

**PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH TUNE AND CHORALE BOOKS IN THE EARLY
REPUBLIC: MUSIC AS A MEDIUM OF CULTURAL ASSIMILATION**

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The Pennsylvania Dutch *Kirchenleute* (Lutheran and Reformed “Church People”), who spoke a dialect of German (“Pennsylvania Dutch”), were the largest ethnic group in early America outside of the English-speaking population. Like all ethnic minorities, they went through a process of change in relationship to the dominant English-speaking society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This sequential process (i.e., full ethnic retention, adaptation, acculturation, and amalgamation) is reflected in the Pennsylvania Dutch tune and chorale books that supported various stages of this evolution, depending on location and editor. Details of each music publication between the 1790s and 1850 contributed to this change linguistically, theologically, and musicologically through their content and appearance. Books that supported and promoted full ethnic retention retained the German language entirely, had a simple preface outlining the purpose of the book, employed a pure European repertoire, utilized unrealized figured bass or a harmonization on three staves, were printed from engraved or punched plates, and sought to retain German theology from the Reformation era. Some later examples of retention were not produced for ethnic reasons, but for theological reasons that resulted in the retention of traits of European chorale books. Tune books participating in ethnic change moved away from the use of the German language and European repertoire. They employed singing-school introductions and were resultant of the type-set printing process.

Assimilating publications embraced revivalist theology and a type of consumerism that made the books and their users look more like their English-language equivalents than their European predecessors. All the while, Pennsylvania Dutch culture and all of its peculiarities were disappearing. This dissertation is a study of Dutch retention and assimilation, analyzing the tune and chorale books in the context of other folklife including visual art, food, manuscripts, and other publications.

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PREFACE

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Defining Terminology

I will use several key terms throughout this dissertation, some of which are close in meaning or even interchangeable in musicological, theological, and folklife literature. For this reason, it is important to define them in these prefatory remarks.

“Chorale book” is any book that contains German chorales solely. “Chorales” are German hymns (originally sung by Lutheran and Reformed Germans in unison and later in four-part harmony). “Hymn” is a generic term for any piece of music intended for congregational singing during worship as a form of praise and thanksgiving to God. Most hymns during the period of this study were in the English language and of British or American origin following the models provided by Isaac Watts and John Wesley, but the generic term can denote any kind of hymnody (including chorales). Unless stated otherwise, the term “hymn,” in this dissertation refers to hymnody of British or Anglo-American origin in this dissertation.

A “tune book” is a printed score that may contain a variety of different genres outside of the German chorale repertory. Sometimes tune books contain fuguing tunes and anthems (as in Anglo-American singing-school tune books). Other times they will contain mostly English-language hymnody with a few traditional German chorales in translation.

The most important term in this study is “Pennsylvania Dutch.” In twenty-first-century parlance laypeople use this wording to refer only to the Amish people of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. However, this is a gross misuse of the term that stems from a misunderstanding of ethnic culture in America.

Different scholars use various words to label the Germanic people of Pennsylvania. Some scholars argue that calling them “Pennsylvania Dutch” or just “Dutch” creates confusion with the Netherlands Dutch, and further that “Dutch” is an American corruption of the German word *Deutsch*. Other scholars like Don Yoder, however, justify using this nomenclature because it is well “established in historiography as well as popular usage. It merits our use as much as the partially misunderstood and equally well-established term ‘Scotch-Irish.’”¹ From this point of view, using the term “Dutch” is justified because “Pennsylvania-German,” a commonly used label, “leaves the impression, a radically wrong one, of hyphenated Americans, of ‘Germans’ in Pennsylvania, which is exactly what we are not . . . the [Pennsylvania Dutch] culture developed on American soil out of the interchange with English neighbors . . . ‘Pennsylvania Dutch’ is as American as Pennsylvania itself.”² The best rationale for using “Pennsylvania Dutch” is in observance of one of the most important cultural elements of the Germanic communities of Pennsylvania: their language. *Pennsylvawnische Deutsch* or “Pennsylvania Dutch” is a peculiar form of Low German, a dialect, resembling the dialects of the Palatinate region from whence many of these immigrants came. This dialect is what was spoken (and still is spoken in some places) in Dutch communities, especially in rural regions. Following the lead and authority of Yoder, this dissertation will use “Pennsylvania Dutch,” “Dutch,” or *Deutsch* to discuss this group

¹ Don Yoder, “Two Worlds in the Dutch Country,” *Pennsylvania Folklife* 46, no. 3, Spring 1997: 108.

² Yoder, “Two Worlds,” 108.

of ethnic Americans, and will use this terminology most often for the Lutheran and Reformed Dutch speakers of the time period this dissertation investigates.

Scope of Study

While ethnic assimilation did not happen in all communities in the “Early Republic period” of the 1790s through the 1840s, most communities did abandon their cultural peculiarities during this epoch. Most of the chorale and tune books I analyze are from the Early Republic Period, however on occasion it is necessary to look at tune books that come later. Of particular interest are the books of the amalgamation stage of assimilation, most of which come after the middle of the nineteenth century, and it is important to bring them into this study to see the full swing of cultural change that took place in Dutch communities. Another instance of books falling outside of this time frame is the retentive group of chorale books that supported ethnic retention as a result of the thrust in these books to retain confessional theology. The latter part of the nineteenth century and first couple decades of the twentieth century also yielded German-language tune books in Pennsylvania that are clearly worthy of close study. Unfortunately they fall outside of the scope of this document.

Another aspect of the scope of this dissertation is the limit on which groups are being studied. This study is limited to the “*Kirchenleute*” or church people because the music of their tradition is in the most need of exposure and analysis. Scholars and lay people have spent a great deal of time examining the hymnody and worship of “*Sektenleute*” and Moravian communities (see chapter one for a review of the research) even though they have always been smaller groups and less influential on American culture than the “*Kirchenleute*.”

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Since the first German immigrants arrived at the North American shores, they and their descendants have struggled with conflicting cultural identities. German tune and chorale books printed in Pennsylvania document such conflict and the sweep of Americanization within the largest ethnic group in the early American Republic of late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Pennsylvania Dutch struggled to maintain their own distinct ethnic identity in everything that they did, and they considered themselves to be a permanent thread in the American fabric.³ Their cultural ways differed from those of their English neighbors with whom they battled to retain their unique Dutch folkways. Steven Nolt writes:

The Pennsylvania German Lutheran and Reformed experience of ethnicization and Americanization in the Early Republic foreshadowed many of the themes, debates, and concerns that would surface repeatedly among subsequent generations of other immigrants who sought to negotiate an American identity in cultural terms they could understand and embrace.⁴

From the last quarter of the eighteenth century until the middle part of the nineteenth century, the Pennsylvania Dutch Lutherans and Reformed (*Kirchenleute*), those who possessed the most colorful lore and crafts of Germanic Pennsylvanians, participated in a process of

³ These two preoccupations of retaining one's ethnic folkways and owning an American identity were two "integrally related processes," according to Steven M. Nolt, *Foreigners in Their Own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 3.

⁴ Nolt, *Foreigners in Their Own Land*, 8. See also: Richard E. Wentz, *Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), 21.

cultural compromise. This ethnic assimilation eventually forced them to give up the language, food ways, architecture, theological/liturgical peculiarities, and music that made them different from other Americans of the time. Their experience contrasts with that of some Anabaptist or Sectarian Dutch people (*Sektenleute*), who never conceded to assimilating forces (and still have not to the present day).

Stephanie Grauman Wolf, in her ethno-historical study of the Pennsylvania Dutch, applies three steps in the process of cultural assimilation that she receives from anthropological theory. She writes that when a smaller (less dominant) culture cannot resist the lures and weight of the dominant culture that presses in on it, “adaptation” takes place, modifying the community’s “own patterns into new forms related to—but not identical with—those of its neighbors.” What follows in this assimilative process is what Wolf calls “acculturation,” which “incorporates significant new values and patterns of behavior into the system,” thus changing the landscape of the ethnic group’s behavior so that it begins to mirror that of the dominant culture. An ethnic group at this stage of change is not far from the next step, “amalgamation,” when a “group disappears into a surrounding, more dominant culture.”⁵ But, before ethnic assimilation takes place, there is always a resistance to change from within the ethnic group. Those promoting this “ethnic retention,” as I will call it in this dissertation, seek to cement in place the folkways of their ethnic culture so that their ethnicity cannot be displaced by any hegemonic force.

Music has been a site for assimilative change among many ethnic groups. Among the Pennsylvania Dutch, tune and chorale books serve as windows into this assimilation process that was at work in the Dutch *Kirchenleute* communities of Pennsylvania during the late eighteenth

⁵ Stephanie Grauman Wolf, “Hyphenated America: The Creation of an Eighteenth-Century German-American Culture,” *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three Hundred-Year History*, eds. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 67.

and early nineteenth centuries. When viewed as a continuum of music printing and practice, these printed materials show an evolution that took place circa 1787 to 1835 within American Lutheran and Reformed Churches and schools at differing speeds.⁶ By viewing these books and classifying them according to the unique characteristics of the different stages of assimilation, this dissertation provides a means by which to identify each church or community that was using a given book. Pennsylvania Dutch tune and chorale books help us identify where these people fit in the assimilation continuum, from retention to amalgamation. The following table (table 1) shows the chorale and tune books, which document these changes. For this study, I examined one or more copies of each of them, held in libraries and archives in Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Table 1 lists each book by its date and city of publication, title, the intended religious consumer group (Lutheran, Reformed, or Union Church), and the stage of assimilation in the book participated.

Despite a sizable body of literature on the history of sacred music in American life, scholars have almost entirely ignored the German tune and chorale books. Carl Schalk, for example, one of the most prolific musicologists in this scholarly area, deals in his masterwork, *God's Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America* (1995), only with official hymn books (mostly text-only volumes) and the first official chorale book printed in America (1813), but omits any discussion of tune books, because most of them were privately printed without the approval of the local Lutheran Synod. Further, he neglects a deeper ethnographic study of the hymn books that he does study. Likewise, Schalk does not print any of the introductions to Dutch tune books in his *Source Documents in American Lutheran Hymnody* (1996).

⁶ Assimilation took place among other immigrant groups of both religious denominations (e.g., Swedish Lutherans and Netherlands Dutch Reformed), and other religious bodies in America (e.g., Roman Catholicism) as well. The Dutch “*Kirchenleute*” passed down more evidence than all of the other groups concerning their journey to full assimilation.

Table 1. Extant tune and chorale books of the Pennsylvania “Kirchenleute”

Date	City of Publication	Title	Religious Affiliation	Stage of Assimilation
1786	Philadelphia	<i>Die Erste Früchte der Singschule der evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinde in Philadelphia</i>	Lutheran	Retention
1798	Lancaster	<i>Sammlung Geistlicher Lieder nebst Melodien</i>	Reformed	Retention
1810	Harrisburg	<i>Der Leichte Unterricht, von der vocal Musik</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)	Adaptation
1813	Philadelphia	<i>Choralbuch für die Erbauliche Lieder-sammlung</i>	Lutheran	Retention
1814	Harrisburg	<i>Leichte Unterricht, von der vocal Musik</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)	Adaptation
1815	Harrisburg	<i>Leichter Unterricht in der vocal Musik (Second Volume)</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)	Adaptation
1818	Harrisburg	<i>Choral-Harmonie. Enthaltend Kirchen-Melodien, die bey allen Religions-Verfassungen gebrauchlich, auf vier Stimmen gesetzt</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)	Adaptation
1821	Harrisburg	<i>Die Franklin Harmonie</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)	Acculturation
1821	Harrisburg	<i>Leichter Unterricht in der vocal Musik (Third and “Imroved” Edition)</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)	Adaptation
1822	Harrisburg	<i>Choral-Harmonie. Enthaltend Kirchen-Melodien, die bey allen Religions-Verfassungen gebrauchlich, auf vier Stimmen gesetzt</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)	Adaptation
1824	Philadelphia	<i>Sammlung religiöser deutscher Gesaenge</i>	Lutheran	Retention
1827	Gettysburg	<i>Die Neue Harmonie: oder eine neue Sammlung von Kirchen=Musik</i>	Lutheran	Acculturation
N.A. (ca.1820s)	York	<i>“Manuscript Tune Book” by Michael Bentz</i>	Lutheran	Acculturation

Table 1. (Continued)

1833	Philadelphia	<i>Deutsche Harmonie oder Mehrstimmige Gesänge für Deutsche Singeschulen und Kirchen. Eine Anzahl der beliebtesten Choral- oder Kirchenmelodien; drei und vierstimmige Gesänge für Anfänger und geübtere Sänger nebst einer kurzen Anleitung zum Gesangunterricht.</i>	Lutheran
1841	Philadelphia	<i>Deutsche Harmonie oder Mehrstimmige Gesänge für Deutsche Singeschulen und Kirchen. Eine Anzahl der beliebtesten Choral- oder Kirchenmelodien; drei und vierstimmige Gesänge für Anfänger und geübtere Sänger nebst einer kurzen Anleitung zum Gesangunterricht.</i>	Lutheran
1854	N.A.	“Manuscript Singing School Book”	N.A.
1856	Lancaster City	<i>The Key-Stone Collection of Church Music: A Complete Collection of Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Psalms, Chants, &c. To which is added the Physiological System, for Training Choirs and Teaching Singing Schools; and the Cantata, The Morning of Freedom.</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)
1860	Baltimore	<i>Carmina Ecclesiae: A Collection of Sacred Music, Consisting of New, Original, and Selected Hymn Tunes, Anthems and Chants, Suitable for every Occasion of Public Worship, Missionary and Temperance Anniversaries, Revival Seasons, etc.</i>	Lutheran
1861/1868	Philadelphia	<i>Choral-Buch für die Orgel mit Zwischenspielen versehen, und für den vierstimmigen Gesang eingerichtet.</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)

While he claims that the introductions of the hymnals he does include “shed a good deal of light . . . and frequently provide rich insight into the contemporary movements and motivations that prompted each subsequent book,” he does not investigate how music books facilitated ethnic retention and assimilation.⁷ Schalk’s omission of the unofficial tune and chorale books is a fault of all scholarship on Dutch hymnody.

Not only have musicologists overlooked the importance of Pennsylvania Dutch tune and chorale books, so have most American folklife specialists, hymnologists, ethnologists, and theologians.⁸ They have in most cases ignored these books and related documents altogether. The literature on Pennsylvania Dutch music contains much more ethnographic and musicological research on the *Sektenleute*, especially the Amish and Mennonites. Suzanne Gross and Wesley Berg’s recent study, “Singing it ‘Our Way:’ Pennsylvania-German Mennonite *Notenbüchlein* (1780-1835),” is a case in point. While it presents an ethnographic study of Pennsylvania Dutch “Manuscript Tune Books” created from 1780 to 1828, it focuses only on the Franconia Mennonites, a sectarian group, which Gross and Berg make known to musicologists.⁹ Another example is Denise Seachrist’s Kent State University dissertation, *Snow Hill and the German Seventh-Day Baptists* (1994), an ethnomusicological treatment of a lesser known sectarian Dutch group. There has been even more attention given to Moravians and their music (in large part

⁷ Carl F. Schalk, *Source Documents in American Lutheran Hymnody* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1996), 9.

⁸ One of the few exceptions is Philip Bohlman’s article, “Die Pennsylvanische Sammlung von Kirchen-Musik’: Ein Lehrbuch zur Deutsch-Amerikanisierung,” *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 38 (1993): 90-109, which examines one of the tune books involved in ethnic assimilation. Also, Edward C. Wolf discusses a few tune and chorale books, but not their role in the formation of cultural identity; see “America’s First Lutheran Chorale Book,” *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 46, 1 (Spring 1973): 5-17; “Lutheran Hymnody and Music Publishing in America 1700-1850: A Descriptive Bibliography,” *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 50, (1977): 165-175; “Johann Gottfried Schmauk: German-American Music Educator,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* 25, 2 (Summer 1977): 139-149; “Music in Old Zion, Philadelphia, 1750-1850,” *The Musical Quarterly* 58, 4 (Oct. 1972): 622-652; and “Two Divergent Traditions of German-American Hymnody in Maryland circa 1800,” *American Music* 3, 3 (Autumn 1985): 299-312.

⁹ Suzanne Gross, and Wesley Berg, “Singing it ‘Our Way:’ Pennsylvania-German Mennonite *Notenbüchlein* (1780-1835),” *American Music* 19, 2 (Summer 2001): 204.

because of efforts of the Moravian Music Foundation at Winston-Salem). Moravians are also a category of their own as they have kept their unique identity (except in matters of language) and composed new art music in America in the latest European styles for hundreds of years.¹⁰

This dissertation seeks to fill a lacuna in musicological research through the critical consideration of Dutch Lutheran and Reformed tune and chorale books along with other evidence (e.g., synodical minutes, church registers, clerical letters, broadsides, and other folklife artifacts) that establish these musical scores not only as indicators of but also as highly influential participants in the cultural change within the largest ethnic group in the early American Republic. These tune books reveal a broad trajectory of change through music within the Pennsylvania Dutch world. Indeed, their music embodied their social structure and way of life.

Chapter 2, "Identity and Conflict in Pennsylvania Dutch Culture: A Folklife Approach," presents a contextual overview of Pennsylvania Dutch culture in contrast to Pennsylvania English culture. It describes the differences between *Kirchenleute* and *Sektenleute* subcultures with their conflicting theologies of what it means to live in the world, and the roles of particular areas of *Kirchenleute* folklife—language, decorative furniture, foodways, holidays, and folk music instruments and songs as part of their wholistic social identity, to show what distinguished

¹⁰ The Moravian Brethren, who settled in Bethlehem, Lititz, and Nazareth, Pennsylvania, created "oases for the eighteenth century intelligentsia, both domestic and foreign." Unlike the *Kirchenleute* and *Sektenleute* groups, who made mostly sacred music rooted in the Reformation era's chorale tradition, the Moravians formed ensembles that performed sacred and secular music. Some of this music was taken from the masterworks of European composers. A *Collegium Musicum* in the Moravian communities played the full gamut "from violin duos to 'grand' symphonies, and from anthems to oratorios. . . . The tastes of these musical amateurs (all of whom were artisans or ministers by profession) reflected the contemporary tastes of Europe, and to some extent of Philadelphia, Charleston, Boston, and New York. The preferred composers were evidently Abel, Haydn, Mozart, and Pleyel." Donald M. McCorkle, *The Collegium Musicum Salem: Its Music, Musicians and Importance* (Winston-Salem: The Moravian Music Foundation, 1956), 483-485. Trombone choirs were also a strong tradition in Moravian schools and churches, playing for many liturgies throughout the year, especially their early morning Easter service. This rich tradition of art music is not equaled anywhere else in Dutch communities of the Early Republic.

Kirchenleute from English-speaking people in America during the early Republic period. The overview of the “folk” and “official” dimensions of Dutch religion and a brief discussion of Unionism in Pennsylvania churches (or the yoking together of Lutheran and Reformed congregations into one church building) lay a foundation for the more specialized chapters that follow.

Chapter 3, “Ethnic Retention,” moves into the study of conflict associated with the *Kirchenleute* Dutch by starting from a theological view of the *Kirchenleute*, those Lutherans and Reformed Calvinists who worshiped together in union churches but did not always agree on essential matters of doctrine (especially concerning the sacraments). A close look at another inner conflict in Dutch culture—between the *Germanizers*, those wishing to retain or promote Germanic culture, and Americanizers, those wishing to assimilate into the larger Anglo-American culture—moves the chapter into the ethnographic realm. I continue by discussing the struggle of the *Kirchenleute* to retain autonomy while Anglo-Americans pressured them to use the English language and folkways in churches and schools (not to mention in government affairs).¹¹ The theological arguments between the *Kirchenleute*, who were sacramental and liturgical, and the Anglo-American Revivalists, those believing in adult conversion experiences and free-form worship, became internalized in the Dutch community as the Dutch started to adopt English ways and religious practices.

Some Germanizers did everything they could to keep out English practices, in hopes of ensuring that their children would know the ways of their fathers and mothers. Of particular interest is Rev. Heinrich Helmuth, who served St. Michael’s and Zion joint congregation in

¹¹ “Germanizers” and “Americanizers” are terms adopted from Don Yoder’s book, “The Pennsylvania Germans: Three Centuries of Identity Crisis,” *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 41-65.

Philadelphia. Helmuth and others throughout the *Kirchenleute* communities established singing schools, which promoted the Germanic cultural heritage and provided places for socializing and courting. The hand-colored sketches by folk artist Lewis Miller give us details of performance practice and participants in the York singing school and offer a greater knowledge of singing schools in general within the Dutch context. This section also draws on broadsides from the Philadelphia singing school and a “music manuscript” in the back of a folk artist’s picture bible (“Denig’s Picture-Bible”).

Chapter 4, “Retentive Tune and Chorale Books,” goes deeper into ethnic retention by analyzing musical form, style and other elements. It describes the main characteristics of retentive tune and chorale books and analyzes in more detail, particularly *Die Ersten Früchte* (1778), Conrad Doll’s *Sammlung geistlicher Lieder nebst Melodien* (1798), and Heinrich Helmuth’s *Choral-Buch für die Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung* (1813). These books were part of a general trend to Europeanize tune books in America at this time. The chapter provides analysis of each book’s content and printing techniques, providing a form of analytical bibliography that will be helpful to scholars of many different fields. The work reveals the contrasts between different venues’ retention of ethnic music: in Philadelphia, pastors educated in Germany wished to preserve a high-German culture among the Dutch, whereas in Lancaster and Berks Counties the context had little to do with a “high culture” and more to do with the everyday life of the rural Dutch. Evident in these books, in contrast to tune books abetting assimilation, is the pure Germanic repertory, retaining genre and form, the unrealized figured bass (or its equivalent), and the overall appearance of a score that lent itself better to performance in the hands of professionally trained musicians and pastors.

The final part of the chapter is devoted to retention as confession, showing how the tune books of Johann Gottfried Schmauk, John Endlich and G. F. Landenberger were actually a result of theological emphases, not ethnic ones.

Chapter 5, “Adaptation and Acculturation,” examines the growing complexity of music in tune books, “Rudiments of Music” introductions that were patterned after Anglo-American models, melodic lines less conjunct containing leaps as large as a sixth, and shape notation that the adapting Dutch started to borrow from Anglo-American singing-school books. Such characteristics gave this printed music a different look and purpose than earlier publications used by the *Kirchenleute*. As adaptation gave way to acculturation the introduction of new musical genres to Dutch tune books (e.g., futing tunes, anthems, and canons), the smothering of the traditional German chorale repertory, and the employment of four-part harmony (employing four clefs) supplanted the two staves of European chorale books. Consumerism played a role as compiler-publishers attempted to boost revenues by making their books appeal visually to consumers who were attracted to an English design.

Chapter 6, “Amalgamation,” the final full chapter, builds on Jeffrey Pannebaker’s University of Pittsburgh dissertation on early Lutheran music in America, looking briefly at the Dutch tune books that compromised to the point of erasing ethnic identity. These books were identical to English tune books in notation, repertory, and layout. S.S. Schmucker of Gettysburg and his General Synod, which promoted an “American Lutheranism” in language and revivalist theology, is the starting point for this chapter. *Carmina Ecclesiae* and its copious editions by William Diller Roedel are viewed as the primary examples of amalgamation in tune books. This chapter examines English-language tune books for Lutherans in New York and the South as predecessors to the Pennsylvania process of assimilation.

2.0 IDENTITY AND CONFLICT IN PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH CULTURE: A FOLKLIFE STUDY

During the period of this study, all ethnic minorities in America during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were engaged to various degrees with assimilative pressures from the hegemonic English-speaking society. Native Americans and African Americans “were seen as a threat [by the Anglo majority] until they were brought within the acceptable definitions of ‘Americanness’ or became excluded from it entirely.”¹² In a 1985 article, Don Yoder called the first three hundred years of the Pennsylvania Dutch existence “three centuries of identity crisis.”¹³ While his statement seems like a generalization, its truth becomes evident in a brief overview of Dutch folk culture. The Dutch had to deal with struggle outside and inside of their communities throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. On the one hand, they encountered the Anglo-American host society and tried to maintain their own ethnic way of life. On the other hand, the Dutch battled within their ranks over how to live with each other faithfully despite diverse theological beliefs. Thus, Pennsylvania Dutch people had a dual identity (and dual identity crisis) to come to terms with throughout their independent existence: social identity and theological identity.

¹² Neil Campbell, and Alasdair Kean, *American cultural studies*” (New York: Routledge, 2006), 47.

¹³ Don Yoder, “The Pennsylvania Germans: Three Centuries of Identity Crisis,” *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, vol. I, eds. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 41.

This chapter examines how these identity conflicts played out in Dutch folkways and religion, beginning with the reasons for immigration, the experiences in the early years, and the theological divisions. Their social lives made them unique from and vulnerable to the Anglo-American culture around them. Unionism, the partnership between Lutheran and German Reformed congregations in *Kirchenleute* communities, gradually wore down because of the realization that there were irreconcilable theological differences between Lutheran and Reformed people, causing a rift between the two factions that shared church buildings.

2.1 BACKGROUND

The Pennsylvania Dutch people were the largest ethnic group outside of the English-speaking population in the early Republic. They originated in various areas of Germany and Switzerland, most of them from the Palatinate region, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁴ They came to Pennsylvania from Europe because William Penn's colony—unique among the original thirteen colonies—emphasized religious freedom and advertised heavily in Europe through German-language brochures. It gave diverse groups a place where they could practice their own unique religion, language, and folkways without state persecution. German immigrants formed a large part of the earliest population of the colony and by 1790 they comprised over 140,000 Pennsylvania inhabitants. While Lancaster city became the cultural and economic center of Pennsylvania Dutch in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,

¹⁴ Joseph Henry Dubbs, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania* (Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society, 1902), 26-38. According to Don Yoder, the immigration history and place of origin are major problems when studying the Pennsylvania Dutch. See Yoder, "The Pennsylvania Germans: Three Centuries of Identity Crisis," *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three Hundred-Year History*, eds. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 42.

Germantown, a colonial economic center located five miles north of Philadelphia, was the earliest and most prominent of the heavily German settlements of Pennsylvania. Here (unlike in Lancaster) there was a lack of interest in having the church be the center of communal life; English churches (Quakers in particular) were the minority.¹⁵ But, this town was atypical for Dutch communities since it “failed to achieve total independence as a mature city, primarily because it lacked an administrative function around which it might have organized the surrounding territory. Even its own people were forced to look toward the metropolis for the legal necessities of business and personal life.”¹⁶ A hallmark of the Pennsylvania colony was that it encouraged individual settlements. So, as the Dutch spread out and became more entrenched in the landscape of Pennsylvania, they clung to their inner divisions, which were religious in nature.

2.2 THEOLOGICAL IDENTITY

All interaction within the Dutch community revolved around religious subgroups: the Kirchenleute, the Sektenleute, and the Brüdergemeinden. The Sektenleute (Sectarian People), sometimes called “Plain People” or “Plain Dutch” (including the Amish, Mennonites, Ephrata Cloister, and others) were descendants of the Swiss and German Anabaptist reformers of the

¹⁵ Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 216 and 208. Lutherans and Reformed people in Germantown “identified themselves with the most congenial of the English churches— Anglican for the Lutherans, Presbyterian for the Reformed— and thus hastened their own assimilation.” (Wolf, *Urban Village*, 211) Churchgoing habits of Germantown residents from 1770-1800, the era of decline for this community, shows that there were 118 surnames of Lutheran attendees, 64 Reformed, 29 Quaker, 18 other, and 177 non-attending families, for a total of 406 surnames in archival sources (Wolf, *Urban Village*, 215).

¹⁶ Wolf, *Urban Village*, 99.

sixteenth century, practicing Adult baptism and foot washing as sacraments of the church.¹⁷ For the Amish, the Eucharist symbolized the unity of the church, and the preparation liturgy that happened on a day before Communion was a matter of keeping good order in the commune by forcing people to seek forgiveness and to forgive others.¹⁸ But the element of their identity that was most obvious to others was their theology of separation. “Sectarian People” believed that Christians should be separate from the world in the way they dressed, spent their money, received education, and most of all in how they lived separate from the world (excluding them from civil responsibilities). Their rationale for this, they believed, was biblical: “Do not be yoked with unbelievers.”¹⁹

Kirchenleute (Church People) or the “Gay Dutch” were the Lutheran and German Reformed people who could trace their roots back to the earliest years of the Reformation in Germany.²⁰ Unlike the *Sektenleute*, the “Church People” held different beliefs concerning what it meant to be in the world. Following in the steps of Martin Luther (1483-1546), they enjoyed all of the benefits of the world, not restricting themselves to their own faith or social circles. In article XVI of the Lutheran confessional statement known as the *Augsburg Confession* (*Confessio Augustana*), for example, the *Kirchenleute* received their theology of being in the world from their Reformation ancestors:

¹⁷ A. Gregg Roeber provides a different tripartite classification of German Religion in North America: “The Catholic/Liturgical Strain,” “The Peace Church Strain,” and “The Mystical-Antinomian Strain,” in “The Future of German Religion in North America,” *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800-2000*, eds. Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001): 61-76.

¹⁸ John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society*, 3rd ed., (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 222.

¹⁹ See: II Corinthians 6:14.

²⁰ Don Yoder clears up modern-day misconceptions: “The Gay Dutch have always been the majority, the Plain Dutch the minority. The Gay Dutch set the patterns of what we know generally as ‘Pennsylvania Dutch culture.’ The Plain Dutch created a plain world of their own, which through the disappearance of the general Dutch culture has become the symbol of everything Dutch.” Don Yoder, “Two Worlds in the Dutch Country,” *Pennsylvania Folklife* 46, no. 3 (Spring 1997), 103.

Our church teaches that lawful civil ordinances are good works of God and that it is right for Christians to hold civil office, to sit as judges, to decide matters by the imperial and other existing laws, to award just punishments, to engage in just wars, to serve as soldiers, to make legal contracts, to hold property, to swear oaths when required by magistrates, to marry, to be given in marriage.

Our churches condemn the Anabaptists who forbid Christians to engage in these civil functions. They also condemn those who place the perfection of the Gospel not in the fear of God and in faith but in forsaking civil duties. The Gospel teaches an eternal righteousness of the heart, but it does not destroy the state or family. On the contrary, it especially requires their preservation as ordinances of God and the exercise of love in these ordinances. Therefore Christians are necessarily bound to obey their magistrates and laws except when commanded to sin, for then they ought to obey God rather than men (Acts 5:29).²¹

Likewise the Reformed Heidelberg Catechism viewed the church not as a denomination or particular way of living, but as the baptized who are redeemed by God. Question 54, “What do you believe concerning ‘the Holy Catholic Church’?,” finds an answer in the Catechism: “I believe that, from the beginning to the end of the world, and from among the whole human race, the Son of God, by his spirit and his Word, gathers, protects, and preserves for himself, in unity of the true faith, a congregation chosen for eternal life. Moreover, I believe that I am and forever will remain a living member of it.” The next question, “What do you understand by ‘the communion of saints’?,” also provided an answer that got at the heart of the Reformed Church’s idea of what it meant to be the church in the world: “First, that believers one and all, as partakers of the Lord Jesus Christ, and all his treasures and gifts, shall share in one fellowship. Second, that each one ought to know that he is obliged to use his gifts freely and with joy for the benefit and welfare of other members [of the body of Christ].”²²

²¹ Theodore G. Tappert, *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 37-38.

²² Question and answer 54: “Was glaubst du von der heiligen allgemeinen christlichen Kirche? Daß der Sohn Gottes aus dem ganzen menschlichen Geschlecht sich eine auserwählte Gemeinde zum ewigen Leben durch seinen Geist

Kirchenleute baptized infants and believed that Jesus Christ was truly present in the bread and wine of Holy Communion (or at least in the act of communion), thus another distinction from the sectarians:

Our churches teach that Baptism is necessary for salvation, that the grace of God is offered through Baptism, and that children should be baptized, for being offered to God through Baptism they are received into his grace. Our churches condemn the Anabaptists who reject the Baptism of children and declare that children are saved without Baptism. [(Augsburg Confession, IX)]²³

The persecution of the Anabaptists at the hands of the Reformed and Lutheran princes of Germany created a separation between Germanic Christians that has never been bridged. Within the church, the Gay Dutch followed the liturgical calendar and historic Mass (with some give and take) as it was inherited through the Reformation from the Roman Catholic Church. Thus their form of protestant worship was distinct from others in the Early American Republic. As Don Yoder has written, the Gay Dutch and Plain Dutch embraced “two completely different ways of life.”²⁴

Brüdergemeinen, also called the “Unitas Fratrum” or “Moravian Brethren,” were somewhere between the Church People and the Sectarians theologically and socially. They were originally founded in 1457 and reorganized in 1722 by Ludwig von Zinzendorf, a Pietist

und Wort, in Einigkeit des wahren Glaubens von Anbeginn der Welt bis ans Ende versammelt, schützt und erhält und daß ich derselben ein lebendiges Glied bin und ewig bleiben werde.” Question and answer 55: “Was verstehst du unter der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen? Erstlich, daß alle und jede Gläubigen als Glieder an dem Herrn Christus und allen seinen Schätzen und Gaben Gemeinschaft haben. Zum andern, daß ein jeder seine Gaben zu Nutz und Heil der andern Glieder willig und mit Freuden anzulegen sich schuldig wissen soll,” from *Evangelisches Gesangbuch, Landeskirche* of Saxony, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1993, no. 807. The English translation is from “The Heidelberg Catechism,” *The Constitution of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: The Office of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1970), 4.054 and 4.055.

²³ Tappert, *The Book of Concord*, 33. Likewise, in the Heidelberg Catechism, Reformed churches affirmed infant baptism, since babies are “included in the covenant and belong to the people of God,” from the German “sie . . . in den Bund Gottes und seine Gemeinde gehören . . .” (Heidelberg Catechism, 4.074) Unless I state otherwise, all translations in this dissertation are my own work.

²⁴ Don Yoder, “Two Worlds,” 103.

Lutheran, who wished to remain a Lutheran and eventually sent missionaries to America from Herrnhut, the town of Zinzendorf's religious estate. While they were open to the values and offerings of others, the Moravians lived a communal life on the North American Continent.²⁵ They had no systematic theology for their beliefs and bound themselves together by a common tradition and religious sentiment (*Gefühl*), which they stressed above dogma.²⁶ Although for many years some of them taught Luther's *Small Catechism* and the *Augsburg Confession*, Zinzendorf and his followers did not hold these Lutheran confessional writings as a systematic statement of Moravian belief. Instead, they were a "general apologetic statement which set up a wall of division between them and all teachers of false doctrines . . ."²⁷ The closest thing to a systematic theology for the Moravians was August Gottlieb Spangenberg's (1704–1792) *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, a very basic theological work, which was quite different from a Confession. This is why Gillian Lindt Gollin writes that Moravian theology consisted of "isolated fragments of dogma held together by force of custom."²⁸

Among the distinguishing characteristics of the Moravians was their celebration of an *Agape* meal, thought to be biblical in its origin, where members would sit in their pews while singing devotional music (usually chorales), eating rolls, and drinking coffee. Another mark of the American Moravians from an early date was their communal division into "choirs" to divide the chores and activities of the community based on age, gender, and marital status. This took the communal emphasis away from the family and put it on the church, maximizing the loyalty of

²⁵ Gillian Lindt Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 18.

²⁶ Gollin, *Moravians in Two*, 15.

²⁷ Jacob John Sessler, *Communal Pietism among Early American Moravians* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1933), 27. According to Gollin (*Moravians in Two*, 16), Moravians in Herrnhut acknowledged the Lutheran Augsburg Confession while the Moravians in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, did not.

²⁸ Gollin, *Moravians in Two*, 10.

the members. Even in death Moravians would be buried according to what “choir” they belonged to within the church.²⁹

Because Moravians lacked a unified systematic theology (or “Systematische Theologie”), they held a variety of views on the sacraments within their churches. At the heart of Moravian theology, as with other pietist groups, was the cultivation of personal piety and an emotional relationship with Christ, which showed signs of a shift in emphasis from the orthodox Lutheran theology of justification (and faith) to sanctification (and “working out your own salvation”). As this type of theology took hold, Christ’s real presence in the Sacraments was no longer stressed. Rather, a view of the Eucharist as purely a remembrance of the death and resurrection of Jesus resulted, and as a conversion experience became necessary, Baptism was also diminished.

With a new emphasis on holy living came a different understanding of the essence of liturgy:

Moravians did not conceive of liturgy as ritual . . . [; they] employed liturgy in an effort to bring order to the corporate worship experience, not to develop set patterns that could become stale with use. They believed that any act of worship or communication with God was a liturgy. In fact, to the Moravians, all of life was a liturgy; thus, they found it natural to write liturgies for all occasions.³⁰

In these ways, they were different from the plain people and the church people, but found a middle ground between the two. Their religion also has a folk dimension.

²⁹ See Gollin, *Moravians in Two*, chapter 4.

³⁰ James Boeringer, ed., *Choral-Buch by Christian Gregor* (Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1984), 24.

2.3 TWO DIMENSIONS OF DUTCH RELIGION

Dutch religion has two dimensions: “folk” aspects and “official” aspects. Scholars have examined the latter in many monographs and essays, but virtually ignored the former.³¹ Without understanding this distinction, it is difficult to understand Dutch chorale books, which mostly resulted from the “official,” and tune books, which came generally from the “folk.”

The folk aspect or “folk religion” is “the totality of all those views and practices of religion that exist among the people apart from and alongside the strictly theological and liturgical forms of the official religion.”³² Part of this aspect was superstition (*Aberglaube*) or “folk belief” (to use Don Yoder’s terminology).³³ In this way, all of the Dutch were the same regardless to which of the three groups they belonged.

One example of folk religion was powwowing, something that has recently been documented by scholars in much detail. In a Dutch powwow, a ritual healing happens, similar to modern day Pentecostal faith healing. But, “unlike most Christian healing traditions, powwowing makes use of elements that seem to belong more to Western magic, such as certain material components (eggs, lengths of string, and so on) and the inscriptions of protective circles around the afflicted . . .”³⁴ This practice apparently was carried to America by the eighteenth century immigrants, but was driven underground by people who objected to the practice, placing it in the

³¹ One of the few studies that delve deeply into folk religion in the Dutch community is Don Yoder, “Toward a Definition of Folk Religion,” *Discovering American Folklife: Essays on Folk Culture and the Pennsylvania Dutch* (Mechanicsburg: PA, 2001): 67-84.

³² Yoder, “Toward a Definition,” 80.

³³ Yoder, “Toward a Definition,” 77.

³⁴ David W. Kriebel, *Powwowing among the Pennsylvania Dutch: A Traditional Medical Practice in the Modern World* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 43.

hands of “lay practitioners.”³⁵ While this practice was a fringe exercise of the Dutch, it was tied to the beliefs of the church:

Powwowing is intimately tied to Christian belief. Before a healing session begins, the powwower usually asks the client if he or she believes in the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Most believe that faith in God— Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—must be shared by both healer and client if ritual power is to be successfully invoked and healing effected. When faith is shared, both powwower and client are operating within the same symbolic universe. Cosmological beliefs also influence ritual elements. For instance, the “three highest names” (the Christian Trinity) are often used in incantations, many of which incorporate Bible verses. The number three, said to symbolize the Trinity, is ubiquitous in such sacred formulae. Finally the question “Do you believe in God?” when asked, marks both powwower and patient as part of a sacred community and establishes a sacred ritual space.³⁶

Another example of folk religion is the use of hex signs or *Hexefüßs*. The exact origins and early use of the hex in Pennsylvania are uncertain. There was likely a superstitious reason early on for the existence of these round signs utilizing geometric shapes and vibrant colors. Wallace Nutting, in his *Pennsylvania Beautiful*, describes what he saw in Pennsylvania Dutch country in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, remnants of the previous decades:

The ornaments on barns found in Pennsylvania, and to some small extent in West Jersey, go by the local name of hexafoos, or witch foot. They are a decoration sometimes applied on the door heads or on or about the door. They are supposed to be a continuance of very ancient tradition, according to which these decorative marks were potent to protect the barn, or more particularly the cattle, from the influence of witches. It is understood by those who are acquainted with witches that those ladies are particularly likely to harm cattle. As the wealth of the farmer was in his stock, contained in his remarkably substantial barn, the hexafoos was added to its decoration as a kind of spiritual or demonic lightning rod!³⁷

³⁵ Kriebel, 99.

³⁶ Kriebel, 43.

³⁷ Wallace Nutting, *Pennsylvania Beautiful* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1924), 28.

Scholars are not in full agreement concerning the religious significance of the hex sign, but most agree that there is symbolic meaning, something consistent with Pietistic mysticism that the Dutch brought with them from Europe.³⁸ It is clear from one study, however, that

Barn decoration was most common among the Lutheran and Reformed groups of Berks, Lehigh, Schuylkill, Carbon, Lebanon, Bucks, Northampton, and Montgomery Counties. The plain sects, the Amish and Mennonites of Lancaster County, for example, did not decorate their barns, although hex signs do appear in the northeastern corner of Lancaster County, a section of the county with more church people than plain sects.³⁹

“Official” religion or the official aspects of Dutch religion were the approved liturgy, priestly tasks of local pastors and the authority of the synod, the theology taught by the church bodies, and the printed music, which had been edited and endorsed by trained leaders. This kind

³⁸ John Joseph Stoudt, the Pennsylvania art historian, for example, questioned if hex signs ever had a superstitious purpose since the people he interviewed in the 1930s knew nothing about their meaning: “Take for example the barn-signs, the last phase of a fluid art [in Dutch country in the 1930s]; they still are respected by the folk. One farmer was asked why he allowed his barn to be painted in the conventional manner. He answered: *Ei es is fer gut un fer schön* [which means: Why it’s for good and for pretty]. A young woman living near Siegersville in Lehigh County inherited her parents’ farm, and her husband wished to repaint the barn without the designs. She objected, saying: ‘This came from my people. They put those signs there for a purpose. As a memory to them they’re going to stay there.’ An old Berks County farmer, born a Lutheran and a Democrat, supplied a stinging rebuke to those who claim these signs are symbols of *hexery*. When asked: ‘*Dawdey, sin sell hexe signs?*’ [Daddy, are those signs of hexery?] He replied emphatically: ‘*Ne, verdampft sei net. An so sache glawe mir net. Selli leit wu dafor do gewuhnt hen hen au net. Sie ware neice leit! Sin yust die vun der Stadt wo so sache schwetze. Sie sage wann sie do vorbei fohre uf ihre automobiles: do wuhne leit as an hexe glawe. So dumme schwetz gleich ich gewiss net.*’ [No, I should say not. We do not believe in such things. The people who lived here before us didn’t either. They were good people. It’s only those from town who talk such things. They say as they drive by on their automobiles that here live people who still believe in witches. Such talk I do not like.] Another old lady, who had been born on the farm where she was living when the question was asked of her, replied that she had heard it said that the signs were ‘*tulibane*’ [tulips]. An old gentleman living in the Perkiomen said that the signs were ‘*Blumestern!*’ [flowerstars].” John Joseph Stoudt, *Consider the Lilies how they grow: An Interpretation of the Symbolism of Pennsylvania German Art* (Allentown: Schlechter’s, 1937), 43. When considering the mysticism the Dutch held dear, and the many symbols they used, especially early in their history, it appears that Stoudt is not looking objectively at the hex. Even against his own statements, his ideas about the hex fall short: “Pennsylvania German art, as the present writer sees it, was a religious art with roots in the Christian mystical tradition. This conclusion becomes all-the-more evident when the Pennsylvania German religious life of the eighteenth century is examined” (Stoudt, 19). The Ephrata Cloister’s music manuscripts were full of religious symbolism that sprung from their mystical Pietism, and many of these symbols contain geometric patterns and vibrant colors. For more information on mysticism and symbols, see Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania* (New York: AMS Press, 1979). For a discussion on the various views of what the hex meant to the Dutch, see Don Yoder and Thomas E. Graves, *Hex Signs: Pennsylvania Dutch Barn Symbols and their Meaning* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1989), 7-12.

³⁹ Yoder and Graves, 19.

of religion tended to be more philosophical or theological as people looked to the church for what to believe and think about the world and faith. Don Yoder claims that official religion is usually that practiced by the “intellectual elite, by which the religion is usually judged by scholarship . . .”⁴⁰

When Lutherans and Reformed people came to this country, their official religious aspects were almost non-existent. They lacked pastors to administer the sacraments and teach the catechism, they had no official governing body or synod on the continent, organs were scarce, and they used no uniform liturgies or hymn books. It was not until the 1770s and 1780s that these things changed. Religious identity was only one side of the coin. Social identity was broader in scope and is equally essential in understanding assimilation in *Kirchenleute* communities.

