

THE TRUMPET AND THE *UNITAS FRATRUM*

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The purpose of this article is to examine and document a phenomenon which has only recently been given any attention: the use of the natural, or baroque, trumpet by the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravian church in Germany and its subsequent employment on the North American continent during the eighteenth century. While there is evidence that trumpets were played in many locations throughout the American colonies,¹ the scope of this article is very specific; it deals only with how the Moravian church, a group of immigrants seeking religious freedom and the opportunity to minister to those in the New World, came to employ trumpets in their religious communities and worship practices. First, however, it will be necessary to define some of the Moravian religious practices and terminology before proceeding. These customs either involved music, or had a profound influence on the development of the church's musical traditions. Many of the rituals of the Moravian church were attempts to return to the Christianity of the New Testament.

A group of young believers in Herrnhut, Saxony, in 1732 decided to hold an Easter service consisting of hymns of praise at the church's burial site early on Easter morning.² This simple service was very effective, and soon was made a custom in the Moravian church. Instrumental accompaniment was added shortly afterward, and today the massed instrumentalists and singing congregation at a Moravian Easter service are impressive indeed.

The place where these services were held was known simply as "God's Acre." This was the Moravians' term for the plot of land where the bodies of believers were buried, or "planted" to await the "first fruits" of the Resurrection.³ It was the firm belief in the Resurrection and eternal life that shaped all of the customs having to do with God's Acre, the early Easter service, and the use of funeral chorales.

The use of the word "choir" in Moravian religious practice relates to the Greek "choros," meaning "group." These choirs were formed according to age, sex, and marital status. Each congregation had separate groups of single men, single women, widows, widowers, married people, older boys, older girls, young boys, and young girls. The adult choirs often had officers, funds, and even separate houses in which they lived. Most significant from a musical perspective were the Choir Festivals, or Covenant Days, which were celebrated once a year by each choir and were marked by some sort of festive musical activity.⁴

Another important Moravian custom was the Lovefeast, a return to the unity and simplicity of the early church. It was not a celebration of Holy Communion; rather, it was a time of fellowship between believers through the eating of a simple meal, usually consisting of a roll and coffee or tea. Lovefeasts were celebrated on many different occasions throughout the year; in fact, there were many recorded occurrences of

informal lovefeasts being held on the spot, such as the reunion of believers after a long separation.⁵

A Lovefeast was almost always held in conjunction with a *Singstunde* (song time). The *Singstunde* was a uniquely Moravian service in which there was no sermon or homily; the singing was the message. Hymn verses would be chosen so that when sung in succession, they would convey the chosen lesson. The congregations knew a great many hymns by memory, and would sing whatever stanza was designated.⁶

The third custom of the Moravian church necessary for this study is the New Year's Eve service. This is not solely a Moravian tradition; nevertheless, their New Year observance occupies an important place in their religious and musical traditions.

Prior to the New Year's Eve service the historical record of the previous year was compiled and written, a kind of chronicle of the old year. These memorabilia were reviewed by the church elders, signed, and read to the congregation. At 11:30 there was a service closing the old year, consisting of prayer, hymns and a short sermon. At midnight the changing of the year was signaled by the organ and/or the wind instruments, and the congregation would join in singing the hymn, "Now Thank We All Our God."⁷

All of these practices have a direct relationship to the use of music, and thus of the natural trumpet by the Moravian church during the eighteenth century.

It is uncertain how the natural trumpet came to be used by the members of the *Unitas Fratrum*. The idea of pacifist shoe-makers, farmers, and potters engaging in the knightly and warlike art of trumpet playing seems rather incongruous. The trumpet and the kettledrum (Ger. *Pauken*) were jealously guarded instruments from the middle of the fifteenth century until the decline of the court system toward the end of the eighteenth century. These instruments were considered the property of princes and lords, and were legally codified as such by the Imperial Privilege (Ger. *Privileg*, *Vorrecht*, Lat. *Privilegium*) of the Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand II in 1623, and reaffirmed by his son, Ferdinand III in 1653.⁸ This Imperial Privilege was re-confirmed by subsequent Holy Roman Emperors, and by the Electors of Saxony, who were the patrons of the *Kameradschaft*, or trumpet guild.⁹ Under these statutes the use of trumpets and the demeanor of trumpeters was carefully controlled.

Because trumpeters and kettledrummers perform solely for the Emperor, Electoral and Imperial Princes, Counts and Lords of knightly rank, and similar persons of quality, and therefore do not belong in common to everybody, no respectable trumpeter or military kettledrummer, under threat of a penalty to be decided upon by the fellowship, shall perform with jugglers, tower watchmen, caretakers, or the like, [or] whatever they may otherwise be called, [even though they] may somehow be associated with the art, [for in so doing, the trumpeters will] thereby bring the art into great disrepute. Nor shall any comedians, jugglers, gamblers, tower watchmen, or even any city pipers (*Stadtpfeifer*) or minstrels, perform on trumpets or military kettledrums, outside of their stages, stands, or towers, or at

weddings, baptisms, dances of rejoicing, church festivals, or other similar convocations for counts, barons, nobles, townsmen or others; nor shall they use them—and certainly not trombones as if they were trumpets—for processional fanfares (*Aufzüge*), dances, [or] blowing alarms. If any of these circumstances [should occur], the magistrates of each place, even without the trumpeters' request, shall refuse to tolerate such [actions] under the penalty of a heavy fine...¹⁰

Tarr specifies that Altenburg quoted from the edict of 1661. The earlier edict of 1653, however, reads:

As for students and tower watches, the latter may not play their trumpets except in churches and on towers, and the former at academic ceremonies and meetings, unless it happens that no trumpeter is available *in loco* or that the authorities are paying the tower watches for playing the trumpet.¹¹

This earlier practice of allowing non-members of the *Kameradschaft* to play for religious services might help explain how the members of the *Unitas Fratrum* were allowed to use trumpets in their worship.

