

Mahican and Lenape Moravians and Moravian Music*

by
Paul Larson

When the Moravian missionaries traveled on the North American continent in what are now the states of Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania they encountered a musical culture of great age. The Northwoods Indians enjoyed singing, dancing, and playing musical instruments. Their musical culture was marked by vitality. It was distinctive and capable of expressing a wide range of feelings including profoundly religious ones, and it was fully integrated with the activities and cosmologies from which it had sprung.

Their musical instruments, some with direct counterparts in the ancient Orient, were also of great age. In contrast, the music and most of the musical instruments the 18th century Moravians introduced to them were very new. Now called the classical style, it was still in its infancy in 1742, the year the Moravians arrived. Joseph Haydn (born 1732) was just a youth. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was yet to be born (1756). With the exception of the organ and the harpsichord, the missionaries played musical instruments developed after 1600. For example, the clarinet, which Abraham Luckenbach, one of these missionaries, played, dates from the late 17th century. But as a performance instrument, it did not find wide application until the middle of the 18th century.

Moravian and Indian musical cultures differend also in respect to musical notation. The music of the Mahicans and the Lenapes was not notated. It was transmitted orally, surviving to this day much as it would have been heard by Abraham Luckenbach and David Zeisberger, another missionary. On the other hand, we have only begun to be able to reconstruct the performance style of 18th century Moravian musicians as they might have played and taught it to their

* For untiring assistance in the research for this paper, I am indebted to Vernon Nelson, Curator of the Moravian Archives; Robert Steelman, Instructor in the Musik Department at Moravan College, and especially Jim Rementer, a Lenape living in Dewey, Oklahoma.

Indian converts even though Moravian music was transmitted by musical notation.

What was the Mahican and Lenape music like which the Moravian missionaries heard? What was the style of the Moravians' music heard and soon also performed by Mahican and Lenape Indians?

Because music was so major a component of American Indian life, anyone who had contact with Indians was bound to hear it often. For example, when the Nanticokes wished to establish closer relations with the Moravians, a large group of Nanticokes and Shawnees traveled to Gnadenhütten near Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Loskiel, in his *History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians in North America*, recounts their arrival, 107 strong, in the middle of July 1752:

The Indian Brethren having sent them (delegation) four large loaves, they appeared some time after, slowly moving towards the place, in Indian file; the leader singing a song, till <sic.> he came to the first house, where they halted. (Loskiel 133-34)

They were formally welcomed to Bethlehem five days later, on the 20th of July. The "Bethlehem Diary" describes the event as follows:

Just at mid-day the whole procession of Nanticokes and Shawnees arrived from Gnadenhütten ... Br. Joseph (Spangenberg) welcomed them at our fence, from which point one of the chiefs sang his song of joy before the whole troop. (July 20, 1754)

According to this same source, there were numerous subsequent meetings at which the Indians sang:

At the meeting with the Indians concerning their propositions on the preceding Friday, an elderly Indian sang a song of thanksgiving in his language and style. When he came to Br. Joseph <Spangenberg>, as he went around the table, he stopped for a while and sang, and then continued on singing to his place, and reseated himself. Then a shout of joy resumed. One chief after the other would begin, and the people gave a response, from which we could understand that they were very grateful and happy. (July 24, 1752)

The Indians departed from Bethlehem the next day. But a month later David Zeisberger, Gottfried Rundt, and Martin Mack traveled to Onadago, the capital of the Iroquois Nation where an agreement was reached to permit Zeisberger and Rundt to take up residence among the Iroquois so that the two might learn their language. As their diary tells us, during the Indian council session which they attended, "...parts of the transaction were sung by the Indians in their language and manner." ("Bethlehem Diary" 456-57)

The Moravian, John Heckewelder, has left us with some of the most complete early descriptions of the music of the Northwoods

Indians. His *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States*, includes and entire chapter devoted to Indian singing and dancing. Of the Lenape song he wrote:

Their songs are in general of the warlike or of the tender and pathetic kind. They sing in short sentences; not without some kind of measure, harmonious to an Indian ear. The music is well adapted to the words, and to me is not displeasing ...