2.4 SOCIAL IDENTITY

The Dutch, as an ethnic group, shared the same experiences for the most part. They sought to maintain a social identity via language, furniture building, food ways and holidays, and a unique musical life. All of these areas are important to examine here because they all went through a parallel process of change leading to Americanization, showing how organic Dutch life and thought really were.

⁴⁰ Yoder, “Toward a definition,” 72.

2.4.1 Language

Language is the most important sign of social identity. *Pennsylvawnisch Deutsch*, or *Deutsch* for short, was the everyday language of all Dutch people. Language scholars, like Marion Huffines, believe that it derived from the Low German dialect, which people in the Palatinate region spoke. At first, there was a “language island,” meaning that the Dutch tongue was insulated by communal cohesiveness and a resistance to the English language: “The Pennsylvania German language island was large enough and self-contained enough that for a long time no special effort was necessary for language maintenance. German was spoken because it was appropriate and convenient.”⁴¹ Dutch was the language of everyday life in Dutch communities, even though High German (*Hochdeutsch*) served as the language of the Bible and for formal church liturgies in most churches.⁴² The lack of a standard orthography and “dignified literary tradition” worked against the language and eventually led to its demise. Those who did retain the language even into the twentieth century can attribute the language’s longevity to “the rural isolation and self-sufficiency of its speakers.”⁴³

⁴¹ Marion L. Huffines, “Language-Maintenance Efforts among German Immigrants and Their Descendants in the United States,” *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, vol. I, eds. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 242.

⁴² One nineteenth-century account cites Amish church services entirely in the Dutch dialect, but most of the *Kirchenleute* kept *Hoch Deutsch* as the official language of worship. Phebe Earle Gibbons, *Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays*, ed. Don Yoder (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2001), 61. Also see Don Yoder, “The Dialect Church Service in the Pennsylvania German Culture,” *Pennsylvania Folklife* 27, no. 4 (Summer 1978): 2-13.

⁴³ Huffines, 244. See Marion Lois Huffines, “Pennsylvania German: Maintenance and Shift,” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 25 (1980): 43-57; Heinz Kloss, “German-American Language Maintenance Efforts,” *Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups*, eds. Joshua A. Fisherman, Robert G. Hayden, et al. (The Hague: Mouton, 1966): 206-252

Many rural Dutch lacked education, especially the sectarians, and many of them could not read High German.⁴⁴ This lack of education was true as late as 1882 when an Anglo-American lady wrote in her journal: “‘Dutch’ neighbors are not great readers, and to read German is considered an accomplishment even among those who speak the dialect.”⁴⁵ Immigrants in the middle and late nineteenth century who spoke High German were appalled by what they heard in the Dutch community.⁴⁶ It was this dialect that the Dutch sought to keep not only as a means of communication but also as a living sign of their culture.

In chapter three, we will see how the English speakers made the removal of *Deitsch* a priority, pushing the Dutch to lose one of the most singular traits they had. This loss correlated with other aspects of Dutch life.

2.4.2 Furniture

Some furniture of the Dutch showed influence of the English (e.g., the Chippendale style in Dutch furniture), but the Dutch also brought German ways of making furniture from Europe and as time went on and they were pressed to adapt to English culture around them, they developed their own way of expressing Germanic culture by using bright-colored paints, carving and inlaid design. The two items where this distinctiveness is most evident are the blanket chest and the cupboard. The first changed little in the eighteenth century. As a practical storage bin for

⁴⁴ Steven M. Nolt, *Foreigners in their own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 156 (footnote 9).

⁴⁵ Gibbons, 68.

⁴⁶ Johann David Schoepf (1752-1800), for example, was an educated German traveler, who wrote about experiencing the earthy sound of the Dutch dialect. See Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation* [1783-84], trans. Alfred J. Morrison (New York: Bergman, 1911).

kitchen and other items that were to be kept dry and safe, the blanket chest or *Kischt* (*Kist* in High German), often built with tulip poplar or walnut wood, was something that every home had.

The *Kist* is one of the few items that scholars have problems dating. Some were inlaid with a date in the wood of the lid or front of the case. Without dates it is often too difficult to pinpoint when a chest was created because craftsmen employed uniform construction.⁴⁷ Cabinetmakers used hardware that was current with the times and culture, but the design of the chests became distinctively Dutch over time.⁴⁸ Many of the carved symbols on Palatine predecessors were identical to those of the Pennsylvania chests. Round hexes and flowers, among other things, managed to find their way onto the wood. However, unlike Pennsylvania chests, those in the Palatinate region of Germany were never painted, only carved.⁴⁹ As English culture forced the Dutch to relinquish their characteristic way of doing things, and as current tastes took hold, mostly after 1825, Dutch pieces became “somber reflections of their predecessors.”⁵⁰ After this time, “Hearts and flowers and birds were replaced with two-toned graining or with mahogany veneers . . . The unabashed gaudiness of the early furniture was replaced with a sober tonality that reflected much of the manners and morals of nineteenth-century America.”⁵¹ The same was true of other pieces of furniture used by the Dutch.

⁴⁷ Monroe H. Fabian, *The Pennsylvania-German Decorated Chest* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 2004), 28.

⁴⁸ Fabian, 49.

⁴⁹ John Joseph Stoudt, *Early Pennsylvania Arts and Crafts* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1964), 111.

⁵⁰ Fabian, 70.

⁵¹ Fabian, 70.

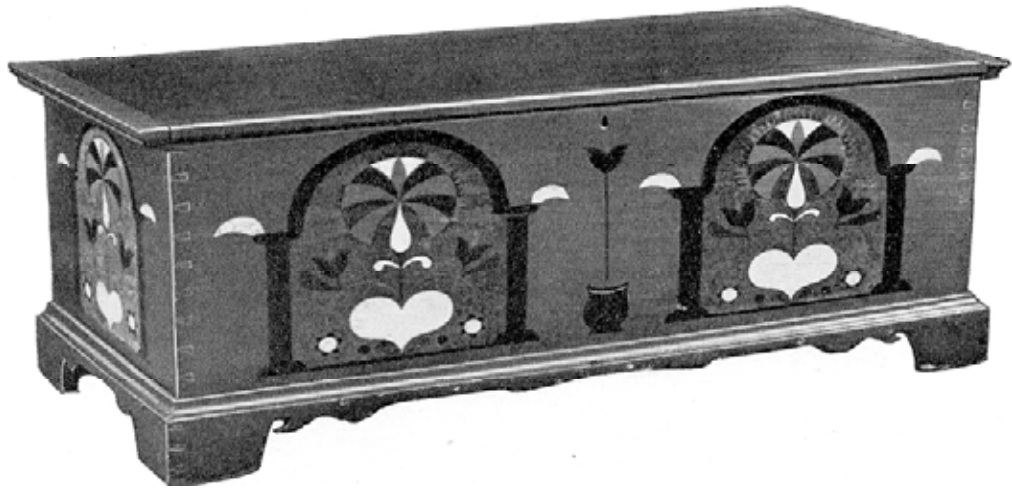


Figure 1. Eighteenth-Century Blanket Chest. (Author's Collection)

The “Dutch Cupboard” was a flat step-back cupboard, which sat flat against the wall. It replaced the *Kischt* as a kitchen storage space in many Dutch homes sometime in the eighteenth century, pushing the chest into more limited usage in the bedroom for the stowing of blankets and linens. There were also corner cupboards, which derived from the cupboards built into corners in Pennsylvania homes, and these were most often made from Walnut wood, which the Dutch rarely painted so that the natural grain of the wood was visible.⁵² While step-back “Dutch Cupboards” were sometimes made of cherry or walnut wood and left unpainted, many of them were made of mixed woods and painted to cover the multi-toned appearance and to make a statement of Dutch diversity from the English, who did not paint their furniture with gaudy colors and folk symbolism.

One of the finest examples of the “Dutch cupboard” is in the Pennsylvania German Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. It was from a nineteenth-century cabinetmaker’s

⁵² Stoudt, *Early Pennsylvania Arts*, 123-124.

workshop in the Mahantongo Valley (Schuylkill County), where furniture makers had resorted to an extremely vivacious style in decoration for the sake of ethnic retention.⁵³ The artist who made the cupboard was making a statement about Dutch culture through his craft in a time when Dutch distinction was giving way to conformity with the English way of life. This is most evident in the use of colors and iconography on the piece: Yellow-pink under wheel-patterned mottling in red; top doors in cream with red stars and blue-green centers; interior of cupboard in white; blue and red on the outside of the piece; cream panels of the lower blind doors and drawers with angels and birds in red, blue-green and yellow.⁵⁴ Another cupboard resembles the one at the Philadelphia Museum in color and motif (see figure 2). This kind of color and design is also reflected in the hand-painted papers used on tune book covers and as end papers of the era.

Gaudy decoration and contrasting colors adorned the kitchen, where the Dutch ate their meals and socialized with family and friends. It also served as the one thing that everyone saw when making music in the Dutch home, possibly serving as inspiration.

⁵³ Don Yoder, "A Mahantongo Furniture Maker's Account Book," *Decorated Furniture of the Mahantongo Valley*, ed. Henry M. Reed (Lewisburg, PA: Center Gallery of Bucknell University, 1987): 70-87.

⁵⁴ This piece is from the Titus C. Geesey Collection, 54-85-32a, b and it is pictured in the museum catalog: Beatrice B. Garvan, *The Pennsylvania German Collection*, Handbooks in America Art, no. 2 (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1999), 31.



Figure 2. Nineteenth-century decorated Dutch Cupboard (Postcard from the 1910s).

2.4.3 Foodways and Holidays

Kirchenleute were fond of color and form in their culinary lives. The two places where these aesthetic ideals are manifest are butter and pastry. Butter was transformed into decorative

reliefs with wooden paddles and molds carved by whittlers in the countryside.⁵⁵ Punched-tin ware, including cheese molds, had a functional purpose and brought with it a unique artistic charm to the food that the Dutch prepared. Toleware (especially coffee pots), the various brightly painted tin pieces, decorated the table while serving a practical purpose.

Beyond this love for form and color, the *Deutsch* expression *Besser en Laus im Graut ass wie gaar ken Fleesch!* (Better a louse in the kraut than no meat at all!) gives us a clear picture for the main course in every meal.⁵⁶ Gottlieb Mittelberger, a visitor to the colonies in the 1750s, remarked: “I don’t think that there is any country in which more meat is eaten and consumed than in Pennsylvania.”⁵⁷ William Woys Weaver has elaborated that meat was eaten three times a day and most of the meat consumed was pork, stemming from European norms where only nobles had pasture land for cattle or sheep. Pigs were easy to raise and required no pasture. Further, they could be put to a vast number of uses, “from sausages to pot puddings.”⁵⁸ Beef was eventually adopted in the Dutch kitchen as Dutch farms had larger pastures, not replacing pork but supplementing it.⁵⁹

The one thing that distinguished the Dutch and their foodways from any other group in America during the early Republic was their employment of outdoor brick ovens for baking.⁶⁰ By baking with these ovens that the Dutch could keep their houses cool and at the same time

⁵⁵ Frances Lichten, “Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania,” *Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Spirituality*, ed. Richard E. Wentz (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), 242.

⁵⁶ William Woys Weaver, *Sauerkraut Yankees: Pennsylvania German Foods and Foodways* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 19.

⁵⁷ Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Gottlieb Mittelberger’s Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750*, tr. Carl T. Eben (Philadelphia: John J. McVey, 1898), 65.

⁵⁸ Weaver, *Sauerkraut Yankees*, 19-20.

⁵⁹ For information on the meat consumption and butchering practices of the Dutch, see Roy W. Sauers, “Butchering on the Pennsylvania Farm,” *Der Reggeboge* 27, no. 3 (1993):21-28.

⁶⁰ Amos W. Long, Jr., “Bakeovens in the Pennsylvania Folk Culture,” *Pennsylvania Folklife* 14, no. 2 (1964): 16-29 (1964): 16-29; Amos W. Long, “The Rural Pennsylvania-German Home and Family,” *Pennsylvania Folklife* 42, no. 1 (August 1992): 15-38.

create pastry that “dressed up” the table and delighted the palate. Pie (*Boi*), originally an English food, made its way onto the Dutch menu because of the brick oven and it often contained apples that were previously dried in the oven (*Schnitz*). These foods helped to create holiday celebrations that were festive and meaningful.

The Pennsylvania Dutch people celebrated holidays particular to their own culture and holidays common to other cultures by adding their own flare. One of the most distinctive of all of the Pennsylvania holidays was “Harvest Home” (*Aernkarrich*). This day was a *Kirchenleuete* celebration either in the middle or at the end of harvest on a weekday.⁶¹ For this church festival, parishioners would decorate the chancel and nave of the church with real fruits and vegetables from the harvest, tokens of thanksgiving that would be given after the service either to the pastor or the needy in an orphanage or home for the aging (see figure 3). Harvest sermons (*Aernbreddich*) would be preached from the pulpit that was camouflaged with the tall corn stocks, an array of pumpkins and squash, bushels of apples, sheaves of wheat, and loaves of bread, prepared by the parishioners as if in a competition with each other.

⁶¹ Don Yoder, “Harvest Home,” *Discovering American Folklife: Essays on Folk Culture and the Pennsylvania Dutch* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2001), 228.



**Figure 3. Harvest Home decorations in a Dutch church, early twentieth-century postcard.
(Roughwood Collection)**

All of this display and ritual originated in Germany in the celebration of *Erntedankfest* and the Pennsylvania Dutch were the only people in America to celebrate this peculiar festival. However, the festival that became standard in all Dutch churches by 1820 was celebrated with such pride because it was an expression of the Dutch opposition to the Anglo-American holiday of Thanksgiving.

Because New Englanders and English-speaking Pennsylvanians were heirs of the theology of the English Puritans, they refused to celebrate Christmas and elevated Thanksgiving as a social festival “with family reunions and turkey dinners, which took the place of the forbidden Christmas festival.”⁶² The editor of the *Lutheran Observer* looked back in 1853 at the

⁶² Don Yoder, “Harvest Home, 227.

Dutch opposition to the holiday, agreed heartily with it, and tied the acceptance of the English Thanksgiving with a lack of morals:

The religious portion of our community were not anxious for the appointment of a thanks-giving day; many of them resisted it, and very justly too. It was mostly those who make no pretensions to religion, and are by no means remarkable for their attendance at public worship, who were most clamorous for such a festival. They have accomplished their purpose, and to us it is evident that the cause of good morals has greatly suffered by the measure.⁶³

Shooting parties and drunkenness, elements of Anglo-American celebrations in the early nineteenth century, were considered by the Dutch to be inferior to the worship and wholesome festivities of their Harvest Home celebration. Along with Christmas, Harvest Home was unique to the Dutch in Pennsylvania. Indeed, “Christmas and Harvest were the two occasions when the country churches were decked in green and color of the natural world—when so to speak, the farm and the forest came to church.”⁶⁴

In his introduction to Alfred Shoemaker’s monograph *Christmas in Pennsylvania*, Don Yoder pointed out that while the Quakers were against observing Christmas, the Scotch-Irish saw the holiday as a competition with the Sabbath, and the Episcopal clergy warned against extra-ecclesial “feasting and frivolity.” But the Moravians and *Kircheleute* “celebrated Christmas with joy and abandon.”⁶⁵ The “Gay Dutch” came from the catholic liturgical tradition that emphasized the church year and its feast days, of which Christmas was one. Unlike the “Plain Dutch,” who emphasized separation from the world, the “Gay Dutch” believed that they should live in the world and enjoy life, celebrating holidays like Christmas heartily.

⁶³ *Lutheran Observer* (Dec. 2, 1853).

⁶⁴ Don Yoder, “Harvest Home,” 235.

⁶⁵ Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Christmas in Pennsylvania* (Mechanichsburg: Stackpole Books, 1999), xvii-xxiii.

It was from the Dutch that the rest of America received the custom of erecting a Christmas tree. The first Christmas tree of record in America was erected in Donegal Township, Lancaster County in 1822 or 1823.⁶⁶ Among the decorations for such trees were items held dear by the Dutch, especially food: Apples, Lemons, oranges, figs, nuts, raisins, plums, *Schnitz*, popcorn, candy, cookies, and pretzels. Christmas cookies were made by the “wash-basket-full.” They were also cut with tin cutters in the shape of the many animals that the Dutch had pictured on Noah’s Ark. Their shape and the variegated colors of their sugar decoration fit into the Dutch aesthetic. Large *Lebkucha* (*Lebkuchen* in High German), a type of gingerbread (minus the ginger), was often cut with a shears and hung in the tree.⁶⁷ Being highly resourceful and utilitarian, the Dutch sometimes hung gifts, toys, candles, or anything that resembled snow on the branches too, but this practice depended on the resources of each home.⁶⁸ All of this was just one of the annual celebrations of Christmas. As is still true of modern-day Germans, the Pennsylvania Dutch *Kirchenleute* celebrated “Second Christmas” every year on December 26. The Dutch considered this second day a secular gala day (as was Easter Monday and Whit Monday). Rural youth would travel to Reading, Lancaster, or York to see local attractions or sometimes sit to be photographed. Many Dutch would go to dances or participate in shooting matches. Some even “raffled” or “hustled,” a chance game that involved pennies being thrown into a hat or box for a high score.⁶⁹

The last important holiday for the Dutch was New Year’s Day. It may be in this holiday that the superstition of the pre-accultured Dutch was most visibly manifested. Unlike the English with their turkey meal, “Every self-respecting Dutchman sits down for dinner that day

⁶⁶ Shoemaker, *Christmas in Pennsylvania*, 45, 57.

⁶⁷ Shoemaker, *Christmas in Pennsylvania*, 99-100.

⁶⁸ Shoemaker, *Christmas in Pennsylvania*, 59-64.

⁶⁹ Shoemaker, *Christmas in Pennsylvania*. 115-117.

before a huge *Schissel* of sauerkraut and pork, mounded with big puffy dumplings like cumulus clouds bobbing in the copious juice and served up in style with mashed potatoes, homemade apple sauce, and other side dish specialties.” The Dutch explanation of why they ate pork and not turkey had to do with good luck. They would explain with the most simple country satisfaction: “The Pig roots forward and the turkey scratches backward.”⁷⁰ But there was more to the holiday than food.

“Shooting in” the new year was a custom of the Dutch that involved about eight men from the community who, on New Year’s Eve, would make their rounds in the rural communities to each farm house, wishing each household a happy New Year and shooting a volley of rifles. This ritual involved a “wisher” who would summon the farmer out of bed from below his bedroom window and then he would recite a very long New Year’s wish in High German in excess of 100 lines of text. After the recitation, the wisher would ask the farmer and his wife if they could “shoot in” the New Year with them. Food and drink would await them in the kitchen where they would visit until they would go to the next house.⁷¹

The Dutch celebration of New Year’s in the eighteenth century also included giving gifts, “individual and ecclesiastical responses to New Year’s and its significance as a turning point in life.”⁷² Sometimes the gift was a wish written on a card (known as “wishing in” the New Year) other times it was a food item or material item. Heinrich Muhlenberg’s journals speak about

⁷⁰ Don Yoder, “Sauerkraut for New Year’s,” *Discovering American Folklife* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2001), 283.

⁷¹ Don Yoder, “Sauerkraut for New Year’s,” 285-286. This practice was wider than the Dutch practice of it. Others practiced a similar form of it. Other Americans in the nineteenth century called it “chivaree.”

⁷² Don Yoder, “Sauerkraut for New Year’s,” 291.

many gifts, the most unusual being the “iron peppermill” he received from a parishioner in 1763.⁷³

It was not until assimilation took place in Dutch *Kirchenleute* communities during the early years of the nineteenth century that the Dutch celebrated “watch night services.” These church services were what the English-speaking Evangelicals (particularly the Methodists) did to observe the bringing in of the New Year. People would “watch and pray” at these services. This served as a substitute for the secular New Year’s “Auld Lang Syne” party, with its drinking and revelry during the nineteenth century.⁷⁴ At all of these holiday celebrations, the Dutch were known to make music, some of it secular, and often times using a folk instrument that evolved in their Pennsylvania ethos.

2.4.4 Musical Instruments

Scholars have written about the organs built by David Tannenberg, a Moravian, but few have explored the function of the Pennsylvania Dutch folk instrument called the *Scheitholt*, which some believe is the ancestor to the American mountain dulcimer. The instrument of choice among the rural Pennsylvania Lutherans to accompany their folk music, the *Scheitholt* was a homemade six-string zither of wood that could be held on the lap or placed on an empty chest or box while being played.⁷⁵ More often than not this *Deitsch* dulcimer had a heart or a tulip carved into the body of the instrument. There is some evidence to suggest that the Dutch used it at times to accompany hymn singing in the home and provide soft music at intimate social gatherings.

⁷³ Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, trans., *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942), 728.

⁷⁴ Don Yoder, “Sauerkraut for New Year’s,” 292.

⁷⁵ Richard Raichelson, “The Social Context of Musical Instruments within the Pennsylvania German Culture,” *Pennsylvania Folklife* 25, 1 (1975): 42.

One scholar suggests that the instrument was also used at dances and the many different kinds of “frolics” when neighbors would help each other complete their work tasks.⁷⁶ Just as the organ accompanied the church chorales, so the *Scheitholt* (see figure 4) played folk music and accompanied the singing of memorized folk pieces, passed on orally from generation to generation.⁷⁷

A recently discovered *Scheitholt* from 1861 has both a carved tulip and heart; its case contains a repertoire list that the owner wrote in pencil. While this example is a later one, it resembles earlier extant exemplars.⁷⁸ The simple construction and sound of the *Scheitholt* was a contrast to the sound of instruments that the Anglo-American would have enjoyed, especially the piano, which the Dutch could not afford or fully appreciate in rural areas. It was in the countryside of Pennsylvania that folk music evolved to express every day Dutch life.⁷⁹

In *Songs along the Mahantongo*, Walter Boyer and his colleagues identify several topical categories of secular Dutch folk songs used in the Mahantongo Valley during the nineteenth century: songs of childhood, courtship and marriage, the farm, the *Schnitzing* party, the tavern, American life, and a New Year’s blessing.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Ralph Lee Smith, “A Great Scheitholt with Some Remarkable Documentation,” *Dulcimer Players News* 32, no. 3 (2006): 32-33. See also Raichelson, “The Social Context.”

⁷⁷ Several sources document the folk song tradition of the Pennsylvania Dutch: *Songs along the Mahantongo: Pennsylvania Dutch Folksongs*, eds. Walter E. Boyer, Albert F. Buffington, and Don Yoder (Lancaster, PA: The Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, 1951); Albert F. Buffington, *Pennsylvania German Secular Folksongs* (Breinigsville, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1974); Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals* (Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1961).

⁷⁸ Smith, 32-33. The particular *Scheitholt*, which is the topic for Smith’s article, has a list of repertoire recorded in the instrument’s case. Most of it is in English, showing that this instrument might have been owned by an Anglo-American, or more likely by an assimilated Dutchman.

⁷⁹ This is not to say that no Dutchmen had pianos. Some Moravians had (and made pianos) although this was because of their own unique music culture, which they continued to import from Europe via printed music and instruments. See Jewel A. Smith, “The Piano among the Moravians in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Music, Instruction, and Construction,” *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, ed. Nola Reed Knouse (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008): 228-251.

⁸⁰ See *Songs along the Mahantongo: Pennsylvania Dutch Folksongs*, eds. Walter E. Boyer, Albert F. Buffington, and Don Yoder (Lancaster, PA: The Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore Center, 1951).

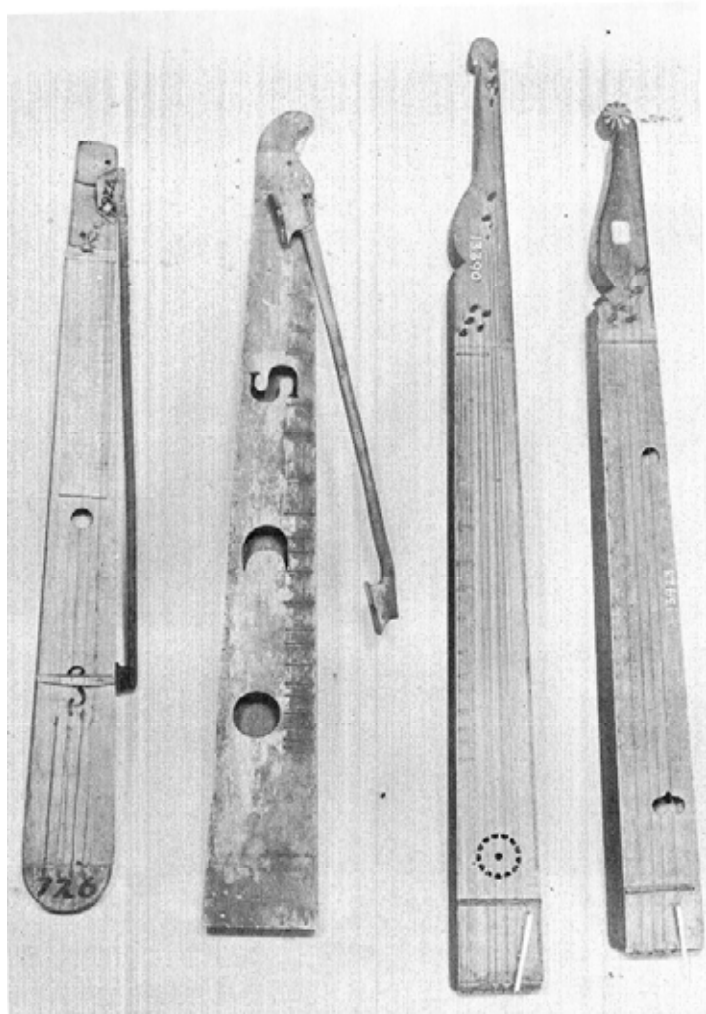


Figure 4. Old photograph of four Scheidtholts. (Author's Collection)

Most of the songs in all of these categories served the purpose of comic relief, providing a contrast to the German chorale tradition in the church, something this dissertation examines in more detail in later chapters:

The humorous dialect songs had and still have a highly-honored place among the rural people, but through the years the literary hymns, earlier in German and now in English, of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches to which the majority of our people belong, have remained also a precious heritage from the lands of Luther

and Zwingli. So we have secular or ‘worldly’ songs, and religious songs—for the Pennsylvania Dutchman strikes a neat balance between the sacred and secular.⁸¹

One such secular song for the tavern, “Wann ich heimkumm voll Bier,” evinces the typically simple melody of this repertoire and the humor in these texts (see figure 5).



Figure 5. Dutch folk song “Wann ich heimkumm voll Bier” from *Songs along the Mahantongo: Pennsylvania Dutch Folksongs*, page 155. (Reproduced with permission of Don Yoder.)

The English translation of the Dutch is as follows:

When I come home full of Beer,
As soon as I come near,
My old woman shouts: “You old Devil, you-
Just keep away from here!”⁸²

Another song from the courtship and marriage category, “Mani aldi Schwieggermudder,” pokes fun at mothers-in-law (see figure 6).

⁸¹ Boyer, Buffington, and Yoder, *Songs along the Mahantongo*, 15.

⁸² Boyer, Buffington, and Yoder, *Songs along*, 155.



Figure 6. Dutch folk song “Mani aldi Schwieggermulder” with Dutch folk drawings from *Songs along the Mahantongo: Pennsylvania Dutch Folksongs*, page 87. (Reproduced with permission of Don Yoder.)

The nonsensical text in English translation gives us a glimpse into these practical, earthy farm folk:

Verse:
 My old mother-in-law
 Was the darndest old hen!
 She was in heaven seven years
 And then she came down again!
 Wasn't she devilish—my, oh my!—
 Not to stay up in the sky?

Chorus:
 And we don't want any Mother-in-law,
 Mother-in-law,

Mother-in-law!
And we don't want any Mother-in-law,
Mother-in-law!

Folk ballads also existed in the Dutch community. Because the texts were much longer than folk song texts, the copious verses were set in type and printed on broadsides. These ballads had no accompanying tunes, but sometimes publishers printed the name of an air they recommended above the texts.⁸³ Regardless, folksongs were much more prevalent since they were more easily memorized and assisted the Dutch in entertaining, learning, working, and expressing their cultural values. They, along with the other social identity factors, bound all Dutch into a common experience.

2.5 UNIONISM

For years, the common factors of Dutch social identity and folk spirituality bound the Dutch together so that they felt comfortable to share churches with each other. Unions between Lutheran and Reformed congregations, where two congregations shared buildings and sometimes pastors, proved to be one of the best ways to maintain German culture as both churches retained the *Lingua Ecclesii*. Arthur Repp points out in his landmark study of the American editions of Luther's *Small Catechism* that in the early years, "The language bond was stronger than the confessional heritage. German-speaking Reformed might be preferred to

⁸³ See chapter 1, "Song and Ballad Broadsides," in Don Yoder, *The Pennsylvania German Broadside: A History and Guide* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

English-speaking Lutherans . . . Some of the strongest opposition to the introduction of English naturally came from the[se] union churches in rural Pennsylvania.”⁸⁴

There were several reasons for Unionism in Pennsylvania beyond common language usage. First, the economic situation for most *Kirchenleute* congregations dictated that they lacked the means to build and maintain a church edifice autonomously. Second, the union structure of church governance resembled what nineteenth-century Germans would have known in Germany where certain regions had church unions. Third, many of congregations could not understand the differences (early on) between Lutheran and Reformed traditions. Fourth, in Pennsylvania some people put aside their differences for the sake of family, where there were mixed marriages. But, the language issue was still most important. In a country where English ways were dominant and English people wanted to force the Dutch to conform, this linguistic identity created the most valuable alliance of people.

Unionist pastors with more developed theological systems argued that Christ called his followers to be one body and put aside all differences, including sacramental ones.⁸⁵ This sentiment is evident in Johann August Probst’s book *The Reunification of the Lutherans and Reformed* (1826):

One Lord and one Spirit, one faith and one Baptism, one Body and one supper, one Shepherd and one flock . . . neither Lutheran nor Reformed, but—Christian, that is “Evangelical” [Evangelisch]. It permits, that our motto should be, that we adopt the Gospel [Evangelium] as the single rule of faith, that we allow and want no other ground for faith to be laid from that which Christ laid down in Scripture. The union must be purely evangelical [rein=evangelisch], growing with free

⁸⁴ Arthur C. Repp, Sr., *Luther’s Catechism Comes to America: Theological Effects on Issues of the Small Catechism Prepared in or for America prior to 1850* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1982), 111.

⁸⁵ Luther Reed, Frank Senn, and Carl Dahlhaus all rightfully point out that this was a time in Germany of reclaiming historic forms in music and liturgy. But this historicism was not strong enough to overcome the theological imposition of Calvinistic theology of the Eucharist over the historic Lutheran stance.

spirits . . . The Lutheran is allowed neither to become Reformed, nor the Reformed Lutheran, but both should unite themselves in one new beloved [belebten] Evangelical-Christian Church in the spirit of Jesus . . . From there, everything that is “unevangelical” [unevangelisch] . . . must be abolished . . . [Luther] says also: “First of all, I am asking the one who wants my name to be silenced. What is *Luther*? The doctrine [Lehre] is of course not mine! I have not been crucified for anyone.”⁸⁶

If this excerpt is not clear enough, Probst—a Lutheran pastor serving a parish in Forks, Pennsylvania—identifies himself on the title page (as does Johann Conrad Jaeger who wrote the preface) as an “Evangelical Pastor.” This kind of thrust toward a reunified German church mirrored the parallel movement in Germany that culminated in the “Prussian Union” of 1817.⁸⁷

Unionism did not break down until the *Kirchenleute* perceived their theological differences, especially concerning the sacraments. Movements that advanced confessional consciousness of both communions eroded allegiances and as ethno-linguistic assimilation took place; there was no reason to remain yoked. Thus, the history of these union congregations starting in the 1820s and 30s was plagued with inner conflict. But even before the confessional revival, there was conflict from within. Stephanie Grauman Wolf concludes in her study on Germantown that: “religious quarrels, when they did take place in Germantown, were usually between factions of the same church or sect.”⁸⁸ Revivalism became an issue in the *Kirchenleute*

⁸⁶ Johann August Probst, *Die Wiedervereinigung der Lutheraner und Reformirten. Ein faßliches Lesebuch für nachdenkende Glieder beider Konfessionen, welche über diesen wichtigen Gegenstand gründlichern Unterricht und Aufschluß zu haben wünschen* (Allentown: Heinrich Ebner and Co., 1826), 101-102.

⁸⁷ To this day, the Union Church of Germany (the ecclesiastical institution of the state) is called the *EKD* or *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland*. But it should be noted that the Union Church in Germany did not get implemented smoothly. Many problems resulted from the joining of Lutherans and Calvinists into one church. When the Prussian Church was formed in 1817, those who would not conform to the new conglomerate theology were persecuted and many times imprisoned by the state, eventually leading to several large emigrations in the middle part of the century to America. The Lutherans who fled eventually founded the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and the Buffalo Synod, some of the most confessional and faithful to Luther’s teachings out of all of the Lutheran groups in the new land. For a better discussion on the trappings of Unionism and how it affected the Lutheran Church of Germany, see: Hermann Sasse. *Here We Stand: Nature and Character of the Lutheran Faith*. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1946).

⁸⁸ Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village*, 222.

congregations where those who wanted to assimilate tended to espouse a certain degree of English Wesleyan theology, creating a congregational identity crisis in many places.⁸⁹

The German Reformed Church on Race Street in Philadelphia was split into “revivalist” and “anti-revivalist” camps in the early 1830s.⁹⁰ While this was not a union parish, its pastors had been ecumenically inclined toward local Lutherans. Conditions in this place were so conflicted that both factions used the church’s council elections as a way to get their representatives in power to change the charter of the church.⁹¹ William Thomas Sprole, an ordained Presbyterian, took a call as the pastor of this church after great controversy, but his “inability to provide the congregation with a preaching ministry in the revivalistic style ultimately caused his demise.”⁹² It took leaders of the confessional Reformed Movement (Mercersburg) to bring the Reformed at Race Street back to their roots in the middle part of the nineteenth-century. John Nevin, published his tract in 1841, titled “The Anxious Bench: A Tract for the Times,” in which he promoted catechetical instruction against the fanaticism of revivalism, claiming that it was “a certain vulgarism of feeling in religion, that is always injurious to the worship of God, and often shows itself absolutely irreverent and profane.”⁹³ Nevin’s essay influenced some (including Joseph Berg, a Reformed revivalist) to drop their unabashed loyalty to revivalism.⁹⁴ It also stirred the fervor of other supporters so that they were even more determined to convert their churches into permanent camp-meeting tents. Nevin’s

⁸⁹ This, of course, was not always true. Charles Porterfield Krauth, who led the charge of the Confessional Movement in American Lutheranism, was an English-speaking Lutheran. See chapter 3 of this dissertation for an in-depth discussion of C. P. Krauth and the Confessionalization of Reformed and Lutherans. Revivalism also finds a place in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

⁹⁰ Harpster, 68.

⁹¹ Harpster, 68.

⁹² Harpster, 73.

⁹³ John W. Nevin, *The Anxious Bench: A Tract for the Times* (Chambersburg: Office of the Weekly Messenger, 1843), 51.

⁹⁴ See Joseph F. Berg, “Review of *The Anxious Bench* by John W. Nevin,” *The Protestant Banner* 3, no. 61 (May 16, 1844), 94.

tract even caused problems among the Lutherans. Benjamin Kurtz, editor of *The Lutheran Observer*, for example, used his position to speak out against Nevin and his ideas.⁹⁵ Despite this rift some union congregations managed to survive into the next century.

Pennsylvania Dutch identity was social and theological, visible and less visible to the outside world. Through a shared folk culture, the *Kirchenleute* identified with each other and found unity in the face of assimilating interests. As time progressed, their inner differences became apparent and this caused conflict for them. The next chapter will view the struggle for ethnic retention in more detail by focusing on the efforts of Pastor Heinrich Helmuth and the singing schools of the *Kirchenleute* via folk art, broadsides, and a “manuscript tune book.”

⁹⁵ See: *The Lutheran Observer* (January 26, 1844).

3.0 ETHNIC RETENTION

The Pennsylvania Dutch purposely used music and other art to express their ethnic peculiarities and resist cultural change initially. Music educated Dutch children and helped perpetuate their distinct theological beliefs, which were unique from the beliefs held by Anglo-Americans. A contextual backdrop for the study of Dutch tune books and their music during the retention phase of assimilation is vital for understanding music's place not only in Pennsylvania, but also in numerous early American communities, rural and urban. This chapter serves as a micro-study of the situation, focusing on the key Germanizer, Pastor Heinrich Helmuth, and musical institutions and documents that supported Dutch cultural retention.

3.1 CONTEXT OF RETENTION

Pennsylvania Dutch *Kirchenleute* were concentrated most heavily in Berks and Bucks Counties and around the Philadelphia area in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There was also a high concentration of *Kirchenleute* in Lancaster City, the largest inland Colonial city during the eighteenth century, where all of the Dutch groups interacted (see figure 7). Philadelphia was an urban setting involving more interaction between the Dutch and the host

society.⁹⁶ While it appears upon preliminary investigation that Germanizers existed mostly in Philadelphia, which was a highly mixed ethnic city, Germanizers were more vocal in this venue about cultural retention as they experienced more pressure from Anglo-Americans to assimilate into the host society. In both rural and urban settings, Dutch people were concerned that the pressure put on them to Americanize as well as the popularity of Revivalism would rob them of their own language and ethno-theological identity.



Figure 7. Nineteenth-century engraving of Lancaster City. (Reprinted from Israel Daniel Rupp's *History of Lancaster County*, 1844, frontispiece.)

⁹⁶ According to Steven Nolt's ethnographic study, few *Kirchenleute* actually lived inside of metropolitan Philadelphia, but Germantown was just outside of the city and provided the Philadelphia area with the earliest and strongest Dutch community. Steven M. Nolt, *Foreigners in their own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 6. For an in-depth study of Germantown, see Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

Sociologist Milton Gordon has shown that the rate of assimilation in rural areas is slower than in urban ones because country folk usually resist assimilation most.⁹⁷ Armin Weng, in his study on the language controversy in the Lutheran Church of Pennsylvania from 1742-1820, points to this rural-urban dichotomy and takes note that Philadelphia was a special case when it came to Germanizing:

In the smaller cities, and the rural communities of Pennsylvania, the language problem was not nearly so acute as in Philadelphia. The younger people in towns were not anglicized so rapidly as in the larger city, nor were there as many immigrants as were found in the Philadelphia church. It was easier for the people living in the towns and rural districts to continue speaking German, or Pennsylvania German, and the children less thrown in contact with those who spoke English, than was true in the city. Consequently the transition from the German to the English was much slower outside of Philadelphia. In most instances, too, it was peacefully accomplished. When there was strife, it was not nearly so bitter as Philadelphia . . . Nevertheless in certain cities and towns the language problem was a real one, and controversies followed, due to the determination of the German party, to whom the introduction of English services meant disloyalty to Lutheran doctrine.⁹⁸

Many German Reformed congregations in larger cities (e.g., Philadelphia) amalgamated earlier than the Lutherans and some of them joined the Dutch Reformed Synod of New York.⁹⁹ This was in part because they had Calvinist pastors, who were far more ecumenical and open to hosting events and people of other religious affiliations (in the English language). For example, when Presbyterian revivalist Charles Finney came to

⁹⁷ Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 78. Although the Early Republic period (especially the 1760s through the 1840s saw a steady decline in foreign born residents), Philadelphia received ships of Germans to a certain extent throughout the time period. Nolt, *Foreigners in Their Own Land*, 5.

⁹⁸ Armin George Weng, "The Language Problem in the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, 1742-1820," *Church History* 5, no. 4 (Dec. 1936): 370-371.

⁹⁹ The (Netherlands) Dutch Reformed Church of New York "became an exemplar of assimilation and Anglicization and was already at the forefront of an emerging coalition of Activist American evangelicals eager to claim responsibility for society as a whole and shape a common national culture." Nolt, *Foreigners in their own Land*, 71.

Philadelphia to hold revivals, he held them at the Reformed Church on Race Street, where the pastor and congregation were welcoming even though revivals and revival music were foreign to Dutch theology and church praxis.¹⁰⁰

According to Steven Nolt the ethnic identity that the Dutch shared was an "attitude" toward themselves and their cultural world, which was shaped by a historically accrued communal force.¹⁰¹ Dutch Lutherans promoted what the German-educated pastors and the newer immigrants had known in Germany. As Elizabeth Purdow has acknowledged in her study of Pennsylvania German education in the early Republic, the educated clergy, especially those in Philadelphia, were "primarily concerned with guiding their flock to the fulfillment of a high-German cultural model The high-German, Lutheran clergy faced a foreign [rural] southwestern German culture in addition to an anti-authoritarian American culture and British institutions."¹⁰² These pastors were fighting for cultural and theological retention, which were one and the same in their mind. The section below on Heinrich Helmuth and his *Evangelisches Magazin* illustrates this duality.

Retaining the German language was a key issue for the Germanizers. Prominent Anglo-American figures in colonial society attacked the Dutch in letters and newspaper articles, creating a mistrust of the Dutch among others in Pennsylvanian society.¹⁰³ As early as 1725, English-language publications gave them pejorative names, mocking them for their earthy

¹⁰⁰ Steven M. Nolt, "Becoming ethnic Americans in the early Republic: Pennsylvania German reaction to Evangelical Protestant Reformism," *Journal of the Early Republic* 20, no. 3 (Autumn, 2000): 432.

¹⁰¹ Don Yoder, "The Pennsylvania Germans: Three Centuries of Identity Crisis," *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred Year History*, vol. I (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 42.

¹⁰² Elizabeth Lewis Pardoe, "Poor Children and Enlightened Citizens: Lutheran Education in America: 1748-1800," *Pennsylvania History* 68 (April, 2001): 180.

¹⁰³ Glenn Weaver, "Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, series 3, 14, no. 4 (October, 1957): 540.

folkways and peculiar speech (e.g., "Palatines," "Boars," and "Goose and Turkey Palatines").¹⁰⁴ For the Dutch, language was a matter of identity and heritage, but for the English it was a matter of loyalty: "To people such as Benjamin Franklin, William Smith, and Richard Peters being a loyal English subject meant accepting English political values and religious attitudes and adopting the English language as the only mode of communication."¹⁰⁵ Benjamin Franklin devised a way to force the Dutch to learn English via a specially created educational institution called the "charity school." Pennsylvania Germans would learn proper English here so that they could integrate into Anglo-American society and leave behind their ethnic peculiarities. In this new system, schools would be "managed by distant authorities who were not accountable to local communities and who seemed to disregard local concerns." Charity schools "promised liberty through individual advancement, but ran counter to Pennsylvania Germans' sensibility of proper freedom and order."¹⁰⁶ Needless to say, the Dutch-speaking population fiercely opposed this kind of learning designed to replace church parochial schools. Steven Nolt shows, the Dutch not only opposed this system on grounds of ethnic language retention, but they also considered it to be contrary to early Republican ideals that they held concerning local government and American freedom.¹⁰⁷

Language was a pertinent ethnic marking for the Dutch, but this was always tied to religion because they saw "faith communities as one place where people could resist demands

¹⁰⁴ Hermann Wellenreuther, "Image and counter image, tradition and expectation: The German immigrants in English colonial society in Pennsylvania, 1700-1765," *America and the Germans: An assessment of a three-hundred-year history*, vol. I (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 86.

¹⁰⁵ Wellenreuther, 94.

¹⁰⁶ Steven Nolt, *Foreigners in their own Land*, 32. See also Whitefield J. Bell, Jr., "Benjamin Franklin and the German Charity Schools," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 99 (December, 1955):381-387; Samuel E. Weber, *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1905; reprinted, New York: Arno, 1969); A. G. Roeber, "The von Mosheim Society and the Preservation of German Education and Culture in the New Republic, 1789-1813," *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917*, eds. Henry Geitz, Jurgen Herbst, et al., (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 157-176.

