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David Jerome Buness

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AN ANALYTICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE DERIVATION
OF STYLISTIC TECHNIQUES EMPLOYED BY TWO
MORAVIAN CHORAL COMPOSERS IN AMERICA

by

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Through the efforts of the Moravian Music Foundation, under the direction of Donald McCorkle, much previously unobtainable choral music of the early Moravians in America has been made available to the public. Much has been written concerning this early choral music in America, establishing the fact that it held a unique position in the musical life of the American colonies. Donald McCorkle has shown that "while New England and the Middle Atlantic states were singing the simple Psalm tunes, and their local artisans were composing the Americanized English fuguing tune, the Moravians were composing elaborate concerted anthems and arias, modeled after the choral works of contemporary central European composers."¹

Although the stylistic influences which operated upon the composers of this music have been suggested by various scholars, these influences have not been examined in detail. Such an examination would be of interest because of the historical significance of the music, and of value if it will enable the reader to interpret this unique choral music better, either as a listener or as a performer.

Due to the amount of choral music written by early native-born and immigrant Moravian composers in America, it

has been necessary to limit this study to the works of two composers: Johann Friedrich Peter (1746-1813), and Francis Florentine Hagen (1815-1907). Certain other composers will be dealt with only in proportion to their impact on early Moravian choral music.

Johann Friedrich Peter was probably the most gifted of all Moravian composers who came to America. He is also given credit by most historians for having revived the music activities in Bethlehem, Pa., upon his arrival in America in 1770.

Francis Florentine Hagen, the second composers to be dealt with in detail, represents the final era of the Bethlehem settlement as an exclusive religious community, as many "outsiders" had moved in. This fact is brought out by Rufus Grider who wrote in 1873 that "the Sunday practices have been discontinued since about 1850; not because they were deemed improper, but in order not to give any cause for offence. The place [Bethlehem] is not a Moravian town now, being peopled by persons of various religious denominations." Also, apparently Hagen was the only Moravian composer who spent his entire life in America; most of the other Moravian composers were foreign-born, like Johann Friedrich Peter, while a few were American-born, but

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emigrated, like John Antes, to England.

By contemporary European standards, the Moravians in America developed a musical culture superior to any found elsewhere in the U. S., since the Moravians deliberately nourished aristocratic European musical styles, while most American communities encouraged the individualistic development of indigenous, local styles. Such native development could be witnessed in the Seventh- Day Baptist settlement at Ephrata, Pa., about which Hans T. David writes: "life and music at Ephrata were out of the ordinary and impressive by dint of their strangeness; while life and music at Bethlehem stood out by virtue of their richness and quality."

In order to fully understand the Moravian choral tradition, it is necessary to view it in its total cultural context. To begin with, not only was Moravian music mostly sacred, it usually reflected and served the intense missionary zeal that characterized the sect; therefore a knowledge of the religious beliefs and background of this group will be helpful. Secondly, communities in the American colonies were relatively isolated from one another, and each developed a cultural self-reliance which was especially apparent in the virtually closed society of the Moravian settlements.

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This self-reliance is evident in the compositional practices of the Moravians in America, in that the majority of composers were uneducated laymen who were writing music because it was needed for the weekly church services.

Finally, musical performances were well attended and fully appreciated by the Moravian settlers because of the similar background shared by these people. This is indicated by Rufus Grider who writes the following:

Nearly all the colonists come from music-loving Germany; the accessions to their community being mostly from the same nation. In this new country they had fewer social pleasures, being surrounded by dense forests, inhabited by fierce Indians, they had to look within themselves for diversion to cheer the weary and overtasked. Thus music, while it reminded them of their former home, also poured the balm of content into the bosom of the homesick.

That such amusements were indispensable to them is natural, as many were highly educated persons, who had left friends and home, in a high state of civilization, for their adopted country, where a good wood-chopper was more useful than the man of learning. Yet, all helped to carry out the mission for which they had come. The European customs were practiced; the congregations of the Fatherland being the models of the new ones in their adopted land.5

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5Grider, Notes, 8.
CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

The Bohemian Brethren, also called the Moravian Brethren, came from Bohemia and Moravia. Christianity was brought to these people from the East by Greek monks and, later, Byzantine influence was supplanted by domination of the Roman Church. However, opposition to the Roman Church was very strong in Bohemia and Moravia, and it was there that the Reformation began.

John Huss, who was the spiritual leader of the Bohemians and, for some time, a Rector of Prague University, based his religious teachings on the works of John Wycliffe. Because of his religious teaching, Huss was accused of heresy and summoned to appear before the council of Constance. Here he was granted safe conduct by the Emperor, but was captured, condemned, and burned at the stake on July 6, 1415. This act of violence was the spark that set fire to the religious fervor of his followers and this date marked, in effect, the birth of the Reformation. The revolution that followed saw the Hussites, as they were called, split into two groups. The moderate group, through compromise, avoided a direct clash with the Roman Church and became the National Church of Bohemia; the radical group was almost completely crushed. Their fall, as stated by J. D. Hutton, was not caused "because they were morally weak, but because they were killed by the sword or forcibly robbed of their
property."¹

Before long, however, within the National Church of Bohemia, a new faction began to develop as a result of a growing decline in religious fervor shown by some of the church members. This new group broke from the Bohemian Church and, in 1457, settled on the estate of Lititz, which was the property of George of Poderbrad, the Regent and later King of Bohemia. They first called themselves the "Brethren and Sisters of the Law of Christ," but eventually assumed the name of "Unitas Fratrum." This group, in 1467, became the first church to completely break away from the Papacy. As the Reformation spread, persecution grew more virulent and by the end of the thirty-years war, in 1648, the Protestants in Bohemia and Moravia were completely suppressed.² Nevertheless, the faith and tradition of the Unitas Fratrum were secretly passed on to each 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. Count Zinzendorf had ulterior motives for his hospitality - he intended to make Lutherans of them. In the end, however, he embraced their beliefs and

