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As Haydn's fame spread throughout Europe, his music was also transported to the New World where it would take root in the American colonies during the revolutionary years and throughout the establishment and development of a new nation. Haydn's prosaic proclamation, "My language is understood throughout the whole world!"¹ was especially apropos in respect to his heritage and reception in the Moravian communities in North America. With the founding of Moravian settlements in colonial Pennsylvania and North Carolina, Haydn's music resounded throughout their villages. Rather small and remote, these communities were exceptional in the frequency of performances of the works of pre-classical and classical European composers, Joseph Haydn being especially favored and admired, as confirmed by the numerous copied manuscripts and printed editions of his works within their collections along with the documentation of performances of Haydn's music heard in their communities until well into the 19th century². This article will focus on Haydn's heritage and reception from the years 1770 to the late 1830s, a golden era when music flourished in the North American Moravian communities.

It was in 1770 that Moravian missionary and accomplished musician Johann Friedrich Peter arrived in Pennsylvania from Germany supplied with a wealth of copied manuscripts of chamber and orchestral music of Haydn and other contemporary Central European composers. Although music had always been an essential part of Moravian life, Peter's exceptional musicianship dramatically enhanced the musical environment in the American communities. Well acquainted with the early works of Haydn from his musical training in Europe, Peter was prepared and eager to share this music in his

¹ "meine Sprache verstehtet man durch die ganze Welt": Dies (1810), p. 75.

² The Moravian Music Foundation Archives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania house an extensive collection of materials related to the development of the Moravian communities in North America including copied manuscripts and printed editions of the music of Joseph Haydn and contemporary 18th and 19th century European composers, as well as works specifically by Moravian musicians. Nola Reed Knouse, Director of the Moravian Music Foundation Archives, and Gwyneth A. Michel, Assistant Director, provided valuable assistance during my archival work at the two centers, for which I am most grateful. Appreciation is also extended to the University of La Verne for providing a faculty research grant for travel to the archives.

new positions in the New World. While the instrumental music of Haydn would flourish in the Moravian communities in the 18th century under Peter and his colleagues' efforts, the early 19th century would see a rise in interest of Haydn's large-scale vocal works, especially "The Creation", with one of the earliest performances in the United States given in Bethlehem in 1811. Performances of this oratorio as well as "The Seasons" would be frequent through the late 1830s, while Haydn's symphonies and chamber music would also remain popular.

MORAVIAN HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

The Moravians arrived in the American colonies from Germany in the early 18th century as missionaries bringing with them their communal lifestyle, language and musical heritage. Their distinct European culture contributed to thriving musical communities in their adopted land. The Moravian Church, officially known as the *Unitas Fratrum* (Unity of the Brethren), dates back to 15th century Europe. Since their earliest founders were from Moravia and Bohemia, historical parts of the Czech lands, in England and America they were referred to as Moravians while in German speaking countries they were known as *Evangelische Brüdergemeine* or *Böhmische Brüder*. One of the oldest protestant denominations, Moravians date back to the teachings of Bohemian theologian Jan Hus, martyred in 1415 for his religious beliefs, and in 1457 the *Unitas Fratrum* was officially founded. After centuries of being unable to practice their beliefs openly and in search of religious freedom, a small group left Bohemia and Moravia in 1722 to settle in Berthlesdorf on the eastern Saxon estate of Pietist supporter Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf. Sympathetic to their religious beliefs, Zinzendorf permitted them to live on his land and worship as they chose. Establishing a community on his estate, the Moravians named it *Herrnhut*, meaning the Lord's watchful care, where these devout believers set up a communal living system, devoting their lives to church work, education and missionary work with music being a vital aspect of their education and daily lives³. Their commitment to missionary outreach took them to numerous parts of the world both within Europe, that is, to other areas of Germany, to England and The Netherlands, and far beyond, to North America, South America, Africa and parts of Asia. *Herrnhut* would be the model for setting up new communities elsewhere in the world and their Central European musical heritage would be integral to these communities.

³ For additional information on the *Herrnhut* Moravian community see Anja Wehrend, *Musikanschauung, Musikpraxis, Kantatenkompositionen in der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine. Ihre musikalische und theologische Bedeutung für das Gemeinleben von 1727 bis 1760*, Frankfurt/Main etc. 1995 (*Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe XXXVI:129*). I am grateful to Wolfgang Fuhrmann for this information.

In 1735 the first group of Moravians to arrive in North America settled in Georgia, relocating soon thereafter to colonial Pennsylvania, establishing in 1741 the settlements of Nazareth, Bethlehem and later Lititz – these communities located approximately 50 to 100 miles from Philadelphia and New York. By 1753 the Moravians expanded their settlements south, purchasing one hundred thousand acres of land in North Carolina naming it Wachovia (from the German *die Wachau*) and establishing the new communities of Bethabara, Bethania and Salem, today Winston-Salem. Bethlehem in the north became the center for missionary work and would be the most prominent musically with Salem establishing itself as the center in the south. These early American Moravians transplanted and nourished one of the richest musical cultures in the American colonies⁴.

Unlike other European émigrés to colonial America who came in pursuit of religious freedom but who considered secular music inappropriate for their communities, the Moravians on the other hand embraced music not only for worship but also for recreation and pleasure. For the Moravians both sacred and secular music were essential to community life; music was to be taught, enjoyed and shared. For worship purposes anthems and songs accompanied by instruments were appropriate while in leisure, chamber and symphonic music by Central European and Moravian composers alike was enjoyed.

Their philosophy of music affected their concept of music education. Since music was essential for the entire community, their youth were taught music as part of the school curriculum as well as privately. The goal of music instruction was not to produce professional musicians; rather it focused on contributing to music in the church and on enriching lives in the community. The result of this philosophy was a community filled with capable amateur musicians, some exceptional, who enjoyed participating in music making in their spare time while working daily in a variety of other occupations.

Avid record keepers, the Moravians carefully preserved their community documents and written music, eventually acquiring a vast archival collection including approximately ten thousand musical documents from the 18th and 19th centuries⁵. In 1956 the decision was made to divide the extensive collection into two administrative parts with the congregational documents remaining under the auspices of the Moravian Archives and the music hold-

⁴ Donald M. McCorkle, *Moravian Music in Salem. A German-American Heritage*, PhD diss., Indiana University 1958, pp. 4f.

⁵ *Catalog of the Johannes Herbst Collection*, ed. Marilyn Gombosi, Chapel Hill 1977, p. v.

ings overseen by the Moravian Music Foundation. The music collections are housed in two centers. The northern center is located in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and the southern center in Winston Salem, North Carolina. Within these vast collections, the music of Joseph Haydn figures prominently both in the number of his works copied by leading Moravian musicians and in the many early printed editions of his music purchased. Likewise available lists of concerts, account books, congregation lists of musicians, diaries and minutes of meetings collectively demonstrate the importance of the music of Joseph Haydn in the Moravian communities.

A musical tradition imported to America by the Moravians was the *collegium musicum*, an ensemble that flourished in German-speaking Europe during the 16th through early 18th centuries, generally consisting of groups of amateur instrumentalists and singers who rehearsed and performed music both for their own enjoyment and for others⁶. By 1731 a *collegium musicum* existed in Herrnhut, Germany, center of the Moravian Church, for the purpose of accompanying sacred choral works and also for the performance of secular instrumental music. This became the model for their new settlements in the American colonies. Although the *collegium musicum* would soon be superseded by professional concerts in Europe, the older tradition lived on for several more decades in the New World. As early as 1744 a *collegium musicum* was established in Bethlehem followed by the founding of other *collegia musica* in the villages of Lititz, Nazareth and Salem. These ensembles thrived in communities where music was part of the culture, where everyone was encouraged to sing and to play instruments, where music was taught in the schools, where private lessons were readily available, and where music was vital in their daily lives for worship and leisure.

PERFORMANCE VENUES AND AUDIENCES

Music could be heard in a variety of venues within the Moravian communities where Haydn's music frequently resonated. Residential housing was built for community groups according to gender, age and marital status, with separate housing provided for young boys, young girls, single brothers, single sisters, married couples, and widows. Because of the Moravian practice of separation of the sexes, men and women were educated separately and sat apart in church; women did not play in the church orchestra with the men. In the Single Sisters House the young women learned to sing and play

⁶ Nola Reed Knouse, *The Collegia Musica*, in: *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, ed. ead., Rochester, NY, 2008, pp. 189–211 here p. 190.

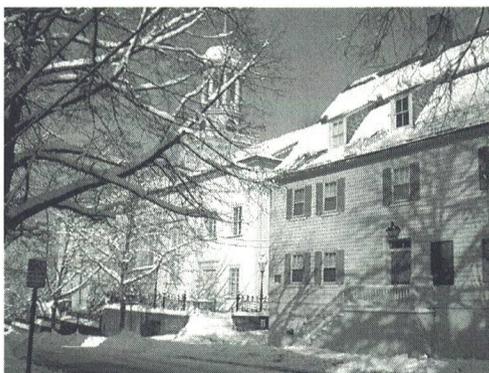


Figure 1: Bethlehem's Central Church dating from 1806 with the Gemeinhaus of 1741.

the clavier, violin and cittern⁷. The all male collegium musicum rehearsed and performed in the Brethren House in a room designated for music. In Bethlehem's Single Brethren House the music room, a fine chamber music venue where Haydn's instrumental music was often performed, was named the "Washington Room" as George Washington was entertained here upon his visits. During weekday evenings in the summer, concerts of wind music could be heard from the balustrade of the Single Brethrens House entertaining the town people⁸.

Community churches were primary musical venues not only for worship but also for concerts. The Gemeinhaus (community house), built in Bethlehem in 1741, combined in one building the earliest residence hall, house of worship, school and venue for music. Ten years later Bethlehem's Chapel was constructed behind the Gemeinhaus with a seating capacity of 200⁹. Here many notable persons worshiped and listened to musical performances before and during the time of the American Revolution. Among these distinguished guests were George and Martha Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Count Casimir Pulaski and the Marquis de Lafayette. The Chapel remained a venue for music even after it no longer functioned as the main church. Bethlehem's large Central Church, completed in 1806 near the Old Chapel and next to the original

⁷ Vernon H. Nelson, *The Bethlehem Choir and Orchestra, 1812 to 1816*, in: *Proceedings of The Seventh Bethlehem Conference on Moravian Music, October 12–14, 2006*, ed. Nola Reed Knouse, Winston-Salem 2007, pp. 32–38, here p. 34.

⁸ Rufus A. Grider, *Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania from 1741–1871*, Philadelphia 1873. Reprinted as *Moravian Music Foundation Publications, No. 4*, Winston-Salem 1957, p. 9.

⁹ The 1751 Bethlehem Chapel is now referred to as the Old Chapel.

Gemeinhaus, became not only the primary church for worship, but also an important venue for sacred music concerts. (See Figure 1.) In the new church, men and women were eventually permitted to sit together, allowing women to sing the soprano and alto parts instead of boys. Bethlehem's Central Church provided a venue where Haydn's large-scale vocal music, notably "The Creation", was performed. By 1814 rehearsals and concerts of the collegium musicum had been moved to the hall on the second floor of the east end of Central Church¹⁰.