To find the real connection between the trumpet and the renewed *Unitas Fratrum*, though, as with so many other matters dating from this period in the church's history, one must look to the man who was most responsible for the revival of the church, Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760). He was born at the court of Dresden on May 26, 1700, where his father was in the service of the Elector of Saxony. The Count died when Nikolaus was still in infancy, and the Countess remarried. As a result, Nikolaus was raised by his grandmother, Catherine von Gersdorf at Great Hennersdorf, her estate in Saxony.¹² Both his parents and his grandmother were acquainted with Spener and his teachings, and had become Pietists.¹³ Young Zinzendorf became interested in theology at an early age, an interest he maintained for the rest of his life.¹⁴

He was sent to school in Halle at the age of six, where he became even more interested in the study of the scriptures. His family, however, wanted him to pursue legal studies so that he could serve the state. He was sent accordingly to the University of Wittenberg in 1716.¹⁵

Upon completion of his studies and after his marriage to Countess Erdmuth Dorothea Reuss, he purchased the estate of Berthelsdorf, about two miles from his childhood home of Great Hennersdorf.¹⁶ This was an important decision, because this estate was to be the site of the first settlement of the renewed *Unitas Fratrum*. Having received extensive training in law at the University of Wittenberg from 1716-1719, he entered the service of the Elector of Saxony as a legal councilor at the age of twenty-one and took up residence in Dresden.¹⁷

In 1722 a small group of refugees seeking freedom arrived from Moravia, having heard of the Count's reputation as a godly and fair man. Zinzendorf was at court in

Dresden, but eventually gave them permission *in absentia* to settle on an uninhabited part of his estate, thinking only that he was giving a home to a few religious refugees, not reviving the oldest protestant church.¹⁸ Thus was begun the community of Herrnhut (literally "Lord's Protection," or "Watch of the Lord") which eventually became the world headquarters of the renewed church. It was referred to as the renewed *Unitas Fratrum*, or *Brüdergemeine*, because it had been persecuted almost out of existence in Moravia and Bohemia, and was in danger of ceasing to exist. The resulting revival of the church under the protection and leadership of Zinzendorf was regarded by its members as a new beginning.

As a count or *Reichsgraf* of the Holy Roman Empire, Zinzendorf was legally entitled to employ trumpeters on his estate as mentioned in the Imperial Privilege. Since Herrnhut was located on his estate at Bertholdsdorf, there was good reason for their use.

The Elector of Saxony (resident at Dresden) was the protectorate of the trumpeters of the Holy Roman Empire because of his title as Archmarshal of the Empire, and only the leader of the Dresden trumpet corps (as well as the leader of the Emperor's trumpet corps in Vienna) was allowed the title of "Chief Court Trumpeter" (*Oberhoftrumpeter*).¹⁹ In 1680 there were thirteen trumpeters and three kettledrummers in the corps at the court of Dresden (the largest number ever to be employed there). By 1736 there were thirteen trumpeters and two kettledrummers, so that during the period of Zinzendorf's service to the Elector there were at least thirteen trumpeters at the court. Festivals, masses, tournaments, and masked processions involving up to twenty trumpets were frequent in Dresden until forbidden in 1749 by papal edict because of the extravagance involved.²⁰

Zinzendorf despised these shows of pomp because of his religious beliefs, and would rather have spent the time in the study of scripture. He spent less than half of his time in Dresden from 1722 until he was granted a leave of absence from the court in 1727.²¹ He also held Sunday religious services in his Dresden apartments until they were banned in 1726.²²

Even though he was unhappy with his situation and the extravagance of the court, Zinzendorf evidently allowed the trumpet to become a part of Moravian worship, perhaps to add a bit of mystery and awe to the ceremonies and services. His own later writings stress the importance of mysticism, emotion and personal experience in the life of the Christian, rejecting the rational approach to theology, and the trumpet, after all, was a symbol of the voice of God.²³ The only problem with this theory is the question of how the trumpeters were recruited or trained. No record has been discovered of any members of the *Kameradschaft* joining the *Brüdergemeine* at Herrnhut to provide a tradition of instruction from the officially sanctioned union. It is more likely that the Herrnhuters were in violation of the Privilege, and if so they were certainly not alone; such violations appear to have been widespread throughout Germany. The edict of 1661 of the Elector of Saxony pertaining to the Imperial Privilege was the result of a lawsuit brought by the *Oberhoftrumpeter* of Saxony against a renegade trumpeter.