²Ibid., 145-55.
enthusiastically supported their extensive missionary activities.\(^3\) Zinzendorf's settlement, christened Herrnhut, ("shelter of the Lord"), developed successfully in spite of inner conflicts and external difficulties, and finally assumed the official designation, "Moravian Church."\(^4\)

The Moravian Brethren might be considered a branch of the Pietist movement in that Count Zinzendorf was the godson of Philipp Jakob Spener, who led the group of Germans advocating a revival of the devotional ideal in the Lutheran Church. The Moravians, however, were not as fanatic as Spener's followers in Germany, since among the latter, Pietism "developed into a hard-and-fast system of penance, grace, and rebirth, while at Herrnhut, in the settlement of Spener's godson, Count von Zinzendorf, it consisted chiefly in personal devotion to the redeemer."\(^5\) The pietistic tendencies of the Moravian Church were manifested mainly by missionary fervour and emphasis on vital religion.\(^6\) As a result of their missionary zeal, members settled in the most


remote corners of the earth in an effort to evangelize the heathen. "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 the Moravian settlements in South America and Georgia."7

The settlement at Georgia, in 1735, was the first appearance of the Moravian Brethren in America. They left Georgia when the war between England and Spain broke out and went north to Philadelphia with George Whitefield, arriving in 1740. In 1741 they joined forces with another group of Brethren who had just arrived from Europe and settled in Pennsylvania. There, on the north shore of the Lehigh River, the new community of Bethlehem was founded. Two years later, when Whitefield's tract of land was purchased by the Moravians, the settlement of Nazareth was founded. The Moravian Church now consisted of three provinces: English, German, and American. The main bond and center of authority was the General Synod.8

7David, Musical Life, 5.
CHAPTER III

EUROPEAN MUSICAL BACKGROUND

The musical tradition of the Moravian Brethren can be traced all the way back to the singing of John Huss as he was burned at the stake. From that early date to the present, music has played a principal role in the Moravian Church.

In 1501, a Czech hymnal was published, which was the first hymn book on record. From the printing of this book until 1566, five hymn books were published for church use. Martin Luther used many of the Brethren's hymns when he compiled the first book of hymns for his followers. Count Zinzendorf published a hymn book, Das Gesangbuch Der Gemeine in Herrnhut in 1735, which was one of the most precious possessions brought with the Brethren to Bethlehem in 1741.

The first outstanding musical personality to come out of the Renewed Moravian Church was Christian Gregor (1723-1801), who aided Zinzendorf in preparing music for the services of the Unitas Fratrum. Gregor, who remained in Europe his entire life, brought something new into the church services by developing a liturgy for all special occasions. Because Gregor's compositions were easy to sing and required

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2 David, Musical Life, 8.
3 Julian, Dictionary, 768.
little rehearsal, they were quite popular in the Moravian Churches at that time. Gregor usually wrote for strings and organ accompaniment, never using wind instruments.4

Probably the most talented of Gregor's European followers was Christian Ignatius Latrobe (1757-1836), who was educated in Germany, lived most of his life in England, and died in Fairfield, near Manchester. He was a personal friend of Haydn and dedicated a set of sonatas to him. He admired Handel and attempted to follow his style. Latrobe edited the Hymn-Tunes Sung in the Church of the United Brethren, the first English tune book of the Moravian Church.5 In this collection he used Gregor's melodies and basses, adding two inner parts in close harmony to the tunes. He also edited, in 1811, Anthems for One, Two or More Voices, Performed in the Church of the United Brethren. Latrobe's greatest contribution was his Selection of Sacred Music, published in six volumes between 1806 and 1826. This work contained the compositions of many of the outstanding German and Italian composers. Thus, a strong background in music began with the Moravians in Europe, and this established interest followed them when they came to America to pursue their missionary activities.

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4David, Musical Life, 10.
5Ibid, 11.
CHAPTER IV

MORAVIAN COMPOSERS IN AMERICA

The influences that affected the choral and instrumental writing in the Moravian settlements of America were not only dependent upon the European predecessors and historical background, but also upon the individual composers who adapted this heritage to their local situations. Many of these men, though very limited in musical knowledge, were innovators in their own right, and established the strong traditional musical interest which was responsible for the founding of such groups as the Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem in 1820 and the Bethlehem Bach Choir in 1898.

After the founding of the famous Collegium Musicum in Bethlehem in 1744, Moravian music became more elaborate than before. The era from that year until 1749 has been called "the period of temporary fanaticism." As Corwin has pointed out: "Zinzendorf's flaw of intellectual method, which inclined him to love paradoxical and mystical expressions and to build systems of thought around metaphors that temporarily fascinated him, had led to an unwarranted sentimentalism in the prevalent conception of the atonement, set forth especially in hymns and liturgies."\(^1\) Because of pietism, doctrine was relegated to a minor place, "emphasizing the will rather than knowledge . . . Its insistence upon new

birth, separation from the world, and acute repentance is alleged to have led to exaggerated and frequent fanaticism."² This fanaticism had a great influence on the hymns of many of the early Moravian composers and showed the tendency to emphasize human love to a greater extent than divine love, as well as to emphasize the physical suffering and wounds of the Lord in their hymns.