¹⁰⁷ Nolt, *Foreigners in their own Land*.

for cultural conformity in the name of American revolutionary principle."¹⁰⁸ *Kirchenleute* witnessed the religion of the Second Great Awakening as it made inroads to various degrees in their communities from the 1780s through the 1830s, bringing with it the ways of Anglo-American churches and culture.¹⁰⁹ Revivalism seemed to the Americanizers like the answer "to their linguistic and acculturation problems in the first half of the 19th century," but where Revivalism took hold, it divided Dutch communities and congregations. Most *Kirchenleute* resisted camp meeting practices in official liturgies until the middle part of the nineteenth century, but others found it difficult to resist the lures of Revivalists.¹¹⁰

Methodist circuit-riding preachers, including William Colbert (1764-1833), learned the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect so they could hold revivals in Dutch country, particularly in the country churches.¹¹¹ Some Lutheran and Reformed people did resist the proselytizing, evidenced by Colbert's letter to Francis Asbury (1745-1816), Methodist Bishop, when he called Hamburg, Pennsylvania an "infamously wicked place" and lamented that he "might almost as well be in the heart of *Germany*." His letter reveals that it was the educated clergy ("wicked Dutch priests") who shunned his revival meetings, rendering these revivals worthless in that community.¹¹²

Dutch people realized that revivalists were "linking religious tenets with social policy," something that the Dutch opposed.¹¹³ Charles Finney came to Pennsylvania bringing his notion

¹⁰⁸ Nolt, "Becoming ethnic Americans," 426.

¹⁰⁹ Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals* (Lancaster: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1961), 1. As the nineteenth century progressed the "Methodist Invasion", as Yoder calls it, reached its highpoint in the 1820s and 1830s.

¹¹⁰ Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals*, 40. There were some Germans in America who worshiped using a German translation of the *Book of Common Prayer*, but this was not a common practice. See: Daniel Jay Grimminger, "Lutherans and Anglicans: The Liturgy of the Hours in Early American Lutheranism," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 76, no. 2 (June 2007): 176-203.

¹¹¹ John B. Frantz, "Early German Methodism in America," *Yearbook of German American Studies* (1991): 171-184. Also, see Nolt, *Foreigners in their own Land*, 50.

¹¹² Don Yoder, ed., "A Letter to Bishop Asbury," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1 (May 12, 1949): 5.

¹¹³ Nolt, "Becoming ethnic Americans," 427.

of religiously based civic reform to churches in eastern Pennsylvania.¹¹⁴ In his 1828 revivals held at the Race Street German Reformed Church, he "sparked a Pennsylvania German backlash" to revivals that was most obvious during his Reading revival the next winter (held at the Presbyterian Church).¹¹⁵ His printed memoirs state that the Dutch in that town "had no conception of revivals of religion," a lamentation that witnessed to the determination of the ethnic people to maintain their own ways of expressing Christian faith.¹¹⁶ German pastors preached against Finney, who encouraged "children to disobey their parents, by telling them that what their parents do or have taught their children, will lead them to hell!"¹¹⁷ The *Kirchenleute* were so outraged that in March of 1829 more than 130 Lutheran and Reformed lay people gathered in protest of evangelical revivals, which they claimed were threatening their worship and social lives.¹¹⁸ A larger May meeting in Heidelberg Township, Berks County, also sought to protest Revivalism.¹¹⁹ Other rallies took place throughout the same year, leading the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania to issue a general statement concerning the issue.¹²⁰ Above all, the Dutch opposed evangelicals, who they believed sought a political power through religion that employed emotive sermons and English hymnody and choruses as tools.¹²¹

Where Revivalism did take hold among the *Kirchenleute*, it manifested itself in the shift of theological emphases among the Lutherans from a theology of "Justification" to a theology of "Sanctification." In Lutheran theology of the Reformation era, Justification was the belief that

¹¹⁴ Nolt, "Becoming ethnic Americans," 432.

¹¹⁵ Nolt, "Becoming ethnic Americans," 432.

¹¹⁶ Charles G. Finney, *Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney, written by himself* (New York, 1876), 267. For more information on the Reading Revival, see: Milton W. Hamilton, ed., "Religious Revival in Reading, 1829," *Historical Review of Berks County* 15 (Oct. 1949): 148-150.

¹¹⁷ Nolt, "Becoming ethnic Americans," 433, quoted from Finney's letter to Louis Richards, Sept. 6, 1872.

¹¹⁸ "Versammlungen in Cocalico Taunship [sic], Lancaster County," *Adler*, April 7, 1829.

¹¹⁹ Nolt, "Becoming ethnic Americans," 432.

¹²⁰ Nolt, "Becoming ethnic Americans," 435. See: *Minutes of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1829), 14-16.

¹²¹ Nolt, "Becoming ethnic Americans," 435.

there is nothing that a believer can do to earn God's salvation. From this standpoint faith was a gift from God (*Donum Dei*) and this gift was bestowed on the Christian Church not through an emotive conversion experience, but through the Word of God added to the earthly elements of the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist. In Dutch churches, Justification found its strongest musical expression in the chorale genre because of Luther's emphasis on Justification and the genre's early rootage in the German Church of the sixteenth century German Reformation.

As some Dutch churches embraced Revivalism, they turned from their traditional Justification theology to Sanctification. In traditional German theology, Sanctification was the idea that a believer becomes holy in the eyes of God when he is baptized (and "justified"). However, the common conception of Sanctification in Revivalism was that it was a step-wise progression in life leading to a state of entire holiness. Sanctification, according to Revivalism, would happen only after a person would "accept" Jesus in their "heart."¹²² Revival Sanctification was embedded most clearly in Methodist hymns and choruses because Methodists and other English-speaking evangelicals stressed the life long process of living out one's faith and living a moral or "holy" life. Thus, the retentive Dutch used more chorales in part to retain their Justification theology, while the assimilating Dutch branched out from the chorale tradition to embrace Sanctification.

Some German Reformed and Lutheran pastors introduced "popular evangelical techniques and tendencies into their own congregations." While they limited excessive emotionalism, "they did employ successive weeknight 'protracted meetings' in an effort to build

¹²² For a case study of the theological opposition of Justification and Sanctification theology and how it played out in the Moravian Church and Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, particularly in the rhythms of chorales, see Daniel Jay Grimminger, Obl.O.S.B., "Rhythms of Faith: The Rhythmic Chorale Tradition in the Nineteenth Century," *The Hymn* 58, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 19-30. For definitions of Justification and Sanctification, see Timothy J. Wengert, and Robert Kolb, eds., *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000).

interest, along with spirited calls to conversion that were not necessarily tied to orderly catechetical instruction."¹²³ Others went as far as to mix Sanctification with Sacramental theology: "Members who insisted that they were made Christians through baptism, and not at a camp meeting, also saw their baptism as one step in a process of sanctification—a caveat their evangelical competitors may not have appreciated."¹²⁴ Germanizers attempted to cement German theology and language permanently in place with music in schools and churches.



Figure 8. Pastor Helmuth (Reprinted from J. C. Jenson, *American Lutheran Biographies*, 1890.)

¹²³ Nolt, *Foreigners in their own Land*, 55.

¹²⁴ Nolt, *Foreigners in their own Land*, 58.

3.2 PASTOR HEINRICH HELMUTH

Ethnic retention had its strongest advocate in Pastor Justus Christian Heinrich Helmuth (1745-1825), who believed not only that he preserve his Germanness, but also that “a principle way of preserving his Lutheran heritage was through the continued use of [the] German [language and traditional German church music]”¹²⁵ (see figure 8). Born in Helmstedt, Germany, he was educated in his teen years at the orphanage in Halle, the city known as the birthplace of Pietism (where many pastors in Pennsylvania were educated). He came to America in 1769, eventually to serve the joint congregation Zion and St. Michael's in Philadelphia for forty-one years (see figure 9).

Helmuth must have been a charismatic personality because wherever he served, he accomplished many things and moved people to service in the church.¹²⁶ His eloquence brought people from town and country to hear his sermons, and his congregations grew quickly.¹²⁷ Only two years after he began his first American call in Lancaster (commencing in 1769), he cut the church's debt in half and convinced 321 parishioners to subscribe for a new church organ.¹²⁸ But, his most significant accomplishments concerning Germans in America occurred during his tenure in Philadelphia.

¹²⁵ H. George Anderson, "The Early National Period: 1790-1840," *The Lutherans in North America*, rev. ed., (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 96.

¹²⁶ For more biographical information on Helmuth, see: J. C. Jensson, *American Lutheran Biographies; or, Historical Notices of over three hundred and fifty leading Men of the American Lutheran Church from its establishment to the Year 1890* (Milwaukee: A. Houtkamp and Son, 1890), 331-332.

¹²⁷ Theodore Emanuel Schmauk, *A History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania (1638-1820)*, from original Sources, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1903), 334.

¹²⁸ Schmauk, 331.

In 1779 Helmuth accepted a pastoral call at Philadelphia, where he had to contend with several disasters. His joint Lutheran congregation suffered the worst tragedy in its history in 1793 when the Yellow Fever epidemic infected Philadelphia.



Figure 9. Nineteenth-century engraving, St. Michael's Lutheran Church. (Author's Collection)

From August 1 to November 9, over 5,000 people in the city died of the disease, 625 of whom are believed to have belonged to Helmuth's congregations.¹²⁹ Within a year, the congregation did recover from this catastrophic event, which is evident in the parish's communicant

¹²⁹ Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The Religious and Social Conditions of Philadelphia, 1790-1800* (Philadelphia: no place listed, 1901), 13.

register.¹³⁰ Another tragedy occurred two weeks after Christmas Day of 1794, when the congregation's building was gutted by a fire that started in the sacristy. One account claims that while the Germans united to save the edifice, the Anglo-Americans and Franco-Americans tried to stop the recovery efforts:

While these efforts were made by the Germans to save their beloved Zion, a rabble of thousands of French and infidels had also gathered who, though strong and able-bodied, refused to aid in the passing of water or manning the levers of the engines; and, sad to say, they tried to interfere with the water supply. Hundreds of others stood idly by, while some more, bolder than the rest, attempted by force to prevent any salvage of property . . . Also the turbulent crowd in front of the church with their backs to the fire, [were] trying to break up the lines and prevent the Germans from fighting the fire.¹³¹

Strenuous efforts were made to save the organ, which the Moravian organ builder, David Tannenberg, had built and installed in 1790 and was described as “the finest [organ] in America.”¹³² In his historic account, Julius Friedrich Sachse describes the instrument, writing that it was beautifully made “with its multitude of pipes, and beautiful ornamentations, which portrayed the symbol of the Halle institution [from which Helmuth came] . . .”¹³³ Unfortunately Sachse does not indicate whether the organ actually survived.

Helmuth would be challenged next by dissension in the joint Philadelphia congregation. After the 1794 fire, many of the influential members insisted on holding English liturgies.¹³⁴ Unlike the Dutch in other places, Philadelphian *Kirchenleute* were some of the social elite in Philadelphia by this time and were used to communicating on a daily basis with English

¹³⁰ See parish communicant records for Zion and St. Michael's congregations at the Regional E.L.C.A. Archives housed at the Lutheran Seminary at Philadelphia.

¹³¹ Sachse, 21.

¹³² Sachse, 4, 20.

¹³³ Sachse, 20.

¹³⁴ Anderson, 96.

neighbors and colleagues. But Helmuth prohibited English in the church. Controversy came to a boiling point in 1803 when the president of Helmuth's joint congregation, General Peter Muhlenberg, led the charge to ask for English services conducted by an English minister.¹³⁵ The congregation voted against the idea. In 1804, 1805, and 1807, this group of disgruntled congregants brought their case to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Their efforts were in vain, however, since Helmuth was the president of the Ministerium.¹³⁶ The petition prompted the Ministerium to amend its constitution to state that "the Ministerium must remain a German-speaking body and that no regulation may be adopted which would introduce another language in the meeting. Delegates of English-speaking congregations could join after an examination but they, too, would have to speak in German in addressing the synod."¹³⁷

General Muhlenberg and the others finally left Helmuth's congregation to form St. John's Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, but the language controversy would not cease. The issue resurfaced ten years later, but this time the English speakers of the congregation spared no time in taking their complaints to the court of the land, ending in victory for the English-speakers in 1817, the three-hundredth anniversary year of the German Reformation.¹³⁸ The Germanizers

¹³⁵ Arthur C. Repp, *Luther's Catechism comes to America: Theological Effects on Issues of the Small Catechism prepared in or for America prior to 1850* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1982, 1982), 111. Peter Muhlenberg's father, Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg, was the patriarch of American Lutheranism.

¹³⁶ Anderson, 96.

¹³⁷ Repp, 111.

¹³⁸ The proceedings from this legal battle were printed in *Trial of Frederick Eberle and Others*. (Anderson, 97) English hymn books and liturgies were promoted in Pennsylvania as early as 1814 when Frederick H. Quitman, president of the New York Ministerium and an avowed rationalist, turned almost exclusively to English sources and rejected the chorale heritage. (Carl F. Schalk, *Source Documents in American Lutheran Hymnody*, St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1996, 44) His hymn book, *A Collection of Hymns and a Liturgy for the use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches; to which are added Prayers for Families and Individuals* (Philadelphia: Billmeyer, 1814), was the official hymn book of the New York Ministerium, but was used by some Pennsylvania congregations. However, this was not the first Lutheran hymn book printed in America in the English language. Johann Christoph Kunze, Peter Muhlenberg's brother-in-law, produced the first such resource in 1795, titled: *A Hymn and Prayer-Book for the use of such Lutheran Churches as use the English Language*. (New York: Hurtin and Commardinger, 1795).

would have to try to maintain their German identity in union churches and parochial schools through printed materials.¹³⁹

3.3 *EVANGELISCHES MAGAZIN*

Pastor Helmuth promoted Dutch culture most actively through a periodical for pastors, teachers, and laity. His *Evangelisches Magazin* was started in 1811 and continued as a regular publication until it ceased in 1817. Helmuth co-edited it with one of his prize pupils, John George Schmucker, creating a journal that "provided a means of communication for all those church leaders who sought a way to preserve the German language and promote their German schools."¹⁴⁰

In the October/December 1812 issue, the first of a series of articles titled "Zuruf an die Deutschen in America" ("Call to the Germans in America") appeared, in which Helmuth appealed to the Dutch to continue to educate their youth in German ways:

The casualties are great when our youth become entirely English. Whereby for most people all German diligence and honesty, German customs and way of living are also gone—whereby such transformation [Umschmelzung] is lost that made Germans the most honorable state's wise [Staatsklugen] and seers [Menschenkenner], who noticed the results of this folly rightly advise us Germans against this step; and the parents often pay in bloody tears in their old age when the young English-raised ladies and gentlemen are ashamed of their German fathers and mothers in the presence of their tea-time companions and when they squander their inherited goods on carriage rides, balls and theater.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Anderson, 98. Anderson claims that this bilingual approach is visible in many Dutch schools by 1813.

¹⁴⁰ Anderson, 98.

¹⁴¹ Justus Heinrich Christian Helmuth, ed. *Evangelisches Magazin*, erster Band, drittes Stück. (Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, 1811), 47. Translations of Helmuth's writings are by Daniel Grimminger

Helmuth's 1813 call to the Dutch is even more explicit, insisting that the English language means the decay of German culture and that the German language is superior for Germanic people:

How negative an influence will this change be to the customs and spirit of our youth that is now becoming completely English? They will take everything for beautiful and useful what they see with their English neighbors; they will reject their fathers' customs and become mere imitations... The loss of the fine German character has unfortunately already begun with pride, specifically in the cities... They do not know that the German language is an original, independently existing language, which possesses deeper richness and emphasis than all newer ones. It is far more useful for Poetry and meter [Silbenmaaß] than the English language. These weaknesses must give us a peculiar reputation in the eyes of the English! Germans neglect their mother tongue, and the English learn it for the sake of German learnedness and for its own sake.¹⁴²

One of his logical arguments becomes visible at the beginning of the second half of the 1813 article when he argues that the Jewish people kept their Hebrew tongue, which was vital to their existence as a people:

Our churches are suffering from the dying off of the German language, or at least a terrific blow; but both can be retained. Had the Jews ever given up the Hebrew language in their worship that is inherently theirs, their distinctiveness also among the world's nations possibly would have ceased; at least this was a tremendous preventative measure.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Helmuth, *Evangelisches Magazin*, dritter Band, drittes Stück. (1813), 70. "Wie nachtheilig wird der Einfluß dieser Veränderung auf die Sitten und Gemüthsart unserer Jugend seyn, die nun ganz englisch wird? Sie werden alles für schön und nützlich halten, was sie an ihren englischen Nachbarn sehen, ihre väterliche Sitten verachten und bloße Copien seyn. . . . Man fängt ja, leider, jetzt schon an, den edlen deutschen Character zu verlieren, besonders in Städten, und scheint stolz darauf. . . .Es ist ihnen unbekannt, daß die deutsche Sprache doch eine ursprünglich für sich bestehende Sprache ist, die mehr Reichthum und Nachdruck besitzt als alle neuern- der Dichtkunst und dem Sylbenmaaß weit angenehmer als die englische Sprache. Was müssen uns diese Schwachheiten vor ein sonderbares Ansehen in den Augen der Engländer geben! Deutsche vernachlässigen ihre Muttersprache, und Engländer lernen sie, um der deutschen Gelehrsamkeit und ihres Nutzens willen"

¹⁴³ Helmuth, *Evangelisches Magazin*, dritter Band, drittes Stück. (1813), 69. "Unsere Kirchen leiden durch das Absterben der deutschen Sprache, wenigstens einen entsetzlichen Stoß; aber beyde können erhalten werden. Hätten die Juden die ihnen eigenthümliche hebräische Sprache bey ihrem Gottesdienst, je ganz aufgegeben, so würde wahrscheinlich auch ihre Distinction unter den Nationen der Welt aufgehört haben; wenigstens war dies ein gewaltiges Verwahrungsmittel."

Helmuth was persistent in promoting German parochial education through articles in his journal. In one instance, he did this by tying education to worship:

But now the German protestant churches are threatened by a tremendous storm, which is not just a result of the natural course of things, but a sign of these times, which will rob them of their churchly well-being as well as all their joy if the teachers and parents do not counteract it with joint forces. It generally started, specifically in cities and at borders, that children be raised totally [ganz] in the English language and to carelessly neglect German worship [für den deutschen Gottesdienst ganz unverantwortlich zu vernachlässigen]. This is the result of the indifference and despising [Verachtung] of the wholesome teaching in our time of temptation, which is sweeping over the globe [Erdkreis]. If the youth would learn English, and just English, no reasonable person could speak out against that, as their well-being in this land requires it; but to withhold them totally from German worship and their church requires a carelessness of religion by the parents and a love of the popular [Zeitlichen], which is certainly noticeable.¹⁴⁴

According to Helmuth, German worship and church music were superior to those of other religious groups because they had intrinsic spiritual value:

Your English-raised children will lose forever now all the edification [Erbauung] which they could have from the German Worship; the beautiful German prayers, the marvelous children's instructions [Kinderlehren], the many spiritual [gottselig] songs and hymns, which already our ancestors used for comfort during time of need and death. Here the English language is much too poor to translate them properly ever. All those edifying books [Erbauungs-Bücher], which cannot be read any more in their mother tongue. The German seriousness in worship, whatever may be said about it, is not found in any English church as biblically pure, and at the same time so removed from all spiritual fanaticism [sinnlichen

¹⁴⁴ Helmuth, *Evangelisches Magazin*, dritter Band, drittes Stück (1813), 67. "Aber nun drohet den deutschen protestantischen Kirchen ein gewaltiger Sturm, der nicht bloße Folge des natürlichen Ganges der Dinge, sondern ein Zeichen dieser Zeit ist; und ihnen ihren kirchlichen Wohlstand sammt aller ihrer Freude bald rauben wird, wenn nicht Lehrer und Eltern mit vereinten Kräften dagegen arbeiten. Man fängt fast allgemein an, besonders in Städten und an den Grenzen, die Kinder ganz in der englischen Sprache zu erziehen und für den deutschen Gottesdienst ganz unverantwortlich zu vernachlässigen. Dies ist Folge der Gleichgültigkeit und Verachtung der heilsamen Lehre, in der großen Versuchungsstunde, die jetzt über den Erdkreis ergeht. Wenn man die Jugend bloß englisch lernen ließe, und vollkommen englisch; dagegen könnte kein Vernünftiger etwas sagen- ihre zeitliche Wohlfahrt in diesem Lande macht es nothwendig; aber sie ganz dem deutschen Gottesdienst und ihrer Kirche zu entziehen, setzt bey den Eltern eine Religions-Gleichgültigkeit und eine so große Vorliebe zum Zeitlichen voraus, die sicherlich auffallend ist."

Schwärmerey] and icy cold rationalism [Vernunft-Menschen], as it is found in a well-established German church. Given that they are changing now to the English church and that will be the case in a thousand instances over time, especially in the country-side. Those who spend their entire week in the company of lawyers, judges and sophisticated people, will also join them on Sundays for church. Those who value order, join the Presbyterians, if they do not have services themselves, and over time it becomes habit. And those who are eager in their Christianity, visit the Methodists, and soon are hooked. The Episcopal Church is not Lutheran as many unknowledgeable people think, and the Presbyterians are not Reformed. All of them differ from us in their confessions.¹⁴⁵

Ultimately, it is clear that in Helmuth's view culture and faith were intrinsically bound and that the inability to read German led one into a different religious confession and ultimately a different culture.¹⁴⁶ All of these things came together in Helmuth's journal:

Think of the advantage your children will have in trade and business and in society, if they understand both. Let the prophets say: The German language must end and fall in America; yet she will survive all these fools, and also those after them. Send your children gladly to German schools, where there is still singing, prayer, Bible and Catechism instead of the English schools where newspaper, history and fables are read.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Helmuth, *Evangelisches Magazin*, dritter Band, drittes Stück. (1813), 67-68. "Eure englisch erzogene Kinder verlieren nun auf immer alle die Erbauung, welche sie in dem deutschen Gottesdienst haben könnten- die schöne deutsche Gebeter- die herrliche Kinderlehren- die viele gottselige Lieder und Kirchengesänge, womit sich unsere Voreltern in Noth und Tod getröstet haben, und wo die englische Sprache viel zu arm ist, als daß man dieselbe jemals richtig übersetzen könnte; alle die gründliche Erbauungs-Bücher, welche sie nun in ihrer Muttersprache nicht mehr lesen können; den deutschen Ernst im Gottesdienst, der- man sage auch was man will- doch in keiner englischen Kirche so biblisch rein, und so gleich entfernt von aller sinnlichen Schwärmerey, und dem eiskalten Gang eines bloßen Vernunft-Menschen, angetroffen wird, wie in einer wohl eingerichteten deutschen Kirche. . . . Gesetzt sie gehen nun zur englischen Kirche über- und das wird in tausend Fällen mit der Zeit gewiß geschehen, vorzüglich im Land. Diejenige, welche die ganze Woche in der Gesellschaft der Rechtsgelehrten, Richter und vornehmer Leute zubringen, gehen auch des Sonntags mit ihnen in die Kirche; die auf Ordnung sehen, gehen- wenn sie selbst keinen Gottesdienst haben- zu den Presbyterianern, und daraus wird mit der Zeit Gewohnheit; und die feurig sind in ihrem Christenthum, besuchen die Methodisten, und werden bald gefangen. Die Episcopal-Kirche ist nicht Lutherisch, wie viele Unwissende meynen, und die Presbyterianer sind nicht Reformirt; sie weichen in ihren Glaubens-Bekennnissen [sic] alle von uns ab."

¹⁴⁶ Helmuth, *Evangelisches Magazin*, dritter Band, drittes Stück. (1813), 68.

¹⁴⁷ Helmuth, *Evangelisches Magazin*, dritter Band, drittes Stück. (1813), 71. "Denkt an den Vortheil den eure Kinder im Handel und Wandel und im gesellschaftlichen Vergnügen davon haben, wenn sie beydes verstehen. Laßt die Wetterpropheten immer sagen: Die deutsche Sprache muß in Amerika ausgehen und fallen; sie wird noch alle diese Thoren überleben, und ihre Nachfolger auch. Schickt eure Kinder gerne in deutsche Schulen- da ist doch noch Gesang, Gebet, Bibel, und Catechismus, wo man in englischen Schulen Zeitungen, Historie, und Fabeln lieset."

The periodical also carried articles reflecting Helmuth's concern for teaching music to the youth as a means of cultural retention. A "hymn of praise" (see figure 10), a result of type-set printing in the 1812 issue of the journal, includes melody and bass lines (no figures) for use by pastors, the parochial school, and the Pennsylvania Dutch singing school, a major institution of ethnic retention.¹⁴⁸

3.4 ETHNIC RETENTION AND THE SINGING SCHOOL

Much like their English counterparts in New England, Dutch communities established "singing schools," basing them on the English-language singing school in America. For the Dutch it was a way of promoting their ethnic identity, especially among the youth. How many Dutch singing schools existed and how they functioned in every community is not certain because of the lack of documentation. Broadsides and folk art can help us answer understand how the Dutch singing school differed from the English singing school, who participated, and what repertoire they sang. Mention of Dutch singing schools in primary or secondary literature is scanty and a call for more research on this topic over twenty years ago brought forth no one who has been willing to investigate the topic until now.¹⁴⁹ It is important to look critically at this unexplored area to gain a fuller picture of how music was used in retaining ethnic culture among the Dutch. Sometimes, according to Don Yoder, Lutheran and Reformed parochial schools would hold singing schools during the winter months and the children would learn the rudiments

¹⁴⁸ Helmuth, *Evangelisches Magazin*, erster Band, drittes Stück (1812), 186-187. This short musical piece has never been mentioned in scholarly literature until now.

¹⁴⁹ "Much needed is a history of the singing school among the Pennsylvania Germans." Don Yoder, *The Picture Bible of Ludwig Denig: A Pennsylvania German Emblem Book*, vol. I (New York: Hudson Hills Press), 99

of music (at least later in the nineteenth century) and the hymn-tune repertoire of the Church. The Dutch also used these schools as "courting opportunities."¹⁵⁰ Research for this dissertation shows that singing schools also served as the main church choir in at least three prominent Dutch places: Philadelphia, York and Lancaster.

In Philadelphia, Helmuth organized a singing school with the young people of his church, providing congregational support for the evening liturgies at St. Michael's Church. In a report written to the Halle Church Fathers in August of 1785, Helmuth discusses the new singing school and its purpose:

Between 30 and 40 of the most highly regarded young men and women of our congregation have joined together to form a singing school, wherein they regularly practice singing. Whenever it is possible I often attend the singing hour with them. Under my direction they have drawn up and subscribed to fixed regulations. They also come to the evening prayer services and edify the congregation with their lovely singing for the benefit of the poor; this also has the advantage that as a whole the congregation itself is beginning to sing much better.¹⁵¹

It is not sure how Helmuth taught these young singers the "fixed regulations" he mentions in his report, but according to existing correspondence between Helmuth and his colleagues in Europe,

¹⁵⁰ Yoder, *The Picture-Bible of Ludwig Denig*, 82. Yoder does not cite any sources for his statements on the singing school of Pennsylvania, but much of his research in Pennsylvania music was based on interviews with people born in the nineteenth century, who had gone to the singing schools during their youth.

¹⁵¹ "Unter unsern jungen Gemeingliedern haben sich zwischen 30 und 40 von den angesehensten Jünglingen und Jungfrauen vereinigt, eine Sing-schule zu errichten, worin sie sich in einem regelmäßigen Gesang üben. Ich komme öfters, wenn es möglich ist, mit in die Singstunde. Sie haben gewisse Grundregeln unter meiner Direction aufgesetzt und unterschrieben. Sie kommen denn auch in die Abendstunde, und erbauen mit ihrem lieblichen Gesang die Gemeine zum Besten der Armen; und dis [sic] hat auch den Vortheil, daß die Gemeine sich im Ganzen im Singen sehr zu bessern anfängt." Johann Ludewig Schulze, ed., *Nachrichten von den Vereinigten Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-America*, absonderlich in Pennsylvanien, vol. II (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1787), 1517-1518 (cited below as *Hallesche Nachrichten*); this citation is also found in a modern edition: Mann, Schmucker and Germann, *Nachrichten von den vereinigten Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-America*, vol. II (Philadelphia, 1895), 795. This entry was written on August 30, 1785.

Helmuth used tune books (and music text books) he bought from Germany.¹⁵² Period folk art gives even more answers concerning the singing school.



Figure 10. "Die Schwalbe," *Evangelisches Magazin*, 1813. (Author's copy)

¹⁵² See A. Gregg Roeber, "Lutheran Hymnody and Networks in the Eighteenth Century," *Land without Nightingales: Music in the Making of German-America* (Madison: Max Kade Institute for German American Studies, 2002).



<p>Nicht furchtbar wie des Löwen Stimm, Wenn er nach Raube brüllet, Und mit Geheul in großem Grimm Den Wald mit Schrecken füllet; Nein, ihre Stimme, sanft und leiß, Ergötzt die Jugend und den Greiß; Verkündigt Freude auf den Flu- ren Und predigt Gottes Wunder- Spuren.</p> <p>Sehr kunstreich, wie des Meisters Hand, Palläste auszumieren, Gehet sie zu Werk, ohn' allem Tand, Ihr Burgeschloß aufzuführen: Sie sorget für Bequemlichkeit</p>	<p>Und ihrer Kinder Sicherheit. Sie rühmt auch hier des Schöp- fers Werke Und seine Weisheit, seine Stär- ke.</p> <p>Ihm preißt das ganze Sternen- heer, Ihm glänzen sie in Lüften. Ihm wimmelt es in tiefem Meer. Ihm bläht das Lamm auf Trif- ten.</p> <p>O, Mensch! wem opferst du denn Dank? O, bring' dem Schöpfer Lobge- sang, Dem alle Creaturen dienen, Ja Engel und die Seraphinen.</p>
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Figure 10. (Continued)

3.5 THE MILLER SKETCHES

The hand-colored sketches of nineteenth-century artist Lewis Miller (1796-1882) at the York Historical Society, York, Pennsylvania, reveal interesting details about the singing school in York. Many of Miller's nineteenth-century sketches were intentionally iconic of situations when music was performed in the everyday life of the Dutch and Miller's depiction of singing schools is particularly valuable to this study.

In one of the most pertinent sketches, Miller shows the 1805 York singing school at the Lutheran Church led by his father the same year that the first protracted meeting happened in York, showing that Miller and his father might have been reacting to the new religion that came to town.¹⁵³ The sketch shows a group of twelve singers (8 males and 4 females) with tune books; all of the singers seem to be looking at the score with closed mouths, some sitting on benches around a square table, others looking over their shoulders. The books from which they are singing contain three staves, underlaid with text. Lewis Miller Sr., the local school teacher and organist, is one of the men standing on the left side of the table, where he would have beat out the tempo of the music as the "singing master" or "Vorsinger." This was not unlike Anglo-American singing masters, who would have been school teachers or itinerants.¹⁵⁴ All but the two figures in Miller's depiction, William Fornschild and George Snyder as they are named below the sketch, seem to be adults, proving that adults and children participated.

¹⁵³ This sketch is also reproduced in Donald A. Shelley, ed., *Lewis Miller Sketches and Chronicles: The Reflections of a Nineteenth Century Pennsylvania German Folk Artist* (York: Historical Society of York County, 1966), 40. It should be noted here that the collections manager at the York County Heritage Trust would not grant permission to UMI to reproduce the Miller sketches on demand in this dissertation. Because of this, the Miller examples had to be omitted from this dissertation.

¹⁵⁴ It should be noted here that the term "Singing Master" or "Vorsinger" is a word that is rooted in the secular sphere of the English singing school, a place of learning and socializing, whereas the term "Precentor," which was used in several Dutch sources (e.g., the 1813 chorale book discussed in the next chapter), is a word rooted in the religious instruction of music, deriving from the Latin.

The exceptional figures look like they are about fifteen and ten respectively. Noticeably, all of the singers are numbered and listed below the sketch, some of them bearing anglicized names. Miller's sketch could have been a stylized group portrait rather than a realistic view of the singing school practice in the Dutch community, however all of his other sketches depict real folklife events as Miller experienced them in Pennsylvania Dutch country and this sketch is probably no different.

The York singing school sketch is similar to the frontispiece in William Billings' *New England Psalm-Singer* (1770), engraved by Paul Revere, in which six singers sit around a table, each sharing a book with another, while the "singing master" sits facing them with his own book, beating the time with his right hand (see figure 11). If Revere's engraving is an accurate depiction of an actual New England singing school, it reveals in combination with Miller's sketch what parallels existed in practice between Dutch and English singing schools.

Miller does confirm that York was similar to Philadelphia in that the singing school had a liturgical function; the participants in these schools sang for worship services at the affiliated churches (see the next section of this chapter concerning the Philadelphia singing school).

According to another famous example from Miller's sketchbook, almost all of the members in the "singing choir" of the York Lutheran Church were also members of the 1805 singing school. In this second example from Miller's pen, there is only one person in the choir with a hymn or tune book and that is Miller. Against the grain of the historic Lutheran worship tradition in which organists led congregational worship from the console, Miller served as the "precentor" or leader in the York church even with an organist present. The precentor would have "lined out" the

chorales for worship, a standard practice in other Dutch congregations, but foreign to Lutheran and Reformed congregations in Germany.¹⁵⁵ Broad­sides give more details of the singing schools.



Figure 11. Frontispiece, William Billings' *New England Psalm Singer*. (Roughwood Collection)

¹⁵⁵ Heinrich Helmuth mentions "lining out" chorales in the preface to his 1813 chorale book. See the next chapter of this dissertation for more details. Heinrich Muhlenberg mentions lining out numerous times throughout his journal. See Theodore Tappert, trans., *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942). This practice must have been adopted after the German immigrants had contact with the New England worship practices of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries. Unfortunately no documentation exists concerning exactly when or how the Dutch adopted this way of singing.

3.6 BROADSIDES

Music broadsides take us even deeper into the Dutch singing school. They allow us to see particular performance praxis and repertoire of specific places. Although there has been some scholarly interest in popular (mostly secular) music broadsides in Pennsylvania, especially for their typographic features and their (occasional) hand-colored *Fraktur* art, scholars have written nothing about broadsides used in Dutch singing schools or the Dutch Church.¹⁵⁶

A broadside housed in the Lutheran Seminary Archives in Philadelphia (Mt. Airy) was published by Helmuth for his singing school's practice ("Rede-Uebung") at Zion Lutheran Church in Philadelphia on October 12, 1786 (see figure 12). This rare kind of broadside tells us how Philadelphia singing-school participants learned and practiced music by providing an agenda for the practice session. The person (presumably Helmuth) who published this broadside, titled *Folgende Ordnung*, divided the students of the singing school into small groups, each of which sang a verse of a chorale.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ See Don Yoder, *The Pennsylvania German Broadside: A History and Guide* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2005), chapter one ("Song and Ballad Broadside").

¹⁵⁷ *Folgende Ordnung wird Heute, als am 12ten October, 1786, bey der Vocal Musik unserer Singeschule, und Rede-Uebung verschiedener Studenten und Schüler der hiesigen Deutschen Academie, in Zion gehalten werden* (The Following Order will be held today, the twelfth of October, 1786, for the vocal music of our singing school and speech practice of different school children and students of the Academy in Zion Church).



Figure 12. Folgende Ordnung Broadside, 1786.
(The Lutheran Archives Center at Philadelphia copy.)

This one Philadelphia broadside is a window into the intergenerational dimension of the Philadelphia singing school. Both “Studenten” (school children) and “Schüler der hiesigen Deutschen Academie” (pupils of the local German Academy who were between high school and college age), listed by name on the broadside, sang together in small groups of two to eight singers. Some of them were young and others were older. Among the older participants, Heinrich

Mühlenberg sang in the first group and Heinrich Kämmerer, a German printer, sang in the sixth.¹⁵⁸

Broadsides give us even more details about Dutch singing schools in the ethnic retention phase. One printed in 1785, titled *Die Frohe Pfingst-Freude und Andacht*, made use of the traditional “Alternatim Practice,” which was a practice of alternating the verses of a chorale between different ensembles, organ or congregation (see figure 13). This would have been a practice that Lutherans knew as far back as the Baroque period.¹⁵⁹ There are two chorales on the 1785 broadside and the indications on the page state that the verses of each are to be sung in alternation (i.e., choir-duet-choir-duet-choir). While alternation between different groups was also found in Anglo-American singing school practice, the Dutch in Philadelphia more likely inherited this performance practice from Germany since it was ingrained in the Lutheran musical heritage. Maybe it was just a method of rehearsal, but the singing school nevertheless was continuing a German performance practice found in German cantatas and congregational singing.

Broadsides also provide a hint of what singing schools were singing outside of printed tune book repertoire. The 1786 broadside indicates that the Zion Church in Philadelphia, while it only made use of German chorales, had a supplemental repertoire that was outside of the official synodical hymn book, *Erbauliche Lieder Sammlung*, 1786. Pastor Helmuth and David Ott, who

¹⁵⁸ It is not for sure whether the Heinrich Kämmerer on the 1786 broadside is Heinrich Jr. or Heinrich Sr. Both were printers and according to *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America*. Edited by Karl John Richard Arndt and Reimer C. Eck (Göttingen: Niedersächsisches Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 1989), vol. II, the father and son died 1797 and 1798 respectively. For more information concerning the Lutheran education system, especially the “Academy,” see Pardoe, “Poor Children and Enlightened Citizens,” 190. The students from Helmuth’s academy were part of comprehensive institution where they were to learn the Latin authors and Greek New Testament. Essentially, Helmuth envisioned this school as a “seminary for German preachers.”

¹⁵⁹ *Die Frohe Pfingst-Freude und Andacht der Evangelischen Lutherischen Singschulen der Gemeinde in Zion, abgesungen unter der Anführung des Herrn David Otts (The Happy Pentecost- Joy and Prayer of the Evangelical Lutheran Singing School of the Zion Congregation, Performed under the Direction of Mr. David Ott).*

collaborated on occasion to create new chorale texts for preexisting chorale tunes (as well as some new tunes) probably wrote these unidentified chorale texts for the singing school. In the spirit of their German upbringing and training, these two men also composed six- and seven-movement cantatas, of which one libretto and part of another score are extant.¹⁶⁰ The Lancaster singing school was more conservative than other schools in its repertoire according to the chorales found by Don Yoder in the back of a folk artist's *Picture-Bible*.

3.7 DENIG'S PICTURE-BIBLE

A *Picture-Bible* illustrated by folk artist Ludwig Denig (1755-1830) gives more information concerning the singing schools. Denig, a student in the Lancaster Reformed singing school, was connected to the Lutheran congregation where Helmuth served because Denig's wife, Barbara Gundacker, was a member of the local Lutheran congregation. His hand-drawn and colored *Picture-Bible*, dated 1784, is a large quarto leather bound volume and its paper bears the watermark of the paper mill at the Ephrata Cloister.

¹⁶⁰ Edward C. Wolf, "Music in Old Zion, Philadelphia, 1750-1850," *The Musical Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (Oct., 1972): 622-652. A libretto for an Advent cantata (1790), which was set up in the following fashion: chorus, recitative, aria, recitative, aria, recitative, chorale, can be found in the Library of Congress. (Wolf, 634) A cantata written by J. C. Moller, another one of Helmuth's organists in Philadelphia, composed for the dedication of the German Lutheran Church in Reading on June 15, 1794, is housed in the Krauth Memorial Library at the Lutheran Seminary in Philadelphia. (Wolf, 640-641) Its printed music is solely choral; no full score exists except the arias and duet that include keyboard accompaniment. Because of the detached and arpeggiated nature of the accompaniment, might have been played on the piano or harpsichord rather than the organ. (Wolf, 640)

Die
Frohe Pfingst-Freude und Andacht

der Evangelischen Lutherischen Singeschule der Gemeinde in Zion, abgesungen
unter der Anführung des Herrn David Otis. 1785.

Erster Pfingst-Gesang.

Chorus.

Der Geist ist da! Es rauscht der Wind
Vom Himmel nieder auf die Erde,
Er füllt das Haus, wo Jünger sind,
Des grossen Heilands fromme Heerde.
Der Geist ist da!

Duetto.

Ich fühle dich, des Geistes sanftes Sausen,
Vom Himmel her merk ich des Windes Brausen,
D fülltest du mein ganzes Herz,
Ich bete brünstig auf zu dir;
Erbarme dich doch über mich!
Ach höre, Ach höre!
Laut schall't das Flehn deiner Glieder.

Chorus.

Seht welche grosse Wunderthat,
Sie reden ungelernte Sprachen,
Heut fällt des Wortes reiche Saat,
Es mögen dumme Spötter lachen,
Der Geist ist da!

Duetto.

Komm, heiliger Geist, verbreite Licht und Leben,
Wir haben nichts, du mußt uns alles geben,
Der Sohn erwarb dich uns zum Heil;
Seh mir und allen Licht und Kraft;
Bist du nur da, und allen nah,
Dann jauchzen—dann jauchzen
Dir Mund und Herzen zum Preise.

Chorus.

Die Kraft des Wortes der Gnaden faßt
Wie Donner harte Sünder Herzen,
Sie fühlen, statt der Lust die Last,
Von tausendfachen Sündenschmerzen.
Der Geist ist da!

Zweiter Pfingst-Gesang.

Chorus.

Wie lieblich bist du Tag der Freude,
Der Trübsal kommt und füllt das Herz,
Die Erde jauchzet dir entgegen,
Vor dir verschwindet Angst und Schmerz.

Duetto.

Komm, heil'ger Geist, erfüll die Herzen,
Und mache sie aus Gnaden neu,
Hilf daß anstatt der Kummer-Schmerzen
Des Himmels-Wonne sie erfreu.
D hebe mich auch zu dir auf,
Und fördere meinen Pilgrims-Lauf.

Chorus.

Seh deinem Zion heute nahe,
Es betet zahlreich zu dir auf,
Erschüttere todter Sünder Herzen,
Und fördere der deinen Lauf.

Duetto.

Dein Zion sucht dich heute wieder,
D höre du den Lobgesang,
Es schallen frohe Andachts-Lieder,
Wir stimmen dir zum Preise Dank,
Seh unser Schutz, seh unser Gott,
Und mache selbst den Feind zum Spott.

Chorus.

Seh heute du der Seelen Weide,
Seh Lehrer, König und Prophet,
Bis von uns dort mit Himmels-Chören
Dein Lob auf ewig wird erhöht.

Figure 13. Die frohe Pfingst-Freude Broadside, 1785.
(The Lutheran Archives Center at Philadelphia copy.)

The book contains mostly pictures of some key biblical stories: history of the passion of Jesus, the martyrdom of the apostles, the martyrdom of John the Baptist, as well as allegorical drawings accompanied by devotional texts.¹⁶¹ The final portion of Denig's book contains hymn tunes arranged for two and three parts. A normal exercise of Dutch singing schools was to have each student copy out favorite tunes from tune books, from memory, or the singing master, who was often a folk artist, and he would create a colorful title page that included the name of the student and the location.¹⁶² Don Yoder believes that the twenty tunes found in the back of Denig's *Picture-Bible* were transferred from Denig's singing-school tune book, but if this is true it is not certain which musical sources Denig utilized.¹⁶³ The repertory in the *Picture-Bible* is mostly early Reformation chorales (or *Kernlieder*) from Germany, accompanied by their original texts:¹⁶⁴ 1. "Betrübtes Hertz sey wohl gamut" (Saddened heart, be of good cheer); 2. "Alle Menschen müssen sterben" (All men must die); 3. "Mein heiland habe auf mich acht in dieser Wüsteney" (My Savior, take good care of me, in all this desert land); 4. "Muss ich oft schon traurig gehn" (If I must walk in sadness often); 5. "Herr, dein Lob aus breiten ist der Engel lust" (Lord, spreading your praise is the angel's delight); 6. "Freylich bin ich arm und bloss" (Poor am I indeed and naked); 7. "Frölich soll mein hertze springen" (My heart shall leap with joy); 8. "Ruff getrost ihr wächter Stimmen" (Call confidently, you watchmen's voices!); 9. "Jesus, Jesus, nichts als Jesus" (Jesus, Jesus, nothing but Jesus!); 10. "Der am Creutz ist mein Liebe" (On the cross is the one I love); 11. "Allein Gott in der höh sey her" (All glory be to God on high); 12. "Jesu meiner Sellen [sic, Seelen] Leben" (Jesus, life of my soul); 13. "Fort, fort zum Himmel zu"

¹⁶¹ Don Yoder analyzes this book in detail and shows how Denig's volume pulls from and overlaps several genres of Protestant devotional literature. See: Yoder, *The Picture Bible*, vol. I.

¹⁶² Yoder, *The Picture Bible*, vol. I, 82.

¹⁶³ Yoder, *The Picture Bible*, vol. I, 82.

