it was the first Moravian tune-book providing parts for a chorus and, at the same time, the first Moravian tune-book printed in America.

[36] The *Morning Star,* originally written to German words, is said to have been composed in 1842. The first version was for children's voices with organ accompaniment. A choral version was included in a later tune-book issued by the Moravians in America, *The Offices of Worship and Hymns with Tunes of the American Province of the Unitas Fratrum,* second ed., Bethlehem, 1872. A separate edition for chorus, with the original accompaniment, has been issued by G. Schirmer, New York, edited by the author of this paper. Another anthem of Hagen's early period is included in *Music of the Moravians in America,* no. 12.

praises and glorifies the Creator, who gave him his portion, however small it may be, by using it faithfully. I do not care what the learned critic would say about my blunderings if he had to judge them—for it is not for him that I write. If the congregation, to whose enlivenment, stimulation, and edification I should like to contribute, actually derives some such fruits through my compositions, I shall think I have accomplished more than if a critic praised me and the congregation did not enjoy hearing me."

10

The Musical Festival of Bethlehem

While the creation of music by American Moravians decreased and, on the whole, declined, musical life particularly at Bethlehem seemed richer than ever. The Philharmonic Society stood in the center of activities, but there were also bands and even a serenading club. They all joined forces in musical festivals that were, for many years, high spots in the life of the entire community.

The Bethlehem festival became newspaper news. The Philadelphia *United States Gazette for the Country* of Wednesday morning, June 20, 1832, published the following account of the most recent festival at Bethlehem.[37]

"As it is customary in some parts of Germany and England, to give annually a musical festival, the musicians of Bethlehem resolved to do the same this year, and Monday the 11th inst. was selected for that occasion.

"The musicians of Nazareth and the neighboring towns were invited to assist on the occasion, who kindly accepted the invitation.

"For several days previous all was preparation, and all day you could see the young ladies walking toward the Concert Hall, with baskets filled with flowers, greens, etc.

"At 9 o'clock the doors of the Concert Hall were thrown open, (a large hall capable of containing 600 persons) and in a very short time every seat was occupied by persons from far and near. The scene was truly interesting, the stage, walls, chandeliers—yes even the note stands of the musicians were beautifully decorated with flowers of every descrip-

[37] I have received the account through the courtesy of Dr. Bruce Carey to whom I should like to express my gratitude.

tion.—The heads and dresses of the female singers were also most tastefully decorated with flowers, truly representing flower girls, which corresponded most admirably to the decorations of the whole Hall. At the sides of the Hall the portraits of about 40 of the principal musicians of the old and new world were hung up, which added greatly, making the scene still more interesting. Amongst the performers was a celebrated violin player, a Mr. Kahn, from Sweden, who happened to be here on a visit.—He is really an excellent performer—his playing was highly extolled by those who understand music. A Mr. Lehman from Dresden, in Germany, was also here, and gave a concerto on the French horn, by which he gave evidence that he is a master on that difficult instrument. Mr. and Mrs. Anders, formerly of Berlin, were really at their places—the one at the piano, and the other as the prima donna of the singers. Several of her solos were excellent. At 10 o'clock, A.M., the performance commenced, and lasted until 12 o'clock; after which an adjournment took place. At 3 in the afternoon they commenced again, which lasted with the exception of a short interval, till 6 o'clock. At 8 in the evening, another meeting took place, and lasted till half past 9 o'clock.

"Most choice pieces were performed, selected for the occasion, composed by Haydn, Kuffner, Mozart, Bedhoven, Rode, Neukom, Neubauer, Schulz, Mehul, and others.

"At 10 in the evening the serenading party of Bethlehem, consisting of ten of the principal performers, were out, it being a beautiful moonlight night. They serenaded the strangers who happened to be here on a visit, and I believe at those houses where I thought some other attractions drew their attention. This, I presume, was in some measure the compensation for decorating the Hall.

"The whole town kept alive until 12 o'clock, and at one place (where, if I understand right, a young Philadelphia lady boards) the instruments were laid aside, and a beautiful vocal serenade was performed. After 12 everything got quiet, the music ceased, and thus ended this truly musical and interesting day.—Both strangers and inhabitants were so much delighted with the performances of the day, that the directors of the music kindly consented to give another grand musical festival in the fall of this year."