In our Electoral realm and territories far and wide, all kinds of abuses have

arisen. Despite the severe penal mandates issued previously, not only tower watchmen, caretakers, jugglers, comedians, and gamblers [are sounding] the trumpet (as is tolerated of them on towers, in comedies, juggling games, and gambling stands), but now all peasant musicians, besides the above-mentioned, have commenced to [do so] anywhere and everywhere it pleases them. [They sound the trumpet] especially at feasts, civic and peasant weddings, baptisms, annual fairs, church fairs, dances of rejoicing, and similar revels—indeed, even for persons of ill repute—in all rank intemperance and vexatious living (in these troubled times). Some of them [sound] trombones as if they were trumpets, with the blowing of processional fanfares, marches, dances, and alarms, disturbing their fellows and thereby also grievously misusing the sound of the trumpet. [They do] so all the more because some of the delegated sub-magistrates of our territories have up until now not only overlooked [the actions] of such unauthorized persons, but have also employed them themselves in various places, thus introducing such abuse [themselves]. ...

We accordingly decree, to each and every one of our prelates, counts, and lords, &c., ...that they [neither] allow, nor permit in the slightest, comedians, jugglers, gamblers, city pipers nor any city or peasant musician, whatever they are called, to play on trumpets or on trombones after the manner of a trumpet ...on [penalty of] a fine of a hundred Rhenish guilders of gold, ...The above-mentioned superior and subordinate magistrates of our territories shall also punish appropriately the offenders and wrongdoers ...and shall order their trumpets to be taken away from them and handed over to our Chief Trumpeter.²⁴

These abuses were apparently widespread thirty-nine years before Zinzendorf was born, and continued unabated. The edict of 1661 was interpreted in various ways by different authorities, but the abuses continued until 1736, when another edict was issued by Friedrich August, Elector of Saxony. Once again the court trumpeters and kettledrummers had filed a complaint of the misuse of their instruments by unauthorized persons. Once again the Elector ruled in favor of the *Kameradschaft*, but this 1736 mandate contains an important clause.

According to the decrees previously issued in confirmation of their well-established rights and privileges, we hereby wish to renew the above-mentioned mandate from the year 1661 and, on the other hand, to restrict the above-mentioned clause [which was] inserted in the mandate of 1711. [The clause reads:]

Trumpeters may not give performance [or play] at meals, or at banquets with guests of honor, [unless these functions] are given by

ministers, knights, officers, or by persons with a degree who are in our service or who otherwise fill a public office.

[This restriction] will have the effect that, on similar occasions, no one will be free to use any other than our court and field trumpeters and military kettledrummers, **when such can be acquired locally** [sic], nor shall it be allowed to anyone at all in our public service or in a public office to waive this [restriction, such waiver] rather [being permitted] only to our officials (*Diener*) and sub-magistrates who have a degree and hold the same rank as a high superior officer.²⁵

This is probably the clause that gave Zinzendorf the legal loophole he needed in order to employ non-*Kameradschaft* trumpeters in Herrnhut and elsewhere. He had no desire to live at odds with the government, and often made this known to the members of the *Unitas Fratrum*, admonishing them to do the same.

On the other hand, it would be incorrect to assume that everything that went on in Herrnhut was directly supervised by the Count. He and the other Church leaders had established elders and other boards to run the day-to-day activities of the community there, and they acted in his name much of the time.²⁶ An example of this relating to the brass players occurred in Herrnhut in 1731:

...it was brought up, whether and how much one should give the horn players, to which Hans Raschke²⁷ protested. They would take absolutely nothing...and whether or not to hold a *Collegium Musicum* in the tavern²⁸ daily...a vote brought the following result: Yes 52 (hash marks), No 0. The whole congregation is satisfied.²⁹

Thus, it was the will of the members of the Unity of Brethren that helped to shape its brass-wind practice, but it was the name and title of Count von Zinzendorf which allowed the use of trumpets (as opposed to the use of horns and trombones).³⁰ The quotation above also shows that from the beginning in Herrnhut, the Moravian brass players refused to take payment for their playing, instead giving their services freely.

Herrnhut

The first trumpets in Herrnhut appeared on Easter of 1745, having appeared earlier in Marienborn, Wetterau in 1739.³¹ These, along with horns and trombones, are mentioned frequently in the records from Herrnhut and Marienborn (Herrnhaag) during the following years; they were officially used for the following occasions: 1) to accompany the singing of the congregation; 2) for signaling purposes, for example, to wake the congregation; 3) to begin a festival; 4) to announce the death of a member; 5) for processions and burials; 6) as a serenade in courtship; 7) for missionary objectives (i.e., at services dedicating and sending out missionaries); and 8) at Lovefeasts and other

festivals.³² This practice of having the trumpets and other brass play for ceremonial functions of the Church was carried with the settlers in Georgia, then later to Pennsylvania and Wachovia, North Carolina.

Georgia

The first known Moravian trumpeter in America was a carpenter named Johann Böhner (1710-1785), who fled with his parents as a religious refugee in 1731 from Moravia to Herrnhut. He was selected to be one of the first Moravian colonists to go to Savannah because of his skills, and arrived in Georgia on February 23, 1736, with the second group of Brethren (25 persons).³³ He suffered from poor health much of his time in Georgia, but still managed to do missionary work among the Indians.³⁴

Since Böhner was among the second group of colonists, it was probably they who brought trumpets to the colony at Savannah; however, it is also possible that the instruments were brought with the first group of settlers. They were then used in the Savannah colony much as they had been in Germany, for ceremonial purposes, including funeral announcements. The first member of the Georgia colony to die was Friedrich Riedel, on September 30, 1735.³⁵ Since the instruments may or may not have arrived by that time, it is uncertain whether or not they were used at this first funeral. Commenting on that occasion, Adelaide Fries writes: "The burial customs in Savannah included the ringing of bells, a funeral sermon, and a volley of musketry, but learning that these ceremonies were not obligatory, the Moravians declined the offer of the citizens to so honor their Brother, and laid him to rest in the Savannah cemetery with a simple service of hymns and prayer."³⁶ Fries does not mention evidence of instruments, but they possibly accompanied the hymns.