¹⁶⁴ This list retains Denig's spelling even when incorrect or antiquated.

(Forward on to heaven go!); 14. “Nun dancket alle Gott” (Now thank we all our God); 15. “So gehst du dann mein Jesus hin” (So then you go, my Jesus, hence); 16. “Mir nach spricht Christus unser Helt” (Follow me, says Christ, out hero); 17. “Siehe hie bin ich ehren König” (See, King of glory, here am I); 18. “Nun fröhlich komt ihr Christen all” (Now cheerfully come, you Christians all!); 19. “Herr dich lieb ich Herr ich lieb dich” (Lord, I love you, Lord, I love you); 20. “Halleluia Lob Preiss und Ehr sey unserm Gott” (Hallelujah, praise, glory and honor be to our God!). One of the most widely known chorales in Denig’s collection among the Dutch was “Nun danket alle Gott” (“Now Thank we All our God”). See figure 14.

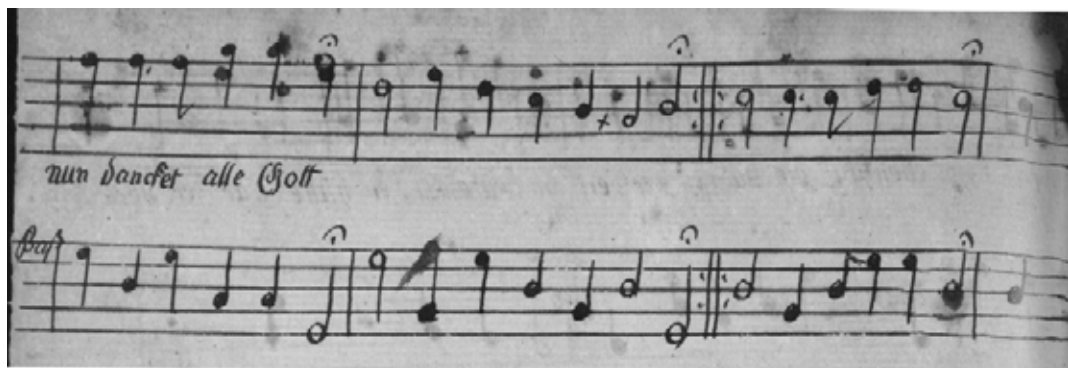


Figure 14. “Nun danket all Gott” (excerpt), Denig’s *Picture-Bible*, 1784. (Reproduced with permission of Don Yoder.)

Most of these tunes are in simple meters (many in common time) and the melodic style is predominantly syllabic with conjunct movement and a relatively limited range for each, making this repertoire easy to sing. One of them is an anthem, “Mein Heiland habe auf mich Acht,” which contains a small section of polyphonic entries and short eighteenth-note melismas in each of the three voices, something that the average parishioner would have had problems singing in the *Kirchenleute* churches (see figure 15). In light of these details, Denig’s book possibly also indicates that the Lancaster singing school was the parish liturgical choir as was the case in York

and Philadelphia. The Reformation-era practice of unison singing was still in full use in Pennsylvania except for when the choir sang during worship. With the utilitarian spirit of the Dutch in mind, this anthem was probably more than an exercise. It was likely an anthem intended for after the sermon or *sub communione* because of its mention of Jesus' blood:

My savior, watch over me in this wilderness.
You brought me here, I thank you for your faithfulness!
With which you give me strength.
You test me and know my heart,
 it longs to be faithful.
But you also see my pain,
 it is not completely pure,
Your Grace, your blood, see me as I am.¹⁶⁵

Lutheran and Reformed "Manuscript Tune Books," while they might have been a school exercise in some locations, are extremely rare because printed tune books were considered the ideal medium for learning and performing music in *Kirchenleute* institutions. Unlike the Frankonia Mennonites, who created "Manuscript Tune Books" as a way of standardizing a local repertoire and style in their oral culture, *Kirchenleute* tended to be more literate and continued using imported printed sources for official functions. But, like the *Sektenleute*, retentive Lutheran and Reformed people, particularly the Germanizers, wanted their school children to be engaged in German culture through music.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Yoder, *The Picture Bible*, vol. II, unnumbered pages. "Mein Heiland habe auf mich Acht in dieser Wüste ney. Du hast mich dis hieher gebracht, Ich danke deiner Treu! Womit Du mich gib mir die Krafft. Du prüffest mich und kenst mein Hertz, es sehnt sich Treu zu seyn. Doch siehest du auch meinen Schmerz, das es nicht föllig Rein, Dein Heil Dein Blut, sieh wie ich mich."

¹⁶⁶ In one situation, Johann Adam Eyer (1755-1837), a Lutheran Frakturist, taught in Mennonite schools of Bucks and Montgomery Counties, creating title pages to manuscript tune books among *Sektenleute* children. See Frederick S. Weiser, "IAESD: The story of Johann Adam Eyer (1755-1837), schoolmaster and Fraktur artist, with a translation of his roster book, 1779- 1787," *Ebbes fer Alle Ebber-Ebbes fer dich/ (Something for Everyone- Something for you): Essays in memoriam Albert Franklin Buffington* (Breinigsville, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1980): 435-506

All of the Pennsylvania Dutch used music to define and defend their identity (whether they were Americanizers or Germanizers).¹⁶⁷ In the next chapter I will investigate how this happened via the elements of printed retentive tune and chorale books, which give a broader understanding of ethnic retention in various communities, and different Dutch churches.

¹⁶⁷ Suzanne Gross, and Wesley Berg, "Singing it 'our way': Pennsylvania-German Mennonite Notenbüchlein (1780-1835), *American Music* 19, no. 2 (2001): 204-205.

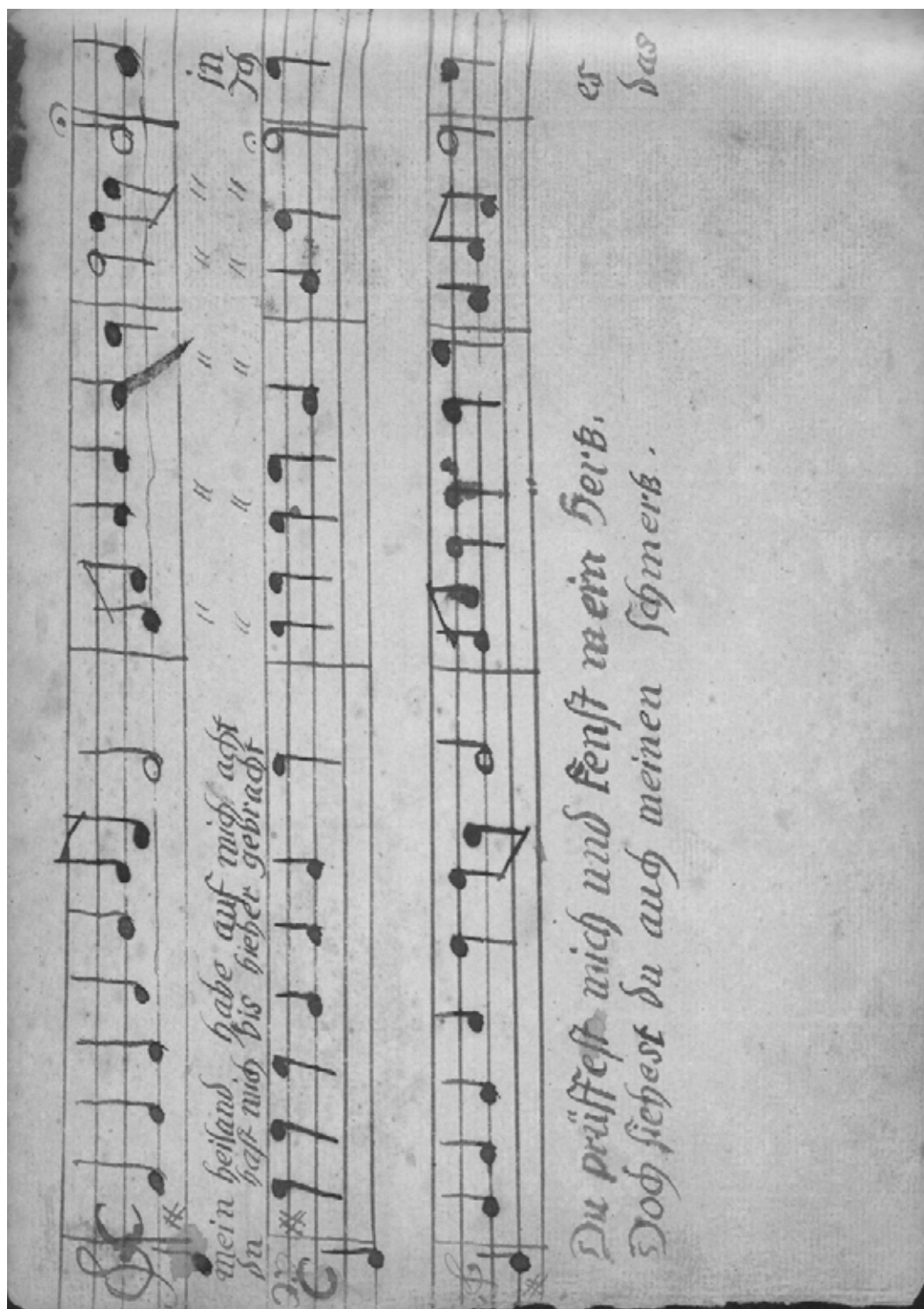


Figure 15. Anthem from Denig's *Picture-Bible*, 1784.
(Reproduced with permission of Don Yoder.)

Handwritten musical score on two staves. The notation is in a historical style, likely 17th or 18th century. The lyrics are in German.

Staff 1:

Dieser wüßte ney
 anse seiner Freu
 wo mit du mich
 gib mir die Krafft

Staff 2:

Sehnt sich Freu zu sein
 es nicht föllig Rein
 Sein dem
 heil ~~heil~~ blut
 Sieh wie ich mich

Figure 15. (Continued)

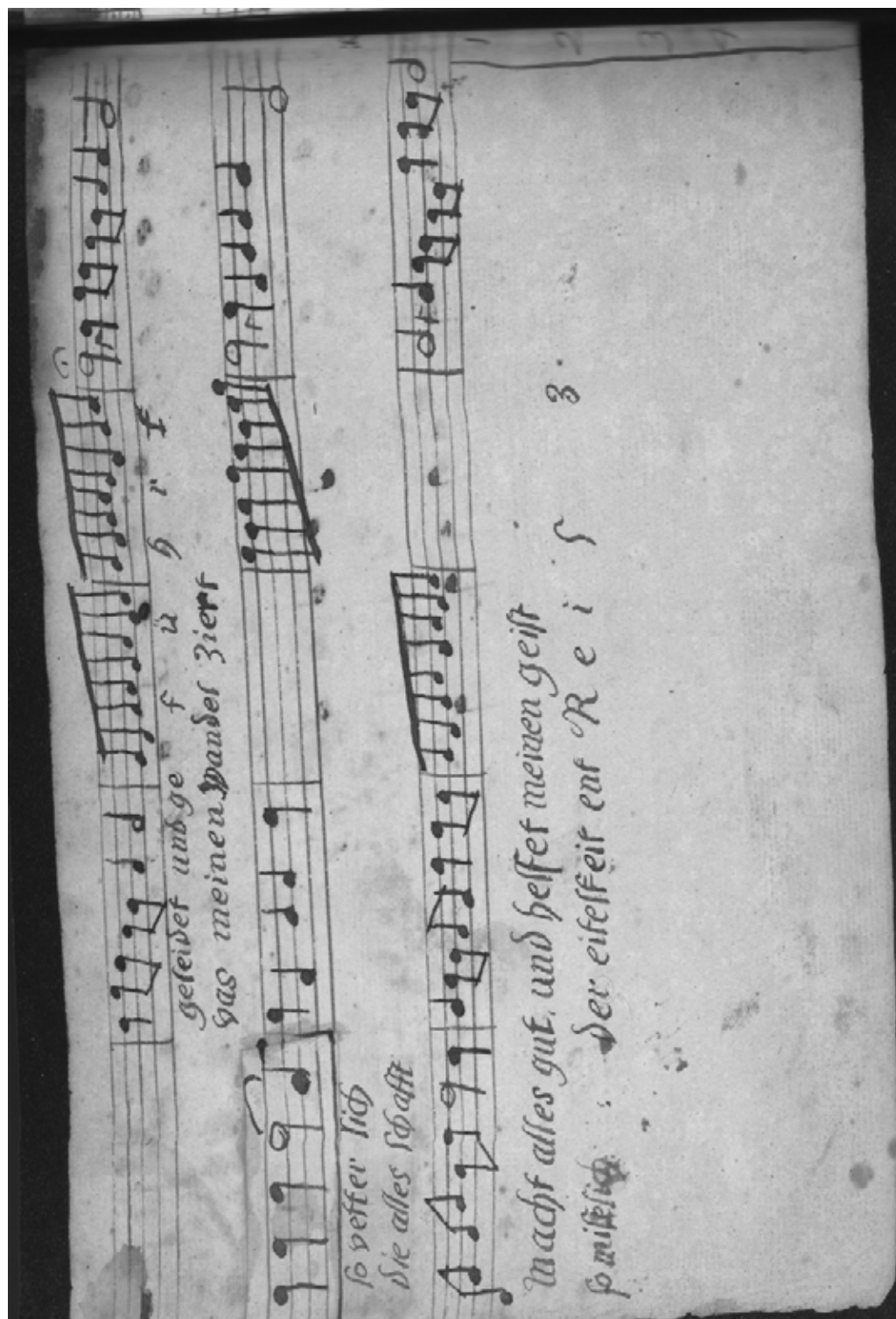


Figure 15. (Continued)

4.0 RETENTIVE TUNE AND CHORALE BOOKS

Analysis of Pennsylvania Dutch tune and chorale books provides a broad or macro understanding of how the Dutch supported and promoted their ethnic culture. The linguistic, theological, musical, and typographical characteristics of these books are part of a larger turn to European elements in American music printing, and clearly serve as a battleground for Dutch ethnic retention in the early Republic period (through the latter part of the nineteenth-century on the Philadelphia front). In these books, peculiar introductions and printing methods as well as exclusively German language and repertoire convey a strong concern for remaining autonomous from English culture and worship. This chapter will lay out the main retentive characteristics of these books, which exceed the localized methods of retention in broadsides and folk art. It was in these books that the ethnic struggle against the predominant English culture was fought, eventually yielding to assimilation and conformity later in the century.

4.1 RETENTIVE TUNE AND CHORALE BOOK CHARACTERISTICS

During the earliest years of Dutch communities in Pennsylvania, organists and pastors used European books until they deteriorated or American imprints replaced them. Thus the issue of retention was simple as long as hymn and chorale books were brought from the fatherland. A well-known example of this is the Hessian chorale book, *Vollständiges Hessen-Hanauisches*

Choral-Buch, welches so wohl Melodien der 150. Psalmen Davids, als anderer in beyden Evangelischen Kirchen unseres Deutschlands bisher eingeführten alten und neuen Lieder in sich fasset: für Kirchen und Schulen, auch Privat-Andachten auf eine gantz neue Art eingerichtet und mit einem dazu nöthigen Vorbericht herausgegeben von Johann Daniel Müller (Frankfurt am Mayn: Stocks, Erben, Schilling, und Weber, 1754), a copy of which is housed in the German Reformed Seminary Archives in Lancaster. Caspar Schaffner, who was the organist and choir director at First Reformed Church in Lancaster in the later years of the eighteenth century, used this book for accompanying congregational worship and most likely brought it with him when he emigrated from his homeland. Schaffner signed the title page and dated it 1796.¹⁶⁸ Unlike the music used in the *Sektenleute* tradition that traveled orally from one generation to the next, music in the *Kirchenleute* churches came directly out of the chorale book.¹⁶⁹ Moravians also used chorale books. In fact, they brought their one and only chorale book publication to America and did not print an American successor volume since the hymns were often committed to memory, and the organists could play them in various keys, to accompany the parishioners who used text-only hymn books.¹⁷⁰

The German Reformed organists continued to import chorale books from Germany well into the first decade of the nineteenth century, even after the appearance of Conrad Doll's tune book *Sammlung geistlicher Lieder nebst Melodien* (1798). According to Pastor Helmuth's diaries and to the congregational records of St. Michael's and Zion joint congregation, Helmuth frequently asked the authorities in Germany to ship hymn books, chorale books, and liturgies to America, "thus enabling American Lutheran churches to keep abreast of the latest European

¹⁶⁸ Don Yoder, ed., *The Picture Bible of Ludwig Denig*, vol. I (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1990), 82.

¹⁶⁹ Paul M. Yoder, "The Ausbund," *Four Hundred Years with the Ausbund* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1998), 7.

¹⁷⁰ James Boeringer, ed., *Choral-Buch by Christian Gregor* (Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1984), introduction.

practices."¹⁷¹ When the War of 1812 cut off the European supply of Lutheran chorale books the printing of an American chorale book became essential. This ended the discussion on creating a German-American chorale book that had commenced decades earlier among American Lutherans (see below).¹⁷²

When the *Kirchenleute* finally had the need to print their own books in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they included European elements in these publications that helped congregations retain their ethnic heritage:

1) Language: Retentive tune and chorale books were entirely in the German language. As was true of Bible lections in Dutch worship, the music of worship retained High German (*Hochdeutsch*) instead of Pennsylvania Dutch (*Deitsch*) as the *Lingua Ecclesii*.¹⁷³ Since language is the primary marker of ethnicity and culture, German was present in all retentive books, excluding English *in totum*.

2) Tune-book introductions: Some retentive books contained introductions that discussed the goals of the book and wishes of publication committees. One retentive tune book, *Sammlung geistlicher Lieder nebst Melodien* (1798), contains a brief singing school introduction that teaches its users how to read music, but it is exceptional since such introductions originated in Anglo-American singing-school tune books. Most immigrants from Germany (especially those

¹⁷¹ Edward C. Wolf, "Two Divergent Traditions of German-American Hymnody in Maryland circa 1800," *American Music* 3, no. 3 (Autumn 1985), 301.

¹⁷² A.G. Roeber, "Lutheran Hymnody and Networks in the Eighteenth Century," *Land without Nightingales: Music in the Making of German-America*, eds. Philip V. Bohlman and Otto Holzapfel (Madison: Max Kade, 2002): 113-126. For an in-depth discussion of the War of 1812 and trade restrictions, see: Donald R. Hickey, "American Trade Restrictions during the War of 1812," *The Journal of American History* 68, no. 3 (Dec. 1981): 517-538.

¹⁷³ Even to the present day, the Amish (and other *Sektenleute*) use *Hochdeutsch* (High German) for worship even though they have difficulty understanding it. This historically has been a way of elevating worship above the everyday common transactions of Dutch life.

of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries) knew how to read music because of their parochial training in German schools. As a result, didactic prefaces were generally unnecessary in chorale books of the ethnic retention stage.

3) Genre: Retentive books contained only European repertoire. The 1813 *Choral-Buch* compiled by Heinrich Helmuth, also includes a few tunes by him, but this volume—the most elegantly printed exemplar of retentive music publishing—contains only the genre of the German chorale. *Die Ersten Früchte* (1786) and *Sammlung geistlicher Lieder nebst Melodien* (1798) include a variety of pieces that are intended for choral performance only within churches and singing schools, pointing to the versatility of these books in contrast to traditional chorale books that contained music solely for the accompaniment of congregational singing. Since religion and ethnicity went hand in hand, as demonstrated in the previous chapter of this dissertation, it is logical that the chorale genre was not only an important theological element of worship, but also a symbol of culture. Wherever German American *Kirchenleute* were to retain their ethnic culture the chorale would remain the dominant musical standard, and because most retentive books were for the purpose of Worship, the chorale was indispensable.

4) Musical notation and printing method: The majority of retentive American tune and chorale books were the result of engraved- or punched-plate printing, producing an appearance on the printed-page as fine as any in eighteenth-century books of Germany.¹⁷⁴ Books participating in

¹⁷⁴ Although for American music publishing in general, engraving continued to grow in importance during the late eighteenth century, for sacred music it actually began to give way to letter press printing. From 1786, which witnessed initial efforts in New England and Philadelphia to issue music from type in an organized manner, typographical printing for hymnbooks and sacred collections was on the ascendancy. In spite of this, occasional attempts continued to be made to publish sacred music from freehand engraved plates (Richard J. Wolfe, *Early*

retention that did employ movable-type in the printing process, especially *Die Ersten Früchte*, used type-face that came from Germany. All of the books contained round note heads and the 1813 *Choral-Buch* by Helmuth retained the notational practice of unrealized figured bass from German predecessor chorale books.

4) Voicing: The print layout of the retention phase is either two voices with unrealized figures, or three and four voices on their respective staves. In the case of one example, *Die Ersten Früchte*, there is a mixture of voice settings so that the singing school and choirs could use the book for performance and worship. The 1813 *Choral-Buch*, on the other hand, is for congregational (unison) singing purposes only and contains unrealized figures for the organist to realize. The vast majority of the pieces in retentive books have conjunct melodies or employ small intervals, making it easier for parishioners to sing the chorale melodies. As will be evident in the following chapter, voicing gets denser and intervallic relationships grow farther apart in particular voice parts as the Dutch get further away from their communal culture and close-knit social interactions with each other. Rhythmic density is sparing and the melodies tend to be in eighth-note movement (isometric), a practice that first appeared in the Pietist hymnal printed in Halle,

American Music Engraving and Printing: A History of Music Publishing in America from 1787 to 1825 with Commentary on Earlier and Later Practices, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1980, 25-26). The figures concerning the evolving state of printing in America are convincing: "From 1780-1810, the printing of music from type expanded rapidly. Of the total number of tune books printed during the decade 1780-1790, only 15 % were printed from type. Between 1790 and 1800, the number increased to 47 %, and by 1810 to 72 %." (D.W. Krummel, and Richard Crawford. *Printing and Society in Early America*, ed. William Joyce, Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1983, 196). Also quoted in: Maxey H. Mayo. *Techniques of Music Printing in the United States 1825-1850*. Unpublished M.M. Thesis, University of North Texas, 1988). The popularization of movable type in the eighteenth century "made a strong impact on the economic structure of sacred music publishing . . . typographically printed books could be produced more cheaply than books printed from engraved plates." By 1813, engraving came down in price as typeset printing became the norm and this could have also been a factor in printing the music for Helmuth's 1813 chorale book from punched plates (Allen Perdue Britten, and Irving Lowens, *American Sacred Music Imprints 1698-1810: A Bibliography*, Completed by Richard Crawford, Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1990, 36-38).

Geistreiches Gesangbuch (1704) by Johann Freylinghausen, replacing the rhythmic syncopation of Martin Luther and his generation.¹⁷⁵

5) Theology: All texts are sacred in content. While many retentive texts reflect the Pietistic tendencies of the compilers/editors—that is, they center on heartfelt religion, morality, and heaven as "home"—there is a concern for traditional *Kirchenleute* theology, especially “God’s grace” as free gift. Further, in the 1813 *Choral-Buch*, the sole chorale book example of retention, the key theologies of the church (e.g., Trinity, two natures of Christ, etc.), most importantly Justification by grace alone, and the sacraments remain.

All of these elements combine to create music collections that ground their users in the Dutch community and culture. Each book of ethnic retention is unique, however, and shows a variant possibility of how the Dutch could express solidarity with each other and what it meant to be *Deutsch* in Pennsylvania. Table 2 lists all of the retentive tune and chorale books analyzed in this study, their dates and places of publication, and each book’s religious affiliation according to their compiler’s affiliation or the stated audience in the introduction of the book.

¹⁷⁵ *Geistreiches Gesangbuch, der Kern alter und neuer Lieder, wie auch die Noten der unbekannten Melodeyen und darzu gehoerige mitzliche Register in sich haltend* . . . (Halle: Waeyshause, 1704). For more information on the shift in rhythms from the time of Luther to the Romantic era and the Freylinghausen hymnal, see Daniel Jay Grimmer, "Rhythms of Faith: The Rhythmic Chorale Tradition in the Nineteenth Century," *The Hymn* 58, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 19-30.

Table 2. Tune books of the ethnic retention stage of assimilation

Date	City of Publication	Title	Religious Affiliation
1786	Philadelphia	<i>Die Erste Früchte der Singschule der evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinde in Philadelphia</i>	Lutheran
1798	Lancaster	<i>Sammlung Geistlicher Lieder nebst Melodien</i>	Reformed
1813	Philadelphia	<i>Choralbuch für die Erbauliche Lieder-sammlung</i>	Lutheran
1824	Philadelphia	<i>Sammlung religiöser deutscher Gesaenge</i>	Lutheran
1833	Philadelphia	<i>Deutsche Harmonie oder Mehrstimmige Gesänge für Deutsche Singeschulen und Kirchen. Eine Anzahl der beliebtesten Choral- oder Kirchenmelodien; drei und vierstimmige Gesänge für Anfänger und geübtere Sänger nebst einer kurzen Anleitung zum Gesangunterricht.</i>	Lutheran
1841	Philadelphia	<i>Deutsche Harmonie oder Mehrstimmige Gesänge für Deutsche Singeschulen und Kirchen. Eine Anzahl der beliebtesten Choral- oder Kirchenmelodien; drei und vierstimmige Gesänge für Anfänger und geübtere Sänger nebst einer kurzen Anleitung zum Gesangunterricht.</i>	Lutheran
1861/1868	Philadelphia	<i>Choral-Buch für die Orgel mit Zwischenspielen versehen, und für den vierstimmigen Gesang eingerichtet.</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)



Figure 16. *Die Ersten Früchte der Singeschule*, tune book title page.
(The Moravian Music Foundation copy.)

4.2 1778 DIE ERSTEN FRÜCHTE

Die Ersten Früchte der Singschule der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinde in Philadelphia, a tune book printed to accompany a text-only booklet under the same title, exists in one extant copy at the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, North Carolina (see figure 16).¹⁷⁶ Its discovery by Richard Crawford raises it in importance as the first known German tune

¹⁷⁶ *The First Fruits of the Singing School of the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation in Philadelphia.*

book printed in America, a position long held by Conrad Doll's 1798 Lancaster tune book, *Sammlung geistlicher Lieder nebst Melodien* (see below).¹⁷⁷ The title of *Die Ersten Früchte* ("The first Fruits") may imply that the singing-school students were the first fruits of the efforts to establish the German musical culture in America, or it might suggest that the music in this book would serve as the basis of these students' faith throughout the rest of their lives. The compiler does not explain the title in any way so it is uncertain exactly what connotations it carries.

Very little is known about the book or its creation, circumstantial evidence points us to its purpose, compiler, and its retentive nature. Unlike other retentive books, this volume was printed from movable type, giving its typographical landscape a disjunct appearance. Its forty-eight pages of music is likely the product of an Anglo-American printing firm, Young and McCulloch, but the simple title page excludes printer information, making a positive identification impossible.¹⁷⁸ The two-page register at the end of the book is hand-written and is not complete or in perfect order, suggesting that the existing copy might be a proof copy for the singing-school master David Ott, the school teacher and organist in Helmuth's congregation, who might have realized the importance of having a register for quick reference. The lack of markings or marginalia in the only extant copy of *Die Ersten Früchte* leaves us at a loss concerning proofing and usage details.

The title page tells us that this book was printed for the singing school at Philadelphia and not for congregational use. There is no date listed in the title (see figure 16). However, the

¹⁷⁷ Edward Wolf, in his 1976 essay, mentions this tune book in passing, but never writes about it again. No other literature makes mention of the book, showing its rarity and unavailability. Edward Wolf, "Lutheran Music in Colonial America," *Lutheran Historical Conference Essays and Reports* (1976), 134. *Die Ersten Früchte* is listed as no. 404 in: Britton and Lowens, 486.

¹⁷⁸ Britton and Lowens, 486-487. Britton and Lowens claim that McCulloch of Philadelphia was the only printer "to bring out typographically printed collections of music in the 1780s and 1790s. Therefore, Young and McCulloch, or McCulloch alone, must have printed *Die Ersten Früchte*." (Britton and Lowens, 487)

companion booklet of texts for which this tune book would have served as an accompanying volume appeared in 1786 and was presented as a gift to the students of the congregational singing school at their fall examination (see figure 17).¹⁷⁹ This event was the church parochial school's testing event. Helmuth included several of his texts in the text-only book, and Ott set the texts to music.¹⁸⁰ The preface mentions that a pastor's wife in Brandenburg, Germany, funded the publication of the small text-only booklets as she had done for previous singing school examinations.¹⁸¹ Thus the tune book and text booklet connect directly to Germany. Further, there is clearly a deeper purpose behind the booklet; according to its prefatory remarks addressed to the student, it was "to encourage your parents and relatives to support our singing school according to their abilities. Therefore many of these songs will be sung by you in loving tones in Zion Church this afternoon."¹⁸² It is probable that the text booklet was used in the Lancaster singing school as well since one extant copy of the text booklet has an inscription on the title page, "Lancaster 23 May 1787."¹⁸³

Die Ersten Früchte tune book is exclusively German in its content. Each piece is accompanied by a text in German, something that supported the retentive purpose of the singing school in Philadelphia (see chapter 3 of this dissertation). Its exclusively German language content is its main retentive feature.

¹⁷⁹ ". . . der Schuljugend der besagten Gemeinde bey gehaltene Herbst-Examen, 1786, zum Geschenk ausgetheilet."

¹⁸⁰ Wolf, "Lutheran Music in Colonial America," 134. It should be noted that Wolf is probably correct in his assumption that Helmuth wrote the texts for this resource since a comparison of the texts in the tune book with the Zahn index shows no matches (Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder aus den Quellen geschöpft und mitgeteilt*, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963). For more information on David Ott, see Britton and Lowens, 482.

¹⁸¹ *Die ersten Früchte*, Tune Book, introduction.

¹⁸² ". . . eure lieben Eltern und Verwandten zu reizen, unsere Singschule nach Vermögen zu unterstützen. Es werden daher viele von diesen Liedern heute Nachmittag von derselben in lieblichen Thönen in der Zions-Kirche abgesungen werden."

¹⁸³ Britton and Lowens, 486.

Johannis Die *ersten Früchte*
1792
Ersten Früchte
~~Gemeinde~~ der ~~Gemeinde~~
Singeschule
der
Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinde
in Philadelphia.

Der Schuljugend der besagten Gemeinde bey
gehaltenem Herbst-Examen, 1786,
zum Geschenk ausgetheilet.

Philadelphia:

Gebracht bey Melchior Steiner, in der Markt-Strasse,
zwischen der Zweyten und Dritten-Strasse.

Figure 17. *Die Ersten Früchte*, 1786, text booklet title page. (The Lutheran Archives Center at Philadelphia copy)

Unlike other retentive tune books, *Die Ersten Früchte* contains no introduction. This may indicate that the book was incomplete. If the tune book was used only at Philadelphia, then there would have been no reason for an introduction. Its purpose would have been clear to its compilers (Helmuth and Ott), who used it in their church's singing school. Further, the singing school participants had all learned the rudiments of music and there was no reason to include a preface to teach these things. The lack of an introduction also suggests that it was meant solely for the organist's use, unlike other tune books meant to be held in the hands of singers.

The vast majority of the twenty pieces in *Die Ersten Früchte* follow the chorale tradition because they adhere to the old barform (A-A-B) of the early Lutheran chorales (see figure 18), however some are freer in form to provide musical variety for the singing-school participants and the Philadelphia congregation experiencing this music aurally. See "Dort auf jenem Todten-Hügel" for example, in figure 18. The tune book contains some variants from the text booklet. The final piece in the tune book, "Erhebe dich, mein Matter Sinn," has no text in the text booklet, and nos. 19 and 20 in the text booklet find no accompanying tunes in the tune book. This evidence implies that the tune book had a use beyond the 1786 fall school exam and the text booklet had a longevity that far exceeded its original publication date. As Edward Wolf has suggested, the melismatic or "figural" nature of many of the pieces in the tune book indicates that the sole purpose of *Die Ersten Früchte* was for choral performance not congregational use, another departure from the *Kirchenleute* retentive tradition.¹⁸⁴ Of the twenty pieces in the tune book, fifteen are settings for three voices and five are settings for four voices. Three of the pieces contain duet sections and one of them a solo. Another is written with a "Fagotto Obligato" line,

¹⁸⁴ Wolf, "Lutheran Music in Colonial America," 134-135.

revealing the diversity of the tune book that differed from traditional chorale books for organists only.

Of the twenty pieces in the tune book, fifteen are settings for three voices and five are settings for four voices. Three of the pieces contain duet sections and one of them a solo. Another is written with a "Fagotto Obligato" line, revealing the diversity of the tune book that differed from traditional chorale books for organists only. None of the tunes in *Die Ersten Früchte* appear in later American tune or chorale books, however several seem to have derived from traditional chorale tunes from Germany. Regardless, this tune book maintained a truly German character by cementing the German language and culture into the minds of the young Philadelphians and at the same time provided special choral music for the German church services beyond the traditional hymnody found in chorale books. *Die Ersten Früchte* is not as distinct from its Anglo-American counterparts musically as other books of this stage because it contains multiple voices on their own staves and more tunes composed in Pennsylvania, but it does provide simple music with close intervals and conjunct movement, details that were typical of the German chorale books in Germany. Helmuth's Philadelphia mission was to retain German practice, and the goal of this 1787 tune book was clearly to fix Dutch musical culture firmly into the mindset and practice of the Dutch.

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Charfreitag=Besänge. Chorus.

Langsam.

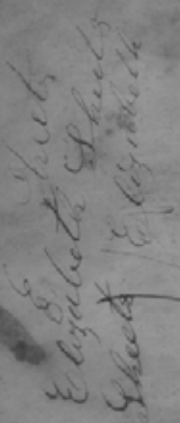
Dort auf jenem Todten-Hügel
 D gib mei nem Tod tenz Hü gel
 Gien ben Hü gel,
 Hängt am Kreuz mein Bräu ni gam,
 Zieh mich selbst, o. Oer tes sam!
 Zieh mich näher hin zu Dir;
 Hör den Sünder, hör den Sünder,
 Gre de Gna de

Figure 18. Helmuth's hymn "Dort auf jenem Todten-Hügel" in A-A-B form, *Die Ersten Früchte*, 1786, tune book (Author's Copy)

4.3 DOLL'S TUNE BOOK AND HELMUTH'S CHORALE BOOK

The other two books that participated in ethnic retention were modeled more closely on European publications and for this reason have a joint section in this chapter. The first was printed in 1798 for the use of the Lancaster Dutch by Conrad Doll, whose father was the organist and school-master at First Reformed Church and school in Lancaster, an institution that owned two David Tannenberg organs. Doll succeeded his father as church organist and school-master by 1807.¹⁸⁵ His life was full of tragedy: his first wife died in 1813, he was accused of trying to rape a parishioner, was fired from his Lancaster post, and eventually committed suicide. In spite of his tragic end, he left an important musical legacy in the chamber and church organs that he built, and most of all in the tune book he compiled and edited. *Sammlung Geistlicher Lieder nebst Melodien* (see figure 19), for which little background is known, is an interesting contrast to the Philadelphia chorale book compiled by Heinrich Helmuth.

¹⁸⁵ For more details, see Raymond J. Brunner, *The Ingenious Business: Pennsylvania German Organ Builders* (Birdsboro: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1990), 157-162.



96

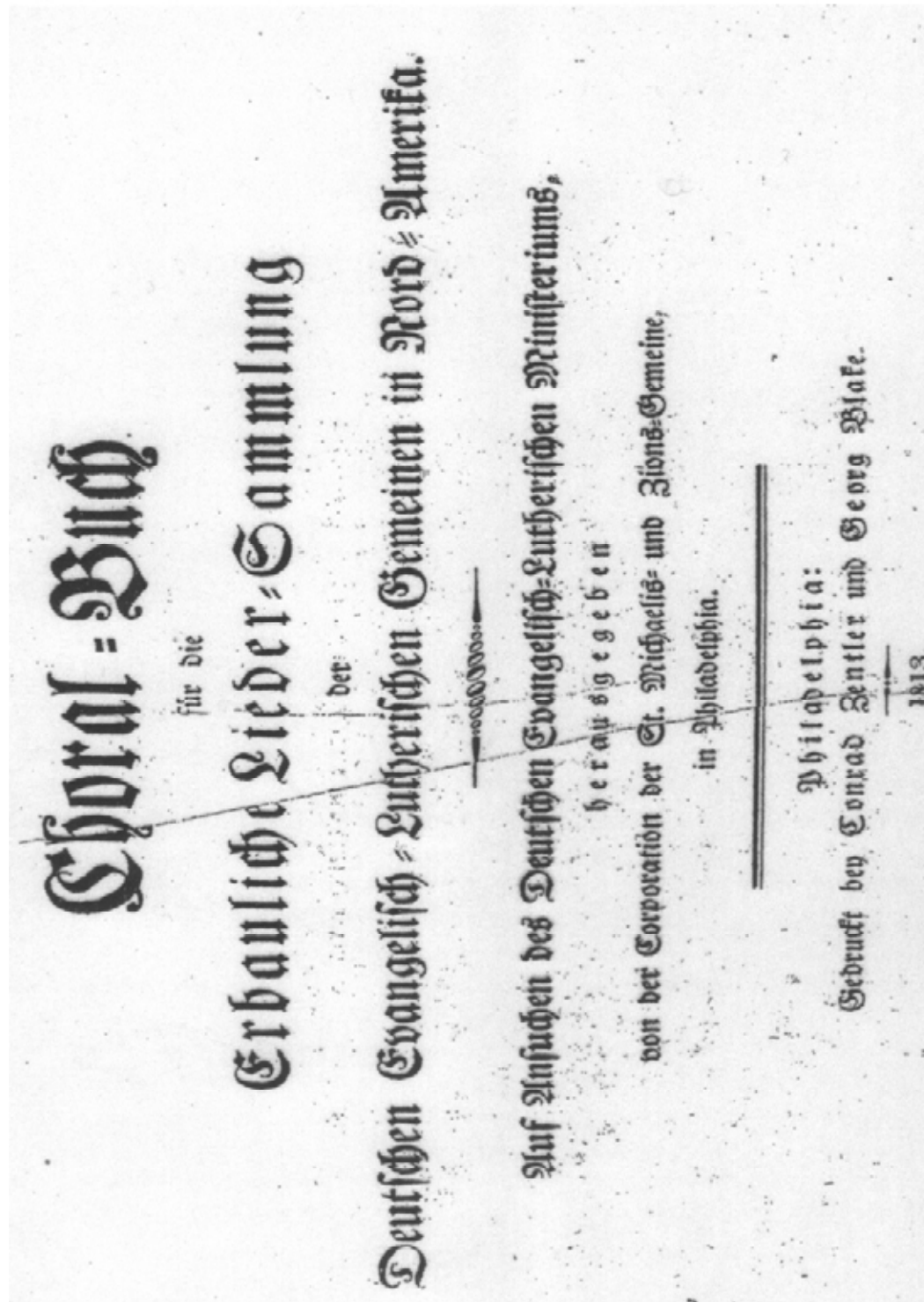


Figure 20. Heinrich Helmuth's *Choralbuch für die Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung*, 1813, title page.
(Author's copy)

Helmuth was responsible for the first chorale book printed on the North American continent, *Choralbuch für die Erbauliche Lieder Sammlung* (1786), which was one of the purest German music publications in American history, and a strong tool of Germanization (see figure 20). In this publication, Helmuth sought to remedy the regionalism that spilled over into America as the immigrants brought with them the books they had used in their individual provinces, with vast melodic, rhythmic, and textural diversities. It had an accompanying hymnal, *Erbauliche Liedersammlung*, whose 706 hymns reflected Heinrich Muhlenberg's thirty-eight years of collecting texts and at the same time symbolized his vision of German Lutheran unity (rather than Unionism).¹⁸⁶ He wanted to create a liturgical and musical structure in all American Lutheran churches that would be uniform from place to place and would support uniformity in Lutheran piety as a whole.

As early as 1794, seven years after Muhlenberg's death, the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania finally made the printing of a chorale book a priority. The synodical minutes report:

Resolved, that Dr. Helmuth, F. A. Mühlenberg, Esq. [H.M. Muhlenberg's son], and Mr. Moller, of Philadelphia, be a committee to publish in German papers a plan for the publication of a tune-book, in order that other preachers who have experience in such work may express their opinion as to how such a useful book is to be best arranged; and that then the said committee proceed with the publication.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ *Erbauliche Liedersammlung zum Gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch in den Vereinigten Evangelisch Lutheranischen Gemeinen [sic] in Nord-America gesamlet, eingerichtet und zum Druck befördert durch die gesamten Glieder des hiesigen vereinigten Evangelisch Lutheranischen Ministeriums* (Germantown: Leibert and Billmeyer, 1786). See Schalk, chapter three, for a full discussion on this hymn book and Muhlenberg's vision of Lutheran unity in America.

¹⁸⁷ A. Spaeth, H. E. Jacobs, and G. F. Spieker, eds. *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States* (Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1898), 270.

The chorale book is not mentioned again until November 17, 1795, when an advertisement by the publisher appears in the *Philadelphische Correspondenz* newspaper,¹⁸⁸ attempting to raise 500 subscribers and announcing that the chorale book will be printed in three separate volumes by Steiner and Kämmerer (who also published the newspaper). The first book would contain “50 of the most common melodies along with 15 other songs”;¹⁸⁹ the second was to contain the same number of hymn melodies and other songs; and the last volume would have 100 hymn melodies plus fifteen songs. The total cost for all three volumes was advertised as four dollars, postage paid, which proved to be detrimental to the plans of the publication committee.

There is absolutely no mention of the venture again until the October 1811 issue of Helmuth’s periodical *Evangelisches Magazin*, reporting the minutes of the July 9, 1811 synod assembly, which indicated that Helmuth informed the synod that the book finally was to be printed containing 200 melodies. The synod replied by pledging its support even if the congregation retained the “copyright”:

Herr Dr. Helmuth gave a report to the synod concerning a new chorale book, which will be printed in Philadelphia, and should contain over 200 chorales, to be used with the texts in our hymn book. He wished, that it could be brought in due to the dear general agreement in all of our congregations. The Synod promised to earnestly support it, even if the corporate Evangelical Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia does not want to give up the "copy right."¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Edward C. Wolf, “America’s First Lutheran Chorale Book,” *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 46, 1 (Spring 1973), 7. This advertisement was repeated on November 20, December 8, 18, 22, 25, 29, January 1, 5, 8, 19, 26, 29, and February 2 (1796).

¹⁸⁹ Wolf, “America’s First,” 8.

¹⁹⁰ Justus Heinrich Christian Helmuth, ed., *Evangelische Magazin*, erster Band, erstes Stuck (Philadelphia: Conrad Zentler, 1811), 17. “Herr Docktor Helmuth gab der Synode Nachricht von einem neuen Choral-Buch, welches in Philadelphia gedruckt werden, und über 200 Kirchen-Melodien, über die Lieder in unserm Gesangbuch, enthalten sollte. Er wünschte, daß es wegen der lieblichen Uebereinstimmung, allgemein in allen unsern Gemeinen eingeführt werden könnte. Die Synode versprach es ernstlich zu unterstützen, wenn die Corporation der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinde in Philadelphia das Copie-Recht dazu nicht aus der Hand geben wolle.” At this point, there was also a book of English “church tunes” in print in New York for the use of Lutheran congregations. This may have been another thing to prompt the Ministerium in supporting the printing of a German publication. See the final chapter of this dissertation for a discussion of English tune books in New York

Helmuth was the editor of the book and chair of the church's *Singe-Committee*, which:

Endeavored to choose and assemble appropriate, pleasing, and simple melodies for our hymnbook . . . In order to guarantee results in the work, these melodies were always practiced beforehand with the choir established here, and then first were they introduced to the congregation, which now sings most of the melodies, not only correctly and acceptably, but also with delight and edification.¹⁹¹

On December 3, 1811, the minutes of the joint Lutheran congregation state that “the Sing-Committee endeavor[s] that the Chorale Book be finished as quickly as possible” and by October 7, 1812, the committee reported that the printing was finished.¹⁹² This was the last mention of the chorale book until its printing and publication in 1813.

A chorale book became an essential ingredient in retaining ethnic culture because, in the thinking of Helmuth and other Germanizers, it would secure a shared worship praxis and at the same time the music of the traditional German chorales could cement the peculiarities and nuances of German language and theology into the hearts and minds of the Lutheran people. Its main characteristics are reflective of Helmuth's efforts and make an interesting comparison to Doll's book.