While audiences for Moravian music making in the 18th century were largely members of their own communities, there were also visits by domestic and foreign dignitaries as noted earlier. Although some of the more remote Moravian locations had little exposure to a wider audience, Bethlehem in particular, with its close proximity to Philadelphia and New York, had distinguished guests who were entertained on their visits with musical concerts. These guests appreciated the music in the Moravian communities, which offered well-performed secular and sacred works by European as well as Moravian composers. Franklin, in his 1788 "Autobiography", noted following his visit to Bethlehem in 1756 that, "I was at their Church, where I was entertain'd with good Musick, the Organ being accompanied with Violins, Hautboys, Flutes, Clarinets"¹¹. As there is no mention of clarinets in Bethlehem at this early date, Franklin was mistaken about their use¹². He nevertheless had a very positive impression of the music. Likewise Marquis de Chastellux also visited Bethlehem around the year 1780 and wrote of his impressions, "I was astonished with the delicious sounds of an Italian Concerto but my surprise was still greater on entering a room where the performers turned out to be common workmen of different trades, playing for their amusement"¹³.

Salem's Home Church, established in 1771 with the sanctuary building completed in 1800, was an excellent musical venue where Haydn's music was often heard, as evidenced by the numerous copies of his sacred music in their collections, particularly the Stabat mater, "The Seven Last Words of Christ", "The Storm", "The Creation" and "The Seasons". At the end of May 1791,

¹⁰ Grider, *Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem*, p. 8.

¹¹ Cit. in Donald M. McCorkle, *Moravian Music in Salem. A German-American Heritage*, PhD diss., Indiana University 1958, p. 47.

¹² *Ibid.* McCorkle surmises that Franklin was most likely writing from memory since many of his papers had been destroyed in the revolution. McCorkle further suggests that Franklin may have been remembering clarinets in Paris rather than in Bethlehem and that they were inadvertently described as being in Bethlehem in 1756.

¹³ Cit. *ibid.*

President George Washington visited Salem where music was provided during his stay. Upon his arrival a brass choir of trumpets, horns and trombones greeted him. Washington, who appreciated the accomplished performances by the Moravian musicians, requested music to accompany his dinners where he most likely was entertained with chamber music, perhaps something by Haydn. Washington would have dined and been entertained with music either in the Gemeinhaus or in the Salem Tavern¹⁴.

COPIED MANUSCRIPTS OF HAYDN'S WORKS IN THE MORAVIAN COLLECTIONS

The reception of Haydn's music in the Moravian communities can be determined from several sources in the collections including manuscript copies and printed editions of Haydn's works, a register of concerts in Nazareth, a Bethlehem account book, diary entries and several lists of musicians. Musical performances were for their own communities, performed in their churches, residence halls and small concert venues; therefore concert programs were not provided, making the reliance on these other sources critical. Copied manuscripts were essential to the ensembles while copying music was considered good musical instruction and was widely practiced by the Moravians in their schools both in Europe and America. Purchasing printed music was expensive and copyright laws were largely unenforceable, thus large quantities of copied music were collected in the community libraries¹⁵.

Manuscript copies of selected Haydn symphonies, string quartets, divertimenti, trios and the Stabat mater were available in the communities in the 18th century. By the 19th century more printed editions could be purchased and copied parts for Haydn's large-scale vocal works were added to their libraries. Table 1 lists 36 manuscript copies of Haydn's instrumental works found in the collections of the Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem, the Salem collegium musicum and the Lititz collegium musicum.

¹⁴ A Salem diary entry, Record, v. 5, p. 2325 translated by Adelaide L. Fries, which elaborates on Washington's visit, is quoted in McCorkle, *Moravian Music in Salem*, pp. 171f.

¹⁵ Pauline M. Fox, *Music in Moravian Boarding Schools through the Early Nineteenth Century*, in: *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, ed. Nola Reed Knouse, Rochester, NY, 2008, pp. 212–227, here p. 218.

Table 1: Manuscript Copies of Haydn's Instrumental Works in the Moravian Collections¹⁶

Date	Copyist	Title	Archive No.
10 Oct 1766	Peter	Quartet in A [Hob.III:A6]	PSB 1308.7
27 Oct 1766	Peter	Symphony in Bb [Hob.I:B12] [spurious; probably Pierre van Maldere]	SCM 170
12 Dec 1766	Peter	Symphony in F [Hob.I:17]	SCM 156
11 Aug 1767	Peter	Quartet in Eb [Hob.III:2]	PSB 1308.9
23 Aug 1767	Peter	Quartet in A [Hob.III:7]	PSB 1308.8
18 Dec 1767	Peter	Divertimento "Notturmo" in Eb [Hob.II:21]	PSB 1308.1
5 Jul 1768	Peter	Trio sonata in G [Hob.V:20]	PSB 1308.10
13 Jan 1769	Peter	Symphony in Eb [Hob.I:Es 5]	SCM 169
24 Jan 1769	Peter	"Notturna & Cassatio", Quartet in Bb [Hob.III:12]	PSB 1308.3
26 Jan 1769	Peter	Divertimento "Sonata" in E-flat [Hob.II:6]	PSB 1308.6
1 Feb 1775	Peter	Trio sonata in Eb [Hob.V:4]	PSB 1308.13
2 Feb 1775	Peter	Trio sonata in G [Hob.V:G2]	PSB 1308.12
2 Feb 1775	Peter	Trio sonata in b minor [Hob.V:3]	PSB 1308.11
1786	Peter	Symphony in C [Hob.I:41]	SCM 157.1
1786	Peter	Symphony in C [Hob.I:20], movements 1,2,3	SCM 157.3
1786	Peter	Symphony in Bb [Hob.1:16], movement 3 (transposed to C, used for finale to Hob.1:20)	SCM 157.3
1786	Nitschmann	Quartet in E [Hob.III:25]	SCM 311
1786	Nitschmann	Quartet in F [Hob.III:26]	SCM 312
1786	Nitschmann	Quartet in D [Hob.III:30]	SCM 313

¹⁶ Information is gathered from the Moravian Music Foundation Archive documents: PSB (Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem); SCM (Salem Collegium Musicum); LCM (Lititz Collegium Musicum). See also Irving Lowens, *Haydn in America*, Detroit 1979, pp. 95–109; McCorkel, *Moravian Music in Salem*, pp. 285, 290; Richard D. Claypool, *Archival Collections of the Moravian Music Foundation and Some Notes on the Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem*, in: *Fontes artis musicae* 23/4 (1976), pp. 177–190, here pp. 183ff.; Jeannine S. Ingram, *Repertory and Resources of the Salem Collegium Musicum*, in: *Fontes artis musicae* 26/4 (1979), pp. 267–281, here pp. 271f., 275.

undated	Peter	“Notturmo”, Quartet in E [Hob. III:8]	PSB 1308.2
undated	Peter	“Cassatio”, Quartet in D [Hob. III:3]	PSB 1308.4
undated	Peter	“Cassatio”, Quartet in G [Hob. III:4]	PSB 1308.5
before 1789	unknown	Cassatio in Eb [Hob.V:Es13]	LCM 65
1791	unknown	Quatuor, Divertimento in D [Hob. II:22]	LCM 22
1791	unknown	Cassatio, Divertimento in G [Hob. II:7]	LCM 70
undated	Nitschmann	Cassatio in F [Hob.I:F7, also Hob. III:F4]	LCM 223
undated	unknown	Divertimento in Bb [Hob.II:B7]	SCM 308
undated	unknown	Quartet No. 6 in C [Hob.III:6] (arr. flute, violin, viola, clarinet)	SCM 309.1
undated	unknown	Quartet No. 7 in A [Hob.III:7] (arr. fl, vl, va, cl)	SCM 309.2
undated	unknown	Quartet No. 12 in Bb [Hob.III:12] (arr. fl, vl, va, cl)	SCM 309.3
undated	unknown	Quartet No. 11 in D [Hob.III:11] (arr. fl, vl, va, cl)	SCM 309.4
undated	unknown	Quartet Op. 17, No. 4 in c minor, Hob.III:28 [from Hummel, PN: 230]	LCM 66
undated	unknown	Quartet Op. 3 in C [Hob.III:17] [spurious, attributed to Roman Hoffstetter]	LCM 68
undated	unknown	Quartet Op. 17, No. 3 in Eb [Hob. III:27]	LCM 69
after 1783	Antes	Notturmo in Bb	LCM 71
undated	unknown	Symphony No. 53 in D [Hob.I:53]	PSB 1374.3
undated	unknown	Symphony No. 100 in G [Hob.I:100]	SCM 164
1832	John C. Till	Symphony No. 100 in G [Hob.I:100]	PSB 1389
1832	John C. Till	Symphony No. 45 in f# minor [Hob.I:45] [missing]	SCM
undated	Perhaps John C. Till?	Symphony No. 45 in f# minor [Hob.I:45] [copied from André PN 3200]	LCM 232

The oldest Haydn manuscripts are those copied by Johann Friedrich Peter who brought a substantial collection with him from Europe in 1770 and then continued to copy Haydn's music in America as it became available. Johann Friedrich Peter (1746–1813) stands out among the Moravian musicians in America as being the most gifted. Born in Heerendijk, Holland, son of a Moravian minister, his childhood education was at the Moravian boarding school in Niesky, Germany. Later as a student at the Moravian theological seminary in Barby, Germany, Peter copied the instrumental music of the most popular German, Austrian, and Czech composers of the time – Haydn, Carl Abel, Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, Johann Christian Bach, Leopold Hofmann, Johann and Carl Stamitz, Johann Heinrich Rolle and Adalbert Gyrowetz – amassing a substantial library of manuscripts. In 1770 he left Europe arriving in Pennsylvania with his manuscript collection. First serving in Nazareth, Peter later filled various other appointments, two of the most musically significant being in Bethlehem and Salem. Peter dramatically raised the level of the *collegia musica* in the Pennsylvania Moravian communities. While working in Salem during the decade 1780–1790, he founded and developed a *collegium musicum* there. Peter brought with him to Salem copied parts from his library and made new copies of other works. Typical of Moravian musicians, Peter worked in a variety of capacities as supervisor of the boy's school, clerk, interim pastor, music copyist, composer, music director, music teacher, organist, and violinist. Peter died in Bethlehem in 1813 at the age of 67. His own compositions include hundreds of church anthems and a set of six string quintets. Among Peter's copied manuscripts are quartets, trios and symphonies of Haydn as well as his 1811 copy of the vocal and orchestral parts to "The Creation"¹⁷.

Peter copied 17 works of Haydn, including four symphonies, seven quartets, four trios and two *divertimenti*. One additional symphony, Hob.I:B12, for two violins, viola and cello, formerly attributed to Haydn, was also copied by Peter in Europe on 27 October 1766 and brought with him to North America. Peter's copy of this symphony is the only one listed in Hoboken¹⁸. Ten Haydn copies date between the years 1766 and 1769 when Peter was a student at the theological seminary in Barby, Germany, (then part of the duchy Saxe-Weissenfels). Noteworthy is how soon Peter had access to Haydn's works in Europe and how quickly he recognized Haydn as an exceptional composer. Breitkopf in Leipzig published numerous early

¹⁷ See Daniel C. Crews, *Johann Friedrich Peter and His Times*, Winston-Salem 1990.

¹⁸ Symphony in B-flat, Hob.I:B12 formerly attributed to Haydn is by Pierre van Maldere, a composer from Brussels whose music, known and performed throughout Europe, was popular in Vienna and Prague. Peter's manuscript copy is located in the Salem Collegium Music collection (SCM 170). See the listing in Table 1.

works by Haydn and other composers from Austria and southern Germany, which provided Peter with a valuable source for new music¹⁹. One of Peter's seminary copies, dated 12 December 1766, was Haydn's Symphony Hob.I:17 in F for 2 horns, 2 oboes and strings²⁰. Copied only a few years after it was composed, Peter's manuscript is the earliest known copy of this work according to Hoboken²¹. In addition, it was one of the earliest Haydn symphonies heard in the New World, possibly performed as early as 1770 or at least soon after Peter's arrival in Pennsylvania. At the top of the cover page, added in the 1780s, is "Collegium Musicum der Gemeine in Salem" indicating that it eventually became part of the Salem collection when Peter was assigned there and served as director of that collegium. (See Figure 2.)