After the second group of Moravians arrived with Oglethorpe in February 1736, it is likely that the governor, who was "...like a father..."³⁷ to the Moravians, was present at some later funeral services and heard Böhner and the others play. There were four Moravian deaths from among the second group during 1736, and four more deaths from 1737-1739. Oglethorpe may have been present at any of these funeral services, or some other function, to have heard Johann Böhner play.

As the Georgia colony began to disintegrate and its members to leave for other places, Oglethorpe made a request of the musicians. Tomochichi, the Indian chief of the Creek tribe the Moravians had been working with, died in October of 1739, and the Moravians were asked to play at his funeral service (Tomochichi was also a very important political and military ally of the colony of Savannah). They declined, since the chief was not one of their converts, and according to Fries, their music was hardly missed amid the cannons and the salute volleys fired by the English colonists over his grave.³⁸ On August 10, 1739 the last of the Moravian deaths occurred, and it was the last time that the brass ensemble of horns and trumpets played for a funeral service in Georgia, although they may have played for other ceremonial functions mentioned above.³⁹

It was at this time that Oglethorpe purchased the trumpets and horns from the Brethren. By early 1740, after the outbreak of the Spanish and English war in Florida and Georgia, the Moravian colonists were preparing to leave Savannah.

Nothing now remained for the members still in Savannah, but to so arrange matters that they might leave on the first opportunity. Oglethorpe had already bought their trumpets and French horns at a good price, but they needed to sell their rice and household furniture to provide sufficient funds for their journey.⁴⁰

This evidence is corroborated by an excerpt from a letter in the Herrnhut Archives (Herrnhut, Saxony, Germany) from Peter Böhler to the elders at Herrnhut:

...[Oglethorpe] bought the Brethrens' trumpets and hunting horns and gave them ten shillings more than they asked. He positively wanted to persuade Brother [Johann] Böhner to become his trumpeter, and promised him 110 shillings per month. When Toma Chachi [sic] was buried, he also wanted to pay the Brethren if they would play music, but they refused him.⁴¹

From this, it is clear that Oglethorpe was familiar with the brass playing of the Moravians at funerals, if not for other events. With their instruments now sold to the English colonists, the Moravian settlers who moved to Pennsylvania in 1740 would have to wait for a new influx of Brethren from Herrnhut to renew their brass choir activities in America.

Pennsylvania

The first appearance of the trumpet among the members of the *Unitas Fratrum* in Pennsylvania occurred in 1745, only four-and-a-half years from the felling of the first tree at Bethlehem, and almost simultaneously with its first known use in Herrnhut.⁴² The following entry was made in the Bethlehem diary on Wednesday, May 28, 1745:

The Gnadenthal⁴³ brothers returned uncommonly lively from their work there. They all went in file, and Matthew before them with the trumpet, and sang hearty stanzas.⁴⁴

In Winkler's listing of ceremonial uses of the trumpet, this is classified as the accompaniment of congregational singing; although in this case it is an informal setting. The next appearance of trumpets in the Bethlehem records is at a lovefeast in celebration of the Single Brothers' Choir Festival (*Lehr-Fest*) in 1752:

[In the afternoon] the [Single Brethrens'] Choir had a very nice lovefeast of bread, sprinkled with caraway, salt, and water. [Several different items were discussed]. ...Between these discussions, a stanza was sung now and then, and made more lively with trumpets resounding along with it.⁴⁵

This is an example of the natural trumpet in use at a lovefeast on a festival day (although it also accompanies congregational singing).

There should be another category added to Winkler's list of ceremonial functions of the Moravian brass winds, this one peculiar to the American *Brüdergemeinen*: that of welcoming visiting dignitaries. The first recorded example of this occurred in Bethlehem when the Governor of Pennsylvania, James Hamilton, was entertained by the Brethren there in the summer of 1752. This was not a religious observance or service, but an entertainment or welcome for the pleasure of the Governor.

...he was led to the large Saal,⁴⁶ and was welcomed with some beautiful music upon his entry, over which he and his entourage were quite surprised. After they had been thoroughly diverted by the music (it was only our chorales, played with the organ, trumpets, and other instruments), they were conducted to the little Saal, where all sorts of refreshments, along with some cold meat, stood ready; and while they were partaking of it, sweet music with the harp and a few [or a pair of] violins.⁴⁷

During the period of rapid growth and building in Bethlehem from 1740 until the last quarter of the century there were several large ceremonies dedicating the new facilities. One of these was the celebration of the opening of the new house for married members in 1754.

The Brethren went in a procession...two by two. As we stepped from the Gemeinhaus, the trumpets and other music from the gallery of the new Mens' house were heard with the melody, "*Unsern Ausgang segne Gott*," until we entered into the house [for a lovefeast].⁴⁸

A particularly large musical gathering was held for a cornerstone laying ceremony in 1755, during which several trumpeters and many other musicians were present.