Helmuth's chorale book remained purely German first and foremost in its exclusive use of the German language. Both the chorale titles and the introduction are entirely in *Hochdeutsch* (High German). This is true of the Conrad Doll book as well, but, Doll provides the whole text for each tune, whereas Helmuth's book relied on the congregation having the text-only

¹⁹¹ Carl F. Schalk, *Source Documents in American Lutheran Hymnody* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1996), 19. This is a quote from the introduction of the 1813 chorale book translated by Carl Schalk. The entire introduction is included in Schalk (pp. 17-28).

¹⁹² Wolf, “America's First,” 9.

Muhlenberg hymn book in hand, showing that Helmuth patterned his book more closely on the European chorale books he used as models, which contained no chorale texts.¹⁹³

Both books had German introductions, but the prefatory content differed in several ways. First, the Doll introduction is more interested in pedagogy and less concerned with liturgical and musical reform than Helmuth's volume. It is more for the "Singschulen" according to the preface as it puts forth a "Rudiments of Music" introduction.¹⁹⁴ This was typical in English shape-note books and became a staple of German tune books after Doll when the Pennsylvania Germans started to assimilate into the Anglo culture around them. While Helmuth was similar to the leaders of the New England singing-school movement in that they all wanted some kind of reform of liturgical music, he did not use his chorale book introduction to create this change. His introduction, titled "Remarks concerning fine Chorale singing chiefly in Public Worship," did not teach the "rudiments of music," but rather, it sought to identify the problems in hymn singing of the day (e.g., hasty or dragging *tempi*, and over-ornamentation of melodies). Organists were instructed to play only from the harmonizations in the chorale book to facilitate an "edifying" uniformity, measuring up "to the mood which the congregation is expecting . . ." In a reflection of pietist theology that aimed at edifying the believer instead of embracing pure doctrine or formal liturgical practices, the introduction of Helmuth's book reminded organists: "The organ should not lead the singing, but rather support it and keep it in better order; it is not the master but rather a humble servant in God's house. Organ playing is not the end but the means." Helmuth continued by reminding all readers that simplicity is of utmost importance, since "The more simple a chorale is sung, the more beautiful it sounds."¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ See the previous chapter for more details concerning Muhlenberg and his hymnal.

¹⁹⁴ Conrad Doll, *Sammlung geistlicher Lieder Nebst Melodien* (Lancaster: Conrad Doll, 1798).

¹⁹⁵ 1813 *Choralbuch*, Introduction.

The chorale book introduction made provisions for a "precentor," or "song leader" in worship, who would have been in charge of lining out the hymns when an organist was not available. This person was to regard himself in all things "as the congregation's model for singing," presenting the chorale melodies clearly, quoting them exactly from the book. He was expected to be articulate, devout, and show that he was "conscious of performing his service before the eyes of God."¹⁹⁶ Further, Helmuth, instead of erring on the side of simplicity, allowed for organ *Zwischenspiele* and *Vorspiele* (interludes and preludes), a common occurrence in European chorale books of the nineteenth century, even though they were absent from his chorale book. Doll and Helmuth were of one mind when it came to other aspects of their books.

Concerning genre and repertoire, Doll used songs from Swiss sources while Helmuth utilized only German chorales. Doll drew from the Zurich tune books of Zollikofer, Bachofen, and Schmidlin.¹⁹⁷ Helmuth derived the content of his book from chorale books printed in Frankfort, Leipzig, Stuttgart, and Kassel (see below).

Doll's utilized a smaller number of tunes (fifty-three) than Helmuth's (266), and Doll's pieces would have been virtually unknown to the *Kirchenleute* of Pennsylvania, confirming that the book had a choral purpose. It should be noted here that only twenty-three of the fifty-three Doll tunes are listed in some form in Johannes Zahn's catalog of German chorale melodies.¹⁹⁸

Helmuth's book participated in both conservative theological and American democratic ideals. Most of his 266 chorales date from the age of the Reformation or from the "Age of Lutheran Orthodoxy" that ended in the earlier decades of the seventeenth century. These

¹⁹⁶ 1813 *Choralbuch*, Introduction.

¹⁹⁷ The source of each tune is listed with the music. For more information, see: Robert B. Brown, and Frank X. Braun, "The Tune Book of Conrad Doll," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 42, 3rd Quarter (1948).

¹⁹⁸ The tunes that I refer to in the Doll collection are numbers 76, 34, 44, 70, 1, 64, 74, 30, 106, 80, 66, 49, 36, 79, 12, 48, 68, 40, 98, 28, 6, and 102. See Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder aus den Quellen geschöpft und mitgeteilt* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1963).

chorales, familiar to all Dutch *Kirchenleute*, perpetuated Luther's German theology and would have been helpful during this retention stage to promote the religious views of traditional Dutch churches. But at the same time Helmuth's chorale book was a product of the American "democratic tradition" of tune-book publishing which allowed compilers to include their own compositions.¹⁹⁹ At least three of the melodies in the 1813 chorale book are to hymn texts by Helmuth; it is safe to conclude that these pieces were written either by Helmuth himself or by David Ott, the schoolmaster, both of whom produced many documented tunes and texts that appeared in other publications for church and singing school.²⁰⁰

The notation of Doll's and Helmuth's books is traditional. Round note heads carry over from European sources. Smooth and even rhythms (usually quarter-note movement) also dominate the pages of each book.²⁰¹ Doll's book, because of its crude appearance in notation, seems to have come from engraved wood blocks or a relief cut rather than from copper or pewter plates (see figure 21).²⁰² The song texts and introduction, however, were executed using movable type. Helmuth's book was the more elegant of the two volumes. While its introduction was created by a type-setter, an engraver punched copperplates to create a beautiful impression, punching the music notation and engraving chorale names with a steady hand. It is significant that Helmuth's committee employed Conrad Zentler, a German printer, for the type-set portion, and George Blake, an immigrant from England, to execute the engraving and punching of the printing plates (see figure 21). Blake was likely the most skilled engraver in America and he

¹⁹⁹ Britton and Lowens, 29.

²⁰⁰ Wolf, "America's First," 11. These tunes, "Dort auf jenem Todtenhügel," Laut und majestätisch rollet," and Prächtig kommt der Herr, mein König," are not in Johannes Zahn's catalog of chorale tunes and are unique to this publication. The first tune is common to *Die Ersten Früchte* tune book too (see above).

²⁰¹ For more information on American Lutheran Pietism, see Paul P. Kuenning, *The Rise and Fall of American Lutheran Pietism: The Rejection of an Activist Heritage* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1988).

²⁰² Britton and Lowens, 246.

“was the pacesetter of current tastes and style with regard to . . . American music itself.”²⁰³ This typographical aspect of the 1813 chorale book indicates the refined tastes of the compiler and users.²⁰⁴

Both Doll’s and Helmuth’s books differ from each other in terms of voicing. Lutheran hymnologist Carl Schalk shows that Helmuth must have had at his disposal chorale books from Frankfort, Leipzig, Stuttgart, and Kassel because they—like Helmuth’s volume—contained a melody and unrealized figured bass for each chorale (see figure 22).²⁰⁵ This is one of the most distinctive aspects of the work and it indicates to us that the publishing committee and its editor were trying to retain the old European Lutheran tradition of printing and performance practice. Doll’s tune book, on the other hand, included a realized harmonization for each tune on three staves, creating a printed page that could be utilized by people who had minimal music training (see figure 21).

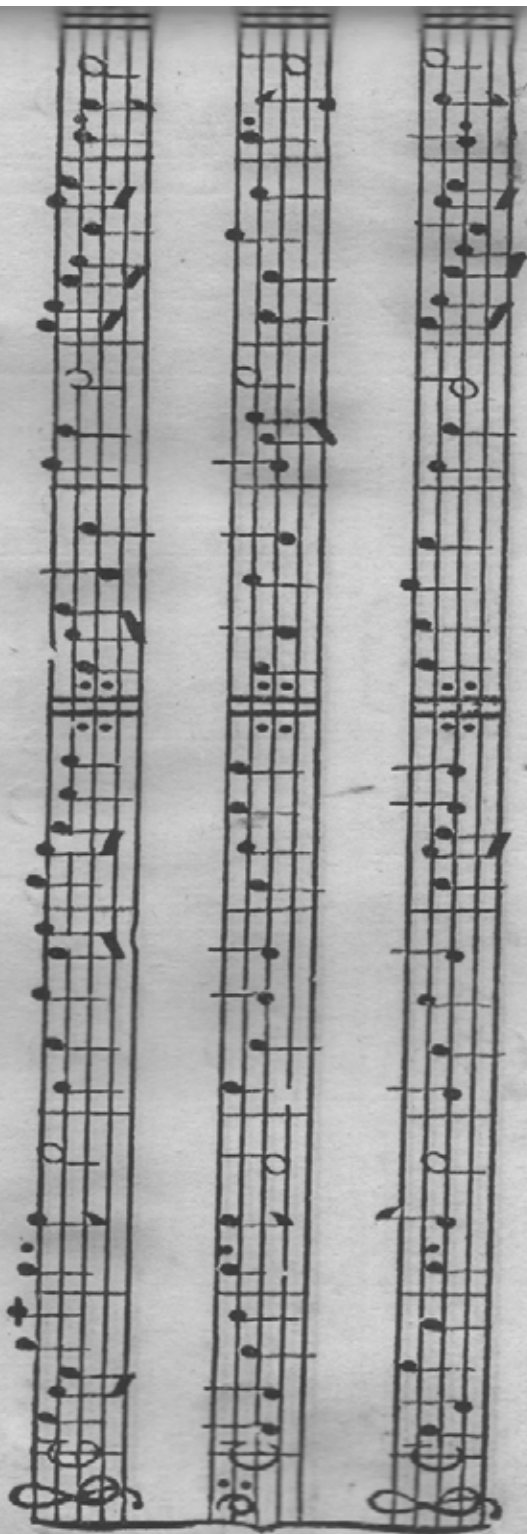
²⁰³ Wolf, *Early American Music*, 128.

²⁰⁴ George Blake, the engraver of the chorale book, was skilled at producing music imprints. An English-born immigrant and craftsman, Blake was likely chosen to engrave the chorales over George Willig, a German immigrant engraver, because Blake was one of the finest music engravers in American history. It should also be mentioned that Blake may have been picked for the job because he had connections to the German Reformed Church. It is not sure if this was through marriage or if he was a member of the Reformed Church himself. We do know, however, that he and his wife married in 1805 and the liturgy was officiated by the German Reformed Rev. Helfenstein of Philadelphia. Richard J. Wolfe details the accomplishments and skill of George Blake in his study titled *Early American Music Engraving and Printing: A History of Music Publishing in America from 1787 to 1825 with Commentary on Earlier and Later Practices* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1980). It is not unusual for portions of early American sacred music books to be typeset, but, it is odd that engraved or stamped plates were used at a time when printing sacred music from plates was out of vogue and overpriced. (Wolfe, 25-26) Even though by 1813 engraving came down in price as typeset printing became the norm, it remained an expensive method of printing. See: Britton and Lowens, 38. The chorale plates were created at Blake’s shop on Third Street using punches that the Philadelphia goldsmith turned engraver, John Aitken, introduced to America (1785). Donald Krummel points out that Blake used several distinct sets of punches at different times in his career. Based on Krummel’s graphic analysis, the treble clef used in the 1813 chorale book was never used in any other Blake imprints, making the book even more special. Donald W. Krummel, “Graphic Analysis, its Application to Early American Engraved Music,” *Notes* 2, n o. 16 (1959), 219 and 230.

²⁰⁵ Schalk, *Source Documents*, 20 and 27.

Passions undacht.

Edmund 156.



Was vor Schande, was vor Spott, Was vor Ährung muß es tragen,

2. Gottes sohn, der wahre Gott, Ach! wie wird sein haupt zerichlagen,

2. Meine finnen können nicht, Allen schimpf und hohn erdenken,

Welche dich, o Lebenslicht, Sonne der betäubten! tränken.

Dieses alles hast du zwar, liebster Heiland, ausgestanden,

Don der friges / fnechte fchar, Die dich hielt in harten banden.

Der verbundenen augen lichts, Schonst kein freyer diener nicht.

249 ! in dieser trauer / nacht, Stürmt auf dich der hßnen mach.

regieret die Tyranny, der Herrscher, mit dem

**Figure 21. Three-voice example, Doll's *Sammlung geistlicher Lieder nebst Melodien*, 1798, page 85.
(Author's copy)**

101

Vers - Met 114. Ein' bestie Burg ist unser Gott.

Vers - Met 115. Herr Jesu, einges - icht.

Figure 22. Chorale example, Helmuth's 1813 *Choral-Buch*, page 101. (Author's copy)

4.4 THEOLOGICAL EMPHASES

The three retentive tune and chorale books retain both Pietistic and orthodox German elements in their texts (or tune names associated with certain texts). In keeping with the duality of Muhlenberg's hymnal with its mixture of orthodox and pietist texts, Helmuth, in his chorale book, provided the music to chorales that reflected both of these traditions. While plenty of chorales in Helmuth's book dealt with the Christian life, holy living, and death, some chorales retained a distinct orthodox Lutheran theological character. For example, verse six of "Thou Bread of Life, Lord Jesus Christ" ("Du Lebensbrot, Herr Jesu Christ") clearly conveys free grace through God's Justification of the sinner, something missing in many English hymns rooted in nineteenth-century Revivalism. Another chorale, "God be Praised and Blessed" ("Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet"), one of the Martin Luther *Kernlieder* from 1524, proclaims Christ's real presence in the Sacrament of the Altar. The first verse draws attention to the salvific presence in bread and wine, singing "Thou with Thy body and Thy blood didst nourish, Our weak souls that they may flourish . . ." The second verse is equally sacramental in the words: "Lord, Thy kindness did so constrain Thee That Thy blood should bless and sustain me. All our debt Thou hast paid; peace with God once more is made . . . !"

Helmuth's selections distinguish Lutherans even from the German Reformed and give the Dutch Lutherans a unique identity that Helmuth undoubtedly wanted to keep. In contrast, Doll's book excluded sacramental theology and Justification in favor of sanctification and moral teaching, an element left over from Halle Pietism, something that stood in contrast to Rationalistic English texts and even to revivalistic hymns that put an emphasis on *Werkgerechtigkeit* ("Works Righteousness"). One of the two "Glaubenslieder" found in Doll's

1798 tune book embodies moralistic Pietism by preaching against the “Sinful Bed of Rest” and drunks and other sinners that lurk as the “night watchmen of the alleys.”²⁰⁶

The Pietistic texts in the singing-school book *Die Ersten Früchte* resemble those in Doll’s tune book, for *Die Ersten Früchte*’s main purpose was to teach not only music but also morality and religious piety to young Christians. But, like Helmuth’s 1813 chorale book, *Die Ersten Früchte* included texts that went beyond exhorting children and their parents to live moral lives; they directly address God, asking for his free grace. For example, the Good Friday chorale, “Dort auf jenem Todten-Hügel” (see figure 18), written by Helmuth, pleads with God to hear the sinner and give him free grace (“Hör den Sünder, Freye Gnade schenke mir”).²⁰⁷ In another chorale, the singer addresses God, stating that it was through Jesus’ deep wounds from the cross that humanity was “won” and that through faith, God grants the believer free grace.²⁰⁸

Even with the latent Pietism and moralistic thrust of some of the texts in several of these books of the retention stage, the compilers nonetheless chose to evade English Revivalism with its blatant display of emotion and emphasis on a personal decision on the part of the believer to “accept” Jesus. Worship in *Kirchenleute* congregations employed retentive tune books to remain predictable and traditional. The corporate always outweighed the personal and the Germanic elements trumped all other things. But this European emphasis was not unique to the Pennsylvania Dutch.

²⁰⁶ The full text of verse 3 of this *Glaubenslied* is “Wo soll ich, O liebster! Wie soll ich dich suchen? Wer zeigt mir die Bahn? Gern will ich mein sündiges Irren verfluchen; Treff ich mir dich an, will meiden das Bette der sündlichen Ruh, verlassen die Strassen, und wächter der Gassen, Dir, einzig Dir zu.” (Doll, *Sammlung Geistlicher Lieder*, 96) Doll notes that this tune is from a Swiss source, “Schmidlin, 574.”

²⁰⁷ *Die Ersten Früchte*, text book, 35.

²⁰⁸ *Die Ersten Früchte*, text book, 16. The text to this second verse is as follows: “Herr, ich fliehe schwer belastet, Hin zum Kreuze, da Du starbst, Wo Du mir durch tiefe Wunden, Meine Seligkeit erwarbst. Herr, ich suche freye Gnade: Freye Gnade ist mein sichres Glaubens-Ziel.”

4.5 THE GENERAL EUROPEANIZING TREND

There was at least one main parallel between Dutch retentive tune books and their Anglo equivalents. Between 1800 and 1810 English-language American tune books contained more European content than they had in the previous twenty-five years. According to Richard Crawford's study of these tune books, this trend happened quickly "only after it overcame strong resistance."²⁰⁹ For the Dutch this emphasis on the European was a matter of identity; for the English speakers it was a matter of the shifting taste of compilers who shaped consumer interests. In the first five years of the nineteenth century the proportion of European to American pieces in American tune books remained roughly the same as it was in the 1790s, meaning there was still a sizable European inclusion; but from 1806 to 1810, "while the number of new tune books far exceeded those of the previous five years, their component of American compositions actually declined while European representation more than doubled. By 1810 European music had gained the upper hand."²¹⁰ Because compilers favored European tastes, tune book introductions (like published sermons of the time) carried strong pro-European statements.²¹¹ This trend was, without a doubt, a passing fad rather than a result of an intellectual decision or because of any interest in the ethnic. Andrew Law, an important tune-book compiler, was a key player in this trend as he "sought to lead Americans into the promised land of refined European-style musical taste by means of his own brand of shape notation."²¹² By 1825, Lowell Mason

²⁰⁹ Richard Crawford, "'Ancient Music' and the Europeanizing of American Psalmody, 1800-1810," *A Celebration of American Music: Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock*, ed. Richard Crawford (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 228.

²¹⁰ Crawford, 229.

²¹¹ Crawford, 229.

²¹² Crawford, 245.

created a new style of hymnody "that operated within European principles."²¹³ Tune-book compilers harnessed this Europeanization, claiming that European sacred music was especially "suited to Piety."²¹⁴

4.6 ETHNIC RETENTION AS CONFESSION

Later compilers of Lutheran chorale books printed in Pennsylvania realized that European music and forms had the potential to help American Lutherans retain their theological (or "confessional") identity. Johann Gottfried Schmauk, a German immigrant, school-master and church musician in Philadelphia from 1819 to 1842, produced German chorale books that resembled nineteenth-century German counterparts and Helmuth's 1813 book. One scholar has claimed that Schmauk became "the German counterpart to Boston's Lowell Mason."²¹⁵ His key publications were *Sammlung religiöser deutscher Gesänge* (1824), a "tune book [that] apparently had little use outside the Philadelphia area, and no subsequent printings or editions appeared"; and *Deutsche Harmonie, oder mehrstimmige Gesänge für deutsche Singschulen und Kirchen* (1833, see figure 23),²¹⁶ which went through copious editions, starting in 1847 with an enlarged edition and continuing with other reprints until 1875.

Edward Wolf has exposed Schmauk's reliance upon European pedagogical treatises including Hans Nägeli and Michael Pfeiffer's *Gesangbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen* (Zurich, 1810), and G.F. Kübler's *Anleitung zum Gesang-Unterrichte in Schulen*

²¹³ Crawford, 246.

²¹⁴ Crawford, 246.

²¹⁵ Edward C. Wolf, "Johann Gottfried Schmauk: German-American Music Educator," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 25, no. 2 (Summer 1977): 140

²¹⁶ Wolf, "Johann Gottfried Schmauk," 141.

(Stuttgart, 1823 and 1826). These drew on Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi's distinct teaching methodology focused on the "rudiments of music one step at a time, isolating each element and asking the pupil to master it before proceeding to the next step . . . [Schmauk] also endeavored to present the concept before the symbol when it was practical . . . [He] inserted remarks to the teacher, offering suggestions for practice."²¹⁷

While Schmauk included a singing-school introduction in his 1833 publication, the content was purely German. He included chorales and a few simple contrapuntal pieces for choral performance, always with congregational worship in mind. He notated the four voices for each chorale on four staves and most of the voice parts had small intervallic relationships, especially in the melody so that the Dutch congregations could sing the chorales easily (see figure 24). In these ways Schmauk was following the practice of European chorale books of the time.

Although by the mid-nineteenth century assimilation had taken hold of most Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Philadelphia, in the last quarter of the century Lutherans there were still printing German chorale and tune books. The reason probably has more to do with the continuous flow of German immigration through the Philadelphia port and a revival of Lutheran Confessionalism in America rather than the earlier struggle to retain ethnic identity.

²¹⁷ Wolf, "Johann Gottfried Schmauk," 146. Pestalozzi was a Swiss educator, who founded a movement in pedagogy that has lasted for centuries. For more information about him, see Wolf, "Johann Gottfried Schmauk."



Figure 23. Front paper-covered board, Schmauk's *Deutsche Harmonie*, 1833. (Author's copy)

According to Aaron Fogleman's study of German immigration to America, during the hundred-year period from 1815 to 1914, 38 million German-speaking people arrived on America's shores.²¹⁸ By dividing the number of German immigrants by the total population at the beginning of the time period, Fogleman has arrived at some figures that he calls an "immigration index."²¹⁹ During the period 1800-1875, the immigration index shows that the immigrant population grew from 5,308,483 to 45,000,000, a 748% increase. From 1840 to 1915, there was a 486% increase.²²⁰ These new waves of German immigration in America, and the state of Pennsylvania in particular, make it evident why the Germans of Philadelphia remained strong and promoted old theological allegiances they originally had in Germany.

While most German Lutherans in America did not adhere as staunchly to Lutheran doctrine as the Saxons who settled in Missouri during the 1840s, many Pennsylvania Dutch *Kirchenleute* did find a renewed identity and interest in the confessional writings of the Church.²²¹ Without an understanding of this movement to retain confessional Lutheran and Reformed theology, it is impossible to fully understand the contents of later Pennsylvania chorale books.

The multitude of Lutheran synods by the second decade of the nineteenth century made many Lutherans ask what could unify them. Some turned to establishing a pan-synodical organization, called the "General Synod," a governing body that resembled the Presbyterian Church in constitution and governance.²²² Resistance based on confessional differences and a

²¹⁸ Aaron Fogleman, "Immigration, German Immigration and 18th-Century America," *Emigration and Settlement Patterns of German Communities in North America*, eds. Eberhard Reichmann, LaVern J. Rippley, et al., (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1995), 3.

²¹⁹ Fogleman, 6-7.

²²⁰ Fogleman, 7.

²²¹ Daniel Jay Grimminger, "Rhythms of Faith: The Rhythmic Chorale Tradition in the Nineteenth Century," *The Hymn: A Journal of Congregational Song* 58, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 19-30.

²²² Anderson, 116-117.

fear of centralized church rule led David Henkel (and his family)—whose ancestor, Anthony Henkel, had founded the Lutheran Church at Germantown in the early eighteenth century—to organize the opposition against this General Synod. While many of the rural Pennsylvanians were worried that creating greater ties to other Lutherans would diminish relations with the Reformed in union churches, a fact that kept the Ministerium of Pennsylvania from joining the new confederation, David Henkel opposed the General Synod because he believed that it would be able to dictate language, theology, as well as polity issues in the South and other regions.²²³

Henkel—unlike his father, Paul, who was a founding member of several state synods (in Tennessee, Ohio, and South Carolina)—sought to unify American Lutheranism not under centralized synodical control or common language, but under a common theological statement known as the Augsburg Confession (1530). In fact, he was against Unionism, claiming that "marriage between Lutherans and Reformed was like mating cows with horses . . ."²²⁴ His approach differed starkly from that of Samuel Simon Schmucker, who promoted the General Synod's efforts and "American Lutheranism" (theologically and liturgically).

²²³ Anderson, 122.

²²⁴ Anderson, 117. Taken from the papers of David Henkel (1819) housed at the Abdel Ross Wentz Library, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

47

22. Singes Gericht.

1. Es ist ge=wisß an der Zeit, daß Got=tes Tobn wird kom=men, }
 In sei=ner großen Heilich=keit, zu rich=ten Böß und From=men. }
 Dann wird das Lachen werden Fluß, wann alles wird vergehn im Feu'r, wie

23. Der Glaube.

(Nürth. Gesangb. N. 312.)

1. Mein Glaub ist mei=nes He=bens Ruh, und fñhrt mich deinem Him=mel zu, o du, an den ich glau=be, }
 Ach, gib mir, Herr, Be=stän=di=geit, daß die=sen Troß der Sterblich=keit, nichts mei=ner Seele rau=be. }

2. Du haß dem Her=ren den Ge=stir=be, zu dei=ner Ewig=keit ein Noth durch dei=nen Tod er=wor=ben. }
 Nun bin ich nicht mehr alsch u Staub, nicht mehr des Todes er=be, daß für mich ge=hor=ben. }

Figure 24. Chorale example, Schmauk's *Deutsche Harmonie*, 1833, page 47. (Author's copy)

Confessional conflicts happened in Pennsylvania even after the death of David Henkel and became centered in Helmuth's old territory of Philadelphia. In response to the General Synod and "American Lutheranism," a group of theologians established the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia in 1864.²²⁵ Possibly the most important professor in the history of this seminary, and the most important confessional leader of American Lutheranism, was Charles Porterfield Krauth (1823-1883), considered by colleagues and theological progeny as the "leading interpreter of Lutheranism in the English language."²²⁶ In his landmark book, *The Conservative Reformation and its Theology*, Krauth taught that the Lutheran Confessions should be the rule of faith, for even when translated, they could never be "American," but rather they remain sacred and belong to another world:

The tone which is imparted to the mind and heart, by the theology of the Reformation is just what we now most need. But where are we to commence, it may be asked, in the infinite variety of works that have been written about the Reformation and its theology? . . . By a careful study of the symbolical books of our Church, commencing with the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, a more thorough understanding of the history, difficulties, true genius, and triumphs of the Reformation will be attained . . . But are those Confessions, after all, of any value to the *American* Lutheran preacher? It may be asked. We cannot conceal our sorrow, that that term, "American," should be made so emphatic, dear and hallowed though it be to our heart. Why should we break or weaken the golden chain which unites us to the high and holy associations of our history as a Church, by thrusting into a false position a word which makes a national appeal? Is there a conflict between the two, when carried to their very farthest limits? Must Lutheranism be shorn of its glory to adapt it to our times or our land? No! Our land is great, and wide, and glorious, and destined, we trust, under the sunlight of her free institutions, long to endure; but our faith is wider, and greater, and is eternal. The world owes more to the Reformation than to America; America owes more to it than to herself. The names of our Country and of our Church should excite no conflict, but blend harmoniously together. We are placed here in the midst of sectarianism, and it becomes us, not lightly to consent to swell that

²²⁵ Anderson, 205.

²²⁶ Theodore G. Tappert, *History of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, 1864-1964* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1964), 48.

destructive torrent of separatism which threatens the welfare of pure Christianity on our shores more than all other causes combined. We are surrounded by the children of those churches, which claim an origin in the Reformation. We sincerely love and respect them; we fervently pray that they may be increased in every labor of love, and may be won more and more to add to that precious truth, which they set forth with such power, those no less precious doctrines which, in the midst of so wide an abandonment of the faith once delivered to the saints, God has, in our Confession, preserved to us. But how shall we make ourselves worthy of their respect? . . . we must begin by knowing ourselves, and being true to that knowledge.²²⁷

Krauth and others eventually formed the General Council in 1867, convened first at a meeting in Reading, Pennsylvania. This was similar to the General Synod in that it was a pan-synodical organization, meant to unify Lutherans with a confessional bent:

The General Council at once took up the work of reorganizing the churches on the confessional basis it had adopted . . . From the general character of the Council and the purpose of its organization it followed that its sessions were very largely occupied by discussions of principles and by debates on points of difference with other Lutheran bodies . . . But in the rapid enlargement of the Church that soon took place the General Council fulfilled the primary purpose of its organization in maintaining purity of doctrine and developing sound cultus and practice.²²⁸

Indeed, this confessional movement in America led to liturgico-musical emphases in chorale book publishing, and kept Lutherans in eastern Pennsylvania from assimilating and adopting Anglo-America revival practices.

²²⁷ Charles Porterfield Krauth, *The Conservative Reformation and its Theology: As represented in the Augsburg Confession, and in the history and literature of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1871), 204, 208-209.

²²⁸ Abdel Ross Wentz, *The Lutheran Church in American History* (Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, 1923), 194-195.

4.7 LITURGICAL IMPACT OF THESE LATE INFLUENCES

Not only were the Pennsylvania Lutherans in the General Council turning to their Reformation confessions for their identity, they were returning to Reformation-era liturgical forms and hymnody. In 1877, the Council produced a hymn book containing 595 chorales, titled: *Kirchenbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden* (Philadelphia: Sherman and Company, 1877). This book was the "last major collection of German Lutheran hymnody in America."²²⁹ It was in this resource that parishes adopted German chorales in their "original form," meaning they reclaimed the original German chorale texts and the syncopated rhythms original to the sixteenth-century chorale genre. The notion was romantic to get back to the Reformation sources and thereby return to Reformation theology and practice within the Church.

John Endlich compiled *Choralbuch mit Liturgie und Chorgesaenge zum Kirchenbuch der Allgemeinen Kirchenversammlung*, 1879, (see Figure 25) to accompany the 1877 *Kirchenbuch*. With the exception of chorale books printed for the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, this is the first American choral book to return to Reformation rhythms and melodies entirely. The sources for the chorale settings were from Tucher, Layriz, Zahn and others, similar to chorale books being printed in Germany that sought to return to the hymnody that was aligned with and sprang from Confessional theology during the age of Lutheran Orthodoxy. Endlich speaks in the preface about the "herrliche rhythmische Choral."²³⁰ Unfortunately, little is known about John Endlich, but his chorale book is important to late nineteenth-century Confessionalism.²³¹

²²⁹ Schalk, *God's Song*, 150.

²³⁰ Schalk, *God's Song*, 149.

²³¹ Schalk, *Source Documents*, 78.

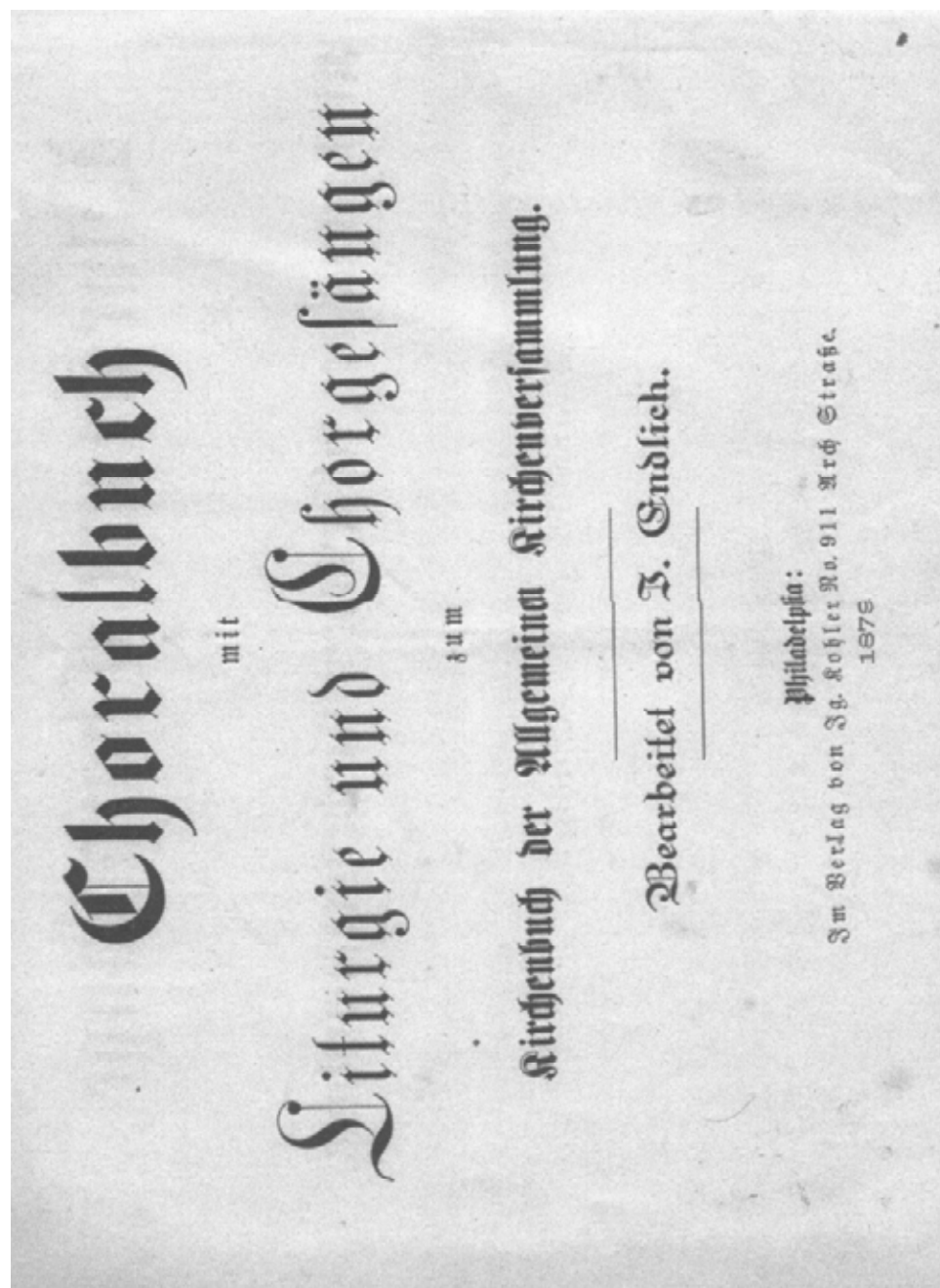


Figure 25. Endlich's *Choralbuch*, 1879, title page. (Author's copy)

A few key features make this chorale book retentive. First, the content is entirely in the German language and the source material used by the editor is purely German. Endlich lists three sixteenth-century (see figure 26) and two nineteenth-century sources for the service music portion of the book, and six pre-nineteenth century and ten nineteenth-century sources for the chorale portion of the book.²³² Endlich labeled chorales from the end of the seventeenth century as "The newer chorales," showing his bias for the early Reformation repertoire and the theology it contained.²³³ Because of this inclusion of some of the earliest German chorale tunes from the German Reformation, intervals within the melodies are largely conjunct and avoid the wider intervals used by Endlich's contemporary English hymnists and Americanizer tune-book compilers. Endlich does mention the language issue once in the chorale book introduction:

A goodly number of chorales also have English translations in addition to the German text. Though the chorale has gained a place in the *Churchbook* by Miss Krauth—which is considered official by the English Lutheran churches—it has not as yet established itself in the church. This is deeply regretted by many who know how much loss there has been in the church service on this account. For if the choirs in the English churches would get used to singing a chorale occasionally, the hearts and minds of English Lutheran congregations would soon be open to them, and the glorious rhythmic chorale would find a home there, as it should.²³⁴

Another retentive feature this book perpetuates is its purely congregational/choral quality, excluding any kind of introduction for singing school or instruction. Instead, the compiler includes a section in the front of the book containing liturgical settings of the Mass and daily prayer, distinguishing this book as a product of liturgically-minded German people (see figure 27).

²³² Schalk, *Source Documents*, 75-76.

²³³ Schalk, *Source Documents*, 77.

²³⁴ Schalk, *Source Documents*, 77. The translation is Schalk's.

Jesus-Lieder. 87

113. Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern.
Philipp Nicolai. 1599.

Got - tes Lam - me, Wein Bräu - si - gam, Zu - ber die soll mir auf Er - den Nichts sonst lie - ber's wer - - ben.
 { Die schön leuch - tet der Mor - gen - stern, Soll Gnad und Rahm - heit von dem Herrn, Die sü - ße Eru - bet Jes - se! }
 { Du Seyn Da - rüber aus Ja - he's Stam - me, Mein Hö - nig und mein Bräu - ti - gam, Hast mir mein Eri - be - se - sen. }
 { O Morn - ing Star! how fair and bright Thou beamest forth in truth and light, O Sov' - reign meek and low - ly; }
 { Thou Root of Jes - se, Da - vid's Son, My Lord and Bridegroom, Thou hast won My heart to serve Thee sole - ly. }
 Lieb - lich, Freund - lich, Schön und herr - lich, groß und ehr - lich, reich von Ga - ben, Hoch und sehr präch - tig er - ba - ben.
 Ho - ly art Thou, fair and glo - rious, All vic - to - rious, rich in bless - ing, Role and might o'er all pos - sess - ing.

Figure 26. Chorale example, Endlich's *Choralbuch*, 1879, page 87. (Author's copy)

As was true of other music books printed in the mid to late century, Endlich's chorale book was printed with movable type, but utilizes round note heads only. The voicing is for four parts on two staves, which by Endlich's time would have been sung by the entire congregation in harmony (see figure 26). Finally, since Endlich's chorale book consisted of pure German repertoire and in light of the theological trend of his day, the theology of his book was German Lutheran in the first right. Justification by Faith alone and emphasis on the sacraments of Holy Communion and Baptism dominated the chorale texts. But, this theological retention was not just a Lutheran interest at mid and late century. German Reformed were also doing what they could to hold on to what made them unique as Dutch Christians.

4.8 PHILIP SCHAFF AND MERCERSBURG

A group of German Reformed Dutch under the leadership of a mid-century immigrant also emphasized doctrinal matters in worship and music. Philip Schaff, who came to the United States at age twenty-five, was called by the German Reformed synod to be the professor of biblical literature and ecclesiastical history at the newly formed seminary in the city of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania (see figure 28). It was 1845 and the synod was, like the Ministerium of Pennsylvania among the Lutherans, trying to “deal responsibly with the revivalism which had increasingly shaped the life of the denomination since 1828.”²³⁵ At his inauguration in Reading, Schaff laid out the main emphases of his confessionalism in a speech titled “The Principles of

²³⁵ Bard Thompson and George H. Bricker, eds., “Editor’s Preface,” *The Principles of Protestantism*, by Philip Schaff, (Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1964), 9.

Protestantism” that he published the same year; it became the basis for what would become the Mercersburg Movement.

In his address, Schaff makes clear that he is not seeking a Dutch retention as had been the case with earlier Reformed pastors and musicians like Conrad Doll. Instead, he sought to adopt some Anglo-American elements in the church as long as they could compliment the depth of traditional German, intellectual theology and its practice:

The historical progress of the church is always conditioned by the national elements, which form its physical basis. The two leading nationalities, which are continually coming into contact in this country, and flowing into one another with reciprocal action, are the English and the German. The further advancement of the American church, consequently, must proceed mainly from a special combination of German depth and *Gemuetlichkeit* with the force of character and active practical talent, for which the English are distinguished. It would be a rich offering then to the service of this approaching reformation, on the part of the German Churches in America, to transplant hither in proper measure the rich wealth of the better German theology, improving it into such form as our peculiar relations might require. This their proper vocation, however they have thus far almost entirely overlooked, seeking their salvation for the most part in characterless surrender of their own nationality. In view of the particular constitution of a large part of the German immigration, this subjection to the power of a foreign life may be regarded indeed as salutary. But the time has now come, when our churches should again rise out of the ashes of the old German Adam, enriched and refined with the advantages of the English nationality. What we most need now is, theoretically, a thorough, intellectual theology, scientifically free as well as decidedly believing, together with a genuine sense for history . . .²³⁶

Throughout the speech, Schaff emphasized the continuity of the ancient church with the Reformation Church, calling special attention to the ties of Protestantism to Roman Catholicism, claiming that “the Reformation is the greatest act of the Catholic Church itself . . .”²³⁷

²³⁶ Philip Schaff, *The Principle of Protestantism*, eds. Bard Thompson and George H. Bricker (Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1964), 233.

²³⁷ Schaff, 224.

Siturgie.

Haupt-Gottesdienst.

No. 1.
Pfarrer.

Im Na - men des Va - ters und des Soh - nes und des hei - li - gen Gei - stes. A - men.

Gemeinde. a. b.

No. 2.
Pfarrer.

Un - se - re Hil - fe steht im Na - men des Herrn. Der Him - mel und Er - de be - zeugt das.

Gemeinde. *

* Die Entungen etwas gelehnt.

Figure 27. Liturgical Music plate, Endlich's *Choralbuch*, 1879, page 1. (Author's copy)

He believed that the Reformation was not complete and that the American Church needed a “dogmatical Reformation,” where it would start to grasp the key theologies of the church once again, rather than Revivalism.²³⁸ Against the “maladies” of Rationalism and Separatism, elements inherent in most of English-language liturgy and hymnody in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Schaff put forth Justification by grace alone as the “life principle of Protestantism” and the “unerring certainty of the holy scriptures” as salvific. Together, these two doctrines formed the “criterion of orthodox Protestantism” and Schaff along with his Reformed colleagues (see below) worked to incorporate them into the musical life of Reformed churches in Pennsylvania via their publications.²³⁹

²³⁸ Schaff, 231.

²³⁹ Schaff, 225. Schaff’s tenure was not without controversy. His emphasis on retaining German theological orthodoxy as well as his ideas on the authority of the Church as the progeny of the Early Catholic tradition upset the “Old Reformed” or “anti liturgical” Reformed, sometimes referred to as the “Ursinus School,” so much that they tried him for heresy (without success) at the synod meeting on two occasions. (John C. Shetler, “The Ursinus School,” *Hidden Histories in the United Church of Christ*, ed. Barbara Brown Zikmund, New York: United Church Press, 1984: 37-49. For more on Schaff’s heresy trials, see Donald E. Harpster, *Controversy in the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania with Emphasis on Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*, Ph.D. diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 1976, chapter 5). These efforts created a rift in the German Reformed Church, resulting in two distinct forms of liturgy: the “altar liturgy” and the “pulpit liturgy.” In the altar liturgy used by the Mercersburg group, clergy and laity responded to God. “This liturgy was centered in the mighty acts of God through the grace of Christ and Christ’s spiritual presence [especially in the Eucharist],” thus even though preaching was still integral to the service, the Sacraments took on greater importance. (Shetler, 38). This liturgy allowed for confession and absolution of the people by the minister, providing yet one more proof of Schaff’s interest in maintaining a connection to the Catholic tradition. Above all, it made Baptism the means of “spiritual regeneration,” essentially salvation (Shetler, 38). The pulpit liturgy, on the other hand, made the pastor the main actor in worship. It was centered around expository preaching, focusing on the “human interpretation of the word and an exhortation to moral living in obedience to the word.” (Shetler, 38). The pulpit liturgy omitted all responses and prayers said or sung by the laity. The main promoter of this second type of liturgy was Rev. John Bomberger, who “sought revision of the provisional liturgy to allow free prayer . . . [and] to remove the absolution after confession of sin and to give prime importance to preaching” (Shetler, 42).

Those in the Mercersburg and Ursinus camps fought for many years over their differences and both groups sought control of the General Synod of the Reformed Church. When the synod met at Lancaster in 1878, both sides were equally represented and the assembly voted in favor of forming a “Peace Commission” to heal the wounds created from the controversy. But, even after the 1866 synodical liturgy was revised to be less *Mercersburgesque*, the followers of Schaff still used the old liturgy. Finally there was a “Directory of Worship” (or a very basic set of rubrics for worship) created that seemed to appease more people in both camps.

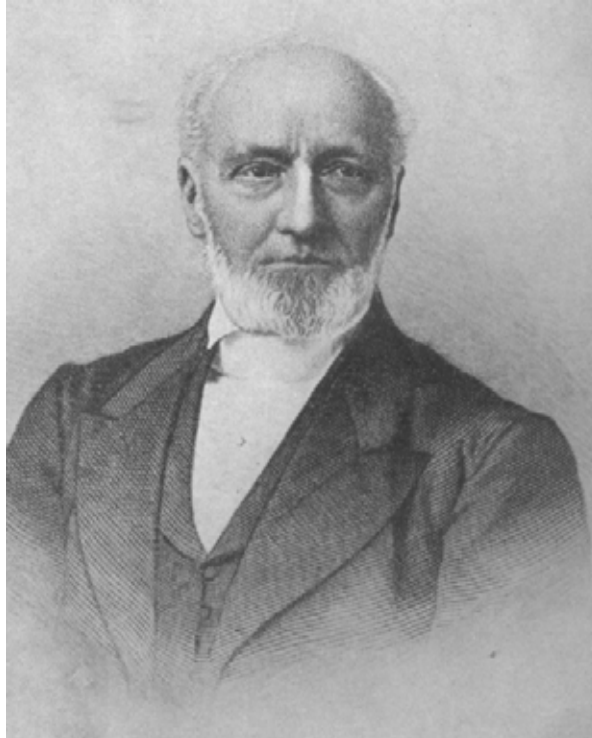


Figure 28. Philip Schaff later in life.
 (Reproduced from Joseph Henry Dubbs, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society, 1902: 304.)