Their singing always begins by one person only, but others fall in successively until the general chorus begins, the drum beating all the while to mark the time. (Heckewelder 203-04)

Lenape songs are available on tape and distributed by *Touching Leaves Indian Crafts* in Dewey, Oklahoma as "Songs of the Lenape or Delaware Indians". The third song of several recorded in this collection is called a "Woman's Dance" and because it demonstrates so clearly what Heckewelder meant by his description, its transcribed melody is appended to this essay as our example. Its phrases are indeed short. Its rhythm is clearly in a measure of two. A drum plays throughout to mark the beat. The song begins with a solo singer who is then joined by others. For the most part the melody is descending in undulating pitch patterns but is generally diatonic, that is it can be accommodated on the Western music-staff and by the Western major-minor tonal system. Its range is one octave. These are aspects which are characteristic of Northwoods Indian music in general. But they do not diminish the fact that specific music, here the Lenape example, did not also possess its own distinct identity.

American Indians were generally limited in the variety and number of musical instruments used. The music of the Northwoods Indians, of which the Mahican and the Lenape were a part, was primarily vocal. Singing and dancing - these two activities were almost inseparable - were accompanied by drums of various sorts and rattles made from bark and animal parts. The only melodic musical instrument known to them appears to have been the flageolet, which somewhat resembles the modern recorder. But contrary to the prevailing assumption, flageolettes were not used for ceremonies or courtship but were played only for personal pleasure.

This limitation in scope and variety probably accounts for part of the profound effect the Moravians' instrumental performances had on Native Americans, indeed continued to have into the nineteenth century. Again, the Moravian diaries may serve as our source for an instructive account of how moved a Delaware chief and his wife were when hearing Moravian instrumental music:

<July 25, 1803> The chief's wife <the wife of the first chief of the Delaware, Tedpachsit> told us that as a girl, she heard a spinnet in a meeting of the believers in Gnadenhütten (Ohio), and that it moved her to tears, and that she still remembered

it with pleasure. Thereupon the old Chief related how he had heard a great deal of beautiful music in the church of the believers while visiting Lititz: that a large instrument - he meant the organ - had especially pleased and moved him. The music so touched Pakantschilies that he was nearly moved or made tender. He reminded himself however that he was a war chief whose business it was to see everything without being moved or made tender. He never had an experience like that in the Lititz Church. The Chief returned to say that he believed the most hard hearted Indians would become tender if we had an organ like that.

Br. Kluge told him: "The impression which the organ or any other music makes upon you is of short duration and will save no man, because the wicked heart is not changed thereby. Music has no other purpose than to make song pleasant and agreeable to hear..." Furthermore: "If we shall have the joy of seeing you Indians turn to God with all your heart ... we will also try to secure an organ; otherwise, we will not." Thereupon he answered: "Very well; I will do what I can and admonish the Indians to hear the word of God diligently." Time will tell whether this promise has any foundation. We do not believe what the chiefs say anymore because they have made so many promises already and never kept them. (Gipson 246-7)

Perhaps, what the Lenape chief had heard was the very organ now in the gallery of the Brothers' House in Lititz. That organ, recently restored, was built by David Tannenberg, the great Moravian organ builder, and dedicated for service on August 13, 1789 by Johannes Herbst (1735-1812), organist, prominent composer, copyist, and collector of Moravian music. As a Lancaster, Pennsylvania, newspaper recalled at a later date, the audience included:

... the most prominent people of all religious denominations of Lancaster borough and county far and wide. The harmony of the vocal and instrumental music, as well as the excellent and harmonious organ, manufactured by Mr. David Tannenberg, in addition to the devout singing of the entire congregation, made one's heart feel sublime. (As cited in the rededication program)

Even if it was not this organ which the Lenape chief had heard, it would have been a very similar instrument. For David Tannenberg, the first full-time organ builder in America, had set up his organ-building studio in Lititz in 1765. As to the spinet heard by the chief's wife, it was undoubtedly the instrument made and played by Joshua, junior, the Mahican discussed at length in a subsequent passage of this essay.

