SINGING THE HOLY SPIRIT: HYMN-SINGING, LANGUAGE, AND COMMUNITY AMONG LOKONO ARAWAKS, CHEROKEES, AND JAMAICAN SLAVES, 1740-1840

by

JAMES ANTHONY OWEN

(Under the Direction of Claudio Saunt)

ABSTRACT

Hymn-singing played a central role in the early formation of indigenous and non-European conceptions of Christianity. The translation of Christian hymns into indigenous American languages, including creole languages that developed as cross-cultural means of communication in the New World, often cemented the association of Christian ideas such as sin, faith, Satan, and the Holy Spirit with local spirituals ideas and practices. In the process, Christianity was indigenized. Hymn-singing created a cultural space where non-European Christian identity was negotiated. Hymn translations in indigenous languages became a tool for asserting cultural values and a cultural identity that often undermined to goals of European colonialism. Indigenous and enslaved peoples forged tools for cultural survival from European hymn tradtions.

INDEX WORDS: Hymnody; Christian Missions; Moravians, Baptists; Congregational Singing; Lokono, Arawak; Cherokee; Jamaica; Saxons; Conversion; Jan Hus; Hrabanus Maurus; Holy Spirit; Heart Religion

SINGING THE HOLY SPIRIT: HYMN-SINGING, LANGUAGE, AND COMMUNITY AMONG LOKONO ARAWAKS, CHEROKEES, AND JAMAICAN SLAVES, 1740-1840

by

JAMES ANTHONY OWEN

B.A., Appalachian State University, 1996

M.A., Western Carolina University, 2012

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2019

SINGING THE HOLY SPIRIT: HYMN-SINGING, LANGUAGE, AND COMMUNITY AMONG LOKONO ARAWAKS, CHEROKEES, AND JAMAICAN SLAVES, 1740-1840

by

JAMES ANTHONY OWEN

Major Professor: Claudio Saunt

Committee: Jace Weaver
Jean Ngoya Kidula
Jon Sensbach
Jamie Kreiner

Electronic Version Approved:
Suzanne Barbour
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
August 2019

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are too many people to thank. This has been a labor of love among a community of scholars, musicians, family, and friends. Funding for this project was provided by the UGA Institute of Native American Studies, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Western Carolina University Cherokee Language Revitalization Program, the Newberry Library, the UGA Wilson Center, the Mellon Foundation Global South Initiative, the American Musicological Society, the Richard B. Russell Professor of American History Chair, and the Albert B. Saye Professor of US History Chair. There is no way to thank my wonderful wife, Anna Cox, enough. Thanks to my grandparents, R V and Juanita Owen, who handed me a hymnal and encouraged me to sing as I learned to read, and my parents, Dan and Helen Owen, for all their support. For research assistance, thanks to Dave Blum and Richard Starbuck at the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem, NC, Thomas McCullough at the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, PA, Olaf Nippe at Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut, Lorraine Parsons at the Moravian Church House in London, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in München, the Newberry Library faculty and staff, and the UGA Interlibrary Loan staff. Thank you to Konrad Rybka, Thomas Belt, and Hartwell Francis for Arawak and Cherokee translations and translation assistance. Many thanks to Claudio Saunt, John Inscoe, Jean Ngoya Kidula, Jace Weaver, Jamie Kreiner, Sarah Eyerly, Jon Sensbach, Reinaldo Roman, Andrew Sager, Peter Onuf, Peter Hoffer, Michael Winship, Kevin Butterfield, Andrew Caton, Kay Norton, Richard Starnes, Elizabeth McRae, Andrew Denson, Luke Manget, Kaylynn Washnock, and Kate Dahlstrand, among others.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MA	Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.
MCHL	Moravian Church House, London.
MMF	Moravian Music Foundation, Winston Salem, NC.
UA	Unitäts Archiv, Herrnhut.

INTRODUCTION

Singing and music are core elements of human cultures that ground ethnic, linguistic, and social identity. Singing is an important form of communication that can operate across cultures (and species). The ethereal, difficult to quantify aspects of singing can bring communal awareness to a shared point of emotional clarity that is associated with perceived but invisible spiritual powers. Hymn-singing was central to Christian education. The communal singing experience was an invocation of the divine presence, the Holy Spirit. Each of the hymns in this study taught historical, social, and individual aspects, each related to the perceived divine presence that grounded community formation and oriented communal goals. For European Christians, hymn-singing played a divinely sanctioned role in the expansion of imperial interests. In the communities discussed here, conceptions of the future, of God, and of cultural and racial difference were shaped by recently converted peoples and non-Christian ideas. Hymn-singing experiences created a social space that reinforced the historical, social, and individual aspects taught in the hymns. The process of translating hymns into new languages generated distinct Christian conceptions inflected by indigenous knowledge systems. Distinct, multi-cultural, Christian identities characterized early mission communities. New indigenous expressions of Christian ideas were markers of cultural innovations that often empowered cultural perseverance and had profound cultural effects. The end result was often a viewed as a failure for imperial and colonial powers that constituted the infrastructure of mission work. Missionized peoples forged their own tools for culture

creation and cultural perseverance from the music and ideas missionary hymn lyrics transmitted.

The research presented here does not aspire to be a comprehensive history of missionary hymnody, or a full study of any particular hymn. This is a comparative study of hymns at formative moments in Christian history. The focus is the use of hymns in missions among indigenous and enslaved peoples in the New World. Part I discusses the European origins of hymns and their inclusion of binary ideas that excluded elements labeled "pagan." The ideas of Christendom and Satan's influence that developed in early medieval Europe were central to the development of racial categories a thousand years later. The discovery by Europeans that entire continents of pagans, previously unknown and unmentioned in Christian history, presented problems for Christian leaders and European claims about their own history and future. I argue that the discovery of the New World's peoples shaped evangelical Christianity in crucial ways that continue to influence our globalizing society. In part two, I follow the hymns as they were disseminated and translated in various New World contexts.

Christian hymns were designed with a didacticism intended to transmit "knowledge of the past, perspective on the present, as well as beliefs, values, and ideals central to a community's self-understanding."[1] Each of the hymns discussed here transmitted historical, social, and individual aspects of proper Christian living. How these ideas were interpreted into different cultural contexts had everything to do with language translation, linguistic and cultural cognates, and conceptions of ethnocentrism and racial

[1] Matthew E. Gordley, *Teaching through Song in Antiquity: Didactic Hymnody among Greeks, Romans, Jews, and Christians*, (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 1-2.

hierarchy. Indigenous translations of hymn texts included non-European critiques of class disparities and privilege, the boundaries of proper Christian living, and polemics against perceived corruptions within Christian society. Lyric translations also included indigenous conceptions of spiritual forces, divinities, and the social aspects of spiritual practice that Europeans would have found offensive, had they the ability to comprehend them.[2]

Teaching another person to sing is not an easy pedagogical task - pitch, melody, rhythm, timing, words, language, meaning, intention, and purpose are all engaged. When you are able to sing a set of meaningful words together with a group of other human beings, you have accomplished a great feat. You have created a community. Moravian missionaries drew on an ancient tradition of hymn singing and pedagogy to shape multiethnic communities in the Americas during the volatile Age of Revolutions. Singing in several languages at once and singing in a sacred Christian language that was not commonly spoken by the singers are common events in the history narrated here.[3]

The centuries-long development of teaching methodologies is a central part of this story. Music education as we know it today is grounded on productions of Christian history. Developments in music theory, polyphony, harmony, orchestration, and arrangement remain the foundations of music notation and composition. The written notations of scales, keys, etc. into which local, creole, and indigenous musics have been theoretically fit is a Christian production. Some of these hymns have carried the earliest

---

[2] Gordley, *Teaching through Song in Antiquity*, 1-6; Steffen Arndal,. *Spiritual Revival and Hymnody: The Hymnbooks of German Pietism and Moravianism.* Translated by Hedwig T. Durnbaugh. *Brethren Life and Thought*, 40(2) 70-2, 86, 91-3.

[3] Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits*, 197-8; Gerard Watson, "St. Augustine's Theory of Language," *The Maynoonth Review*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (May, 1982), 4-20.

forms of music notation into the next phase of writing music on the page. Similarly, some of these hymns have played a role in the development and growth of new languages. *Veni Creator Spiritus,* for example, originates during the century when Romance languages were recognized as something distinct from Latin and one another. By the eighteenth century, these hymns were sung at the borders of the Christian world where white colonists often did not bother to learn local languages. It is no surprise then that the meanings of some of these hymns change over time, altered to some degree in translation, and transformed into a culturally specific teaching tools. These hymns traveled across networks of thinking, speaking, and writing as those networks were constructed. In fact, in some instances these hymns were the glue for the first Christian communities in lands where Christian languages were totally unknown. In this respect, hymns are imbricated in the origins of modernity and modern ideas about language and religion.

The links between language, community, singing, and worship are intertwined with the history of racial constructions and the mirrored processes of exclusion in a world defined by a Christian/non-Christian binary. Hymn texts mark important pedagogical turns for teaching Christian expectations about individual behavior, community activity, and historical conceptions. Moravian missionary instruction manuals suggested initiating first encounters by singing hymns with heathens. Hymn-singing, even when participants could not understand the words, expressed peaceful intentions and the desire for unity, attracting potential converts. Singing was also an act of faith for Moravians that drew the Holy Spirit into the work, inspiring understanding where language was an obstacle. Group-singing facilitated the translation process by allowing indigenous converts to

describe in their own languages the sense of community among singers, the experience of the divine presence, and eventually, New Testament narratives and the tenets of Christian living.[4]

An issue that has traditionally been the work of musicologists and hymnologists is the attribution of authorship and composition. I have tried to avoid this discussion for the sake of a clearer narrative. Readers can refer to the footmotes at relevant points for more information. One hymn serves to demonstrate the complicated maze of attributions and translations that makes hymnology so difficult. The communion hymn *Jesus Christus, Nostra Salus* was for centuries believed to have been composed by Jan Hus in Latin during his imprisonment for heresy just after he received his last communion.[5] In his 1533 hymnal, Martin Luther included his own rendition of "To Avert From Men God's Wrath," *Jesus Christus unser Heiland,* attributing the hymn to Hus. Only the first stanza is translated from the original hymn; the rest of the stanzas were "improved" by Luther. This German rendition was included in later Moravian hymnals and attributed to Hus as the oldest hymn of the Bohemian Brethren. A Latin counterpart, *Vivus panis angelorum,* was included in a 1558 compilation of Hus's works published in Nuremberg. In 1778, an English language translation of Luther's version was included in Moravian hymnals as "To Avert from Men God's Wrath," still attributed to Hus. The 1969 *Hymnal of the*

---

[4] Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits,* 28-35, 197-8; Gerard Watson, "St. Augustine's Theory of Language," *The Maynoonth Review,* Vol. 6, No. 2 (May, 1982), pp. 4-20; "Article 18" in *Instructions for the Members of the Unitas Fratrum, who Minister in the Gospel Among the Heathen,* (London: Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen, 1786), MCHL.

[5] Charles B. Adams, *Our Moravian Hymn Heritage: chronological Listing of Hymns and Tunes of Moravian Origin in the American Moravian Hymnal of 1969,* (Bethlehem, PA: Department of Publications Moravian church in America, 1984), 1; Schweinitz, "History of the Unitas Fratrum" 1885, 46 ftnt 3.

Moravian Church includes four stanzas from this English translation of Luther's rendition, the other stanzas being, presumably, English "improvements" on the German version.[6]

Nineteenth and twentieth-century scholars opened debate on the attribution to Hus, based on two glaring problems. First, the earliest existing version of the Latin hymn *Jesus Christus, Nostra Salus* was found in a 1410 manuscript at Hohenfurth, Vyšši Brod Monastery, which dates the hymn before Hus's imprisonment. This discovery prompted one scholar to assert that Hus had written the hymn as a young student. An even older version of the hymn in Czech, *Jesus Kristus, naše spása*, was found in a manuscript from 1389, leading to the conclusion that the hymn was actually written by Jan Jenštejn, the Bishop of Prague at that time.[7] The most current scholarship on this hymn suggests it was originally written in Czech in the late fourteenth century and translated into Latin by 1410. The Latin version was attributed to Hus by the 1520s when Martin Luther translated the first stanza into German. Luther's "improved" version was added into Moravian hymnals during the eighteenth century when the first four stanzas were translated into English. All these renditions were attributed to Hus for over five hundred years. In the 2010 British Province Moravian hymnal omits earlier versions of "To Avert

---

[6] Adams, *Our Moravian Hymn Heritage,* 1-2; *Geistliche lieder auffs new gebessert,* (Wittemberg, 1533), 9(b); MS at Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, I F 13. In Luther's hymnal, *Jesus Christus unser Heiland* comes just before *Veni Creator Spiritus* in the section on the Holy Spirit. Christian Gregor, *GHB,* 1778, Christian Ignatius LaTrobe, *EHB*, 1789.

[7] David Holeton and Hana Vlhová-Wörner, "The Second Life of Jan Hus: Liturgy, Commemoration, and Music," 298; Adams, *Our Moravian Hymn Heritage,* 1-2. See Zdenek Nejedly, *Dejiny husitskeho zpevu za valek husitskych (History of Hussite song during the Hussite wars),* (Prague, 1913), XX, and Jan Lehar, *Česká stredoveká lyrika (Czech Medieval Lyrics),* (Prague, 1990), 176, 326.

from Men God's Wrath" in favor of a 1911 English translation of the Latin hymn "Jesus Christus, nostra salus" attributed to Hus, Luther, and "Tr. M." designating a traditional Moravian hymn.[8]

Each of the chapters here focuses on the earliest translations of Christian ideas into indigenous languages at particular mission sites. Because hymn-singing was almost always included in the earliest communications between cultures, hymn lyrics often include the earliest interpretation of Christian concepts into indigenous knowledge systems. Names for God, Satan, and terms for sin and faith are among the most common ideas in these hymns.

Because Moravians were among the earliest missionaries to the New World, this study is necessarily focused on Moravian singing theology. Other denominations of missionaries are present, but the vast majority of missionaries before 1840 were deeply influenced and directly inspired by Moravian mission work. Moravians applied elements of medieval theology drawn from central European history and the conversion of northern Europe's pagan socieites during the formative centuries of European Christian identities. Moravian hymnody was geared specifically toward "kindling a fire of sacred love" in pagan hearts.[9]

Veni Creator Spiritus and missionary hymns like it trace a history of cultural transformations, interdenominational cooperation, and individual leadership, highlighting the roles of non-European musical and intellectual traditions in the dissemination of

---

[8] Holeton and Vlhová-Wörner, "The Second Life of Jan Hus," 298; Adams, *Our Moravian Hymn Heritage,* 1-2; *2010 Edition of the Hymn Book Moravian Church (British Province),* hymn #419.

[9] "Article 20," *Instructions for the Members of the Unitas Fratrum*.

Christian hymnody and theology in the New World. As medieval historian Thomas A. Fudge has shown, hymn texts also serve as historiography. Hymn lyrics included layers of assumptions, carefully worded theological distinctions, and assertions about reality that must be carefully parsed out and analyzed accordingly. I have made very attempt to do so here.[10]

Chapter one argues that the territorial concept of Christendom was central to mission activity and the conversion of pagans. The hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus,* written during Charlemagne's militant campaign to convert indigenous Germanic Saxons, became emblematic of the Latin language's sacred status, claims on Roman identity, and the territorial conception of Christendom. *Veni Creator* was an invocation of the Holy Spirit assembled through the author's study of earlier Christian literature. *Veni Creator Spiritus* was used by monks and Catholic authorities to sanctify ceremonial and devotional activities. Later medieval hymns transmitted the concept of Christendom through binary language that identified non-Christians in terms of darkness, while the divine presence was symbolized by light.

Chapter two argues that the spread of congregational singing (versus choir singing) transmitted hymns that were centered on community creation and community identity. Hymns in this chapter transmit a range of theological conceptions that became especially important and useful in New World mission work. Christian hymnody experienced explosive development during the late medieval and Reformation eras as the sanctity of Latin language was subsumed by a focus on the fracturing of human language

[10] Thomas A. Fudge, *The Memory and Motivation of Jan Hus, Medieval Priest and Martyr*, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2013), 148.

at the Tower of Babel. This shift in ideas about language difference was influenced by the realization that the language diversity of the world was much broader than Europeans understood.

Chapter three demonstrates how translations of Christian hymns into Lokono Arawak required intimate cross-cultural communication and collaborative work. Missionaries and early indigenous converts adapted idiomatic language and indigenous social constructs to incorporate conceptions of sin, salvation, and faith that Lokonos could accept. Even though the early mission among the Lokono was considered a failure, Christian hymnody was important to Lokono linguistic and cultural formations that served their communities in important ways.

Chapter four argues that blood and wounds worship in Moravian hymns was an effective teaching tool for the Christianization of enslaved Africans in Jamaica. Afro-Caribbean conceptions of obeah and the afterlife influenced the adaptation of Christian theology. At the same time, mission hymns taught subservience and acceptance of enslaved status. After emancipation, Moravians took time to adapt their mission work to free-black communities. Ultimately, Jamaican Moravianism was led by Afro-Jamaican descendants whose distinct Christian faith was one part of the developing Jamaican culture.

Chapter five argues that the Springplace mission was the center of a network of missionaries that transmitted German hymnody among Cherokees. Moravian hymns translated by Baptist missionaries were among the earliest texts written in the Cherokee syllabary. Hymn-singing in English and Cherokee played a significant role in spreading Christian ideas among Cherokees, but Moravians surrendered control of the translation

process to other denominations. Once Christian hymns could be shared in the Cherokee language, a distinct brand of Cherokee Christianity was carried with them. Few Cherokees accepted Christian living until coerced by the pressures of forced removal. Christian hymns were inscribed in Cherokee traditions through the process of translation and the subsequent cultural trauma of removal.

I. "VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS": THE LIGHT OF CHRISTENDOM

In the early ninth-century a Benedictine monk named Hrabanus Maurus wrote a Latin text and composed a melody for a hymn called *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Hrabanus was a monk at Fulda monastery east of the Rhine in pagan Germania, the edge of the Carolingian world. His wealthy parents had turned him over to the monastic community as an oblate when he was eight years old. He spent most of his life within the walls of monasteries. Hrabanus studied under Charlemagne's primary advisor, Alcuin, at Aachen, the eastern capital of the Carolingian empire. Hrabanus became a central figure in the Carolingian Renaissance, the revival of Latin learning that re-inscribed Roman identity in western Europe. Hrabanus's hymn related a historical, societal, and spiritual vision of an exceptional, blessed, empire that practiced true faith. Missionized peoples in the New World would learn interpretations of this vision from renditions of Hrabanus's hymn a thousand years later [11]

---

[11] Peter G. Walsh and Christopher Husch, editors and translators, *One Hundred Latin Hymns: Ambrose to Aquinas*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), xv; Frederic James Edward Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, (2nd edition. Oxford, 1953), 183; Peter Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London, 1985), 246-7; Heinrich Lausberg, *Der Hymnus Veni Creator Spiritus*, (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1979), 140-2, 183; Ellie Jolliet, "Veni Creator Spiritus: Der Pfingsthymnus und seine hymnologische und musicalische Rezeption," Masters thesis, Berner Fachhochschule, Hochschule der Künste Bern, Fachbereich Musik, s (Abgabefrist: 1. April 2016), 8-9; Michel Banniard, "Rhabanus Maurus and the Vernacular Languages," in *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*, (London and NY:. Routledge, 1991), 170-1; Rosamond McKitterick, *Atlas of the Medieval World*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2004), 47-9.

Hrabanus probably wrote *Veni Creator* around 809, during the later years of Charlemagne's reign. The sixth stanza expressed the Carolingian standpoint in the Filioque controversy that divided Western and Eastern Christianity. Sacred Latin distinguished Western Roman Christians from the Slavonic-language churches of Eastern Orthodoxy. Western Christians, following sixth-century Latin copies of the Nicene Creed, believed that the Holy Spirit proceeded from both God the Father, and Christ the Son. Eastern Orthodoxy asserted that the Holy Spirit proceeded only from God the Father. This disagreement, known as the filioque controversy, was central to the split between Eastern and Western Christians. In an 809 capitulary Charlemagne canonized filioque theology and *Veni Creator* is one of the earliest texts to clearly state it.[12]

---

[12] Hrabanus Maurus, "Sermon on the Day of Pentecost," in *Early Medieval Theology,* vol. IX, translators and editors, George E. McCracken and Allen Cabaniss, (Louisville, KY: Westminster Press, 1957), 305-7; Duffield, *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns,* 115-118; Alfredus. Boretius, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Capitularia, Legum Sectio II, Capitularia regum francorum,* I ed. (Hanover: 1883), 149-151; Mayke de Jong, "Charlemagne's Church," chapter seven in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, edited by Joanna Story, (NY & Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 123; Janneke Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c. 744-c.900,* (Cambridge & NY: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 175-9, 190; Duffield, *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns*, 118, 123-131.; Joseph Szöverffy, *A Concise History of Medieval Latin Hymnody: Religious Lyrics between Antiquity and Humanism*, (Leyden: E.J. Brill Classical Folia Edition, 1985), 32, 52; Sergius Bulgakoc, *The Comforter,* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2004), 90-91; Kenneth L. Parry, *Christian Hymns,* (London: SCM Press LTD, 1956), 73-4; Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity,* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 235. The sixteenth-century Jesuit scholar, Christopher Brower, compiled a collection of Fulda texts called *Antiquales.* Brower's appendix of 29 hymns and poems attributed to Hrabanus Maurus includes the first six stanzas of *Veni Creator*. Fulda's library was pillaged by Protestant Swedes during the Thirty Years' War. They took a huge portion of the books collected over eight centuries, including most of the primary sources for Brower's appendix. See Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: A Sourcebook,* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 317.

The singing of sacred Latin hymns invoked the presence of the Holy Spirit and sanctified Carolingian activities. *Veni Creator* was a richly layered invocation meant to be sung by trained monks. Once the divine presence was summoned, monks, priests, and armies were empowered to spread Christ's word and defeat demonic forces. During Hrabanus' lifetime, Carolingians were still remaking ceremonial sites and sacred oak groves east of the Rhine into acceptably Christian spaces. But Saxons continued pagan rituals and ceremonies, even in communities that identified as Christian.[13]

Fulda monks saw themselves as torch bearers at the leading edge of Christ's empire. The monastery was a pillar of the Carolingian world that held the relics of Saint Boniface, the eighth-century Apostle to the Germans. The holy relics represented the blessed status of the community. The monastery was envisioned as a center from which Christian civilization emanated, illuminating the pagan wilderness. The monks' most important tasks were sanctifying military conquest, averting God's wrath, illuminating demonic darkness, and converting pagans into Christians. The divine presence was a necessary element in preventing missteps that could lead to disaster and damnation for Christians. [14]

---

[13] Walsh and Husch, *One Hundred Latin Hymns*, xv; Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, 183; Peter Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1985), 246-7; Lausberg, *Der Hymnus Veni Creator Spiritus*, 140; Banniard, "Rhabanus Maurus and the Vernacular Languages," 170-1; McKitterick, *Atlas of the Medieval World*, 47-9.

[14] Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 7-8; C.H. Talbot, *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany*, (NY: Sheed and Ward, 1954), 24; Rutger Kramer, "Teaching Emperors: Transcending the Boundaries of Carolingian Monastic Communities," in *Meanings of Community Across Medieval Eurasia*, (Brill, 2016), 310-13; Michel Banniard, "Rhabanus Maurus and the vernacular languages," in *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*, (London and NY: Routledge, 1991), 165.

The theology of *Veni Creator*

The major theme in *Veni Creator Spiritus* is the presence of the Creator Spirit, the creative aspect of the divine presence. Hrabanus, following an ancient tradition, asserted that singing was the most powerful means of praying and invoking the Holy Spirit. The potent combination of sacred Latin texts and singing was an elevated, spiritual rhetoric. The sacred Latin and the memorable, beautiful tune of *Veni Creator* were believed to be especially powerful. There are seven proper names for the divine presence in *Veni Creator*, and in Hrabanus's Pentecost sermon. The significance of seven names was drawn from the ancient Jewish practice, described in numerous Greek magical papyri, in which the powerful name Yahweh was spoken seven times into the hand as an invocation.[15]

The Christian conception of the Holy Spirit was the culmination of a centuries-old literary tradition that conceived of bright fire as the purest source of creation and inspiration. In *Veni Creator,* Hrabanus wove a richly textured tapestry that inadvertently

---

[15] Hrabanus Maurus, "Sermon on the Day of Pentecost," 305-7; *The Septaugint Bible: The Oldest Version of the Old Testament,* translated by Charles Thomson 1774-1789, edited and revised by C.A. Muses, (Indian Hills, CO: The Falcon's Wing Press, 1954), 1074; August Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum,* section 108; *Early Medieval Theology,* vol. IX, translators and editors, George E. McCracken and Allen Cabaniss, (Louisville, KY: Westminster Press, 1957), 300-1; Duffield, *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns,* 119-20, 130-1; Edward J. Woods, *The 'Finger of God' and Pneumatology in Luke-Acts,* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 70; June Boyce-Tillman, "Tune Your Music to Your Heart: Reflections for Church Music Leaders," in *Christian Congregational Music: Performance, Identity and Experience,* (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), 51-3; William J Diebold, *Word and Image: An Introduction to Early Medieval Art,* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 87-98, 99-103; Szöverffy, *A Concise History of Medieval Latin Hymnody,* 32, 52; Isaiah 11: 2-3. The *Veni Creator* melody may predate the text, and was borrowed from a fourth-century Ambrosian hymn, *Hic est dies verus Dei*. Over a thousand years of scholarship has continually made a point of the tune's distinctive melody.

incorporated pagan Greek and Roman ideas of a creator spirit with Hebrew prophecies of the ascension of God over all spirits. In Plato's third century BC *Timaeus,* the soul of the world is described as a fiery radiance. By the time of Jesus, Romans believed that the fiery, creative essence of the universe illuminated the sun and stars. The oldest Latin depiction of the fiery creator spirit is the second century pagan hymn *Oracula Chaldaica,* composed by a group of Roman nobles. The same fiery symbolism is also in a late second-century pagan hymn praising the sun as the creator. Among the pagans of Saxony and much of pre-Christian Europe, the creative force was also symbolized by fire.[16]

Apostolic and early Christian writings equated the fiery radiance of the Old Testament creator spirit with the Holy Spirit of the Trinity. In the Acts of the Apostles, the Holy Spirit descended upon the first Christians as "tongues of fire" on Pentecost, which *Veni Creator Spiritus* was written to celebrate. By the third century, the fiery

---

[16] Dana Carleton Munro, "The Attitude of the Western Church Towards the Study of the Latin Classics in the Early Middle Ages," in *Report and Papers of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Society of Church History: Held in the City of New York, December 29 and 30, 1896,* (NY: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1897), 181; *Anthologia Latina,* v. 1, poem 490, edited by Franciscus Buecheler and Alexander Riese, (Amsterdam: Adolf M Hakkert, 1964), 46-8; Hans Lewy, "A Latin Hymn to the Creator Ascribed to Plato," *The Harvard Theological Review* Vol. 39, No. 4 (Oct., 1946), 245-6, 255-8; Arthur Evans, "The Creative Universe," *White Crane,* 80 (July 29, 2009), n.p.; Mayke de Jong, "Carolingian political discourse and the biblical past: Hraban, Dhouda, Radbert," in *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe,* eds. Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick and Sven Meeder, (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 91-4; Gerard L. Ellspermann, "The Attitude of the Early Christian Latin Writers Toward Pagan Literature and Learning," dissertation, (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1949), 4-7, 113-125, 176-182, 248-257. Alcuin argued that pagan literature was necessary to prepare students for scripture and theology, but had a change of heart in old age. As Christian literature accumulated, Catholic leaders argued against the study of pre-Christian literature. The lines from *Oracula Chaldaica* are: *Flammifluum quoddam iubar es, quo cuncta coruscans, Ipse vides nostrumque premis solemque diemque,* "You are some kind of radiance flowing with flame, by which you personally see everything as you glitter, and bear upon our sun and day."

spiritual essence was invoked into Christian communities through singing as a group. In the ninth century, Hrabanus continued this traditional symbolism in the *Veni Creator* lines "fons vivus, ignis, caritas," and "accende lumen sensibus."[17]

The communal experience of this divine presence was a great comfort to all monks and necessary for doing the work of God. In the hymn's second stanza, Hrabanus used a Latinized Greek term, *paraclitus,* to reference the comforting aspects of the Holy Spirit. A Greek *parakletos* was an advocate who spoke on behalf of defendants in civil court, but the term also related the act of comforting others. The comforting Holy Spirit entered the human soul through the heart or chest cavity (*pectora*) and worked as a "spiritual ointment" (*spiritalis unctio*), soothing the soul's torment with a cleansing fire. The divine spiritual presence is referenced in the fourth line of *Veni Creator*, "*quae tu creasti pectora,"* "those hearts that you yourself have made." The Latin usage of *paraclitus* referenced both the Holy Spirit and Jesus, relating filioque theology as well. *Paraclitus* was a proper name referencing the comforting aspect of the Holy Spirit.[18]

Veni Creator invokes the Holy Spirit using seven proper names associated with different aspects or gifts that the spirit bestows. The third stanza begins with a reference to the seven-fold (*septiformis)* gifts (wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude,

---

[17] Hrabanus Maurus, "Sermon on the Day of Pentecost," 305; Lewy, "A Latin Hymn to the Creator Ascribed to Plato," 248-9; KJV, Acts 2:1-38.

[18] Hrabanus Maurus, "Sermon on the Day of Pentecost," 305-7; Duffield, *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns,* 115-118; *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels,* editors Joel B Green, Jeannine K. Brown, and Nicholas Perrin, (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 2013), 195, 268, 357, 392-93, 432-33, 467, 787-88, 1017; Evans, "The Creative Universe," n.p; Cyril of Alexandria, "Commentary on Luke, Homily 94" in *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, Luke,* edited by Arthur A. Justice Jr., (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 217; John 14:16-17, 16:7, 1 Epistle of John, 2:1. In German and English bibles, the term "paraclete," is sometimes translated as "tröster"/"comforter," sometimes as "advocate."

knowledge, piety, and fear of the Lord). Isaiah's prophetic vision of the Holy Spirit's presence in Christian hearts lists seven attributes of the Holy Spirit. Allusions to the seven aspects as gifts became common in Carolingian and later medieval theology. The origin of the seven gifts is probably drawn from an ancient Jewish practice, described in numerous Greek magical papyri, in which the powerful name Yahweh was spoken seven times into the hand as an invocation.[19]

The seven gifts in stanza three are followed by another proper name for the Holy Spirit, "the finger of God's right hand" (*dextrae Dei tu digitus*), a phrase from ancient Semitic sources.[20] The right hand motif is related to the rituals of Egyptian magicians and right hand symbolism relating the fear, dread, and awe of the Pharaohs found in Egyptian hieroglyphic sources. The Egyptian conception is applied to Yahweh in the ancient Song of Moses, "thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power; thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy."[21] "Finger of God" and "right hand of God" passages in Exodus and Deuteronomy relate to the seven plagues and conquering power of God that

---

[19] Hrabanus Maurus, "Sermon on the Day of Pentecost," 305-7; *The Septaugint Bible,* 1074-5; August Spangenberg, *Idea Fidei Fratrum,* section 108; Isaiah 11: 2-3. McCracken and Cabaniss, *Early Medieval Theology,* vol. IX, 300-1; Duffield, *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns,* 119-20, 130-1; Woods, *The 'Finger of God' and Pneumatology in Luke-Acts,* 70. The *Septuagint* was translated into Latin in the fourth-century vulgate bible. Thomas Aquinas and later medieval scholastics apply *Veni Creator's* thematic sequence in exegeses of Isaiah and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.