In 1761, after a continuous struggle for existence, the cultivation of music received a decisive impulse with the arrival of Jeremiah Dencke (1725-95). He did much to elevate the musical standards of the Moravians in America, and, in 1766, he performed one of his compositions at the General Synod. This was a simple anthem for chorus and strings, with figured bass for the organ.³

Another outstanding composer was Johannes Herbst, who learned the craft of watch-making and also served the Unitas Fratrum as a teacher, bookkeeper, minister, and warden (treasurer). In 1786 he was called to America, in 1811 he became a Bishop of the church, and the following year he died. This span of a quarter-century that Herbst lived in America placed him directly in what Corwin designated as "the period of dominant European influence" upon the Moravian Church which began in 1782 and lasted until 1812.⁴

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³David, "Comparison," 17.
⁴Corwin, Church History, 474.
Herbst was an innovator in that he prepared a book of chorales in four-part open harmony using tunes and basses of Christian Gregor. Up to the time of Herbst and Peter, the hymns had apparently been sung in either unison or octaves with the organ furnishing the harmony. Herbst's choral compositions, as those of Gregor, were much easier to perform than those of Peter and Dencke, and because of this, they were more widely used in the Moravian churches at that time. He attempted larger forms, wrote more florid and independent parts for the strings, and added wind instruments to his orchestra. From the death of Herbst until the 1830's the Moravian composers in America displayed a lack of imagination and apparently did not influence the choral writing of the later Moravians to any great extent.

George Gottfried Müller (George Godfrey) was born in Germany in 1762, and came to America in 1784. He is given credit for bringing the Collegium Musicum at Lititz to life. Müller and Herbst collaborated extensively and Müller was probably one of the foremost influencing factors in Herbst's change of style in his later compositions.

Much of the music used in the early Moravian settlements in America was composed elsewhere, according to Rufus Grider, who relates that "no opportunity was neglected to

5David, Musical Life, 27.
obtain all the newest music which their Brethren in Europe possessed." John Antes (1740-1811), although he never composed in America, exerted much influence on other Moravian composers in this country. Antes was born in Frederick, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. His early education including music was acquired in a boy's school at Bethlehem, after which he underwent a four-year apprenticeship in watch-making. He apparently showed an early interest in music, as he supposedly made a trio of stringed instruments during his apprenticeship, one of which is still extant.  

Antes was ordained into the Moravian ministry in 1769 and left the same year for Cairo to begin a twelve-year service as a missionary in Egypt. While in Egypt, Antes was a living example of the strong faith possessed by the Moravian Brethren, because in spite of extreme hardships, he remained true to his church. He was captured by the henchmen of Osman Bey in 1779, and, when unable to comply with their demands for gold, he received a bastinado which crippled him for the rest of his life. When he was released from the Bey's dungeon, he was forced to spend the remaining two years of his Egyptian residence in convalescence. He then returned

7 Grider, Notes, 5.
9 The bastinado is a beating with a stick, usually on the bottoms of the feet.
to Herrnhut, Saxony, was transferred to Neuwied, England, and about 1783 he was called to serve as treasurer of the Fulneck congregation for the next quarter-century, and it was there that he did most of his composing. As far as can be determined, Antes wrote only one instrumental work, a string trio. This was written in Egypt, probably during his convalescence. Antes was primarily a minister, and secondly a composer; he composed because it was necessary for the furtherance of his work and because he wished to glorify God. He wrote at least thirty-eight choral compositions, and because of the common educational practice of copying other composers' works, he became a definite influence on other Moravian composers. For instance, Peter, six years Antes' junior, "took infinite pains to copy his older colleague's works without ever having had, so far as we know, any opportunity of meeting him." Antes' choral compositions were written for SATB while the American Moravians were writing for SSAB; apparently he had no trouble finding tenors in England.

Antes' anthems are similar to those of his Moravian colleagues in that they usually are cast in song-form with instrumental accompaniment, enriched by instrumental prelude, interlude, and postlude. His twelve chorales, however, are through-composed and unaccompanied in contrast to the Lutheran Chorale tunes which were usually set in AABA

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10 McCorkle, Antes, 496.
form. His anthems indicate that he was influenced by Haydn and Handel, which would be very probable as Handel's influence was still being strongly felt in England, and, as stated by Rufus Grider, "Antes made the acquaintance of Haydn, who, together with other musicians, performed his compositions." 11

Antes' melodic lines, similar to those of Haydn, are unique in that they are lyrical, but nearly always disjunct (see example 14, p. 31). He has a fondness for dotted rhythms (see example 14, p. 31), melodic thirds (see example 11, p. 30), long vocal lines, high tessituras, and wide ranges.

The last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth century together have been called the "Golden age of the Moravian Collegia Musica." By this time there had developed sufficient groups of musicians to enable the orchestra to play symphonies by van Moldere and Carl Stamitz. Such concerts undoubtedly influenced the Moravian composers that heard them. It was also during the final decade of the eighteenth century that the "Separation of the sexes" was abolished. This distinguishing feature of the Moravian congregations was, according to Rufus Grider, an error, as "its effects upon music were such that no vocal performances could take place in the concert room, except

11Grider, Notes, 5.
those in which male voices alone took part.\footnote{12} The church music was greatly restrained because the female singers were separated from the male singers by placing them in separate groups on opposite sides of the sanctuary. The building of the new church in Bethlehem from 1803 to 1806 ended this exclusiveness in that settlement and the other Moravian settlements soon experienced a similar adjustment. Another peculiarity that was overcome during the first decade of the nineteenth century was that of limiting the types of music that could be played. This had come about because the Moravians refused to bear arms, take part in dancing, or participate in any practice which might lead to the cultivation of such tastes. Thus "Symphonies, overtures, and minuets, were deemed proper music for performance, but dances, jigs, and military music, were believed improper."\footnote{13} These strict rules were eventually broken down as, under the military laws of Pennsylvania, all males between ages 18 and 45 were required to exercise military tactics twice each year, or pay a fine. Formation of a military band was recognized as acceptable "tactics" and thus, "the formation of the Bethlehem Band was the result of the militia system of that period."\footnote{14}

\footnote{12}{Grider, \textit{Notes}, 7.}

\footnote{13}{Ibid, 11.}

\footnote{14}{Ibid, 25.}
Further enhancing this 'Golden age' was the arrival, in 1795, of David Moritz Michael. "He was familiar with the latest developments of continental music, and he was apparently an excellent teacher and inspiring leader." Shortly after Michael was transferred to Bethlehem in 1804, the Collegium Musicum was reorganized and given the name of the Philharmonic Society. Between 1807 and 1819, two-hundred forty-one 'free will' concerts took place in Bethlehem.