"A VISITOR"[38]

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[38] The editor of the *United States Gazette* was so much impressed with the report from Bethlehem that he prefaced it with the following note:

"We are indebted to an esteemed friend now at Bethlehem, for the following interesting account of a festival in that place. He will accept our thanks for his favor, and will, we think, receive those of our readers generally. The vocal serenade will excite some envy among our fair CITOYENNES, who have yet been only honored with the pipe and tabert, and the instruments of string; but we foresee that the Bethlehem

The festival was held annually and in the course of the years it became of such old standing—as James Henry, who has left us another delightful description of its features, remarks—"that it was regarded as a permanent institution, and if aught transpired to hinder its celebration, a cloud of disappointment seemed to cast its shadows over the public mind. The entertainment"—James continues—"lasted the whole day, and to the chronicler of medieval Bethlehem, it forms a bright point to look back upon. In addition to a well-selected programme, an oratorio was usually presented to the dilettanti, and among all these compositions, the selections from Hadyn and Mozart were ever the favorites."

Mozart's *Requiem* was performed on a special occasion in 1826. Among the oratorios given in the 1830's were Romberg's *Das Lied von der Glocke* and Löwe's *Siebenschläfer,* in addition to both the *Creation* and the *Seasons.* Later, Spohr's *Last Judgment* and Schumann's *The Paradise and the Peri* were taken up, sung apparently in English. At times, the interest in the Philharmonic Society lagged, however, and it had to be reorganized several times.

The symphony books of the period contain, as most interesting items, works by Carl Maria von Weber and Ludwig Spohr. There is also a set of early parts to Beethoven's Ninth Symphony; but whether and when a performance was attempted, we cannot tell. In the 1830's or early 1840's, a music teacher from Philadelphia, Charles Homann, wrote a symphony and dedicated it to the Philharmonic Society; the work represents one of the earliest symphonies written in this country, although it is not a particularly fine example of its type. It bears witness, in any case, to the efficiency of the body for which it was designed.

In the course of the nineteenth century, more and more people would take part in the performance of oratorios or orchestral

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serenade will be a precedent for the *cavaleros* of Philadelphia—and while the young, with delight, hide their night caps behind Venitian blinds, and

'Sit and let the sounds of music creep in their ears,'

some of us old codgers may catch the rheumatism in the night wind, and wish the musicians might 'hang in the air a thousand leagues hence.'

"We are sorry that we are not permitted to mention the name of the lady who was honored with the *vocal* salutation."

works. The orchestra of Bethlehem, in fact, increased so much that on one occasion it was advertised as the second largest in the country. As more and more people participated, the standards in the choice of music were gradually lowered. In the 1830's, opera overtures came into fashion. They were followed by opera potpourris, and if one looks through the music acquired later on, one finds piles and piles of cheap popular material.

But in the minds of the people, there still must have remained the memory of their great musical past, and new life was infused into a none too well kept tradition by John Frederick Wolle, a relative of Peter Wolle. During a short period of study in Germany, Wolle grasped the greatness of Bach. His life work culminated in the foundation of the Bach Choir which gave its first Bach Festival with a performance of the B Minor Mass in 1900. Wolle was a Moravian, and the Bach Festivals were at first held in the Central Moravian Church. But Bethlehem at the beginning of the twentieth century was no more a Moravian town, and the Bach Choir became the musical representation of the whole town, just as the Philharmonic Society had been when Bethlehem was still exclusively Moravian.[39]

The Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania, particularly Bethlehem, have the most enviable musical record of any towns in the United States. Even before they were founded, it is true, concerts had been held in cities like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, but there it was the traveling virtuoso who provided music for a paying audience. In the development of music at Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Lititz, the traveling virtuoso had no share—the people themselves provided and even created the music they needed or wanted. That was no mean technical accomplishment, and it was, in addition, the fulfilment of an almost Utopian ideal. The Moravian settlements had been planned and were led by practical men with a religious idea and artistic sense: they accomplished a wonderful union of religion and art, and the perfect saturation of daily life with music.

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[39] See Raymond Walters, *The Bethlehem Bach Choir*, Boston and New York, 1918 and 1923; and *Bach at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*, by the same author, in *Musical Quarterly*, 1935, pp. 179-189.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Page 7, ¶ 1: "Many of Franklin's papers had been destroyed during the Revolution, and he was doubtless writing from memory. It seems safe to assume that he had become familiar with the 'clarinets' in Paris, rather than Bethlehem, and they slipped into this list inadvertently. Certainly, no other evidence has turned up to indicate that the clarinet was known in Bethlehem as early as 1756."—Donald M. McCorkle, "The Moravian Contribution to American Music," *Notes*, XIII, 4 (September 1956), p. 600.