[20] Woods, *The 'Finger of God' and Pneumatology in Luke-Acts,* 71-3; Cyril of Alexandria, "Commentary on Luke," Homily 81 in *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, Luke,* 193. A possible origin of the idea is the Egyptian goddess Isis the Mother of All who nourished the children of other gods with her finger, a narrative grafted into Judaism when the archangel Gabriel nurses Abraham with his finger.

[21] Woods, *The 'Finger of God' and Pneumatology in Luke-Acts,* 63-66, 71-2, 73, 78, 243; Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews: Bible Times and Characters for the Creation to Jacob,* translated from the German by Henrietta Szold, (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909), 189-193. The Song of Moses. Exodus 15:1-18.

freed the enslaved Hebrews from the Egyptians. The phrase references the seventh gift of the Holy Spirit, the fear of God and powers byond the seven gifts, including the exorcism of demons, curing illness, and divinely inspired speech.[22]

Old Testament uses of "the finger of God's right hand" are linked with prophetic revelations and are often repeated in the New Testament, linking Hebrew prophecies with the Christian history. The phrase equates Yahweh of the Exodus with God the Father and infers the transference of God's covenant from the Jewish people to Christians from all the nations of the earth. Biblical prophets who receive revelations in the wilderness, including Jesus, are sometimes called the "finger of God," placing the Christian messiah in the succession of Hebrew prophets that began with Moses. Prophetic revelations include the "gift of tongues," the divinely inspired ability to speak or understand languages that have not been learned.[23]

The gift of tongues acknowledges the multi-lingual necessity of the Christian mission narrated in the New Testament, highlighting the Holy Spirit's role in language translation. The last line of stanza three, "*sermone ditans guttural*," "Enriches throats with power of speech," references the Holy Spirit's ability to speak and understand unlearned languages.[24] At Pentecost, the Holy Spirit intervened so the apostles could be understood simultaneously in the diverse languages of the first one-hundred-twenty

---

[22] Cyril of Alexandria, "Commentary on Luke," Homily 81; Woods, *The 'Finger of God' and Pneumatology in Luke-Acts*, 61, 242-3, 247, 71-2; Exodus 8:19, 31:18; Deuteronomy 9:10, 6:21-7.

[23] Woods, *The 'Finger of God' and Pneumatology in Luke-Acts*, 61-3, 215-16; 242, 244-5, 252; Acts 2:22,10:38.; Luke 4:18-19, 4:32-6, 9:31, 11:20; Exodus 8:19, 31:18; Deuteronomy 5:22-27, 9:10, 11:2-7, 13:1-5, 32:5-6; Matthew 28:19.

[24] Rubén René Dupertuis, "The Acts of the Apostles, Narrative, and History," in *The Oxford Handbook of biblical Narrative*, ed. Danna Nolan Fewel, (London: Oxford University Press, 2016), 330-8.

Christians who were present. The gift of tongues reversed the Tower of Babel narrative in which God punished humanity by making their language unintelligible to one another, creating all the languages of the earth. The punishment was reversed by the gift of tongues which granted spiritual language that could unify all peoples in Christian faith. The gift of tongues made praising God available to all nations through a spiritual language, and lent a spiritual dimension to language translation.[25] Saxon spiritual powers were often classified as devils to be exorcised, while Saxon language became simultaneously a sign of spiritual weakness and a starting point for Christian expansion.[26]

The literary works produced during Hrabanus's abbacy at Fulda, from 822 to 842, emphasize the multi-lingual necessity of Christian expansion. Conversation in German was certainly a part of daily life at Fulda. Most of the monks at Fulda spoke some German, and many were Saxons. The production of Latin grammars, the gateway to reading Holy Scriptures, improved young monks' Latin, especially for native Germanic

---

[25] Patrick M. Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 7-8; Cyril of Alexandria, "Commentary on Luke," Homily 55, Homily 104, in *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture,* 165, 238; Anthony C. Thiselton, *The Holy Spirit in Biblical Teaching Through the Centuries and Today,* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2013), 396; Duffield, *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns,* 119; Rosamond McKitterick, "Latin and Romance: an historian's perspective," in *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages,* edited by Roger Wright, (London: Routledge, 1991), 134-6; Genesis 11:1-9. In the Tower of Babel narrative, God punished Babel for attempting to build a tower to heaven. The gift of tongues is technically called glossolalia or xenolalia, speaking in a language that one does not know or has not learned.

[26] Rosamond McKitterick, "Latin and Romance: an historian's perspective," 134-6; Michel Banniard, "Rhabanus Maurus and the vernacular languages," 166-170, 172-3; James T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish world, 690-900,* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 114-116; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae,* ed. Wallace M. Lindsay, Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1911), VIII, 10-11; Mark 16: 17; Matthew 28:19-20.

speakers. Hrabanus himself compiled the first Latin/German glossary. Fulda was very likely the site where Saxon epic poetry and Gospel narratives met to generate some of the oldest Germanic literature such as the *Heliand* (c. 830) and *Genesis B* (c. mid-ninth century). Both manuscripts were written in epic poem form and incorporate northern and southern Germanic dialects, a Germanic creole, and possibly present a short-lived, constructed, Saxon literary language. Both also present a distinctly Saxon setting for Biblical events. In the *Heliand,* Bethlehem was a hillfort and Jesus a warrior-chief (*drohtin*) with twelve loyal knights. An important element of these interpretations is the Saxon name for Jesus, *Heliand,* which means healer.[27]

---

[27] Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture,* (NY: Fordham University Press, 1961), 87-9, 233-5; Frederick S. Paxton, "Curing Bodies-Curing Souls: Hrabanus Maurus, Medical Education, and the Clergy in Ninth-Century Francia," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences,* V 50,No. 2 (April 1995), 230-2; Willhelm Werner von Zimmern, *Historische Sammelhandschrift*, (AK Ambraser Kunst – und Wunderkammer, 1594, reprint 1965) Fulda, St. Emmeram in Regensburg, http://search.obvsg.at/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?institution=ONB&vid=ONB&onCampus=false&lang=ger&docId=ONB_aleph_onb06000162496 Latin – German wordlist, accessed October 12, 2017; G. Ronald Murphy, *The Saxon Savior: the Germanic Transformation of the Gospels in the Ninth-century Heliand,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 12; Achim Masser, *Bibel und Legendenipik des deutschen Mittelalters,* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1976), 20-21; A.N. Doane, *The Saxon Genesis: An Edition of the West Saxon* Genesis B *and the Old Saxon Vatican* Genesis, (Madison" The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 4-8, 19-20, 25, 28, 43-47; Alexander J. Sager, "After the Apple: repentance in *Genesis B* and its Continental Context," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* Volume 112, No. 3, (July 2013), 293, 296-7, 300-302; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 690-900,* 34; Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World,* 188-90; David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant,* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 7-8. The scriptoriums at Corvey and Werden could have also produced the *Heliand* and *Genesis B.* A sixteenth-century justification for vernacular translation of scripture cites a now lost preface to the *Heliand* and states that the author was a Saxon poet well versed in the bible. Sager proposes Hrabanus's student, Otfrid von Weißenburg, as a possible author of *Genesis B.*

Instances of infirmity in the gospels (most prominent in Luke and Acts) were associated with Jesus's healing power through the Holy Spirit. The fourth stanza of *Veni Creator* reads, "kindle our sense to a flame, and fill our hearts with love, through our bodies' weakness, pour valor from above." It portrays conversion as a healing process. The Christian conception of human infirmity encompassed physical imperfection, weakness of the body, and communal weaknesses, such as pagan rituals, that emboldened the three enemies of the soul: the world, the flesh, and Satan. Spiritual weaknesses, such as an inclination toward earthly rewards, was an infirmity that made individuals susceptible to demonic possession. Infirmity could only be staved off by the Holy Spirit's presence. Hrabanus' commentary on Matthew addressed infirmity and the exorcism of demons responsible for sickness, deformity, and human weakness. The theology of infirmity in *Veni Creator* equated Christian faith with health and non-Christian living with illness. Hrabanus argued that the healing aspects of the Holy Spirit granted Jesus the powers to work miraculous changes in converts, transforming infirmity into Christian productivity.[28]

---

[28] Hrabani Mauri, *Expositio in Matthaeum,* edited by Bengt Löfstedt, in *Corpus Christianorum: continuation Mediaevalis CLXXIV, I-IV,* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2000), 294; *Fragmenta quadam Caroli Magni Imp. Rom. Aliorumq,* (Antverpiae: Apud Ioannem Bellerum, sub-insigni Falconis, 1569), 101-2; Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on Luke*, Homily 96; Ambrose of Milan, *St. Ambrose: Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel, Ambrosii Hexaemeron libri VI (The Six Days of Creation),* Fathers of the church series, Volume 42, ed. Hermigild Dressler, (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University Press, 1962), 7-8; *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia,* edited by James Orr, (1915), Infirmity entry; *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament III Luke*, edited by Arthur A. Just and Thomas C. Oden, (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 224-6; Luke 13: 10-17; Romans 8: 26; Isaiah 53: 4- 9; Mark 16: 17; 2 Corinthians 12: 9-10; Matthew 8: 17, (references Isaiah); Hebrews 4: 15. The Greek term *nosoi* (plural *noson*) is translated as "disease" in English, but patristic sources associated a broad range of issues with *nosoi*.

The fifth stanza, beginning "Drive further off our enemies," emphasizes the strength gained from the Holy Spirit's healing power, promoting military action and conversion as processes for healing and unifying the world. This stanza alludes to previous stanzas and scripture that connected Christian expansion, healing conversion, and the rewards for faithful submission. In Luke 10:19 Jesus gives the "power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy," demonstrating his capacity to imbue powers of the Holy Spirit upon believers. James 4:7 exemplifies the equation of submission to God with the power to triumph over Satan and satanic enemies: "Therefore submit to God. Resist the devil and he will flee from you." Carolingians developed a theology of submission to imperial power as a healing and empowering act that was embedded in Catholic ideology from the ninth century onward.[29]

Hrabanus Maurus

Hrabanus's body of works were integral to reforms that proclaimed a special role for Carolingians in redeeming the world's pagans. Fulda's proximity to Saxon communities and a major route through Germania brought Saxons, Anglo-Saxons, Bavarians, Western Carolingians, northern Europeans, and visitors from distant Christian kingdoms to the abbey church and monastery. Hrabanus drew from this vibrant cultural

[29] Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on Luke, Homily 96*; *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament III Luke,* 225; *Fragmenta quadam Caroli Magni Imp. Rom. Aliorumq,* 101-2; John J. Pilch, *Healing in the New Testament: Insights from Medical and Mediterranean Anthropology,* (Minneapolis: Fortune Press, 2000), 91-103; M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2017), 124-5; Leviticus 26:3; Deuteronomy 23: 14; Luke 9:1 and 10:19; Exodus 23:28; Psalms 44: 5, 59:1, 60:1, and 68:2.

exchange to compose a broad range of works. He composed poems, epitaphs, letters, hymns, sermons, penitentials, and treatises on mathematics, musical proportions, and the pressing issues of the Carolingian empire. His *De institutione clericorum,* a guide for monastic education, and *De universo de rerum naturis,* an encyclopedic record of medieval life and Christian history, were both widely circulated through the later Middle Ages.[30]

Singing was central to daily life at monasteries like Fulda. Saint Boniface decreed in the 740s that Carolingian monastic life should be directed by the *Rule of Benedict,* not any of the other monastic rules circulating in Christian Europe. In chapter nineteen, "Discipline in Psalm-Singing," to "believe the divine presence is everywhere," Benedict wrote, "most of all [when] we stand [together] to sing the psalms in such a way that our spirits and voices are in harmony."[31] Monks, following *The Rule of Benedict,* sang eight to twelve hours a day, reciting the entire book of Psalms each week, as well as a growing body of hymns.[32]

---

[30] De Jong, "Charlemagne's Church," 114-115; E. Ann Matter, "The Lamentations Commentaries of Hrabanus Maurus and Paschasius Radbertus," *Traditio,* Vol. 38 (1982) 147; McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World,* 7-8; C.H. Talbot, *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany,* (NY: Sheed and Ward, 1954), 24; Kramer, "Teaching Emperors: Transcending the Boundaries of Carolingian Monastic Communities," 310-13; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 690-900,* 34; Paxton, "Curing Bodies-Curing Souls: Hrabanus Maurus, Medical Education, and the Clergy in Ninth-Century Francia," 230-2; McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World,* 188-90; Banniard, "Rhabanus Maurus and the Vernacular Languages," 164-173, 131.

[31] Benedict of Nursia, *The Rule of Saint Benedict,* translated by Bruce L. Venarde, (London: Harvard University Press, 2011), 91.

[32] Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda,* 36-7. The *Rule of Benedict* was written in the sixth century. Hillary of Poitiers and Ambrose of Milan pioneered the poetic Latin form of sung texts now known as Ambrosian hymns in the fourth-century.

Veni Creator was one of Hrabanus's many conributions to the Carolingian Renaissance. The earliest Latin hymns were sung by the faithful laity. As Latin became increasingly exclusive to monasteries after the fifth century, hymnody and communal singing faded among the lay-Christians of Europe. Church liturgies and monastic chants were compiled almost entirely from Biblical texts. Despite the generation of texts like the *Heliand*, novel poetic forms were not considered appropriate for masses or liturgy. As the standards of tonal range, musical modes, and rhythmic meter were more elaborately codified in the eighth and ninth centuries, poetry was perfected to a point appropriate for the music of Christian worship.[33]

Hrabanus's interest in hymns, a combination of poetry, music, and singing, was a natural extension of his pedagogical practices. Hrabanus applied multi-modal education techniques combining visual art, architecture, music, and prayer to create a new Christian civilization in the minds of the populace. He invented a 36-line encryption grid incorporating figurative images and poetry that added layers of meaning for those who could read and presented literary content to the majority that could not. Reverence for sacred Latin gave power and meaning to written words for the illiterate as well. The church congregation did not sing, but lay people, even those who could not read, recited written liturgy and prayers. Sacred texts inscribed central Christian concepts through the muscle memory of pronunciation and projection, and the aural memory of listening and

---

[33] Messenger, *The Medieval Latin Hymn*, 26; Citres H. De Boor, *Die deutsche Literatur 770-1170* (Munchen, 1949) 21; Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul: to the Death of Charles the Bald (877),* (London: The Henry Bradshaw Society, 2001), 42-53.Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, 72-73; Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Practice of Medieval Music: Studies in Chant and Perfromance,* chapter XII "Medieval Composers of Liturgical Chant," (Burlington, VT: Ashgate/Variorum, 2010), 95-97.

reciting. For monks, the experience of voicing sacred Latin texts was intensified by the daily, strictly scheduled, divine office hours and performance of liturgical prayer and singing.[34]

Ninth-century Carolingians developed a substantial new body of hymnody. Charlemagne sought to reform and unify Christian practice in Frankish Gaul through royal capitularies and canon law. The Frankish church militantly suppressed competing liturgies and varied musical styles, including the Gallican, Old Hispanic, German, and Celtic. In the 780s, Charlemagne requested a copy of Pope Gregory the Great's sixth-century sacramentary from Pope Hadrian, not realizing that there was no such thing.[35] In response, Pope Hadrian sent a liturgy copied "free from all additions and in accordance with the use of our holy church."[36] Pope Hadrian's Roman rite was institutionalized in Carolingian liturgy. As liturgy was standardized, Carolingian authors included local and original compositions. By Charlemagne's death in 814 the Holy Roman Empire was

---

[34] Diebold, *Word and Image,* 1-3; C. Chazelle, "Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word & Image 6* (1990): 139; Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God,* 90; Ecriture-Art.com "Raban Maur; Une Representation de Codes Secrets Construite par un Moine du Ixe Siecle." ("A Representation of Secret Codes Built by a Monk of the Ninth Century") @ http://www.ecriture-art.com/raban.html; Paxton, "Curing Bodies-Curing Souls: Hrabanus Maurus, Medical Education, and the Clergy in Ninth-Century Francia," 231; Banniard, "Rhabanus Maurus and the Vernacular Languages," 166-170; Messenger, *The Medieval Latin Hymn,* 29.

[35] *Adomonitio generalis,* 789 (ed. Boretius, *Capitularie regum Francorum,* I, no. 22, pg 61; *Karoli epistola* generalis (ed. Boretius, *Capitularia regum Francorum,* I, no. 30, pg 80; Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 6-7; Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul,* 46-7.

[36] *Codex Carolinus,* no. 89 (ed. Gundlach, 626*)*; Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul,* 74-5; D.A. Bullogh, "Ethnic History and the Carolingians: An Alternative Reading of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum,"* in *The Inheritance of Historiography, 350-900,* ed. C Holdsworth and T.P. Wiseman, Exeter Studies in History 12 (Exeter, 1986) 85-105.

signified by a core liturgical repertory, with some regional variances, attributed to Pope Gregory the Great and known as Gregorian chant.[37]

The new standard Roman liturgies included written musical notation called neumes. Reading neumes required musical training and neumed liturgy books were only used by monastery choirs. The notated monophonic Gregorian chants in the Roman rite began to replace the memorized, aural transmission of melodies. Non-neumed liturgies for lay priests contained standard Carolingian texts and instructions for prayer and ritual. Graduales, missals, sacramentaries and other types of liturgy books included texts and instructions for monastic and mass services. The belief in the Gregorian tradition, especially in respect to disciplined monastic chant, centered singing in the pure, correct worship of the Carolingian empire.[38]

Hrabanus became Abbot of Fulda in 822, and Archbishop of Mainz in 847. He had the authority to make additions to liturgies for use in his bishopric. The erudite text and memorable melody of *Veni Creator Spiritus* became a model for missionary hymns. The didactic text conveyed a perspective on the past, the present and the future that reflected Carolingian beliefs, values, and ideals central to communal self-understanding and direction for expansion. *Veni Creator* sought to simultaneously reconcile disparate traditions and incorporate innovations. The social anchor point of the hymn was the

---

[37] *Adomonitio generalis,* 789 (ed. Boretius, *Capitularie regum Francorum,* I, no. 22, pg 61; *Karoli epistola* generalis (ed. Boretius, *Capitularia regum Francorum,* I, no. 30, pg 80; Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul*, 46-51; Kramer, "Teaching Emperors," 309-10; Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians,* 6-7.

[38] Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians,* 6-7. Kramer, "Teaching Emperors," 309-312; Hiley, *Gregorian Chant,* 10-11, 132; Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul,* 66-78. Neumes notated the melodic movement and intervals of sung tones, but did not indicate the mode (key), rhythm, or specific tones to be sung.

celebration of first Christian congregation at Pentecost, which lent the text a powerful liturgical purpose. The hymn was compiled into manuscripts along with other Carolingian materials by young scribes at Fulda, and then transmitted to other scriptoriums, becoming part of core Catholic liturgy by the tenth century.[39]

The Medieval Life of *Veni Creator*

The earliest surviving record of *Veni Creator Spiritus* being sung is in a Benedictine account of the removal of the missionary Saint Marcouf's relics from his grave three-hundred miles west of Fulda in 898 CE. The oldest existing manuscripts that include the text are from the early 900s. One of *Veni Creator's* earliest adaptations was the addition of a seventh stanza in the late ninth-century, a little used doxology attributed to Hincmar of Rheims, an influential Archbishop during an unstable period of Carolingian disunity. Hincmar became embroiled in a theological controversy started by Gottschalk of Orbais, a missionary monk and former pupil of Hrabanus. Gottschalk was condemned for his interpretation of Augustine's predestination teachings in 848 (at Mainz with Archbishop Hrabanus presiding) and 849 (at the Council of Quierzy at Rheims with Archbishop Hincmar presiding). Gottschalk became a rare Carolingian heretic who was imprisoned at Rheims where Hincmar was archbishop.[40]

---

[39] Matthew E. Gordley, *Teaching Through Song in Antiquity: Didactic Hymnody Among Greeks, Romans, Jews, and Christians,* (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 2, 392; Szöverffy, *A Concise History of Medieval Latin Hymnody,* 32, 52; Kenneth L. Parry, *Christian Hymns,* 73-4; Evans, "The Creative Universe," n.p.

[40] Samuel Duffield, "The Authorship of the 'Veni, Creator,'" *The Sunday School Times,* Vol. XXVI, No. 6, (February 9, 1884), 83-4; Duffield, *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns,*118. Matthew Bryan Gillis, "Heresy in the Flesh: Gottschalk of Orbais and the predestination controversy in the archdiocese of Rheims," in *Hincmar of Rheims: Life and Work,* edited by Rachel Stone and Charles West, (Manchester: Manchester

At the Council of Quierzy a small group of bishops and abbots selected by Hincmar also condemned the term *trina deitas* (triune deity as opposed to triune God), found in some monastic hymns and often used by Gottschalk in his heretical teaching. Throughout the controversy Hincmar and Hrabanus were in close contact about how to resolve the problems of faith and church authority that Gottschalk initiated. Hincmar's *Sit laus* doxology is very likely his last word on Gottschalk's heresy, reinscribing Holy Trinity orthodoxy in a doxology that was probably added to the hymn after Hrabanus' death in 856. This *Sit laus* doxology is included in a few early medieval *copies of the hymn,* but it was replaced or omitted after the eleventh century.[41]

Most renditions since the thirteenth century included an unattributed doxology beginning *Deo Patri sit Gloria.* A late medieval version included a stanza that begins, *Da gaudiorum,* borrowed from a different hymn. Another addition was a stanza very similar to the Hincmar doxology that begins "*Gloria Patri Domino."* Aside from these variations, Hrabanus's text has been in continual use in Catholic liturgy since the twelfth century.[42]

University Press, 2015), 247- 256, 258; Leo Donald Davis, "Hincmar of Rheims as a Theologian of the Trinity," *Traditio,* Vol. 27 (1971), 455-8. Duffield cites *Delatio Saint Marculfi,* c.898. Saint Marculf's relics were supposedly granted the gift of curing scrofula to French kings. He died at Nanteuil, France in 558 and his remains were disinterred in 898, moved to Corbigny, Leon, in 906, re-enshrined in 1229, and again moved to Rheims in 1825.

[41] Gillis, "Heresy in the Flesh," 247,.Duffield, *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns,* 118. Hincmar's doxology reads *Sit laus Patri cum Filio, sancto simul Paraclito, nobisque mittat Filius charisma sancta Spiritus.* the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, for ages unending charisma of the Holy Spirit)

[42] Duffield, *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns,* 118-19; John Muller, "Sublimation and *das Ding* in Mahler's Symphony No. 8," chapter four in *A Spirit the Impels: Play, Creativity, and Psychoanalysis,* edited by M. Gerard Fromm,(London: Karnac Books, 2014), 62-4. The doxology reads, "*Deo Patri sit Gloria, et filio, que a mortuis, surrexit, ac Paraclito, In saeculorum saecula*" (Glory to God the Father, and the

In the tenth century, *Veni Creator Spiritus* settled in Roman Catholic liturgy as the second alleluia sung on Whitsunday, the celebration of Pentecost. The hymn became the official prayer for opening church synods and councils by the late tenth-century. Later it was increasingly sung at other ceremonies, including ordinations, the consecration of Bishops, and the start of important church business. *Veni Creator's* inclusion in Frankish liturgy disseminated the hymn beyond the Holy Roman Empire in the tenth century as well. The hymn appeared in Anglo-Saxon liturgies by the mid-eleventh century. Some Anglo-Saxon and Frankish manuscripts included written musical notation (neumes) of the traditional melody consistently transmitted with the text, with variations in the seventh stanza doxology. The unification of liturgy across European nation-states correlates with the expansion of papal authority.[43]

Son who is risen/arose from the dead, and the Paraclete/Comforter/Holy Spirit for generations and generations/ forever and ever)The dismissed stanza reads: *Da gaudiorum praemia, Da gratiarum munera, Dissolve litis vincula, Adstringe pacis foedera,* (Grant the rewards of joy, Give the favors of graces, Break the chains of wrangling, Make fast the ties of peace). *Gloria Patri Domino, Natoque, qui a mortuis (Deo sit Gloria Et filio qui a mortuis) Surrexit, as paraclito, in saeculorum saecula* (Glory to the Lord Father, And to the Son, who from the dead Rose, and to the Paraclete, Unto generations of generations).

[43] Duffield, *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns,* 118-120; Francis X. Weiser, *Handbook of Christian Feasts and Customs,* (NY: Harcourt Brace andCompany, 1958), 19; H.C.G. Moule, *Veni Creator: Thoughts on the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit of Promise,* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1890), x-xi; *Saint Wulfstan's Portiforim,* GB-CCCC MS 391, (c. 1064), Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, http://dms.stanford.edu/zoompr/CCC391_keywords?druid=th313vp6557&folio=p.+646&headline=PHN0cm9uZz5bIkNhbWJyaWRnZSwgQ29ycHVzIENocmlzdGkgQ29sbGVnZSwg%0AUGFya2VyIExpYnJhcnksIENDQ0MgTVMgMzkxIl08L3N0cm9uZz48YnIgLz5b%0AIlZlbGx1bSJdLCBbIjguOCB4IDUuNCJdLCBbInhpICgxMDY0PykiXTxiciAv%0APlsiU3QgV3VsZnN0YW4ncyBQb3J0aWZvcml1bSJd%0A&height=8342&image=391_646_TC_46&ms=391&sequence_num=656&total_sequence_num=746&width=4744, (accessed September 12, 2017).

The 1049 Council of Rheims illustrates how *Veni Creator* became emblematic of Roman Catholic political power. In the mid-eleventh century, Pope Leo IX and King Henry I of France were competing for authority over French churches. Pope Leo, a strong proponent of church reform, planned a council to investigate continual accusations of simony among the French clergy. Henry I, fearing loss of control over the major social and political institution in France, called a meeting of all his vassals during the Pope's council, attempting to undermine Leo IX's authority. Henry I summoned most French abbots and bishops, forcing clergymen to publicly demonstrate their loyalties. In response, after invoking the Holy Spirit with *Veni Creator* to open the council, Pope Leo IX held trials on simony. Bearing the sanctity of the Holy Spirit, Leo IX excommunicated all absent clergymen, charged nobles and churchmen loyal to the French king with a variety of crimes, and set trial dates for all the cases at the papal court in Rome.[44]

Leo IX and the Council of Rheims issued a dogmatic statement of the Roman Pontiff's supremacy over all Catholic institutions as the rightful successor of Saint Peter the Apostle. Many among the French clergy were replaced with loyal papists. The policy demonstrated the relative weakness of the French monarchy and set the stage for a century and a half of increased papal prestige. The 1049 council linked *Veni Creator* directly to papal authority. Within two and a half centuries after its origins in Saxon Germania, *Veni Creator* had traveled with a traditional tune and a more-or-less

---

[44] Dana Carleton Munro, *The Middle Ages, 395-1272,* Volume 30, (NY: The Century Company, 1921), 165-7; Joseph H. Lynch, *The Medieval Church*: *A Brief History*, (London: Longman, 1992), 138-9, 146; Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 31-33; Alex J Denomy "The Round Table and the Council of Rheims, 1049," *Medieval Studies,* Vol.14, No.1: (1952), 143-149.

standardized Roman liturgy to become a marker of papal authority over the Holy Roman Empire, including the Slavic kingdoms of Bohemia and Moravia, as well as more distant areas of France, Germany, England, northern Italy, and parts of Spain.[45]

The rise of scholasticism after the eleventh century was characterized by an increasing number of monastery school students with no intention of joining the clergy. The growing belief that mathematics and the sciences of the day were means of decoding God's creation became a central element of education. One aspect of scholastic movements was the measured, restricted study of pagan literature. The densely allusive *Veni Creator* text became mystified, part of a dogmatic belief system whose literary associations were increasingly invisible. The vision of Christian empire presented in *Veni Creator* was accepted as divinely ordained and supported by European society, now referring to itself as Christendom – the kingdom of Christ. The dense and mysterious layering of biblical scripture and ancient Greek invocations combined with the beautiful, mathematically derived music became the calculus of formulae for properly invoking the divine presence.[46]

The vision of history presented in *Veni Creator* seemed to narrate the Holy Spirit's role in the development of ordered, imperial, Christian society. Over the span of three centuries Frankish roots and Germanic influences had transformed Western

---

[45] Munro, *The Middle Ages, 395-1272*, 165-7; Lynch, *The Medieval Church*, 138-9; Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300*, 31-33; Denomy "The Round Table and the Council of Rheims, 1049," 143-149. This council is considered an early part of the investiture contest. The papal declaration states, "declaratum est quod solus Romanae sedis pontifex universalis Eccleidiae Primas esset et Apostolicus."

[46] Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 66-70; T.J.H. McCarthy, *Music, Scholasticism and Reform: Salian Germany, 1024-1125*, (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2009), 4-7, 8-10, 113-116, 158, 178, 181-2, 217-228.

Christian moral authority into systems of law, education, and social organization. A corresponding development in faith, one that *Veni Creator* was at the forefront of, was the move from ambiguous belief in the presence of Christ's spirit among believers toward a deep faith in and emotional connection to the very real presence of the Holy Spirit in a faithful heart.[47]

By 1100, *Veni Creator* was included in the Pentecost feast liturgy at both Terce (9 am) and Vespers (sunset), and was a common public prayer to the Holy Spirit at masses and ceremonies.[48] Another invocation of the Holy Spirit modeled on *Veni Creator*, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, was written in the thirteenth century, and referred to as "The Golden Sequence." Combinations of ideas and stanzas from both these hymns have been paraphrased and adapted, usually into hymns beginning with the phrases "Come Holy Spirit" or "Come Holy Ghost." These two important hymns represent an important Catholic tradition relating the gifts of the Holy Spirit to a divine presence in the hearts of the faithful when these hymns are being sung by church choirs.[49]

In the twelfth century, *Veni Creator* was sung in masses and penitential processions at the initiation of crusades, sanctifying the use of violence against the

---

[47] Guy Carleton Lee, "Hincmar: An Introduction to the Study of the Revolution in the Organization of the Church in the Ninth Century," in *Report and Papers of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Society of Church History: Held in the city of New York, December 29 and 30, 1896*, (NY: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1897), 231-2.

[48] Lionel Adey, *Hymns and the Christian "Myth,"* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 181-185; Vernon Perdue-Davis, *A Primer of Ancient Hymnody*, (Fenton, MO: E.C. Shirmer Music co., 1968), 39-40, 63

[49] Adey, *Hymns and the Christian "Myth,"* 181-185; Perdue-Davis, *A Primer of Ancient Hymnody*, 39-40, 63; *Hymni Latini qui libro intersunt cui nomen; Hymns Ancient and Modern*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1906), 70-1; Duffield, *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns*, 121-2. *Veni Sancte* is usually attributed to either Pope Innocent III or the Archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton. *Veni Creator* and *Veni Sancte* are the only two medieval sequences to survive in today's Catholic liturgy.