Unlike Lenape music, sacred music in Moravian churches was con-

certed music, that is, music for voices and instruments in which both are combined and performed in alternation within the same piece. The Moravians were famous throughout the American colonies for the excellence of both their sacred musical compositions and their musical performances by choirs, instruments, and congregations. Performances of cantatas, arias, and accompanied chorales were part of Moravian services and festivals whether in Bethlehem, Lititz, Nazareth, or elsewhere. And among the Moravian church attendants were also Indians. Some were converts, others visitors.

Every Indian Moravian mission cultivated hymn singing. As the following two examples stress, if at all possible, hymn singing was always accompanied by instruments. The first, dated Dec. 31, 1802, comes from the mission on the White River: "At this love feast as well as that on Christmas Eve, Dr. Luckenbach accompanied the singing on the violin. The Indians were very fond of that (Gipson 136)." The second makes the same point by lamenting the absence of instruments. It is taken from an entry in the Fairfield Church diary of 1798:

"Spinnet music had not been heard since the far away Muskingum days, though the members expressed a wish for those days when they could praise the Lord with instruments of music." (Wilderness 134)

The diaries of the Morvians contain also innumerable accounts of Mahicans and Lenape participating in the performance of German sacred music. One such event took place in Bethlehem on Sept. 4, 1745, when hymns were sung in 13 languages:

Academicians, missionaries and residents of Bethlehem from various European countries: men who were masters of three or four languages and Indian converts, uniting their voices in the strains, accompanied by the music of wind and stringed instruments. (Levering 205)

The previous month, in August, the Indians had also sung alone in their native tongue on the occasion of a service at a synod meeting. It is not clear what Indian language was used, but as the report stresses, they sang well and expressively: "At the Second Synod Session the Indians sang in their native language, and caused tears to be shed ("Bethlehem Dairy" August 19, 1745)."

Having the Moravian Indians sing hymns in their own various languages was a major part of the Moravian mission conversion policy. The rationale for this policy was stated clearly by David Zeisberger in the *Foreword* to his hymnal in the Delaware language:

As the singing of psalms and spiritual songs has always formed a principal part of the divine service of our Church, even in congregations gathered from among the heathen ... All our converts find much pleasure in learning verses with their tunes

by heart, and frequently sing and meditate on them at home and abroad. (Zeisberger *Foreword*)

Hymn singing in the Mahican language was also not neglected. As the "Bethlehem Diary" for February 15, 1746 tells us:

At the midday we had a lovefeast with all those who are connected with heathen matters, which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel gave. We sat our Indians at a table in the middle and we all seated ourselves around them. We had music and our Mahican friends also sang little hymns. (February 15, 1746)

Another account comments on the fine singing at a lovefeast celebrated on May 1, 1746, but, adds one important stress, namely that the singing was done in harmony and thereby raises a question concerning the general assumption that congregational singing in parts did not take place in Moravian churches. If the Mahicans mentioned were trained by Moravian missionaries to sing in harmony, and if, as the Delaware song already discussed makes clear, harmony was not an element of Woodland Indian music, then we may also assume that it is likely that the European Moravians did sing their own congregational chorales in parts. Another diary passage would seem to lend strength to this assumption. The diary reports that:

Sixteen Indians from Checomeko had a lovefeast with the Bethlehem ones and some from Nazareth ... The Indian brothers and sisters sang many verses in Mahican in quite lovely and for them hardly to be expected harmony. ("Bethlehem Diary")

That the Moravians were not the only ones who professed themselves impressed by the quality of the singing of the American Indian converts is clear from David Zeisberger's diary accounts. One describes the reaction of the citizens of Detroit to the hymn singing of the Indian Christians as:

... something extraordinary, which in the case of Indians they had never seen nor heard. Hymn after hymn rolled out ... The more daring and agile got upon the palisades in the shipyard to watch. (Gray 77-78)

The British governor had ordered the Ohio Moravians to travel there in 1781 to defend themselves against accusations, soon proved without substance, that they had conspired with Americans against the British.