When Peter and Herbst had died (1803 and 1812 respectively), and Michael had returned to Europe (1814), music in the Moravian settlements began to decline. It was during this period, as Rufus Grider relates, that the Bethlehem public had been surfeited with music. They could attend concerts at the cost of $1 2 1\frac{1}{2}$ cents each, by becoming a yearly member. The contributing memberships had not decreased, but a want of interest manifested itself, the seats were oftentimes occupied by children; under such circumstances it was but natural that the performers should lose their interest also, and practicing ceased for a time.

Among the most influential and fascinating of all the composers, however, were the two who represented the culmination and the close, respectively, of Moravian music in America: Johann Peter and Francis Florentine Hagen.

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15McCorkle, Contribution, 34.
16Ibid, 30.
CHAPTER V

JOHANN FRIEDRICH PETER
(1746-1813)

There is not much doubt that music played an important part in the life of the Koravian people. Music was probably next in importance to evangelism, and generally the two complemented each other. As the Brethren increased in number and settled new areas, there developed a need for more leaders, both in the ministerial and the musical fields. Musically, such a need was experienced in the Collegium Musicum at Bethlehem, which had been started by August G. Spangenberg and John Erik Westerman in 1744, and, although active, was not advancing as well as the Brethren expected. There was a need for an exceptional musical talent to lead these people and to develop their musical potential. This need was fulfilled in 1770 when Johann Friedrich Peter was given the position, remaining at this post for the next 43 years. Peter did take one break in this 43-year period when he was transferred to Lititz, Pennsylvania; Graceham, Maryland; and Salem, North Carolina, for the purpose of reviving and stimulating musical activities in those settlements. The exact dates of Peter’s leave from Bethlehem are not clear because Albert Rau gives the dates of this break as 1786 to 1793,¹ while McCorkle indicates that Peter began his work in Salem

¹Albert Rau, "John Frederick Peter," Musical Quarterly, XXIII (July, 1937), 308.
in 1780, remaining there for approximately ten years. After Peter's return to Bethlehem, he developed into the type of composer that led Hans T. David to write that "his was undoubtedly an original talent and a deeper natural comprehension of harmony than that displayed by other Moravian composers."³

Peter was born in Holland in 1746, the son of a Moravian minister. There is no record of his having any early music education or any indication that his parents had any ability or understanding of the art.⁴ In 1760, when his mother died, Peter's father moved to America where he became a pastor at Bethlehem. Johann remained in Europe, attending the church schools at Gross Hennersdorf, Barby, and Niesky. At Niesky he was trained to become a missionary, although he apparently received some musical training because he became a competent performer on the violin, the clavier, and the organ.⁵ He took part in chamber music as well as symphony performances with his fellow students.

Although Peter lacked a formal musical training, he

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⁴Ibid.

⁵Rau, "Peter," 308.
did copy a large number of manuscripts while attending the Niesky Theological Seminary from 1765 to 1770. Although this was a very tedious task, undertaken for the purpose of building up the libraries in the American settlements, it probably was the greatest influencing factor in the compositions of Johann Peter.

In 1770, Johann and his brother, Simon Peter, came to America. Johann brought with him the compositions he had copied while at Niesky, which consisted of twelve symphonies by Carl Friedrich Abel, two symphonies by Johann Christoph Bach, trios by Stamitz, twelve chamber music works by Haydn, and numerous works by lesser known composers. He also brought with him H. K. Graun's "Der Tod Jesu." While here in America, Peter continued to copy music when he could, his final effort being that of Haydn's "The Creation," which he copied between 1807 and 1810. These compositions, which were added to the music library at Bethlehem, in addition to the compositions at the Salem library, were quite possibly the greatest source of compositional styles affecting the writing of Peter.

While Peter was secretary to the Brethren's House and director of music for the community, he made many

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6Ibid, 309. Rau says that Peter copied and brought with him to America twelve early works of Haydn, five works of J. W. A. Stamitz, three by J. C. Bach, four by J. C. F. Bach, six by Boccherini, five by Abel, two by Zanetti, and a dozen more by unknown composers.
improvements in the Collegium Musicum. He added several instrumentalists, made the group a part of the regular church service and added a chorus of men and women for the performance of Graun's "Der Tod Jesu." The Unitas Fratrum began holding weekly rehearsals and occasionally presented secular concerts. In 1790 a set of tympani was imported from Nuremberg, and in 1792 a contrabass and a bassoon were added to the orchestra. By 1794 Peter felt the group had advanced far enough to play Mozart's E-flat Symphony, so he copied the parts and it was performed at the Whit Monday concert in 1795.

While Peter was at Salem for the purpose of improving the music at that settlement, he met and married Catherine Leinbach, who was the leading soprano in the church choir there. This, according to Albert Rau, was a turning point in Peter's career and was the beginning of his life as a composer. Rau, writing in 1937, states that "of the more than forty anthems composed by Peter and so far discovered in the dusty attics at Bethlehem, not one has been found that antedates his marriage in 1784." However, probably of greater influence than Peter's marriage would be that while he was at Salem directing the Collegium Musicum, he had access to one of the largest and most diversified libraries of secular music in the American Colonies at that

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7Rau, "Peter," 309.
time. Among the manuscripts in this library were Haydn's String Quartet, Opus 77 and Haydn's symphonies numbers 80, 89, 94, 99, and 103; a quartet (flute, violin, viola, and cello) arrangement of Mozart's Don Giovanni; Mozart's Second Piano Quartet (K. 493); and his symphonies numbers K. 162, 183, 199, and 504. These were purchased sometime between 1760 and 1780.  

Peter was a very religious and humble man. This is indicated in his autobiography where he speaks of the temptations into which his musical talent had brought him. He praises the Savior who heeded his tearful confession and restored his humility through illness. This modest and pious attitude is probably the reason Peter wrote only one secular work - a set of six string quintets for two violins, two violas, and violoncello.