Schaff realized that the main theologies of the Reformation, especially Justification, were most evident in the chorales of Luther and his generation, which is why Schaff produced a new hymn book for the use of the Reformed congregations that contained mostly early chorale texts: *Deutsches Gesangbuch. Eine Auswahl geistlicher Lieder aus allen Zeiten der christlichen Kirche für öffentlichen und häuslichen Gebrauch. Mit kirchlicher Genehmigung* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1860).²⁴⁰ This book helped confessional Lutherans and confessional Reformed

²⁴⁰ The title Schaff's volume is very similar to a Lutheran hymnal in use at the time, *Deutsches Gesangbuch fuer die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten. Herausgegeben mit kirchlicher Genehmigung* (Philadelphia: L.A. Wollenweber, 1849), compiled by Rev. Dr. C. R. Demme, pastor at St. Michael and Zion congregations in Philadelphia. Nineteenth-century users and modern-day scholars sometimes call this book the "Wollenweber Gesangbuch," after the person who printed the volume. See Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995), 135-138.

find common ground in the publication of a new chorale book. Because this chorale book is a collaborative effort between the two *Kirchenleute* groups, a discussion of its retentive features fits best at the end of this chapter once we have already examined the work of each group.

4.9 1861/1868 CHORAL-BUCH FÜR DIE ORGEL

In 1861, *Choral-Buch für die Orgel mit Zwischenspielen*²⁴¹ by G. F. Landenberger was printed for special use by Lutherans, who used the “Wollenweber Gesangbuch,” and by Reformed people using Schaff’s book, which made this chorale book unionistic (see figure 29). Until the publication of Schaff’s *Deutsches Gesangbuch*, the more confessionally oriented Reformed people of Pennsylvania used *Eine Sammlung Evangelischer Lieder, zum Gebrauch der Hoch-Deutsch Reformirten Kirche in den Ver. Staaten von Nord Amerika. Auf Verordnung der Synode gedruckt. Erste Auflage* (Chambersburg, 1842). Its prefatory material suggests that the fourteenth edition of Heinrich Schmidt’s English tune book, *The Church Harmony*, should accompany all of the hymns in this German Reformed hymn book. Thus, the 1861 chorale book of Landenberger (and the second imprint, 1868) took the Reformed back to the retentive phase of assimilation from the assimilating stage it had entered before Schaff’s arrival.

²⁴¹ G. F. Landenberger, *Choral-Buch für die Orgel mit Zwischenspielen versehen, und für den vierstimmigen Gesang eingerichtet. Melodien zu sämtlichen Versmaßen des deutschen Gesangbuches für die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten, sowie zu denen des deutschen Gesangbuches für die Reformirte Kirche von Philipp Schaff, Dr. u. Prof. der Theologie. Bearbeitet von G. F. Landenberger, Organist an der St. Paulskirche* (Philadelphia: I. Kohler, 1861).

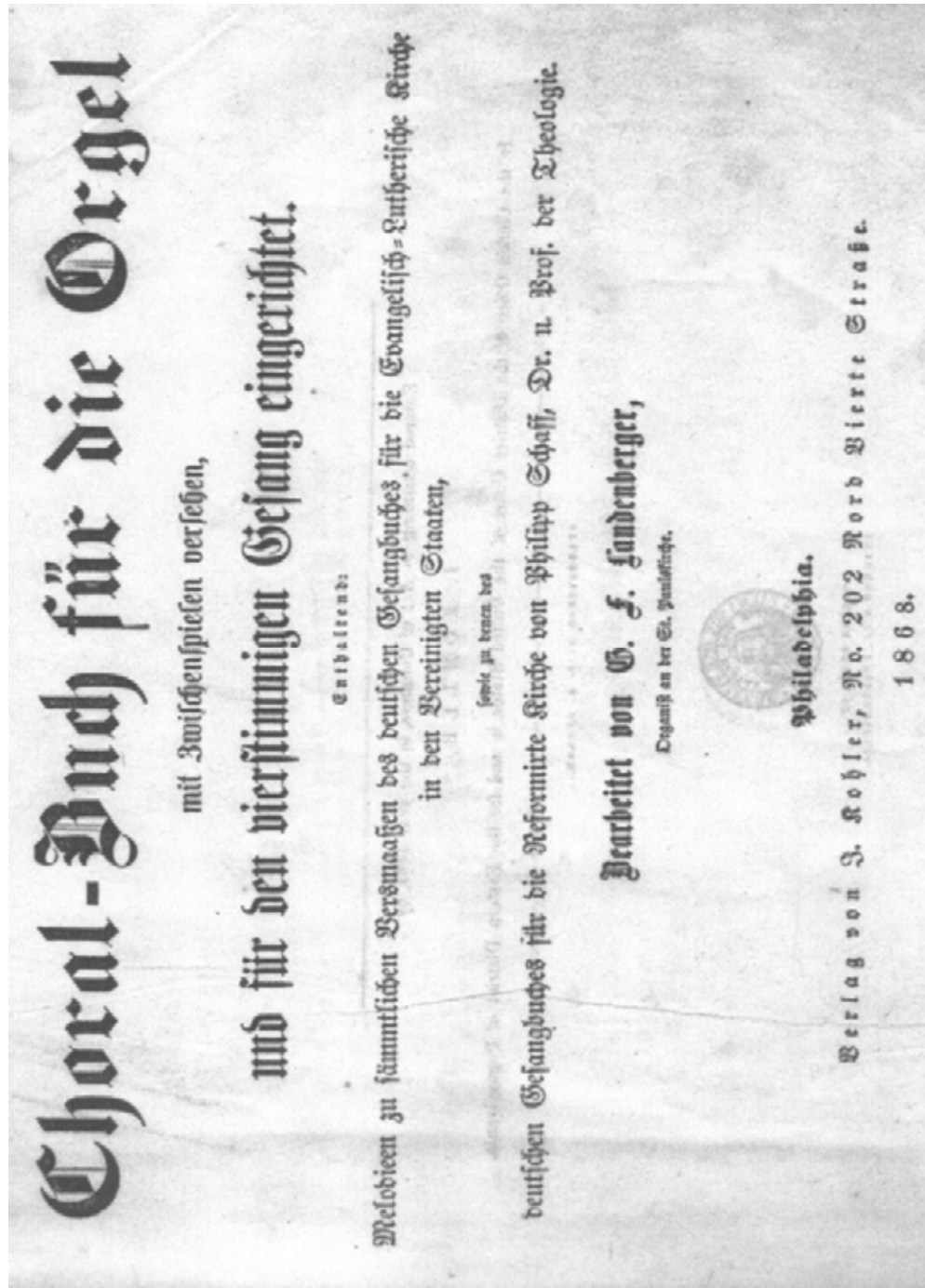


Figure 29. 1861 *Choralbuch* (1868 edition), title page. (Author's copy)

With the exception of the few words on the colophon page, stating the copyright information for this book, the entire volume is in the German language. Its introduction is a traditional German chorale-book introduction without a discussion of the rudiments of music. Rather, there are suggestions on how to sing the chorales with different groups (including boys' and girls' choirs). The preface highly recommends that this book be used in schools, for the good of the church. There is also discussion of organ interludes, which appear in the book. Unlike the 1813 *Choral-Buch* (see above), this book includes interludes for each chorale while in the introduction warns organists that they should not allow these interpolations to slow down the tempo of hymn singing. At one point the book also makes reference to Helmuth's and Schmauk's books:

Some melodies, which in the 1813 chorale book [of Helmuth's] and Schmauk's [*Choral*] *Harmonie* are quite different from each other, have been placed next to each other in both versions for convenient use; On the other hand, smaller differences are noted at the end of the chorale and they are marked according to letters in the places where they are to be utilized.²⁴²

From the standpoint of genre, the only book that was more purely German was Helmuth's chorale book. All of the tunes contained in the 1861 book except for one are of German origin, were accepted into the German Church's tradition in Germany from outside traditions, or were written by Landenberger (labeled "G.F.L."), the editor of the chorale book.²⁴³ The only tune in the collection that is not German is Lowell Mason's "From Greenland's Icy Mountains" ("Von Grönland's Eisgestaden"), no. 176, which found a place inconspicuously in

²⁴² Landenberger, 6. "Einige Melodien, die im Choralbuch von 1813 und Schmauk's Harmonie sehr stark von einander abweichen, wurden in beiden Fassungen zum beliebigen Gebrauch neben einander gestellt; kleinere abweichungen dagegen sind am Ende des Chorals an gegeben und durch Buchstaben die Stellen bezeichnet, wo sie einzuschalten sind."

²⁴³ Tunes with the source listed as "G.F.L." are numbers 178, 132, 99, 80, and 23. Landenberger was a teacher at St. Michael and Zion congregations in Philadelphia and he served as the organist for the "St. Paul Mission" in this place. Schalk, *God's Song*, 210-211 (footnote 47).

the back of the book (see figure 30). Landenberger not only used Mason's tune "Missionary Hymn" from 1823, but the first verse of Reginald Heber's traditional English text (1819) in German translation:

From Greenland's icy mountains, from India's coral strand;
Where Africa's sunny fountains roll down their golden sand:
From many an ancient river, from many a palmy plain,
They call us to deliver their land from error's chain.²⁴⁴

Several tunes are from the Pietist school of hymnody in Germany (labeled "Halle" or "Freylinghausen") and three have Moravian origin.²⁴⁵ At least two chorales have Calvinistic roots (no. 19 from "Franz. Ref. Psalm. 1555." and no. 96 from "Alt-Reformirt."), the latter being a setting of Psalm 38. But, the largest group of chorales in the book is from orthodox Lutheran writers and Martin Luther himself. Those by Luther number eleven in total.²⁴⁶ This volume shows scholars how indispensable the German chorale genre was to the *Kirchenleute*.

The back of the book also offers liturgical pieces²⁴⁷ under the heading "Altar Chorales" (Altargesänge), which Landenberger divided into two subsections: "At the time of the main liturgy" (*Beim Hauptgottesdienst*) and "At the Celebration of the Eucharist" (*Bei der Abendmahls-Feier*). The first subsection contains simple chorales and responses for the confession of sins, the reciting of the Ten Commandments, the scripture readings, and a three-fold Amen for after the pastoral benediction.

²⁴⁴ The original tune and text of this hymn can be found at: <http://www.cyberhymnal.org/html/f/r/fromgrim.htm> (as of 15 December 2008).

²⁴⁵ Moravian tunes are numbers 144, 140, and 58.

²⁴⁶ Luther's tunes are numbers 15, 16, 20, 64, 98, 107, 108, 110, 153, 154, and 172.

²⁴⁷ Landenberger, 197-200.

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176. Von Grönland's Eiskefaden.

Zum 30. Jahresfest gewidmt.

E. Mason.

Von Grön-land's Eis-ge-sa-ben, Von Pe-ru's gold-nen Ste-ben, Vom
 In-lands Ber-gen, Von man-chem el-ten, Und pol-men-rei-der
 kum-len Woh-ren-land; Von man-chem el-ten, Und pol-men-rei-der
 Nur Er-heit-lich-keit, Du-ker: „Bist-nach-ber-Mahr-heit-Gott“

Figure 30. Lowell Mason's "From Greenland's icy Mountains," 1861 *Choralbuch*, page 195.
(Author's copy)

In the second subsection of the “Altar chorales” are the *sursum corda*, a German *Sanctus*, a post-communion canticle, and the same three-fold Amen that appeared in the other subsection. Some of these pieces are specifically designated by the editor as congregational or choral, returning many Reformed people to a fuller congregational participation.

The round musical notation in this chorale book was printed from movable type by the firm Ignatius Kohler of Philadelphia. Four voice parts are placed on two staves and the people were encouraged by the preface to sing in harmony. As was the case in ethnic retentive books, the chorales in the Landenberger chorale book have mostly conjunct melodies with leaps no larger than the interval of a fourth. Interludes between phrases of each chorale are mostly written in eighth-note melismas, while the SATB scoring employs half note movement.

The use of Luther and Lutheran chorales makes confessional theology manifest in this book. Lutheran Catechism chorales like *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam* emphasized the saving quality of the sacraments (“. . . Bad, zu waschen uns von Sünden”).²⁴⁸ Justification is a clear theme in chorales like Luther’s own “Christ lag in Todesbanden,” which not only proclaimed Schaff’s theological emphasis of Justification, but pointed up worship as a response to the salvation freely given to the believer: “[Christ] Who is arisen and brought us life: that we should rejoice, praise God and be thankful to him and sing Hallelujia!”²⁴⁹ Possibly the best example of Justification theology, however, is “Es ist das Heil uns kommen her” from Luther’s 1524 collection, the *Achtliederbuch*: “Salvation unto us has come by God’s free grace and favor. Good works cannot avert our doom; they help and save us never. Faith looks to Jesus Christ

²⁴⁸ Landenberger, 148.

²⁴⁹ Landenberger, 110. Seeing worship or liturgy as a response to God’s grace and salvation was something that came directly from the Lutheran Reformation and the Lutheran Confessions. See article XXIV of the *Apology to the Augsburg Confession* in: Timothy J. Wengert, and Robert Kolb, eds., *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000).

alone, he did for all the world atone; He is our mediator” (see figure 31).²⁵⁰ Schaff, because of his Catholic leanings, would have loved the fact that Landenberger included all of Luther’s *Deutsche Messe* chorales, German translations of each part of the Roman mass ordinary. They would have helped the Reformed liturgy stay focused less on exhortation of individuals and their moral standing, and more on the conviction and forgiveness of the Christian community through the proclamation of God’s word, and thus agreed with Schaff’s ecclesiology of what the Church was when it gathered for worship and the sacraments.

Schaff put special weight on the Eucharist. Believing that the Zwinglian view of communion (“memorialism”) was not in keeping with the Heidelberg Catechism or the larger history of the Church’s doctrinal teaching, he latched onto the idea that Christ was “Spiritually present” in the bread and wine of the Sacrament.²⁵¹ No. 138 in the Landenberger chorale book, “Schmücke dich,” a traditional Lutheran Chorale written in 1649 by Johann Crüger, put emphasis on this theology of consubstantiation.

²⁵⁰ The translation is from the *Lutheran Book of Worship*, 1978.

²⁵¹ Harpster, 112. The Eucharistic ideas of Schaff and his movement were expressed in the works of Schaff’s colleague, John W. Nevin. See “Catholic Unity,” *The Mercersburg Theology*, eds. James Hastings Nichols (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 37-40.

Catherine Winkworth's translation of this hymn makes this Eucharistic emphasis open and apparent even amidst the romantic *poesie*:

Deck thyself, my soul, with gladness,
Leave the gloomy haunts of sadness;
Come into the daylight's splendor,
There with joy thy praises render
Unto Christ Whose grace unbounded
Hath this wondrous banquet founded.
Higher o'er all the heav'ns He reigneth,
Yet to dwell with thee He deigneth.

Hasten as a bride to meet Him
And with loving reverence greet Him;
For with words of life immortal
Now He knocketh at thy portal.
Haste to open the gates before Him,
Saying, while thou dost adore Him,
Suffer, Lord, that I receive Thee,
And I nevermore will leave Thee.

He who craves a precious treasure
Neither cost nor pain will measure;
But the priceless gifts of heaven
God to us hath freely given.
Though the wealth of earth were offered,
Naught would buy the gifts here offered:
Christ's true body, for thee riven,
And His blood, for thee once given.

Ah, how hungers all my spirit
For the love I do not merit!
Oft have I, with sighs fast thronging,
Thought upon this food with longing,
In the battle well nigh worsted,
For this cup of life have thirsted,
For the Friend Who here invites us
And to God Himself unites us.

In my heart I find ascending
Holy awe, with rapture blending,
As this mystery I ponder,
Filling all my soul with wonder,
Bearing witness at this hour

Of the greatness of God's power;
Far beyond all human telling
Is the power within Him dwelling.

Human reason, though it ponder,
Cannot fathom this great wonder
That Christ's body e'er remaineth
Though it countless souls sustaineth
And that He His blood is giving
With the wine we are receiving.
These great mysteries unsounded
Are by God alone expounded.

Sun, who all my life dost brighten,
Light, who dost my soul enlighten;
Joy the best that any knoweth;
Fount, whence all my being floweth;
At Thy feet I cry, my Maker,
Let me be a fit partaker
Of this blessed food from heaven,
For our good, Thy glory, given.

Lord, by love and mercy driven
Thou hast left Thy throne in heaven
On the cross for me to languish
And to die in bitter anguish,
To forego all joy and gladness
And to shed Thy blood in sadness.
By this blood redeemed and living,
Lord, I praise Thee with thanksgiving.

Jesus, Bread of Life, I pray Thee,
Let me gladly here obey Thee.
By Thy love I am invited,
Be Thy love with love requited;
From this supper let me measure,
Lord, how vast and deep love's treasure.
Through the gifts Thou here dost give me
As Thy guest in heaven receive me.

This chorale book and Schaff's hymn book, which it accompanied, made it easier for the German Reformed people to retain the traditional theology they believed was inherited from the Catholic

Church and virtually from the apostolic age in which Jesus lived. It also undergirded the altar service as practiced by the confessional Mercersburg Movement as this service raised the sacraments in Reformed worship life and music to a high point.

Retentive tune and chorale books show us the overarching trends of ethnic retention in Dutch communities. The first era of this retention is defined by the German elements in the books compiled by Helmuth (and Ott), and Doll in the Early Republic period through the middle of the nineteenth century. The books of these men perpetuated unique forms of ethnic identity in music, differing from efforts by Americanizer tune-book compilers. The second era of retention (later in the nineteenth century) was marked by theological concerns. Schmauk, Endlich, and Landenberger compiled retentive books that had a theological purpose behind their autonomous characteristics and cultural retention was a result of the stress they placed on Confessionalism. The special nature of retention becomes clear upon examination of these books and comparison with books promoting cultural assimilation.

5.0 ADAPTATION AND ACCULTURATION

Dutch communities started to take on a radically different character as they embraced cultural assimilation. Philip Schaaf (see chapter 4) identified the change that was taking place in mid-nineteenth-century Dutch society in an 1850 article, “The Conflict of both Languages in the German Churches” (“Der Conflict der beiden Sprache in den deutschen Kirchen”). He identified three main “opinions” (“Ansichten”) among the Dutch at this time: “namely a one-sided German, a one-sided English, and a German-English, or Anglo-German” outlook.²⁵² The third of these views is the liminal stage of assimilation that I will examine in this chapter in two different forms: a preliminary stage of change (adaptation) and a more progressed stage (acculturation).

Ethnic change did not come easily for the Pennsylvania Dutch *Kirchenleute*. Numerous scholars have made the mistake of thinking that assimilation was almost instantaneous or that it happened uniformly across Pennsylvania. Otto Holzapfel’s absolute statement, “The Anglicization process, therefore, was firmly established in the late 1820’s, and it accelerated in subsequent generations,” was not true everywhere.²⁵³ Different Dutch communities and churches assimilated at various speeds depending on factors that are not all apparent to scholars. But

²⁵² “. . . nämlich eine einseitig deutsche, eine einseitig englische und eine deutsch-englische, oder anglo-germanische.” Philip Schaff, “Der Conflict der beiden Sprachen in den deutschen Kirchen,” *Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund* 3, no. 1 (January 1850): 22.

²⁵³ Otto Holzapfel, “Singing from the Right Songbook: Ethnic Identity and Language Transformation in German American Hymnals,” *Music in American Religious Experience*, eds. Philip V. Bohlman, Edith L. Blumhofer, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 190.

clearly Americanization in music did not just arise from the English texts of hymnals.²⁵⁴ Instead there were multiple aspects of tune books that assisted in transforming the Dutch into full Americans. Parallel events, especially the breakdown of the Dutch educational system, took their toll on the identity of these people and music was a central place where the struggle could be worked through.

5.1 PAROCHIAL EDUCATION

One of the greatest blows to Pennsylvania Dutch culture and contributors to assimilation was the gradual breakdown of parochial schools. There was a long tradition of ecclesiastical education in Germany, which served as the pattern for Dutch schools in Pennsylvania.²⁵⁵ In the 1780s Lancaster had a flourishing school, thanks in no small part to Pastor Helmuth, who served the Lancaster Lutherans before going to Philadelphia.²⁵⁶ A 1793 report on German Lutheran schools in Philadelphia reported that Lancaster had one Lutheran school of 40 to 50 pupils.²⁵⁷ Harrisburg had a Union (Lutheran and Reformed) school starting in 1797. Pennsylvania Lutheran Ministerium minutes show that the number of Lutheran schools in Pennsylvania grew in the nineteenth century. Lutheran schools far exceeded those of Quakers and even Reformed at

²⁵⁴ Holzapfel, 185.

²⁵⁵ Ernst Christian Helmreich, *Religious Education in German Schools: An Historical Approach* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959).

²⁵⁶ Charles Lewis Maurer, *Early Lutheran Education in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Co., 1932), 191.

²⁵⁷ Maurer, 197.

the turn of the century.²⁵⁸ In 1802 there were 79 Lutheran schools and this increased to 89 just two years later. The growth was so rapid that by 1820, the number of schools totaled 206.²⁵⁹

Pennsylvania Dutch elementary schools taught children the religious values of their people, how to read, basic math skills, and music. Instruction was in German, until communities started to adopt English ways and bilingual education, but this met more resistance in the country schools:

We have seen that New Holland School, built in 1787, provided for a combination of English and German classes from its establishment. Philadelphia had trouble when English was demanded before the Revolution, as did Lancaster . . . Before the close of the eighteenth century, English and German were frequently combined in the curriculum. This was especially true in the larger towns, but in the country congregations, where there was a more conservative spirit, the introduction of English was generally delayed until the establishment of the Common School System of 1834. The English question was a constant source of friction in schools as well as in the Churches. The use and teaching of English were only gradually introduced.²⁶⁰

It was the Free School Act of 1834 that weakened the Lutheran-Reformed communities' ability to continue their existing parochial system of education.

Benjamin Franklin and others had tried to force the Dutch (and other ethnic people) into "Charity Schools" in the eighteenth century to no avail. In 1827 the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Schools began holding meetings and distributing literature to promote the 1834 Free School Act, which did pass, creating school districts for each ward, town, and borough throughout the state. Each district then was able to vote on the acceptance or rejection of the new

²⁵⁸ Maurer, 199.

²⁵⁹ This figure was higher (256 schools) if you include previously reported schools in the final sum (Maurer, 199).

²⁶⁰ Maurer, 193-194. According to Maurer's study, the Lutheran school at Lancaster was teaching at least one English language class before 1775. By 1795, education was bilingual in that venue. The push for English language instruction, was without a doubt, the impetus for Conrad Doll to publish his 1797 tune book. See chapter 4 of this dissertation.

education law. A total of fifty-two percent of the districts voted to accept it, seeing that it would provide free education even to the poorest inhabitants of each community. “It was the predominantly German counties, located in the east-central portion of the State, which were strongest in their opposition to the new law. One reason for this was that the new law provided for English schools; another was the objection of the thrifty Germans to taxation; and another was the fear that the new state schools might injure their German parochial schools.”²⁶¹ As Steven Nolt has observed, “The impulse behind the establishment and spread of public education during these years sprang from the notion that proper Americans could be cast from a single cultural mold, and much of the intellectual sophistication behind such pedagogical enterprises looked to the Anglo-American Northeast and British-rooted Protestantism for cultural cues.”²⁶²

Phebe Earle Gibbons, in her 1882 essay on the Dutch, wrote: “I have understood that . . . our township of Upper Leacock wanted to resist by litigation the establishment of public schools. It is the school tax that is onerous. Within about twenty years a great impetus has been given to education by the establishment of the county superintendency, of normal schools, and of teachers’ institutes.” She continued with some humor: “I think it is within this time, however, that the board of directors met, in an adjoining township, and, being called upon to vote by ballot, there were afterward found in the box several different ways of spelling the word ‘no’.”²⁶³

Some churches did maintain their parochial schools even into the twentieth century, but it became more and more difficult starting in the 1830s since some Dutch started to send their

²⁶¹ Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, *A Brief History of Education: A History of the Practice and Progress and Organization of Education* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922), 375. Also, see: J. P. Wickersham, *History of Education in Pennsylvania* (No City Listed: Ayer Publishing, 1969); Joseph J. McCadden, *Education in Pennsylvania, 1801-1835 and its Debt to Robert Vaux* (No city listed: Ayer Publishing, 1978).

²⁶² Steven M. Nolt, 132.

²⁶³ Phebe Earle Gibbons, *Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole, 2001), 48.

children to the newly established public schools. By 1853, the Union Sunday School hymnal lamented that children were not learning music as they ought in the schools:

That it is so bad with the singing in so many parishes, comes partially from the influence of our church through the unchurched Spirit of our time and of our country. This spirit also formed differently a number of things for us than it was and it should be. But then, without a doubt, the fault mainly lies (in the fact) that our youth grows up in the schools in many places without instruction in singing, and namely in church singing does receive little or no instruction.²⁶⁴

Unfortunately the parish-singing almost died out in many American churches. The schoolmaster or the choir [*Singchor*] sings for the parish and just here and there is somebody joining in. That is a pitiful condition; a main means of edification [*Haupterbauungsmittel*] has thus become ineffective.²⁶⁵

As time went on and as they amalgamated, the *Kirchenleute* came to believe that their children had more advantages in society if they went to English-speaking public schools and this eventually caused the parochial schools to dwindle. First the *Kirchenleute*, however, would have to adapt and acculturate before they would give up their peculiar system, which was a part of the larger Dutch culture.

²⁶⁴ “Daß es in vielen Gemeinden so schlecht steht mit dem Gesang, kommt theilweise von dem Einfluß des unkirchlichen Geistes unserer Zeit und unseres Landes auf unsere Kirchen her.- Dieser Geist hat auch sonst noch Manches bei uns anders gestaltet, als es war und als es sein sollte. Dann aber liegt die Schuld ohne Zweifel hauptsächlich darin, daß unsere Jugend an vielen Orten ohne Singunterricht in den Schulen aufwächst, und namentlich im Kirchengesang so wenig oder gar keinen Unterricht erhält.” *Gesangbuch für die Sonntags-Schulen der Evangelisch-Lutherischen und Deutsch-Reformirten Kirchen in den Vereinigten Staaten, genehmigt von den Synoden der beiden Kirchen* (Allentown: S. K. Brobst and Co., 1853), ix.

²⁶⁵ “Leider ist der Gemeindegesang in vielen amerikanischen Kirchen beinahe ausgestorben. Der Schulmeister oder das Singchor singt für die Gemeinde und nur hier und da stimmt ein Glied mit ein. Das ist ein trauriger Zustand; eines Haupterbauungsmittel im Gottesdienste ist dadurch unwirksam geworden.” *Sonntags-Schulen Gesangbuch*, viii.

5.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF ADAPTATION AND ACCULTURATION

Approximately the same time as the school act, Dutch Lutherans and Reformed were at a liminal stage in their ethnic identity. Their tune books, according to Paul Westermeyer, “symbolized the loss of identity each denomination was experiencing. Confessional historic roots, while never completely absent, were blurred and forgotten. A common supply of Anglo-American authors, sometimes of a rude revivalistic sort, filled the void.”²⁶⁶ Indeed, they were at the crossroads of their existence:

Behind them stretched their Reformation heritage along with pietism, rationalism, and some adaptation to the American environment. Before them stretched the long-term revivalistic effects of the Second Great Awakening and its aftermath, a new influx of German countrymen, the transition from German to English in their worship, and a conscious scrutiny of what constituted adaptation or betrayal of their traditions. We look in on these people at a moment of decision.²⁶⁷

Generally around this time tune books, hymn books, printed liturgies, as well as minutes of the two *Kirchenleute* church bodies began appearing in both German and English. Various aspects of the tune books in particular signal a decision on the part of editors and the books’ consumers to accept differing degrees of change that eventually led to their and their offsprings’ entire amalgamation into the host society, the final stage of assimilation that will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter four of this dissertation examined ethnic retention in tune books, citing the main retentive characteristics of these books. We will proceed by analyzing the same categories of

²⁶⁶ Paul Westermeyer, *What shall we sing in a Foreign Land? Theology and cultic Song in the German Reformed and Lutheran Churches of Pennsylvania, 1830-1900*, unpublished Ph.D. diss. (University of Chicago, 1978), 42.

²⁶⁷ Paul Westermeyer, *What shall we sing*, 4.

tune-book characteristics in the adaptation and acculturation stages, viewing both stages together because of their similarity in appearance:

1. Language: Tune books seeking to “adapt” to Anglo-American culture modified so that their layout and content looked like English-language tune books but at the same time maintained some distinction from their English counterparts. The title page and introduction in some of the adaptive books, particularly Joseph Doll’s *Der Leichte Unterricht* (1810), were direct translations of English singing-school predecessors. German remained the predominant language in tune books of adaptation and acculturation. The difference between these books and those of ethnic retention is that English tune names start to appear at the head of pieces in adaptive books, and acculturated books are bilingual throughout, employing interlinear song texts in German and English (but these texts are often not direct translations of each other). Further, acculturated title pages and the singing-school introductions that follow are in two sections, one in German and the other in English translation.

2. Introductions: Adaptive and acculturated tune books contained pedagogical introductions that sought to teach the rudiments of music to common people with little or no education.

3. Genre: Musical forms and genres foreign to retentive chorale books were integral to adaptive tune books. For example, canonic entrances are common instead of just the homorhythmic chorale texture. Changes in the acculturated books are more drastic as they contained few, if any, chorales. Instead, English and Anglo-American genres (e.g., fuguing tunes, anthems) dominated in this later stage of assimilation.

4. Musical Notation and Printing Method: The notation changed in adaptive and acculturated books as compilers adopted the types of notation that English-language singing-school book compilers preferred: shaped notes. Both stages make use of the four shapes of note heads found in Anglo-American books. Type-set printing was the sole method of printing the text and musical notation in both of these stages of assimilation.

5. Voicing: Each tune, instead of being scored for melody and figured bass as in the 1813 *Choral-Buch* of the retention stage, was scored for three to four voices (on separate staves), which became the norm in all German-American tune books as assimilation advanced. As the Dutch got further away from their Germanic heritage, the individual voices contained wider intervals. As Paul Westermeyer indicates in a recent essay, this may show at this point that there is more Anglo-American influence than even the Dutch would have admitted.²⁶⁸

6. Theology: While this chapter will not plumb the depths of theology in acculturative and adaptive tune books, it is important to note that as chorales became the minority genre and English-language hymnody and English genres became dominant, traditional Lutheran and Reformed theology gave way to sentimentality. This is inherited, in part, from German Pietism, but it became more intense as Revivalism and English hymn texts by Wesley and Watts made inroads into Germanic churches. Texts in assimilating tune books excluded (almost entirely) sacramental texts, which would have focused on the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist and the salvific nature of Baptism. Overall, these liminal publications indicated an identity crisis

²⁶⁸ Paul Westermeyer, "The Evolution of the Music of German American Protestants in their Hymnody: A Case Study from an American Perspective," *Music in American Religious Experience*, eds. Philip V. Bohlman, Edith L. Blumhofer, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

of a people who were *in between* their German heritage and the predominant ways of American society. The following tables list the tune books that participated in adaptation and acculturation, along with their dates and places of publication, and the denominational affiliation they each had either by association (i.e., affiliation of the book’s compiler), or according to statements in the book’s prefatory material. A detailed discussion of each of these books follows.

Table 3. Tune books of the adaptation stage of assimilation.

Date	City of Publication	Title	Religious Affiliation
1810	Harrisburg	<i>Der Leichte Unterricht, von der vocal Musik</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)
1814	Harrisburg	<i>Leichter Unterricht, von der vocal Musik</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)
1815	Harrisburg	<i>Leichter Unterricht in der vocal Musik</i> (Second Volume)	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)
1821	Harrisburg	<i>Leichte Unterricht, von der vocal Musik</i> (Third and “Imroved” edition)	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)
1818	Harrisburg	<i>Choral-Harmonie. Enthaltend Kirchen-Melodien, die bey allen Religions-Verfassungen gebrauchlich, auf vier Stimmen gesetzt</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)
1822	Harrisburg	<i>Choral-Harmonie. Enthaltend Kirchen-Melodien, die bey allen Religions-Verfassungen gebrauchlich, auf vier Stimmen gesetzt</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)

Table 4. Tune books of the acculturation stage of assimilation

Date	City of Publication	Title	Religious Affiliation
1821	Harrisburg	<i>Die Franklin Harmonie</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)
1827	Gettysburg	<i>Die Neue Harmonie: oder eine neue Sammlung von Kirchen=Musik</i>	Lutheran
N.A. (ca.1820s)	York	“ <i>Manuscript Tune Book</i> ” by Michael Bentz	Lutheran

5.3 ADAPTATION: *DER LEICHTE UNTERRICHT* BY JOSEPH DOLL (1810, 1814, 1815, 1821)

Tune-book compilers who sought to adapt to Anglo-American culture modified their books’ layout and content to look like Anglo-American tune books and at the same time maintained some distinction from the English-language counterparts. Joseph Doll’s *Der Leichte Unterricht, von der vocal Musik* (Harrisburg: John Wyeth, 1810), is one of the earliest examples of adaptation. A second edition came onto the scene in 1814 (Harrisburg: John Wyeth) with two new pages of music, and a “second volume” appeared in 1815 (Harrisburg: John Wyeth) with different content. In 1821, a “third and improved edition” came from the same press (Harrisburg: John Wyeth), probably exhausting the market of consumers willing to pay any more money for this collection.

While the book is predominantly in the German language, *Der leichte Unterricht* (or in later editions starting in 1814, simply *Leichter Unterricht* . . .) made use of English tune names.

This did little to advance the use of English among the Dutch singing-school participants, who owned copies of the book, since organists and singing-school masters paid most attention to these markings. There was no English on the title page or in the introduction, but these components of the book were, in fact, direct translations from the first English singing-school book to use shape notes, *The Easy Instructor*, printed in Philadelphia in 1801.²⁶⁹ Irving Lowens and Allen Britton write that this tune book “was not only a direct plagiarism in translation of the Little and Smith title [*The Easy Instructor*], but a direct appropriation of the distinctive shapes [of notes] as well.”²⁷⁰

The content of Joseph Doll’s publication, which differed from the content in *The Easy Instructor*, was mostly chosen from the continental European music tradition in addition to a modest selection from the American repertory. *Der Leichte Unterricht* was a mixture of genres and textures, but included some chorales. For example in the second volume (1815), Wyeth included “O daß ich tausend Zungen hätte” (page 118; see figure 32). While Wyeth does not employ the original German tune for this chorale text, he does keep a homorythmic texture and bar form (A-A-B) that one would expect in a chorale. The second edition (1814) contains the chorale “Nun danket alle Gott” (page 7) with the original melody in the tenor, as is customary in Dutch tune books of this stage, but changes the text from “mit Herz und That und Leben” to “mit Herzen, Mund und Händen.” Throughout each of Wyeth’s editions, we find duets, and short anthems incorporating counterpoint. For example, “Weynacht Lied” [sic] in the second volume (1815 edition, page 48) is a two-page anthem with non-imitative polyphony for three voices. The eighth-note movement with some sixteenth notes indicates that this anthem was for a church

²⁶⁹ See: Irving Lowens, and Allen P. Britton, “‘The Easy Instructor’ (1798-1831): A History and Bibliography of the First Shape Note Tune Book,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* 1, no. 1 (spring 1953), 30-55.

²⁷⁰ Irving Lowens, and Allen P. Britton, “The Easy Instructor,” 41.

choir or singing school that would have been capable of singing the melismatic passages. It is in a simple A-B form.

As is in all Dutch tune books in this stage the music was from type-set printing and the Wyeth books make use of four-shape notation (see figure 33). The voicing in the *Leichter Unterricht* tune books varies, but the pieces are mostly set in three voices. Intervals of a fourth or fifth start to happen occasionally in these books, much more than they do in retentive tune books. In fact, occasionally there is an octave descent or ascent in the music as well. The conjunct nature of the chorale is giving way in these books to larger intervals as the communities start to pull apart and disintegrate into the larger society.

Beschluß Gesungen.

1. O daß ich tausend zungen hätte, Und einen tan = sendfachen mund, } Ein lob lied nach dem andern an, Von dem was Go = tt an mir gethan,
 So spricht ich damit in die metze, Dem allerhöch = sten herzens grund, }

2. O daß doch meine stimmen erschalle, Bis dahin wo ... die Sonne steht, } Nach war ein je = der pulß ein dank und je = der a = them ein gesang,
 O daß mein blut mir tausend zungen wolle, So lang es no = ch im lauffe geht, }

Figure 32. "O dass ich tausend zungen haette," *Der Leichte Unterricht*, 1815, page 118.
 (Author's copy)

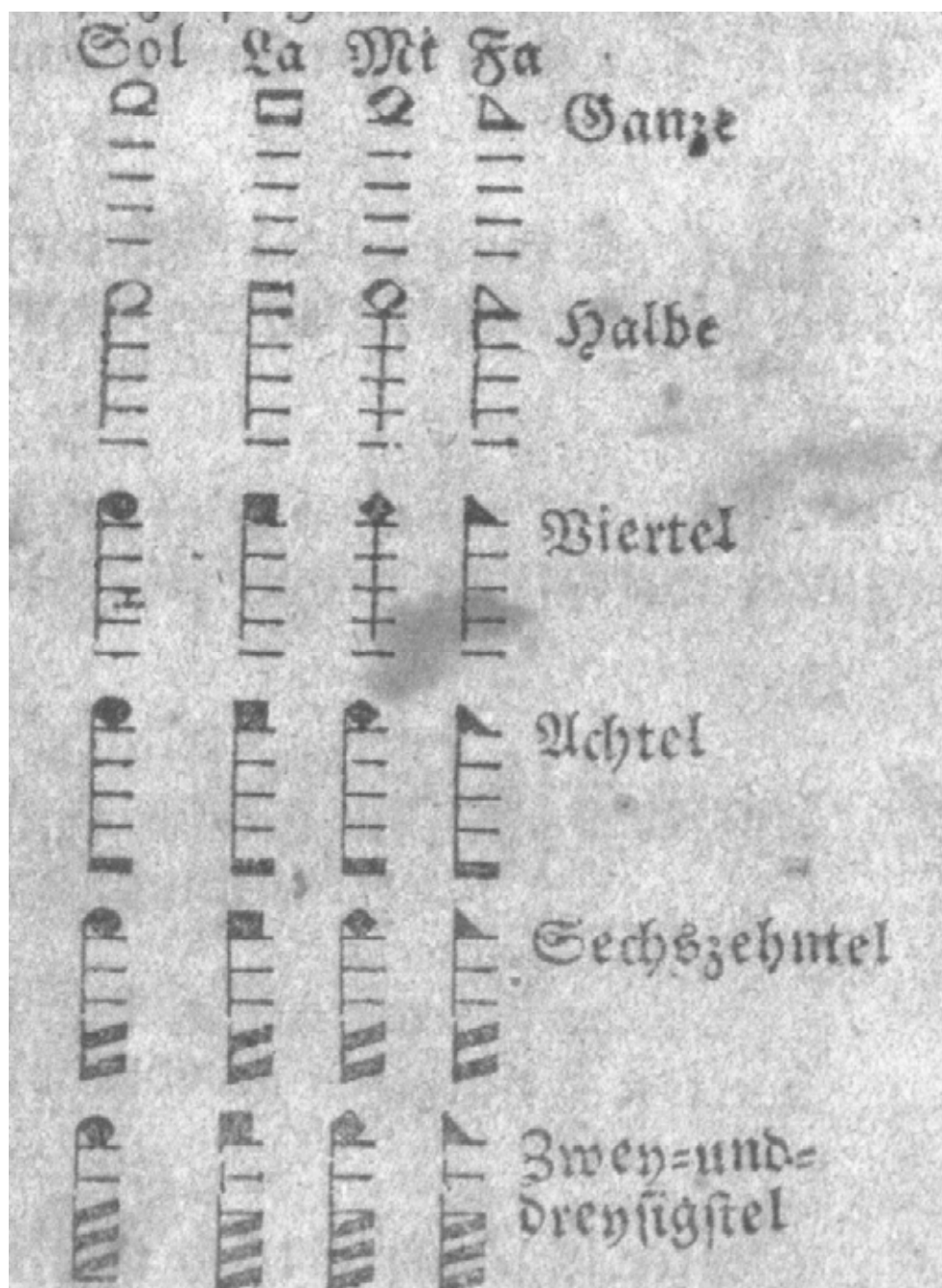


Figure 33. Shape notes in the singing-school introduction to Joseph Doll's *Der Leichte Unterricht*, 1810. (Author's copy)

5.4 ADAPTATION: *CHORAL-HARMONIE* BY JOHN WYETH (1818, 1822)

Another adaptive tune book, *Choral Harmonie enthaltend Kirchen-Melodien* (Harrisburg: John Wyeth, 1818 and 1822), uses the German and English languages in interlinear fashion for a portion of its tunes. For example, the tune “Easter Anthem,” a composition by the American composer William Billings, was married to the texts “The Lord is ris’n indeed! Hallelujah!” and “Der Herr ist erstanden! Hallelujah!” (see figure 34). The book’s numbers 50, 87, 95, 109, 112, 126, 128, 128b, 129, and 130 all have bilingual texts. Further, some English tune names enter in as identifiers of the pieces. The introduction in this volume is entirely in German and is didactic like its English counterparts.

Isaac Gerhart, Reformed pastor in Freeburg, Pennsylvania, and Johann F. Eyer, Lutheran organist in Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, were the compilers and (according to the title page) composers for the music in this book. The selection of content shows a more orthodox (less Pietist) selection of music. The best way of showing this is to look at the numerous chorales taken from the traditional *Kirchenleute* repertory. For example, “Alle Menschen müssen sterben” (page 30), an altered form of “Wachet auf” (page 92; see figure 36), “Es ist gewißlich an der Zeit” (page 31), and an altered version of “Schmücke dich” (page 31) are all traditional chorales matched to their original melodies. The fact that each tune is headed not just by a tune name but also by the key of the piece shows the direct influence of a trained organist, Eyer, in the making of this tune book. Eyer’s involvement also shows in the genre of the vast majority of these tunes. Most are chorales in A-A-B form and only a handful employ any kind of imitation or counterpoint, linking them to a traditional Lutheran practice that an organist would still have needed to know even in the face of adaptation.

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EASTER ANTHEM.

A Our.

The Lord is ris'n in - deed! Hal - le - lu - jah!
Der Herr ist er - stan - den, Hal - le - lu - jah!

Now is Christ risen from the dead, And become
Was der Christ ist erstanden nun, Und ward der

Hallelujah, Halle - lu - jah.
Hallelujah, Halle - lu - jah.

And did he stand et vana
Und that he slept. Hallelujah, Hallelujah,
Erstling der's so da sollte - sen. Den leb Christ ist er stan - den nun, Und ward der erstling der's so da sollte - sen.

Figure 34. “Der Herr ist erstanden,” bilingual text in *Choral-Harmonie*, 1822, page 106.

Those pieces that do employ imitation or a denser texture were probably intended by the compilers for the choir and singing school of the congregations, since the average congregant would have had problems singing difficult musical passages.

Choral Harmonie contains shape notation, and many extant copies (including the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society copy and the author's copy) contain the evidence of heavily inked type and sloppily turned-out pages, presumably evidence of the printer's desire for a quick economic return. As in *Leichter Unterricht*, each tune, instead of being scored for melody and figured bass, was scored for three to four voices (on separate staves), an increasingly common feature in German-American tune books as assimilation advanced (see figure 35). All but a dozen of the pieces are scored for four parts, a marked difference from *Leichter Unterricht*, where most are for three voices and a few for duet. Leaps of a fourth and fifth are scattered throughout the repertory.