On the great day designated for the foundation-laying of the *Jüngerhaus* the congregation in Nazareth was awakened with trumpet sounds and string-playing, . . . After everything was ready, and our Brethren and Sisters were present, the first service began at 10 [on the Plaza], to which the congregation was summoned with trumpets and trombones. . . . Behind, somewhat further toward the orchard, was the *Chorus Musicus*; upon a bench, the trumpet and trombone players, and in front of them, the

other instrumentalists—thus a full orchestra. Everyone who knew music was there, from Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Christiansbrunn, and made a most pleasing liturgical music. . . . Then the procession moved to the construction site. At the front went all the musicians; the blown instruments continually alternating with others.⁴⁹

There has not as yet been much hard evidence uncovered of trumpet activity in Bethlehem during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The tradition must have continued, however, as there were two trumpeters listed in the orchestra that performed Haydn's *Creation* there in 1811.⁵⁰ Any further discussion of trumpet playing in Bethlehem between 1755 and the early nineteenth century must await further research.

Wachovia

It is difficult to ascertain exactly when the first trumpets were brought to Wachovia. The Wachovia diary mentions "trumpet sounds" awakening the first settlers in March of 1755.⁵¹ The Bethabara Diary, however, states that a so-called "trumpet" made from a hollow branch was used as early as February of 1754.⁵² It is unclear whether the March 1755 reference in the Wachovia Diary is to this instrument or an actual brass trumpet. It is certain that they had received at least one trumpet by July of 1755, for the record states that: "...This was also the first morning prayer [service] in which we have played the trumpet that we received with the last [wagon] convoy from Pennsylvania."⁵³

This illustrates the importance that the Moravian settlers placed on music. To have shipped musical instruments to the first group of colonists, along with the most necessary tools and provisions for survival on the frontier, speaks volumes about the value these people placed on them.⁵⁴ As it turned out, the trumpets proved to be very practical in the Carolina wilderness.

This was proven by an incident which occurred in July of 1755. One of the non-Moravian neighbors near Bethabara returned home late one night to find his wife and children missing and his house robbed. In desperation, he went to the Moravians' nearby cabin to seek help. Not knowing what course of action to take, they decided to hold their morning prayer service early, since they were up anyway. As mentioned earlier, this was the first time they had used the newly arrived trumpet in the morning prayer service. The leader of the group directed that some shots be fired and the trumpet sounded continuously in case the criminals might come back. As it turned out, the woman and her children were able to find their way to the group because of this.⁵⁵

The next mention of trumpet playing in Wachovia is upon the arrival of the second group of colonists at Bethabara on November 4, 1755. Two of the men from the party rode on ahead and played a chorale tune to signal their arrival; they were answered by the trumpets of the first group from the roof of their new house.⁵⁶

With the arrival of the second group of colonists, the function of the trumpets in this fledgling community began to resemble that of Herrnhut and Bethlehem. Three days

later, the settlement celebrated Countess Zinzendorf's birthday, beginning with the early-morning sounding of trumpets.⁵⁷ Again on November 22, 1755, an elder of the church was awakened on his birthday by trumpets, flutes, and the singing of hymns.⁵⁸ Later that year, the arrival of Christmas morning was heralded by trumpets, as the previous morning had been.⁵⁹ This was followed shortly by the observance of the New Year's Eve midnight vigil and the awakening of the community again with the trumpets.⁶⁰ These occasions all fit into Winkler's categories of: 2) signaling purposes, and 3) beginning festivals.⁶¹

In addition, the trumpets were played to send travelers from the community on their way. Such a departure was recorded on March 17, 1756, when two of the men set out from Bethabara for Bethlehem. After breakfast they bid everyone farewell and began their trip escorted by two others. The record states that "Brother Augst and Beroth blew some verses after them on the trumpets."⁶² Whether this falls under Winkler's category of playing for missionary objectives or not is debatable. Perhaps this is a distinctly American Moravian Custom, like that of entertaining visiting dignitaries.⁶³ Indeed, most of the evidence shows that the use of the trumpets in Wachovia conformed to Winkler's categories of lovefeasts and other festivals, accompanying singing, signaling, death announcements, burials, etc., except for a few noteworthy exceptions.

The first involved none other than the President of the United States:

At the end of this month the congregation in Salem had the pleasure of welcoming the President of the United States, George Washington, on his return trip from his visit to the southern states. ...So the Brethren Marschall, Koehler and Benzien rode a little bit out to meet him, and upon his nearing the town some melodies were played, part with trumpets and horns, part with trombones. ...Our musicians let him know that they would have some music at his service for the evening meal, wherewith to serve him. ...Toward evening time the Governor of this State, Mr. Alexander Martin, whose land is only some 40 miles from here on the Dan River, arrived here. He as well as the President and Major Jackson spent the evening at a song service intermingled with musical [instrumental] pieces, and declared their delight over it. At the close of the day they gladly let the wind instruments play again at the tavern.⁶⁴

This is another recorded instance when the Moravians used their brass instruments to welcome and entertain an important visiting dignitary. These were not the only times that visitors were welcomed with trumpets by any means, but were probably the most prestigious occasions. One other such occurrence was a visit by the Royal Governor of North Carolina on September 18, 1767:

The Brethren Loesch and Jacob Bonn rode toward the Honorable Governor and met the same 10 miles from here, and about 1 o'clock in the

afternoon met the same with his Lady and a suite of gentlemen which consisted of a Counselor Needlsch [?], the 3 Colonels Fannon, Frohock, and Banton, [Counselor McCulloch, His Excellency's Secretary Mr. Edwards,] and Billy F[rohock] and the English minister from Hillisbury, Michael Johns. They were received upon arrival with a joyful sound of trumpets and horns, after which the same retired to the lodgings prepared for the Governor and his Lady in the Schneider house, and after a half hour the same suite went to the noon meal, which was prepared in the small hall of the single Brethren's house. During dinner the same were entertained with music which pleased them all uncommonly.⁶⁵

The Moravian brass players missed a few welcomes, too. In 1806 some visiting church members took the musicians of Salem by surprise; it seems that they arrived before the musicians knew they were supposed to play.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon we were quite pleasantly surprised by the arrival of our beloved Brethren and Sisters Verbecks and Forestiers. ...Our wind players were ordered to welcome them into the town with some melodies on the trombones and trumpets upon their arrival. Because the arrival came so unexpectedly quickly, however, these could not be carried out.⁶⁶

Apparently the practice of welcoming visitors with trumpets and other brass instruments was a common and a frequent one in the community, while that of entertaining with brass instruments was reserved for distinguished visitors from the outside and not encouraged within the community.

Another example of this use of trumpets and other instruments is a performance for some guests on August 8, 1806, when some visiting ladies and gentlemen from Raleigh expressed a wish to hear some "concerted music," or, as the writer put it, "...eine etwas vollständige Musicke zu hören...." They were treated to the singing of the congregation accompanied by violins, flutes, horns, trombones, trumpets, and organ.⁶⁷

One other type of occasion upon which trumpets were sounded was the successful raising of a building in the community. With all of the expansion and building going on in Wachovia during the last half of the eighteenth century, this also became a common occurrence. The records mention at least four times that the trumpets were played after the successful raising of the frame of a building in the community.⁶⁸ The first such occasion mentioned was the raising of one of the buildings in Salem:

Br. Marschall also visited the Brethren in Salem for the raising [of the building]; and although there was a considerable downpour before and after noon, it did not hinder the Brethren in this work, and about 6 o'clock in the evening this much desired building happily stood firmly in place, and

without the slightest injury happening to anyone, a large piece of wood fell all the way down once, but fortunately no one was underneath: and at the end of this work the musicians blew a few joyful and thankful songs on the trumpets from the highest beams and everyone thanked the loving Father in heaven for his demonstrated help and merciful protection.⁶⁹

The last mention of natural trumpet activity in Wachovia is in Bethania on November 30, 1834, when "...Some of the Brethren practiced playing trumpets and the children practiced singing."⁷⁰ Thus, very simply and with no fanfare, ends the account of perhaps one of the very few traditions of natural trumpet playing in colonial America and the early United States.

One could successfully argue that the Moravians were in reality transplanted Europeans, and that therefore their music and musical practice were European and not distinctly American. This may be true, but if one were to take this approach to the study of all music in America, American music would perhaps be limited to the music of native Americans, and would even exclude jazz.

It is true that the use of the natural trumpet by the Moravians was in many ways a European practice, but that is not the important point here. The significance of the trumpet in the Moravian communities lies in the fact of its existence and transferral to the New World. That this aristocratic instrument could be found on the colonial American frontier is, as an hypothesis, preposterous, yet there it is.

Of course, the traditional role of the trumpet was changed by the *Brüdergemeine* even before they brought it to the New World. Far from being a pompous, showy instrument of the court or a brazen call to arms, in the hands of the Moravians it became a dignified, pious instrument of chorales, liturgical music, and the mundane sonatas and duets in the tradition of the German *Stadtpeifer*.

The sphere of influence of Moravian trumpet playing was very small. It was not a musical practice that enjoyed a great popular following in the Colonies and later in the young United States; the trumpets, horns, and trombones were used only in Moravian communities and settlements. Still, it is a fascinating chapter in the history of Colonial America and the Moravian church. From the first brass ensemble in Savannah, the fearful search for loved ones at Bethabara, the watchful guard against Indian attacks in both Pennsylvania and North Carolina, to the joyous massed festivals and ceremonies of new and growing communities and the reverent, musical worship services and observances, the trumpet was inextricably linked with the Moravian church in Colonial America.

Summary

Many unanswered questions remain about this instrument's relationship to the *Unitas Fratrum*. How did trumpets first come to be played in their communities, first in Marienborn, then in Herrnhut? Did Zinzendorf authorize their use, or were they

merely added, pragmatically and unostentatiously, to the musical practice of the church? The recent reunification of Germany may open up exciting new research opportunities in Herrnhut, which until 1990 was in East Germany and closed to Western research. Perhaps now the archives can be examined in greater detail for further evidence of trumpet activity within the church.

There are also gaps in the evidence from Bethlehem and Winston-Salem. The period from 1755 to 1810 in Bethlehem deserves more attention. What was the extent of trumpet playing there, and who doing the playing? What, if anything, was being done with the trumpets in Wachovia from about 1800 until 1830? When were the first valved instruments acquired? Further research will be necessary to answer these questions.⁷¹

This research sheds new light upon the brass-wind practice of the historical Moravian church. There seems to be a misconception on the part of some that the trombone has always been the brass instrument of choice in the church. While it is true that the trombone eventually assumed that position, in the early days of the renewed church it was by no means the only instrument played.