Haydn's divertimento labeled "Notturmo" in E-flat, copied by Peter on 18 December 1767, shows the beautiful and meticulous penmanship of Peter on the title page and the first violin part²². (See Figures 3a and b.) Over the years the ink on each side of the paper bled through to the other side making it somewhat difficult to read, nevertheless, the accuracy and clarity of the writing are remarkable. Written at the bottom of the cover page is "Coll. Mus. Bethlehem" while the white label, added still later, notes the change of name that took place in 1820 when the Collegium Musicum Bethlehem was reconstituted as the Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem. In early February 1775, when Peter was in Bethlehem, he demonstrated his copying expertise by completing three Haydn trio sonatas in only two days²³. Later in 1786 as director of the Salem Collegium Musicum, Peter copied Haydn's symphonies Hob.I:41 and 20 while substituting the final movement of Symphony Hob.I:29 with that of Haydn's Symphony Hob.I:16 in Bb transposed to the key of C²⁴. Three other Haydn quartets by Peter are undated²⁵.

¹⁹ I am indebted to Wolfgang Fuhrman for information about the "years of the invasion of South-German/Austrian instrumental music in Northern Germany, as witnessed also by the polemics of Northern music critics".

²⁰ Peter's copied manuscript of Haydn's Symphony in F, Hob.I:17, located in the Salem Collegium Musicum Collection, has the archival number SCM 156. The condition of this important manuscript is now very fragile.

²¹ See also Lowens, *Haydn in America*, pp. 95f.

²² PSB 1308.1. This divertimento for 2 violins, 2 horns, viola and cello, Hob.II:21 is also referred to as a string quartet, Hob.III:9 although Haydn in his catalogue labeled it "Divertimento a sei Stromenti" (Jens Peter Larsen, *Review of Irving Lowens, Haydn in America*, in: *American Music*, vol. II, no. 2 (Summer, 1984), pp. 85f.).

²³ Between February 1–2, 1775 Peter copied Haydn's Trio Sonata in Eb, Hob.V:4, Trio Sonata in G, Hob.V:G2 and Trio Sonata in b minor, Hob.V:3. (See Table 1)

²⁴ SCM 157.1 and SCM 157.3.

²⁵ These undated copies include Quartet in E, Hob.III:8 (PSB 1308.2), Quartet in D, Hob.III:3 (PSB 1308.4) and Quartet in G, Hob.III:4 (PSB 1808.5).

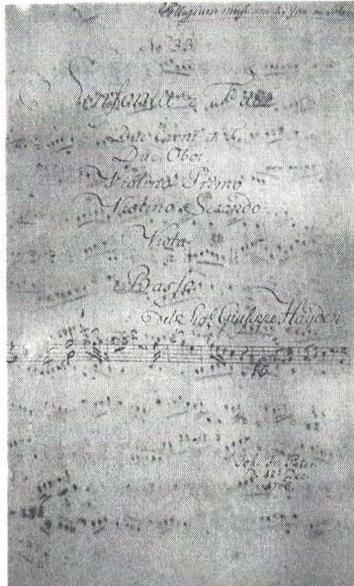


Figure 2: Title page of Johann Friedrich Peter's manuscript copy of Haydn's Symphony in F [Hob.I:17], 12 December 1766 (SCM 170) reprinted by courtesy of the Moravian Music Foundation, Bethlehem, PA, and Winston-Salem, NC.

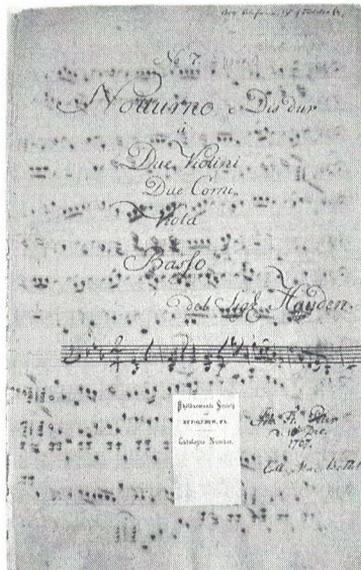


Figure 3a: Title page of Johann Friedrich Peter's manuscript copy of Haydn's Notturmo in Eb (Hob.II:21) 18 December 1767 (PSB 1308.1) reprinted by courtesy of the Moravian Music Foundation, Bethlehem, PA, and Winston-Salem, NC.



Figure 3b: Violin I part of Johann Friedrich Peter's manuscript copy of Haydn's Notturmo in Eb (Hob.II:21) 18 December 1767 (PSB 1308.1) reprinted by courtesy of the Moravian Music Foundation, Bethlehem, PA, and Winston-Salem, NC.

Immanuel Nitschmann (1736–1790), another active Moravian copyist born in Herrnhut, Germany, arrived in Bethlehem in 1761 where he served as organist, violinist and copyist. Like other Moravian musicians in the communities who were expected to contribute in a variety of capacities, he also assisted as minister and diarist²⁶. Nitschmann increased library holdings in Bethlehem and later in Salem by copying instrumental music for the two collegia musica. Three Haydn quartets, Hob.numbers 25, 26 and 30 were copied in 1786 in Bethlehem where he was directing the collegium musicum. The Cassatio in F, Hob.I:F7, also in Nitschmann's hand, is catalogued additionally as a quartet, Hob.III:F4. Hoboken does not list Nitschmann's copy or any other early copies of this work in his catalogue. Found on the title page of the Cassatio is the incipit of the second movement "Andante". Nitschmann's name is crossed through and below is written, "this belongs to the community of Lititz". As with Peter, Nitschmann's handwriting is neat and clear, as seen also on the violin I part. (See Figures 4a and b).²⁷

²⁶ Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, p. 280.

²⁷ This Cassatio in F is scored for two violins, viola and bass. (LCM 223). Printed facsimiles can also be found in Lowens, *Haydn in America*, pp. 102f.

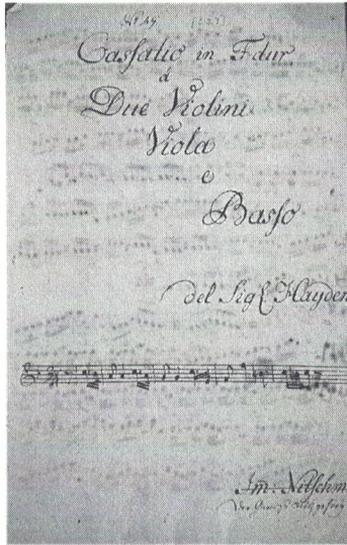


Figure 4a: Title page of Immanuel Nitschmann's manuscript copy of Haydn's Cassatio in F (Hob.I:F7), undated (LCM 223), reprinted by courtesy of the Moravian Music Foundation, Bethlehem, PA, and Winston-Salem, NC.



Figure 4b: Violin I part of Immanuel Nitschmann's manuscript copy of Haydn's Cassatio in F (Hob.I:F7 / Hob.III:F4), undated (LCM 223), reprinted by courtesy of the Moravian Music Foundation, Bethlehem, PA, and Winston-Salem, NC.



Figure 5: Title page of John Antes's manuscript copy of Haydn's Notturmo in Bb composed after 1783 (LCM 71), reprinted by courtesy of the Moravian Music Foundation, Bethlehem, PA, and Winston-Salem, NC.

An American Moravian musician, John Antes (1740–1811), was born and raised in Pennsylvania working as a string instrument maker in Bethlehem before leaving for England at the age of 24. He then served as a missionary in Egypt where he composed three trios and a set of string quartets. Antes sent the string quartets to Benjamin Franklin, but they are unfortunately now missing. When Antes returned to England, he met Haydn perhaps through his nephew Christian Ignatius La Trobe, a highly reputable English Moravian composer who knew Haydn and who dedicated three piano sonatas to the famous Austrian composer²⁸. While in London in 1791–1792, Haydn met Antes and in his notebook Haydn added the information “Mr. Antis, Bishop and a minor composer”. This Mr. Antis is assumed to be John Antes, who although not a bishop, was nevertheless a minister of the church²⁹. Antes copied Haydn's Notturmo in Bb for two violins, viola and cello listed near the end of Table 1. The manuscript copy, rather flamboy-

²⁸ CCLN, pp. 263, 265.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 266. See also Lowens, *Haydn in America*, p. 17; Daniel C. Crews, *John Antes*, Winston-Salem, 1997, p. 16; McCorkel, *John Antes. American Dilettante*, in: *The Musical Quarterly*, 42 (1956), pp. 486–499, here p. 4.

antly written with Antes' name signed at the bottom of the title page, has his name crossed out and below is noted "Lititz" designating the collection location (Figure 5)³⁰.

Haydn's large-scale vocal music was also popular in the Moravian communities, becoming increasingly more so in the 19th century as Haydn's two oratorios became available. Numerous manuscript copies and printed editions in the collections attest to their popularity. Table 2 lists many of the manuscript copies of Haydn's large-scale vocal works in the archives.

Table 2: Manuscript Copies of Haydn's Large-Scale Vocal Works in the Moravian Archives³¹

Date	Copyst	Title	Archive No.
undated	Herbst	Stabat mater [Hob.XXbis] (full score; German text)	Herbst XVIII
before 1797	unknown	Stabat mater (vocal, orchestra parts; German text)	PSB 40
undated	unknown	Stabat mater (vocal, orchestra parts; German text)	SCM 11A
undated	unknown	Stabat mater (vocal, orchestra parts; Latin and German texts)	SCM 11B
undated	unknown	"Die Worte des Erlösers am Kreuz" [Hob.XX:2] (vocal, orchestra parts)	SCM 9, 10
undated	Herbst	"Die Schöpfung" [Hob.XXI:2] (S, T, B parts)	Herbst XVII
undated	unknown	"Die Schöpfung" (orchestra parts)	SCM 12
1808	unknown	"Die Schöpfung" (fragments of vocal parts; German or English texts)	SCM 13A, B
undated	unknown	"Die Schöpfung" (fragments of vocal parts)	SCM 14–16 SCM 97
1811	Peter	"Die Schöpfung" (parts; German and English texts)	PSB 17.1A

³⁰ LCM 71.