Catholic enemies and the growing number of internal heresies. The line *hostem repellas longius* was sometimes sung during battle, repeated three times to intimidate enemies. A thirteenth-century preaching manual directed priests and preachers giving crusader recruitment sermons to end with any of a short selection of hymns that included *Veni Creator*.[50] At Louis IX's initiation of the Seventh Crusade in 1248, "all, with a loud voice, sang the beautiful hymn of *Veni Creator* from the beginning to the end: and while they were singing, the mariners set their sails in the name of God."[51]

By the late Middle Ages, the singing of *Veni Creator* delineated the bounds of Western Christian civilization. *Veni Creator Spiritus* was known in Latin and all the romance languages. An expansive body of literature, law, and church ceremony propagated and supported the vision of the Christian world presented in the hymn. The content of *Veni Creator* helped shape Christian understandings of history and Europe's place in it. Singing created a space for negotiating language difference that grounded community creation and language translation. Christian theology was rendered into culturally resonant terms. The multi-lingual aspects of early medieval social life and promoted imperial missionary expansion.[52]

---

[50] Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, 124-5, 179-180; James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader,* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 157-8; *Registrum* 16.28, *Patrologia cursus completes…series Latina,* ed. J.P. Migne, 221 Vols. (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1844-64), Vol. 216:817-22; Humbert of Romans, *Liber de predicatione*, Chapter 1, n.p.; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam,* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2008), 38.

[51] Quoted in Adey, *Hymns and the Christian 'Myth,'* 75. Original account by Joinville, *Chronicleof the Crusades,* 383.

[52] Duffield, *The Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns,* 114; Erik Routley, *A Panorama of Christian Hymnody,* (Chicago: G.I.A Publications, 1979), 55, 56-8, 69.

German hymnals from the early eighteenth century through today consistently contain renditions of "Komm Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist" (*Veni Creator Spiritus)*, and "Komm Heiliger Geist, herr Gott" *(Veni Sancte Spiritus*) from Martin Luther's 1533 hymnal, John Cosin's sixteenth-century "Come Holy Ghost, Our Souls Inspire," and Charles Wesley's eighteenth-century "Come Holy Spirit, Our Hearts Inspire," two different English paraphrases of *Veni Creator*. Two other English renditions, John Dryden's "Come Holy Spirit, By Whose Aid" and Isaac Watts' "Come Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove," appear sporadically in Moravian hymnals by the mid eighteenth century and both were common in Methodist, Baptist, and missionary hymnals by the late eighteenth century. All four of these *Veni Creator* renditions are commonly included together in hymnals since the early nineteenth century.

II. "JESUS, HAVE MERCY ON US": THE BOHEMIAN PERSECUTION, CONGREGATIONSL SINGING AND THE NEW WORLD MISSION

On July 6, 1415, a Catholic priest named Jan Hus was condemned for heresy and burned at the stake by order of the Council of Constance. When the bundles of wood stacked up to his chin set alight, Hus began to sing in loud, clear, Latin, "Christ, thou son of the living God, have mercy upon us! Christ, thou son of the living God, have mercy upon me!" As a breeze blew acrid smoke in his face, he choked but continued singing, "Thou Who art born of Mary the Virgin!"[53] Hus did not cry out, but his voice ended abruptly as the fire rose higher, consuming his body. When the flames died down, the executioners pulled Hus's burnt remains apart, smashing the bones to slivers with clubs and raking his flesh and organs into the smoldering coals. After adding wood to the pyre,

[53] Peter of Mladonovice, *Relation de Mag. Joannis Hus causa,* translated from Mladonovice's eye-witness account in Latin and Czech by Matthew Spinka in *John Hus at the Council of Constance*, (NY: Columbia University Press, 1965), 233; Thomas A. Fudge, "Jan Hus at Calvary: The Text of an Early Fifteenth-Century 'Passio'" *Journal of Moravian History,* no. 11 (Fall 2011), 69-71; Samuel Clark, *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie, conteined in the Lives of the Fathers, and other Learned Men, and Famous Divines, which have Flourished in the Church since* Christ's *Time, to this present Age*, (London: William Du-gard, 1650), 78-9; William Gilpin, *The Lives of John Wycliff; and of the most Eminent of His Disciples, Lord Cobham, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Zisca,* (London: J. Robson, 1765) 222; David Holeton and Hana Vlhová-Wörner, "The Second Life of Jan Hus: Liturgy, Commemoration, and Music," in *A Companion to Jan Hus*, ed. František Šmahel, (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 293; Jaromir Černy, et al., eds., *Historical Anthology of Music in the Bohemian Lands (up to ca. 1530),* (Prague: 2005), No. 1, 4; Craig D. Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren from Hus to Comenius,* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 73-4. The original Latin is *Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, Domine, miserere peccata mundi, Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, Domine, miserere mei! Qui inscriptus es tu natus est de Maria virgine!*

they "prick't [his heart] upon a sharp stake, and rosted [it] at a fire till it was consumed."[54]

The martyrdom of Jan Hus was the catalyst for a revolt against the Catholic church that embedded vernacular language and congregational singing in Christian worship. The conception of community that arose from these persecuted congregations directly influenced later Christian reformations and plans for Christianizing the New World. Beginning with Hus's vernacular reform in Czech-speaking Bohemia, this chapter will look at the origins and expansion of congregational singing and vernacular hymn-writing, and the ways these practices grounded Christian identity and Protestant evangelicalism. The Czech Reformation defined a set of Christian sects, collectively called Hussites, that operated independently in Bohemia and Moravia for two centuries. In the seventeenth century, the Hussite *Unity of Brethren* developed a generalized plan for educating New World heathens that emphasized language translation and singing. In the early eighteenth-century, despite having almost no knowledge of indigenous and enslaved peoples in the Americas, a new group of missionaries singled out the language and singing aspects and worked to implement this plan.

Jan Hus was not condemned to death for his use of vernacular language in worship services, but his vernacular worship innovations were intertwined with the charges of heresy against him. He saw his congregation as a community of faith. His beliefs and practices undermined Catholic authority by empowering congregational independence and propagating a Bohemian nationalist sentiment. Hus taught a conception of humanity's role in history that promoted individual responsibility for

---

[54] Clark, *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie*, 78-9.

creating faithful Christian society. He distinguished Bohemia as the leader in reforming the corrupt Catholic church.

Between 1378 and 1417 the Papal Schism divided Catholic loyalties, inadvertently allowing new flexibility and freedom in religious expression. Many Europeans felt one of the two, and for several years three, rival popes was the Antichrist, evidence of poisoned church leadership, corrupted liturgical Latin, and the start of Christian history's final age. The Czech vernacular movement in Prague preceded Hus by generations, culminating in the 1391 chartering of Bethlehem Chapel under the authority of Prague's bishop, but outside the papal parish system. Czech vernacular songs were common in Bohemian churches by 1400. Liturgical Latin had almost no relationship with the Bohemian language and Bethlehem's charter *mandated* the use of Czech. The church's name, Hebrew for "house of bread," referenced Christ's birthplace as well as the spiritual nourishment given to Bohemian citizens through Czech preaching and singing. Between 1402, when Hus was appointed preacher at Bethlehem Chapel, and 1412, when he exiled himself from Prague, he wrote harsh criticisms of clergymen and preachers, at first in Latin, and over time increasingly in Czech.[55]

---

[55] John Huss, *De Ecclessia (The Church),* trans. David S. Schaff, (NY: Scribner's Sons, 1915), 149-50; Jan Hus to His Benefactors, c. 1414, "Letter XVIII," in *Letters of Jan Hus: Written During His Exile and Imprisonment with Martin Luther's Preface,* ed. Émile de Bonnechose, translated by Campbell Mackenzie, (Edinburgh: William Whyte, 1846), 103-107; John Amos Comenius, *The History of the Bohemian Persecution: From the Beginning of their Conversion to Christianity in the year 894 to the year 1632,* (London: B.A. and John Walker, 1650), 19-21, 22-4; Gilpin, *The Lives of John Wicliff,* 153-4; David S. Schaff, *John Huss: His Life, Teachings and Death After Five Hundred Years,* (London: George Allen & Unwin LTD., 1914), 33-5, 337; Atwood, *the Theology of the Czech Brethren,* 51, 85, 153-5; Pavlina Rychterova, "The Vernacular Theology of Jan Hus," 174, 182, and Pavel Soukup, "Jan Hus as Preacher," 96-8, in *A Companion to Jan Hus,* ed. František Šmahel and Ota Pavlíček, (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Thomas A. Fudge, *The Memory and Motivation of Jan Hus, Medieval Priest and Martyr,* (Turnhout,

Under Hus's leadership, Bethlehem Chapel became the epicenter of a movement that transformed a lay audience, already skeptical of Catholic leadership, into a socially active congregation. A sense of spiritual equality pervaded during Hus's services, which attracted street children, prostitutes, servants, peasant women, farmers, university students, soldiers, noblemen, and very often Queen Zophie of the Bohemian royal family. Large crowds, sometimes as many as three-thousand people, crowded the chapel's floor and balconies. Hus recited Latin liturgy lines, but all other parts of the service – singing, preaching, and prayer - were in Czech.[56]

Jan Hus drew from Bohemia's Slavonic-language missionary history to validate his critique of the popes, bishops, and priests. Czech was not the same sort of vernacular as most other European and Romance languages. Bohemians had proclaimed Czech's sacred Slavonic heritage since the tenth century. Byzantine missionaries in the ninth-century standardized the sacred Old Church Slavonic (OCS) language, developing the Cyrillic alphabet that was essential to their mission in Moravia and Bohemia. Thereafter,

---

Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2013), ix-x,1-3; Thomas A. Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia,* (Brookfield, AT: Ashgate Publishing company, 1998), map of East Bank Prague, 13; Thomas A. Fudge, *Jan Hus Between Time and Eternity: Reconsidering a Medieval Heretic,* (NY: Lexington Books, 2016), 64-70. In 1402 Hus was also elected rector of Charles University. He was charged with being a follower of English clergyman John Wycliff's radical ideas in 1412. The Council of Constance declared Wycliff's works heretical and ended the schism in 1417 when they elected Pope Martin V. See Walter Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical History,* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1948), and John Holland Smith, *The Great Schism: 1378,* (London: Hamilton, 1970).

[56] Comenius, *The History of the Bohemian Persecution*, 19-22; Gilpin, *The Lives of John Wicliff*, 153-4; Schaff, *John Huss*, 33-5, 337; Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren*, 51-2, 85; Fudge, *The Memory and Motivation of Jan Hus,* ix-x,1-2; Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride*, 13; Rychterova, "The Vernacular Theology of Jan Hus," 171-4, 177-9; Holeton and Vlhová-Wörner, "The Second Life of Jan Hus," 290-3. Hus's sermons and marginalia show that he created new Czech phrases to relate Latin concepts.

in Slavonic traditions OCS was considered the fourth holy language of Christianity, after Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. A century later, Adalbert of Prague (*Vojtêc*) translated some OCS texts into Czech for mission work among Bohemian pagans and his reform agenda among Prague's nobles. Adalbert's mentor, a Russian Orthodox missionary, had taught him a Slavonic rendition of the Greek hymn *Kyrie Eleison*, which both missionaries sang with pagan Slavs. In the 980s, Adalbert of Prague paraphrased the hymn in Czech as *Hospodine pomiluj ny*, the oldest Czech-language hymn.[57]

Adalbert's Czech rendering of *Kyrie Eleison* transmitted an important Eastern Orthodox prayer to tenth-century Bohemia. The hymn's first line, *Kyrie Eleison* (Lord, have mercy), was a prayer from the Psalms and was central to Eastern Orthodox *Hesychasm* (Quietism). The prayer consists of the term "lord" (*Kyrie)*, which, in Eastern Orthodox theology, invoked the Holy Spirit through God the Father, followed by a plea for his mercy. Continual repetition of the phrase sustained focus on God and his merciful presence during daily activities. The *Hesychasm* discipline emphasized an individual

---

[57] Jan Hus to His Benefactors, c. 1414, "Letter XVII," 103-107; František Mužik, "Hospodine, pomiluj ny," *Miscelanea Musicologica* 18 (1965): 7-30; Fudge, *The Memory and Motivation of Jan Hus,* ix-x,1-3; Comenius, *The History of the Bohemian Persecution*, 22-4; Rychterova, "The Vernacular Theology of Jan Hus," 174, 182; Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelization of Europe, 400-1050,* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education, 2001), 207-11; Kallistos Ware, *The Orthodox Church,* (London: Penguin, 1993), 64, 69; C. Edmund Maurice, *Bohemia: From the Earliest Times to the Fall of National Independence in 1620,* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896), 29-32; Holeton and Vlhová-Wörner, "The Second Life of Jan Hus," 290-3; Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren,* 84-5, 154-5; Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride*, 13. The brothers Cyril and Methodius are considered the apostles of Bohemia and Moravia. The earliest written Czech used Latin letters. Adalbert of Prague was a student of Adalbert of Magdeburg, a missionary bishop in the Russian Orthodox Church. OCS and Czech are related but distinct languages. Adalbert of Prague was the first to translate OCS and Latin liturgical texts into Czech. Some elements of OCS are apparent in *Hospodine pomiluj ny.* Some important Hussite and Unity leaders were associated with the Slavonic monastery founded in Prague in the 1350s.

experience of divine energy that appeared as an inner light during meditative practice. Once this divine light was witnessed, a flame of devotion was lit within the practitioner, empowering them to share God's truths and imbuing them with a fierceness in the fight against worldly demons.[58]

Although *Hesychasm* was not accepted in the West, a Latin rendition of *Kyrie Eleison* in hymn form (which Hus sang during his martyrdom), appeared in eleventh-century Catholic liturgy, adapted to invoke the divine presence through Christ the son in adherence to the Western filioque. Through a revival of Slavonic liturgy in the 1350s, centered in Prague, the Czech language, and this hymn in particular, were directly associated with the sacredness of Old Church Slavonic. By the fifteenth century, *Hospodine pomiluj ny* was an anthem proclaiming a distinct Bohemian Christianity. The *hesychast* ideal of an inner divine light that empowered Christians resonated in Prague's vernacular movement and Hus's teachings about congregational singing. Furthermore,

---

[58] Christopher D.L. Johnson, *The Globalization of Hesychasm and the Jesus Prayer: Contesting Contemplation*, (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010), 1, 2, 31-7; Kallistos Ware, "Ways of prayer and contemplation: Eastern," in *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century*, eds. Bernard McGinn, J. Meyendorff, and J. Leclercq, (NY: Crossroad, 1985), 404-5; Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, 64, 69; Holeton and Vlhová-Wörner, "The Second Life of Jan Hus," 293; John Michael Talbot, *The Jesus Prayer: A Cry for Mercy, a Path of Renewal*, (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2013), Appendix, 139-40; Metropolitan Anthony Bloom, *Living Prayer*, (Springfield IL: Templegate Publishers, 1966), 84; Fudge, *The Memory and Motivation of Jan Hus*, 141. The phrase *Kyrie Eleison* is found in Psalms, I Chronicles, and Luke. The *Kyrie Eleison* prayer originated with Saint Diadochus of Photiki in the fifth century. Translations into other languages do not transmit the complex of biblical olive tree and oil symbolism without the Greek word *eleison*, from *elaion*, "olive tree." *Hesychasm* was revitalized in Eastern Orthodoxy in the 1350s. Written defenses of *Hesychasm* distinguish between experiencing the presence of God's energy (the Holy Spirit), but not God's incomprehensible fullness. Orthodox *hesychasts* link the practice to the Apostles Peter, James, and John who witnessed a bright light at Christ's Transfiguration. The phrase *Kyrie Eleison* appears in Jamaican Creole, Mahican, and Arawak language hymns by Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth century.

the Czech hymn's association with Slavonic missions helped ground Bohemian assertions that their priests were ordained into an Apostolic Succession of Orders through the Slavonic churches.[59]

The hymn *Hospodine pomiluj ny,* emphasized Christian community, using the terms "us' and "our." Singers plead for Jesus, the "Savior of the whole world," to "have mercy on us," and "hear our voices."[60] Hus taught that communal singing was the most powerful form of prayer that empowered the congregation to share the gospel and ward off evil. Sharing the gospel required Christians to cautiously engage with the world, and a strong community helped all resist the devil's temptations.[61] Once the congregation's voices were heard, God's gift of mercy would empower the community, "baptizing men, healing the sick, casting out devils, offering up the sacrifice of Christ's body," and striving toward "perfecting" the church.[62]

---

[59] Holeton and Vlhová-Wörner, "The Second Life of Jan Hus," 293; Talbot, *The Jesus Prayer,* Appendix, 139-40; Jan Racek, "Das älteste tsechische Bittlied 'Hospodine, pomiluj ny' (Herr, erbarme Dich unser)," in *Geschichte der Ost-und Westkirche in ihren wechselseitigen; in memoriam S.S. Cyrilli et Methodii,* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967), 46-50; Fudge, *The Memory and Motivation of Jan Hus,* ix-x,1-2, 141; "Synods of Prague and their Statutes, 1396-1414," edited by Jaroslav Kadlec, *Appolinaris,* 54 (1991), 269, 275; Johnson, *The Globalization of Hesychasm,* 33-6; Ware, "Ways of prayer and contemplation: Eastern," 404-5; Ware, *The Orthodox Church,* 64, 69; Fudge, *Jan Hus Between Time and Eternity,* 217-18; Comenius, *The History of the Bohemian Persecution,* 19-21; Gilpin, *The Lives of John Wicliff,* 153-4; Schaff, *John Huss,* 33-5, 337; Atwood, *the Theology of the Czech Brethren,* 85; Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride,* 13; Maurice, *Bohemia,* 32; Bloom, *Living Prayer,* 84; Rychterová, "The Vernacular Theology of Jan Hus," 174, 205-13. The *Kyrie Eleison* prayer was shared across eastern and central Europe before the Great Schism in 1054. Western filioque theology states that the Holy Spirit proceeds from God the Father and Jesus the Son. The Catholic church claims Apostolic Succession from St. Peter, the first to perform a miracle after Pentecost (Acts 3:1-11). Eastern Orthodox churches claim succession through several apostles.

[60] Racek, "Das älteste tsechische Bittlied 'Hospodine, pomiluj ny,'" 46-7.

[61] Schaff, *John Huss,* 310-11.

[62] John Huss, *De Ecclessia (The Church),* 149.

Hus taught reverence for the power of congregational singing, which was essential to sustaining the presence of the Holy Spirit in everyone's daily life. He promoted the experience of singing as socially leveling worship that unified the congregation, from well-educated nobles to the simplest laborers and beggars. Hus conducted an informal, Czech-language school for singing hymns and discussing scripture that was open to everyone. He encouraged reformed prostitutes and young women in the congregation to share their faith by taking care of the sick and feeding the poor. He critiqued careless or farcical performances of church songs, a common activity among Prague's young men and university students.[63] He also composed a chant for music-educated nuns to sing "with the heart as well as with the melody of the lips," pointing to the inner aspect of worship that was accessed through communal singing.[64]

For Hus, vernacular-singing was an invaluable element of understanding and sharing the teachings of Christ. After hearing sermons and singing in Czech, congregants were better able to discuss and share their faith. As Czech-language services with congregational singing spread to more and more Prague churches, Catholic authorities

---

[63] Fudge, *Jan Hus Between Time and Eternity*, 6-8; Soukup, "Jan Hus as Preacher," 99, 103-107; Schwarze, "Early Hymnals of the Bohemian Brethren," 164-5; Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 6-7, 39-40, 23-7; John Martin Klassen, *The Nobility and the Making of the Hussite Revolution,* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1978), 87-93; Holeton and Vlhová-Wörner, "The Second Life of Jan Hus," 296-7. In Bohemia, liturgical music conserved medieval monophonic chant when much of Europe cultivated harmonized polyphonic singing. Hus retained unison melodies and augmented the texts with Latin tropes and Czech translations for easier congregational singing. Bethlehem Chapel founders asserted that God bestowed unique spiritual insights upon women, demonstrated by Mary Magdalene. Clergymen in Prague organized homes for reformed prostitutes and other single women in the 1380s. Exiled to the forests of southern Bohemia in 1414, Hus codified his convictions about women and community in *The Daughter (Dcerka)*.

[64] Schaff, *John Huss*, 310-11.

took notice. Attempting to curtail Hus's growing popularity, the Archbishop of Prague banned vernacular church singing in 1408. Only four Czech songs were exempted in the original ban, including *Hospodine pomiluj ny*, the oldest Czech-language hymn, and the hymn that Hus sang *in Latin* as he was being burned alive.[65]

Hus advanced vernacular, congregational singing to manifest his vision of Bohemia's providential role as the stronghold of Apostolic religion. Over the span of eight years, Hus condemned indulgences, crusades, the enforced use of Latin, and eventually even the lifestyle of the pope in Rome. He and many of his followers were excommunicated in 1410. Appealing to Christ as the head of the church, Hus transcended worldly authorities and exiled himself from Prague in 1412. Two years later he answered a summons to the Council of Constance.[66]

---

[65] Holeton and Vlhová-Wörner, "The Second Life of Jan Hus," 292, n9, 292-3, 298-9; Racek, "Das älteste tsechische Bittlied 'Hospodine, pomiluj ny,'" 46-7; Fudge, *Jan Hus Between Time and Eternity,* 211-13, 218-18; Rychterová, "The Vernacular Theology of Jan Hus," 171-4, 175-82; W.N. Schwarze, "Early Hymnals of the Bohemian Brethren," Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, catalogue item Cgb 78, unpublished manuscript, 164. *Jesu Kriste, ščedry kneže* (Jesus Christ, O bounteous priest), the only song that is reliably attributed to Hus, was also exempted from the singing ban. I have not yet identified a German translation of this hymn before the nineteenth century.

[66] Hus to the People of Plzen, October 1411, and Hus to All Faithful Czechs, June 26, 1415, in *The Letters of John Hus,* trans. from Latin and the Czech by Matthew Spinka, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), 59-63, 195-197; *Documenta Mag. Joannis Hus vitam, doctrinam, causam in constantiensi Concilio actam et controversias de religione in Bohemia annis 1403-1418 motas illustrantia*, editor F. Polacky, (Prague: Tempsky, 1868), quoted in Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution,* 40; Comenius, *The History of the Bohemian Persecution,* 19-20, 22; Atwood, *Theology of the Czech Brethren,* 51-2; Schaff, *John Huss*, 33-5; Holeton and Vlhová-Wörner, "The Second Life of Jan Hus," 290-3; Rychterova, "The Vernacular Theology of Jan Hus," 171-4, 175-182, 188; R.R. Betts, "English and Čech Influences on the Hussite Movement," read to the Society 10 March, 1938, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* Fourth series, volume XXI, (London: Offices of the Society, 1939), 80-3; Fudge, *The Memory and Motivation of Jan Hus*, 25, 29; Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride*, 86-9; Fudge, *Between Time and Eternity*, 68-70. Hus wrote a letter of protest when Plzn prohibited the use of Czech in church. "Many of you know the truth and have learned that

Throughout his trial, he denied any heretical teachings or activities and expressed his dedication to Apostolic religious practice. As Hus died in the fire, he demonstrated his orthodoxy by singing in sacred Latin. At the same time, he expressed a nationalist sentiment through singing the hymn whose Czech rendition was so close to the heart of Bohemian Christianity. For many Bohemians, Hus's martyrdom symbolized the final era of Christian history and initiated Bohemia's role as a purifying force within Christendom.[67]

Hussite Christianity

Hus the Martyr became a symbol of Bohemia's oppression by corrupt Catholics. Singing played a central role in Hus's commemoration and the Bohemian revolt against Catholic authority that his martyrdom catalyzed. During the year after Hus's execution, and despite having cited over 400 Bohemian nobles for heresy, the Pope and the Council of Constance were surprised and alarmed by Bohemia's rapidly expanding defiance. Hus galvanized the revolt of a vast swath of the Bohemian population who called themselves Hussites. Czech-language hymns and polemic songs against the Catholic church commemorated Hus as a hero and a saint. The musical aspect of the revolt, transmitting

---

everyone can speak, confess and – if he can – even read the law of God either in Latin, as St Mark wrote his gospel; or in Greek, as St John composed his gospel, the canonicals, or letters; or in Hebrew, as St. Matthew wrote it; or in Syriac, as St Luke wrote it; or in Persian, as St. Simon preached and wrote it; or in Judaic [Aramaic] as St Bartholomew wrote it; and so in other languages. How is it that you permit priests to forbid people to read the laws of God in Czech or German?"

[67] Fudge, *The Memory and Motivation of Jan Hus*, 25, 29; Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride*, 86-9; Fudge, *Between Time and Eternity*, 64-70. One of his last treatises, written from prison at Constance and dedicated to one of the prison guards, *On the Three Enemies of Humankind*, presents an orthodox conception of faith and the three enemies of the soul.

Hus's teachings on congregation and community, was impossible to suppress - songs were free, easy to conceal, and easy to share.[68]

The culture war between Bohemian Catholics and Hussites was documented in song lyrics. Countless hymns were written in honor of (and often attributed to) Hus in the decades after his death. Catholics composed Czech hymns condemning Hus and decrying the Hussite heresy. Hussite students, some of whom composed music and poetry, took control of Charles University in Prague. Court musicians also took sides when Hussite nobles formed a league, which was soon countered with a Bohemian Catholic league. Craftsmen, laborers, and peasants tended to join the Hussites, but a strong organization of Catholic households and churches remained intact. In 1418, the Council of Constance declared that the heretical errors of Hus had infected priests and entire parishes in Bohemia. They issued a ban on songs venerating heretics with severe penalties.[69]

---

[68] "Report on the Affairs of Bohemia," 1416 or 1417, and "Resolutions against the Hussites," February, 1418, in *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades*, ed. and trans. by Thomas A. Fudge, (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2002), 14-17, 17-20; Rychterova, "The Vernacular Theology of Jan Hus," 174; Comenius, *The History of the Bohemian Persecution*, 25-6.

[69] "Report on the Affairs of Bohemia," 1416 or 1417, and "Resolutions against the Hussites," February, 1418, 14-17, 17-20; Rychterova, "The Vernacular Theology of Jan Hus," 174; Comenius, *The History of the Bohemian Persecution*, 25-6; Klassen, *The Nobility and the Making of the Hussite Revolution,* 50-5, 61; Fudge, *The Memory and Motivation of Jan Hus*, 74-6, 121, 135-6, 142-3; Gilpin, *The Lives of John Wycliff,* 222; Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, 99-140, 151-7; Holeton and Vlhová-Wörner, "The Second Life of Jan Hus," 294-9; Schaff, *John Huss*, 310-11; Louise Ropes Loomis, *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church,* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1961), 25, 105, 194 note 57. The Council of Constance declared that forced conversion was a violation of pagans' natural rights (an attempt to end the Teutonic Order's crusade against pagan Lithuanians and Poles). Over four hundred Hussite nobles united on September 6, 1415, and the Catholics on October 1, 1415. Utraquism - bread *and* wine for the laity at communion - were never a part of Hus's reforms. Fudge's chapter "Hus in Popular Songs and Hymnody" in *Memory and Motivation of Jan Hus* analyzes early Hussite hymnody.

Between 1420 and 1434 there were five crusades against Hussites led by a shifting union of Catholic armies. But each crusade collapsed due to internal dissensions, complex loyalty networks, and the Hussites' passionate righteousness. At one point, Utraquist Hussites joined the Catholic side, and in several instances, some Catholic armies refused to fight alongside others. Hussite leaders, such as the soldier and Bethlehem Chapel congregant Jan Ziska, used popular Czech songs and hymns to stoke the fervor of revolt. In 1431, an unprepared Catholic army was terrified into retreat by a massive Bohemian army singing the nationalist hymn, "Ye who are the soldiers of the Lord" (*Kdož jste Boži bojovnici*) in unison.[70]

After the crusades, Utraquists were the dominant group in Bohemia, but several smaller Hussite sects survived in the countryside. When the Utraquist Bohemian king restricted new Hussite sects, one group held a secret meeting at Lhotka in the northeastern mountains, establishing The Unity of Brethren *(Unitas Fratrum)* as an independent priesthood in 1467. The first Unity congregation sang the hymn "Come Let Us All With Gladness Raise," (*Radujme se vždy*) as the new priests were ordained. It became the ordination hymn for Unity priests, supplanting the role that *Veni Creator Spiritus* played in Catholic ordinations. The hymn cast the struggles of the early Hussites in terms evoking the Apostles' struggles when building the Primitive Church. The hymn

[70] Comenius, *The History of the Bohemian Persecution*, 25-8, 34-7; Maurice, *Bohemia*, 252-4, 264-5, 280, 285-9, 304-5, 320-22; Klassen, *The Nobility and the Making of the Hussite Revolution*, 66; Betts, "English and Čech Influences on the Hussite Movement," 74-6, 80-1. Crusades against Bohemia were initiated in 1420, 1421, 1422, 1427, and 1431. In 1423, Utraquists signed a treaty with Catholics that recognized Utraquist Hussitism. Jan Ziska died after the third crusade. In 1431, the leading cardinal was supposedly so terrified that he dropped his robe and the Papal Bull authorizing the crusade on the battlefield.

assured singers that God's mercy would save a distressed community practicing the true faith, and implied that better times were in the future.[71] "For God, in grace and tenderness, regarded us in our distress; yea, to our aid himself he came; let all adore God's holy name."[72]

As the Bohemian heresy continued, trade and scholarly exchange dwindled in Hussite centers like Prague and Kutna Hora. Most other Europeans viewed Hussites as brazen sinners whose banners proclaimed defiance of Christian order, an infection inside the bounds of Christendom. In the late fifteenth century, the Unity of Brethren looked east, revisiting connections with Orthodox churches. They mourned the fall of Constantinople and Ottoman expansion, but they were less informed about the Reconquista or the discoveries of Columbus.[73]

The Unity accepted other Hussites, reformed Catholics, and all spiritual refugees, echoing lines from their founding hymn, "God gave us faithful ones to lead, and help us

---

[71] Otakar Odložilik, *The Hussite King: Bohemia in European Affairs, 1440-1471*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1965),124-7, 229-274; Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren*, 243-4; Nola Reed Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, (NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 59-62; Henry L. Williams, "The Development of the Moravian Hymnal," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1962), 239. Hussites agreed on "The Four Articles of Prague," which argued for vernacular worship, utraquism as the only proper form of communion, apostolic living for the clergy, and extinguishing mortal sins such as indulgences. Utraquist king, George of Podebrady, restricted new Hussite sects in 1460.

[72] Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, 59-62; Williams, "The Development of the Moravian Hymnal," 239. The hymn is often attributed to Matthew of Kunwald in 1457, but it was probably written for the Lhotka meeting by Gabriel Komarovsky. Michael Weisse's 1531 German rendition, *Freuen Wir Uns All In Ein*, inserts sixteenth-century Unity teachings.

[73] Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren*, 77-8, 97, 243-4; Comenius, *The History of the Bohemian Persecution*, 57-63; Maurice, *Bohemia*, 344-7, 349-50, 353-4; Thomas A. Fudge, "Image Breakers, Image Makers: The Role of Heresy in Divided Christendom," II in *Heresy and Hussites in Late Medieval Europe*, (Burlington, VT: Variorum Collected Studies Series, Ashgate, 2014), 205-223.

in our time of need."[74] Continued Catholic persecutions invigorated Unity preachers, who established singing congregations across Bohemia, Moldavia, Hungary, and, despite a 1481 decree expelling them, Moravia. Unity churches, centered in Prague, Fulnek, and Lhotka, elected four bishops to administer their expanding geography. By 1500 there were at least ten thousand Unity members.[75]

In the years before Martin Luther's Reformation began, the Unity printed the first hymnals in Europe. The 1501 hymnal compiled selections from the wealth of Hussite and Czech hymnody. New Czech hymns were added in the 1505, 1519, and 1541 hymnals, as well as translations of Latin liturgical hymns. The 1541 hymnal, *Songs for the Praise of God,* was approved for use in Utraquist congregations, and was recognized as the first Bohemian national hymnal. In 1531 the Unity printed their first German-language hymnal. Most of the hymns came from German-speaking Unity congregations that had circulated manuscript texts for decades. Only sixteen hymns were translations from Czech, and others were taken from Luther's first hymnal (1524). [76]

---

[74] Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America,* 59-62; "Come Let Us All with Gladness Raise," *EHB,* (1754).