Finally, in the words of Don L. Smithers:

To say that this work is simply about an instrument and its music is to describe All Saints' Day as merely the first of November. To speak of the history of a musical instrument, a highly important and difficult instrument, is to speak of the history of a people, of their culture and peculiar customs.⁷²

The faith, industry, and gentle persistence of the Moravian believers as they followed their convictions and calling to America is inspiring. No less impressive is their use, however, limited, of so ancient, vital, and noble an instrument.

NOTES

1. For example, there were four trumpeters present at sunrise on the Boston Commons on January 1, 1701, to bring in the new century with fanfare and pomp (see Barbara Lambert, ed., *Music in Homes and in Churches*, vol. 2 of *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820* ed. Frederick S. Allis, Jr. (Boston, The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, distributed by the University Press of Virginia, 1985), pp. 492-493.
2. Adelaide Lisetta Fries, *Distinctive Customs and Practices of the Moravian Church*. Know Your Church Series (Bethlehem, PA and Winston-Salem, NC, 1949), p. 43.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

5. Ibid., pp. 59-60.
6. Ibid., pp. 60-61.
7. Ibid., pp. 61-62.
8. Don L. Smithers, "The Hapsburg Imperial *Trompeter* and *Heerpaucker* Privileges of 1653," *Galpin Society Journal* 24 (1971), pp. 84-95; Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet Before 1721*, 2nd Edition (Carbondale, IL, 1988), pp. 113-114. [Editorial Note: Edward Tarr has noted that the usage here should be in the singular, i.e., an Imperial Privilege with several subsidiary articles pertaining to the trumpet. It is this emended usage that we follow in the present article.]
9. Johann Ernst Altenburg, *Essay on an Introduction to the Heroic and Musical Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art, for the Sake of a Wider Acceptance of the Same, Described Historically, Theoretically, and Practically and Illustrated with Examples*, trans. Edward Tarr (Nashville, 1974), p. 32.
10. Ibid., pp. 48-49.
11. Smithers, "Hapsburg Privileges," p. 90.
12. Edward Langton, *History of the Moravian Church: the Story of the First International Protestant Church* (London, 1956), p. 64.
13. J. Taylor Hamilton, *A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church, or the Unitas Fratrum, or the Unity of the Brethren during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Bethlehem, PA, 1900; rep.: New York, 1971), pp. 17-18.
14. Langton, pp. 64-65; Hamilton, pp. 18-19.
15. Langton, p. 66; Hamilton, p. 20.
16. Langton, pp. 67-68; Hamilton, p. 23.
17. Langton, pp. 66-67; John R. Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf* (Nashville, 1956), p. 52.
18. Langton, pp. 57-59; Hamilton, pp. 13-16.
19. Altenburg, trans. Tarr, p. 32.
20. Ibid., p. 31; Edward Tarr, *The Trumpet*, trans. S. E. Plank and Edward Tarr (Portland, 1988), pp. 112-113.
21. Weinlick, p. 62.

22. Ibid., p. 54.
23. Gillian L. Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities* (New York, 1967), pp. 9-16; Altenburg, trans. Tarr, p. 33; Tarr, p. 9.
24. Altenburg, trans. Tarr, pp. 49-50.
25. Ibid., p. 51.
26. Langton, p. 73; Gollin, pp. 28-31.
27. "Hans Raschke (1702-1767) was born in Lichkow/East Bohemia as Jan Raschka. He was the first brass leader in Herrnhut." (see Ben van den Bosch, "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Posaunenarbeit der Brüdergemeinen in Deutschland und alle Welt," in *Posaunen in der Bibel und bei uns vor 1843, Beiträge zur Geschichte evangelischer Posaunenarbeit*, ed. Eduard Lohse with Manfred Glowatzki, Volrad Kluge, and Klaus Winkler, Lieferung 1, Gütersloh, 1989), pp. 61-62.
28. The *Gasthof* was the first single brothers' house in Herrnhut. (See Bosch, p. 62).
29. "...es wird vorgebracht, ob und was man den Waldhornbläsern geben sollte, da protestierte gleich Hans Raschke. Sie wollten durchaus nichts nehmen...und ob nicht täglich solle ein Collegium Musicum im Gast-hof gehalten werden...eine Stimmung brachte folgendes Ergebnis: 'Ja 52 (Striche)...Nein 0.' Die ganze Gemeinde ist zufrieden." Herrnhut, *Protokoll vom Gemeinrat: 1 April 1731*, quoted in van den Bosch, p. 45.
30. The theological fixation of the *Unitas Fratrum* and other evangelical churches with the trombone as opposed to the trumpet is at least partially the result of Martin Luther's translation of the Hebrew *shofar*, *chat-zotzrah* (the ancient Israelite trumpet), the Greek *salpinx*, and the Latin *tuba* as *Posaune* (trombone). The German *Posaune* (archaic *Pusaun*), probably from the Latin *bicina* or later French *busine*. Luther was not referring to the trombone, but to the long straight trumpet (*busine*) and the later "S" shaped trumpet of the Middle Ages. (See Tarr, pp. 32-33, 38). Of course, another reason for this preference may well have been the trombone's ability to play a complete chromatic scale. (See Ernest H. Gross III, *The Natural Trumpet of the the Moravians in Colonial America*, D.M. document, Indiana University, 1991), Chapter 9.
31. The Count had his residence there in exile at the castle Ronneburg with a small group of Church members and his family from 1736-1747. (See Weinlick, pp. 127, 195; Klaus Winkler, "Zur Entwicklung der Blasmusik bei den Herrnhutern im 18. Jahrhundert: Quellenkundliche Studien zu Instrumentarium, Zere-moniell und Repertoire der ersten Posaunenchorre," in Lohse et al., *Posaunen in der Bibel...*, p. 73.
32. Winkler, p. 74.
33. Joseph Mortimer Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1892, with some Account of its Founders and their Early Activity in America* (Bethlehem, 1903; reprint, New York,

1971), p. 35.