³¹ Information is collected from the Moravian Music Foundation Archive documents: PSB (Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem); SCM (Salem Collegium Musicum); SC (Salem Congregation); SS (Salem Sisters); LC (Lititz Congregation); Herbst (Johannes Herbst Collection in Salem). See also McCorkel, *Moravian Music in Salem*, pp. 239, 259f.; Gombosi, *Catalog of the Johannes Herbst Collection*, Chapel Hill 1980, pp. 191, 193, 324, 328, 367, 546, 599, 610, 616; Robert Steelman, *Catalogue of the Lititz Congregation Collection*, Chapel Hill 1981, pp. 146, 152, 325; Lowens, *Haydn in America*, pp. 105–108.

undated	unknown	“Die Jahres Zeiten nach Thompson” [Hob.XXI:3] (cover page; some vocal and orchestra parts)	SCM17, 18
undated	different hands	“Die Jahreszeiten” (various parts)	PSB 18
undated	unknown	“La Tempesta” (“Der Sturm”) [Hob. XXIVa:8]	PSB 156
undated	unknown	“La Tempesta” (“Der Sturm”) (parts)	SCM 20
undated	unknown	“Der Versöhnungstod” [Hob.XXIVa-Anh.1] (parts from the Breitkopf & Härtel edition)	SCM 22
undated	adapted by Antes	“And Jesus said: it is finished” [“Die Schöpfung”] (S, strings, Bs.)	SC 134A.11
undated	unknown	“Das Wort vom Kreuz erschallt in alle Lande” [“Die Schöpfung”/“Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes”]	SC 139.1
undated	unknown	“Volk Gottes! erzähle die Ehre des Herrn” [“Die Schöpfung”/“Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes”]	SC 139.1[a]
undated	unknown	“Es ist vollbracht, das Heil der Welt”	SC 288.2 (Missing)
undated	unknown	“O Wunder! Jehovah wird ein Menschenkind” [“Die Schöpfung”/“Mit Staunen sieht das Wunderwerk”] (vocal, orchestra parts)	SC 299.1
undated	unknown	“Sey willkommen, schöner Stern” [“Harmoniemesse”, Hob.XXII:14, Benedictus] (vocal, orchestra parts)	SC 359.1
undated	unknown	“Welcome, star of wondrous beauty” [“Harmoniemesse”, Benedictus] (vocal parts)	SC 359.1a
undated	unknown	“Das Wort vom Creuz erschallt in alle Lande”	SS 70.2[a] (Missing)
undated	unknown	“Die Engel verkund’gen die Liebe Gottes”	SS 70.2[b]
undated	unknown	“Es ist vollbracht”	SS 146.2 (Missing)
undated	unknown	“O Wunder! Jehovah wird ein Menschenkind” [“Die Schöpfung”/“Mit Staunen sieht das Wunderwerk”] (vocal parts)	SS 179.1

undated	unknown	“Ganz Erbarmen, Gnad und Liebe” [“Die Worte des Erlösers am Kreuz”/“Fürwahr ich sag es Dir”] (S, A, T solo, T)	SS 185.5
undated	unknown	“Es ist vollbracht das Heil der Welt” [“Die Schöpfung”/“Der Herr ist kross”] (vocal, orchestra parts)	LC 125.1
undated	unknown	“Das Wort vom Kreuz erschallt in alle Lande” [“Die Schöpfung”/“Die Himmel erzählen”] (vocal, orchestra parts)	LC 134.1
undated	unknown	“O Wunder! Jehovah wird ein Menschenkind” [“Die Schöpfung”/“Mit Staunen sieht das Wunderwerk”] (vocal, orchestra parts)	LC 134.2
undated	unknown	“Glory in the highest” [“Missa in tempore belli”, Hob.XXII:9, Gloria] (vocal, orchestra parts)	LC 374
undated	Herbst	“Volk Gottes! erzähle die Ehre” [“Die Schöpfung”/“Die Himmel erzählen”]	Herbst 403.3
undated	Herbst	“O Wunder!”	Herbst 419 (Missing)
undated	Herbst	“Es ist vollbracht” [“Die Schöpfung”/“Der Herr ist gross”]	Herbst 420
undated	Herbst	“Es ist vollbracht” [“Die Schöpfung”/“Der Herr ist gross”]; fragment [from “Die Schöpfung”/“Die Himmel erzählen”]	Herbst 420b

One of the earliest choral pieces performed in the communities was Haydn’s *Stabat mater*, often heard during the season of Lent. The full score of the *Stabat mater* in German text can be found in the Johannes Herbst Collection³². Herbst (1735–1812), minister, prolific composer, music copyist, organist, violinist, keyboardist, bookkeeper and teacher, was born in Kempten, Swabia. Arriving in America in 1785 at the age of fifty, Herbst first served as pastor in Lancaster and Lititz, Pennsylvania before becoming bishop and moving to Salem in 1812, the last year of his life. Over his lifetime Herbst acquired a large personal collection of music, mostly his own manuscripts many of which he copied in Europe, now housed in the

³² Salem, Herbst XVIII. In addition Herbst copied vocal parts to Haydn’s “Creation”, Herbst XVII. See Table 2.

archives in North Carolina³³. In addition to Haydn's *Stabat mater* in full score in the Herbst Collection, the archives in Bethlehem and Salem house several copies of Haydn's passion music with orchestra and vocal parts copied in a variety of hands. A Bethlehem manuscript of the performing parts with German text was copied before 1797, confirmed by a registered performance in Nazareth early that year. In Salem one of the manuscripts includes both Latin and German texts³⁴. Although it is difficult to identify the different copyists of these *Stabat mater* manuscripts, one oboe I part can definitely be identified as it is initialed J. C. T. for the copyist Johann Christian Till (1762–1844). Till, born near Nazareth and educated there, was a piano maker, music copyist and organist. Following the death of Johann Friedrich Peter in 1811, Till replaced Peter as organist in Bethlehem³⁵.

As other of Haydn's choral works became available in print in the 19th century, they were quickly copied for performance; these included "The Seven Last Words" ("Die Worte des Erlösers am Kreuz"), "The Storm" ("Der Sturm", "La Tempesta"), "The Creation" ("Die Schöpfung"), "The Seasons" ("Die Jahreszeiten"), "Der Versöhnungstod", and sections from the "Missa in tempore belli" and the "Harmoniemesse". The vocal and instrumental parts for the choral version of Haydn's "The Seven Last Words" are in the Salem collection while the Salem Sisters collection has parts for soprano, alto, tenor and tenor solo³⁶. Beautifully copied, the manuscripts are now discolored and fragile from age and use indicating that there must have been many performances of this passion music. Copies of "Der Sturm" include parts for the first chorus in the Salem archives while copies of the complete vocal and instrumental parts can be found in the Bethlehem collection³⁷. For Haydn's oratorio "The Seasons" manuscripts of vocal and orchestral parts are housed in both Salem and Bethlehem. The date and copyist are unknown for the brown, fragile, yet beautifully copied parts for violin 1 of "Spring" in the Salem collection³⁸. Bethlehem has several copies of "The Seasons" from the early to the mid 19th century³⁹. "Der Versöhnungstod" (Atonement through Death) was a new work, a cantata for four voices and orchestra with six adagios, five based on

³³ Lowens, *Haydn in America*, p. 16; Gombosi, *Catalog of the Johannes Herbst Collection*, p. 235; Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, pp. 274f.; McCorkel, *Moravian Music in Salem*, p. 54.

³⁴ The three *Stabat mater* performing manuscripts PSB 40, SCM 11A and SCM 11B are listed in Table 2. The Nazareth *Stabat mater* performance of 1797 will be discussed later in this article.

³⁵ Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, p. 284.

³⁶ SCM 9, 10 and SS 185.5.

³⁷ SCM 20, PSB 156. See Table 2.

³⁸ SCM 17, 18.

³⁹ PSB 18.

the slow movements of Haydn's symphonies 87, 92, 93, 98 and 99, which may have been arranged by Johann Abraham Peter Schulz⁴⁰. The German text was by Johann Paul Hopfensack⁴¹. The first and only edition of this work arrived in Salem in 1814 followed by a copied manuscript of the parts by Bernard J. Pfohl for performance by the Salem collegium musicum⁴².

Haydn's celebrated oratorio "The Creation" composed in 1798 eventually surpassed all of Haydn's other large-scale vocal works in number of copied manuscripts and performances. The Herbst collection contains the soprano, tenor and bass parts to the oratorio as well as sections set to alternate German texts⁴³. Of special interest is a copy found in the Salem collection of an alto part from the opening section of "The Creation" with the inscription "1808 Coll. mus. Salem" written at the bottom of the cover page (see Figures 6a and b)⁴⁴. The same date is also written on the tenor part. The year is significant in that it places these copies early in the history of "The Creation" in America. According to Vera Brodsky Lawrence, an 1800-printed edition of "The Creation" had arrived in the United States by 1802 and on March 20, 1804 a concert was presented in New York that included the "Representation of Chaos" and the aria "On Mighty Pens" from Haydn's "Creation"⁴⁵. The Moravian copies of the vocal parts in 1808 were made four years after the New York concert and sections of "The Creation" may have been performed that same year in Salem⁴⁶. The tattered pages of the copied alto part indicate extensive use for performance.

⁴⁰ The difficulty in determining for certain the identification of the arranger is that Breitkopf gives only the initials J. A. rather than the complete name (see Hoboken XXIVa:1). The New Grove names Johann Abraham Peter Schulz as arranger (see the work-list under "cantatas") but no evidence is provided to substantiate this. Gustav Schilling in his *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften* (1838) ascribed the setting to a certain Christian Johann Philipp Schulz.

⁴¹ The name Hopfensack presents another puzzle. Wolfgang Osthoff speculates that this may have been a Professor Hopfensack at Erfurt University, father to Johann Christian Hopfensack, a religious poet. (See Wolfgang Osthoff, *Trombe sordine*, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 13 (1956), pp. 77–95, at p. 93.) Osthoff refers to Eduard Emil Koch, *Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs der christlichen, insbesondere der deutsch evangelischen Kirche*, 3. Auflage, Stuttgart 1872, vol. 7, p. 267, where the name "Johann Paul Hopfensack" is given. This seems indeed the most likely candidate. I am grateful to Wolfgang Fuhrmann for this information.

⁴² SCM 21, 22.

⁴³ Salem, Herbst XVII.

⁴⁴ SCM 13A, B.

⁴⁵ Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *The Earliest Performances of "The Creation" in the United States*, in: *Moravian Music Journal* 27/4 (1982), pp. 90f., here p. 90.

⁴⁶ Evidence of an 1803 edition of Haydn's "Creation" in the Moravian communities as early as 1807 will be discussed later in this article.

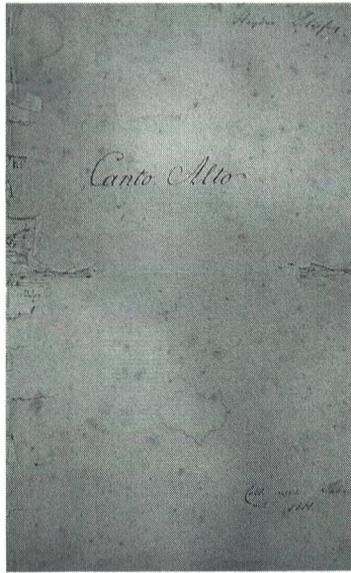


Figure 6a: Title page to the alto part of a manuscript copy of *The Creation*, Coll. Mus. Salem, 1808 (SCM 13A, B), reprinted by courtesy of the Moravian Music Foundation, Bethlehem, PA, and Winston-Salem, NC.



Figure 6b: Alto part of a manuscript copy of *The Creation*, Coll. mus. Salem, 1808 (SCM 13A, B), reprinted by courtesy of the Moravian Music Foundation, Bethlehem, PA, and Winston-Salem, NC.

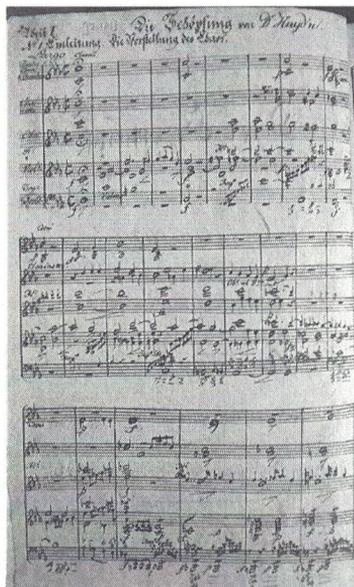


Figure 7: First page of the organ part to Johann Friedrich Peter’s manuscript copy of “The Creation” (PSB 17.1A), reprinted by courtesy of the Moravian Music Foundation, Bethlehem, PA, and Winston-Salem, NC.