[75] Odložilik, *The Hussite King,* 275; Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren,* 187.

[76] *Songs for the Praise of God,* edited by Jan Roh, (1541); *Ein New Gesengbuchlen,* (1531), "Vorhede," "Das Register," n.p.; Williams, "The Development of the Moravian Hymnal," 239. Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren,* 189-214, 217, 267; Schwarze, "Early Hymnals of the Bohemian Brethren," 6-7; Holeton and Vlhová-Wörner, "The Second Life of Jan Hus," 298; Charles B. Adams, *Our Moravian Hymn Heritage: Chronological Listing of Hymns and Tunes of Moravian Origin in the American Moravian Hymnal of 1969,* (Bethlehem, PA: Department of Publications Moravian church in America, 1984), 2. The Moravian Archives in Bethlehem holds mimeographed copies of the 1501 hymns in Czech with English translations made by Bishop K. Hamilton in 1969 and 1970 (catalogue number PP HKG 15). No original copy of the 1501 hymnal is known to exist. The 1541 hymnal held 482 hymns and 300 melodies, and probably included a translation of *Veni Creator Spiritus*. 120 of the hymns in *Songs for the Praise of God* were attributed to Luke of Prague, Unity leader in the

The Unity of Brethren was bound with the very beginnings of the Reformation. Luther was sometimes called the "Saxon Hus," and he used articles from Jan Hus in his own defense against accusations of heresy. Urban congregations and noble family members expanded the Unity's conversation with Lutherans and humanist Protestants as they emerged in the early sixteenth century. The Unity's *Confession of 1535* was modeled on the Augsburg Confession and published with a preface by Martin Luther, reflecting Hussite concerns with a renewed energy gained from solidarity with Protestants. Unity of Brethren priests, including hymn-writers Michael Weisse and Jan Roh (John Horn), steered church declarations toward Luther and Zwingli. Czech and German Unity hymnals, as with Luther's hymnbooks, included popular tunes to expand the potential of hymn-singing to attract congregants.[77]

During the worst years of the Counter-Reformation, Jan Blahoslav was the Unity's spokesperson to the rest of Europe. Unity congregations, convinced that their faithful living reflected scriptural truths more authentically than any other church, emphasized personal discipline and sacrifice, insular community life, and the centrality of hymn-singing in comprehending true faith. In 1569, Blahoslav published the first Czech-language treatise on music theory and the practical issues of solo and congregational

---

1570s. Michael Weisse compiled 157 hymns in the German hymnal and included several of his own Zwinglian Protestant theology compositions. Only sixteen of the hymns were translations from Czech. The 1544 German language hymnal, *Ein Gesangbuch der Brüder in Behemen und Merherrn,* removed Weisse's Zwinglian theology.

[77] Unity Bishop Stephan to Elector Frederick the Third of the Palatinate, (c. 1570), quoted in Schwarze, "Early Hymnals of the Bohemian Brethren," 8; C. Daniel Crews, *The Confession of 1535,* (Winston-Salem: Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, 2007), I-II; Craig D. Atwood, "Catechism of the Bohemian Brethren," *Journal of Moravian History,* No. 2 (Spring 2007), 91-117; Maurice, *Bohemia,* 380-4; Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren*, 186, 243-7, 252-3, 260, 262-3, 272, 273-93.

singing.[78] It opened with Psalm 88, "Blessed are those people who know how to sing joyfully."[79] The hymnals that Blahoslav compiled and edited in 1558, 1566, and 1569 featured lyrical revisions to clarify Unity doctrine, and altered meter and melody pairings to make congregational singing easier for untrained voices. Blahoslav and another church elder contributed over two-hundred new hymns to the Czech editions. The 1566 German edition included hymns from the 1531 hymnal and over a hundred Lutheran hymns, including Luther's rendition of a hymn attributed to Hus, *O Jesu Christ unser heiland*.[80]

Blahoslav's hymnals and writing on music emphasized singing's role in community piety and the battle against Satan's influence in the world. After 1570, Blahoslav's hymnals, as well as Czech-language bibles, were printed and reprinted at Kralitz. The availability of Czech language hymnals and bibles spread the idea of

---

[78] Jan Blahoslav, *Musica,* translated by Thomas Sovik, (Denton, TX: Czech Documents in Translation, Czech Historical Society, 1991), v-vi, vii-viii, iv. Arndal, Steffen. *Spiritual Revival and Hymnody: The Hymnbooks of German Pietism and Moravianism.* Translated by Hedwig T. Durnbaugh. *Brethren Life and Thought,* 40(2), 83; Schwarze, "Early Hymnals of the Bohemian Brethren," 7; Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren,* 312-13

[79] Blahoslav, *Musica,* iv.

[80] Blahoslav, *Musica,* v-vi, vii-viii, iv. Arndal, "Spiritual Revival and Hymnody," 83; W.N Schwarze, "Early Hymnals of the Bohemian Brethren," 7; Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren,* 312-13; Adams, *Our Moravian Hymn Heritage,* 2; Holeton and Vlhová-Wörner, "The Second Life of Jan Hus," 298; Olga Settari, "The Czech Sacred Song From the Period of the Reformation," Sbornik praci Filozofické faklty brnenské university. Rada hudebnevedná, 43:H29, (1994), 6-8; Olga Settari, "The Theory of Music and Hymnography in the Unitas Fratrum in the 16th and 17th Centuries," Sbornik Praci Filozoficke Fakulty Brnenske Univerzity, H. Series Musicologica, (1990), 16. Blahoslav was the first to research and index Protestant composers in a hymnal. *O Jesu Christ unser heiland* is derived from the Latin hymn *Jesus Christus, Nostra Salus,* which is often attributed to Hus. Only the first stanza of Luther's version is translated from Latin and the rest is his own. An English translation of Luther's version is called "To Avert From Men God's Wrath," the only hymn in English Moravian hymnals that is attributed to Hus. The Latin hymn was probably written in the 1380s by Jan of Jenšejn, Archbishop of Prague.

Bohemia's distinct role in Christendom. The combined Hussite and Protestant hymnody consistently portrayed the Catholic church as a worldly and corrupt organization and Jews as antagonists of Christ.[81]

By 1600 the Unity of Brethren's two-hundred congregations included at least fifty-thousand members, and possibly as many as a hundred-thousand. Many Unity congregations in Moravia, Poland, and Germany maintained close connections with Reformed and Protestant churches. Their community-based theology emphasized education, tolerance, and social engagement, and allowed a broad range of vocations for women (although women could not be ordained). A 1609 Bohemian agreement on religious tolerance recognized the Unity for the first time. Bethlehem Chapel was given to them as their center in Prague.[82]

Jan Amos Comenius

In 1628, a young priest named Jan Amos Comenius led a group of Unity of Brethren members north to Poland. They were fleeing the brutal destruction of their communities by Spanish and German Catholics. As the group crossed the Lusatian

---

[81] Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren*, 312-13, 322, 348; Arndal, "Spiritual Revival and Hymnody," 83; Schwarze, "Early Hymnals of the Bohemian Brethren," 7; Adams, *Our Moravian Hymn Heritage*, 2.

[82] J.A. Comenius, *The Bequest of the Unity of Brethren*, (Chicago: The National Union of Czechoslovak Protestants in America, 1940), 35, footnote 67; Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren*, 322-3, 331-3; Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 82-6. Comenius discusses the series of religious agreements between Hussite sects and Emperor Rudolph II's "Letter of Majesty" declaring religious tolerance in Bohemia, July 9, 1609.

Mountains they sang a hymn that Comenius had written several years earlier, "The Lives of all of Us are a Pilgrimage."[83]

"Nought have we taken with us, all to destruction is hurled, We have only our Kralitz bibles,
and our Labyrinth of the world."[84]

The hymn is a versified representation of *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart,* Comenius's dark, dystopian allegory that protested social injustice and the influence of vice in a corrupted society. Comenius wrote the book and the hymn during the disastrous early 1620s, when his wife and children had died in a plague that followed Catholic armies into Bohemia at the initiation of the Thirty Years War. Within sight of Prague's gates, the Protestants and Hussites were crushed at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. Over the next decade, Bohemians were forced to attend Catholic services and to sing hymns in Latin. Hussite and Protestant children were taken from their parents and sent to Catholic schools. Protestant and Hussite books were burned. Bethlehem Chapel was given to the Jesuits. When vernacular singing was declared a criminal act, Unity congregants hid or buried their Czech and German hymnals. Comenius and mourning friends first sang "The Lives of all of Us are a Pilgrimage" at his wife's funeral. The hymn lamenting the terrible times was shared among Unity congregants surviving in Bohemia. When the very survival of the Unity in Bohemia and

---

[83] Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 100-01; Peter H. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War*, (London: Penguin, 2010), 785-790; Williams, "The Development of the Moravian Hymnal," 241. Czech bibles and Unity hymnals were published in Kralitz between 1576 and 1615.

[84] Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 100-01. No complete English translation of this hymn has been located.

Moravia came into doubt, Comenius led most of them across the Lusatian mountains to Leszno, Poland.[85]

In "The Lives of all of Us are a Pilgrimage" and the book *The Labyrinth of the World*, Comenius took up a medieval narrative tradition, recorded in the Czech Songs of Truth (*Písne pravdy*), about a wandering pilgrim in search of truth. In his hymn and book, death, suffering, warfare, vice, and the endless disputes that divided Christians constituted a labyrinth that everyone must navigate. In *The Labyrinth* the wandering pilgrim witnesses a world of reasonable people doing horrendous things and making terrible decisions. He eventually discovers a desperately bleak pit of ruined architecture, broken clockworks, snakes, bugs, and filth. In hopeless despair, with no escape from the darkness, the pilgrim looks inward to his own heart and the Spirit of Christ appears in a burst of brilliant light. Christ reveals to the pilgrim that God was guiding him through the disheartening labyrinth all along because only experience could teach him to illuminate reason with true faith. Comenius described the pilgrim's joy and delight from the knowledge given by the divine presence in his heart.[86]

---

[85] Otakar Osložilik, "Comenius and Christian Unity," *The Slavonic and East European review* Vol. 9, No. 25 (Jun., 1930), 79-80; Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren,* 327-9, 330, 340-1; Settari, "The Czech Sacred Song From the Period of the Reformation," 10-11; *Gesangbuch der Brüder in Behemen und Merherrn*, (1659), 694; Alexander Schunka, "A Missing Link: Daniel Ernst Jablonski as the Connection Between Comenius and Zinzendorf," in Heikki Lempa and Paul Peucker, editors, *Self, Community, World: Moravian Education in a Transatlantic World,* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2010), 55-63. Comenius's wife's name was Dorota Cyrillová. *The Labyrinth of the World* was based on the book of Ecclesiastes and Czech "Songs of Truth." The 1570 *Consensus of Sendomir* united Protestants and the Unity of Brethren in Poland.

[86] Louthan and Sterk, translators, "Introduction," *The Labyrinth of the World,* 34-6, 185-188.

This relationship between experience, reason, and faith was detailed in Comenius's exceptional series of pedagogical works, most of which were written from exile. In *Theatrum universitatis rerum* (Theater of the Universe, 1616), *The Great Didactic* (1633), *Via Lucis* (The Way of Light, 1641), and *Naturall Philosophie Reformed by Divine Light: A Synopsis of Physicks* (1651), Comenius presented innovative teaching methods intended to balance reason and faith. In the first modern Latin textbook, *Janua linguarum reserata* (The Gate of Tongues Unlocked, 1631), Comenius proposed a model for teaching all languages, asserting a primary role for the Holy Spirit's illumination of knowledge. *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (The Sensory World in Pictures, 1658) applied the same model to every day vocations and activities, from blacksmithing to singing, using detailed block prints to illustrate instruments, tools, and skills. These books and numerous others presented elements of Comenius's grand educational system called "pansophy," designed to create a better society and a renewed Christian future.[87]

Music, poetry, and singing were crucial elements of pansophy. Comenius proposed that students should be educated in their native tongue, instructed in the seven liberal arts, and physics (which included natural history and mineralogy), geography,

---

[87]Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren*, 322-3, 330-3, 342, 355-6; Comenius, *Janua linguarum reserata*, (Bernae: Andream Hügeneium, 1701); James Bowen, "Introduction," *Orbis Sensualium Pictus: Facsimile of the Third London Edition of 1672*, (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967), 3; Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church*,100-1; Spinka, *John Amos Comenius*, 68; Oslożilik, "Comenius and Christian Unity," 89. Pansophy garnered criticism from both sides of the cultural divide. Descartes generally approved of *A Reformation of the Schooles* but felt it was too religious. The Polish Unity noble, Jerome Broniewski, argued disapprovingly that pansophy mixed, "matters divine and human, theology with philosophy, Christianity with paganism, and thus darkness with light." At a Synod in Leszno, Comenius argued that the Unity's theology had always balanced faith and reason and received approval.

history, ethics, and theology. Music's practical and theoretical aspects exemplified pansophy's multidisciplinary ideal, encompassing mathematics, physics, grammar, poetry, and theology. Singing was also an important element of personal development, shaping students into good Christians who viewed each other as social equals. Pansophic students would learn singing, the basic principles of melody, and the meanings of hymns and psalms. Advanced students would learn harmony, musical notation, and music and poetry composition.[88] Comenius proposed a daily schedule that began at 6 am with an hour of singing, reading scripture, meditating, and praying. Most days of the week included the study of "music or some other pleasant mathematical exercise" in the afternoon.[89]

The value of pansophy's eclectic ideas and the ambitious goals of balancing faith and reason were lent credibility by Comenius's Apostolic Succession. Comenius, one of the last Hussite bishops, saw pansophy as the culmination of the Slavonic Succession of Apostolic Orders. Pansophy drew from Unity teachings on the purifying force of Hussite religion, the power of communal faith, engagement with the world, and the crucial role of

---

[88] Comenius, *Continuatio admonitionis fraternae de temperando charitate zelo ad S. Maresium,* (Amsterdam, 1669), "Chapter 39."; Comenius, *The Great Didactic*, 207, 271, 302; Comenius, *Naturall Philosophie Reformed by Divine Light*, preface, n.p.; Young, *Comenius in England*, 27-32, 34-5; Meiklejohn, *Education Between Two Worlds*, 16, 20; Laurie, *John Amos Comenius,* 16, 19-22, 143-5, 147, 148; Osložilik, "Comenius and Christian Unity," 85-6; Hummel, "The Flowering of the 'Hidden Seed'," 17; Bowen, Introduction in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, 3; W.R. Ward, *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670-1789,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 8; Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren,* 330, 342-4; Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church,* 97-8, 99, 101-3, 106; Settari, "Jan Amos Comenius: A Czech Hymnographist, Music Theorist and Educationist," 66. Comenius was rector of the Brethren's school in Leszno. Comenius cited Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (1605) and *Novum Organum* (1620) but retained a geocentric universe. Comenius's "School of Infancy," was a common treatise for mothers and women in Bohemia.

[89] Laurie, *John Amos Comenius, Bishop of the Moravians,* 205.

singing. But Comenius also bound his theories and methods with natural science, empiricism, and secular education. The pansophic system would clear away the aggregations of dogma, pedantic theology, and religious squabbles that obscured the essential elements of Apostolic faith. In pansophy, reason was sharpened by the Holy Spirit, revealing the essentials faith in daily life and empowering Christian unity.[90]

The Anglican church accepted Comenius's clerical authority, as did most Lutheran and Reformed churches. Comenius was invited to address the English Parliament about a pansophic school in 1641. He wrote *Via Lucis* for the meeting but only a few members of Parliament met with him, due to the crises that soon led to the English Civil War. Around the same time, he also met the younger John Winthrop, who suggested that Comenius might institute his pansophic plan as president at Harvard.

---

[90] Comenius, *A Reformation of Schooles*, 2-6; Comenius, *An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England*, Preface "To the Reader," sections 1, 2, 3, "Dedicatory Address," section 24, "The Epistle Dedicatory" to Charles II, "A Short History of the Slavonian Church," 22-4, 43; Comenius, *The Great Didactic,* 204; Comenius, *Naturall Philosophie Reformed by Divine Light*, preface, n.p.; Laurie, *John Amos Comenius, Bishop of the Moravians*, 9-13, 14, 16, 19-20; Otakar Odložilik, *Jan Amos Komensky (Comenius),* (Chicago: Czechoslovak National Council of America, 1942), 9-10; Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 97-8, 99, 101-3, 106, 109-111; Bowen, Introduction to *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, 3; Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren,* 330, 338-9, 342-4, 347, 351; Louthan and Sterk, Introduction to *The Labyrinth of the World*, 32-34, 39, 41; Otakar Osložilik, "Comenius and Christian Unity," 85-7, 92-3; Robert Fitzgibbon Young, *Comenius and the Indians of New England*, (London: the School of Slavonic Studies, University of London, 1929), 1-10, 15-19. Alexander Meiklejohn, *Education Between Two Worlds,* (NY: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1942), 16; M.W. Keatinge, *The Great Didactic of John Amos Comenius: Now for the First Time Englished*, (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1896), 129-31, 136-8; Will S. Monroe, *Comenius and the Beginnings of Educational Reform*, (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons,, 1900), 15-38, 85-8; Robert Fitzgibbon Young, *Comenius in England,* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 3-6; William W. Hummel, "The Flowering of the 'Hidden Seed': The Beck Family and the Moravian Tradition in Education," a paper read at the Vesper Meeting, October 13, 1967, *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society,* Vol. 22, No. 1, (1969), 17; Ward, *Early Evangelicalism*, 8.

Aligned with Christian unification and missionary visions of some Anglican leaders such as John Dury, Comenius discussed applying pansophy to the education of the world's heathens. All infidels (a term that lumped together Muslims, Jews, Africans, and New World indigenes) were given a universal treatment in this emerging plan, idealizing unknown realities based on biblical suppositions.[91]

Excepting Puritans in New England who conducted limited mission work solely on the authority of the king, Comenius pointed out the lack of will among colonial institutions to preach Christian faith. He argued that European empires should collectively work to convert all the inhabitants of the New World. Navigation to all parts of the globe, he said, was a gift from God and should benefit all Christendom, not competing fragments of it. He advocated for common rights to the sea as a step toward unifying Europe and converting the world's heathens under a universal Christian culture.[92] When Comenius was seventy-five years old, he wrote that true Christians, "no

---

[91] Comenius, *Continuatio admonitionis,* "Chapter 39."; Comenius, John Amos. *The Angel of Peace, 1667*, ed. Milos Safranek, (NY: Pantheon Books, 1944), 11-12; Cotton Mather, *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum Nov-Anglorum*, (Boston: 1726), 6; Osložilik, "Comenius and Christian Unity," 86-7, 92-3; Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church,* 106-7, 109-111; Young, *Comenius and the Indians of New England,* 1-10, 15-19, 27-32, 34-5; Young, *Comenius in England,* 7-8, Appendix B: "Plans for the Higher Education of the Indians in Virginia and New England," 89-95; Robert Southey, *The Life of Wesley: And the Rise and Progress of Methodism,* Vol. 1, (NY: Clayton and Kingsland Printers, 1820), 217; Meiklejohn, *Education Between Two Worlds,* 20; Laurie, *John Amos Comenius*, 20-2, 143-4, 147, 148. The Parliament members Comenius met were John Williams, the Bishop of Lincoln, the second Lord Brooke, John Pym, and John Seldon. They formed the Society for Promoting Natural Knowledge, which became the Royal Society in 1662. In 1703, the Bohemian Brethren were "enthusiastically mentioned" in Increase Mather's *The Order of the Gospel in the Churches of New England.* In 1726, Cotton Mather borrowed Comenius's title, *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum Bohemorum,* for his own *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum Nov-Anglorum*

[92] Comenius, *The Angel of Peace, 1667,* 7-10, 18-19, 75-7, 91-3, 97; Hamilton and Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church,* 43-4. *Judicum duplex de regular fidei* (Regular Faith Doubled by Sound Judgement, 1645) presented the same ideas. *The Angel*

matter into what nations, tongues, factions, and sects they be divided, may yet become so united to one another as to form one fold under one shepherd, one kingdom under one king, and all live together in concord."[93]

The presence of a new world full of "millions that are yet *in darkenesse and out of Christ,*" challenged Christian views of history.[94] The Puritan minister Thomas Thorowgood's *Jewes in America or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race* was published in 1650 with a preface by John Dury. The treatise revived a sixteenth-century theory that indigenous Americans were descendants of one of the lost tribes of Israel. *Jewes in America* was widely discussed among Puritans in England and the Americas, and among some Protestants recovering from the Thirty Years War on the continent. The theory shored up the idea that Native Americans, as Hebrew descendants, were more civilized than Africans. At the same time, the Indians' detachment from Christian-era Judaism might make them less recalcitrant toward Christian conversion than Jews in Europe.[95]

---

of Peace was printed and distributed in Breda to the 1667 peace conference concluding the second Anglo-Dutch War.

[93] Comenius, *The Angel of Peace, 1667,* 103.

[94] Thomas Thorowgood, *Jewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race,* (London: W.H. for Thomas Slater, 1650), "The Epistle Dedicatory," no page number. Italic emphasis in the original.

[95] Thomas Thorowgood, *Jewes in America,* "The Epistle Dedicatory," n.p.; Comenius, *The Angel of Peace, 1667,* 27-9, 35, 37, 69, 73-7; Comenius, *Continuatio admonitionis fraternae de temperando charitate zelo ad S. Maresium,* "Chapter 39," (Amsterdam, 1669); Comenius, *An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England*, "To the Reader," sections 1, 2, 3, 12-16, and 24, "Dedicatory Address," "The Epistle Dedicatory" to Charles II, "A Short History of the Slavonian Church," 23-4, 43; Comenius, *Bequest of the Unity,* 23; William O'Reilly, "Conceptualizing America in Early Modern Central Europe," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies,* Vol. 65, Exploration in Early American culture (1998), 108-9; Osložilik, "Comenius and Christian Unity," 86-7, 92-3; Hutton, *History of the*

Whether Comenius subscribed to the Lost Tribes theory or not, he was certainly aware of it and, at the very least, saw it as a reasonable hypothesis. Because the conversion of all the Jews signified Christ's imminent return, the presence of millions who were *very likely* Jews meant there must surely be more time remaining in Christian history. Comenius's prophetic interpretations, like the theories in *Jewes in America*, envisioned an era of peace before the final judgement during which all the Jews (including indigenous Americans) would convert, the Papacy would be destroyed, Satan would be bound, and all nations would unite in Christian faith. Pansophic education was intended to expand a unified Christian culture during the coming era of peace, fulfilling the prophetic conversion of all the Jews, and preparing the world for Christ's return.[96]

Comenius's editions of Czech and German Unity hymnals reflect the desire for a time of peace, unity, and renewal, playing a crucial role in his intensive plan for educational reform across all Christendom. Comenius employed a new threefold system

---

Moravian Church, 109-111; Young, *Comenius in England*, 25-7; Young, *Comenius and the Indians of New England*, 1-10, 15-19.

[96] Thorowgood, *Jewes in America*, "The Epistle Dedicatory," n.p; Comenius, *The Angel of Peace, 1667*, 27-9, 35, 37, 69, 73-7; Comenius, *Continuatio admonitionis*, "Chapter 39"; Comenius, *An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England*, "Dedicatory Address," sections 12-16; Comenius, *Bequest of the Unity*, 23; Young, *Comenius in England*, 25-7; O'Reilly, "Conceptualizing America in Early Modern Central Europe," 108-9; Ward, *Early Evangleicalism*, 48-9, 98; Bowen, "Introduction," *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, 8; Laurie, *John Amos Comenius*, 14, 20-2; Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 102-3; Osložilik, "Comenius and Christian Unity," 92-3; Matthew 28:19; Mark 16:15; Luke 14:23. The Lost Tribes theory of Native American origins had circulated in Europe since the mid-sixteenth-century. See Gilbertus Genebrardus, *Chronographia in duos libros distincta*, (Paris: 1567) and Joannes Fredericus Lumnius, *De Extremo Dei ludicio et Indorum vocatione*, (Antwerp: 1567). Wolfgang von Ratich (Ratke) instructed Comenius at Jena in the 1610s. Daniel Whitby published "A Treatise of the True Millennium" in *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (1703), which echoes the eschatology of Comenius, Thorowgood, Dury and others in the seventeenth century. Late in life, Comenius promoted prophecies about the fall of the Habsburgs, the failures of which permanently damaged his reputation.

of organizing hymns as essential, instrumental, and incidental to expanding Christendom through conversion and proper worship. The 1659 Unity hymnal that Comenius published in Amsterdam, the last in a century and a half long run of publications, included some of his hymns. "Lift, My Soul, to God your Praises," (*Má duše, Pána svého chval)* and "The Father's Son Beloved." (*Kriste, Synu premily*), contain themes of hope in the face of suffering. Both hymn texts also reference the revelation of God's love and wisdom in observable creation, the human heart's yearning for the Holy Spirit's correcting presence, and God's plan for peace and unity at the end of history. In the foreword, Comenius discussed his quantitative theory of hymnody in which the mathematics of melody and the metrics of poetry were "harmonized" with the theological content of texts. The methodology generated hymns that were simple enough to bring pleasure and a sense of community to untrained singers and beautiful enough to invoke the divine presence. "The Lives of all of Us are a Pilgrimage" was published for the first time in this hymnal. Comenius noted that the hymn's melody, meter, and poetry exemplified the qualities of his compositional theory.[97]

---

[97] Settari, "The Czech Sacred Song From the Period of the Reformation," 8-11; Settari, "Jan Amos Comenius: A Czech Hymnographist, Music Theorist and Educationist," 68-9; Williams, "The Development of the Moravian Hymnal," 239-42; Adams, *Our Moravian Hymn Heritage,* 21-2; C. Daniel Crews, "Comenius the Hymn-Writer, Translated 2013," (Winston-Salem, NC: Moravian Music Foundation Media, 2013), n.p.; Louthan and Sterk, "Introduction" in *The Labyrinth of the World,* 32. Many of Comenius's poems and hymns are important examples of baroque Czech lyric poetry, which required new metric and melodic variations. Comenius intended to raise the standards of Czech poetry. Relevant publications include a translation of Psalms organized by a quantitative syllabic system (1627), *Several New Hymns* (1631), *Several Religious Hymns* (1649), *On Czech Poetry* (before 1620), and *Annotata* (1633). The 1659 "Amsterdamer hymnal" contains 605 hymns. Some of the 1501 Czech hymns (which included divisive attacks on Jews), and Czech translations of Lutheran hymns were omitted. French, German, and Polish paraphrases, and 156 new texts were added. At least eight of the melodies were composed by Comenius. Comenius's, "When My Lips

Comenius died in 1670 in Amsterdam, one of the last few Unity clergymen. In *The Bequest of the Unity of Brethren*, he recorded his hopes for the future of Unity teachings, urging Unity preachers to continue their work as members of other evangelical churches.[98] Comenius wrote, "kingdoms, and with them nations, languages, laws and religious societies pass away or suffer change, perchance because a new age is beginning. Even so the congregations of the Unity pass away, doubtless because the Lord is about to renew the face of the earth."[99]

By 1700, pansophic ideas had taken root in England, Germany, central Europe, New England, and Pennsylvania, shaping education and society across the Protestant world. Beginning in the 1640s, Comenius's textbooks were used at Harvard, and later at William and Mary, by European and indigenous students. The utopian schemes, communal spirituality, and teaching methods of many of the religious groups that settled Pennsylvania were directly influenced by Comenius's works. His German translation of the Puritan treatise, *The Practice of Piety*, became a standard text for eighteenth-century Lutheran Pietists.[100]

Can Frame No Sound," from this hymnal became the hymn for the feast of All Saint's Day.

[98] Comenius, *Bequest of the Unity of Brethren*, trans. Matthew Spinka, (Chicago: The National Union of Czechoslovak Protestants in America, 1940), 22-3.

[99] Comenius, *Bequest of the Unity,* 10; Psalm 104:30.

[100] Comenius, *Bequest of the Unity,* 22; Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren*, 344-5, 353; Spinka, *John Amos Comenius*, 53-5; W.R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 48; Patrick M Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 27-35; O'Reilly, "Conceptualizing America in Early Modern Central Europe," 108-9. UNESCO's Comenius Medal honors exceptional achievements in educational research.

Count Zinzendorf and the Renewed Moravian Church

Count Nicolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf was a wealthy, well-educated, Lutheran nobleman who loved singing and composed hymns. He and his religious compatriots established the Renewed Unity of Brethren. In February, 1734, the group was throwing some old papers into the fireplace and watching them burn. As the fire faded, one small slip of paper remained intact. Zinzendorf pulled it from the ashes and read the handwritten words aloud, "O let us in thy nail-prints see, Our pardon and election free!" Familiar with the hymn this line was from, the group was filled with joy and commenced a heart-felt singing and discussion of the suffering and wounds of Jesus. Beginning with this hymn, Zinzendorf's Renewed Unity of Brethren developed a blood and wounds theology that would captivate indigenous and enslaved peoples in the New World throughout the eighteenth-century.[101]

That providential moment of joyous singing, grounded in communal knowledge of a hymn, quickened blood and wounds theology in the Renewed Unity's practice of faith. Christian ritual and symbolism centered on blood had a long history, from the Eucharist to medieval traditions of venerating Christ's wounds. Seventeenth and eighteenth-century evangelical hymns poeticized these themes with baroque extravagance. The lines on the unburnt paper were from a 1611 hymn, *O Jesus Christ, meins Lebens Licht,* (O Jesus Christ, my life's light). Zinzendorf knew the hymn by heart, having frequently sung it as a young man at the Pietist school in Halle. The hymn discussed the long, wandering journey of life, juxtaposing individual suffering with the

[101] David Cranz, *Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren*, trans. Benjamin LaTrobe (London: W. and A. Strahan, 1780), 180-181; Craig D. Atwood, "Zinzendorf's 'Litany of the Wounds'" *Lutheran Quarterly,* Volume XI (1997), 190-1.

more terrible suffering of Jesus.[102] The lines, "Oh let Thy suff'rings give me pow'r, To meet the last and darkest hour! Thy blood refresh and comfort me; Thy bonds and fetters make me free," exemplify Zinzendorf's theological focus on the spiritual liberation that Jesus's blood and wounds symbolized.[103]

Another hymn, *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* (O Sacred Head, Now Wounded), was a favorite of Zinzendorf's family, and had been sung at his father's funeral. It was a Passion hymn based on a long medieval poem, *Salve caput cruentatum,* which contemplated the various parts of Christs body as he hung dying on the cross. The last stanzas described Christ's bruised and bleeding head crowned with a wreath of thorns. The Lutheran hymn-writer, Paul Gerhardt, composed a German version of the poem in the mid-seventeenth century, the final stanzas of which became the hymn *O Haupt voll*

---

[102] Erich Beyreuther, *Der junge Zinzendorf,* (Marburg an der Lahn: Francke Buchhandlung, 1957), 42-3; Cranz, *Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren,* 180-181; Southey, *The Life of Wesley: And the Rise and Progress of Methodism,* 217-18; Craig D. Atwood, "Zinzendorf's 'Litany of the Wounds'" *Lutheran Quarterly,* Volume XI (1997)," 190-1; Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen and Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle, *Neues Geist-Reiches Gesang-Buch: Auserlesene so Alte Als Neue, Geistliche Und Liebliche Lieder ; Nebst Den Noten Der Unbekannten Melodeyen, in Sich Haltend, Zur Erweckung Heiliger Andacht Und Erbauung Im Glauben Und Gottseligen Wesen*, third edition, (Halle: Wäysenhaus, 1726), Bayerische StaatsBibliothek München, Liturg. 1375 e, p. 883, urn:nbn:de:bvb: 12-bsb10592596-7. Digital images of this hymnal accessed with permission of the Department of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books of the Bavarian State Library, Bayerische StaatsBibliothek/Münchener DigitalisäerungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek. *O Jesus Christ, meins Lebens Licht,* (O Jesus Christ, my life's light), hymn #561 in Freylinghausen, was written in 1611 by Martin Behm, and contains themes from the Czech "Songs of Truth."