Figure 35. “Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme,” *Choral-Harmonie*, 1822, page 92. (Author's copy)

5.5 ACCULTURATION: DIE FRANKLIN HARMONIE BY ROTHBAUST (1821)

John Rothbaust's tune book, issued in two volumes in 1821 by printer John Wyeth, proclaimed on its title page that it contains "German and English church melodies."²⁷¹ But it contains more than that: it utilizes an equal amount of German and English texts throughout the book. The title page is entirely in German, but the introduction is bilingual; as in other acculturated books, the introduction in *The Franklin Harmonie* is a direct translation from *The Easy Instructor*. Of the 308 pieces in the book, 121 have bilingual texts and the remaining tunes have German texts only.

The content of the book itself, according to Lowens and Britton, is "a most interesting crossblend of German and Anglo-Saxon music traditions."²⁷² The front of the book contains most of the chorales with their original texts. Striking is the inclusion of Lutheran repertory, including those that are the most representative of the Lutheran chorale tradition: "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend" (page 4); "Lobe den Herren den mächtigen König der Ehren" (page 7; see figure 36); "Herzlich thut mich verlangen" (page 10); "Es ist gewißlich an der Zeit" (page 11); "Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern" (page 12) with original melody and English translation of the text; "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme" (page 13) utilizing the original tune; "Christus der ist mein Leben" (page 13); "Unser Vater im Himmelreich" (page 14); "Herzliebster Jesu! Was hast du verbrochen" (page 18) with the original tune; and "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier" (page 22). A monophonic piece on page 19 titled "Vier in Eins" presumably

²⁷¹ The *Franklin Harmony* was later issued under an English title: *The Franklin Harmony and Easy Instructor* (Chambersburg: H. Ruby, ca. 1830).

²⁷² Lowens and Britton, "The Easy Instructor," 41.

could be performed by a choir in canon. Other pieces in the collection are choral in nature and employ counterpoint. “Der Herr ist Sonn und Schild” (page 92) is in A-A-B-B form and employs layered, non-imitative entrances starting with the bass voice and moving up through the other three voices. “Vital spark of heavenly flame” (page 96-99) is a longer anthem with little duplication between sections. Page 101 contains the melodies and bass lines to three traditional chorales, but the page lacks numbers to realize the figures. As a whole, the book is Anglo-American as it makes equal use of German and American elements in its publication.

The book was printed entirely in shape notes with movable type as were most of Wyeth’s publications. The opening chorale section of the book is notated mostly in half-note movement, mostly homorhythmically, and in this way resembles the Moravian chorale books (particularly Christian Gregor’s *Choralbuch*, 1784).²⁷³ Lutherans and Reformed tended to write out their chorales in quarter-note movement (as in the 1813 *Choral-Buch für die Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung* of the ethnic retention stage). This is the first Dutch book to use dynamic markings (“Pian.,” “Cres.,” and “Fort.”) regularly to mark off sections in the choral anthems, adding yet another element of Anglicization in the printing of these books (see figure 37). The tune “New York,” for example, makes use of such markings in close succession and in all of the voices. Voicing in Rothbaust’s collection is mostly for four voices, but the book also contains three-voice compositions and one single-voice piece. The chorale section may have been for organist realization or for a duet.

²⁷³ James Boeringer, ed. *Choral-Buch by Christian Gregor: A Facsimile of the First Edition of 1784* (London: Associated University Presses, 1984).

Der Herr ist mein Fels in der Noth.

1. Wach auf, mein Herz, und sing: Dem Herrn, dem Fels in der Noth.
 2. Hüte mich, mein Fels in der Noth, der mich nicht versaget.

Figure 36. “Lobe den Herren,” *Franklin Harmony*, 1822, page 7. (Author’s copy)

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NEW YORK.

Pian. *Cres.* *Pian.*

Gile aus der sterbens-noth, Mit - te fer - le heim zu Gott, Bequähst, glühend, frey vom bun - Glücke - lig wer so sterben kan : tödend - haben sich entzwey, Tod daß ich
Vital spark of heav'nly flame, Quit, O quit this mortal frame. Trembling, hoping, ling'ring flyings, Oh ! the pain, the bliss of dying Cease, fond nature, cease thy strife, And let me

Fort. *Pian.* *Fort.* *Pian.* *Fort.* *Pian.*

hast bey Jesu sey, Ein - gel wunten freundlich seht, Die wunten freundlich seht, Hört ! sie wunten freundlich seht, Schreyet jede kumm hit - ter,
linguish into life. Hark ! they whisper, angels say, They whisper, angels say, Hark ! they whisper, angels say, Sis - ter spirit come a - way,

Figure 37. "New York," *Franklin Harmony*, 1821, page 86. (Author's copy)

Die Welt erstirbt, im Finsternlicht. Des Fräulein mein angeht. Der Käse der Finger nicht mehr. Welt da - gal bet. Ich spreche immer: Wo steht er aus, wo steht der Weg? Die Welt erbebt, it hap - pans, thea' opens on my eyes. My cars will soon be scrappie ring. Lend, lend your wings, I mount I fly: O grave, where is thy re - to - ry, O

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5.6 ACCULTURATION: *THE NEW HARMONY* BY MICHAEL BENTZ (1827)

Michael Bentz (ca. 1789-1858) was the organist at Christ Lutheran Church in York, Pennsylvania, where he also taught in the parochial school. Little is known about him except for a short, one-page biographical sketch in his “Manuscript Organ Book” at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. In 1827, he ran a singing school in the church’s school-house twice a week (Tuesdays and Thursdays).²⁷⁴ In 1831 he also taught girls at the York County Academy. We should remember Bentz most for his tune book, “which apparently was much used in local churches [around York and Gettysburg]” and in the York singing school.²⁷⁵

His *New Harmony* or *Die Neue Harmonie* with its bilingual title page exemplifies acculturation in tune books (see figure 38). It contrasts with an uncataloged tune book (also in the Gettysburg Seminary collection) having a documented provenance leading back to Bentz as the scribe and original owner; clearly Bentz went through the assimilation process himself.

His “Manuscript Tune Book” contains 187 pages of music, some of it original to this volume and composed by Bentz himself. The texts are in German and the book has a singing school introduction. Tune names toward the end of the book are in English, however, and page 164 even has a full English title, “Our Lord is Risen from the Dead,” for the piece underlaid with German text. He includes tempo indications in Italian, a feature new to German tune books. Bentz also makes sure to include instrumental music (some labeled “symphony”) and chorale repertoire where there is an alternation between “tutti” and “solo,” aspects that would have been foreign to European (and retentive American) chorale books. Another interesting thing appears in this “Manuscript Book.”

²⁷⁴ Unpublished manuscript, Michael Bentz’s biography, Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, 1 page.

²⁷⁵ Unpublished Bentz biography, 1.

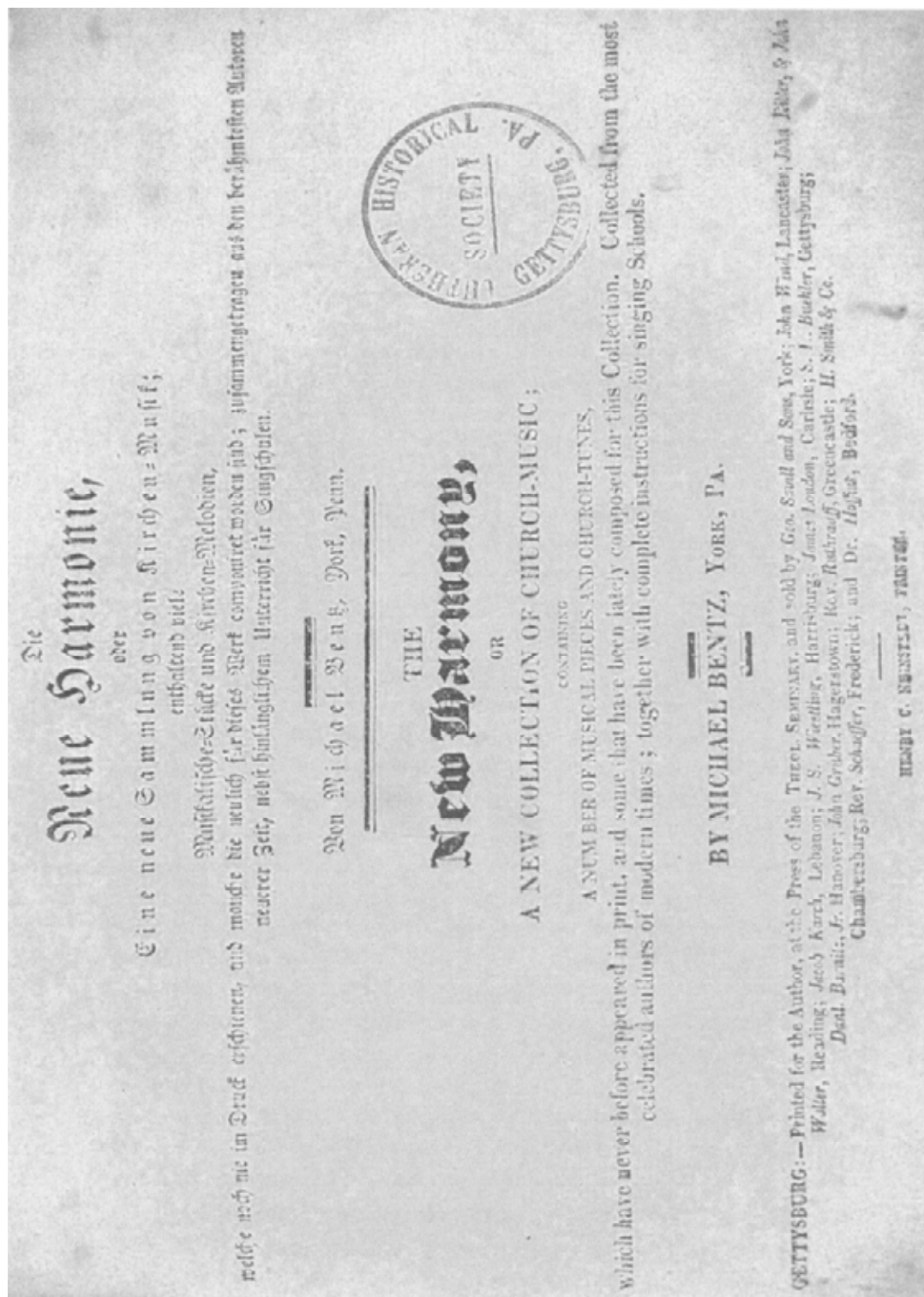


Figure 38. *The New Harmony* by Bentz, 1827, title page. (Author's copy)

Page 156 contains the inscription above the music: “York PA. Ev. L. Harmonick Society’s Favorite” (see figure 39). Apparently the Lutherans had some sort of a music club or society or singing school, but it is unclear what this group did and exactly when they existed since this is the only mention of it that I have been able to find.

Because Bentz’s printed tune book contains a good deal of English, it was likely later than his “Manuscript Book.” *The New Harmony* appeared in Gettysburg in 1827.²⁷⁶ It has a bilingual title page and bilingual singing-school introduction. Before the preface and didactic introduction, Bentz provides a glossary of Italian words and their English and German equivalents. This is the first time a trilingual chart appeared in a Dutch tune book. There is a first-line index in German and the tune index with meters in English. Throughout the book Bentz uses English tune names and interlinear German-English texts. Other details suggest that consumers of this book were assimilating much faster than before; for example, beside the tune name “George’s” (tune no. 31) is the indication “From the German.”

There is no clearer manifestation of the rapidity of change than the near exclusion of chorales from this book. Only fifteen pages of traditional German chorale melodies with one verse of the German text for each appear in a section at the rear of the book, making the chorale genre a segregated minority.

²⁷⁶ Michael Bentz, *Die Neue Harmonie, oder eine neue Sammlung von Kirchen-Music; enthaltend viele musikalische-Stücke und Kirchen-Melodien, welche noch nie im Druck erschienen, und manche die neulich für dieses Werk componieret worden sind; zusammengetragen aus den berühmtesten Autoren neuerer Zeit, nebst hinlänglichem Unterricht für Singschulen* (Gettysburg: Henry C. Neinstedt, 1827). The parallel English title as found on the title page is *The New Harmony, or a new collection of church-music; containing a number of musical pieces and church-tunes, which have never before appeared in print, and some that have been lately composed for this collection. Collected from the most celebrated authors of modern times; together with complete instructions for singing schools.*

156 - York Pa. Ev. L. Harmonick Society's Favorite (By the Rev. Mr. Schmuck)
 C. F. Fisher: Action

Wenn das Morgen Licht, Mit seinem golden Glanz durch Nacht u. Nebel bricht, die
 Welt erleucht, Die uns Gott klar im Lichte zeigt; So lehren uns die Schöpfungs - Werke,
 Daß Gott ist u. was er sey, Groß an Weisheit, Macht

Figure 39. "Bentz Manuscript Book," no date, page 156. (Reproduced by permission from Wentz Library at The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg.)

The rest of the book is aimed at choral performance. Bentz included solos in some of his pieces (e.g., no. 115) and duet sections (e.g., no. 95); some pieces are in a simple binary form (e.g., nos. 15, 16, 17); anthems are generally in A-B-B form (e.g., no. 14). Most of the pieces consist of non-imitative polyphony in four voices, utilizing entrances starting in the bottom voice and ascending to the top voice.

Page 139 presents a surprising discussion under the title “Remarks concerning beautiful chorale singing, chiefly in the official liturgy” (“Bemerkungen einen schönen Choral-Gesang betreffend, hauptsächlich beym [sic] öffentlichen Gottesdienst”). At first glance, it seems to reinforce confessional Lutheranism: there is a listing of the thirty-four chorale melodies in the book that leads the reader to believe that maybe confessional Lutheran identity is being reintroduced by Bentz, but then as one reads further, it is clear that this is not the intent. Instead, Bentz holds up music in the church as edification, the very thing that Pietism and Revivalism supported: “Singing in Church or worship-like occasions is meant to bring forth or support devotion and to elevate the soul to a delightful mood, to make it receptive for supernatural experiences and heavenly sentiments.”²⁷⁷ He scolds the church musician for always playing chorales at a slow tempo and claims that the tempi of chorales should be based on occasion and textual content. He goes further by writing that the “Song Leader” (*Vorsinger*) should be a serious person, who is a model to the congregation (much as in Helmuth’s 1813 *Choral-Buch* introduction). The language of Bentz’s “Remarks” and his acceptance of the song leader espouse a form of assimilation.

In that this book contains shape notation and is type-set, it is typical for the later stages of assimilation. Another indication of Anglo-American influence is that all tunes are accompanied

²⁷⁷ Michael Bentz, *Die Neue Harmonie* (Gettysburg: Henry Neinstedt, 1827), no page number.

by a meter designation. Voicing in Bentz's book is mostly on three and four staves (each voice having its own staff). Each chorale in the small chorale section has a staff for the melody and a staff for the bass line (without unrealized numbers). Not only are intervals of fourths and fifths more common than in retentive books, so are larger leaps. No. 56, for example (see figure 40), contains three sudden leaps of a sixth in the "second treble" voice and the bass voice appears to have short phrases that grow out of a sixth (A to C, then F to D, and finally D to F).

No. 70 is another example of large intervallic relationships in Dutch music. The bass line contains a sixth, an octave, and numerous fifths. These intervals were influences from Anglo-American sacred music and Bentz was responding to an apparent market among the Pennsylvania Dutch for sacred music that reflected a blend of cultures.

5.7 CONSUMERISM

Because music publishing and printing became a highly competitive business in the first half of the nineteenth century, Dutch tune books were more market-driven after the 1810s. Visual appeal contributed to these books' attractiveness and competitive advantage in the marketplace, and may have stimulated sales. Two main aspects of these books were aimed at the assimilating Dutch: First, the simple bindings with hand-decorated paper boards and leather-covered bindings of German publications (participating in ethnic retention) gave way to bindings with colored-paper boards (especially green, blue and red) displaying advertisements and ornate type-set borders (see figure 41), ornamentation that undoubtedly appealed to the Dutch aesthetic (see chapter one of this dissertation for more on the Dutch aesthetic).

This change introduced a new level of consumerism into Dutch sacred music that allowed churches a measure of independence in picking out new hymn and tune books rather than depending on synodical endorsements or ecclesiastical periodical advertisements for recommended or “official” publications. This also cut down the amount of control by pastors and synods on parishioners.

Second, the consequence of the drive to sell as many books as possible resulted in tune books having a non-denominational or ecumenical flavor. Henry Eyer’s bilingual *Die Union Choral Harmonie* of 1839 even states on the front board: “adapted to the use of CHRISTIAN CHURCHES of every denomination, comprising a number of the most popular Melodies in the United States . . .” Michael Bentz’s *Neue Harmonie* also includes endorsements by various churchmen in different denominations. For example, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of West Pennsylvania gave it positive reviews: “Resolved, that this synod, having been informed, by some of the brethren, that Mr. Bentz’s collection of church music is well adapted to our public worship, will recommend it, and advertise their congregations generally to introduce it into their churches.”²⁷⁸ The language indicates that this statement probably came from synodical minutes, and that the authors of the resolution never examined the tune book.

²⁷⁸ Bentz, *Die Neue Harmonie*, unnumbered “Recommendations” page.

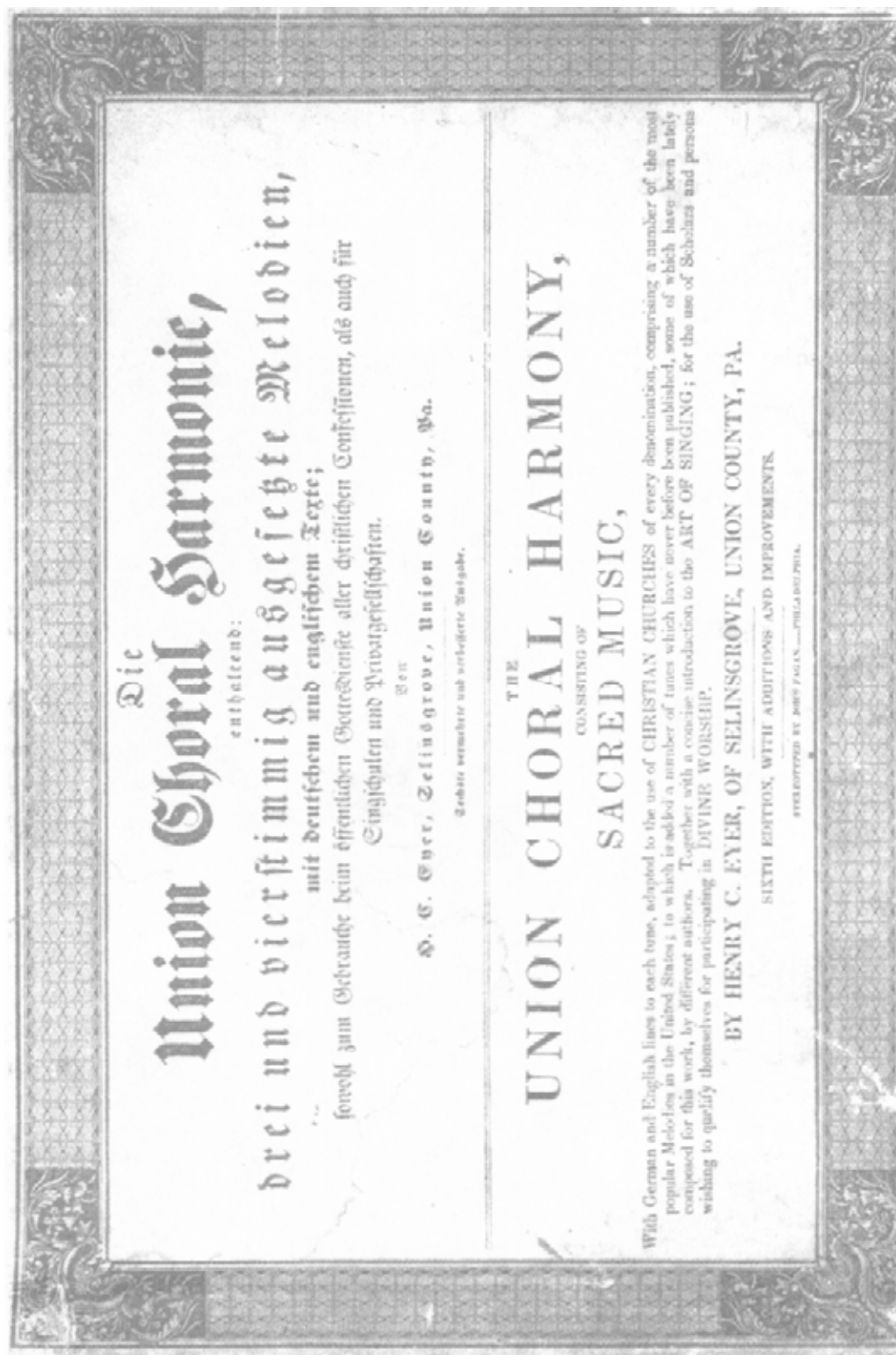


Figure 41. Decorative border, *Union Choral Harmonie*, 1839. (Author's copy)

Bentz used similar phrases from other churches to sell his book, for example from the words of the Zion Classis of the Evangelical Reformed Church:

On motion of the Rev. Mr. J. Reily, it was resolved, that this Classis cordially concur in the recommendation given by a sister Synod, and entertain the hope, that the editor may be abundantly rewarded for the labour bestowed upon his useful work. And all the members of this classis hereby engage themselves, to recommend and introduce this excellent musical work into their respective congregations. [Signed by] Lebright L. Hinsch, Secretary.²⁷⁹

Bentz also includes endorsements that local church workers wrote expressly for the purpose of promoting this book. John F. Hartwig, “organist,” writes a fulsome recommendation:

The principle aim of the editor in publishing this work, entitled: “The New Harmony,” is to furnish a selection of tunes, which may afford a sufficient variety for the school, the choir, and the congregations. Many of the pieces in this collection appear in an improved form; their old melodies have been retained, but their harmonies have undergone considerable alteration. I most cheerfully recommend this volume to the public, and hope that it may tend to improve the public worship of God, and encourage teachers and others in the study and practice of music.²⁸⁰

Notice how the emphasis is on improving “public” worship, not “Lutheran” or “Reformed” worship. These are signs that the *Kirchenleute* were rapidly losing their identity. Clearly, theological considerations on the part of the pastor and the congregant were shifting, and German theology was becoming less and less important in tune books as the middle of the century drew near.

²⁷⁹ Bentz, *Die Neue Harmonie*, unnumbered “Recommendations” page.

²⁸⁰ Bentz, *Die Neue Harmonie*, unnumbered “Recommendations” page. Bentz does not state where this author holds a church music post.

6.0 AMALGAMATION

After going through the process of assimilation, consciously or not, the Pennsylvania Dutch *Kirchenleute* arrived at a place where their language, religion, food, dress, and music mirrored their English counterparts. Amalgamation was the final stage of assimilation when a group disappeared “into a surrounding, more dominant culture.”²⁸¹ The Church People did this almost entirely by the beginning of the twentieth century, and in comparison with Anabaptist (*Sektenleute*) neighbors, we see a group of people who gave up almost everything that was Dutch in order to fit into American society. But amalgamation was rarely 100 percent complete, and more often than not traces of a group’s ethnic heritage remained. This was evident in the Germanic areas of Ohio, for example, where some Pennsylvania Dutch people had migrated. Many of them kept certain foodways (including sauerkraut and pork on New Year’s Day’s and animal cookies at Christmas) as well as linguistic peculiarities even after forgetting the mother tongue of their ancestors, but these things lost their communal and ethnic significance for the Church People. Table 5 lists the books that participated in this last stage of assimilation along with each book’s publication information and religious affiliation (i.e., Lutheran, Reformed, or Union).

²⁸¹ Stephanie Grauman Wolf, “Hyphenated America: The Creation of an Eighteenth-Century German-American Culture,” *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three Hundred-Year History*, eds. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 67.

Table 5. Tune books of the amalgamation stage of assimilation

Date	City of Publication	Title	Religious Affiliation
1854	N.A.	“Manuscript Singing-School Book”	N.A.
1856	Lancaster City	<i>The Key-Stone Collection of Church Music: A Complete Collection of Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Psalms, Chants, &c. To which is added the Physiological System, for Training Choirs and Teaching Singing Schools; and the Cantata, The Morning of Freedom.</i>	Union (Lutheran and Reformed)
1860	Baltimore	<i>Carmina Ecclesiae: A Collection of Sacred Music, Consisting of New, Original, and Selected Hymn Tunes, Anthems and Chants, Suitable for every Occasion of Public Worship, Missionary and Temperance Anniversaries, Revival Seasons, etc.</i>	Lutheran

6.1 EARLIER ENGLISH TUNE BOOKS

The *Kirchenleute* did have some English hymn and tune books before they assimilated, but the compilers intended these resources mostly for New York churches. There is no proof that Pennsylvanians used any of them. For this reason, I make only brief mention of them here.

New York Lutherans tended to assimilate much easier into Anglo-American culture because they had been forced to worship in Netherlands Dutch in the colonial period. When that language fell out of favor, English was the logical step and Lutheran and Reformed people had

little problem with this change.²⁸² This is why their English books retained some Reformation-era flavor amidst the different taste of the English content.

Parishioners carried English-language hymnals to church and used them in the home before English-language tune books existed in America. John Christian Jacobi's *Psalmodia Germanica* of 1756 (New York) was a reprint of the 1722 and 1725 London editions of the same title. It was actually the first English Lutheran hymn book to appear anywhere, and its American version contained texts only. According to Carl Schalk, it "was an attempt to translate into English a portion of the great body of German hymnody from the Reformation. Jacobi himself had translated eleven hymns by Luther and eight by Paul Gerhardt . . ."²⁸³ Contrary to its title, Jacobi's book was not a Calvinistic collection of metrical psalm texts.

The next such volume came in 1795. Johann Christoph Kunze (1744-1807), son-in-law of the Lutheran patriarch Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg, published *A Hymn and Prayer-Book for the Use of such Lutheran Churches as Use the English Language* (New York). Kunze "contributed to the alienation of . . . J.C. Helmuth" through his staunch promotion of the English language in American churches.²⁸⁴ Of the 240 hymns in Kunze's book, 150 were translations from German (75 from *Psalmodia Germanica* and 75 of Lutheran origin from the Moravian hymnal in use at the time). "Of the [90] hymns from English sources, texts of Watts, Wesley, and

²⁸² New York Lutheran and Reformed people made early use of English. Trinity Lutheran Church in New York City, for example, already had English sermons and hymns in worship by 1780 and the congregation made it their official language in 1807, although the transition was not complete until 1866. See Henry Eyster Jacobs, *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States* (New York: Christian Literature, 1912), 327; Otto Holzapfel, "Singing from the right songbook: Ethnic identity and language transformation in German American hymnals," eds. Philip V. Bohlman, Edith Blumhofer, and Maria M. Chow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 179.

²⁸³ Carl Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1995), 56.

²⁸⁴ Schalk, *God's Song*, 57.

Newton were the most prominent.”²⁸⁵ But, at least half of the work was still Lutheran by virtue of the book’s sources.

The first English-language tune or chorale book containing musical notation outside of Pennsylvania was the *Choral-Book* [sic] of 1816, compiled by Jacob Eckhard (1757-1833) for use by New York Lutherans.²⁸⁶ The official hymn book and liturgy for the New York Ministerium, *A Collection of Hymns, and a Liturgy, for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches* (Philadelphia: Billmeyer, 1814), contained no music and Eckhard’s book filled this void. Up until this time, organists playing these chorales and hymns had to use multiple English tune books. Born in 1757 in Central Germany (Kassel), Eckhard was a Lutheran who was hired in 1786 to be the schoolmaster-organist for St. John’s Lutheran Church in Charleston, South Carolina. He kept this post until 1809 when he became organist at St. Michael’s Episcopal Church in the same city. He remained a member of St. John’s Lutheran parish until he died in 1833, but found it easy to go back and forth between denominations.

The Eckhard book contains seventy-seven hymn tunes, most of which are Anglo-American in origin (many of them from Watts and Wesley) and correspond to all of the hymns in the New York Ministerium’s repertoire. Eckhard also included four Anglican chants in his collection, a detail that reflected both his place in the South and the New York Ministerium’s close alliance with the Episcopal Church. The inclusion of Anglican repertoire also shows Eckhard’s ability to transcend his own beliefs and German practices, as well as the close relationship between the two churches on the North American continent as a whole.

²⁸⁵ Schalk, *God’s Song*, 58.

²⁸⁶ *Choral-Book Containing Psalms, Hymns, Anthems, and Chants, Used in the Episcopal Churches of Charleston, South Carolina; and a Collection of Tunes, Adapted to the Metres in the Hymn-Book, Published by Order of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the State of New-York. The Whole a Selection for the Service of all Protestant Churches in America* (Boston: James Loring, [1816]).

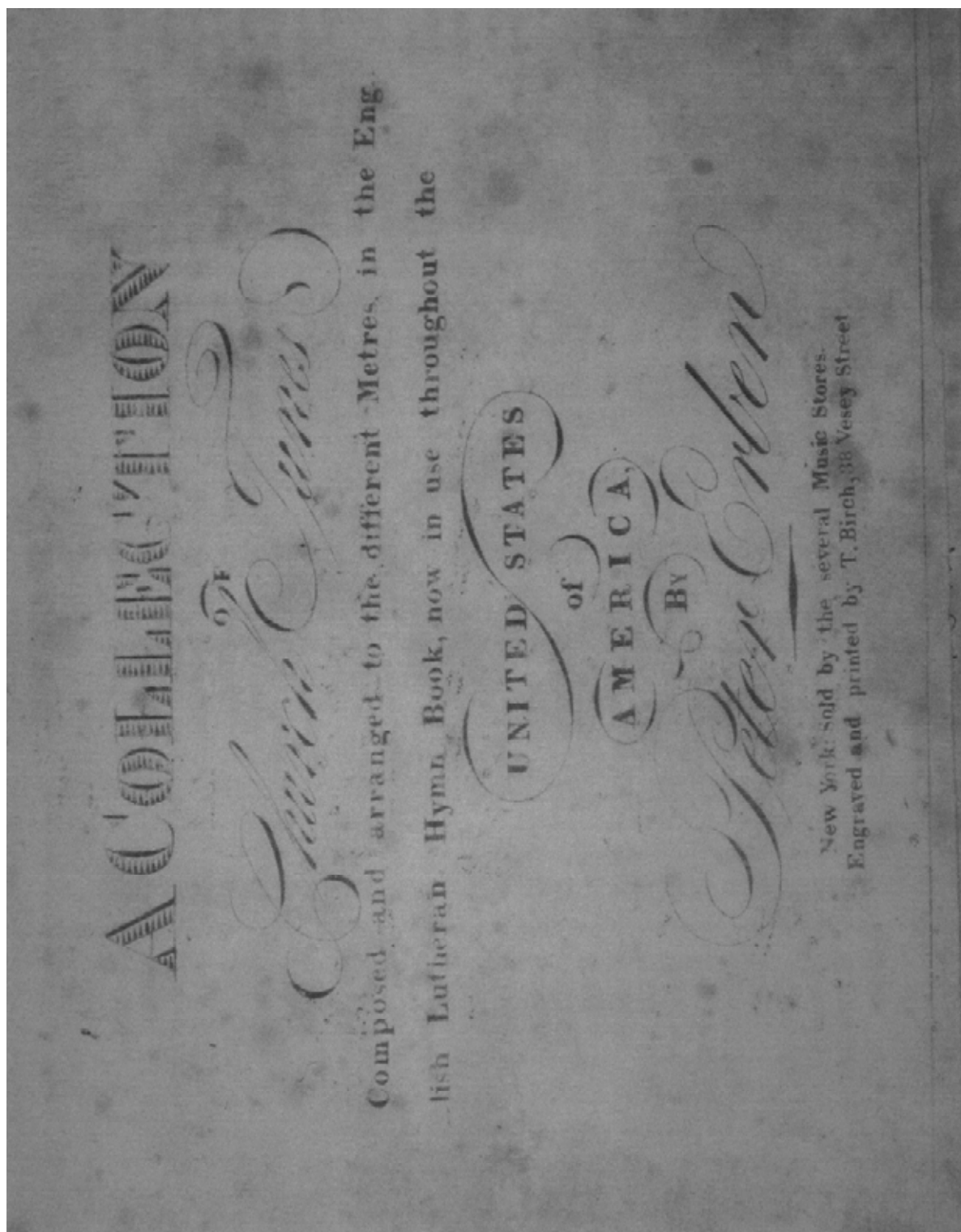


Figure 42. Peter Erben's *A Collection of Church Tunes*, undated title page. (The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia Library copy)

Eckhard was not the only Lutheran compiler of tune books outside of Pennsylvania. Peter Erben (1769-1861), whose son Henry Erben (1801-1884) would become a famous organ builder, was born in Philadelphia and became organist at Christ Church in New York City. In 1806, he was appointed organist in New York's New Dutch Reformed Church. From 1800 through 1820, he compiled and published approximately twenty music publications.²⁸⁷ Of most interest to this dissertation is his tune book, *A Collection of Church Tunes*, published circa 1817-1818 in New York, to accompany the New York Lutheran hymnal of 1817 (see figure 42).²⁸⁸

Because Eckhard's *Choral-Book* was deemed to have a somewhat limited scope, Peter Erben compiled the largest of all of his publications, containing 109 compositions on 104 pages, a body of tunes that would have been more than adequate to accompany the 520 texts of the New York hymnal of 1814. Over all, this tune book is a mixture of elements that further show that it stands outside the ethnic assimilation process in this dissertation, and that assimilation in tune books may have taken place differently outside of Pennsylvania: it has no theoretical introduction; the content derives from chorales, American tunes, and Erben's own compositions; and the entire book was engraved by "T. Birch."²⁸⁹ Edward Wolf speculates how this book came to be: "It is possible that Erben had come across Jacob Eckhard's *Choral-Buch* of 1816, and the references which Eckhard made to the New York Lutheran hymnal may well have inspired Erben to compile a tune book specifically for this hymnal."²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ Ruth M. Wilson, "Erben, Peter," *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, vol. II, eds. Stanley Sadie and H. Wiley Hitchcock (New York: Macmillan, 1980), 56.

²⁸⁸ Edward C. Wolf, "Peter Erben and America's first Lutheran tune book in English," *American Musical Life in Context and Practice to 1865* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), 64.

²⁸⁹ Thirty-nine tunes are Episcopalian, thirty-two appeared in Erben's earlier Netherlands Dutch Reformed tune book of 1806, and twenty-four are from early American psalm collection. Edward C. Wolf, "Peter Erben and America's," 64, analyzes Erben's tune book contents and provides a list of tunes and their sources.

²⁹⁰ Wolf, "Peter Erben," 64.

Pennsylvania tune books were part of a more complex context, which involved shifting ethnic and theological allegiances. The tune books of advanced assimilation, especially amalgamation, as was true of other music printed by American groups of the time, according to Philip Bohlman, were “no longer about an old-world musical experience, but rather about shaping new musical experiences . . .”²⁹¹ Americanizers, who wished to change both linguistic practices and theological tenets of Dutch communities, were the agents of amalgamation.

6.2 S. S. SCHMUCKER (1799-1873)

Few people contributed to amalgamation as much as the Americanizer Samuel Simon Schmucker. One important biographical sketch of this Americanizer claims that he “filled a larger place in the public eye outside of the Lutheran Church than any other [clergy] man in America.”²⁹² Indeed, his influence was vast. After he received his training from an English-language, non-Lutheran school, Princeton Theological Seminary, he went on to serve as the first professor at Gettysburg Seminary, the first official Lutheran Seminary in America.²⁹³ As the school’s faculty, he instructed students using the English language and he utilized text-books

²⁹¹ Philip V. Bohlman, “Prayer on the Panorama: Music and Individualism in American Religious Experience,” *Music in American Religious Experience*, eds. Philip V. Bohlman, Edith Blumhofer, and Maria M. Chow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 241.

²⁹² J. C. Jenson, *American Lutheran Biographies; ,or, Historical Notices of over three hundred and fifty leading men of the American Lutheran Church, from its establishment to the year 1890* (Milwaukee: A Houtkamp and Son, 1890), 690.

²⁹³ Gerhard Lenski, “Schmucker Family,” *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), 2130. Originally instruction at Gettysburg Seminary was bilingual.

from other denominations.²⁹⁴ Likely the most monumental mark Schmucker left on American society was his promotion of an “American Lutheranism.”

In his history of American Lutheranism, Schmucker delineated what he thought was a language problem in the Church in Pennsylvania:

Excepting Dr's [sic] Muhlenberg and Kunze, we are not aware that any of the others [American Lutheran Pastors] attempted to preach in the English language. Dr. Hellmuth at one time instructed catechumens in English, but subsequently adopted the contrary course. No provision was made to train up an English ministry. Indeed the majority of those fathers appear to have set themselves to work to banish the English language entirely from their churches, to induce as many of the young as possible to learn German, and to hand over those who either would not or could not, to the spiritual care of any English denomination, into whose hands they might fall.²⁹⁵

H. George Anderson, a recent Lutheran bishop and scholar of early American church history, has stated that “the question of language reflected the larger question of the importance of the ‘peculiar doctrines’ of the Lutheran Church.”²⁹⁶

Not only did Schmucker try to Americanize the church and eradicate German from worship, he helped to draft *The Definite Platform* (1855),²⁹⁷ a document that offered Lutherans a rescension of their *Augsburg Confession*, and a refutation of five main teachings (“errors”) in the Lutheran confession:

²⁹⁴ H. George Anderson, “The Early National Period,” *The Lutherans in North America* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 134.

²⁹⁵ Samuel Simon Schmucker, *The American Lutheran Church: Historically, Doctrinally, and Practically delineated, in several occasional Discourses* (Philadelphia: E. W. Miller, Ranstead Place, 1852), 102.

²⁹⁶ H. George Anderson, 134-135.

²⁹⁷ *Definite Platform, Doctrinal and Disciplinary, for Evangelical Lutheran District Synods: Constructed in Accordance with the Principles of the General Synod* (Philadelphia: Miller and Burlock, 1855).

1. Ceremonies of the Mass
2. Private Confession and Absolution
3. Denial of the divine obligation of the Christian Sabbath
4. Baptismal Regeneration
5. Christ's real presence in the Eucharist²⁹⁸

Schmucker's platform was more Methodist in essence and clearly showed how far his "American Lutheranism" had strayed from traditional German theology. It catered to revivalistic sentiment that was anti-sacramental and anti-Catholic. This was clearly a form of ethnic and theological amalgamation, most visible in the last two of the five "errors." It is here that Schmucker and his colleagues denied the sacramental identity that separated the Church People from the rest of American Protestantism of the time.

Like revival evangelists, Schmucker denied the salvific nature of baptism. Article IX of the original 1530 *Augsburg Confession* had stated: "Our churches teach that Baptism is necessary for salvation, that the grace of God is offered through Baptism, and that Children should be baptized, for being offered to God through Baptism they are received into His grace."²⁹⁹ It continues: "Our churches condemn the Anabaptists who reject the Baptism of children and declare that children are saved without Baptism."³⁰⁰ Schmucker's recension of article IX, in contrast, stated: "Concerning Baptism, our churches teach, that it is 'a necessary ordinance,' that is a means of grace, and ought to be administered also to children, who are thereby dedicated to God, and received into his favor." His changes to article X were even more pronounced. Melancthon's original version of 1530 was clear that Jesus Christ is present in the

²⁹⁸ These "errors" of the confession are in the first part ("Preliminary Principles") of the platform document. Excerpts can be found in: Richard C. Wolf, ed. *Documents of Lutheran Unity in America* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 100-104.

²⁹⁹ Theodore G. Tappert, *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), "Augsburg Confession" section.

³⁰⁰ Tappert, *The Book of Concord*, "Augsburg Confession" section.

bread and wine of Holy Communion: “Our churches teach that the body and blood of Christ are truly present and are distributed to those who eat in the supper of the Lord. They disapprove of those who teach otherwise.” Schmucker is Calvinist (even Zwinglian) in his view, stripping Jesus’s corporeal presence and suggesting a spiritual presence instead that can be had in all of God’s creation equally.³⁰¹ These doctrinal statements put Schmucker at odds with confessional Lutherans and traditional German theology, and evince the effects of Revivalism.³⁰²

Several synods that were part of the General Synod, a pan-Lutheran group of predominantly English-speakers, refused to adopt Schmucker’s *Definite Platform* in favor of adhering to the unaltered *Augsburg Confession*. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania was one of the synods that protested against the platform, and it chose to separate from the General Synod. Some individual pastors also voiced their opposition to the platform. Pastor Joseph A. Seiss (1823-1904), a contemporary of Schmucker, later called the ideas of the platform “self-destructive assimilation”:

A happy thing would it have been for our Church, its usefulness and success in this country if their successors and descendents [colonial Lutheran leaders] had all and always remained steadfast to the true confessional basis on which the Lutheran Church in this new world was started. But a long period of defection came—a period of rationalistic and then Methodistic innovations—a period of neglect of the confessions and of doctrines of the church as Luther and Muhlenberg taught them—a period of self-destructive assimilation to the unsound and unchurchly spirit of surrounding sects, by which the life and vigor of our churches were largely frittered away—a period from which the Lutheran Church in America is only now beginning effectually to emerge.³⁰³

³⁰¹ *Definite Platform, Doctrinal and Disciplinary, for Evangelical Lutheran District Synods: Constructed in Accordance with the Principles of the General Synod* (Philadelphia: Miller and Burlock, 1855). Excerpts above are from H. George Anderson, 223.

³⁰² For more information on Revivalism’s influence on Lutherans, see: H. George Anderson, “The Early National Period.”

³⁰³ Joseph A. Seiss, *Ecclesia Lutherana: A Brief Survey of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store, 1871), 223-224.

The platform did appeal to many Dutch Lutherans, however, who were more recent immigrants and who sought to escape the kind of theological tyranny they knew in Europe. The *Definite Platform* had a ripple effect from the eastern to the midwestern synods of Lutheranism, and it changed music in many of these synods as they sought an expression for their new theological ideas.³⁰⁴ Many Pennsylvania Lutheran congregations used Schmucker's highly popular hymnal, *Hymns, Selected and Original*, which contained a large dosage of the "new measures."³⁰⁵ Some even adopted the short choruses used by revivalists. Don Yoder gives us more insight into these choruses and their place it held in the lives of these low-church congregations:

For a half a century Pennsylvania's Lutherans, especially those of Central Pennsylvania . . . flirted with revivalism. In fact many Lutheran churches and pastors adopted so much of the current Methodist-type evangelism, holding winter revivals, quarterly conferences, prayer meetings, and other such 'social' meetings of the revival system, that they were almost indistinguishable from Methodist churches. The hymnals used by this 'New Lutheran' or 'American Lutheran' wing . . . downgraded the old churchly hymns of Lutheranism's European heritage, and upgraded the common body of evangelical (even revivalistic) hymnody . . . In their more relaxed moments, Pennsylvania's low-church Lutherans even sang choruses. There are several interesting references to the custom. The *Monthly Friend* of January, 1850, in a description of how the anxious bench was introduced into the Lutheran Church, makes the comment: 'It almost appeared like a Methodist Church for Methodist tunes[,] choruses[,] and ditties were sung . . .'³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ H. George Anderson, 225.

³⁰⁵ *Hymns, Selected and Original, for Public and Private Worship* (Gettysburg: L. Johnson, 1828). This book went through copious editions, a major revision appearing in the middle years of the 1840s. For the prefaces of these editions, see: Carl Schalk, *Source Documents in American Lutheran Hymnody*.

³⁰⁶ Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals* (Lancaster: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1961), 151-152. It is significant to note here, however, that not all Lutherans liked the choruses and some of them even made fun of them. Don Yoder recalls: "Of the English revival songs, perhaps 'Come to Jesus- just now' was most frequently parodied. One of Pennsylvania's parodies of it is 'Eat a peanut- just now.' The Church Dutch had their parodies too. The Pietist hymn *Endlich, endlich muss es doch*, became among Mahantongo' Lutherans: *Endlich, endlich, doch doch doch; Dreiff ich dann des Loch, Loch, Loch* with which my father's Lutheran step-grandmother (kinship could be complicated in Dutchdom's large families) used to raise laughs among her grandchildren as she threaded her needle." (Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals*, 434, footnote 33)

6.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF AMALGAMATION

Amalgamated tune books in Pennsylvania have several broad characteristics that made them important in promoting and cementing the ways of English language and religion into the hearts and minds of their users:

- 1) Language: Amalgamated tune books are entirely in the English language with no German remnants from earlier stages of ethnic assimilation.
- 2) Tune-book Introductions: There is always a didactic singing-school preface, which is often a highly developed form of teaching the rudiments of music and other aspects of performance. In the case of *The Key-Stone Collection of Church Music* (1856), this also includes instruction on clear pronunciation to help rid the Dutch community of their “broken” English.
- 3) Genre: Unlike the retentive books, which included mostly European repertoire and mostly German chorales of the early Reformation period, amalgamated tune books contain few chorales from the German church. American anthems and large multi-movement works (“cantatas”) sometimes find their way into these books in addition to shorter hymns and simple choruses (or pieces with a short repetitive text and no verses).
- 4) Musical Notation and Printing Method: Round note heads once again become the vogue in the middle and later nineteenth century and amalgamation is cloaked in this type of notation. Also, typesetting is the only mode of printing these books.