Of even greater importance are the 1811 bound copies of the orchestral and vocal parts of “The Creation” by Johann Friedrich Peter⁴⁷. Peter, at age 65, was organist at the large Central Church in Bethlehem when he completed copying the parts for Haydn’s famous oratorio. In the beautifully bound organ score Peter noted the instrumentation in the left hand margins, indicating from top to bottom each specific instrument. Throughout the score Peter wrote which instruments were to play (see Figure 7). On the cover of Gabriel’s part is written at the top of the page, “Coll. Mus. in Bethlehem 1811”. The texts are in German with English written below. From these performing parts copied by Peter, one of the earliest performances of portions of Haydn’s oratorio was heard in Bethlehem in 1811.

Haydn’s choral works including “The Creation”, “The Seven Last Words”, the “Missa in Tempore belli” and the “Harmoniemesse” were so highly regarded among the community congregations that alternate texts were often substituted for the original texts and were sung as separate choruses in the churches. Here again choruses to Haydn’s “Creation” were most frequently

⁴⁷ PSB 17.1A.

copied with alternate texts substituted for the most famous choruses, the final chorus of Part I, “The Heavens are Telling” eclipsing all the others⁴⁸.

PRINTED EDITIONS OF HAYDN’S WORKS IN THE MORAVIAN COLLECTIONS

The Moravian communities, eager to perform new music, shared their copies and editions with one another and also purchased printed editions soon after they were published in Europe. Table 3 lists the printed editions of Haydn’s instrumental works in the Moravian archives.

Table 3: Printed Editions of Haydn’s Instrumental Works in the Moravian Archives⁴⁹

Date Received	Title	Publisher	Archive No.
1789	Symphony in F [Hob.I:79]	J. J. Hummel, PN: 593	SCM 158
1789	Symphony in d [Hob.I:80]	J. J. Hummel, PN: 593	SCM 158
1789	Symphony in G [Hob.I:81]	J. J. Hummel, PN: 593	SCM 158
1799	Symphony in D [Hob.I:93]	André, PN: 934	PSB 1367.14
1799	Symphony in G [Hob.I:94]	André, PN: 857	PSB 1367.11
1799	Symphony in C [Hob.I:97]	André, PN: 933	PSB 1367.13
1799	Symphony in Bb [Hob.I:98]	André, PN: 911	PSB 1367.12
1811, 30 Mar	Symphony in Eb [Hob.I:91]	Longman & Broderip	PSB 1367.10
1811, 28 Jun	Symphony in G [Hob.I:88]	Longman & Broderip	PSB 1370.13

⁴⁸ The choruses from Haydn’s choral works with alternate German texts are part of the congregation collections in the various communities, such as the Salem Congregation (SC), Salem Sisters (SS), and the Lititz Congregation (LC); see Table 2.

⁴⁹ Information is gathered from the Moravian Music Foundation Archives: PSB (Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem); SCM (Salem Collegium Musicum); LCM (Lititz Collegium Musicum). Additional information is found in McCorkel, *Moravian Music in Salem*, pp. 279f.; Claypool, *Archival Collections*, pp. 188f. and Ingram, *Repertory and Resources*, p. 275.

1811, 28 Jun	Symphony in F [Hob.I:89]	Longman & Broderip	PSB 1367.9
unknown	Symphony in D “Oeuvre 98” [Hob.I:104]	Simrock [c. 1801]	SCM
unknown	Symphony in Eb “Oeuvre 98” [Hob.I:99]	Simrock [c. 1801]	SCM
unknown	Symphony in Eb [Hob.I:99] (arr. for 2 vl, 2 va, vc, 2 ob, 2 hn by C. F. Ebers)	André, PN: 2673-78 [1809]	PSB 367.15 SCM
unknown	Symphony in D [Hob.I:101] Collection des Symphonies	Simrock [1811]	SCM
unknown	Symphony in Eb [Hob.I:103] Collection des Symphonies	Simrock [1811]	SCM
unknown	Symphony in G [Hob.I:94]	Simrock [1811]	SCM
unknown	Symphony in D [Hob.I:98] Collection des Symphonies	Simrock [1811]	SCM
unknown	Collection of Symphonies or movements of symphonies, overtures to operas	André	LCM 232
1813, 8 Jul	Symphony in f# [Hob.I:45] Presto–Adagio (transposed to e)	André, PN: 3200	LCM 232
unknown	Overture in Bb “Oeuvre 55” Hob.Ia:14 [Overture to “Armida”; s. Hob.XXVII:13]	André, PN: 2900 [c.1813]	LCM 232
unknown	Symphony in F [Hob.I:89] “Oeuvre 56, Liv: 1”	André, PN: 2911, 2 nd edition [c. 1810]	LCM 232
unknown	Symphony in G [Hob.I:88] “Oeuvre 56, Liv: 2”	André, PN: 2911&12, 2 nd edition [c. 1810]	LCM 232
unknown	Symphony in G [Hob.I:92] “Op. 66, no. 2”	André, PN: 2914, 2 nd edition	LCM 232
unknown	Symphony in Bb [Hob.I:102] “Op. 98, no. 2”	André, PN: 1593, 2 nd edition	LCM 232
before 1786	Six Quatuors, op. 17	Hummel, PN: 230	PSB 1306
	[stamped CMB]		1772
	Quartet in E, Hob.III:25		PSB 1306.1

	Quartet in F, Hob.III:26		PSB 1306.2
	Quartet in Eb, Hob.III:27		PSB 1306.3
	Quartet in c, Hob.III:28		PSB 1306.4
	Quartet in G, Hob.III:29		PSB 1306.5
	Quartet in D, Hob.III:30		PSB 1306.6
unknown	Six Quatuors	R. Bremner	SCM 310
	[Op. 2]	Somerset House	
	Quartet 1 in A, Hob.III:7		
	Quartet 2 in E, Hob.III:8		
	Quartet 3 in Eb, Hob.III:9		
	Quartet 4 in F, Hob.III:10		
	Quartet 5 in D, Hob.III:11		
	Quartet 6 in Bb, Hob.III:12		
unknown	Deux Quatuors "Oeuvre 77"	Breitkopf & Härtel	SCM 315
	[Lobkowitz Quartets]		[1801]
	Quartet 1 in G [Hob.III:81]		
	Quartet 2 in F [Hob.III:82]		
unknown	Six Quatuors op. 20	J. J. Hummel, PN: 401	PSB 1307
	[stamped CMB]		[1779]
	Quartet I in Eb [Hob.III:31]		PSB 1307.1
	Quartet II in C [Hob.III:32]		PSB 1307.2
	Quartet III in g [Hob.III:33]		PSB 1307.3
	Quartet IV in D [Hob.III:34]		PSB 1307.4
	Quartet V in f [Hob.III:35]		PSB 1307.5
	Quartet VI in A [Hob.III:36]		PSB 1307.6
unknown	"Six Sonatas Pour le Clavecin"	J. J. Hummel, c. 1777	SCM
unknown	"Six Sonates Pour le Clavecin ou le Piano Forte, Oeuvre XIV"	J. J. Hummel, c. 1778	SCM

During the years of the American War of Independence, it was difficult to buy and receive new music from Europe, but by the late 1780s the Moravians were able to proceed with their purchasing of printed editions. Symphonies and chamber music of Haydn were in high demand. As Haydn's fame spread across Europe and America, publishers were eager to print new editions of his works. By 1789 the Salem community had acquired Johann Julius Hummel's edition of the three Haydn Symphonies Hob.I:79, 80 and 81 (see Table 3). These and other symphonies acquired in the Moravian communities in the late 1780s and 1790s were quickly copied and performed soon thereafter. His symphony Hob.I:97 is a case in point as the printed edition was received in 1799 and by 22 February of that year a performance took place in the community of Nazareth⁵⁰. Not only were manuscript copies made shortly after the printed editions became available in the communities but they were accurately and beautifully copied. A comparison of the André edition of the last movement of Haydn's Symphony Hob.I:45, "Farewell" transposed to the key of e minor, received 8 July 1813, with a manuscript copied in an unknown hand shows it to be very close⁵¹. Besides acquiring editions of most of the late Haydn symphonies after 1789, numerous quartets were also received.

Table 4 lists the printed editions of Haydn's vocal and choral works in the archives, including "La Tempesta (Der Sturm)", the cantata "Der Versöhnungstod" most likely arranged by Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, the full score and piano-vocal score to "The Creation" and "The Seasons" arranged for strings, along with the quartet version of "The Seven Last Words".

⁵⁰ See the listing of the André, PN: 933 edition of Symphony Hob.I:97 (PSB 1367.13) in Table 3. The Nazareth Register of Concerts notes a performance on 22 February 1799. Verzeichnis derer Musicalien welche in Concert sind gemacht worden. Nazareth den 14t. Octbr. 1796 (Register of Music Performed in Concert, Nazareth, 14 October, 1796). Bethlehem Archive: Shelf 13 H, Box 10.

⁵¹ In Table 3 the André, PN: 3200 edition has the catalogue number LCM 232. The manuscript copy of the final movement of the "Abschieds-Sinfonie", catalogued LCM 232 Nr. 64, is also listed in Lowens, *Haydn in America*, p. 109.

Table 4: Printed Editions of Haydn's Vocal and Choral Works in the Moravian Archives⁵²

Date Received	Title	Publisher	Archive No.
1807	"Die Schöpfung"	Breitkopf & Härtel	PSB 17.1A Supp 1803
unknown	Sechs Lieder zum Singen beym Klavier	André, 1795	SCM
unknown	"La Tempesta" (Der Sturm)	Breitkopf & Härtel	SCM 19
1814, 17 Jan	"Der Vesöhnungstod"	Breitkopf & Härtel, PN: 614 [1809]	SCM 21
unknown	"Les Saisons" / "Die Jahreszeiten" (arranged for 2 vl, 2 va and vc)	A. E. Mueller with Breitkopf & Härtel	SCM 316 SCM [c. 1801]
unknown	A Set of Quartets, Expressive of the Passion of our Saviour	Longman and Broderip	SCM
unknown	"Die Schöpfung" [Klavier-Auszug] with English and German texts	André, PN: 4768	PSB 17.1A
unknown	"Die Schöpfung" [Klavier-Auszug by A. E. Müller]	Breitkopf & Härtel, PN: 652	PSB 17.1A

Of these editions the most important is Breitkopf & Härtel's 1803 first edition of "The Creation" printed in Leipzig. From this edition Johann Friedrich Peter copied the vocal and orchestral parts for the Bethlehem performance of 1811, one of the first performances in North America of portions of Haydn's oratorio. On the upper right-hand corner of the edition's title page Peter signed his name with the date of January 1807 written directly below (see Figure 8). Peter, therefore, had "The Creation" score four years before his performing parts were completed in 1811. Perhaps it was from this 1803 edition that the 1808 Salem alto and tenor parts were also copied. The Breitkopf & Härtel first edition of "The Creation" ac-

⁵² Information collected from the Moravian Music Foundation Archives: PSB (Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem; SCM Salem Collegium Musicum). See also McCorkel, *Moravian Music in Salem*, pp. 272f.