[103] Atwood, "Understanding Zinzendorf's Blood and Wounds Theology," 34; Cranz, *Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren,* 180-181; Beyreuther, *Der junge Zinzendorf,* 42-3; Southey, *The Life of Wesley,* 217-18; Atwood, "Zinzendorf's 'Litany of the Wounds,'" 190-1; Frelinghausen, *Neues Geist-Reiches Gesang-Buch,* 883. Each of these sources quotes this stanza with some minor variations. The fourth stanza in Freylinghausen reads *Drum stärck mich durch das leiden dein in meiner lesten todes-pein, dein blutschweiß mich tröst und erquick, mach mich frey durch dein band und strick.*

Blut und Wunden.[104] The first stanzas describe the relationship between suffering and redemption that was central to Zinzendorf's emerging theology. "O sacred head, now wounded, With grief and shame weighed down, Now scornfully surrounded, With thorns thine only crown! O sacred head what glory, What bliss 'til now was thine. Yet though despised and gory, I joy to call thee mine."[105]

Zinzendorf composed a new hymn using the lines from the unburnt paper and the themes of *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*, "Jesu, our glorious Head and chief, Sweet object of our heart's belief! O let us in thy nail-prints see, Our pardon and election free." In the 1735 Hernhutter hymnal, "Jesu, our glorious Head and chief" was the first hymn under the heading "On the Sufferings of Jesus and the Glory Thereof." The *Pleurody (Ehre der Gnaden-wahl),* a hymn honoring the blood and water pouring from Jesus's side wound, and the *Wunden Litany* (Litany of the Wounds), which praised Christ's five

---

[104] Atwood, "Understanding Zinzendorf's Blood and Wounds Theology," 33-34; Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church,* 114; John Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology: Setting Forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of all Ages and Nations,* (London: John Murray, 1907), 835, 410-411. Zinzendorf was two months old when his father died. Traditionally attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, the poem *Salve caput cruentatum* was probably written by Arnulf of Leuven in the thirteenth century. Paul Gerhardt's German hymn first appeared in Johan Crüger's *Praxis pietatis melica* (1656). *O Haupt* became a death-bed hymn in Moravian communities and was sung every Friday evening in Bethlehem, PA into the 1850s.

[105] Freylinghausen, *Neues Geist-Reiches Gesang-Buch,*133-4; Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology,* 835; Nicholaus Ludwig Count von Zinzendorf, "Lecture III: Concerning the Proper Purpose of the Preaching of the Gospel," sermon given September 4, in *Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion: Preached from Fetter Lane Chapel in London in the year 1746,* trans. George W. Forell, (Iowa City: University of Iowa City Press, 1973), 31. This is Forell's English translation. Julian's translation of the first stanza reads, "O head full of blood and wounds, full of pain and full of mockery, O head, bound to ridicule, with a crown of thorns." The first stanza in Freylinghausen is *O haupt! Voll blut und wunden, voll schmerz und voller hohn: O haupt! Zu spott gebunden mit einer dornen-kron: o haupt! Sonst schön gesieret mit höchst schimpfiret; gegrusset senst du mir.*

sacred wounds in responsory form, were among the most prominent of these new hymns.[106]

For Zinzendorf, Christ's suffering and sacrifice was the ransom paid for humanity's sins. In Matthew 20:28, Jesus says that he came to earth as a man "to give his life as a ransom" for the salvation of humanity. The Greek term for ransom used in this passage, *lytron,* contained a revelation for Zinzendorf. The ransom Jesus paid was a point where reasoned philosophizing failed and the revelations of true faith began. For Zinzendorf, conversion was simply a heart-felt acceptance of Jesus's profound, mysterious gift to all humanity. He insisted that letting go of attempts to rationalize this wondrous ransom removed doubt, judgement, and criticism. Congregational hymn-singing, especially of hymns praising Christ's wounds, was the surest means for opening the hearts of individual congregants to the revelatory experience of the Holy Spirit.[107]

---

[106] *Das Gesangbuch der Gemeine in Herrnhuth,* (Halle: Wänsenhaus, 1735), "Register," 987; Hymn #382 "The Pleurody," in *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages*, (London: Brethrens' Chapel, 1754), 290; Zinzendorf, "Lecture III," 25-33; Atwood, "Understanding Zinzendorf's Blood and Wounds Theology,"34-5, 40. Zinzendorf adapted Freylinghausen's organization, changing the section-heading *Vom Leiden und Sterben Jesu Christi* (From the Suffering and Death of Christ) to *Vom den Leiden die in Jesu sind und der Herrlichkeit darnach*. John 19 describes the crucifixion of Jesus and blood and water pouring from his side wound.

[107] Atwood, "Understanding Zinzendorf's Blood and Wounds Theology," 34-5, n10; Bernhard Becker, *Zinzendorf und sein christentum im Verhaltnis zum kirchlichen und religiosen Leben seiner Zeit,* 2d ed. (Leipzig: F. Jansa, 1900), 268-72, 274, 277-281; Gisela Mettele, "Erudition vs. Experience: Gender, communal Narration, and the Shaping of Eighteenth-century Moravian religious Thought," 188, and Peter Vogt, "'Headless and Un-Erudite': Anti-Intellectual Tendencies in Zinzendorf's Approach to Education," 110-12, in *Self, Community, World: Moravian Education in a Transatlantic World,* edited by Heikki Lempa and Paul Peucker, (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2010); Matthew 20:28. Atwood's footnote quotes Zinzendorf on his revelation about the Greek word *lytron.* The *Septuagint* uses the term *lytron,* which was a ransom paid for prisoners of war. Luther's German bible (1545) used the word *Erlösung*, "Savior." KJV uses the word "ransom."

According to one mission historian, the atonement of blood and wounds theology was "the great Moravian discovery for the evangelization of the world."[108]

The privileged role of singing in Zinzendorf's spirituality was based in his study of the New Testament and the human incarnation of Christ, subjects he had first encountered in Lutheran Pietist institutions. Lutheran Pietism was an eclectic, amorphous movement that sought to inspire pious thinking in daily life. Zinzendorf was immersed in the movement almost from birth. His godfather, the so-called father of Pietism, Philip Spener, had often organized Pietist meetings for nobles at Grosse-Hennersdorf castle where Zinzendorf grew up. At age ten, Zinzendorf was sent to August Hermann Francke's Pietist school at Halle, where he attentively absorbed the texts and melodies in the *Geist-reiches Gesang-Buch.*[109]

Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen's *Geist-reiches Gesang-Buch* (Spirit-filled Song Book) taught hymn-singing as a spiritual experience and was geared toward four clear goals: the revival of Protestant piety, the contemplation of Jesus in daily life, the communal celebration of the divine presence, and the expression of New Testament

---

[108] Karl W. Westmeier, "Out of a Distant Past: A Challenge for Modern Missions from a Diary of Colonial New York," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 27 (1992), 74; Also quoted in Craig D. Atwood, "Understanding Zinzendorf's Blood and Wounds Theology," 32.

[109] Ward, *Early Evangleicalism,* 6-7, 112; Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church,* 114-116; Arndal, "Spiritual Revival and Hymnody," 72-3; Zinzendorf was born in 1700. Spener founded the first Pietist enclaves and preached pre-millennial peace. Freylinghausen was Francke's assistant pastor. Freylinghausen's 1714 hymnal edition (reprinted 1726 & 1734), added new baroque texts and engraved illustrations to the 1704 *Geist-reiches Gesang-Buch*. Unison melodies were incorporated with texts. The cover-page engraving features an image of the globe with only Europe and the Mediterranean illuminated under a lamb carrying the banner of the cross. The first lamb image appeared in the 1606 Bohemian hymnal and is now associated almost exclusively with Moravian church.

missionary ideals. The Freylinghausen Hymnal combined new compositions with selected Holy Spirit and Reformation hymns, including Luther's German translation of *Veni Creator - Komm Gott Schöpfer, Heiliger Geist*; Luther's rendition of the Prague hymn *Jesus Christus nostra salus (Jesus Christus, unser Heiland)*; a German rendition of *Kyrie Eleison, (Herr, sei uns gnadig)*; *O Jesus Christ, meins Lebens Licht,* the lyrics of which were on the unburnt slip of paper; and *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden,* which was central to blood and wounds theology.[110] The themes in this set of hymns were used to construct many of the earliest indigenous language hymns.

As a young student, Zinzendorf learned all these hymns and the theology they contained. He excelled in singing, theology, and poetry. but he disagreed with his teacher, Francke, on the process of Christian conversion. Francke believed a struggle with sin, called the *busskampf,* led up to a penitential transformation. Zinzendorf believed Christ had already paid the ransom for all sinners, suffering through the *busskampf* for everyone. He argued that the only thing individuals had to do was accept Christ ransom. Through Jesus's sacrifice, God's grace allowed an instantaneous conversion that welcomed the Holy Spirit into the heart and lit a flame of zeal to spread the gospel and drive away demons.[111]

---

[110] Freylinghausen, *Neues Geist-Reiches Gesang-Buch,* front leaf engraving, title page, Vorrede, Melodiyen Register, Innhalt, 133, 218, 771, 883, 1120; Arndal, "Spiritual Revival and Hymnody," 72-4; David A. Schattschneider, "The Missionary Theologies of Zinzendorf and Spangenberg," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society,* Vol. 22, No. 3 (1975) (213-233), 216. It is unclear if *Herr, sei uns gnadig* was translated from Latin, Greek, or Czech.

[111] Ward, *Early Evanglicalism,* 99-100, 103-4, 107. August Hermann Francke was the most prominent mission visionary in Europe, influenced by Liebniz' *Novissima Sinica* (1697).

Zinzendorf left Halle as a teenage nobleman. At odds with Francke, Zinzendorf began developing an eclectic theology of his own. Despite his family's objections, he hoped to become a Lutheran clergyman. Regardless of what his future held, he made a vow to himself at that time "to do all in his power to extend the Kingdom of Christ."[112] As the head of a sprawling estate in the 1720s, Zinzendorf granted sanctuary to Protestant refugees from ongoing religious conflicts – including Lutherans, Calvinists, Schwenkfelders, Anabaptists, and descendants of Unity congregants.[113]

Some of these refugees had Bohemian Brethren catechisms and hymnals with them, which inspired Zinzendorf to explore the Unity's history. He knew Comenius' translation of *The Practice of Piety* from Halle. He began studying Comenius's account of Unity discipline, (*Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum Bohemorum*), *An Exhortation to the Church of England*, and a compilation of works that had been published in German in 1700. He learned that some Unity clergymen were ordained in the Polish Reformed Church at Leszno. Zinzendorf began corresponding with one of the last two Unity bishops, Daniel Ernst Jablonski, a respected figure in international Protestantism, the Prussian Court preacher in Berlin, a Leszno native, and Comenius' grandson.[114]

---

[112] Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church,* 129.

[113] Hutton, *a History of the Moravian Church,* 127-132; Schunka, "A Missing Link," 55-63. Five "genuine sons" of the Unity of Brethren in Moravia, including David Nitschmann, were among the early refugees.

[114] Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church,* 124-7, 132; Hamilton and Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church,* 62; Schunka, "A Missing Link," 57-9; Comenius, *Ratio Disciplinae Ordinisque Ecclesiastici in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum* (1642), 1-9. Zinzendorf knew Comenius's *The Practice of Piety* from Halle. He found Latin, English, and German editions of Comenius's works at the Zittau library. The preface to *Ratio Disciplinae* summarizes the history of the Unity and explains the Apostolic Succession of Slavonic Orders through Hus. Lutheran theologian Johann Franz Buddeus taught at Jena and Halle and compiled a German volume of Comenius's works in 1700.

At this same time, word of Zinzendorf's safe-haven for persecuted Protestants was spreading and more refugees arrived. The theological and social diversity in the rapidly expanding community multiplied discord among the settlers. Zinzendorf, a King's Councilor at Dresden, persuaded the refugees to proclaim the Augsburg Confession and portrayed the community to colleagues as faithful Lutherans. But some Lutheran nobles and clergymen raised the alarm about the conglomeration of potentially dangerous radicals. In May 1727 Zinzendorf summoned the entire refugee settlement to his manor and gave an hours-long sermon on schism and community. He then laid out a set of rules in the *Brüderlicher Vertrag* (Brotherly Agreement) that were closely aligned with Comenius' treatise on Unity discipline.[115]

The statutes in the Brotherly Agreement became the basis for a voluntary religious society that all the refugees agreed to follow. On August 13, Zinzendorf declared the renewal of the Unity of Brethren at the first lovefeast (*Liebensmahl)*, also known as the Moravian Pentecost. The newly united community was christened Herrnhut – the Lord's Watch. At the moving celebration of the Eucharist the entire community sang hymns from Lutheran and Unity traditions. A powerful sense of community and devotion permeated the meeting and all the celebrants felt the purifying fire of the Holy

[115] Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church,* 131-2; Comenius, *Ratio Disciplinae,* 3-4, 10-18. Some scholars argue that Zinzendorf wrote the statutes for Herrnhut first, and found Comenius's similar works months later.

Ghost descend on them.[116] "From that time onward," wrote David Nitschmann, one of the Moravian Unity immigrants, "Herrnhut was a living Church of Jesus Christ."[117]

Zinzendorf was testing the boundaries of evangelical eclecticism and ecumenical potential, drawing from Lutheran Pietism, Unity discipline, and his own sense of inspired faith. Zinzendorfian groups built on Pietist teachings at Halle and Jena, pushing some points to radical conclusions. He founded theological societies at both schools and several other universities. He sent Herrnhut Brethren across Europe to cities where the Unity had once thrived and schools where Comenius had taught and spoken. Congregational singing, education, faith as the light of knowledge, and a zeal for the coming age of missions and the expansion of Christendom before the final judgement were central elements of Zinzendorf's teachings.[118]

At Herrnhut, Zinzendorf taught that singing was the most powerful means for initiating contact with the divine, that moment when new believers were "pricked in the heart" by the Holy Spirit.[119] The heart, according to Zinzendorf, was imbued with a unique emotional perception that sensed and always yearned for the divine presence. Philosophical reasoning in a prolonged struggle with sin was a self-centered denial of faith, a selfish endeavor that obscured the heart's divine sensibilities.[120] Zinzendorf did

---

[116] Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church*, 116-17, 124-7, 131-2, 137, 140-2, 238-241; Schunka, "A Missing Link," 59; C. Daniel Crews, "Moravian Worship: The Why of Moravian Music," in *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, ed. Nola Reed Knouse, (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 33.

[117] Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church*, 133.

[118] Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church*, 145; Hermann Plitt, *Zinzendorfs Theologie*, (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Berthes, 1871) II, 425, 444-6, 474-480.

[119] Acts of the Apostles 2:37.

[120] Vogt, "Headless and Un-Erudite," 112, 113-15; Ward, *Early Evangleicalism*, 99-100, 107. Zinzendorf referred to philosophy and reason as "head-systems," (*Kopf-Systemata).*

not want any preaching on the millennium because he viewed the Second Coming as an individualistic event that occurred "in the hearts of the elect."[121]

Communal singing and contemplation of the Jesus's profound ransom subverted reason and illuminated the darkness of the world with the Holy Spirit's fire of faith. Zinzendorf infused the Renewed Unity of Brethren's hymnals with this quasi-mystical language of the heart.[122] The foreword to the 1735 Herrnhutter hymnal discussed the powerful impression of "intimacy and affection" felt during communal singing that stirred the "spirit of mercy" to rest upon the congregation. The foreword stated, "We wish the reader an empty, longing and sensitive heart: thus [God] will harmonize with us, as we with the community."[123] Heart-religion also generated an apologetic strategy for dealing with infidels. Jews may have antagonized Christ, but they were also future converts playing their role in Jesus's return to reign over the earth.[124]

---

[121] Ward, *Early Evangelicalism,* 100-2. Zinzendorf believed there was a revelatory meaning in the Greek New Testament term for the Second Coming, *Parousia* - the public celebration of a king or emperor's physical presence.

[122] Peter Vogt, "'Headless and Un-erudite': Anti-Intellectual Tendencies in Zinzendorf's Approach to Education," in *Self, Community, World: Moravian Education in a Transatlantic World,* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2010), 107-8, 110-17; Gisela Mettele, "Erudition vs. Experience," 188, 190-1; Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits,* 235-6; Gerard Watson, "St. Augustine's Theory of Language," *The Maynoonth Review,* Vol. 6, No. 2 (May, 1982), 4-20.

[123] *Das Gesangbuch der Gemeine in Herrn-Huth,* (Wansen-Hause, 1735), "Vorbericht," ed. Zinzendorf, MAL. *Unsern Eindruct Gefuhl der Sache, Innigseit und Erwectung konnen wie nicht mit hindrucken lasse ohne welche der eigentliche Gebrauch dieser Gesange nicht kar zu Machen ist. Wir bitten aber, das ein Gnaden-Geist darauf ruhen, und wenn unsere Lieder gesungen oder gelesen warden, ode rein und anders davon im Gemuth vorkommt, allemahl etwas von der Krafft, die sich daben unter uns reget, sich offenbahren möge. Wir wünschen dem Leser ein armes und leeres aber sehnendes und empfindliches herz: so wird Er mit uns harmoniren, wie wir mit der Gemeine.*

[124] Ward, *Early Evangleicalism,*116; Plitt, *Zinzendorfs Theologie,* v. I, 644. For Halle's teachings on the mission to the Jews see, Christoph Rymatzki, *Hallischer*

Zinzendorf was attacked from every side in Saxony. He was condemned by Pietists because of the conflict over conversion. Lutherans and other Protestants felt his assertions were arrogant, if not heretical, and certainly out of line with Christian concerns in Europe. His own family was offended by his ordination as a Lutheran priest in 1734, which degraded his status as a Count and took him away from the King's court. Still others felt he was a megalomaniac attempting to found his own sect. Publishing attacks on Zinzendorf and the Herrnhutters was practically a literary industry for almost a century.[125]

Zinzendorf and Herrnhut were under significant pressure by the mid 1730s. Invoking Comenius's *Bequest,* Zinzendorf proclaimed that Herrnhut was a Unity congregation within the Lutheran Church. At the same time, Zinzendorf undermined reconciliation with orthodox Lutherans by declaring that all Christians were responsible for preaching to heathens and the Herrnhut Brethren were called to a world-wide mission. In 1736, Zinzendorf was banished from Saxony as a heretic, while the Herrnhutters were

---

Pietismus und Judenmission: Johann Heinrich Callenbergs Institutum Judaicum und dessen Freundeskreis (1728-1736), (Halle: Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2004).

[125] Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church,* 144, 146-7; Schunka, "A Missing Link," 66; Ward, *Early Evangleicalism,* 98-100; John Watson, *A Letter to the clergy of the church, known by the name Unitas Fratrum, or Moravians, concerning a remarkable book of hymns us'd in their congregations,* (London: J. Payne, 1756), 3-6; Southey, *The Life of Wesley,* 218. Watson's treatise attacking the 1754 English Moravian hymnal exemplifies anti-Moravian publications. Southey includes a two-page endnote that typifies Methodist slandering of Moravian hymns and theology.

declared desirable Lutherans and allowed to stay.[126] Zinzendorf simply said, "We must now gather together the Pilgrim Congregation and proclaim the Saviour to the World."[127]

Orthodox Lutherans and other Protestants believed that the biblical mandate to preach the gospel to all the world had ended with the death of the last apostle. Earlier generations had been offered salvation and there was no need to make a second offer to their willfully sinful descendants. Many evangelical Christians on the continent believed that only clergy from an Apostolic Succession of Orders had the authority to conduct mission work, which no Protestant denominations had. In the early eighteenth century, English Puritans and Dutch Reformed churches were the only denominations who asserted their capability to missionize indigenous peoples in the New World based in the authority of their kings who were the heads of their churches.[128]

Zinzendorf and the Herrnhutters, known as the Moravians, conceived a solution to all these problems. In 1731 Zinzendorf visited the King of Denmark (Christian VI) where he and a group of Moravians met two Eskimos who lamented a failing Dutch settlement in Greenland. They also met an enslaved man from the Danish West Indies who told them of the St. Thomas slaves' terrible plight and desperate need to hear the Gospel.

---

[126] Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church,* 144-7; Ward, *Early Evangleicalism,*114-16; Schattschneider, "The Missionary Theologies of Zinzendorf and Spangenberg," 217; J.E. Hutton, *A History of Moravian Missions*, (London: Moravian Publication Office, 1923), 5-6; Comenius, *Bequest of the Unity of Brethren,* 22-3; Schunka, "A Missing Link," 66. Zinzendorf argued that Comenius's call for Unity priests to work in other Protestant denominations supported Herrnhut's existence as a Lutheran community. Zinzendorf's banishment was repealed in 1737, but a new edict was issued in 1738.

[127] Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church,* 147.

[128] Schattschneider, "The Missionary Theologies of Zinzendorf and Spangenberg," 215; Schunka, "A Missing Link," 61.

Through some complicated political leveraging, Nitschmann and Zinzendorf were ordained missionary Bishops of the Unity by Comenius' grandson.[129]

Armed with a missionary hymn tradition from the creation of Christendom, a singing congregational community, the authority of Apostolic Episcopal Orders, Comenius's plan for learning new languages, and the power of Christ's blood and wounds, the Moravians were ready to ignite a divine flame in the New World. In the 1740s, Moravians founded Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, Salem in North Carolina, and several satellite communities near both. Over the next century, the Moravian theology was presented in an explosion of hymnals and missionary materials. Thousands of Moravian evangelists established an expansive network of mission communities in North America and the Caribbean. They sang with enslaved and indigenous peoples everywhere they went, rendering Moravian theology in some of the first indigenous language texts in the Americas.[130]

---

[129] Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church,* 124-6, 132, 148; Ward, *Early Evangleicalism,* 104, 107; Schattschneider, "The Missionary Theologies of Zinzendorf and Spangenberg," 216; Schunka, "A Missing Link," 60-1, 66-7; Hamilton and Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church,* 43-4, 46-52. The slave was Antony Ulrich. Nitschmann was ordained in 1735, Zinzendorf in 1737. Jablonski approved the bishoprics as missionary offices outside Europe.

[130] Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church,*124-6, 132, 146-7; Cranz, *Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren*, 180-181; Southey, *The Life of Wesley,* 217-18; Jonathan M. Yeager, *Early Evangelicalism: A Reader,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1-3; Atwood, "Zinzendorf's 'Litany of the Wounds,'" 190-1; Hamilton and Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 46-52; Ward, *Early Evangleicalism,* 104, 107; Schattschneider, "The Missionary Theologies of Zinzendorf and Spangenberg," 216; Schunka, "A Missing Link," 61, 66-7. In 1732 David Nitschmann and Christian Dober went to St. Thomas, prepared to sell themselves into slavery to gain access to the enslaved. In 1733, three missionaries traveled to Greenland to establish a mission among the Kalaallit Inuit. In 1734 a group of Herrnhut missionaries led by Nitschmann, went to Savannah, Georgia. Nitschmann returned to Europe to be ordained. In 1736, Moravians founded their first school for Indian children on an island in the Savannah river. Moravians were ejected from Georgia in the 1740s for refusing to bear arms during the

III. "FROM MY HEART, BECAUSE OF YOUR TEARS": SATAN AND SIN ON THE BERBICE RIVER

The warm summer night of Christmas Eve 1748 rang out with ninety voices singing praise to Jesus at the Moravian mission community of Pilgerhut on the Berbice river. The entire community gathered in the clearing among a ring of thatch huts by the creek to sing hymns. The multi-ethnic congregation sang memorized lyrics, some out of tune and off time, but all in their best Arawak pronunciation.[131] A small group of five German speakers from Saxony and Pennsylvania, four men and one woman, led the singing, making up for their imperfect pronunciation with excellent tonality. Others sang along without understanding the Arawak words at all. Most of the singers were Arawak-speaking Lokono Indians, but there were also Warao, Carib, and other Guiana Indians present, all referred to by Europeans with the derogatory term *bokken*. Several enslaved Africans also sang in the congregation, at least one of them loaned out to the German missionaries by Dutch supporters. Most of the individuals in the community spoke more than one language. The most prominent languages in the region of Pilgerhut were Berbice Dutch Creole and Arawak. At the front of the singers were Jaantje, the son of a

---

War of Jenkin's Ear. When Jablonski died in 1741, the Herrrnhut archives purchased a large collection of books that secured historical continuity between the Bohemian Unity and the Renewed Moravian church.

[131] *The Amazonian Languages,* edited by R.M. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikenvald, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 66, 69, 72-5; Alexandra Y. Aikenvald, *The Languages of the Amazon*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 32-6. Lokono is the name the ethnic group uses to refer to themselves, Arawak refers to the larger language family. Arawak is the largest language family in South America, with mutually unintelligible languages and dialects across the Caribbean, Northern South America, and the Amazon. Lokono Arawak is a distinct language that dominates the northeastern coast of the continent.

Dutchman and an Arawak mother, Jonathan, a Lokono boy who lived with the missionaries, and Jeptha, a renowned Lokono healer. All three helped the missionaries with Arawak translations for preaching and singing.[132]

Congregational singing in Arawak bound the multi-ethnic community together. The hymns they sang taught Christian concepts of good and evil, sin and faith, and a vision of the world that distinguished Christian converts as the most civilized, and blessed community on earth. The collaborative translation of hymns generated a Christian Arawak language, an indigenous spiritual perspective of Europeans, and indigenous claims on Christian spiritual authority. In the year ahead, indigenous Guianans at Pilgerhut began to spread the story of Jesus on their own, adding Christian ideas to a shared, multi-ethnic Guianan cultural repertoire.

---

[132] Fritz Staehelin, *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice im actzehnten Jahrhundert,* (Eine Missionsgeschichte hauptsächlich aus Briefen und Originalberichten, v N.L. Zinzendorf, Materialien und Dokumente, Hildesheim, Zürich, NY: Georg Olms Verlag, 1997), 9, 18; Theophilus Schumann to N. L. von Zinzendorf from Pilgerhut in Berbice, December 27, 1748; Peter Hoover, *Behold the Lamb: The Story of the Moravian Church,* (Plain City, OH: AllGodsWord.com, 2005), 167, 176; Marie-France Patte, *La langue Arawak de Guyane: Présentation historique et dictionnaires arawak-français et français arawak,* (Marseille: IRD Éditions Institut de Recherche Pour le Développement, 2011), 60; Neil L. Whitehead, *Dark Shamans: Kanaimà and the Poetics of Violent Death,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 28, 43-5; John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam: Transcribed for the First Time From the Original 1790 Manuscript,* edited by Richard Price and Sally Price, (NY: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 648, n304. The Moravians, like the Dutch, used the derogatory term "Bokje," the Dutch word for a baby billygoat, Germanized as Bokke or Bokken. For more on this term see *The Voyages of Adriaan van Berkel to Guiana: Amerindian-Dutch Relationships in 17th-Century Guyana,* edited by Matijn van den Bel, Lodewijk Hulsman, and Modewijk Wagenaar, (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2014), 65. The Pilgerhut diary refers to Jeptha as a *bogayer,* possibly a German bastardization of the Arawak term *bîkâtsji* (Dutch spelling), or *bikârhin* (French spelling), or the French colonial term *boyeè,* ambiguous terms designating a "healer," "surgeon" or "medical practitioner." Descriptions of Jeptha's practice suggest that he was a *piya,* called a *semetti* by Lokono. See *piya* in footnote 39.

Music on the Berbice River

For European Moravians, their sense of divine musical roots and the spiritual power of Christian traditions made congregational singing a superior musical form. The divine history of Christendom was carried in words and tunes that they knew by heart. Guianan Indians had little apprehension about incorporating Christian hymn-singing into their diverse musical repertoire. European rhythms, melodies, and lyrical content were part of a literate tradition that most Moravians were thoroughly immersed in, and that central European element was not important to Guianans. For indigenous Guianans, the main distinctions of hymn-singing were the lack of instruments (especially drums), the unrestricted inclusion of women, men, and children, and the multi-ethnic mix that seemed to blend mode and purpose without concern.[133]

Europeans were keen to record and comment on differences in Indian languages, dress, and behavior, even as they noted a shared indigenous complex of spiritual and musical practices. Indian dances and festivities were often modeled on the movements, activities and peculiar behaviors of birds, animals, and mythical characters. Chanting,

[133] Craig D. Atwood, "Deep in the Side of Jesus: The Persistence of Zinzendorfian Piety in Colonial America," in *Pious Pursuits: German Moravians in the Atlantic World,* (NY: Berghahn Books, 2007), 54-5; Everard F. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana: Being Sketches Chiefly Anthropologic from the Interior of British Guiana,* (NY: Kegan Pual Trench & Co., 1883), 372-3; Joshua R. Hyles, *Guiana and the Shadows of Empire: Colonial and Cultural Negotiations at the Edge of the World,* (NY: Lexington Books, 2014), 45; Richard Price, *Alabi's World,* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 67-8.

singing, and excessive consumption of alcoholic brews were constant during indigenous performances, rituals and ceremonies. Hallucinogenic substances were not uncommon.[134]

A wealth of plant and animal resources thrived in the thousands of densely forested creeks that cut through the rocky outcrops and sandy savannahs in the coastal lowlands. Tidal mangrove swamps crowded the riverbanks, reaching up to one-hundred miles inland on the Berbice River that drained the widest area of coastal plain. A long season of torrential rains flooded these lowlands between December and June, providing rich soils for indigenous agriculture, as well as fish, birds, and other animals that came with the seasonal cornucopia. Indigenous forms of music and dance were intertwined with, and immersed in, the so-called *Wilde Kust* (Wild Coast) which the indigenous peoples called *Guiana,* "the land of many waters."[135]

---

[134] Walter Edmund Roth, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians,* (Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.: 1924), 240-7, 471, 472, 478-485; Randy M. Browne, *Surviving Slavery in the British Caribbean,* 19-21; Neil L. Whitehead, *Dark Shamans: Kanaimà and the Poetics of Violent Death,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002, 3; Price and Price, "Introduction," *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam:* XIV-XV; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Giana,* 319-21. There are over twenty-five known names for alcoholic drinks in the Guianas. Hallucinogenic powders, drinks, and stews made from psychoactive indigenous plants are common among healers, doctors, and leaders.