While comparing stylistic traits of Peter to other composers, it would not seem feasible to deal with compositions which were not familiar to him. Thus, only the compositions available to Peter through the libraries at the various Moravian settlements will be used in the comparison of styles.

Peter's early compositions show some influence of Gregor, probably because Peter's early church choirs had limited ability and the simple writing of Gregor could be easily read

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8McCorkle, Collegium Musicum Salem, 485.

9David, Musical Life, 25.
by amateur groups. This similarity of styles did not last, apparently, because Hans David has shown that "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." David further believes that "like most of his German contemporaries, Peter was an instrumentalist at heart." This gift for instrumental writing is noticed in most of Peter's compositions where a fairly simple melodic line is supported by a more florid instrumental accompaniment. His instrumental writing is limited to some extent because of the valveless trumpets and horns used in the orchestra at that time.

Many of the choruses written by Peter are scored for first and second soprano, alto, and bass. This was no doubt done because there was a lack of high male voices available for his choir, a problem still being experienced by many churches today. Then, too, the orchestra was composed only of male members which would account in part for the absence of male voices in the choir.

Albert G. Rau feels that the greatest weakness of Peter's compositions lies in the development of his themes, or in the use of his secondary themes. Peter states the

theme, often repeats it in the dominant or the subdominant key, and then restates it in the tonic as a coda. Peter sometimes repeats a theme either by following major with minor, or by an abrupt step to the submediant. However, this lack of facility in the development of themes was evidently shared with several composers of the Classic era as Newman states that only the masters (meaning Haydn, Beethoven, and Mozart) used true development. He then gives two reasons for this apparent lack of developmental facility. First, the Gallant style delayed the mastery of the development process because it was a style opposed to the motivic techniques required in these processes. Secondly, development was slowed down because of the sonata's trend toward dilettantism, with its emphasis on simplicity of means and content.

There are occasional fugal passages in Peter's writing, but they rarely exceed the space needed for the four thematic entries and their statement. His harmonies, like those of Haydn, are quite simple and diatonic. Peter's differ in that they are always devotional; he simply tries to illuminate the scriptural texts, in an effort to enhance the spiritual elevation of the hearers.

It is not surprising that many of the stylistic traits

15 Ibid. 16 Rau, "Peter," 310.
of Peter are very similar to specific examples of those composers whose works he copied. One of the most obvious and frequent similarities is that of the cadence. There are two ways in which the cadences of Peter resemble those of his European contemporaries whose works he copied. The first of these is the repetition of three or four tonic chords at the end of the section. Comparable final cadences of this type can be seen in Peter's "I Will Sing to the Lord" (example 1), in Haydn's "Now Sinks the Pale Declining Year" from The Seasons (example 2), and in Antes' "Go, Congregation, Go!" (example 3).
The other cadential pattern used regularly by Peter is the ornamented cadence, such as in his "Sing, O ye Heavens" (example 4),

Example 4

which was probably learned from Mozart, who often used this type of a final cadence as in the last few bars of the "Overture to Don Giovanni" (example 5), or else from Antes, who used an arpeggiated figure in the penultimate measure of his "I Will Mention" (example 6).
Rhythmically, Peter seemed quite fond of dotted notes, as were Mozart, Handel and Antes. Probably more important than the use of dotted rhythms, however, was Peter's use of syncopation in several of his compositions. This use of syncopation may be seen in the accompaniment of Peter's "Blessed are They" (example 7), and in the accompaniment of Antes' "Go, Congregation, Go!" (example 8), where the top voices use syncopated rhythm while the bass line keeps the regular beat. The use of syncopation could also have been learned from Mozart, who uses this type of rhythm frequently. Typical of Mozart's use of syncopation are the first and second violin parts from the adagio of Symphony K. 504 (example 9, p. 30).

Other similarities of style are noticed in the melodies of Peter, as compared to those of Antes, Haydn, and Mozart. The first likeness to be noticed would probably be the tendency to write triadic or "skyrocketing" melodic lines using
Example 9

jumps of a third. Examples of this can be seen in Peter's "Sing, O Ye Heavens" (example 10), in Antes' "Shout, O Ye Heavens" (example 11), and in the chorus entry of the introduction to Haydn's Creation (example 12).

Example 10

Example 11

Example 12

There is also the textual similarity implied by the titles
of the Peter and Antes numbers (see examples 10 and 11).

Further examples of melodic thirds as well as the similar use of lyric-disjunct melodies can be seen in the soprano line of Peter's "Sing, O Ye Heavens" (example 13),

![Example 13](image)

in Antes' "I will Mention" (example 14),

![Example 14](image)

and the bass entry of the "Air with Chorus," No. 2 from Haydn's Creation (example 15). These triadic themes and disjunct melodic lines were used by several of the middle and late-Baroque composers, but again, only examples from works which were known to be available to Peter have been cited.

Another feature of Peter's writing that resembles that of Antes is the vocal range. Both men seem to demand much
Example 15

of their sopranos in that the tessitura is often quite high. This is especially surprising when we consider the non-professional voices for which these compositions were written. Examples of these demanding soprano lines are shown in the opening vocal passage from Peter's "Sing, O Ye Heavens" (example 16), and in Antes' "I will Mention" (see example 17, p. 33).