Page 7, footnote[1]: Grider's *Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem* has been republished in facsimile as No. 4 of the present series (Winston-Salem, 1957).

Page 8, ¶ 1: A microfilm copy of the 1501 hymn book is now in the possession of The Moravian Music Foundation.

Page 9, ¶ 3: Christian Gregor died in 1801, not 1791.

Page 11, ¶ 1: Many others of their compositions are in the Salem Archives. Geisler was one of the most prolific of all Moravian composers and, like J. G. Gebhard and J. L. Freydt, appears to have been quite influential.

Page 11, ¶ 2: Latrobe was born in 1758, not 1757.

Page 12, footnote[15]: This bibliography does not of course include numerous significant theses and articles prepared since 1938.

Page 14, ¶ 2f: Cf. Donald M. McCorkle's "Prelude to a History of American Moravian Organs," *American Guild of Organists Quarterly*, III, 4 (October 1958).

Page 20, ¶ 2: Simon Peter was born in 1743, not 1741.

Page 20, ¶ 3: Simon Peter was apparently somewhat more influential as a musician while in the Southern Province, but he was first and foremost a minister. His fourth composition has only recently been found.

Page 21, ¶ 2: J. F. Peter copied a great amount of secular vocal material, all of which has been found in Winston-Salem since 1954.

Page 21, ¶ 3: The *Tod Jesu* score, copied by Peter Mortimer and Jacob Van Vleck in 1773, and a set of parts, copied by Johann Friedrich Peter, are in the Salem Archives.

Page 24, ¶ 3: "The fact that the *Partitur* is dated 9. Jan. 1789 and the first violin part is dated 28. Febr. 1789 has led David to the untenable conclusion that the entire set was written in six weeks. Actually, following Peter's usual dating system, these two dates probably signify no more than the fact that the score was completed on January 9 and the extraction of parts on February 28. It is difficult to believe that Peter could have produced such carefully wrought and lengthy compositions in so short a time. It is more likely that he was occupied with them spasmodically for several years, working on them whenever time permitted."—Donald M. McCorkle, *Moravian Music in Salem*. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1958, p. 153.

Page 26, ¶ 4f: Herbst's collection at Salem constitutes the basic Moravian sacred music collection in America, and probably in the world. Included are some 1200 compositions, or about 25,000 pages of manuscript scores.

Page 28, ¶ 2: In the Salem Collections is a small number of piano or harpsichord pieces which Herbst owned. Included are manuscripts and editions of works by J. W. Hässler, J. B. Wanhal, and E. W. Wolf.

Page 28, footnote[27]: The reference here is to the anthem *"Das Volk, das im Finstern wandelt"* and the solo *"Ich gehe einher in der Kraft des Herrn."* The correct dates are respectively Jan. 6, 1768 and May 4, 1773.

Page 29, ¶ 3: John Antes, who was born in Frederick Township, Montgomery County, Pa., in 1740 (not 1741), takes precedence over Van Vleck as the first native-born Moravian composer.

Page 31, ¶ 3f: Cf. Donald M. McCorkle's "John Antes, 'American Dilettante'," *The Musical Quarterly,* XLII, 4 (October 1956), for a detailed study of Antes. Antes' Three Trios are scheduled for republication in an edition by Thor Johnson and Donald M. McCorkle in 1959 by Boosey and Hawkes.

Page 32, footnote[29]: A more nearly complete copy (lacking one page) of the Trios is in the Salem Archives. No other copy has as yet been located in the world.

Page 34, ¶ 2: David Moritz Michael was born in 1751, served in Pennsylvania from 1795 to 1815, and died in 1827.

Page 35, ¶ 3: Two recently published works, the anthem "Hearken! Stay Close to Jesus Christ" *(Kindlein bleibet bei Jesu Christ),* and the arietta "I Love to Dwell in Spirit" *(Ich bin in meinem Geiste),* will cause a revision of this evaluation.

Page 35, ¶ 3: The present writer is convinced that all of Michael's music was composed in Pennsylvania. Circumstantial evidence for this belief is in the fact that no music by Michael has yet been discovered in Europe, nor is there any reference in Europe to his having ever worked as a musician. That the wood-wind music was composed in America is established by the fact that several of the *Parthien* were copied by Johann Friedrich Peter, who died in 1813, two years prior to Michael's return to Europe.

Page 38, ¶ 2: A biography and critical analysis of Hagen and his music is James W. Pruett's *Francis Florentine Hagen, American Moravian Musician.* M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1957, Pp. 143.

—D. M. M.