34. Adelaide Lisette Fries, *The Moravians in Georgia, 1735-1740* (Raleigh, NC, 1905), p. 216.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*, p.216.

41. Letter from Peter Böhler, December 25, 1739, *Archiv der Brüder Unität*, Herrnhut, Germany, R. 14.A Nr. 6.3, pp. 710-713, quoted in Harry H. Hall, "Early Sounds of Moravian Brass Music in America: A Cultural Note from Colonial Georgia," *Brass Quarterly* 7 (Spring 1964, as of Fall 1965), p. 119.

42. Levering, p. 57; Winkler, p. 73.

43. Gnadenthal was a farming community on the Barony of Nazareth, begun in January 1745. By December 1745 there were six couples living and working there. (See Levering, p. 190).

44. "Bethlehem Diary," trans. Robert F. Steelman, Moravian Music Foundation, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Wednesday, May 28, 1745.

45. *Ibid.*, Sunday, January 30, 1752.

46. meeting room or congregational hall.

47. "Bethlehem Diary," Thursday, July 13, 1752.

48. *Ibid.*, Monday, September 30, 1754.

49. *Ibid.*, Saturday, May 3, 1755, pp. 329-338.

50. Not much else is available about the two men, David Weinland and Tobias Boeckel. (See Rufus A. Grider, *Music in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania from 1741-1871*, Philadelphia, 1873; Winston-Salem, NC, 1957), pp. 4-5.

51. "Wachovia Diary," Moravian Music Foundation Archives, Winston-Salem, NC, March 30, 1755.

52. "Bethabara Diary," Moravian Music Foundation Archives, February 23, 1754, p. 79.
53. "Wachovia Diary," July 23, 1755.
54. The relatively rugged construction of the natural trumpet and horn as compared with the trombone, along with the carrying power of the trumpet's tone, were probably two prime considerations in choosing it as one of the first instruments to be supplied to the Moravian colonists.
55. "Wachovia Diary," July 23, 1755.
56. Adelaide Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, 12 vols. (Raleigh, 1922-1954), reprint, vol. 7, edited in part by Douglas L. Rights, 1955 (Raleigh, 1968), 1, p. 146.
57. "Wachovia Diary," November 7, 1755.
58. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1755.
59. "Als am 1ten Weihnachts Tage wurden die Geschwister mit Trompeten geweckt." (See *ibid.*, December 25, 1755).
60. "Bethabara Diary," January 1, 1756, p.1.
61. Winkler, p. 74.
62. "Bethabara Diary," March 17, 1756, p. 63.
63. Winkler, p. 74.
64. "Salem Diary," Moravian Music Foundation Archives, May 31, 1791.
65. "Wachovia Diary," September 18, 1767, p. 123.
66. "Salem Diary," October 25, 1806.
67. "Br. Benzien sang Abends mit der Gemeine die Passions Liturgie No. 27. Es wohnten derselben mehrere Herren und *Ladies* von Raleigh und andern Orten, die hier besuchten, mit vielen Wohlgefallen bey. Da dieselben gewünscht hatten, eine etwas vollständige Musicke zu hören, so begleiteten unsre Musici den Gesang der Gemeine in dieser Liturgie mit Violinen, Flöten, und Waldhörnern. Nach derselben spielten sie ihnen noch mehrere unsrer Choralmelodien mit voller Orgel, unter Begleitung von Posaunen und Trompeten." "Salem Diary," August 8, 1806.
- ("Brother Benzien sang the Passion Liturgy No. 27 with the congregation in the evening. There were at the same more gentlemen and ladies from Raleigh and other towns, that were visiting here, who were very pleased by it. There the same expressed the wish to hear some concerted music, so our musicians accompanied the singing of the congregation in this liturgy with violins, flutes,

and horns. After the same they played again some more of our chorale tunes with full organ, accompanied by trombones and trumpets.”)

68. “Wachovia Diary,” May 18, 1769, p. 77; March 29, 1770, p. 68; August 21, 1771; “Salem Diary,” September 17, 1799; Fries, *Records*, 6, p. 2625.

69. “Wachovia Diary,” May 18, 1769, p. 77.

70. “Bethania Diary,” November 30, 1834, (see Fries, *Records*, 8, p. 4150).

71. It might be appropriate at this point to mention two publications of Moravian brass music by the Brass Press, Nashville, TN: *Sonatas 1-4 and 5-8*, (2 vols.) by Weber, edited by Edward H. Tarr and Harry H. Hall, and the *Moravian Brass Duet Book*, Vols. 1 and 2, edited by Edward H. Tarr and Stephen L. Glover.

72. Smithers, *Trumpet before 1721*, p. 242.

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