Example 16

Peter's accompaniments are generally very similar to those of Haydn, showing a fairly slow harmonic rhythm by the use of a simple bass line with longer-held bass tones. When a florid accompaniment is used, the movement is usually in the upper voice of the accompaniment. This type of accompaniment often serves the same function for these three composers - the function of word painting.
Example 17

Example 18 is a passage from Peter's "He Who Soweth Weeping," where the rising triplet figure ending with a trill on "b" accompanies the text at that point, "joyful harvest."
Example 19

This style of word painting is also used by Haydn in "Behold Among the Dewy Grass" (example 19), where the text concerns an arrow's "rapid flight," and the excerpt from the finale of Don Giovanni (example 20) where the descending sixteenth-notes in the top voice of the accompaniment illustrate the text concerning "torture."
Example 20

Typical of the Mannheim School is the way in which Peter makes use of dynamic coloring. These contrasts are not abrupt as in the pre-classical "storm and stress" music, but in a more serious, quasi-dramatic style, as exemplified by the North German or Berlin School. Peter's use of dynamic coloring would seem to follow rather closely the manner of writing used by the more conservative North Germans as exemplified by Graun and Hasse. This conservatism was probably introduced to Peter through his copying of Karl H. Graun's "Der Tod Jesu" shortly before 1770. Equally conservative would be the writing of Haydn's fourth period where "the frills of the Rococo period and the exaggerated emotionalism of the storm and stress period
were overcome . . .”

Much of Gregor's music was used in the churches where Peter was director. Between these two Moravians there are also definite similarities noticed, such as the manner in which the orchestral accompaniment follows the voices quite closely, breaking into a more florid style of writing when the instruments play alone as in the interludes. Examples of this can be seen in Peter's "It is a Precious Thing" (example 21), and in Gregor's "Thou, Lord, are our Shepherd" (example 22).

Example 21

As indicated on the preceding pages, composition within the Moravian churches in America culminated in the works of Johann Friedrich Peter. Although we may trace much of

Example 22

Peter's compositional style to a few pre-classical European composers, credit should also be given to Antes from whom Peter did learn and borrow much of his technique even though the two never met. Here again, however, we find a pre-classical influence as Antes was influenced principally by Haydn. 18 Although Peter was not influenced by a large group of composers, his compositions contain a depth of expression not attained by many of his contemporary Moravian composers.

18 McCorkle, Antes, 496.
CHAPTER VI

FRANCIS FLORENTINE HAGEN

Francis (Franz) Florentine Hagen (1815-1907) was born in Salem, North Carolina, the first of five children born to Joachim and Susanna Hagen. Of the five children, Francis was the only one to make any contribution to Moravian music in America.

Francis attended the Moravian School at Salem when he was five years of age, and a few years later, the Moravian boarding school, Nazareth Hall, in Nazareth, Pennsylvania. After graduation in 1829 he attended Moravian College and Theological Seminary, leaving this school in 1835.

Upon completion of his studies in Nazareth, Hagen returned to Salem to teach in the boy's parochial school there. After two years at this position, he accepted a teaching position at Nazareth Hall, his alma mater. Hagen taught at Nazareth Hall, in the girl's school, until 1844, during which time he married Clara Cornelia Reichel, a teacher at the Salem Female Academy (later Salem College). On September 19, 1849, he was ordained a Deacon of the Moravian Church and went to serve as pastor of the congregation at Bethania, North Carolina the same year. On October 30, 1851, Bishop John Herman Gottlieb ordained Francis Hagen a Presbyter of the Moravian Church in Salem and in the same year Francis accepted a call to serve the congregations of Friedland, North Carolina, and Mount Bethel, Virginia, keeping the latter position until 1852. From 1852 to 1854 he
was pastor at Friedberg Moravian Church, which ended his service in the South.

From 1854 to 1861 Hagen served as the representative of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America from York, Pennsylvania, and apparently served as a minister to the York Congregation those same years. In 1856, Hagen, with two of his fellow ministers, founded a church paper, *The Moravian: A Weekly Journal of the Moravian Church*, which is still published monthly.

From 1861 to 1867 Francis Hagen was connected with the Moravian College and Theological Seminary at Bethlehem in three ways: as a teacher, a member of the board of trustees, and a member of the Provincial Elders Conference. After his stay in Bethlehem, Hagen moved to New Dorp, Long Island, where he was pastor from 1867 to 1870, moving then to New York City where he was associated with the New York City missions from 1870 to 1874. Hagen's final pastorate was served from 1875 to 1877 at Blairstown and Harmony, Iowa. A broken hip forced his retirement from active ministry in 1877.

Most of the years from 1895 to 1902 were spent in York, Pennsylvania, at the home of his son, Ernst, and during this time his sight and hearing were almost entirely gone. Then on July 7, 1907, Francis Florentine Hagen died at the age of ninety-one.

Hagen was a fiery, energetic man who was not afraid to
voice his opinions. This was indicated by him on his return from the west when he wrote, "the West is full of soul-destroying errors, Universalism, Catholicism, Mormonism, Campbellism."\(^1\)

In the years following Hagen's so-called retirement, he was employed as a temporary or part-time preacher in Brooklyn, New York and Philadelphia, Easton, and York, Pennsylvania. In 1893 Hagen submitted to the Provincial Synod a paper entitled *Unitas Fratrum in Extremis*, in which he had the following to say of current musical practices in the Moravian churches:

> Some are wont to lay particular stress on the singing of ancient German chorales to the utter exclusion of American melodies, many of which are more germane to the sense of some beautiful hymns than the German tunes. The dull soporific tempo of the latter, strongly suggests a corresponding spiritual status in those who affect them.\(^2\)

Then in a footnote to this passage we find:

> German chorales properly belong to German churches, who sing them well. Having but little melody or rhythm, chorales are insipid, unless sung in four-part harmony. The American Church in Berlin sings American tunes. By forcing upon English-speaking American churches foreign tunes, which but few are able to sing properly, we estrange from our services the very people among whom God has placed us to work. Need we wonder at our stunted growth?\(^3\)

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\(^3\) Ibid.
Here Hagen reminds his people that it is their duty to evangelize, and to accomplish this task they should sing American hymns rather than the German chorales. He feels that the chorales should not be used because the American congregations are not able to sing the chorales in four-part harmony. Also, Hagen indicates that the slow tempo of the German chorales does not generate enough enthusiasm and thus are not conducive to evangelism. Finally, and probably of most importance, the texts of the hymns must be understood if they are to reach the hearts of the people.
CHAPTER VII