[135] Roth, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians,* 595-6; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana,* 87-8, 100-1, 165-7; Carolyn Marie Arena, "Indian Slaves from the Caribana: Trade and Labor in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean," PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2017, 127-9; *The Voyages of Adriaan van Berkel to Guiana,* 65-6; Browne, *Surviving Slavery in the British Caribbean,* 19-21; Whitehead, *Dark Shamans,* 3; Alvin O. Thompson, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Guyana, 1580-1803,* (Bridgetown, Barbados: Carbi Research & Publications, 1987), 1-14; *The Amazonian Languages,* 66, 69, 72-5; Aikenvald, *The Languages of the Amazon,* 32-6; Stéphen Rostain, *Islands in the Rainforest: Landscape Management in Pre-Columbian Amazonia,* translated by Michelle Eliott, (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2013, 115-18, 138, 196; Neil L. Whitehead, "Arawak Linguistic and Cultural Identity Through Time: Contact, Colonialism, and Creolization," in *Comparative Arawakan Histories,* edited by F. Santos-Granero and Jonathan D. Hill, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 2-5, 7, 13-15, 27-28; Pilgerhut diary, March

Guianan music almost always had a clear purpose, often related to conceptions of spiritual communication. There were songs for healing, hunting, fishing, harvesting, and declaring war; songs for community ceremonies and seasonal celebrations; satirical songs, boasting songs; lullabies for soothing infants, the sick, and dying elders; and daily lamentations of the dead that varied depending on kinship and relationships with the deceased.[136] Several indigenous groups performed variations of the "monkey dance" in which drunken male participants jumped and climbed around a ceremonial hut, yelling and howling until they were restrained in ropes and hammocks by community women. Warao Indians performed a male-only choreographed dance that mimicked the movements and sounds of a herd of bush hogs. [137]

Most Europeans, including missionaries, looked down on indigenous arts, just as they did the indigenous landscape, believing that without the influence of Christ, all activities were savage and uncivilized. All indigenous dances were set to the pulse of drums and flutes that Europeans found cacophonous. Makusi Indians, according to one European traveler, sang "a most tuneless, dirgelike song," in the early morning, sometimes accompanied by panpipes, clay and conch-shell trumpets, and drums.[138]

---

5 1751, "a mulatto" slave trader describes Essiquibo River tributaries to missionaries, in Staehelin, 59-60; Pilgerhut diary, "Jeptha's report on the various Indian Tribes," May 26, 1751, in Staehelin, 173-7. The entire region between the Orinoco River to the west and the Amazon to the east is called "Guiana." Numerous secondary sources state that the word means "land of many waters," but none provide any etymological or linguistic sources. See Browne *Surviving Slavery in the British Caribbean,* 19, and John Gimlette, *Wild Coast: Travels on South America's Untamed Edge,* (NY: Alfred Knopf, 2011), 3.

[136] Roth, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians,* 479-80,482-3, 638-9, 697-8; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Giana,* 323-6.

[137] Roth, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians,* 480. Roth discusses the early ethnography of Guiana Indian music and dance in detail, 450-469, 476-485.

[138] Ibid., 450.

Indigenous Guianan music, from earliest contacts well into the twentieth century, was consistently described as "noisy," "simplistic," "obscene," "indecorous," and "licentious."[139]

German missionaries Christoph Dähne and Johann Güttner arrived in Berbice in 1738, confident in the superior culture radiating from Christian Europe. They intended to work among several hundred slaves on a Dutch family's large plantation on the Berbice. But the Dutch staff, believing the missionaries were paid spies for their absentee employers, made mission work among the slaves as difficult as possible. In 1739, Dähne and Güttner happily moved to a plantation further upriver near the rainforest frontier. There, they preached to inconsistent gatherings of a few slaves and plantation workers. They also began to visit nearby indigenous Guianan villages.[140]

Dähne steered the mission in Berbice away from enslaved laborers, beyond the plantations, and out to the indigenous jungle that Moravians considered to be the heathen wilderness. He successfully pressed the colonial governor, whom he had befriended on his arrival, for permission to work among the indigenous population. Dähne and Güttner also requested assistance from Herrnhut. In 1740, through Count Zinzendorf's

---

[139] Ibid., 481.

[140] Lewis Christopher Dähne, "Extract of Brother Lewis Christopher Daehne's Narrative of His Own Life," in *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, Established Among the Heathen,* (London: The Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1790), 321-2; John Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen, From Their Commencement to the Present Time,* (Dublin: R. Napper, 1818), 235,, 241; J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Frattrum 1722-1957,* (Bethlehem, PA: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education Moravian Church in America, 1967), 151. Moravian leaders often negotiated mission arrangements with aristocrats, wealthy plantation owners, and colonial authorities. Spangenberg arranged missions to Guiana slaves with Dutch Trading Company directors in 1734.

connections among wealthy Protestants, the Moravians purchased a plot of forested land a hundred miles upriver, near several indigenous settlements. As soon as Brother Beutel and his wife arrived from Hernhut, all four Germans moved to the new mission. They had no knowledge of the heathen languages in the Guianas or the distinctions between them. They worked to ignite a healing flame of the Holy Spirit through a veil of incomprehensibility.[141]

Pilgerhut

Following directives from Spangenberg and Zinzendorf, relationships with heathens were initiated with hymn-singing. Brothers Güttner and Beutel, both experienced builders, put up a German style hut made with cane and timber beside the well-travelled path along Wironje Creek. The group sang, in German, prayers to the Holy Spirit and praise to the blood and wounds of Jesus in front of the hut. They also attempted all manner of communication with passing groups of Guianans - from gesturing to drawing in the sand. Families, fishermen, and large parties, on foot and in log canoes, passed by every day. After several weeks, some Lokono, the largest indigenous group in the area, began to visit regularly. The second missionary directive was learning the heathen language. The brethren prayed for the Holy Spirit's assistance, began an Arawak word list, and kept an eye out for a native interpreter. The Beutels, who had studied some Dutch over the previous year, were able to speak, albeit awkwardly, with some passers-by in Berbice Dutch Creole, the local vernacular. The group developed a small network

[141] Dähne, "Extract of Brother Lewis Christopher Daehne's Narrative," 322-3; Hamilton and Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 151.

of friendly locals in just a few months. They compiled a basic Arawak glossary, written in Latin letters on European paper. Following the third missionary directive, they continued to preach and sing about Christ and his sacrifice.[142]

After four years, the missionaries lived among a small cluster of huts with several indigenous friends, mostly Lokono. They communicated well enough to participate in clearing gardens for indigenous crops - cassava, chili peppers, bananas, tobacco, cashews, pineapples, and other indigenous crops. They named the place Pilgerhut, and encouraged indigenous friends to say the German names of people, places and things. But they were barely able to communicate in Arawak. Bebice Dutch Creole and Arawak were spoken all around them. Warao, Island Carib, and several other Cariban languages were present as well. Most indigenous communities had capable interpreters of several languages – but not German. For the missionaries, making sense of any given conversation was usually a convoluted process. Warao, for example, was sometimes interpreted into Berbice Dutch

---

[142] Articles 18, 19, 20 in *Instructions for the Members of the Unitas Fratrum, Who Minister in the Gospel Among the Heathen,* (London: Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1786), MCHL; Dähne, "Extract of Brother Lewis Christopher Daehne's Narrative," 323; Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 236-7; ; Staehelin, *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice,* 9; Peter van Baarle, "Eighteenth-Century Descriptions of Arawak by Moravian Missionaries," in *Languages Different in All Their Sounds…: Descriptive Approaches to Indigenous Languages of the Americas 1500 to 1850,* edited by Elke Nowak, (Münster, Nodus Publikationen, 1999), 122-3; Silvia Kouwenberg, "The Ijo-derived lexicon of Berbice Dutch Creole: an a-typical case of African lexical influence," self-published, https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1386/1015fa019083eecb3a5fec711b9d04b699ad.pdf (July 2006); https://www.ethnologue.com/language/brc, accessed January 3, 2019; The 1786 guidebook is the first printed Moravian missionary instruction manual, developed with input from missionaries in the field, including Dähne. Some of the missionaries studied Dutch after being assigned the Berbice mission. Berbice Dutch Creole was the vernacular of Dutch-owned Berbice and Canje plantation areas. It is an extinct language built from Nigerian Izon, Dutch, Arawak, and Creole English.

Creole by an Arawak or Cariban speaker, and then into German by one missionary for the rest of the group. Miscommunications and false cognates must have abounded.[143]

Brother Dähne took in "a negroe-boy 'prentice" to help them actually learn the Arawak language, but this recalcitrant child caused all sorts of trouble and was soon dismissed.[144] In 1745 a Dutch gentleman brought a ten-year-old boy named Jaantje to the missionaries. Jaantje, the son of a Dutch father and Lokono mother, spoke Dutch, Arawak, and Berbice Dutch Creole. The astute boy quickly learned enough German to interpret some bible narratives and hymn verses into Arawak. The missionaries recorded Jaantje's translations with German letters and used the texts to preach and sing during visits to nearby villages. The following year a Lokono chief from one of these villages left his seven-year-old son with the missionaries to strengthen bonds with the singing Christians. The missionaries named him Jonathan.[145]

The missionaries remained unable to converse or preach effectively in Arawak. The two Arawak-speaking children and four Germans assembled a "concise narrative" of Christ's life and suffering along with "fundamental doctrines of the gospel," and their

---

[143] Pilgerhut diary, March 5 1751, Staehelin, *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice,* 60; Dähne, *Periodical Accounts,* "Extract of Brother Lewis Christopher Daehne's Narrative," 323-9; Staehelin, *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice,* 9, 11; Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 236-7; van Baarle, "Eighteenth-Century Descriptions of Arawak by Moravian Missionaries," 122-3; Roth, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians*, 213, 216, 219-221; Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 238; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana,*, 250-2; Josa, *The Apostles of the Indians of Guiana,* 15-16.

[144] Dähne, "Extract of Brother Lewis Christopher Daehne's Narrative," 323. Dähne offers no explanation of how this boy had acquired the Arawak language.

[145] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, 239-40; Dähne, "Extract of Brother Lewis Christopher Daehne's Narrative,," 323; Staehelin, *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice,* 9; van Baarle, "Eighteenth-Century Descriptions of Arawak by Moravian Missionaries," 122-3, 125.

best renderings of some hymn verses.[146] But none of the Guinans who heard the preaching and singing expressed any desire to learn what they were singing about. The collaboration produced some awkward, difficult to sing renderings of German hymns. But in summer 1746, under the careful guidance of the Beutels, Jonathan became the first Arawak preacher. His striking sermons had a powerful effect in the local villages. The boy preached about Jesus's suffering for all humanity's sins. Indigenous listeners were often in tears, a signal to the Germans that the Holy Spirit was finally at work among Guinans. After sermons, the Moravians began singing German verses and a few memorized Arawak lines. Regardless of the language, the singing helped amplify the communal experience of the divine presence.[147]

Nine years after the Moravians arrived in Berbice, Guianans began to respond to Arawak language sermons. They told stories of the crucified savior and described the experience they had felt in their hearts when singing with the Moravians. Gatherings at Pilgerhut began to draw dozens of indigenous listeners. The following year the first convert of the Lokono, an elderly woman who was barely able to walk, was baptized before a crowd of forty crying Indians. News of the moving baptism ceremony and tearful singing bolstered the gatherings at Pilgerhut services. By Christmas 1748 there were thirty-nine Guianans living in the mission village. Not all of them were Lokono, but all of them knew some Arawak. Over a hundred Guianans came some Sundays to sing and worship, including several respected elders who had been baptized. Arawak was the

---

[146] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, 239-40.

[147] Dähne, "Extract of Brother Lewis Christopher Daehne's Narrative," 323; Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, 237, 240; van Baarle, "Eighteenth-Century Descriptions of Arawak by Moravian Missionaries,"122-3; Rybka, research correspondence, Feb. 2018.

language that lit the sacred flame in Berbice. For a time, it became the Christian language of Guiana.[148]

Arawak on the Plantation Frontier

The missionaries had difficulty building a positive relationship with other Europeans in Berbice. The small group of German missionaries were devout, skilled crafts people – a weaver, a carpenter, and a stone mason among them - but their lack of political experience was a weakness. Most colonial officials and colonists were suspicious of the missionaries' intentions. Controversy and increasing tensions between Moravians and other Protestants in Europe created troubles in Guiana. On a visit to Fort Nassau, Brother Beutel learned that Dutch clergymen, colonial leaders, and white plantation workers were telling indigenous Guianans that the missionaries intended to enslave them. It was a lie based on a legitimate fear, given the frequent enslavement of Guianans on Barbados in the previous century. When Lokono in the villages near Pilgerhut heard the rumors, they countered with stories about how kind, hard-working, and spiritually skilled the Germans were. The governing council of Berbice plantation owners at Fort Nassau then accused the missionaries of facilitating an Indian rebellion against Dutch rule.[149]

---

[148] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, 239-41; Staehelin, *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice*, 9; David Cranz, *The Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren, or, A Succinct Narrative of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren, or, Unitas Fratrum, in the Remoter Ages, and Particularly in the Present Century,* translated by Benjamin LaTrobe, (London: W. and A. Strahan, 1780), 225-6. Moravian histories assert Jonathan's conversion but no sources mention his baptism.

[149] Dähne, "Extract of Brother Lewis Christopher Daehne's Narrative," 323; Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 237, 242-4;

The respected scholar Theophilus Solomo Schumann arrived from Saxony in fall 1748 to take charge of Pilgerhut. Schumann was a Pietist theologian and linguist educated at the University of Halle. He spoke German, Dutch, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He immediately alleviated a set of problems. His excellent Dutch and refined, humble, attitude, reassured the Berbice council when he presented authorization from Amsterdam for mission expansion among slaves and natives. Schumann also became quick friends with the renowned Lokono *semetti,* Jeptha, an Arawak healer who had been visiting Pilgerhut for several years. Schumann and Jeptha worked closely on translations of hymns and scripture for use in the growing mission community. Within a year Schumann had acquired enough proficiency in Arawak to give written sermons.[150]

With the ability to preach and sing in Arawak, and the support of respected indigenous converts, the Moravians made huge strides expanding the Pilgerhut congregation. Both Jonathan and Jeptha traveled frequently with one or two of the Europeans. Their preaching circuits ranged from fifty to three-hundred miles between the

---

Augustus C. Thompson, *Moravian Missions: Twelve Lectures*, (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882), 85-6; John Watson, *A Letter to the Clergy of the Church, Known by the Name of Unitas Fratrum, or Moravians, concerning a Remarkable Book of Hymns Us'd in their Congregations: Pointing Out Several Inconsistencies, and Absurdities in the Said Book,* (London: 1756), 3-4. Carolyn Arena, "Indian Slaves from Guiana in Seventeenth-Century Barbados," Browne, *Surviving Slavery in the British Caribbean,* 19-21; Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of Barbados,* (1657); Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, 130-1; Roth, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians,* 596; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana,* 36-7.Watson wrote that the English Moravian Hymnal, "abounds with so many Faults, and Imperfections," that he had to publish a critical pamphlet. In 1748 Brother Dähne returned to Europe until 1753.

[150] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen,* 241; Staehelin, *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice*, 8-10; van Baarle, "Eighteenth-Century Descriptions of Arawak by Moravian Missionaries,"123-4; *The Voyages of Adriaan van Berkel to Guiana,* 65. Schumann gave his first Lokono sermon in March 1749.

Corentyne River to the east and the Essequibo to the west. Missionary cadres visited Lokono, Warao, Kali'na, and Akawaio settlements to sing and preach, sometimes traveling for weeks or months at a time.[151] By the end of the 1749 there were eighty Guianans from at least five indigenous ethnicities living at Pilgerhut, all of whom had some proficiency in Arawak.[152]

Schumann reported breakthroughs in translating hymns and scripture to Zinzendorf. Noting the "quiet and kind" attitude of all the indigenous people at Pilgerhut, he proclaimed the happiness and joy they expressed when singing "their bokkian [Arawak] and German verses."[153] Schumann made it clear that he spent hours at a time communicating with Pilgerhut converts, especially Jeptha. "We have now translated, thank God, a fair collection of song-verses into Arawak," Schumann wrote with satisfaction, "similarly a small bible [and] key passages from the Apostles."[154] The translations included several hymns ranging from five to twelve stanzas that presented Moravian blood and wounds theology, German Pietism, and heart-religion. Lines from German language hymns and original Arawak additions were integrated to create

---

[151] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 238-40; Staehelin, *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice,* 8-11.

[152] Staehelin, *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice,* 1-3; Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen,* 238-41; Dähne, "Extract of Brother Lewis Christopher Daehne's Narrative," 323, 329; Richard Price, *Alabi's World,* 54-58, 67. The Cariban term *piya* is the common Guianian term for healers and "good" magic practitioners.

[153] Staehelin, *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice,* 11. For "bokken" see *The Voyages of Adriaan van Berkel to Guiana,* 65.

[154] T.S. Schumann to Zinzendorf, July 1749, in *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice*, 28; Excerpts in English in van Baarle, "Eighteenth Century Descriptions of Arawak by Moravian Missionaries," 123-4. Schumann sent a copy of the "Arawackisches Gesangbuch," to Herrnhut with this letter. Arawak language documents at the Unitäts-Archiv are catalogued R.15La5.

culturally resonant, metrically singable, Christian hymns. The intimate, collaborative translation process at Pilgerhut applied Lokono logic and Guianan knowledge systems to establish an indigenous Christian perspective in the Arawak language.[155]

Arawak Hymns

One popular hymn at Pilgerhut, *From My Heart, Because of Your Tears,* exemplifies the cross-cultural process. The text was rendered into Arawak by Jeptha and Schumann, probably in 1758, and is found in all three Arawak songbooks spanning eighty-five years of mission work in the Guianas. The lines, "Where the earth, is wet with your blood," referenced the saving grace of Jesus' blood with allusions to the seasonal flooding essential to Guianan life. The next lines, "my book [the Bible] is a thing for me, just like you, it speaks," asserted that Arawak-translations of the Gospel were inspired by the Holy Spirit and, like Jesus, they spoke to the hearts of would-be converts. Conversion was portrayed as inclusion in a transatlantic community, the body of Christ, related with "my spirit, my body, it is a part of you." The final words, "for always in your wound," echoed ancient Catholic doxologies, adding the Moravian vision of Jesus's side wound as the chapel for faithful Christians to a conception of heart-religion in Arawak.[156]

---

[155] "Arawackisches Gesangbuch," handwritten songbook circa 1750, NB.VII.R.3.71c., UAH; Atwood, "Deep in the Side of Jesus: The Persistence of Zinzendorfian Piety in Colonial America," 50, 57-61; J.C.S. Mason, *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England 1760-1800,* (Rochester, NY: The Royal Historical Society, The Boydell Press, 2001), 5-9, 44-8.. Many Arawak hymn stanzas are derived from combinations of lines and stanzas from other hymns, including *Come Holy Spirit* and *The Litany of the Wounds*.

[156] "From my heart, because of your tears," in "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch/ ins Arawackische Übersetzt. – unpag, handschrift," T.S. Schumann, (c.1750), NB VII. R3. 71a, UAH, also in "Arawakisches gesangbuch von Quandt" (c.1800), NB. VII. R 3. 72b, UAH; "Arawackischen Gesangbuch Hoop on the Corentyn,"

Navigating the divide between expressions of heart-religion and Guianan ways of thinking presented problems. Interpreting concepts like sin and faith was more complicated than simply finding the right word. According to Zinzendorf, teaching "all sorts of well-reasoned" definitions for sin and faith, even in familiar Christian languages like German or English, was "a preposterous method," antithetical to heart-religion. Experiences of faith were essential.[157] Schumann addressed these concerns in his first reports, writing, "Among our baptized are many very kind and sentimental hearts," who expressed love for Jesus. Converts at Pilgerhut cried tears of joy that Jesus had shed his blood and freed them "from Jawahu [Satan] and their disobedience to their Creator." "With these words," the missionary concluded, "we can express ourselves in their language, but for faith or unbelief, sin, and so on, they have no words."[158]

For indigenous Guianans, core Christian concepts were established through the translation and singing of Arawak language hymns. Missionaries and Arawak speakers discussed indigenous spiritual conceptions and the meanings of Arawak words and phrases. Missionaries looked for Lokono ideas that resonated with three essential and

---

C.L. Schumann (1779); Craig D. Atwood, "Little Side Holes: Moravian Devotional Cards of the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Moravian History*, No. 6 (Spring 2009), 61-3, 70-75; Konrad Rybka, "Between Objects and Places: The Expression of Landforms in Lokono (Arawackan)," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 81: 4 (October 2015), 541-3. The Arawak lyrics are *Dallua aija, Bikira uduma, Jumuntun wunabu, Jujun Buttena abu, Dakartan damuntu, Bî dimantu thabo, Daÿa dipiruba, Bokkia ibenatu, Imehuabuni bia, Buttidukku aku*. Translations by Konrad Rybka Anthropological linguist and Arawack speaker (UC, Berkeley Department of Linguistics 2015-2018, and Musée du quai Branly –Jacques Chirac, 2019).

[157] Nicholaus Ludwig Count von Zinzendorf, "Lecture IV: Concerning Saving Faith," in *Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion: Preached in Fetter Lane Chapel in London in the Year 1746*, translated by George W. Forell, (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1973), 34-6.

[158] Pilgerhut Diary, October 27, 1748, in, *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice*, 8.

related concepts: sin, suffering, and faith. In their view, sin opposed faith, and faith could only be attained through contemplating the suffering and wounds of Jesus Christ.[159]

The constant sins of daily indigenous activities were the most pressing problem for the missionaries. Guiana Indians, they believed, must acknowledge "that a well-deserved damnation hangs over them," because they were all "guilty of sin."[160] During Dähne's early communications with Lokonos, he learned that an Arawak word for "disobedience," *massika,* could be used as the word for sin.[161] *Massika* was probably a neologism constructed by one of the Lokono contributors. After discussion and scriptural study, the group of translators at Pilgerhut determined that the word *assiki,* which meant "to obey," could effectively convey "to believe," serving as a cognate for "faith." Adding the negation prefix, *m-*, to *assiki* created a term meaning "disobedience," or "un-faith." An existing Arawak term became "faith," and its negation became "sin."[162]

Having established terms for faith and sin, the complex of meanings embedded in Moravian suffering, blood and wounds theology was next. The old Greek conception of

---

[159] Zinzendorf, "Lecture IV: Concerning Saving Faith," 34-6.

[160] *Confession of Faith, 1535,* Article 4; Crews, "The Confession of 1535," Articles 4, 8-9; Romans 3:23; Article 4 references: Psalm 14:2-3, 53:2-3; Genesis 6:5, 8:21; Ephesians 2:3; Romans 6:23, 3:23; Matthew 25:46; Isaiah 43: 24, 26-7; and Hebrews 10:8. Article nine urges, "all to recognize their infirmity and extreme helplessness and the evils into which they have been hurled because of their sins."

[161] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 245; "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch," (c. 1750) NB VII. R.3. 71a UAH; "Arawakisches gesangbuch von Quandt," (c.1800) NB. VII. R 3. 72b UAH; "Arawackischen gesangbuch Hoop on the Corentyn," (1779) NB. VII. R 3. 72c UAH; Pilgerhut Diary, October 27, 1748, *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice,* 9; Romans, 5:19, (KJV); Konrad Rybka, "The One Who Does Not Live On earth," translation notes, Dec. 2017.

[162] C.H. Goeje, *The Arawak Language of Guiana,* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1928), 40; Van Baarle, "Eighteenth Century Descriptions of Arawak by Moravian Missionaries," 124, citing a 1754 letter written by T.S. Schumann (not found); Romans, 5:19, (KJV); Rybka, translation notes and research correspondence, Dec. 2017, Feb. 2018.

lytron, "ransom," that had been a revelatory inspiration for Zinzendorf in the 1720s was intertwined with heart-religion's conceptions of faith and sin. The missionaries taught that Jesus paid a universal ransom for every individual's eternal salvation with his blood and suffering. That ransom was lost to unrepentant sinners who denied or forgot about Jesus suffering. To universal ransom idea was conveyed by the Arawak term *jaontin*, "to buy" or "to pay," in the unusual verb constructions *maijaontin* and *aijaontin.*[163]

Maijaontin means "you will not buy." The term reinforced the relationship between faithful living, sinful acts, and Jesus's universal ransom. The *From My Heart* lyrics, "the pain we did to you, you will not buy, [if] we forget out of our own will," asserts that sin causes Jesus's suffering and to forget his suffering is a sin.[164] The lines "You will not buy, what they [unrepentant sinners] have, what they did," in *Jesus Wandered for Miles* explains that sinners will not receive the benefit – eternal salvation - of Christ's universal ransom.[165] In *The One Who Does Not Live On Earth, aijaontin*

---

[163] Pilgerhut diary, July 29 1751, in *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice,* 68; Zinzendorf, "Lecture VIII," October 2, 1746, in *Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion,* 88; "Jesus Wandered for Miles," in "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch," (c. 1750), NB VII. R.3. 71a. UAH; Rybka, research correspondence, February 6, 2018; Marie-France Patte, *La langue Arawak de Guyane: Présentation historique et dictionnaires arawak-français et français arawak,* (Marseille: IRD Éditions Institut de Recherche Pour le Développement, 2011), 237. Patte defines *yonton* as "acheter, payer," "buy, pay." *Yonton* is usually written *jaontin* or *ÿaontin* in Moravian primary documents. The phrase "*wahaikâshia hittinîn*" translates as "We forgot out of our own will," probably a construction to explain the concept of sin. In modern Arawak, *Maijaontin bupa* can be translated as either "You will not buy" or "you shall not believe." There was no known Arawak word for "believe" prior to Christian influence.

[164] "From my heart, because of your tears," in "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch," (c. 1750), NB VII. R.3. 71a. UAH; "Arawakisches gesangbuch von Quandt," (c.1800) UAH; "Arawackischen gesangbuch Hoop on the Corentyn," (1779) UAH. *Aboatu wanishia bu-mun, Maÿoantin Bupa, Wahaikashia hittinin.*

[165] "Jesus Wandered for Miles," in "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch," (c.1750), NB VII. R3. 71a, UAH; Rybka, translation notes, Dec. 2017, Feb. 2018. *Maijaontin bupa, Namünnîn nanîssia.*

relates the scriptural idea that "the wages of sin is death." The lines "All of them together they [sinners], could pay a long time [for eternity], in the fire," state that sin was the purchase of eternal punishment in hell.[166]

Faith in and obedience to God, according to the missionaries, were demonstrated by awareness of the ever-present potential for sin, and resistance to, and ultimate abandonment of, satanically influenced indigenous culture. In Moravian heart religion, awareness of sin signaled a "soft heart" awakened to the realities of saving faith and damning sin. Refusal to believe in Christ's sacrifice signified a "flinty heart" intent on disobedience to God. The hymn *The One Who Does Not Live On Earth,* includes the line "my heart is becoming soft," a distinctly non-Lokono usage of the Arawak term "belên" to mean "soft" in an emotional and spiritual context, rather than the usual Arawak meaning "to melt."[167]

An indigenous collaborator with a soft heart was necessary to properly interpret Christian faith into sensible Arawak terms.[168] Jeptha's involvement in the interpretation

---

[166] "The One Who Does Not Live On Earth," in "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch," (c.1750). NB VII. R 3. 71a UAH; Rybka, hymn translations and notes, Dec. 2017, Feb. 2018; C. Daniel Crews, "The Confession of 1535," Article 4, 8-9; Romans 6:23; Matthew 25: 46, 30. The Arawak lines are *Dai Namaquakebe nama, Aijaontin kubama, Hikkihi akulukku.*

[167] *Confession of Faith, 1535*; Crews, "The Confession of 1535," Article 4, 8-9; "Georg Rhaw's 1538 English translation from the Latin translation of the original Czech, 'The Bohemian Confession, 1535,'" *Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition,* edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and Valerie Hotchkiss, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 1: 796-833; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700,* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press,, 2006), 14-15. "The One Who Does Not Live On Earth," in "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch," (c. 1750), NB VII. R.3. 71a UAH; Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 245-6. *Dallua ebeledoabu.*

[168] van Baarle, "Eighteenth Century Descriptions of Arawak by Moravian Missionaries," 124, citing a 1754 letter written by T.S. Schumann, (not found).

of hymns was not out of line with his role as *semetti,* a healer among Wironje Creek natives. Lokono *semetti* were included in the trans-ethnic category *piya* (a Cariban word), also called a *bogayer* by the Moravians. All three terms – *semetti, piya,* and *bogayer* - identify Jeptha as a "good" sorcerer whose specializations included healing illness and injury, countering spiritual attacks, and protective magic.[169]

Jeptha perceived an affinity between his own healing, protective work as a *semetti,* and the love and healing of Jesus and the Moravians. Jeptha's new faith did not eclipse his specialized knowledge, but after his baptism in 1749 he acknowledged his prior life of sinfulness.[170] In a letter to Moravians "beyond the big sea," Jeptha dictated his declaration of faith, echoing the hymns he sang at Pilgerhut.

> "He has washed me with his blood and that has set me free from my disobedience. That took my heart, that He died for me. I have not forgotten afterwards, and therefore I will love Him in my heart. That's why I give my

---

[169] Josa, F.P.L. *The Apostle of the Indians of Guiana: A Memoir of the Life and Labours of the Rev. W.H. Brett, B.D., for Forty Years a Missionary in British Guiana*, (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1887), 34-7; Whitehead, *Dark Shamans*, 26, 46-9; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, 344-51; Thompson, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Guyana, 1580-1803,* 12-13; "Letters from baptized Indians to their brother and sisters beyond the big sea," Pilgerhut diary, March 1752, in *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice*, 187; Richard Price, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition*, 648, n304; Peter Kloos, *The Maroni River Caribs of Surinam*, (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971), 209-33; Konrad Rybka, research correspondence, January 7, 2018. Stedman writes about "*Peii,* or *Pagayers."* Kloos states that *pï:yei* is a Carib word for shamans who communicate directly with the spirit world, but does not mention Stedman's term *Pagayer.* The Moravians consistently referred to Jeptha as a *Bogayer* in the surviving documents. See *Pagayer* in footnote 2.

[170] "Letters from baptized Indians to their brothers and sisters beyond the big sea," March 1752, in *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice*, 187, 188n1; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*, 16-17. Jeptha was baptized on April 8, 1749

whole heart to Him daily. I ask him warmly that I will not get away from his pierced side. He loves me very much, that's why He brought me to Himself."[171]

Europeans thought that Satan held sway in the world beyond Christendom. [172] According to most Christians, Satan and his demonic minions were especially successful among the indigenous "children of disobedience" in Guiana.[173] One Moravian chronicler stated that Guianans never performed acts of "reverence or religious worship" because they did not fear God. Christians were appalled at Guianans apparent offerings and rituals to gain favor with "the author of every evil," Satan, whom they feared very much.[174] In the 1790s, an English mercenary wrote that "all the Guiana Indians believe in God [but] they *Worship* the Devil whom they call Yawahoo."[175]

The name *"Jawahü"* is included in German letters and diaries from Pilgerhut in the late 1740s as the name for Satan. Guianan beliefs posited a world full of diverse, spiritual powers that were potentially helpful, but even helpful spirits often took "delight

---

[171] "Letters from baptized Indians to their brother and sisters beyond the big sea," March 1752, in *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice*, 187.

[172] Thompson, *Moravian Missions: Twelve Lectures,* 130; Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*, 14-17; Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, 235; Price, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition,* 648, n304; Kloos, *The Maroni River Caribs of Surinam*, 209-33.

[173] August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *An Account of the Manner in which the Protestant Church of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, Preach the Gospel, and carry on their Missions among the Heathen,* English translation (London: H. Trapp, 1788), Sections 38, 48.

[174] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, 235.