CONCERTS OF HAYDN'S MUSIC IN THE MORAVIAN COMMUNITY OF NAZARETH

Copied manuscripts and printed editions of Haydn's music in the Moravian collections identify specific works available for performance. Without the benefit of concert programs in the communities, an extant register of performances becomes an extremely valuable source. A small blue ledger of concerts by the Nazareth Collegium Musicum titled "Verzeichnis derer Musicalien welche in Concert sind gemacht worden" (Register of Music Performed in Concert) serves that purpose⁵⁴. Dating from 1796 to 1845 this list of concerts was the result of the work of another exceptional Moravian musician, David Moritz Michael (1751–1827) who held appointments as teacher at Nazareth Hall Boarding School and later as overseer of Nazareth and Bethlehem's Single Brothers. A composer of wind and sacred music, he served as director of the collegium musicum. Michael, a violin virtuoso, also played horn, clarinet, trombone and other instruments and taught music lessons to young students. Arriving in America from Germany in 1795, his first appointment was in Nazareth, Pennsylvania where he built the collegium musicum and established a full concert series. Later in 1808 when Michael was appointed to Bethlehem, he likewise increased the musical activity there before returning to Germany in 1815⁵⁵.

During the years 1796 to 1810 a series of weekly concerts performed by the Paedagogium Collegium Musicum Nazareth was scheduled for the winter and summer seasons. Extending from mid October through the end of March, the winter season offered the most concerts. This full schedule of music by European composers was exceptional in America. David Moritz Michael, who initiated these series of concerts, entered the programs in the register from 1796 until 1804 before others took over the record keeping⁵⁶. The richness of Haydn's music performed can be seen in the list of winter concerts in 1797 (see Figure 9). Between January and early March two Haydn symphonies were heard, symphony op. 24, no. 1 [Hob.I:79] on 20 January and a week later symphony op. 25, no. 1 [Hob.I:43]. The next month during the Lenten season Haydn's *Stabat mater* was performed over two weeks, the first part heard on 10 February and the second half the following week. In March two more Haydn symphonies, Hob.I:89 and 52, were performed as well as a set of Haydn keyboard variations.

⁵⁴ Bethlehem Archive: Shelf 13 H, Box 10.

⁵⁵ Grider, *Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem*, pp. 8f.; Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, pp. 278f.

⁵⁶ See Barbara Jo Strauss, *A Register of Music Performed in Concert, Nazareth, Pennsylvania, from 1796–1845. An Annotated Edition of an American Moravian Document*, MM thesis, University of Arizona 1976. See also Lowens, *Haydn in America*.

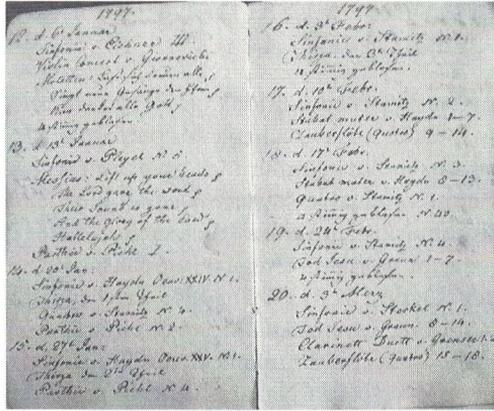


Figure 9: Nazareth Register of Music Performed in Concert, Winter 1797 (Bethlehem Archive: Shelf 13 H, Box 10), reprinted by courtesy of the Moravian Music Foundation, Bethlehem, PA, and Winston-Salem, NC.

Program formatting for Moravian concerts followed the typical European concept of the time emphasizing a variety of instrumental and vocal works on each concert. American performances overall in the late 18th and early 19th centuries were patterned closely on what was happening in Europe with miscellaneous programming being the most popular structure⁵⁷. Concerts listed in the Nazareth register in the winter of 1797, conducted by David Moritz Michael, generally consisted of a symphony, selections from a vocal work, string chamber music and wind music. Likewise there was variety in terms of composers, as seen in the 1797 winter concerts, which included besides Haydn, Eichner, Giornovichi, Pleyel, Handel, Pichl, Stamitz, Mozart, Graun, Sterkel and Grenser. Throughout the years of concerts in Nazareth Haydn's music was prominently featured. Table 5 lists Haydn's works performed in Nazareth from 1797 through 1836.

⁵⁷ William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Music Taste*, Cambridge 2008, pp. 5, 15.

Table 5: Haydn Concerts in Nazareth, Pennsylvania 1797–1836

1797	
20 January, Friday	Symphony op. 24, no. 1 [Hob.I:79] Hummel
27 January, Friday	Symphony op. 25, no. 1 [Hob.I:43] Sieber
10 February, Friday	Stabat mater Parts 1–7.
17 February, Friday	Stabat mater Parts 8–13.
10 March, Friday	Symphony of 1789 [Hob.I:89]
17 March, Friday	Symphony op. 25, no. 2 [Hob.I:52] Sieber
	Clavier Variations
1798	
12 January, Friday	Symphony A. 2.
26 January, Friday	Symphony N. 2 Bb
9 March, Friday	Symphony A. N. 1.
23 March, Friday	Symphony in Bb N. 1.
1799	
25 January, Friday	Symphony op. 29, no. 2 Venier
1 February, Friday	Symphony op. 24, no. 3 [Hob.I:80] Hummel
22 February, Friday	Symphony op. 83, no. 1 [Hob.I:97] André
15 March, Friday	Symphony A. 2.
21 July, Sunday	Symphony n no. 11.
18 August, Sunday	Symphony no. 7. A
1 November, Friday	Symphony op. 80, no. 2, “borrowed from Bethlehem” [Hob.I:98]
22 November, Friday	Symphony “borrowed from Bethlehem”
1800	
17 January, Friday	Symphony op. 24, no. 2 [Hob.I:81] Hummel
7 February, Friday	Symphony no. 10
14 February, Friday	Stabat mater parts 1 to 7
21 February, Friday	Stabat mater to the end
4 April, Friday	Symphony no. 8. a

⁵⁸ Although in the year 1800, 4 March is written in the register for the performance of Haydn’s Symphony No. 8. a, the concert entry comes at the end of the March concerts suggesting that the date 4 April 1800 was intended instead. This dating would follow the order of regular Friday weekly concerts.

5 December, Friday	Symphony op. 24, no. 2 [Hob.I:81] Hummel
1801	
27 February, Friday	Symphony no. 8. a
6 March, Friday	Symphony no. 7. b
20 March, Friday	Stabat mater parts 1–7
27 March, Friday	Stabat mater to the end.
4 December, Friday	Symphony no. 10
18 December, Friday	Symphony op. 24, no. 2 [Hob.I:81] Hummel
1802	
26 March, Friday	Symphony no. 8. a
1803	
14 January, Friday	Symphony
22 January, Saturday	Symphony op. 24, no. 2 [Hob.I:81] Hummel
18 February, Friday	Symphony no. 8. a
25 February, Friday	Stabat mater 1–7
4 March, Friday	Stabat mater to the end
11 March, Friday	Symphony no. 7. a
18 November, Friday	Allegro of a Symphony
2 December, Friday	Symphony no. 7. b
9 December, Friday	Symphony no. 7. a
1804	
3 February, Friday	Symphony no. 94. b
30 November, Friday	Symphony no. 34. b
14 December, Friday	Symphony no. 7. a
1805	
11 January, Friday	Symphony no. 7. b
8 February, Friday	Symphony no. 8. b
8 March, Friday	Symphony
15 November, Friday	Symphony no. 36. 1
21 November, Thursday	Symphony
1806	
21 February, Friday	Stabat mater

28 February, Friday	Stabat mater to the end
6 November, Thursday	Symphony g minor
11 December, Thursday	Symphony G major “from Bethlehem”
1807	
19 February, Thursday	Symphony op. 83, no. 2 [Hob.I:93]
26 February, Thursday	Symphony op. 25, no. 2 [Hob.I:52]
5 March, Thursday	Symphony op. 83, no. 1 [Hob.I:97]
12 March, Thursday	Symphony op. 24, no. 2 “from Bethlehem” [Hob.I:81] Hummel
17 December, Thursday	Symphony, the little one in G major
1808	
7 January, Thursday	Symphony
10 March, Thursday	Symphony
1 December, Thursday	Symphony
1809	
19 January, Thursday	Trio in G [for fortepiano, vl and vc]
1810	
8 February, Thursday	Symphony
22 February, Thursday	Symphony in D Major
1811	
31 October, Thursday	Clavier Sonate with violin and violoncello
1812	
23 August, Sunday	Symphony in D major
1814	
21 August, Sunday	Symphony in G major
1815	
15 November, Wednesday	Symphony (D major)
30 November, Thursday	Symphony (D major) op. 83 [no. 2, Hob.I:93]
1816	
22 February, Thursday	Symphony (borrowed from Bethlehem)

30 June, Sunday	Symphony (in D Major), the middle piece in a Major
1817	
29 January, Wednesday	A Piece from a Sonata for Clavier, Violin, and Bass
6 March, Thursday	Symphony (D Major, Andante with Variations)
1818	
14 January, Wednesday	Symphony (in D Major), Andante in A
1819	
2 February, Tuesday	Symphony D Major
1821	
14 February, Wednesday	“Die Schöpfung”, the first part to no. 12
1824	
4 th Winter Concert (no date)	Symphony in E flat
1825	
2 October, Sunday	3 Choruses from Haydn’s “Schöpfung”, nos. 11 and 14 in Part I, and no. 6 in Part II [Choruses, “Awake the Harp”, “The Heavens are Telling”, “The Lord is Great”] [Hob.XXI:2]
1831	
18 December, Sunday	From “Die Schöpfung”, no. 14 in Part I, and nos. 10 and 11 in Part II. [“The Heavens are Telling”, Recitative, “And God created Man”, Aria, “In native worth”]
1832	
8 April, Sunday	Adagio
1835	
3 April, Friday	Grand Military Symphony Haydn; Parthia Haydn; Solo (Bass / “Jahreszeiten”, A. Kordmann)
1836	Solo (“Schöpfung”: Completion) Haydn

During the twelve years of Michael's leadership in Nazareth 60 concerts included the music of Haydn, a remarkable number, placing Haydn as the most favored composer in the community. Haydn's music never had any real competition. While Stamitz's symphonies and quartets were often heard in the late 1700s and early 1800s before his popularity waned and Pleyel's music gained in popularity in the early 1800s, none of their music was performed as frequently as Haydn's.

Performed five times in ten years, Haydn's *Stabat mater* was an especially valued work heard during Lent. Haydn's symphonies were also exceedingly popular averaging around four a year with a total of eight symphonies presented in 1799. From 1797 through 1805 Friday was set aside for the winter series and Sunday was reserved for the summer offerings. By the end of 1806 Thursday had replaced Friday as the favored day for winter concerts, while after 1815 Wednesday was also used for performances. After Michael's departure from Nazareth in 1808 to take up new responsibilities in Bethlehem, the number of concerts overall was reduced and the performances of Haydn's works were less frequent. Unfortunately no concert registers exist for the larger communities of Bethlehem and Salem but a concert account book for Bethlehem does exist.

BETHLEHEM CONCERT ACCOUNT BOOK

The only accounting record of concerts in the Moravian communities is found in the Bethlehem "Concert Account Book 1807 to 1819. Treasurer's Account Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem 1820 to 1823", which lists the income and expenses of the Bethlehem Collegium Musicum, later reorganized into the Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem in 1820⁵⁹. In this book are found dates of concerts, expenses incurred and donations received as well as costs for maintaining the collegium musicum. In Bethlehem, as in Nazareth, a series of winter and summer concerts were offered each year with their dates listed in the account book as a record for tracking donations. While no titles of musical works were entered to shed light on the music performed, the frequency of concerts is noteworthy. During the 13 years of the collegium musicum, from 1807 to 1819, there were a total of 241 concerts presented after which donations were collected⁶⁰. The income from donations for these concerts was minimal but sufficient for purchasing new instruments and printed music as well as to pay for copying music.