HAGEN'S MUSIC

Francis F. Hagen was primarily a preacher and secondly a composer of amateur standing, whose music was another way to further his work of evangelism. The amount of music which was accessible for Hagen's use and study was much greater than that available to Peter. The following non-Moravian composers' works were available in the various Moravian settlements during the musically-productive years of Hagen: Abel, Alday, Alt, Beethoven, Boccherini, Brandl, Cambini, Collauf, Cherubini, Demachi, Dussek, Eder, Eichmann, Anton Fodor, Joseph Fodor, Haydn, Hennig, Leopold Hoffmann, Hoffmeister, Kammel, Klöfler, Kreusses, Krommer, Lachnith, Lefèvre, Meder, Mehul, Mozart, A. E. Müller, Neukomm, Noack, Pichl, Playel, Reinwald, Joseph Schmitt, Schwindl, Johann Stamitz, Karl Stamitz, Sterkel, Touch(e)molin, Vanhal, VanMaldere, Weber, Winter, E. G. Wolf, and Wranitzky.¹ These composers represent a time-span of about one-hundred thirty years. This span would include the last of the Baroque era (VanMaldere was born in 1729), to the pre-classical and classical periods, and some of the Romantic era (Neukomm lived until 1858). Hagen, however, was probably influenced to an even greater extent by some of the earlier Moravian composers referred to earlier in this study. The libraries they left, their extant compositions,

¹Pruett, *Hagen*, 32.
and their copies of works by other composers all played an important role in forming the stylistic traits of Hagen.

The choral numbers written by Hagen could be separated into two groups: concerted church music and anthems, the former being those requiring a more extensive orchestra and being generally longer than the latter. The concerted church music was comprised of:

"God is Our Refuge"
"Herr, Wie sind deine Werke so gross und viel"
"Lift up Your Heads, O Ye Gates"
"Lobsinget Gott"
"Siehe, ich verkündige euch grosse Freude"

and the anthems being:

"Ach, bleib mit deiner Gnade"
"And I Heard a Voice From Heaven"
"Bis Dereinst mein Stündlein Schlägt"
"How Amiable are Thy Tabernacles"
"Lord, Let Thy Blest Angelic Bands . . ."
"The Morning Star"
"Praise Waiteth for Thee"
"Schlaf, Liebes Kind"
"Sel'ge Leben stunden"
"Unto the Lamb that was Slain"
"Ye are Come Unto Mt. Zion"

Of the compositions with known dates we see a span of forty years (1839-1879) during which Hagen served many churches and traveled extensively. We also note the vast number of non-Moravian composers whose works might have influenced him (see paragraph 1, p. 42), and would suspect also that Hagen had more personal contact with the American people and their music than did Peter because of his extensive travels. All of these circumstances would lead one to believe that Hagen was affected by a much broader area
of influencing factors when were the earlier Moravian com-
posers. Finally, Hagen's span of writing reached into the
Romantic era of his American contemporaries. This influ-
ence, which is noticed in some of his compositions, will
be discussed later in this chapter.

The form used by Hagen is generally a simple song-
form (AB or ABA) and the phrases in all of Hagen's vocal
compositions are based on a four-measure construction. The accompaniments follow the voice parts in the majority
of his works, although he does occasionally write contra-
puntal accompaniments with homophonic vocal parts.

Variety is often achieved in Hagen's compositions by
his changing of the rhythm in the accompaniment but leaving the theme basically the same, as in a strophic song.
Examples of this device can be seen in "A Loving Home's a
Happy Home" (example 1),

Example 1

\[ \text{Example 1} \]

\[ \text{2Ibid, 44.} \]
Example 1 (Continued)

and "Mowing the Harvest Hay" (example 2).

Example 2
The foregoing examples by Hagen are quite similar to Haydn's manner of achieving variety in the theme of "The Evening's Task Anon Performed" (example 3) from *The Seasons*.

Example 3 (a)

Example 3 (b)
Example 3 (c)

Similar examples of this type of variation may be seen in the "Terzette and Chorus" number nineteen from Haydn's The Creation.

As was the case with Peter, the development of themes was probably not one of Hagen's strong points. Hagen very seldom used a polyphonic technique except in his concert anthems or larger choral works, where rhythmic material as well as melody was more elaborate. Perhaps the smaller anthems were more simply constructed because they were used for the regular Sunday services, while the concert anthems, on the other hand, were more rare and attracted greater attention. Probably this was the reason the composer felt the latter were deserving of more extensive treatment in development of material.

3Ibid, 58.
The Viennese tradition of solo and chorus interchange was also an obvious trait of Hagen; as ten of his twenty vocal compositions contain solo passages for voice (see chart below).\(^4\) Then, too, concerning these solos we might note a preference here on the part of Hagen in that all ten of the solo-songs contain soprano solos.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compositions</th>
<th>Solo Measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alma Mater</td>
<td>5-20 (has a 4-measure choral refrain).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And I Heard a Voice</td>
<td>5-8, 63-67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herr, wie sind</td>
<td>T: 62-66, Bass: 66-70, 73-75;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(section solos)</td>
<td>S: 70-73, 74-77.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Amiable are Thy</td>
<td>S: 1-5, 22-26, 54-57.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabernacles</td>
<td>A: 23-26, 52-57.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lift up Your Heads</td>
<td>21-24, 33-45, 64-67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Loving Home's</td>
<td>9-24, 37-52 (8-measure choral refrain).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Morning Star</td>
<td>1-4, 8-9, 10-11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mowing the Harvest Hay</td>
<td>5-20, 29-44 (4-measure choral refrain).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An obvious trait noticed in the tonal structure of Hagen's compositions in the manner in which he maintains the initial key signature throughout the compositions in all but four of his works. This phase of tonal structure is also evidenced in Haydn's Creation which contains only two numbers with key changes and Handel's Messiah which has only one number using a key change. In contrast to this type of tonal structure, Mozart's Don Giovanni contains twenty-eight numbers showing a key change.