5) Voicing: As in other English-language tune books, Pennsylvania Dutch tune books in English tended to be set for four voices (four staves with no separate staves for accompaniment). There might be an occasional solo or duet, but unless a given tune book includes a cantata it will contain four-part hymn tunes for the congregation or choir to the exclusion of solo repertoire. Intervallic leaps of a sixth (or more) are common-place in these books as the Dutch were losing their sense of close-knit community. As Paul Westermeyer notes, “The upward major sixth is clearly a prominent melodic signature of Sankey, McGranahan, Stebbins, Bliss, and their Gospel hymnody. It is not characteristic of German chorale tunes.” These books therefore call “into play a musical syntax that is related to the American phenomenon of what came to be called gospel hymnody.”³⁰⁷

6) Theology: In their amalgamated tune books, Lutheran and Reformed Pennsylvanians moved away from their sacramental and liturgical heritage to the tradition of free worship as a result of their contact with Methodist Revivalism. Baptism and Eucharist (and confirmation) were superseded in many congregations by an adult conversion experience, and church music took on a different role, mainly to “convict” the singer or listener of the pending judgment of God and the need for repentance. The goal was to get the members of the Church to “accept” Jesus in their “hearts.” Because of this revivalist interest, we also see more emphasis on the theology of *Sanctification* (an emphasis on working out one’s own salvation and progressing in holiness) away from *Justification* (or God’s salvation bestowed on the believer through no effort of his own). Thus, many of the texts used by *Kirchenleute* at mid-century were almost entirely from

³⁰⁷ Paul Westermeyer, “The evolution of the music of German American Protestants in their hymnody: A case study from an American perspective,” *Music in American Religious Experience*, eds. Philip V. Bohlman, Edith Blumhofer, and Maria M. Chow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 167.

evangelical authors (especially Watts, Wesley, and their contemporaries). While there was a renewed interest in confessional theology during the 1830s and 40s (as outlined in chapter 4 of this dissertation), this trend did not obtain in tune books used in rural areas, most of which did not have the imprimatur of any synodical body. Some of the tune books of the amalgamation stage also have secular components.

6.4 THE KEY-STONE COLLECTION OF CHURCH MUSIC (1856)

An example of an unofficial (or “non-synodical”) tune book used in Lutheran and Reformed Churches was Artemas Nixon Johnson’s *The Key-Stone Collection of Church Music* (see figure 43).³⁰⁸ Johnson, an Anglo-American born in 1817, studied in Boston with George Webb and Lowell Mason and taught numerous pupils who became famous, including George F. Root, Isaac B. Bradbury, William H. Dana, and Theodore Presser. After studying in Frankfurt, Germany, Johnson published a thorough bass-primer and thus became “the nation’s first professional music theorist.” As a pedagogue, Johnson was known for his hands-on approach, which contrasted with Mason’s European style of pedagogy. The American “European-influenced musical establishment” rejected him as a pedagogue. “Undaunted, he found acceptance outside East Coast cities.”³⁰⁹

Murray, Young, and Company published and distributed Johnson’s tune book in Lancaster; Crosby, Nichols, and Company also marketed it to Boston consumers, proving its

³⁰⁸ I would like to acknowledge Don Yoder, who suggested that I include a discussion of this tune book in this dissertation. His knowledge of its use in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania parochial schools has been very helpful.

³⁰⁹ Jacklin Bolton Stopp, “A[rtemus] N[ixon] Johnson” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 13 (New York: Macmillan, 2001), 154.

distinctive English character and appeal beyond the Dutch community. It is entirely in English, and the tune names such as “Fredericksburg” and “Potomac” are largely American.

No other tune book in this dissertation has such an elaborate introduction as this one. Not only are the rudiments of music present, but a large part of the volume is “the physiological system, for training choirs and teaching singing schools.” Essentially, the introduction is in four parts or “departments” comprising fifty-three pages: musical notation, the cultivation of the voice, musical expression, and musical discipline. There is even an illustration of the vocal apparatus in the head and neck (page 43; see figure 44) to help the reader better understand the physiological aspects of sound production.

Part of this introduction is a highly elaborate section to teach pronunciation and diction to singers, something that was particularly aimed at Pennsylvania Dutch people. The English speakers of Pennsylvania society always attacked the “broken” English of the Dutch.

The chorale genre is absent from *The Key-Stone Collection*. The first part of the book contains short through-composed choruses. Other pieces in the book are structured verse-chorus-verse-chorus-verse-chorus. Next are anthems in for four voices; then a small section with longer hymns; then a section of “sentences” or short liturgical pieces or responses for use in the church service (including a setting of the “Our Father”) and psalm settings (Pss. 23, 67, 98, 100, 117, 121, 122, and 150) for four voices (see figure 45); then a nine-movement cantata by Johnson, “The Morning of Freedom” (1. chorus; 2. soprano aria; 3. tenor aria; 4. alto aria; 5. chorus; 6. bass aria; 7. soprano aria; 8. chorus; and 9. soprano aria with a five-part chorus); and finally settings of traditional English-language texts from the liturgy of the hours and the Mass (*Venite, Jubilate Deo, Gloria In Excelsis, Cantate Domino, Laudate Dominum, Benedic Anima Mea,*

THE
KEY-STONE COLLECTION
OF
CHURCH MUSIC:
A COMPLETE COLLECTION OF
HYMN TUNES, ANTHEMS, PSALMS, CHANTS, &C.
TO WHICH IS ADDED
THE PHYSIOLOGICAL SYSTEM,
For Training Choirs and Teaching Singing Schools;
AND THE CANTATA,
THE MORNING OF FREEDOM.
BY A. N. JOHNSON.
LANCASTER CITY, PENNSYLVANIA:
PUBLISHED BY MURRAY, YOUNG & COMPANY.
1857.

Figure 43. *The Key-Stone Collection*, 1857, title page. (Author's copy)

Deus Misereatur, two settings of the *Benedictus*, and *Te Deum Laudamus*). All of these Mass and Office pieces are set in an Anglican chant style with each phrase of text accompanied by whole-note chords (see figure 46). This kind of dry accompaniment, resembling *recitative secco*, was the mode of English-language Anglican chant in the nineteenth century. Texts are all in English even though their titles are Latin.

The vast majority of the repertoire in the *Key-Stone Collection* is American. Sometimes Johnson provides a composer's name with the pieces and in a few instances he attributes the tunes to people in certain venues; for example, the sentence "Holy, Holy Lord" (page 256) was "arranged by E. Bruce, organist and Director of Music at Bowdoin St. Church, Boston."

Several longer descriptions follow pieces; Billings' "Chester," for example, is followed by a short paragraph that holds up Billings and Boston as symbols for these amalgamated Dutch Church People:

*Note. Billings was a celebrated singing master, who resided in Boston at the time of the Revolution. He was one of the American soldiers who were encamped around Boston, and wrote this hymn and tune soon after the Battle of Bunker Hill. It was a great favorite in New England during the Revolution, and for years afterwards.³¹⁰

³¹⁰*Key- Stone Collection of Church Music*, 100.

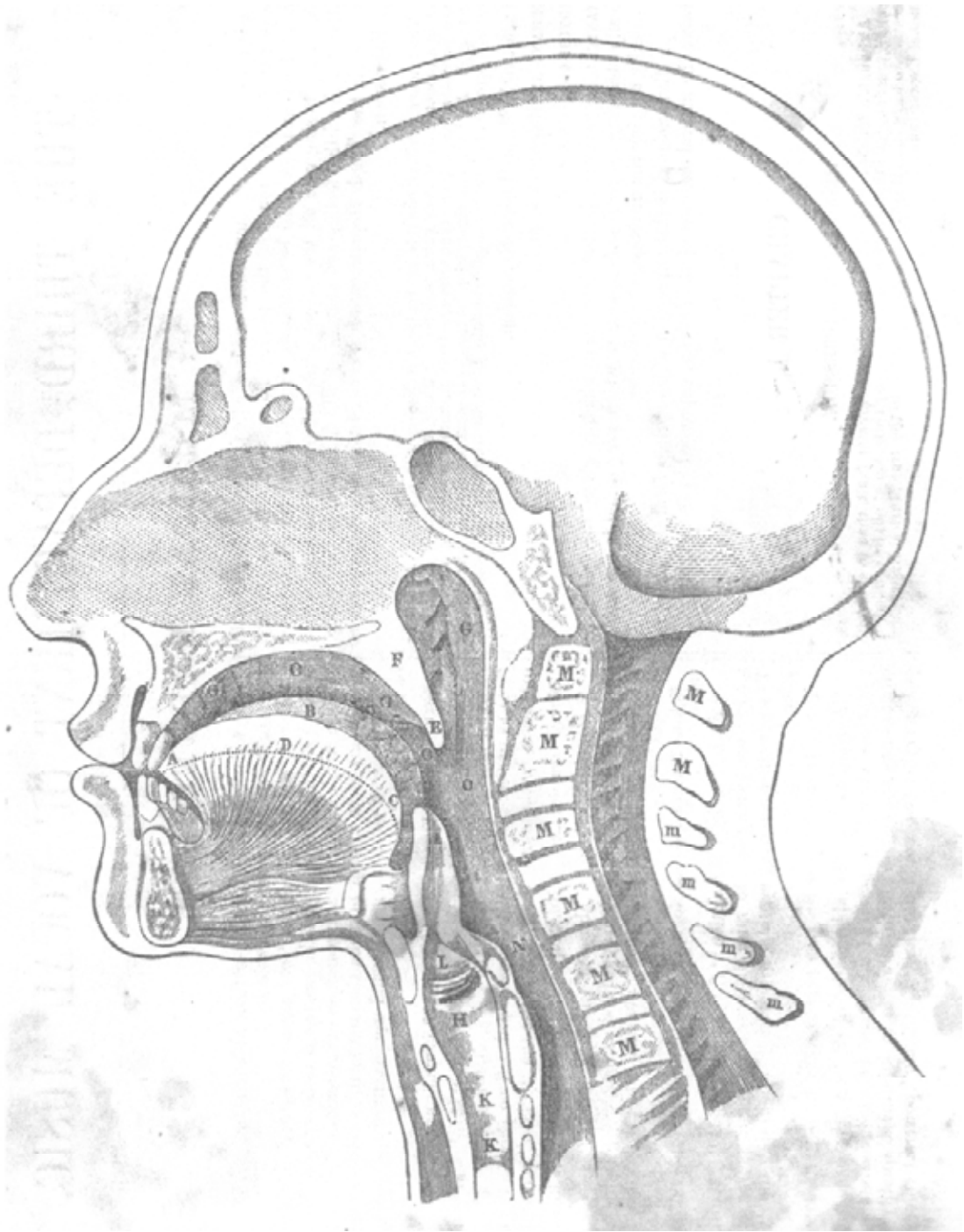


Figure 44. Physiological diagram, *The Key-Stone Collection*, 1856, page 43. (Author's copy)

An annotation accompanying the tune “Invitation” on page 113 not only tells a story about one of the inclusions of the book, it also shows a leaning toward sentimentalism and the older American repertoire as the ideal:

*Note. This is a specimen of the class of tunes in vogue in this country half a century ago. With several others of the same class, it is inserted in this book for the convenience of those who wish occasionally to introduce specimens of these old tunes at concerts. Their effect upon old people who were familiar with them in their early days is remarkable. After one of them had been sung at a concert of the Boston Musical Convention of 1855, Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher rose to his feet, and declared he could not repress his emotions. He said he had learned the tune at a singing school seventy years ago, and that his old heart had not been so near heaven for fifty years, as it had been brought in listening to the old tunes which had been sung at that concert.³¹¹

These notes seem to be the first time that a tune-book compiler for the Dutch community put forth the history of musical selections. Also, for the first time, we see an acknowledgment of copyright in the annotation: “Published by permission” for a piece written by George J. Webb.³¹²

In most cases, with the exception of the Anglican chant settings, the music of this book has challenging keyboard accompaniments with tricky syncopations and sixteenth- and thirty-second-note movement. Most vocal lines also tend to be much more difficult than in books that appeared during the earlier stages of assimilation. Thus, the *Notenbild* or “notational picture” of the average page is mostly black in comparison to earlier tune books that have a sparser typographical landscape. For example, on page 292 (see figure 47) the soprano solo has a very challenging figuration. Measures five, six, and nine are particularly difficult with their triplets, thirty-second-note ornaments and wide range.

³¹¹ *Key-Stone Collection of Church Music*, 113.

³¹² *Key-Stone Collection of Church Music*, 242.

VENITE.

MOUNTAIN TON.

1. O come, let us sing unto the Lord, and a great multitude shall adore him.

2. Let us come before his presence, and adore him.

3. For the Lord is a great God, and his hands are made high.

4. In his hand are all the corners of the earth, and he shall give strength to his people.

5. The sea is his, and he made it, and his hands are made high.

6. O come, let us worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.

7. For he is the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

8. Let us hearily rejoice in the strength of the Lord, and his hands are made high.

9. And we are the people of his pasture and the sheep of his hand.

10. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

11. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end, Amen.

Figure 46 "Venite," *The Key-Stone Collection*, 1857, page 340. (Author's copy)

Notation throughout the volume is round note heads and type-set. Also, there are numbers under the bass vocal line throughout the tune book so that a keyboard player can realize the harmonies without having to read open score notation (see figure 48). No longer was the use of figured bass a part of ethnic identity, but it was now a sign of education and an easier alternative to reading four separate staves simultaneously. Regardless, the figures are realized on the page (unlike Helmuth's 1813 *Choral-Buch*).

292

SOPRANO SOLO.

Aye, that hath heav'n to watch al - way, from ev-'ry ill to de - fend. Ah, how fa - vor'd is the na - - - tion That hath

heav'n to watch al - way, from ev-'ry ill, from ev-'ry ill to de - fend, how favor'd is the na - - - tion.

heav'n to watch al - way, from ill, from ill de - fend, how favor'd is the na - - - tion.

Figure 47. Syncopation and ornamentation, *The Key-Stone Collection*, 1857, page 292.
(Author's copy)

1. Grace! 'tis a charm - ing sound! Har - mo - nious to the ear! Heaven with the ech - o shall re - sound, And all the earth shall hear.

2. Grace first contrived a way To save re - bell - ious man; And all its steps that grace display Which drew the wondrous plan,

3. Grace taught my rov - ing feet To tread the heavenly road: And new supplies each hour I meet, While pressing on to God,

4. Grace all the work shall crown, Through ev - er - last - ing days: It lays in heaven the topmost stone, And well deserves the praise

56 76 6 4 3 6 7
 34 Unison.

Figure 48. Figured Bass, *The Key-Stone Collection*, 1857, page 152. (Author's copy)

It is also important to note that intervals of fifths, sixths, and octaves are now commonplace in this music as the Dutch have moved away from their ethnic bond and close-knit communities. Figure 49 illustrates this in the tenor voice; measure three, among others, contains the leaps that are typical in amalgamated tune books. The individual skills of singers have also been raised above the concerns for communal edification, as vocal ornamentation and virtuosity find their way into the music score. The syncopations visible in figure 47 and the ornamental notes (“grace-notes”) in measures four, twelve, and sixteen of figure 49 make this point plain to see.

Theologically, the *Key-Stone Collection* is not Lutheran or Reformed; it is more Methodist than anything else. Some of the texts make reference to the revival tent and the stirring events that took place there. Verse two of “Bartlett,” on page 87, alludes to revival practice:

Lo! Rising from the tents of men, the voice of joy resounds again:
His saints with him the triumph claim, and shout salvation to his name.

“Burlington” on page 196 is married to a text that shows a definite turn from sacramental theology of the Church People toward evangelical religion, which put emphasis on the believer making a choice to accept Jesus:

Ride on in thy greatness, Thou conquering Savior;
Let thousands of thousands submit to thy reign;
Acknowledge thy goodness, entreat for thy favor
and follow thy glorious train.

Then loud shall ascend from each sanctified nation,
The voice of thanksgiving, the chorus of praise;
And heaven shall reecho the song of salvation,
in rich and melodious lays.

GEBHARDT. 7s. 171

ROSSINI.

Children of the heavenly king, As ye journey, sweetly sing; Sing your Saviour's worthy praise, Glorious in his works and ways, Glorious

Ye are travelling home to God, In the way the fathers trod; They are hap - py now, and ye Soon their happiness shall see, Soon their

Shout, ye lit - tle flock, and blest; You on Jesus' throne shall rest; There your seat is now prepared — There your kingdom and reward, There your

BENTZ. 7s.

ROSSINI.

In his works and ways, Happiness shall see, kingdom and reward.

1. Lord of hosts, how lovely fair, Er'n on earth, thy temples are Here thy waiting people see, Here thy waiting people see, Much of heaven, and much of thee.

2. From thy gracious presence flows Bliss that softens all our woes; While thy Spirit's holy fire, While thy Spirit's holy fire, Warm our hearts with pure desire.

3. Here, we supplicate thy throne; Here, thy pardoning grace is known; Here we learn thy righteous ways, Here we learn thy righteous ways, Taste thy love and sing thy praise.

Figure 49. Wide intervals (tenor), *The Key-Stone Collection* (1857), page 171. (Author's copy)

This text is also a significant indicator of the shift from the traditional German theological emphasis on *Justification*, which according to the fifth article of the *Augsburg Confession* is God's pouring out of his forgiveness and salvation to those of faith.³¹³ The text shows the influences of Wesleyanism and in particular John Wesley's *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, where *Sanctification*, or the working out of one's own salvation, becomes paramount.³¹⁴ Another of the Lutheran confessions speaks to this: "That neither renewal, Sanctification, virtues, nor other good works are our righteousness before God, nor are they to be made and posited to be a part of cause of our Justification, not under any kind of pretense, title, or name are they to be mingled with the article of Justification as pertinent or necessary to it."³¹⁵

Verse two of "Potomac" (page 167) continued in this vein by allowing for the possibility that one's actions can be holy like God's:

He, whose heart thy love has warmed,
He, whose will to thee conformed,
Bids his life unsullied run;
He, whose words and that's are one.

"Wakefield" (page 95) urges the singer: "Come, weary souls, with sin oppressed, Oh come! Accept the promised rest . . ." This text is also used with another tune on page 92. As is the case with many of the texts in this book, "Clark" on page 143 connects the swiftness of coming to Jesus with the quick return of Jesus on judgment day. This tune-book compiler meant to evoke an element of fear in the singer and listener.

³¹³ Theodore Tappert, ed. *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 30.

³¹⁴ John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection believed and taught by Rev. John Wesley from 1725-1777* [originally published in New York: Phillips and Hunt], (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 2006).

³¹⁵ This quote is from the third article of the *Formula of Concord*. Tappert, *The Book of Concord*, 546.

To a great extent, the contents of this book participate in the rising repertory of shape-note hymnody exemplified by such books as *The Sacred Harp* and *The Southern Harmony*. Absolutely nowhere in the *The Key-Stone Collection* are there any sacramental texts. Baptism and the Eucharist are ignored in favor of revival theology. Secular pieces even make their way into the book over and above the traditional theology of Pennsylvania Dutch people. Such pieces were meant for practice in singing and parochial schools. Some of these pieces are about nature; others contain non-sensical lyrics. “Come let’s make our voices ring” on page 57 serves no purpose other than to express the singers’ enjoyment in the singing school:

Come let’s make our voices ring, Hurrah, Hurrah, Hurrah,
And sing the song we love to sing, Hurrah, Hurrah, Hurrah,
For we love the singing school, Our pleasant singing school,
We’ll sing its praise in joyful lays, Hurrah Hurrah, Hurrah.

Come from many a distant road, Hurrah, Hurrah, Hurrah,
And come from many a bright abode, Hurrah, Hurrah, Hurrah,
For we love the singing school, Our pleasant singing school,
We’ll sing its praise in joyful lays, Hurrah Hurrah, Hurrah.

Come in spite of rain or snow, Hurrah, Hurrah, Hurrah,
In spite of all the rains that blow, Hurrah, Hurrah, Hurrah,
For we love the singing school, Our pleasant singing school,
We’ll sing its praise in joyful lays, Hurrah Hurrah, Hurrah.

On the previous page is a song that attests to the book’s Dutch usage. Its subject is the Pennsylvania equivalent to Thanksgiving, Harvest Home:

Harvest Home! Harvest Home! Hail the fruits of Labor,
Harvest Home! Harvest Home! Welcome friend and neighbor,
Harvest Home! Harvest Home! Hail the fruits of Labor,
Harvest Home! Harvest Home! Welcome friend and neighbor,

There are even patriotic American texts in the *Key-Stone Collection*, the most obvious one being “My Country tis of Thee” on page 182.

6.5 BOEHM “SINGING-SCHOOL MANUSCRIPT” (1854)

Some of these same elements are evident in the few “Manuscript Tune Books” that exist from the *Kirchenleute* singing schools. A recent acquisition by this author is a singing-school “Manuscript Tune Book.” Its bright yellow covers have red decorative borders with other ornaments. The front cover shows a bugler on a horse, a Victorian couch, a tree, two small round medallions, and a box with cherub at the top surrounded by foliage that contains the type: “The Property of.” Along the bottom, above the border, is the colophon: “Manufactured and Sold by Thos. R. Weber,” who was also the printer and compiler of numerous Dutch tune books (see chapter four of this dissertation). On the back cover are the letters of the alphabet and a stone house flanked by two tall trees and the description “A Farm House.” Inside the back cover in “Manuscript” is the inscription “Wilson. H. Boehm. March 3th [sic] 1854.” With a Pennsylvania Dutch family name, which was changed from “Böhm,” and an English given name, “Wilson,” it is clear that this child belonged to a family that embraced amalgamation.

The book contains six hand-written English texts in the front of the book and seven tunes on the last few pages:

Table 6. Contents of the Boehm “Manuscript Book,” 1854

<u>Number</u>	<u>Title</u>
1	May Song
2	Give
3	Lisher
4	Will You come to the Spring
5	Hope of Heaven
6	Saint’s Home

The texts were written by an older person with fine penmanship (probably the teacher of the singing school) while the tunes were copied out by a young pupil (presumably Wilson Boehm), evident in the rough, elementary-looking note heads, inconsistent in their sizes and shapes.

Because this is a “Manuscript Tune Book,” there is no introduction to teach the rudiments of music. The note heads, however, are shape notes (see figure 50), which indicate that at least in some of the singing schools of the rural countryside, this way of teaching music still persisted even after 1850. Concerning the intervallic relationships, the movement is more conjunct than in other amalgamated tune books, but fourths, some fifths, and at least one octave do appear in the melodies. For example, in the tune “Hope of Heaven” (see figure 50), measures four and five contain leaps of a fifth and an octave.

This book might show actual practice over and against the ideal of printed books. It could also indicate that rural practices differed from those of urban parishioners. But because the *Kirchenleute* tended to use printed books instead of creating manuscripts, there are too few extant manuscript books to enable full testing of either of these hypotheses.

The theology of the Boehm “Manuscript” at first glance seems less revivalistic than in other tune books of amalgamation. On closer examination, beyond the romantic (even flowery) language, the words reveal a revivalistic, millennialist character. Number four, “Will you come to the spring?,” reiterates the idea that the Christian has a choice to make, to accept Christ through an emotive conversion. Each of the five verses uses nature language and each ends with the refrain: “Will you! Will you! Will you! Will you! Come to the spring [?] Will you! Will you! Will you! Will you! Come to the spring [?]” The refrain from another text, number six, promotes revival theology more by pointing not to God’s salvation and presence in the sacraments but to heaven as “home”: “Home home sweet home. Receive me dear saviour in glory my home.”³¹⁶ Nothing in this “Manuscript Book” can be identified as traditional German theology.

6.6 CARMINA ECCLESIAE (1860)

A later publication that was an official tune book in the General Synod (Lutheran) is *Carmina Ecclesiae* (1860; see figure 51). Although Newton Kurtz printed it outside of Pennsylvania in Baltimore, it was in use in many Pennsylvania churches, and for this reason alone it deserves a place in this chapter.

Pastor William Diller Roedel compiled *Carmina Ecclesiae*. At least one contemporary journal hailed his musical abilities; according to *The Lutheran*, Roedel was “endowed with rare musical talents” and was a “distinguished” composer.³¹⁷ Born in 1829 in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, and a graduate of Gettysburg Seminary in 1850, he was steeped in *Kirchenleute* culture.

³¹⁶ No punctuation is present in the manuscript text.

³¹⁷ *The Lutheran*, 15 March 1861.

In 1851 he took a call to serve in South Pittsburgh, and Birmingham, Pennsylvania. This pastoral call lasted about one year. From 1851 to 1855, he served St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Ardmore, Pennsylvania. After this he went to the Southwestern Virginia Synod and served as the principal of the girl's seminary at Wytheville, Virginia until his death in December of 1865.³¹⁸

Roedel's intention in publishing a tune book was to provide a tune for all of the texts in Schmucker's *Hymns, Selected and Original* and the General Synod's new Sunday School hymn book.³¹⁹ It went through numerous print runs from 1860 until the last in 1879. Jeffrey Pannebaker's 1998 University of Pittsburgh dissertation, the first scholarly discussion of this tune book, shows that there was a shift in repertoire over the first four editions. From the 1872 to the 1879 edition, there was little change and these tune books "are unremarkable."³²⁰ The later editions are clearly the result of full amalgamation. This chapter will examine the 1874 edition, from the middle of the book's unchanging period.

Linguistically, aside from a small fringe section of the book in German (see below), the texts in Roedel's tune book are entirely in English. With the exception of several hymns, given under their English tune name and with German first lines within quotation marks, all tune names are in English.³²¹

³¹⁸ Jeffrey Roy Pannebaker, *Early Lutheran Music in America: The Hymnody of the General Synod* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1998).

³¹⁹ In the 1874 edition of his tune book, Roedel states that it is to accompany the new hymn book published by the General Synod, *Book of Worship*. In this later edition, for each hymn he indicates the page number for Schmucker's texts (indicated with "H" then the page number) and texts in the *Book of Worship* (indicated by "B. W." and then the number).

³²⁰ Pannebaker, 61.

³²¹ The chorales listed with their German titles are "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott" (page 286), "Wie schön ist doch das Band der Liebe" (page 187), and "Lobe! Den Herrn, den mächtigen König" (page 248). One tune is attributed by Roedel to a "German Choral, harmonized by RINK" (page 112), but the German is not ever stated nor is the melody recognizable to me.

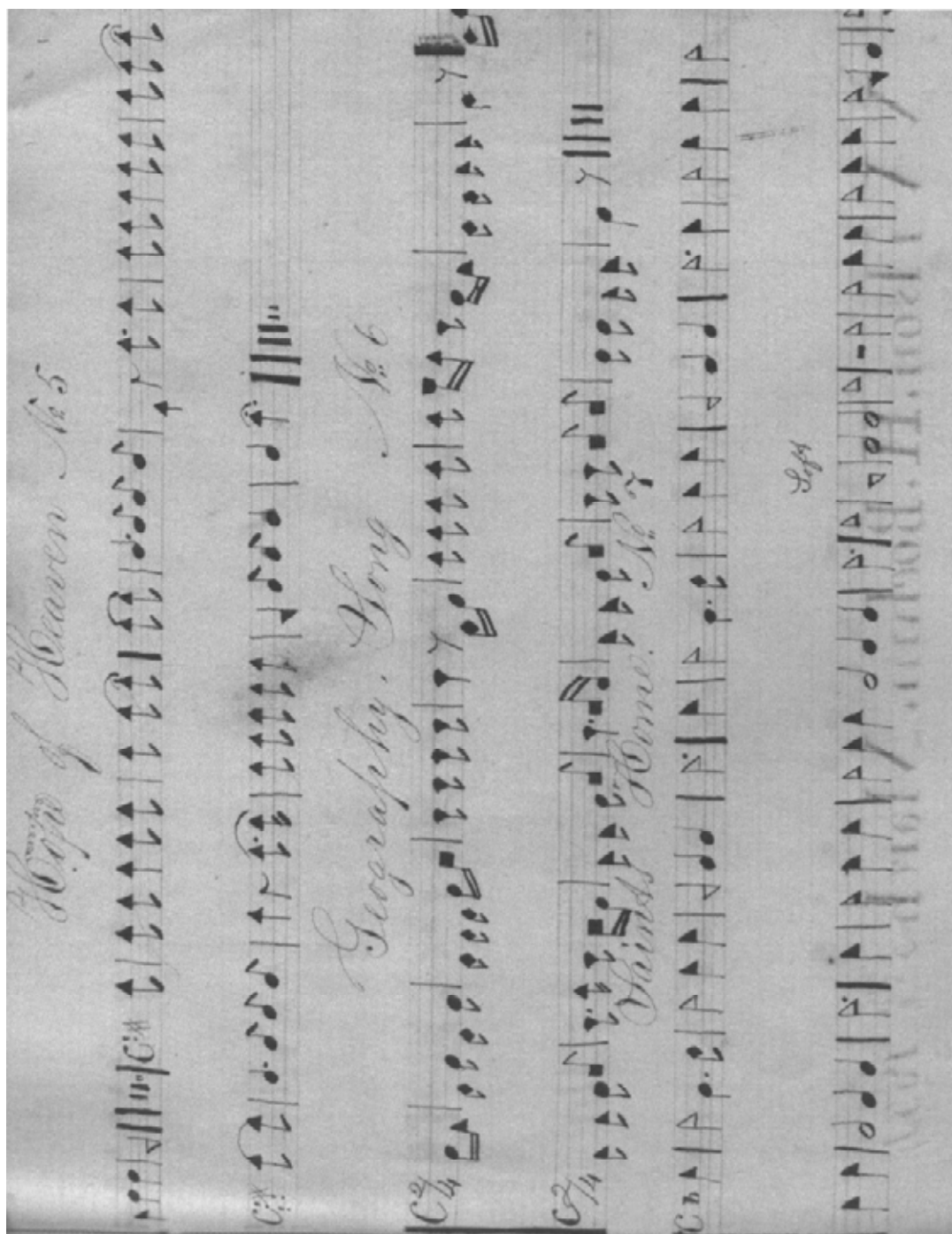


Figure 50. One page from the Boehm "Manuscript Book," 1854. (Author's copy)

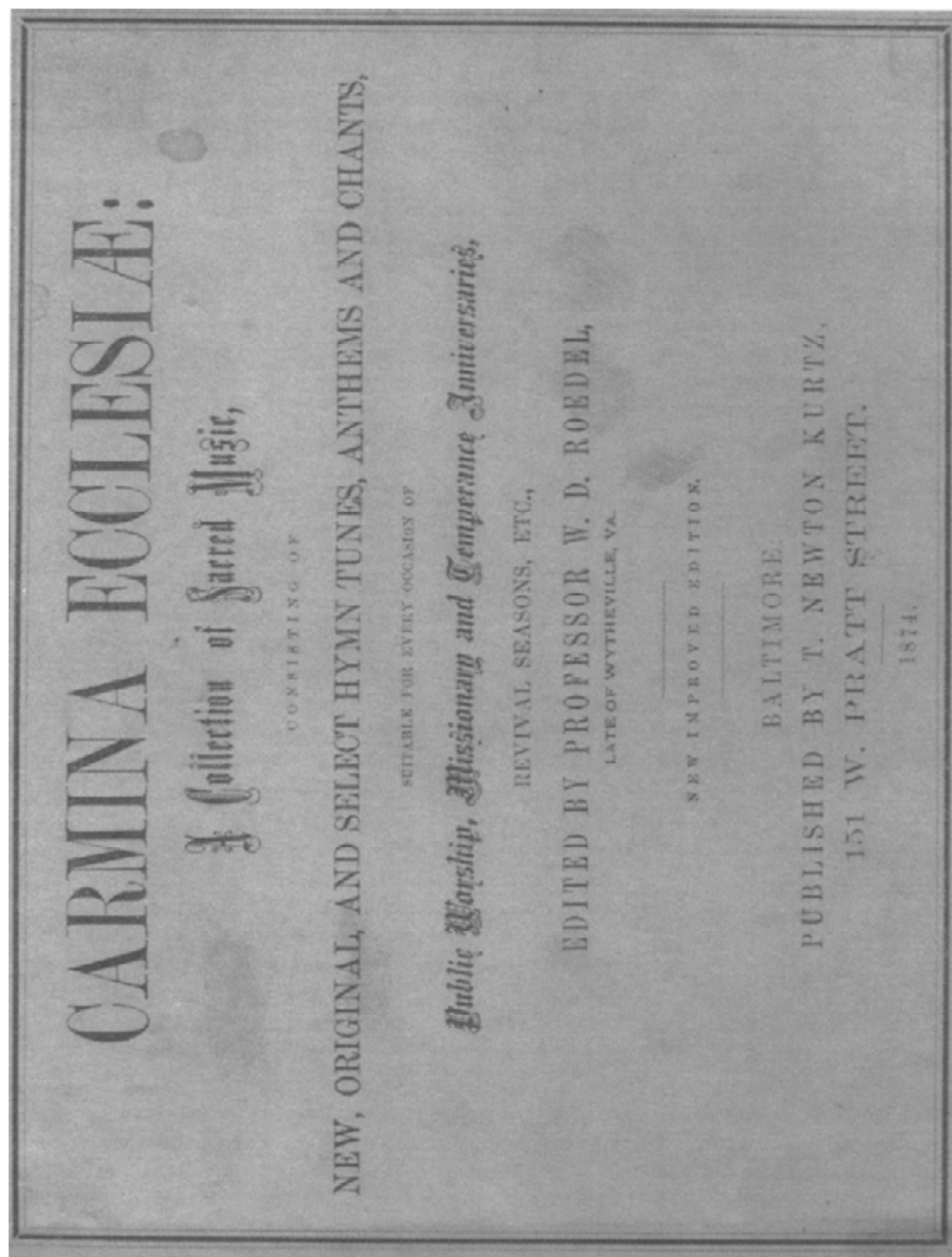


Figure 51. *Carmina Ecclesiae*, 1874 edition, front board. (Author's copy)

The chants with traditional texts from the Mass or divine office do retain their Latin titles with English translations. In this way *Carmina Ecclesiae* resembles *The Key-Stone Collection* (described above). The introduction is didactic, but not as lengthy or detailed as the *Key-Stone Collection*'s preface. The twenty-two pages of the introduction's "A Condensed System of Vocal Music" are divided into three parts: rhythms, melody and expression. Each of these parts is split into smaller lessons and each part has musical exercises. A question-and-answer style of teaching prevails in the third part much like the religious catechisms in use among the Church People.

The first printing of the tune book was probably part of an earlier stage in ethnic assimilation because it contains twenty-nine chorale texts in German and twenty-six in English translation, which would have appealed to those congregations that still had some German speakers in their midst. The chorale section disappeared from later editions, but a handful of chorale tunes did remain, particularly "A Mighty Fortress is Our God" and "Praise to the Lord the Almighty" (although the texts used by Roedel were either loose translations or totally different texts from the original German chorale texts).

The second section of the music repertoire of the book contains choral anthems. According to Pannebaker, the Charles Street Methodist Episcopal Church of Baltimore selected most of the anthems for *Carmina Ecclesiae*. As in many Anglo-American tune books of this time, a number of these anthems are derive from European sources. "A Psalm of Night" on page 319, for example, utilizes the tune "Linden," which the compiler attributed to Mozart. Other anthems come from Handel (page 332), Mendelssohn (page 334), and Beethoven (page 388) among others.³²² There is also an arrangement of one chorale in this section of the book, an adaptation of Mendelssohn's "Wachet auf" ("Sleepers, wake," page 334). Another hymn

³²² For a complete listing, see the table in Pannebaker, 65-69.

arrangement for choir contains the old chorale text “O sacred Head,” but the original chorale tune is absent (pages 376-377).

Roedel also included many chants in his tune book. In the fourth edition of the book, he incorporated forty-five chants by fourteen composers, many of them assigned to as many as five different texts, making the total number of chants in the book eighty-four.³²³ Several chant tunes in this edition are Gregorian (pages 36, 43, 45) and at least three were from the pen of Roedel.³²⁴

The final part of the tune book, which Roedel labeled “Tunes suitable for seasons of awakening and social prayer-meetings,” takes up the last thirty-eight pages of the volume (pages 447-484). Most of these tunes are sixteen measures in length and would have been memorable to the parishioner or singing-school participant.

It is not surprising that all of *Carmina Ecclesiae* was from type-set printing in round notation. It provides no figures for realization as earlier tune and chorale books did. Voicing was also a result of assimilation, as was true in the previous stage (see chapter 5): almost all of the selections are in four-parts, on four separate staves with no separate staves for accompaniment (see figure 52).

Theological aspects of the texts are the most visible sign of amalgamation. Jeffrey Pannebaker’s brief conclusion to his dissertation serves to summarize the ecclesiastical climate surrounding *Carmina Ecclesiae*:

English-speaking Lutherans of the General Synod struggled with their identity during the nineteenth century. They adapted their old traditions to a new land, interacted with other denominations, felt the influence of the culture surrounding them, sang their hymns, and offered their praises to God. It took nearly a century to reach a consensus. In the end, it was not their constitutions or documents of

³²³ Pannebaker, 69. For a complete listing of these chants in Roedel’s fourth edition, see the table in Pannebaker, 70-73.

³²⁴ Pannebaker, 70-73.

unity that defined them; rather, their hymnals defined who they were: a faithful band of people blessed by God's spirit and sent forth into the world to do God's will.³²⁵

Carmina Ecclesiae clearly represents the goals of the General Synod and S. S. Schmucker. In fact, Roedel even dedicated one of the hymns he wrote to his former teacher by naming it "Schmucker" (page 37). Revivalistic theology and associations happen in two ways in this book. First, Roedel uses some gospel tunes and texts, which would have been mostly known in evangelical circles of the time. The best example of this might be "Rock of Ages." Roedel uses the traditional tune in the tenor voice by "T. Hastings" (page 457); the text also appears with a different tune in a choral arrangement on pages 404-405. The Isaac Watts text "Alas! And did my Saviour bleed," an old Methodist favorite, also appears (pages 447 and 450; see figure 52). Second, many texts are blatantly revivalistic. Instead of *Justification* theology that puts emphasis on faith and God's free grace and favor, *Sanctification* theology becomes paramount, placing the stress on a life-long journey of progressive holiness after conversion and the reward at the end: heaven. Heaven becomes the "home" of the converted making all other concerns pass into oblivion.

Some pieces actually speak about the conversion experience. Verse two of "Dunlap's Creek" (page 450) does this directly: "The world beheld the glorious change, And did Thy hand confess; My tongue broke out in unknown strains, and sang surprising grace." Others try to bring about a conversion. The refrain of "Bavaria" shouts "Lord revive us, Lord, revive us, All our help must come from Thee!" (page 478). The first verse of "Come, ye Sinners poor and wretched" bears out this claim further: "Come, ye sinners poor and wretched, week and wounded, sick and sore, Jesus ready stands to save you, full of pity join'd with power: He is able,

³²⁵ Pannebaker, 175.

He is able, He is willing: doubt no more.” Surprisingly, the refrain of the second verse becomes consumeristic: “Without money, Without money, Come to Jesus Christ and buy.”

This goes beyond a shift from Justification to Sanctification, to a form of works righteousness (or the belief that one can earn God’s grace and salvation), the very thing that Martin Luther had protested in high Medieval Catholic theology, inherited by the Renaissance epoch. Millennialistic is the hymn “Millennium” on page 481 as Jesus’ return in judgment is the highest concern even after revival has taken place:

Rejoice, rejoice, the promised time is coming,
Rejoice, rejoice the wilderness shall bloom,
And Zion’s children then shall sing,
The desserts all are blossoming:
Rejoice, rejoice, the promised time is coming,
Rejoice, rejoice, the wilderness shall bloom . . .

The Methodist favorite “There is a Land of pure Delight” also points the singer toward heaven (page 469):

There is a land of pure delight,
Where saints immortal reign;
Infinite day excludes the night,
And pleasures banish pain,
And pleasures banish pain.

Its sixth and final verse places all of the responsibility on the work of the human to gain entrance into heaven. “Climbing” serves not only as metaphor here but also as a vehicle for *Sanctification* theology with its interest in what the individual *does* rather than what he *believes*:

Could we but climb where Moses stood,
And view the landscape o’er,-
Not Jordan’s stream, not death’s cold flood,
Should fright us from the shore.

450 [H. 350.] **DUNLAP'S CREEK. C. M.**

1. When God re-veal'd his gracious name, And changed my mourn-ful state, My rap-ture seem'd a pleas-ing dream, The grace ap-pear'd so great!
 2. The world be-held the glorious change, And did thy hand con-fess; My tongue broke out in un-known strains, And sang sur-pa-sing grace.

3. "Great is the work," my neighbors cried, And own'd thy power di-vine; "Great is the work," my heart re-plied, "And be the glo-ry thine!"

4. The Lord can clear the dark-est skies, Can give us day for night, Make drops of sa-cred sor-row rise To ri-vers of do-ly light.
 5. Let those that sow in sadness wait Till the fair har-vest come; They shall can-cess their sheaves are great, And bring rich bless-ings home.

[H. 133.] **SUFFERING SAVIOUR. C. M.**

1. A - - las! and did my Sa-viour bleed, And did my Sovereign die? Would he de-vote that sa-cred head For such a worm as I!

3. Well might the sun in dark-ness hide, And shut his glo-ries in, When God, the mighty Ma-ker, died For man, the crea-ture's sin!
 4. Thus might I hide my blush-ing face, While his dear cross ap-pears, Dis-solve my heart in thank-ful-ness, And melt my eyes to tears.

Chorus: Oh, the Lamb, the lov-ing Lamb, The Lamb on Cal-và-ry— The Lamb that was slain, That liveth again, To in-ter-cede for me!

Figure 52. Revivalistic example, *Carmina Ecclesiae*, 1874, page 450. (Author's copy)

Yet another hymn from a “popular melody” declares:

How happy are they who the Saviour obey,
And have laid up their treasure above!
Oh what tongue can express the sweet comfort and peace
Of a soul in its earliest love?

The second verse of this same hymn speaks of what Methodist revivalists called the “second blessing,” when one would become “sanctified” after being “saved” (the “first blessing”):

Oh, the rapturous height of that holy delight
Which I felt in the life-giving blood!
Of my Saviour possess’d, I was perfectly blest,
As if fill’d with the fullness of God.

Like the *Key-Stone Collection*, Roedel’s *Carmina Ecclesiae* makes use of no texts that are even remotely Eucharistic or baptismal in the traditional sense. The salvific dimension of these sacraments is replaced by the conversion experience.

There are portions of the book that look like a traditional liturgical volume in the Lutheran tradition. The chants and choral pieces with traditional liturgical texts clearly derive from the Anglican tradition and may have come about in Pennsylvania English tune books because of the far-reaching Oxford Movement, a movement in the Anglican world that revived high-church liturgical acts and rites. Several pieces in the book have subtitles that denote the liturgical occasion for which they were to be used by singers. “Daughters of Jerusalem” (page 323) is “For Communion, or for Passion Week”; “Thou dear Redeemer” is “For Confirmation”; and “Sing, O Heavens! and be joyful, O earth” is “Appropriate to an ordination, dedication, missionary occasion, or to the commencement of public worship” (page 326). It is evident in one

such subtitle that the Dutch “Harvest Home” has finally given way to the English Thanksgiving holiday: Roedel designates “Praise ye the Lord,” an arrangement of Psalm 150, for the occasion.

From the early years of German immigration to the middle years of the nineteenth century, English became the dominant language and Anglo-American ways were the dominant culture of the one-time German-speaking Pennsylvania *Kirchenleute*. Because of the dynamic process of ethnic assimilation, the earlier immigrants and their descendents learned not only to educate their children and eat in different ways, but to sing their praises to God in a fashion that they never thought possible for them. Tune books and their music served as facilitators of a new way of life and faith. Without understanding them we cannot fully comprehend the Dutch Church People and their journey.

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