⁵⁹ Concert Casse Rechnung 1807 bis 1819. /Treas[ure]r Act /Philharmonic Society of Beth[lehe]m / 1820 to 1823. / Deposited in Beth Archives / by R. A. Grider 1870. This bound account book is housed in the Moravian Music Foundation Archives in Bethlehem.

⁶⁰ Grider, *Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem*, p. 27.

The Bethlehem concert accounts for the year 1811 are of special interest as Peter's copies of the parts to Haydn's "Creation" were completed that year, he was paid for his copying and a performance of portions of the oratorio were performed in Bethlehem's Central Church. Figure 10 shows the account pages for 1811 with the income received on the left side and the expenses disbursed on the right. The expense entries for 1811 document that on 30 March to Br. Fr. Peter a payment was made of 1 schilling 6 pence for copies of Haydn's Grand Symphony No. IX⁶¹. The next even more significant entry of 26 June records a payment of the substantial sum of 10 pounds, 7 schillings again to Br. Fr. Peter for his copies of Haydn's "Creation". These copies, drawn from the Breitkopf & Härtel 1803 edition, were used for the first performance of portions of Haydn's oratorio in Bethlehem in 1811, which was also one of the earliest in the United States. The large amount paid to Peter indicates the extensive work required for making "The Creation" copies. Other expenses for 1811 include the payment on 28 June to Br. Christian Till for his copying of two of Haydn symphonies⁶². On the income side the accounts note the dates of 25 concerts along with the donation amounts received⁶³. Unfortunately since the titles of works in the list of concerts are not provided, the exact date of the 1811 "Creation" performance cannot be determined. For the following year of 1812 the account book returns to the history of Haydn's oratorio noting a payment on 3 December to Br. Oerter of 1 pound 2 schillings and a half pence for binding the parts to Haydn's "Creation"⁶⁴. With the performing parts copied and bound, it still would be more than a decade after the 1811 performance before Haydn's oratorio would be heard in its entirety in their community.

The first documented complete performance of Haydn's "Creation" in the Moravian communities took place on 19 May 1823, three years after the founding of the Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem, with the Bethlehem Account Book showing a substantial income from tickets sales of \$ 107.18 (see Figure 11). Concert expenses incurred, entered on 26 May, show that money was spent on 500 pamphlets and 1,000 tickets. If most of these 1,000 tickets were used, and from the income account it appears that may have been so, this would have filled Central Church to capacity and would have exceeded the total population of the town of Bethlehem at that time. Certainly visitors from Nazareth came to the performance, as their village

⁶¹ The Grand Symphony No. IX is Haydn's Symphony Hob.I:91 in E flat.

⁶² No information is given to clarify the specific works; rather they are simply listed as Haydn symphonies nos. 1 and 2 (see Figure 10).

⁶³ Refer to Figure 10 on the income side with the dates followed by "Nach dem Concert" and the donation amount.

⁶⁴ Joseph Oerter was a flutist in the orchestra in Bethlehem.

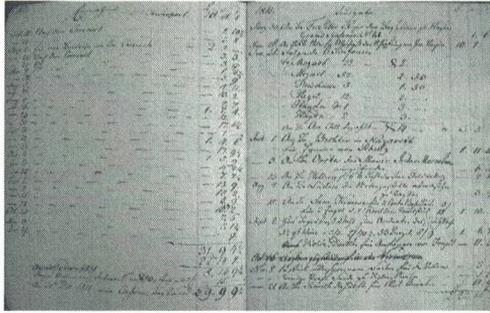


Figure 10: Bethlehem “Concert Account Book 1807 to 1819. Treasurer’s Account Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem 1820 to 1823” – Year 1811 (Bethlehem Archive), reprinted by courtesy of the Moravian Music Foundation, Bethlehem, PA, and Winston-Salem, NC.

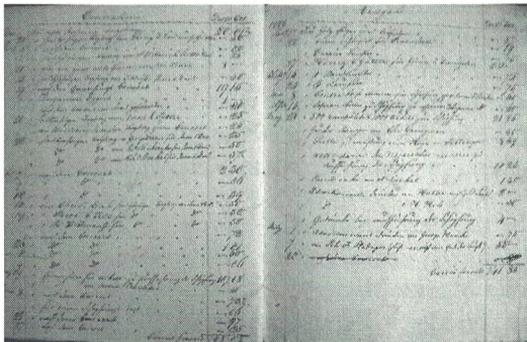


Figure 11: Bethlehem “Concert Account Book 1807 to 1819. Treasurer’s Account Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem 1820 to 1823” – Year 1823 (Bethlehem Archive), reprinted by courtesy of the Moravian Music Foundation, Bethlehem, PA, and Winston-Salem, NC.

was less than ten miles away and some of their musicians were paid for performing in “The Creation” concert. There were likely visitors from other nearby communities as well. The first complete performance in Bethlehem’s Central Church must have been a tremendous success.

PERSONNEL FOR THE 1811 BETHLEHEM PERFORMANCE OF “THE CREATION”

Several sources provide information regarding the personnel of Bethlehem’s orchestra and choir around the year 1811 when portions of Haydn’s “Creation” were performed using Peter’s copies. One is a mid-19th century

account while the others are lists of Bethlehem congregational musicians in 1812. Rufus A. Grider's "Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem" of 1873 is the only published mid-19th century source on Moravian music. Born in 1817 in Lititz, Grider became librarian of the Bethlehem Philharmonic Society charged with assigning catalogue numbers to the collection. As a musician he sang tenor in the choir and was a flutist in the orchestra. Grider's history of Bethlehem's music during its golden era is based on knowledge of the archival materials as well as interviews with older musicians who remembered the early years. Although inaccuracies exist in Grider's account, it nevertheless provides details not found elsewhere⁶⁵.

Moravians were eager to perform new music as soon as it became available and when Peter's copies were completed in 1811, there was certainly great interest in having the oratorio performed⁶⁶. While no written record of a performance of Haydn's oratorio in 1811 can be found, as is the case for most of the other music in the Moravian archives, the oral history provides evidence of a concert that year and according to Grider portions of Haydn's "Creation" were performed in 1811⁶⁷. All the musicians he interviewed had their stories, some from their fathers who had actually performed the oratorio. Jedediah Weiss, 15 years old at the time of "The Creation" performance in Bethlehem, provided first-hand knowledge of the event⁶⁸.

The orchestra for the performance of Haydn's "Creation" in 1811 at Bethlehem's Central Church according to Grider consisted of a 15-piece orchestra with David Moritz Michael leading the group as principle violinist and with Johann Friedrich Peter seated next to him. For the remainder of the strings he suggested that the two second violinists were Johann

⁶⁵ Donald M. McCorkel, "Forward to the Facsimile Edition" of Rufus A. Grider, *Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania from 1741–1871*, Philadelphia 1873. Reprinted as Moravian Music Foundation Publications, No. 4, Winston-Salem 1957.

⁶⁶ Hans T. David, C. Daniel Crews and Vernon H. Nelson, among others, support the fact of a performance of Haydn's "Creation" in 1811: Hans T. David, *Musical Life in the Pennsylvania Settlements of the Unitas Fratrum*, Reprinted from *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, 1942 by the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, NC, 1959, p. 22; Crews, *Johann Friedrich Peter*, p. 23. Nelson, *The Bethlehem Choir and Orchestra, 1812 to 1816*, pp. 36f.

⁶⁷ Grider, *Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem*, p. 6.

⁶⁸ Jedediah Weiss (1796–1873) played trumpet, trombone, violin and bassoon and was also a bass singer. The document Beth Cong 420.3 lists Weiss as playing trumpet in the orchestra in 1814 and in the Beth Cong 420.4 list of 1816 he is on the roster as playing both trumpet and bassoon. In 1822 Weiss was sent to Philadelphia with two other trombonists to perform in Haydn's "Creation" as part of the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia's concert. See Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, p. 286.

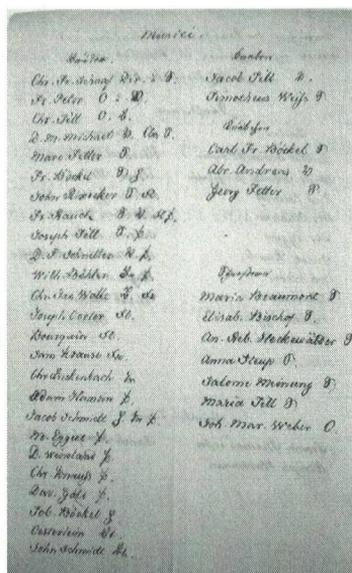


Figure 12: Register of Musicians in the Congregation in Bethlehem, 29 November 1812 (Beth Cong 420.1 backside), reprinted by courtesy of the Moravian Music Foundation, Bethlehem, PA, and Winston-Salem, NC.

Friedrich Rauch and Johann Christian Till, the violist Wilhelm Böhler, cellist David Weinland, and bassist Jacob Wolle⁶⁹. In the winds and brass Joseph Oerter and Johann Friedrich Bourquin played flute, John Ricksecker clarinet, J. Samuel Krause bassoon, Joseph Till and Daniel Kliest horn, James Hall oboe and Friedrich Böckel trumpet. While most of these musicians were part of the Bethlehem congregation at that time and probably played in “The Creation” orchestra, Grider was incorrect in including Daniel Kliest and James Hall in the performance as burial records confirm that both had died years earlier⁷⁰.

A return to the archives generates several lists of Bethlehem Congregation musicians dating from November 1812 and assists in updating Grider. Since there are no personnel lists from 1811, those of 1812 are useful

⁶⁹ Grider, *Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem*, p. 6. Some of the names of the musicians in Grider’s list were anglicized, but they are found here with German spellings, which were more commonly used in 1811.

⁷⁰ Nelson, *The Bethlehem Choir and Orchestra, 1812 to 1816*, p. 37, notes that Kliest had died in 1783 and Hall in 1792 as found in Augustus Schultze, *The Old Moravian Cemetery of Bethlehem, Pa., 1742–1897*, *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, Nazareth 1899, V, 105, 112.

in providing the names of musicians, both orchestral players and singers, who could have performed “The Creation” one year earlier. A basic list of musicians includes 25 men, two boys, three young boys and seven women along with their individual performance areas as seen in Figure 12⁷¹. Another congregational document of 1812 arranges the musicians according to their performance categories, that is, organists, violinists, flutists, etc.⁷² Table 6 shows a compilation register from several lists of musicians in Bethlehem in 1812.

Table 6: Compiled Register of Musicians of the Congregation in Bethlehem 29 November 1812⁷³

MUSICIANS			
BRETHREN		BOYS	
Christian Friedrich Schaff	director, singer	Jacob Till	violin
Friedrich Peter	organ, violin	Timotheus Weiss	singer, violin
Christian Till	organ, cello		
David Moritz Michael	violin, clarinet, singer	YOUNGER BOYS	
Marcus Fetter	singer, organ	Carl Friedrich Böckel	singer
Friedrich Böckel	singer, horn	Abraham Andreas	violin
John Riesecker	singer, flute, clarinet	Georg Fetter	singer
Johann Friedrich Rauch	singer, violin, flute, trombone		
Joseph Till	singer, trombone		
David Peter Schneller	violin, trombone, horn, trumpet, clarinet		

⁷¹ Beth Cong 420.1 backside. In this roster of musicians the performance areas are indicated with a letter following their name; for example, “S” stands for singer and “O” for organist.