[175] *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië,* eds. H.D. Benjamins and Johann F. Snelleman, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1914-17), 110; Price, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition,* 648, n304. Price notes that Stedman copied from Hartsinck (1770, 33), who never visited Guiana. Price cites Benjamins and Snelleman writing that *yawahu* or *Yoleka* is an evil spirit of the Caribs.

in causing trouble, mischief, and death."[176] Guiana spirits were not ghosts of the dead or otherwise human in any sense, but rather beings with specific purposes, powers, places, and associations that may, at certain times, operate in the service of skilled sorcerers. Lokono Arawak terms for different types of spirits included *semehe,* a "good spirit" that assisted a *semetti*; *jukiyu-jan*, another sort of potentially helpful spirit; *ekkekuli, mansinskiri* and *mahui,* different forms of potentially threatening spirits; *ialoko* and the related term *uya,* spirits of animals, plants, stones, and other natural objects, (and probably the root of the term *jawahü*); and *jawahü*, spirits that made people "crazy."[177]

All these spirits were deemed nothing more than subdivisions of "the Devil into many kinds" by missionaries, only the Holy Spirit was "good."[178] For Jeptha, Christian living meant certain sorts of rituals and ceremonies were evil, but some traditional social roles were appropriate for the Holy Spirit. Jeptha very likely saw conversion as a corrected continuation of his healing and protective work as a *semetti.* A *semetti* could easily incorporate new allies like the Christians' all-powerful Holy Spirit.[179]

Through Jeptha's enthusiastic engagement in translation work, *Jawahü* became the name for Satan at Pilgerhut in 1748. Different lineages of indigenous sorcerers and healers were employed for different purposes, depending on their spiritual allies,

---

[176] Josa, *The Apostle of the Indians of Guiana*, 34.

[177] Goeje, *The Arawak Language of the Guianas,* 26, 32, 39, 4; Patte, *La langue Arawak de Guyane,* 106; Pilgerhut Diary, October 27, 1748, in *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice,* 8; Konrad Rybka, research correspondence, Feb., 2018.

[178] Pierre Barrère, *Nouvelle relation de la France equinoxiale.* (Paris: Piget, Damonneville and Durand, 1753), 206, quoted in Whitehead, *Dark Shamans,* 52.

[179] Josa, *The Apostle of the Indians of Guiana,* 34-7; Whitehead, *Dark Shamans,* 26, 46-9; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana,* 344-51; *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië,* 110.

specialized knowledge, and traditional ethnic associations. Certain indigenous practitioners used attack sorcery, invocations of vengeful spirits, shape-shifting jaguar attacks, poisoning, ritual murder, and cannibalism to meet clients' needs. *Jawahü,* (also written *yawàho* or *yauhahu*), was the Arawak term for the madness resulting from spiritual attack or involvement with the negative spiritual forces. Lokono *semetti* knew a song of protection from *jawahü* that they were often asked to perform in protective rituals. Moravian hymns were new and powerful weapon against the "crazy" behavior of sinners afflicted by Satan.[180]

Once Jeptha became a Christian, Lokono conceptions of spiritual healing were associated with Christian faith. Arawak phrases in the hymn *Jesus Wandered for Miles* associate a *semetti's* work with the healing power of Jesus. The term *semetti* translates as "the tasty one" or "the sweet one," referring to the protective and healing power of Arawak chants and incantations. The hymn lines *Semekutan ladiân,* "His words remained

---

[180] Pilgerhut Diary, October 27, 1748, in *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice,* 8; Whitehead, *Dark Shamans,* 26, 42, 46-7, 255 n13; Goeje, *The Arawak Language of Guiana*, 46; Patte, *La langue Arawak de Guyane*, 234; Schumann, handwritten grammar and dictionary, (c. 1750), https://diglib.amphilsoc.org/islandora/object/aruwakkisch-deutsches-w%C3%B6rterbuch#page/315/mode/1up; Christian Schumann, *Arawakische Dictionary,* (1882), 121; *Sir Walter Raleigh's Discoverie of Guiana,* edited by Joyce Lorimer, (London: Ashgate, The Hakluyt Society, 2006), lxxii, 176, 177 (n2), 268-9; Thompson, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Guyana 1580-1803,* 12-13. Eighteenth and nineteenth-century grammars define *jawahü* as a nature spirit, a demonic spirit, or a devil, reflecting Christian influence. Different cultural traditions like *jawahü* were subsumed under the *kanaimà* classification in the nineteenth century. Some shared Guianan beliefs are associated with petroglyphs and *Makonaima,* a "Great Spirit." A *kanaimà* sorcerer was voluntarily possessed by an evil spirit, usually taking the form of a jaguar, and charged with avenging a death, insult, harm, or threat. Among the Lokono, *kanaimà* practitioners were considered *yaku* (outsiders). In the 1590s, Sir Walter Raleigh left Hugh Goodwin with Orinoco river Indians. In a 1596 letter, Captain Pedro de Salazar wrote to Philip III that Goodwin was either "devoured by tigers," (Lorimer, 268 n4), or, "attacked by four jaguars who tore him to pieces." (Whitehead, 46).

sweet," and *Semetu kia badiân,* "Your words are sweet," associated the practices of Lokono *semetti* with hymn-singing, Jesus Christ, and the word of God in the bible.[181]

In hymn lyrics, Lokono associations between spirits and shadows and reflections were transposed into the Christian concept of an eternal soul that inhabits every human body. The term *daija* (pronounced *da-ee-ya*) in Pilgerhut hymns designates "my soul," with a new Christian meaning that distinguished the human soul from other sorts of spirits. *Daija* meant "my shadow" or "my image," which had some unclear pre-Christian spiritual connotations. Unlike any of the other Arawak terms for spirits, *-ija* is a dependent part of a whole that requires a possessive prefix, like Arawak terms for body parts and kinship. With the help of Lokono like Jeptha, Moravians used *daija* to express the idea "my soul." There can be no *-ija,* no shadow, image, or soul, without the human body. The term *daija* is used in *The One Who Does Not Live on Earth,* and *From My Heart. Daija dipiru mutti* means *"*my soul and my body," while *daija dipiruba bokkia benatu* means "my spirit, my body, it is a part of you."[182]

The redeemable, eternal, Christian soul is also expressed in the phrase *Daijalukkudu,* an idiom meaning "instead of me."[183] The line *Daijalukkudu kubabu*

---

[181] "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch," (c. 1750), NB VII. R.3. 71a UAH; Rybka, translation notes, Dec. 2017; Goeje, *The Arawak Language of Guiana,* 39; Patte, *La langue Arawak de Guyane*, 194-5; Whitehead, *Dark Shamans,* 26, 255 n13.

[182] "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch," (c. 1750), NB VII. R.3. 71a UAH; "Arawakisches gesangbuch von Quandt" (c.1800), NB. VII. R 3. 72b UAH; "Arawackischen Gesangbuch Hoop on the Corentyn," (1779), NB. VII. R 3. 71c UAH; Konrad Rybka, research correspondence, Feb., 2018.

[183] "The One Who Does Not Live On Earth," in "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch," (c. 1750), Unitäts-Archiv, NB VII. R.3. 71a UAH; Konrad Rybka, research correspondence, Nov., 2017, Feb., 2018. *Ija* means "shadow" or "image," but cannot stand alone without a possessive prefix: *da,* signifies first person. It is unclear if *–ija,* a form of the word *uya,* was used in this sense prior to Christian influence.

"Instead of me, a long time ago," in *The One Who Does Not Live on Earth,* follows lyrics stating Jesus' sacrifice was "so that I can be alive." The lyric, "Instead of me, a long time ago," makes the point, again grounded in the universal ransom idea, that Christ suffered on the cross in place of a repentant singer's inherently sinful soul suffering eternal damnation in Hell.[184]

Hell, almost never written down by missionaries, was an omnipresent place – just beyond the veil of the dark Guianan wilderness. Moravians were burdened with the knowledge that in the New World, "so many thousands and millions of the human race [were] sitting in darkness and groaning beneath the yoke of Sin and the Tyranny of Satan."[185] Missionaries in Guiana praised the comfort of the Savior's presence during hymn-singing "in this dreadful wilderness," and believed that without the influence of Christ, "the sense and thinking of the human heart is evil."[186] Guianans' belief that the structure of the spiritual universe was designed by a dangerous, potentially murderous, primordial power structured the universe seemed to relate Satan's influence to Europeans.[187] Therefore, it made perfect sense to Moravians that an indigenous term for Satan, *Jawahü*, already existed, while a term for the redeemable Christian soul, *daija,* had to be uncovered and corrected.[188]

---

[184] "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch," (c. 1750), NB VII. R.3. 71a UAH; Rybka, research correspondence, Nov., 2017, Feb., 2018.

[185] "A Concise Account of the Present State of the Missions of the United Brethren in 1796," *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, Established among the Heathen,* vol. II, (London: The Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1797), 1-2.

[186] Pelikan and Hotchkiss, "The Bohemian Confession, 1535," Article 4, 1: 796-833; Genesis 8:21.

[187] Whitehead, *Dark Shamans,* 41.

[188] Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors,* 16-17, 26,, 49-50.

Indigenous Guianans at Pilgerhut perceived conversion as a corrective learning process. Hearing and singing narratives about Christ's suffering and God's boundless love in Arawak often instigated tears among the attentive congregants. The sadness that Indians felt upon learning of Christ's suffering for their salvation stirred heart-felt emotions that signaled Jesus's divine presence and his power to "soften" a sinful heart. The emotional experience of the divine is exemplified in the stanza, "From my heart, because of your tears, the sadness inside me, [is] to rejoice inside you, forever in your wound"[189] The suffering of Jesus evoked sadness at his great gift of salvation that was turned to joy through the revelation of God's forgiveness for a previous life of sin. The inclusion of new converts worshipping "forever" in Jesus' side wound expressed the transatlantic Moravian ideal of a world unified by faith and proper living that prepared repentant heathens for eternal life in Heaven.[190]

Other Arawak language lyrics associated emotive singing experiences directly with the divine presence. One stanza from *The One Who Does Not Live On Earth* reads, "He is like this right here, Jesus who died."[191] The phrase *Haddikai Jesus ahuduti* is an unusual Arawak demonstrative, like pointing to a person standing in the immediate

---

[189] Rybka, research correspondence, Nov., 2017, Feb., 2018.

[190] Gisela Mettele, "Erudition vs. Experience: Gender, Communal Narration, and the Shaping of Eighteenth-Century Moravian Religious Thought," in *Self, Community, World: Moravian Education in a Transatlantic World,* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2010), 187, 191-2; Atwood, "Little Side Holes: Moravian Devotional Cards of the Mid-Eighteenth Century," 61-3, 70-75; Craig D. Atwood, "Deep in the Side of Jesus: The Persistence of Zinzendorfian Piety in Colonial America," in *Pious Pursuits: German Moravians in the Atlantic World,* (NY: Berghahn Books, 2007), 50, 57-61.

[191] "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch," (c. 1750), NB VII. R.3. 71a UAH;Rybka, research correspondence, November, 29, 2017, February 6, 2018.

vicinity and exclaiming that they are right there.[192] Similar acknowledgements of an invisible, divine presence are central to the singing-theology in medieval hymns like *Veni Creator Spiritus,* hymns of the fifteenth-century Bohemian Brethren, and the Moravian missionaries. Eighteenth-century Moravian theology emphasized a personal, emotional relationship with Jesus and the special ability of the heart to sense the divine presence, especially during congregational singing. These Arawak lines refer to the emotional experience of communal singing as the immediate presence of the Holy Spirit in the singers' hearts.[193]

An unusual alteration of a common Arawak idiom also created an indigenous expression describing the emotional experience central to "heart religion" and evangelical conversion. The phrase *uya abukunnua* translates literally as "to cook a spirit," meaning "to be scared." In the hymn *The One Who Does Not Live on Earth* this idiom is reworked in the phrase *Lullua abukunnua,* substituting *uya*, "spirit," with the term *lullua* which means "his heart," giving a phrase that means "to cook his heart," and idiomatically "his heart is scared." It is clear that the translators knew the term *uya,* "spirit," but chose *lullua* to describe both Christ's experience as he was being crucified, and the Christian virtue of fearing God. Altering the idiom carefully avoided using Arawak terms like *uya*

---

[192] Rybka, research correspondence, November, 29, 2017, February 6, 2018. From the hymn beginning "The one who does not live on earth." In these morphemes - *Haddikai Jesus ahuduti, ha-ddi - ha* is a demonstrative, presentative prefix, emphatically pointing out something right in front of or beside you.

[193] Peter Vogt, "'Headless and Un-Erudite': Anti-Intellectual Tendencies in Zinzendorf's Approach to Education," in *Self, Community, World: Moravian Education in a Transatlantic World,*, edited by Heikki Lempa and Paul Peucker, (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2010), 112-116; W.R. Ward, *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670-1789,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 11-12, 13-18.

that referenced indigenous spirits. Unusual and modified Arawak expressions like *Lullua abukunnua* promoted the singers' self-awareness of their own emotional experience during singing. *Lullua abukunnua* defined the emotions of the evangelical conversion and worship with a new Arawak Christian sensibility.[194]

Lokono idioms using the term *ansi* (pronounced "an-shi") are put to this same task in *The One Who Does Not Live on Earth." Ansi* is a somewhat mysterious term today, related to the terms *uya* and the word *anshin* which means "to want," but with amorphous meanings including "soul," "inner peace," "love," or "to love." Two consecutive *ansi* phrases are especially difficult to translate. *Kia aijulatta bansi* is an expression of personal torment. *Kibilitu juran wansi* modifies the idiom *juran ansi* that means "want" or "demand." These lines are glossed as "That is what torments me, we want…" The next hymn line, *Baninikin hinnân badia koan,* means something like "you are still receiving that," referencing Jesus' pain mentioned in the next line. These lyrics clearly relate personal torment, a feeling of desire or longing, and the suffering of Jesus, but Arawak vocabulary and grammar alone cannot provide a sensible translation.[195]

Following a pattern from early evangelical Czech and German hymnody, this stanza relates the complex of heart-religion theology and the communal singing experience. The torment of sin, the desire for relief from sin, the inner transformation of accepting Jesus's universal ransom, and the comfort of communal singing and faithful

---

[194] "The One Who Does Not live On Earth," in "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch," (c. 1750), NB VII. R.3. 71a UAH; Rybka, research correspondence, February 6, 2018.

[195] Goeje, *The Arawak Language of Guiana,*36; Patte, *La langue Arawak de Guyane,* 46; Rybka, research correspondence, February 6, 2018. The word *ijulatta* is now unknown but is probably a construction related to *uya*.

living are conveyed through these unusual Arawak phrases. As Zinzendorf discussed in sermons and the foreword of the 1735 Herrnhutter hymnal, the torment of sin was relieved only by conversion and the welcoming of the divine presence into a repentant sinner's heart, a presence that faithful Christians should always long for.[196] These *ansi* lines about torment and longing come immediately after a line that clearly translates as, "I myself am a sinner/ I would like to convert."[197]

Personal conversion narratives from Pilgerhut reveal the importance of Arawak language hymn-singing in transmitting Christian ideas to indigenous Guianans. Pilgerhut converts were "prepared by the Spirit of God" through reciting, repeating, and eventually memorizing hymn lyrics and catechism responses.[198] After baptism, converts dictated personal memorials that were transcribed into mission records. One Lokono, giving the essential points of heart religion from numerous hymns, stated that he had lived in sin until his adulthood but grew curious when he heard stories of Jesus. The Lokono dictated, "When I afterwards became desirous to experience what I heard, it was granted me. Jesus has cleansed me in his blood, and delivered me from my disobedience. This truth…hath conquered and captivated my heart."[199] Another Lokono, essentially summarizing the

---

[196] J.E. Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church,*(1909), 238-241; Zinzendorf, "Vorbericht," *Das Gesangbuch der Gemeine in Herrn-Huth,* (1735), MAL. Zinzendorf, "Lecture IV: Concerning Saving Faith," 34-5.

[197] "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch," (c. 1750), NB VII. R.3. 71a. UAH; Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church,* 238-241; Zinzendorf, "Vorbericht," *Das Gesangbuch der Gemeine in Herrn-Huth,* (1735), MAL; Zinzendorf, "Lecture IV: Concerning Saving Faith," 34-5. Rybka, research correspondence, February 6, 2018. The Lokono line is *Dakia, damasʃikani* and can be translated literally as something like "myself, my disobedience," or "I myself am disobedient," meaning "I am a sinner."

[198] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, 246.

[199] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, 245-6. William C. Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church,* vol. 1, (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1870), viii-xii. Written memorials of converts lives were an important

content of *The One Who Does Not Live On Earth,* stated, "I had gone astray from him; but he appeared and took away my polluted, evil and flinty heart, and gave me a heart of flesh: for his blood hath purified and softened it."[200]

The Arawak hymns from Pilgerhut were designed to teach Christian spiritual conceptions, to correct (or undermine) indigenous spiritual conceptions, and relate the proper living of a Christian community with the ability to invoke the divine presence.

After almost fifteen years of collaborative efforts, Pilgerhut converts were proselytizing other indigenous communities on the Berbice and Essiquibo riviers. They told bible stories, narrated the suffering of Jesus, and described baptisms, conversions, and singing events at Pilgerhut.[201] Pre-existing communication networks helped indigenous converts spread the word among all the regional ethnicities through "the simple utterances of their hearts."[202]

The Rise and Fall of Pilgerhut

Pilgerhut began to expand rapidly in the early 1750s, despite some issues with the colonial government – including a coerced oath of loyalty, a friendly governor's death, and troops on Wironje Creek that forced two Christian Lokono into colonial service.[203] In spring, 1750, "eleven savages" from Spanish territory on the Orinoco River traveled five

---

part of life at all Moravian missions, a practice that became influential among several evangelical denominations by the nineteenth century.

[200] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 246.

[201] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 245-6; Dähne, "Extract of Brother Lewis Christopher Daehne's Narrative," 326-7, 329-31; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana,* 165-7.

[202] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 245-6.

[203] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 243-6, 247. The new governor was M. Van Ryswyk.

days to visit the Christian Indians at Pilgerhut that they had heard about.[204] Several Carib families, the group most easily roused to war, moved to the village before 1754. Other Cariban-speaking groups also began to visit for Arawak sermons and singing.[205] Moravians asserted that "the word of the cross tamed these tigers in human shape, and changed their ferocity into the meekness of the lamb."[206] At the end of 1756 three-hundred-seventy-six Indians had been baptized. Two-hundred-thirty-three people lived at Pilgerhut. The remaining eighty-six converts lived close by or traveled in small groups to share the good news across the Guianas.[207] Forty-eight mostly elderly converts had died by that point, which helped transform traditional ancestor worship into heavenly aspirations of eternal life and reunion. As the missionaries saw it, the Indians' release from "the fear of death, so natural to them in their pagan state," finally signified the Holy Spirit's flame of sacred love.[208]

But the glory days of Pilgerhut were already drawing to a close. Schumann's wife died at Pilgerhut, and he returned to Europe in 1758. The remaining missionaries were urged to be cautious with baptism, to make sure there was a genuine change in the hearts of converts, (probably due to recent issues in the Jamaica mission). The tumult of the Seven Years' War prevented missionaries and mission supplies from making the trip to distant Berbice.[209] In 1759, almost half of the colonists in all the Guianas died in a small

---

[204] Ibid., 242.

[205] Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana,* 169-70.

[206] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 243-5.

[207] Ibid., 245-6.

[208] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 245-6; Dähne, "Extract of Brother Lewis Christopher Daehne's Narrative," 326-7, 329-31; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana,* 165-7.

[209] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 245-7; Matt Schumann and Karl Schweizer, *The Seven Years War: A Transatlantic History,*

pox epidemic. Government offices, merchant houses, and plantation management were gutted.[210] Pilgerhut and the entire Berbice colony were devastated. At least forty Indians died at Pilgerhut that year and many more moved further inland away from the plantations. Worship services dwindled to a paltry dozen attendees most of the time. A series of missionaries arrived after 1760, but most of them died in less than a year. Disease and a famine caused by the war raged into 1762. Only twenty-two inhabitants remained at Pilgerhut, five of them were Europeans.[211]

The Pilgerhut congregation hobbled through another year with no new converts and a still diminishing regular group. On the last night of February, 1763, three weeks after the Treaty of Paris ended the war - news that had not yet reached Pilgerhut - the missionaries were alarmed by canon fire a few miles away. They had not yet received news that the Seven Years War had ended when they received surprising news of a massive slave rebellion. The next day they were informed that Pilgerhut was cut off and the rebels were heading in their direction. Most of the Indians fled with several of the Germans toward Demerara, escaping by boat in two parties. The remaining five missionaries lay hidden in the woods nearby, hoping to somehow save the mission.[212] A small group of rebellious but merciful slaves discovered the missionaries, confiscated their unused rifles, and warned them to flee before "more embittered Negroes who

---

(NY: Routledge, 2008), 72-6, 96-8; Claudio Saunt, *West of the Revolution: An Uncommon History of 1776,* (NY: W.W. Norton and Company, 2014), 119-23.

[210] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 247.

[211] Ibid., 246-7.

[212] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 248; Dähne, "Extract of Brother Lewis Christopher Daehne's Narrative," 332-3; Hamilton & Hamilton, *Hitory of the Moavian Church,* 153; Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in Surinam,* 3, 19, 79-80; Schumann and Schweizer, *The Seven Years War,* 225-6. The 1763 Treaty of Paris ended the Seven Years' War on February 10.

planned to murder all the white people" arrived.[213] The missionaries fled by canoe only hours before Pilgerhut was ransacked and destroyed. Schumann's original Arawak sermons, notes, and incomplete grammar studies went up in flames.[214]

Indigenous fighters were ultimately the chief means of containing the revolt. Carib, Arawak, and Akawaio Indians led attacks against the rebel slaves, partially to defend their own villages but also to show their continued alliance with the Dutch. The Berbice slave rebellion was well-organized, with most slaves participating at some level, throwing Dutch colonists and the military into terrified turmoil. Fighting near Wironje Creek prevented the rebellion from spreading to Essequibo and Demerara. The Dutch began giving presents to indigenous villages before the rebellion was even over, establishing a regular system of gift-giving.[215]

The reinvigorated alliance between indigenous Guianans and European colonists made the Moravians less desirable friends. After 1763 Berbice plantations expanded on Wironje Creek. Moravians never returned to Pilgerhut, but they expanded the Hoop and Sharon mission communities further southeast. Another small pox epidemic ravaged those communities in the 1770s.[216] Still, the translation of new hymns into Arawak,

---

[213] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, 248.

[214] Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, 248-9; Dähne, "Extract of Brother Lewis Christopher Daehne's Narrative," 332-3; Hamilton & Hamilton, *History fo the Moravian Church,*153. Handwritten copies of Arawak hymnbooks, a glossary, dictionary, and some notes on grammar were sent to Bethlehem, PA, and Hernhut in the 1750s.

[215] Mary Noel Menezes, *British Policy Towards the Amerindians in British Guiana 1803-1873*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 47; Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 248-9; Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in Surinam*, 3, 19. In 1763 the approximate ratio of enslaved people to Europeans was 20:1 in Berbice.

[216] Menezes, *British Policy Towards the Amerindians in British Guiana 1803-1873,* 239; Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren,* 251;

Warao, and Saramacca continued. In the 1790s Moravians led a moderate revival at Hope and Sharon.[217] In 1793, missionaries from Sharon visited an elderly Lokono who had been baptized at Pilgerhut during a terrible fever. They came every day and translated "many hymns and verses, treating of the departure of Believers to the Lord, into the Arawack language, for he delighted to hear them read and sung."[218]

Hoop thrived for a time but was destroyed by fire in 1806 and abandoned in 1808. Sharon was abandoned soon after.[219] After the recorded conversions of 855 indigenous and mixed-race individuals on the Berbice and Corentyne Rivers, there were no Christian missionaries outside the coastal cities. At the end of the Napoleonic wars, Moravian missions in all the Guianas were almost totally collapsed, and no European missionaries resided in Guiana permanently outside of the major ports of Georgetown and Paramaribo.[220]

"Extract of a Diary of the Missionaries of the Brethren among the Arawack Indians in South America, from February 1793, to February 1794," *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, Established among the Heathen,* vol. II, (London: The Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1795), 361-3. Hoop (Hope) was on the Corentyne River. Sharon was on the Saramacca River. Some Pilgerhut Indians moved to one or the other of these missions and the Moravians at Sharon reached out to Saramacca maroons.

[217] "Extract of a Diary of the Missionaries of the Brethren among the Arawack Indians in South America, from February 1793, to February 1794," 365-6.

[218] Ibid., 362.

[219] Hoop Mission diary, August 18, 1806; Hamilton & Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 49, 50, 55, 274-5; Menezes, *British Policy Towards the Amerindians in British Guiana,* 49-50, 208-11. Dutch colonies were ceded to the British in 1803, but were not confirmed British Guiana territory until the 1814 Treaty of London.

[220] Hamilton & Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 274-5; Menezes, *British Policy Towards the Amerindians in British Guiana 1803-1873*, 208-11. In 1818 the only Moravian mission in the Guianas was to the slave congregation in Paramaribo. In 1827 Moravians established a large church and school there in preparation for emancipation.

Moravianism Fades into the Jungle

The legacy of Moravian missions was not immediately apparent to successive generations. A missionary in the late nineteenth century wrote that, beyond the hymns that Indians still sang, Moravian mission efforts in the Guianas left "few other traces."[221] In 1803 a British minister observed that "every vestige" of God that had once resided in Indian minds was "overgrown with superstition and indolence."[222]

The real legacy of Pilgerhut is apparent in terms like *daija*, a Christian conception of "soul," and in the division of spirits into good and evil classes. An Anglican mission superintendent explained that Guianans had reverted to "Manichean Pagans, without worship, without altars, without temples," believing in one powerful good being and one powerful evil being from which all other spirits emanated.[223] The Moravians' "fire of sacred love" had left behind a binary *Jawahü*/Holy Spirit image of the spirit world, and a soul redeemed or damned by daily decisions. For the new missionaries arriving in the nineteenth century, a core aspect of their work was done.

Many of the other idioms, specifically Moravian blood and wounds and heart-religion theology, faded from use. But some hymns survived in the cultural complex of indigenous Guianan music. In 1794, Europeans surveying land near Wironje Creek were shocked to encounter a literate "wild Indian" who spoke clearly to them in German.[224] In

---

[221] Rev. J.H. Bernau Bernau to Coates, 22 Dec 1836, quoted in W.H.Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*, 53.

[222] Menezes, *British Policy Towards the Amerindians in British Guiana*, 214.

[223] C.B. Seiferth, Superintendent of the Orealla Mission, to the Revd. H. J. May, 1 Feb. 1876, *Report of the GDCS.*, 24, quoted in Menezes, *British Policy Towards the Amerindians in British Guiana*, 239.

[224] "Extract of a Diary of the Missionaries of the Brethren among the Arawack Indians in South America, from February 1793, to February 1794," 365-6.

1815, John Wray, from the Moravian-inspired London Missionary Society, visited a Lokono and Warao village on the Berbice. He was astonished at the attentive gathering for his sermon and the "*piya*-men" who approached him kindly afterward rattling marakas.[225] In 1839 when the Anglican Bishop of Barbados and the Archdeacon of Guiana visited the Corentyn River to survey congregations in British Guiana, they heard an old, blind Lokono man sing hymns he had learned as a child at Pilgerhut.[226] John Wray also met an old Lokono who had been baptized at Hoop. The Lokono man, speaking Creole English, asked Wray to come teach the Guianans who had "lived alone" at the old settlement for almost a decade.[227] Wray took the dangerous trip to the old Moravian community and renewed mission work among Warao, Kali'na, and Lokono Indians.[228]

One of the most salient legacies of Pilgerhut is the collection of Arawak and Warao language documents, including hymnbooks, that Schumann and aothers copied and sent back to Herrnhut. Some of these sources are more well-known than others, but partial wordlists, grammars, and translations of hymns and scripture are central to Lokono Arawak language revitalization projects in Surinam.

---

[225] John Wray "Fragments of History," Berbice Box I: 1813-24. LMSA, quoted in Menezes, *British Policy Towards The Amerindians in British Guiana*, 240-1.

[226] W.H. Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana; Their condition and Habits with Researches into their past history, superstitions, legends, antiquities, languages, 7 c*, (London: Bell and Daldy, 1868), 53. William Hart Coleridge, nephew of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, was the Bishop of Barbados, an Englishman named Austin was Archdeacon of Guiana.

[227] John Wray "Fragments of History", Berbice Box I: 1813-24. LMSA, quoted in Menezes, *British Policy Towards The Amerindians in British Guiana*, 240-1

[228] Menezes, *British Policy Towards The Amerindians in British Guiana*, 240-1.

IV. "MY WOUNDED PRINCE": BLOOD AND WOUNDS AND ENSLAVEMENT

Just after sunset on a warm April evening, the baptism ceremony for the first fruits of the Jamaica mission began in a simple chapel built by the enslaved congregation. Over seventy people crowded the small, whitewashed building on the swampy Bogue plantation in southwest Jamaica's St. Elizabeth parish. Brother Zachariah Caries stood at the pulpit, first fruits Cuffy and Jack facing him, Brothers Shallcross, and Haberecht by their sides. Twelve other candidates, denied baptism that day by the Lot, sat in a semicircle behind Caries, facing the congregation. The congregants, mostly enslaved Africans dressed "as clean as possible," were seated on bench pews, divided by gender to either side of a narrow aisle. Cuffy and Jack wore long white, flowing shirts and white caps adorned with red ribbons. In the back, "six Gentlemen" stood against the wall, most of them landowners curious to see these three missionaries who thought slave souls were worth converting.[229]

The congregation and missionaries sang "My wounded Prince, Thy gospel blessed in these days, Throughout the Earth its Beams display, Now to thy wounds can Gentiles fly." Caries gave a short "discourse" on "Go ye into all the World, teach all

---

[229] Zachariah Caries Diary, April 27, 1755, MCHL; J.H. Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica: History of the Mission of the United Brethren's Church to the Negroes of Jamaica, 1754-1854,* (London: Longman, Brown, & Co, 1854), 24-8; Frederic G. Cassidy and R.B. LePage, *Dictionary of Jamaican English,* (London & NY: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 58. The baptism was at seven o'clock in the evening on April 27, 1755. Bogue is the Jamaican word for bog, taken from Scottish English.

Nations, and baptize them." The two enslaved candidates knelt down and Caries said, "In the Name of my dearest Lord Jesus Christ who has destroy'd all Power of Darkness, I command You, Ye unclean Spirits, to depart from these Servants of Jesus Christ, & to give Way unto the Holy Ghost." He poured a splash of baptismal water, symbolic of "the Blood and Water which spouted from our Dear Saviour's side," over their heads, converting the heathen slaves, Cuffy and Jack, into Christians, Louis and John.[230]

The hymn the Jamaican congregation sang, "My wounded prince," includes ideas about race and ethnicity that were formative in the faith of enslaved Africans at the Bogue. The hymn lines that Caries recorded in his diary come from the first, fourth, and fifth stanzas and may represent a shorter version of the hymn tailored to Caries' needs in the baptism ceremony and to the preferences of the enslaved congregation. The hymn described and praised the wounds, suffering, and death of Jesus in a society of enslavement, suffering, and death. The hymn also taught a vision of faith that included the acceptance of enslavement, while offering the reward of eternal life in Heaven.[231] But overlapping symbols of life and death were mingled when Africans sang these hymns, and the intended meanings took on distinct, African-influenced qualities.

---

[230] Caries Diary, April 27, 1755; Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica*, 24-8. Caries baptismal discourse is from the "Baptismal Covenant" in *The Book of Common Prayer*, 304-5.

[231] "My Wounded Prince, Thy chosen race," hymn #1197, second version under "LXXXVI" in *A Collection of Hymns with Several Translations for the Hymn-Book of the Moravian Brethren,* (London: James Hutton, Bible and Sun, 1742), 120-2.