The second account notes the favorable response to the singing which the Governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe and his party demonstrated on the occasion of their visit to the Fairfield, Canada mission:

Along with his officers, he also attended a service which he requested, and it just happened that most of the brothers and sisters were at home. He took notice of everything. The singing of the brothers and sisters pleased him very much and

afterward he bade us, when the Indians again assembled, to express his satisfaction to them on their devout worship and to tell them that he had been greatly edified to see Indians who served God with such devotion and reverence. (Mueller

173)

Because of the desire of the Moravian missionaries to have their converts sing hymns in their native languages, a number of prominent Moravians made translations of hymn verses into Mahican and Lenape. Booklets containing translations of German-language texts into Mahican are preserved in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem and Herrnhut. In Bethlehem there is also a copy of the text of a cantata in which two arias and one choral are written in both German and Mahican, along with a duet in which Mahican words appear alongside the German ones. Unfortunately there is no music to the cantata, so it is not possible to know how it was performed.

A draft copy for a booklet of hymns in Mahican, dated 1746, exists in Herrnhut. It contains translations probably made by Gottlob Büttner and Johann Pyrlaeus with the assistance of several Mahicans. (Masthay, *Mahican Language*) Translations of hymns into Delaware by Bernard Grube were published in 1763; also in the form of a booklet. Johann Brandmueller of Friedensthal near Bethlehem, is presumed to have been the publisher. Only one copy seems to have survived and it is unfortunately incomplete. The booklet contains single verses for 27 hymns. Each verse is preceded by the title of the melody to which it is to be sung.

Grube's booklet was superseded by David Zeisberger's Delaware-language hymnal printed in 1802. This hymnal contains single verses as well as sections from the liturgy. As with Grube's booklet, the hymn tunes are indicated by a title in German which precedes each verse. But the Zeisberger hymnal is more than merely an expansion of Grube's. Its texts are revised. The verses were retranslated and the words respelled. In fact it gives rise to the possibility that it is actually a hymnal written in a different dialect. Abraham Luckenbach eventually revised the Zeisberger Hymnal, and this revision was published in Bethlehem in 1847.

The Mahicans and Lenape not only sang Moravian hymns in their own languages, they sang them in German as well. In fact learning hymn verses came to form a major part of the education of Indian children. The account quoted here indeed suggests that singing was used to instruct the children in the German language:

In December <1750> the school matters in Gnadenhütten were organized according to the plan formed long ago, and a beginning was made so that even the smallest children of 3, 4 years could hardly wait to come into the classes. They learned to read and to sing Indian and German verses. On Sabbath days various older brothers and sisters come together in order to

have a singing exercise in their Indian verses. During these exercises they always learn some German. ("Bethlehem Diary" March 15, 1749 and May 26, 1750)

Indian children responded eagerly to such schooling, even going so far as to demand it, as the "Bethlehem Diary" tells us, at unscheduled times:

The children came into our huts, sat down, and wanted their ABC book, and we held a nice little Singstunde with German and Indian stanzas. (September 23, 1756)

How effective the Moravian instruction was is brought out by a vivid account of a meeting between the prominent missionary, Martin Mack, and an Indian girl:

On the 16th February, 1758, Brother Mack visited the Indians across the Lehigh River, as he often did. Little four-year old Martha, an Indian girl, stopped him and asked if he was going to have a meeting today. When he said no, she must have been disappointed because she liked to sing. She sat down on a bench and started to sing one of the hymns she had learned from the Moravians: "Ach, mein herlich Jesulein, mach dir ein mein sanft bettlein." After she finished her song in German, she sang it in the Indian language, and then she walked away. (Goodwin 11)