The harmony of Francis Hagen is probably the most

\(^4\)Ibid, 78.
interesting aspect of his choral writing. As stated earlier, the majority of Moravian music shows the characteristics of the pre-classical and classical music. However, as is usually the case, Hagen was a product of his own era and subject to the musical environment in which he lived. This environment in the case of Hagen was very broad, first because of his long, productive life, and secondly because of his wide travels here in America. It would seem quite likely that Hagen not only had access to large libraries of music manuscripts within the various Moravian libraries, but also came in personal contact with some of his contemporary American composers due to his broad travels within the United States. He seemed to write in a very logical manner, using what he felt were the better stylistic tendencies of the Baroque and Classic eras as well as a tasteful touch of the Romantic styling.

Indicative of the Baroque tendencies shown by Hagen is the ensuing comparison with Handel. Hagen's compositions never leave the listener in doubt as to the initial tonality. In all but five of his works the tonic chord occurs on the first beat, and in these five exceptions, each begins with a dominant preparatory note.\(^5\) A typical example of Hagen's manner of immediately establishing the tonic is the accompaniment in the first four measures of "Siehe, ich

\(^5\)Ibid, 60. .
verkündige euch grosse Freüde" (example 4).

Example 4

This "fixing" of the tonic at the beginning of the section is accomplished by Handel in a very similar manner as shown in the first measure of the tenor recitative, "Comfort Ye my People" (example 5) and the air for bass, "Why do the Nations . . ." (example 6), both from The Messiah.
Often Hagen established the key in a composition by outlining the tonic chord with the bass line in the accompaniment or in the first melodic fragment. Indicative of this compositional technique is Hagen's "The Morning Star" (example 7), where he established the $B^\flat$ major key feeling in the first two measures by use of the bass line.

This same idea is used by Peter in "Blessed are They" (example 8) where the $G$ major key is established.
As Hagen used the melody line in "The Morning Star" (see example 9) to help establish the key, so did Haydn use the first two measures of the second movement of the "Surprise" Symphony (example 10) to set the C major key feeling in that movement.
Hagen shows a definite preference for the major mode as all but one of his compositions begin in a major key, and that exception, "Bis Dereinst mein Stündlein schlägt," ends in the tonic major.

His chordal range, like that of Handel and Haydn, is quite limited, although he does attempt to fully exploit his chordal resources. Hagen would often start with a chord in root position and change either the upper voices (example 11-A), or invert the bass (example 11-B).

The harmonic rhythm in Hagen's compositions is generally rather slow in the larger works and slightly faster in the anthems. This faster harmonic rhythm can be witnessed in "Bis Dereinst . . ." (example 15, p. 57). Most of the anthems are homophonic in texture, however, not polyphonic as the example just cited.

The modulatory practices of Hagen may be classified into two general categories: true modulations where extended use of the new key establishes the new tonality, and passing transitions or excursions into other keys where he
wanders through several tonalities without creating a key feeling. In measures 31-43 and 50-60 of "Herr, wie sind deine werke . . ." (example 12-A and B), both categories may be seen. In measures 31-43, Hagen uses the sequential treatment of themes with the addition of accidentals, wandering through various tonalities without a definite cadential structure establishing the new key (see example 12-A).
In measures 50-55, a spinning-out process prepares the cadence to follow by use of a diminished seventh in measure 56, resolved to a I₆ in G major, followed by a V, then a V₇ succeeded again by the tonic, G major (see example 12-B).
Some of Hagen's compositions show a definite influence of the Romantic style of composition prevalent in America during his productive years. This is especially noticeable in his harmonic writing as shown in the composition, "Unto the Lamb," which uses a $II^b_5$ (Neapolitan in the root position) as an applied dominant in $G^b$ major (see example 13).

Example 13

Another indication of Romantic influence is the altered chord (augmented $VI_5$ chord) found in measure 26 of Hagen's "Alma Mater" (example 14).
In addition, we may notice Hagen's free use of non-harmonic or non-chordal tones used in the introduction to "Bis Dereinst Mein Stündlein Schlägt" (example 15). Also, we can see in example 15 how Hagen has used modulation as more of an end in itself than a means.

Example 15

Some of Hagen's compositions were moderately successful outside the church, as is evidenced by the fact that a few were published. However, the true contemporary worth of his music lay in its integration into the religious life of his various churches. In an effort to serve God, Hagen put his talent to work in the best way he know how, that
of serving his church.

Finally, we may say that the compositions of Hagen do not show the influence of any one style alone, but rather a blending of many of the styles that were prevalent during his long life.
CHAPTER VIII

In conclusion, we may ask two questions: what stimulus prompted these lay-people to compose, and from what sources did they receive their inspiration?

First, the aesthetic interests of the Moravians were subject to the demands of the local environment, and often, because of a need for choral music in the church, dedicated laymen would compose anthems merely in order to further the work of their Lord through the evangelism of song as well as the spoken word. Hans David goes so far as to doubt "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."¹

Secondly, as these laymen wrote music out of necessity, they had no one to turn to for help. Thus it seems only logical that they would turn to the manuscripts that they had in their various libraries for their source of inspiration and try to learn from those works which had been copied elsewhere and brought to America.

The European background of these people had developed a taste for the mature music of Europe which they attempted to duplicate in their unskilled manner. The spirit of the untrained Moravian composer is very aptly expressed by Johann Bechler when, in 1810, he sent one of his compositions to Peter as a gift. With this composition Bechler included

¹David, Musical Life, 29.
a letter in which he wrote,

Everybody does as well as he can, and 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 composition, I shall think I have accomplished more than if a critic praised me and the congregation did not enjoy me.\footnote{Ibid, 38-39.}

This brings us back once more to the strong Moravian belief that the act of praising God was of most importance, and all activities, including the composition and performance of music, were undertaken in order to fulfill this need.
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