⁷² Beth Cong 421.2.

⁷³ Information is gathered from the Bethlehem Congregational lists of 1812, Beth Cong 420.1 backside, Beth Cong 420.2-4 and 421.1-2. See also Nelson, *The Bethlehem Choir and Orchestra, 1812 to 1816*, pp. 32–35. Nelson provides the occupations, relationships and ages of many of the musicians.

Wilhelm Böbler	viola, trombone	SISTERS	
Christian Jacob Wolle	bass, bassoon	Maria Beaumont	singer
Joseph Oerter	flute	Elisabeth Bischof	singer
Johann Friedrich Bourquin	flute	Anna Rebecca Heckewälder	singer
Samuel Krause	bassoon	Anna Steup	singer
Christian Luckenbach	trumpet	Salome Meinung	singer
Adam Hamann	trumpet, trombone	Maria Till	singer
Jacob Schmidt	horn, trumpet, trombone	Johanna Maria Weber	organist
Matthaeus Eggert	trombone		
David Weinland	cello, trombone		
Christian Knauss	trombone		
David Gols	trombone		
Tobias Böckel	horn		
Oesterlein	bellows operator, trombone		
John Schmidt	assistant bellows operator		

Variations between Grider's list of musicians and that of the register begin with the second violinist Johann Christian Till who, although listed only as organist and cellist in the register, also played violin and therefore could have played the second violin part in the 1811 concert⁷⁴. According to Grider, Joseph Till, brother of Johann Christian Till, played horn while the register lists him as a trombonist. As many of the Moravian musicians played several instruments, it is certainly possible that Joseph Till played horn as well as trombone. A critical mistake on the part of Grider was including Daniel Kliest, hornist, and James Hall, oboist, when both had been deceased for many years. Instead of Kliest other horn options from the 1812 register include Friedrich Böckel (referred to as the trumpeter by

⁷⁴ Johann Christian Till's son Jacob, twelve years old in 1811, was listed as one of the boys playing violin on the 1812 Register of Musicians, although it is unlikely that the son performed in "The Creation" performance in 1811. Jacob Till joined his father in building pianos sometime after 1810. Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, p. 284.

Grider), Jacob Schmidt and Tobias Böckel, any of whom could have played horn in the 1811 performance. As no one is listed for the oboe position in the register and James Hall was deceased, that position is left in question. While Grider states that Frederick Böckel played trumpet, on the register he is listed as a hornist. Trumpet players in 1812 were Christian Luckenbach, Adam Hamann, and Jacob Schmidt.

Considering the Bethlehem Congregation lists of 1812, Grider's personnel list of 1811 orchestra musicians from the congregation register could be as follows:

Table 7: Grider's 1811 Orchestra Personnel List for "The Creation" Reconsidered

1 st violins	David Moritz Michael, Leader
	Johann Friedrich Peter
2 nd violins	Johann Friedrich Rauch
	Johann Christian Till
Viola	Wilhelm Böhler
Cello	David Weinland
Contra Bass	Jacob Wolle
Flutes	Joseph Oerter
	J. F. Bourquin
Clarinet	John Ricksecker
Bassoon	J. Samuel Krause
Horns	Joseph Till
	Jacob Schmidt, Tobias Böckel or David Schneller
Oboe	No oboists identified
Trumpet	Friedrich Böckel or possibly Christian Luckenbach
	Adam Hamann or Jacob Schmidt

The choir would have consisted of adult men and women and boys. Boy singers had been essential earlier in the choir when women were not allowed in the choir loft. However, Central Church in Bethlehem, the first Moravian church to allow men and women to sit together, made it possible to have a mixed chorus of men and women's voices in 1811. Six female singers and an organist listed on the roster would have sung in the choir as well as the men Christian Friedrich Schaff and Marcus Fetter. Because

of the numerous musicians in the town, more community performers were regularly involved in the church music programs as well. Ministers, teachers and others would often join in the community music making⁷⁵.

DOCUMENTED PERFORMANCES OF THE “CREATION” IN THE MORAVIAN COMMUNITIES

“The Creation” stands out in the 19th century as especially popular among the Moravians. After 1811 many partial or complete performances took place in the communities, while for worship, the congregations also performed choruses from Haydn’s oratorio with alternative German texts. Table 8 provides a timeline of the documented performances in the Moravian communities of “The Creation” and also of Haydn’s second oratorio “The Seasons”.

Table 8: Timeline of Documented Partial or Complete Performances of “The Creation” and “The Seasons” in the Moravian Communities, 1811–1839⁷⁶

1811	Bethlehem, Central Church	partial performance of “The Creation” from Peter’s copies taken from the Breitkopf & Härtel 1803 edition. Directed by David Moritz Michael, principal violin
1821, Wednesday, 14 February	Nazareth	“The Creation”, Part I, no. 12 “Awake the Harp”
1823, Monday, 19 May	Bethlehem	“The Creation”, complete performance in Central Church with 70 performers
1825, Sunday, 2 October	Nazareth	“The Creation”, 3 Choruses: Nos. 11 “Awake the Harp”, and 14 “The Heavens are Telling” in Part I, and No. 6 “The Lord is Great” in Part II
1828, Saturday, 24 May	Bethlehem	(date written on title page of Peter’s violin II copy of “The Creation” [PSB 17])

⁷⁵ Nelson, *The Bethlehem Choir and Orchestra, 1812 to 1816*, pp. 34f.

⁷⁶ Information is gathered from the Nazareth Register of Music Performed in Concert; Grider, *Historical Notes*, pp. 28f.; PSB 17; McCorkel, *Moravian Music in Salem*, pp. 182–185 and the *Diarium der Gemeine in Litiz*, LCM [Add L Voc 1A].

1829, Saturday, 4 July	Salem, Home Church	“The Creation” with 30 to 40 musicians, Raphael sung by Friedrich Christian Meinung, announced and reviewed in the Salem “Weekly Gleener”
1831, Sunday, 18 December	Nazareth	“The Creation”, No. 14 in Part I and Nos. 10 and 11 “Awake the Harp”, in Part II
1834	Bethlehem Annual Festival	“Spring and Summer” from “The Seasons”
1835, Friday, 3 April	Nazareth	Bass solo from “The Seasons”
1835	Bethlehem Annual Festival	“Autumn and Winter” from “The Seasons”
1835, Saturday, 17 October	Salem, Home Church	“The Creation”, from copies of Peter’s 1811 copies. Director, Dr. Schumann; Soloists: Friedrich Christian Meinung (Raphael and Adam), Henry Schultz (Uriel), Antoinette Bagge and Anna Keehler Crist (Gabriel), Lisette Meinung (Eva)
1836	Nazareth	Solo (“The Creation”: Completion)
1837, Sunday, 29 October	Lititz, 6:30 p.m., Concert Hall	“The Creation”, Part II sung before a large audience; Directed by Charles F. Kluge, piano
1839, Monday, May 20	Bethlehem Annual Festival, Central Church elaborately decorated, 2:00 p.m.	complete performance of “The Creation”, Charles F. Beckel conducting 125 performers

⁷⁷ Diarium der Gemeine in Lititz. Sunday 29 Oct 1837. “Abends um ½ 7 wurde ein Lobgesang gesungen. Bald darauf wurde von unsern Musikern auf dem Concert Saal, vor einer grossen Gesellschaft, der zweite Theil von Haydn’s berühmten Oratorio, Die Schöpfung, aufgeführt.”

In the 28 years from 1811 through 1839 eleven performances of “The Creation” in the Moravian communities were documented. After 1821 Haydn’s popular oratorio was generally heard in concert either in its entirety or in part every two or three years. Bethlehem led the way with the 1811 performance of selections from the oratorio and later offered the first complete hearing in the Moravian communities in 1823 with a strong number of 70 performers, only to be surpassed in 1839 by the largest production, including 125 performers. In the smaller community of Nazareth only portions of the oratorio were heard, yet on a regular basis, while Lititz, the last community to begin performing selections from the oratorio, nevertheless had a large, enthusiastic audience at its concert in 1837. Rev. Charles F. Kluge directed the Lititz performance from the piano with community soloists Lucia Benade and William Hall singing the parts of Eve and Adam. The known orchestra players were John William Rauch (violin I), Jacob B. Tshudy (violin II), Jacob Miller (viola), Christian H. Rauch (bass and cello), Florian Loudy and John Ricksecker (horn), Rufus A. Grider (flute), John Levering (clarinet), and Jacob Grider (bassoon). Additional orchestra members and choral singers are unknown, although the boys Oliver Tombler and Samuel Beck were identified as members of the chorus⁷⁸.

Although Salem most likely performed portions of “The Creation” as early as 1808, as copied parts in the Salem collection are dated that year, only two later concerts in 1829 and 1835 are documented. These concerts were advertised in local newsletters and both were enthusiastically received. Salem’s “Weekly Gleener” wrote concerning the preparations for the 1829 concert almost three months ahead of the scheduled date noting that some 30 to 40 musicians were already rehearsing for “that divine Oratorio, ‘The Creation’, by Hayden”⁷⁹. At the concert given on 4 July in Salem’s Home Church Ludwig Benzien, director of the collegium musicum at the time probably conducted the performance with Friedrich Christian Meinung singing the part of Raphael. For the 1835 performance of “The Creation”, the concert was again advertized in the local newsletter⁸⁰. The performance, sung in German with English texts provided, was directed by Dr. Schumann. After the performance on 17 October the local newspaper reported that the concert by the musical amateurs of the village had been “much to the edification of a respectable audience – principally ladies!”⁸¹.

⁷⁸ Diarium der Gemeine in Litiz. LCM [Add L Voc 1A].

⁷⁹ Weekly Gleener, Salem, North Carolina, 14 April 1829, quoted in McCorkel, *Moravian Music in Salem*, p. 182.

⁸⁰ The Farmer’s Reporter and Rural Repository, which replaced the Weekly Gleener, wrote on 5 October about the upcoming concert of 17 October.

⁸¹ Cit. in McCorkel, *Moravian Music in Salem*, pp. 183ff.

By the mid-1800s Haydn's second popular oratorio "The Seasons" was heard in concert in the Moravian communities with Bethlehem featuring the first two parts, "Spring and Summer", at the Bethlehem Annual Festival in 1834 and completing the oratorio with the last two sections, "Autumn and Winter" at the 1835 Annual Festival. Joining the enthusiasm for "The Seasons", Nazareth in April of 1835 had a concert that included a bass solo from this major Haydn work.

Haydn's heritage, imported by the Moravians from Europe via their copied manuscripts in the second of the 18th century to their new communities in America, remained a prominent part of Moravian culture well into the 19th century. The reception of Haydn's music in their villages, as documented through archival records, was considerable. As music thrived in their communities for 60 years from 1770 through the late 1830s, the popularity of the music of Joseph Haydn never wavered. Haydn's chamber and symphonic works were prominently performed in the 18th century through the efforts of the leading Moravian musicians of the day – Johann Friedrich Peter, Immanuel Nitschmann, Johannes Herbst, and David Moritz Michael. Interest in Haydn's late symphonies intensified as his music became available in print and Moravian musicians quickly copied parts for performance by the accomplished amateur musicians of the community. Haydn's choral music, highly regarded with frequent performances of his *Stabat mater* at the end of the 18th century, became all the rage in the 19th century exhibited by an abundance of performances of his other choral works, with the highest praise reserved for "The Creation".