Despite the innumerable accounts which exist, telling of the importance of musical activities in the Indian schools and how students and bystanders responded to them, we have to this date only a superficial understanding of the role Moravian music education played among the Mahican and the Lenape children and adult converts. The biography of Joshua, junior, mentioned at the beginning, underlines the significance of the neglected topic by offering a more penetrating glimpse which is unique. Joshua, junior, was a Christian Mahican who became musically fully acculturated. Joshua, senior, his father, was the Mahican Tassawachawen who, in 1742 in a ceremony conducted by Count Zinzendorf and the Missionary Gottlob Büttner, became one of the first two Indians to be baptized in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, at which time he also received his Christian name Joshua (senior). According to John Heckewelder, "Joshua <the father> was from the time of his baptism, unto his death in 1773, a faithful and useful member of the church; being both a national assistant, or warden, and also interpreter of the sermons presented to the Indians (*Narrative* 412)." His son, Joshua, junior, born in 1741 at Wachquetnach, an Indian settlement on the Connecticut River in New England, was fourteen when, along with many members of their settlement, and his parents moved the family to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. During his three-year stay in Bethlehem, Joshua, junior, received his first instruction on the spinet, a type of harpsichord, and on the organ. We may assume that he also learned to sing hymns in Ger-

man and Mahican then. After their move to Gnadenhütten, a permanent settlement for Moravian Indians near Bethlehem, Joshua, junior's music education was continued by the chapel musician there:

A present of a spinet having been made for the use of the chapel at Gnadenhütten, the singing of the congregation was improved, and Brother Schmick played upon it, to the satisfaction and edification of all. He also taught a young Indian to play, who succeeded him. (Loskiel, *History of the Missions of the United Brethren*, Vol. 2, 133)

Joshua, junior, probably also received instruction in music and singing from Bernard Grube, author of the booklet of hymns already mentioned, for Grube was in charge of teaching the Indian boys at the Gnadenhütten school. "Teaching", as we have seen in Moravian mission schools included much singing. The young Joshua, as Heckewelder points out "... had a genius for learning, both languages and the mechanical arts (*Narrative* 411)", but received so excellent a musical education also because of the fortunate coincidence that two of the finest Moravian Missionary-musicians served as his teachers.

When in response to the deepening war crisis the governor of Pennsylvania offered more secure shelter to the Moravian Indians, Joshua, junior, was among those who moved to Philadelphia. While there, he played the spinet for the governor and performed at the home of the commissary, Mr. Fox, who professed himself to be greatly impressed. During his Philadelphia stay, Joshua also married his first wife, Sophia, a recent convert who had been baptized in Philadelphia. Her father, incidentally, was John Papunhank, the first Indian to be baptized by Br. Zeisberger at the Moravian settlement on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania and a prominent Indian preacher and moralist. Joshua and Sophia's marriage produced 10 children.

Upon the conclusion of the French-Indian War, the Mahicans were moved for settlement to Friedenhütten on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. Joshua, junior, was able to continue his musical instruction with his teacher Johann Schmick and, as already stated, ultimately succeeded him as chapel musician. The prominent European Moravian musician, composer, and compiler, Christian Gregor, visited Friedenhütten while touring America. Although there is no known record of the music played nor who played it for Gregor's visit, it is likely that Joshua, so musically talented and well-trained, participated. With Schmick's help Joshua, using his skills in the mechanical arts, even constructed a spinet which was first played during the Friedenhütten Christmas Eve service of 1767.

When the group was moved again, this time to Ohio, to found Gnadenhütten there, Joshua went along. Gnadenhütten was the second Moravian settlement in Ohio. The spinet which Joshua played there is probably the instrument he had built in Pennsylvania and taken along to Ohio.

Though Schoenbrunn <Ohio> was more important and its church much larger (it held five hundred), the Gnadenhütten Chapel was more remarkable. Its plain walls were relieved by colored strands of basket work, and Joshua, now a noted cooper and gun-stock maker, provided an atmosphere of cultured refinement hitherto unknown to savages as he brought forth hymns from his treasured spinet. (Gray 51)

The Indian chief's wife, cited earlier as having heard a spinet for the first time at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, was undoubtedly referring to Joshua's instrument. And since Joshua had served as chapel musician at both Gnadenhütten and Friedenöhütten, her recollection was probably in reference to spinet music personally played by Joshua, junior.

In 1782 many of the Indian Moravians who belonged to the Gnadenhütten congregation were massacred by a group of American soldiers who reportedly used Joshua's carpentry tools to kill many of his fellow Indian brethren. Two of Joshua's daughters were among the slain. According to Heckewelder, the murder of Joshua's daughters, "was a hard stroke for him to bear. Often, very often has he been shedding tears, on this account, though he was never heard to utter a vengeful statement against the murders..." (*Narrative* 410)

As a mission, Gnadenhütten in Ohio had been very successful. Many Lenape were converted. The main body of the Lenape, however, pressured by the influx of white settlers, had moved further west. In the belief that the Lenape would continue to be responsive to their message, Br. John Heckewelder and Br. Kluge also moved west and established a new mission on the White Clay River. Joshua, junior, followed with his wife and son. But this mission did not prosper and Joshua was visited by renewed tragedy. Soon after their arrival at the White River Mission, his wife died, and the following year his son. Joshua remarried, but his second marriage was unhappy suffering from problems of incompatibility. While we know that he continued to serve as interpreter at the mission, he is mentioned frequently in the White River diaries, his dialect caused frequent language problems and there is no evidence extant indicating continued musical activities. The Lenape, in any case, were no longer receptive to the Moravians' Christian message. Reacting to their repeated dislodgements by the white man, they became receptive to the call of Delaware Indian prophets to return to the Lenape's former mode of life. Joshua was caught up in the backlash this produced. Accused of witchcraft by his own people, he was tried by fellow Indians not far from the Moravian mission. Br. Luckenbach proceeded there in the hope that he could intercede in Joshua's behalf but did not reach his destination in time. The mission diary includes this account of what took place:

March 18, 1806. With high courage he left here early in the morning. He had hardly gone half way when he was met by

an Indian who gave him the terrible news that, on the day before, our poor Joshua had become a victim of their cruelty. They likewise had struck the hatchet into his head two times and then burned him. With this terrible news Br. Luckenbach came back in the afternoon. This was the severest blow that could be given us. We were filled with terror and the horror of it all robbed us of all thought. We could do nothing but sigh and weep. As soon as we recovered somewhat our first thought was to sell everything and flee from here to Goshen as soon as possible. (Gipson 417-18)

The diary concludes with an entry on September 15, 1806, "... With this our mission here came to a close (Gipson 454)." Was the fate of Joshua symptomatic of the fate of the Moravian mission effort? What were the net results of its missionary efforts in musical education?

While the Moravians, judging by the evidence, respected the native American music they heard, they found no room for it in their Christian celebrations. The conclusion presented by the evidence is therefore that no musical integration took place between the European Moravians and the Mahicans and Lenape. The message of Christianity could be told in speech and song in the language of the native population, but the messages sung were clad in European melodies. None of the missionary-musicians appears to have ever notated a Lenape song, even though their published Indian language hymnals appeared in many editions. They were fine musicians. They unquestionably possessed the skills required to record the Indian melodies of the songs and dances. But they made no effort to do so and we can only regret that Moravian diligence and effort did not produce a record of the Indian musical heritage as part of the rich documentary historical legacy of Indian life which the Moravian missionaries did indeed preserve for us. Not only musicians but ethnomusicologists as well would be enriched in their study of the music of Woodlands Indians. Such a record would also be invaluable now to the Lenape themselves as they attempt to restore and revitalize their own ethnic heritage.

It certainly would not be reasonable to criticize the Moravians for having lacked a perception of the value of Lenape and other Indian songs. The Indians to them were heathens to be converted, and the Moravians serving as missionaries could not be expected to share the cultural mentality of a later age. Romantic nationalism began to sweep Europe only a century after the founding of Bethlehem. The cultural climate needed to turn European musicians toward valuing even their own folk heritage did not yet exist. Indeed, while painters and photographers, in contrast, had become sensitized to the need much earlier and were already actively recording Indian life, non-Western musical traditions were not to be taken seriously until the

beginning of the 20th century despite the fact that, in the United States, the first systematic effort to change this attitude dates from the collection of American music undertaken in the 1880s by Alice Cunningham Fletcher, a teacher and lecturer who, though raised in New York City, began to record native American melodies. By the 1880s, however, the Lenape were already widely scattered, thus seriously handicapping the study of the music of the Northwoods Indians in general, to say nothing of the ethnomusicological study of distinct branches of such music as, for example, represented by Mahican and Lenape songs. Despite such obstacles, the Moravian archives, although devoid of Indian music *per se*, may nonetheless prove significant in the quest to recapture lost Indian ethnic musical traditions. The written records which yielded information for this essay, provide a matrix upon which to build.

To balance this conclusion the question must also be reversed. In other words, how did the Lenape and Mahicans receive and integrate European music? The answer is clear: The Lenape and Mahican Moravians' reaction was the opposite of that of the European Moravians. Lenape and Mahican converts totally assimilated European music. Many who did not convert nonetheless found the Moravians' music impressive and moving. Indian Moravians not only accepted European music but appear to have done so willingly, indeed eagerly, at least in the case of children. Even so, it, too, did not produce cultural integration. How is this to be explained? There was very little in their musical tradition that could have prepared Indians to be receptive for the greatly increased complexity and the technological superiority of European music. That the Moravian Indians assimilated European music at all is therefore more than astonishing. It is phenomenal, especially because assimilation was so complete. Performance of European music by Indians was impressive and moving also to the Moravians and other European colonists. David Brainerd, a non-Moravian missionary working among the Lenape wrote in his diary on March 5, 1746:

They have likewise queried with me respecting a proper *method*, as well as proper *matter of prayer*, and expressions suitable to be used in that religious exercise; and have taken pains in order to the (*sic*) performance of this duty with understanding. - They have likewise taken pains, and appeared remarkably apt in learning to sing *psalm-tunes*, and are now able to sing with a good degree of decency in the worship of God. (Edwards 272)

A similar comment can be found in another record, the so-called "Fairfield Diary":

The Indians have in general good voices for singing; and evince a fondness for music, and a capacity to learn it. When the Indian Congregation was at Gnadenhütten on the Mahony, and

Friedenshütten, they had a spinet in their church, which was played on in their meetings by late Br. Schmick (June 22, 1798).

The expert guidance provided by the Moravians in this process of musical assimilation must not be underrated. The Mahicans and Lenape Christians received the best musical instruction available in the colonies then. In addition, the Indian Moravians were treated, on a daily basis, to the most superior performances of sacred music available anywhere in Colonial America.

But after all has been said, the fact remains that this meeting of two music systems - one of great age, one of great complexity - both capable of expressing profound sacred experiences, confronting each other in the conditions described, suggests but one conclusion: as the 18th century drew to its close Moravian music and the music of the Mahicans and Lenape had remained unchanged by their encounter and have remained so to the present day. The Mahicans and Lenape who included European music in their own cultural practice did so without alterations. Moravian missionaries, although able to appreciate and respect American Indian music, likewise found nothing in it they wanted to adopt and make part of their own cultural traditions.

References

Books

- Gray, Elma E. *Wilderness Christians*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956.
- Edwards, Jonathan. *The Life of Rev. David Brainerd Chiefly Extracted From His Diary by President Edwards*. New York: American Tract Society, no date.
- Gipson, Lawrence Henry, ed. *The Moravian Indian Mission on White River*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1938.
- Heckewelder, John. *History, manners, and customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighboring States*. Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1826.
- A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohican Indians from the commencement, in the year 1740, to the close of the year 1808*. Philadelphia: McCarty and Davis, 1820.
- Levering, Joseph Mortimer. *A History of Bethlehem Pennsylvania 1741-1892*. Bethlehem: Times Publishing Co., 1903.
- Loskiel, George Henry. *History of the Missions of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America*. trans. Christian Ignatius Labrobe. London, 1794.

Masthay, Carl. *Mahican-Language Hymns, Biblical Prose and Vocabularies From Moravian Sources, with 11 Mohawk Hymns (Transcriptions and Translations)*. St. Louis, 1980.

"Services of Rededication of the 1787 Tannenburg began at the Gallery of the Brethren's House." Lititz Moravian Congregation, Lititz, Pennsylvania.

Unpublished dissertation

Adams, Robert H. "Songs of Our Grandfathers: Music of the Onami Delaware Indians." Master's thesis University of Washington, 1977.

Mueller, Paul Eugene. "David Zeisberger's Official Diary, Fairfield, 1791-1795." Diss. at Columbia University, 1956.

Manuscripts

"Bethlehem Diary"

Goodwin, Gretta, "Nain Community"

"Fairfield Diary"

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das Verhältnis der bekehrten Mohikaner und Lenape zur brüderischen Musik

Gegenstand dieses Artikels ist die Begegnung zwischen zwei Musikulturen. Die ältere der beiden war die der Indianer des nördlichen Waldlandes, vor allem der Mohikaner und Lenape (auch als Delawaren bekannt). Im Vergleich dazu war die vorklassische Musik, die von den Herrnhuter Missionaren gepflegt wurde, sehr viel jünger. Doch weder Herrnhuter Quellen noch die heutige Musik der Moravians oder der Lenape deuten auf einen wirklichen Austausch hin, der zwischen beiden musikalischen Traditionen stattgefunden hätte. Obwohl die Herrnhuter Missionare, die im Nordosten Amerikas lebten, von Lenape- und Mohikaner-Musik umgeben waren, rezipierten sie diese musikalischen Traditionen nicht. Die europäischen Missionare bestanden vielmehr darauf, daß die bekehrten Indianer nur Choräle sangen, die von Europäern komponiert waren. Um dafür die Voraussetzung zu schaffen, übersetzten sie mit der Hilfe von zweisprachigen Indianern hunderte von Liedversen in die Sprachen der Mohikaner und der Lenape. Andererseits scheinen aber auch die christlichen Indianer bereitwillig ihrer eigenen Musik abgesagt zu haben und erlernten leicht die westliche Musik. Tatsächlich machte ihr Gesang von Herrnhuter Liedern auf alle Eindruck, die sie singen hörten. Tagebuchaufzeichnungen führen zu dem Schluß, daß die Gesangsausbildung zum wesentlichen Bestandteil des allgemeinen Unterrichts für die Indianer an Herrnhuter Schulen gehörte.

Die Biographie eines Mohikaners, Josua junior, vermittelt erhellen- de Einsichten. Sie schildert das Leben eines Indianers, der sich völlig der europäische Musiktradition anpaßte. Nachdem er bereits als Kind das Spinett- und Orgelspiel erlernt hatte, gab Josua mit bemerkenswertem Erfolg öffentliche Konzerte in Philadelphia und übernahm dann nacheinander die Organistenstelle in zwei Missionssiedlungen. Es ist offensichtlich, daß bei den christlichen Lenape und Mohikanern durch die ausgezeichnete musikalische Unterweisung von Herrnhutern und durch geistliche Konzerte, die sie in Herrnhuter Kirchen hörten, musikalische Fähigkeiten gefördert wurden.

Die künftige Erforschung dieses Themas sollte sich vorrangig zwei Bereichen zuwenden: 1. einem Vergleich der katholischen und protestantischen Unterrichtsmethoden und -ergebnisse bei dem europäischen Musikunterricht der Indianer und 2. einer gründlicheren Erforschung der Rolle, die indianische Christen in der Geschichte der amerikanischen Hymnologie spielten.