Music Among Jamaican Slaves

St. Elizabeth Parish, where the Bogue was located, was the western edge of well-established plantations. There were other plantations further west, but they were surrounded by uninhabited wilderness and victims of maroon raids. Half of St. Elizabeth parish was owned by a small group of especially wealthy Englishmen – such as the Fosters and Barhams. Out of 155 settlements in this frontier parish, only twenty-three, a small percentage, were sugar plantations. The Foster-Barham family could afford the risky investment. There were four hundred enslaved people, most of them African-born, and perhaps as many as twenty white plantation staff. While Englishmen hoped to civilize the wild landscape and the Africans they transported there, the plantation community was dominated by an African presence.[232]

In the mid-eighteenth century, a distinct form of Afro-Jamaican music was taking shape. Since the English colonization of the island, Jamaican Creole English had developed in tandem with Jamaican folk music. Sticks, bean pods, iron hoe blades clapping hands and the human voice were the main instruments. Jamaicans constructed an played West and Central African types of drums, Akan-style single-string instruments,

[232] Jack P. Greene, *Settler Jamaica in the 1750s: A Social Portrait,* (Charlottesville & London: University of Virginia Press, 2016), 39, 47-9, 51-3; Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica: Reflections on Its Situation, Inhabitants, climate, Products, Commerce, Laws, and Government,* (London: T. Lowndes, 1774, reprint Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 223, 229, 239. St. Elizabeth was considered the "western periphery parish" where 50% of the land was owned by the top 10%, 90%. There were 23 sugar plantations, 132 other sorts of plantations (livestock, provisions, minor staples), 155 total settlements (only 14.8% sugar plantations, much lower than average), Westmoreland parish, the western wilderness where the Mesopotamia sugar plantation was located, had 69 sugar, and 73 other plantations, 142 total, 48.6% sugar (higher than average). A music teacher in Jamaica made 70£ a year, "necessaries" for each slave were 6s. per year.

rattles of found materials. The musical styles of African ethnicities were distinguishable – an Akan melody, an Angolan dance rhythm – and all these styles were performed publicly, sometimes one after the other, sometimes mingled together. As Africans and creoles of African descent were forced into communal situations, an inclusive set of distinctly Jamaican musical styles developed.[233]

By the 1750s, a generation of young creoles had grown up with Jamaican English and did not speak African languages. Jamaican creole was the language of folk music and the common language between Africans and the English minority. Enslaved Africans, the majority labor force, acquired competency in Jamaican English and lost practice in their native tongues fairly quickly. Jamaicans integrated African words and language patterns bearing the influence of singing, rhyme, and meter with an English lexicon. Jamaican English, Jamaican musical styles, and Jamaican spiritual beliefs were tightly bound.[234]

In eighteenth-century Jamaica, obeah was one among at least two distinct spiritual and healing practices built from ancestral African histories. Europeans' label of obeah conflated all African beliefs under a single witchcraft category. Singing and dancing were

---

[233] Richard Cullen Rath, "African Music in Seventeenth-Century Jamaica: Cultural Transit and Transition," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. 50, No. 4 (Oct., 1993), 700-2; Maureen Warner-Lewis, "Akan Echoes in Jamaican Folk Melodies," *Jamaican Journal,* Vol. 33 Issue 1-2 (Dec 2010), 60-5; Joseph T. Farquharson, "Linguistic ideologies and the historical development of language use patterns in Jamaican music," *Language and Communication* 52 (2017), 7-9, 11.

[234] Long, *The History of Jamaica: Reflections on Its Situation, Inhabitants, climate, Products, Commerce, Laws, and Government,* xi, 426-32; Rath, "African Music in Seventeenth-Century Jamaica," 700-2; Maureen Warner-Lewis, "Akan Echoes in Jamaican Folk Melodies," *Jamaican Journal,,* Vol. 33 Issue 1-2 (Dec 2010), 60-5; Joseph T. Farquharson, "Linguistic ideologies and the historical development of language use patterns in Jamaican music," *Language and Communication* 52 (2017), 7-9, 11.

important elements of obeah practice.[235] As historian Vincent Brown has stated, "whites both believed in and doubted the efficacy of black supernatural power."[236] African and Jamaican music, an important aspect of supernatural power, was both intriguing and frightening to English residents.

In 1754 Brother Caries noted with concern that an enslaved woman, when asked about prayer, sang unintelligibly and laughed at him. Two weeks later, an elderly slave died and Caries attended the funeral. The slave community built a bonfire and danced around it to pulsing drums, rhythmic chants, and melodic singing . Lines reminiscent of heavenly ideals in Jamaican English caught Caries attention: "Now he is gone out of this World, and has left all sorrows behind! Come and bury me also!" It was clear, though, that the words were devoid of faith in Christ. The singers sacrificed a sheep and buried the man with food and liquor, a feast they believed would sustain his soul on its return to Africa.[237]

In most African religions, blood sacrifice refreshed divine powers and the spirits of ancestors, and revitalized the still-living community. The belief that red wine, red meat, and red substances purified the blood of the living and cured illness was common

---

[235] Kenneth Bilby, "An (un)natural Mystic in the Air: Images of Obeah in Caribbean Song," in *Obeah and Other Powers: The Politics of Caribbean Religion and Healing,* eds. Diana Paton & Maarit Forde, (Durham Na London: Duke University Press, 2012), 45-6; Diary of Thomas Thistlewood, April 25, 1753, in Hall, *In Miserable Slavery,* 56; Vincent Brown, *the Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008) 145. Handler and Bilby note that there are very few pre-1760 references to Obeah.

[236] Brown, *The Reaper's Garden,* 149.

[237] Caries Diary, Dec. 23 & 26, 1754, Jan 7, 1755; Vincent Brown, "Spiritual Terror and Sacred Authority in Jamaican Slave Society," *Slavery & Abolition,* 24: 1, 24-6; Katherine Gerbner, "They call me Obea": German Moravian missionaries and Afro-Caribbean religion in Jamaica, 1754-1760," *Atlantic Studies,* 12:2, (2015) 162.

among Caribbean slaves. Red blood was the substance that contained life. Releasing blood set the life-energy free into the world. When blood was spilled without reverence or the proper rites, the release of spiritual energy was dangerous. But properly reverent blood sacrifice kept spirits from causing trouble. Placated spirits might even become temporary allies. When spirits weren't properly attended to they caused illness, injury, and madness. The reverent sacrifice of a sheep at a respected elders' funeral was good for the community.[238]

The power of sacrificial blood was everywhere in the lives of enslaved Jamaicans. Plantation overseers, even those who worked for Christians, ruled by fear. Torturing the bodies of slaves who had died during punishment showed that white overseers had no fear of spirits, and demonstrated that whites themselves were spirits of chaos. Endless labor, gory injuries, whippings, and other bloody, sweaty, painful tortures were part of daily life. In response to the spiritual chaos and terror wrought by whites, enslaved Africans and Jamaican-born slaves invoked African divinities and ancestor spirits. For the enslaved in Jamaica, daily survival was a spiritual battle played out through physical suffering.[239]

African beliefs that illness and injury were caused by discontent spirits were very much a part of slave life in eighteenth-century Jamaica. Obeah was a complex of multi-ethnic African ideas adapted to the island's atmosphere of blood, suffering, and death.

---

[238] Alejandra Bronfman, "On Swelling: Slavery, Social Science, and Medicine in the Nineteenth Century," in *Obeah & Other Powers: The Politics of Caribbean Religion and Healing,* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2012), 113; Laura S. Grillo, "African Rituals" in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to African Religions,* ed. Elias Kifon Bongmba, (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 122.

[239] Brown, "Spiritual Terror and Sacred Authority in Jamaican Slave Society," 25-6.

The healing sorcery of Obeah was an important alternative when communal ritual responsibilities could not be met.[240]

"My Wounded Prince": Obea at the Bogue

Despite years of planning the education of enslaved heathens, Moravians were unprepared for the challenges of life among the four-hundred slaves at Bogue. At the first services Caries preached to a dozen suspicious whites while slaves sat in a separate room, listening through an open window and doorway. Most whites, especially in the western part of the island, were not kind, helpful, or accepting of the missionaries' presence. The overseers and manager at the Bogue, mostly Scotsmen, were not pleased to see them.[241] Slaves were not especially welcoming at first either, referring to the humble-living Moravians who seemed more comfortable away from other whites as 'Parson-negroes."[242]

The combination of blood and wounds theology and the sense of inclusion in a transatlantic Christian community generated a distinct slave community at Bogue. The frequently violent treatment of black congregants by white overseers generated the idea

---

[240] Grillo, "African Rituals," 122; Brown, *The Reaper's Garden,* 145; Brown, "Spiritual Terror and Sacred Authority in Jamaican Slave Society," 1, 26. Obeah-men needed payment in some useful item, the greater the payment, the more effective the result.

[241] Robert Fittzgibbon Young, *Comenius in England,* Appendix B, "Plans for the Higher Education of the Indians in Virginia and New England," 89-95; Richard Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations: Slave Life and Labor in Jamaica and Virginia,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 228.

[242] Brown, *the Reaper's Garden*, 210. Brown cites G. Dusquene to Newman, May 15 1728, Fulham Papers, vol. 17, Bermuda and Jamaica, 1661-1739, Lambeth Palace Library, ff. 250, 252; de Bonneval to Gibson, 24 November 1739, Fulham Papers, 17:287-289 and W. Stanford to Bishop Porteus, Westmoreland, 22 July 1788, Fulham Papers, Lambeth Palace Library, vol. 18, Jamaica, 1740-undated, f. 67.

among slaves that their white masters were bad Chrisitians. Enslaved converts also developed an affinity with Jesus's suffering.[243]

The first line of the hymn that congregants sang at Brother Caries baptism ceremony, "My wounded prince, thy chosen race," references I Peter 2:9: "But ye *are* a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people: that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light." In Greek, this section of I Peter uses terms previously reserved for Jewish ethnic identification as the chosen people of God. In the New Testament, the terms are applied to Christians as a "race" defined solely by their faith.[244]

This first line did considerable work toward creating a community of faith. The hierarchical divide between African slaves and European missionaries was blurred to a certain extent by asserting that African singers could also be included among the "chosen race." Moravians believed in their higher status as the torchlights of Christian civilization, authorities on the word of God, but there was no racial divide in Heaven. If Africans accepted Christ's sacrifice, they could become members of the chosen civilized race that was preparing the way for Christ's Second Coming. Moravians were the teachers and earthly representatives of the behaviors and beliefs that defined that race. At the same time, Caries used worldly conceptions of racial hierarchy to entice converts, claiming that in heaven, "You will be no more Blacks, no more Slaves."[245] For slaves at

---

[243] Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations,* 228-9; Turner, *Slaves and missionaries,* 92; Sensbach, "Searching for Moravians in the Atlantic World," 46.

[244] "My Wounded Prince, Thy chosen race," 120; David G. Horrell, "Race, nation, people : ethnic identity-construction in I Peter 2:9" *New Testament Studies* 58, (2011), Cambridge University Press, 124; I Peter 2:9, emphasis in original KJV.

[245] Caries Diary, April 28, July 8, 1755, MCHL

the Bogue, changing behaviors and adopting new beliefs also bridged the divide between African and European spiritual practices.[246]

The next lines of the hymn, "Thy gospel, in these blessed Days, Throughout the Earth its Beams display," referenced the evangelical idea that when the latter days of Christian history were at hand all the heathens of the world would hear the gospel and convert to Christianity. The light of Christian knowledge blessed and cleansed the singers. The line, "Now to Thy Wounds even Gentiles fly," alludes to the idea that Gentiles, non-Jews, could join the "chosen race" by revering the wounds of Christ, the universal ransom he had paid for their souls. Caries was teaching a conception of race based in religious practice, but he also applied Jamaica's racial hierarchy to assert his own spiritual authority over the enslaved congregation. If converts stepped into the light of civilized European Christianity, they were part of a redeemed race, but white Europeans determined the standards of Christian practice.[247]

Moravians were certainly not anti-slavery crusaders. The missionaries preached acceptance of earthly status to the enslaved. The Foster-Barham family, owners of the Bogue and several other west Jamaica plantations, had met the Moravian evangelist, John Cennick, a friend and mentor of Caries. Cennick convinced William Foster and Joseph Foster Barham, who were brothers, that tending to the salvation of their heathen human property was their Christian duty.[248] They were soon intent on, "enlightening those poor

---

[246] "My Wounded Prince, Thy chosen race," 120; Horrell, "Race, nation, people : ethnic identity-construction in I Peter 2:9," 124.

[247] My Wounded Prince," 120-2; Horrell, "Race, nation, people : ethnic identity-construction in I Peter 2:9," 124; Gerbner, "They call me Obea," 160-178.

[248] Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival,* 53; Claus Füllberg-Stolberg, *The End of Slavery in African and the Americas,* 90-97.

souls, the Negroes."[249] But the brothers also wanted the missionaries "to get hold of the minds of our negroes" so they might be more productive.[250] Caries met the two brothers and they chose him to lead the conversion of their slaves.[251] They felt the Moravians were perfect for the task because they eschewed speculative reasoning, "and addressed themselves only to the heart, without infusing a spirit of inquiry among the negroes."[252] Caries and his small cadre of missionaries believed they were were prepared to live with the "power of darkness among them, and the dominion of Satan." With the presence of the Holy Spirit that they would invoke through song, the missionaries could conquer "the natural blindness and pride of the Savages, their heathenish prejudices against the truths of the Gospel, their sinful practices, the bad examples of so many who are call Christians."[253]

In 1755, Foster and Barham gave the missionaries a house, a small farm-plot, and four slaves. Following Zinzendorf, the mission group saw enslavement as a status conferred by God. They believed that the suffering and earthly torment of slave lives could make them better Christians because despair and misery opened the heart to

---

[249] *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established among the Heathen*, vol. XXI, (London: W.H. Cox, 1853) "Retrospect of the mission…in Jamaica, 289n.

[250] John Foster-Barham, II to J. Harriet, March 1800, Barham c378, quoted in Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations*, 244.

[251] *Periodical Accounts*, "Retrospect of the mission…in Jamaica, 289n; Augustus C. Thompson, *Moravian Missions: Twelve Lectures*, (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882), 95-99; Gerbner, "They call me Obea," 163-4; J.C.S. Mason, *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England 1760-1800*, (London: The Royal Historical Society, Boydell Press, 2001), 69, 106.

[252] John Foster-Barham, II to Lord Wyndham, November 1, 1800, MCHL; Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations*, 244.

[253] Benjamin LaTrobe, *A Succint View of the Indians of the Missions Established among the Heathen by the Church of the Brethren, or Unitas Fratum; In a Lettor to a Friend*, (London: M. Lewis, 1771), 6.

conversion and acceptance of the savior. Moravian ownership of slaves was a blessing to the enslaved because they would learn about Jesus and the ransom he had paid for their sinful souls. Still, Caries immediately transferred ownership of the slaves, horses, and sheep to Count Zinzendorf.[254]

Caries preached at all the Foster-Barham plantations, Elim, Lancaster, Two Mile Wood, Island, and Mesopotamia. Each of the mission stations was home to mixed congregations of several African ethnicities, Jamaican creoles, and white Episcopalians and Presbyterians. The preaching places were sometimes fifteen and twenty miles apart, and congregants sometimes travelled thirty miles for meetings. In his first summer on the island, Brother Caries also visited a maroon settlement in the western mountains. He stayed with the community captain, who was very kind to the humble Caries. Caries also visited slaves in their homes, and came to slave quarters to preach and sing. After their first year of meetings at each of the Foster-Barham plantations, the missionaries had baptized 77 slaves, and there were 400 catechumens under their tutelage.[255]

Caries apparent authority in the spiritual matters of Europeans, his frequent singing, and his willingness to visit slaves in their homes suggested to the enslaved that he had the power to improve their lives. His fearlessness in approaching the fierce

---

[254] John Holmes, *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen, From Their Commencement to the Present Time,* (Dublin: R. Napper, 1818) 342; J.H. Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica: History of the Mission of the United Brethren's Church to the Negroes in the Island of Jamaica,* (London: Longamn, Brown, & Co., 1854), 27-8; Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations,* 231; Gerbner, "They call me Obea," 163-4. Members of the Foster-Barham family were accepted into the Moravian church in 1756.

[255] *Periodical Accounts,* "Retrospect of the mission…in Jamaica," 290-1; Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations,* 231; Mason, *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England,* 69; Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica,* 27-8.

maroons, whose powerful magic drew from African ancestor spirits, lent power to his percceived spiritual capabilities.[256] Caries had the slaves build a simple mission chapel at the Bogue in the immediate vicinity of the slave quarters, not near the main house. Caries was also a sort of spiritual accommodationist. In discussion with slaves at the various missions, Caries and the enslaved congregants agreed that an array of names for African divinities and spirits were simply other names for the God and the Holy Spirit. Caries believed that only one crucial piece was missing from African religion, the suffering and death of Christ that was the key to eternal salvation. Following the pattern of Jamaican culture creation, rather than adopting new conceptions, the enslaved augmented their spiritual beliefs, adding Christ to an inclusive Jamaican pantheon.[257]

Singing hymns like "My wounded prince," aligned the missionaries' teachings and worship with African religious practice and the Jamaican Obea complex.[258] In March 1755, Caries wrote that the slaves called him "Obea." The Moravians' visceral, ceremonial, emphasis of blood and wounds theology reinforced their perception of Caries as an obeah-man.[259] Katherine Gerbner has shown that the spiritual needs of Africans pressured Caries into baptizing some of them against the directives of Moravian leadership. He also felt love for them, especilly those who came from other plantations, ignoring the punishments and threats of their owners. In Caries' intimate relationship

[256] Gerbner, "They call me Obea," 169-70.
[257] Ibid., 167.
[258] Caries Diary, 9 March 1755. MCHL; Gerbner, "They call me Obea," 166-7.
[259] Gerbner, "They call me Obea," 165-8.

with Bogue slaves, he mistook their fears and apprehensions about the chaotic spirit-world they perceived in Jamaica for the fire of the Holy Spirit.[260]

Despite warnings to be cautious with baptism, to wait for signs of "real work of the Holy Ghost, and a desire to become obedient to the Gospel," among the heathens, the three missionaries, Brother Caries, Thomas Shallcross, and Gottlieb Haberecht, had only been at the Bogue for five months when the first fruits, Cuffy and Jack, were baptized.[261] Most of the congregants were African born, including the first two converts. Communicating effectively was a struggle. Caries often needed an interpreter to communicate with some congregants at all. Those who had been enslaved the longest spoke the best Jamaican English. Other than those who had been taken captive as young children, they also retained their original African languages. Caries may very well have been excited when any sort of cognate was uncovered. Misunderstandings were at least as common as genuine consonance of meaning, even with slaves who spoke English. For Moravians, a heart might burn with the fire of the Holy Spirit. Among enslaved Jamaicans, a burning heart signified rage or a vendetta against someone.[262] Enslaved

---

[260] Caries Diary, 9 March 1755. MCHL; Gerbner, "They call me Obea,"167-9;; Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations,* 166, 229. Gerbner cites "Gemein Nachrichten, Vol. r," 1755. Unitätsarchiv der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität Herrnhut, Germany, GN 1755 5 A.44 (I-XL), 743-747.

[261] LaTrobe, *A Succint View of the Mission Established among the Heathen by the Church of the Brethren, or Unitas Fratrum*, 3-5.

[262] "Conferences with Nathanael Seidel in Jamaica – Version 1," 1759. MAB West Indies Visits and Visitation 1740-1785, (Box G), digitized at https://www.moravianchurcharchives.findbuch.net/php/view.php?ar_id=3687&link=4d6973735749x177&path=64c7c76bd53afefe6fdac76bf7d53afefe6fda6be0efef6be0e1e1eec7d9f1363f#&posX=-0.004263093788063338&posY=0.04628501827040195&zoom=0.025&path=64c7c76bd53afefe6fdac76bf7d53afefe6fda6be0efef6be0e1e1edc7d9f1363f, (Accessed February 17, 2019).

singers may have expressed fear when Caries discussed the Holy Spirit, but they had a clear response to blood and wounds hymns.[263]

Caries proceeded quickly to baptism, believing he saw a spark of the Holy Spirit and a desire among Bogue slaves to learn. Caries taught Africans to sing Moravian hymns and to sit in separate choirs divided by age and gender.[264] Caries' method of teaching involved the repitition and memorization of hymn lyrics and catechism responses in English. The first fruit, Cuffy, was given the Christian name Louis. Louis became an evangelist when he was hired out as a slave driver in Savanna La Mar. Louis returned to the Bogue in July, four months after his baptism. He told Caries that he had spoken with many enslaved people about the Savior. Some had become curious about Jesus, and Louis wanted to bring them to the Bogue, or have Caries preach in Savanna La Mar. Louis clearly made a positive impression on whites as well. Caries recorded in his diary that Louis had spoken to "a good many" white people as well, some of whom wished, "Mr. Caries would also come here & reform our negroes."[265] When asked how he responded to the questioning of whites, Louis repeated the basic content of hymns he had sung at the Bogue. "I feel my heart quite happy, I belong to my dr. sav. Who has bought me with his Blood, & who died for me. I love him. Before I was forced to do my Work but now do it cheerfully & faithfully."[266]

---

[263] Gerbner, "They call me Obea," 172-3; Long, *The History of Jamaica,* 428-9; "Conferences with Nathanael Seidel in Jamaica – Version 1," 1759. MAB West Indies Visits and Visitation 1740-1785.

[264] Caries Diary, March 6, 9, 14, 21, 23, April 28, July 8, 1755, MCHL; Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations,* 229.

[265] Diary of the Little Congregation in Jamaica of the Month of July 1755, MCHL.

[266] Diary of the Little Congregation in Jamaica of the Month of July 1755, MCHL.

By June 1755, there were eleven baptized slaves in the Bogue congregation. Converts may not have fully grasped the intended meaning of the words they memorized, and they imbued some words with African meanings. Blood was the most important space of overlapping meaning. [267] At baptisms, in response to the question, "What do you love him for?" new converts would respond, "Because he suffer'd so much, shed his good Blood & died for us." During baptism ceremonies, Caries recited, "I baptize thee into the Death of Jesus with the Blood and Water which spouted from his Side, & with his Death-Sweat & Tears." After baptisms, the congregation, with tears in their eyes, sang "The Water spouting from thy side, That is their Bath and all thy Blood, Cleanse them and bring them near to God. The Blood Sweat trickling down thy Face, Assure their Hearts of Purchas'd Grace. Thy Cross, thy Suffering and thy Pain, Their everlasting Strength remain."[268] Caries was preaching, singing, and performing rituals that aligned with Afro-Jamaican conceptions of protection, communal health, and spiritual responsibility.

"The Water spouting from thy side," was an English translation of *Die Seele Christi heil'ge mich,* a Germen rendering of an early fourteenth-century Latin prayer. After four centuries, a Latin prayer revering Christ's blood and wounds played a role the Jamaican spiritual imagination that was decidedly un-Christian.[269] Caires saw the Holy

---

[267] Diary of the Little Congregation in Jamaica of the Month of July 1755, MCHL; Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations,* 230. Shallcross died Oct. 1755, he was first Moravian missionary to die in Jamaica.

[268] Caries Diary, April 27, 1755; *EHB,* 1742, Hymn # 1133, 216-17; *EHB,* 1826, hymn # 570, pp. 170; *EHB,* 1842, hymn # 569, 170.

[269] Joseph Theodor Mueller, *Hymnologisches Handbuch zum Gesangbuch der Bruedergemeine,* The German hymn is found in the very rare *Heures a Lusage de Lengres. Imprimé a Troyes chez Jean le Coq*, without year or pagination, in *Hortulus Animate,* Lyons, 1516; and 1519; *Rambach,* i. p. 360, and *Daniel,* i., No. 498; Johann

Spirit at work. Slaves had adopted the mannerisms, some of the language, and the apparent attitudes of Christians. Caries noted with satisfaction that, after a well-attended service on June 4, "The Negroes made no Noise or howling (as is the custom) but went home very quiet to their houses."[270]

The ideas Moravians presented in hymns lent urgency the anxiety of slaves' spiritual life. The pressures from the enslaved community overpowered the caution the missionaries were supposed to exhibit. The obeah-like mission practices and the flexibility of Caries' spiritual teachings attracted almost half the enslaved male population at the Bogue to the mission congregation by the summer of 1755. The focus on male converts also mirrored men's fraternal groups in many African religions.[271]

Reports of the Jamaica missions' rapid success worried Moravian leadership. Caries had not baptized any women, undermining Moravian ideals of family. He had shirked missionary directives in order to follow the feelings of congregants. He had allowed heathen African spirituality too much of a role in daily life, and he had, however inadvertently, associated Christian practice with heathen traditions. But the Moravians soon proved to be ineffective obeah-men, first during the 1756 food shortage, when several Bogue slaves died of starvation. Abuse and punishment from overseers increased during the same period, and Caries was helpless to prevent any of it. Caries had mistaken

---

Scheffler. No 53, in Bk. ii., 1657, of his *Heilige Seelenlust*, (*Werke*, 1862, i. p. 106), 169; No. 80 in *Freylinghausen's Gesang-Buch*, 1704; No. 222 in the Berlin *Geistliche Lieder*, ed. 1863; *Select Hymns from German Psalmody*, Tranquebar, 1754, p. 34. (2) ""The Soul of Christ me sanctify," as No. 136 in the *Moravian Hymn Book*, 1742; John Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology* (1907).

[270] Caries Diary, June 4, 1755.

[271] Caries Diary, April 27, and March 9, 1755, MCHL; Gerbner, "They call me Obea," 166-7.

the slaves' grasp of blood and wounds theology for the Holy Spirit's spark. And the enslaved had mistaken Caries' healing knowledge and skill for broad-reaching spiritual power. Furthermore, while Caries taught about Christ's payment for human sin, Caries himself did not charge a fee, as even the most powerful obeah-men would have traditionally done.[272]

In December 1756, Christian and Anna Rauch arrived at the Bogue from Bethlehem. In Pennsylvania, Brother Rauch was known as the Apostle to the Indians. Brother Haberecht had a contentious relationship with Rauch going back to the 1740s. His participation in the mission work did not inspire the confidence of Rauch. By 1756, Rauch had fifteen years' experience missionizing Native Americans. Like most other missionaries, he believed indigenous Americans were naturally more civilized that Africans. Rauch, who followed mission directives to the letter, was also a close associate of Zinzendorf and Spangenberg. He expressed harsh criticisms when Caries brought up some issues of "backsliding" to heathenism among recent converts.[273]

Christian and Anna Rauch argued that the slaves needed more scriptural knowledge. It seemed clear to them that the energetic engagement of slaves at the Bogue was driven by heathen needs. They demanded evidence of good works and proper living from potential converts and the cessation of baptisms at all the mission stations. Despite obvious problems among the congregation, Caries argued that a simple confession of

---

[272] Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations,* 231; Gerbner, "They call me Obea," 167, 169-70.

[273] Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations,* 230; Georg Neisser, *A History of the Beginnings of Moravian Work in America,* trans. By William N. Schwarze and Samuel H. Gapp, (Bethlehem, PA: The Archives of the Moravian Church, 1955), 71, 145; LaTrobe, *A Succint View of the Indians of the Missions Established among the Heathen by the Church of the Brethren, or Unitas Fratum,* 6; Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 428-9.

faith in Jesus harmonized with the Savior's call to teach all nations and baptize them. The very open disagreement amongst the small mission group led to almost total collapse of the Jamaica mission. By 1759 no one was showing up to scheduled worship services at Carmel or the Bogue.[274]

The Rauches and Theodor Schulz took over mission leadership. Caries was sent to the most distant station at the Barham's Mesopotamia plantation. At Mesopotamia, Caries had a fresh start with more careful adherence to mission guidelines and cautious acceptance of slaves into baptismal candidacy.[275] The slave congregation at the Bogue, left under Rauch's leadership, were dismayed and recalcitrant toward the new missionaries. Tensions between Caries and Rauch divided mission loyalties, with most slaves preferring Caries. Another missionary, Brother Nathaniel Seidel, was sent to reconcile the two groups in 1759, but to no avail. In his report, Seidel reccommended that the missionaries be more careful with the words they chose, to be clear about the Christian meanings of things, and to examine converts with an eye for a heart-felt conversion and dedication to Jesus Christ. Caries and Shallcross left the Jamaica mission later that year.[276]

Caries' unintentional conflation of Christian faith with obeah powers had been a successful, community-creating move among enslaved Africans. Hymn-singing had been the main source of theological teachings. Blood and wounds theology fit well with

---

[274] Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations,* 230-1; Gerbner, "They call me Obea," 167; Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica*, 34-6; Neisser, *A History of the Beginnings of Moravian Work in America*, 71, 145.

[275] Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica*, 34.

[276] Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica*, 34; Gerbner, "They call me Obea," 172-3; "Conferences with Nathanael Seidel in Jamaica – Version 1," 1759, MAB.

African understandings of their world, and singing was also an African source of spiritual power.[277]

In the first months of the mission, a slave had told Caries the he didn't understand all the sermon but, "what I did understand, did me good here (pointing to his heart)."[278] Caries' enthusiasm for community allowed him to overlook some obvious signs of un-Christian thinking among the slaves. After 1760, when Caries had left the island, Europeans began to categorize all African religious practice as obeah, which had the effect of making African witchcraft more visible. Under the colonial construct of obeah, African witchcraft appeared ubiquitous and colonial powers passed all sorts of legislation against it. Caries' documentation of mission work was part of the process through which Jamaican spiritual ideas were classified, restricted, and exoticized by whites. For the enslaved, obeah became a subversive, alternate spiritual resource that further instilled a distinct Afro-Jamaican identity.[279]

Caries use of hymns like "My wounded prince" had presented an inclusive conception of Christian practice that empowered Africans and African-based traditions. Zinzendorf also died in 1760, marking the high-tide of mission funding and organization. After 1760, Rauch and the Sensemanns, who arrived from Bethlehem in 1765, excluded "My wounded prince" from the hymns sung at Moravian services. They preferred instead

---

[277] Kenneth Bilby, "An (un)natural Mystic in the Air: Images of Obeah in Caribbean Song," 45-6; Diary of Thomas Thistlewood, April 25, 1753, in Hall, *In Miserable Slavery*, 56; Vincent Brown, *The Reaper's Garden*, 145.

[278] Caries Diary, April 15, 1755; Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations*, 229.

[279] Gerbner, "They call me Obea,"162; Bilby, "An (un)natural Mystic in the Air: Images of Obeah in Caribbean Song," 45-6.

hymns that drew a clear racial divide between the missionaries and their enslaved congregants.[280]

Rauch took over preaching and baptisms, but none of the slave congregations responded energetically. A slave rebellion in 1760 gave the Jamaica missionaries some hope of their good influence when none of the congregation members joined the rebels. But it was a very small signal of success, and the mission floundered for the next several years. In 1767, the arrival of a fresh missionary, Brother Schlegel, briefly reinvigorated the work. 131 enslaved converts were baptized that year, but Schlegel died of fever in 1770.[281]

On Easter Sunday, 1769, at Mesopotamia, Joachim and Christiana Senseman led a singing service for 26 enslaved congregants. The small community of converts sang a blood and wounds versification that adapted a hymn from the 1754 hymnal.[282] The hymn began with the phrase, "O Blessed Negroe congregation," and ended with a "O Lords Supper-congregation! At Mesopotamia." The stanza "O! How happy is a poor Soul, When she comes to his dear wound hole, Eats and drinks, and is renew'd, Thro' this Heavenly Drink and Food,"[283] attempted to assert a distinction between Christian practice and African and obeah blood symbolism. Here, the blood and wounds were a communal

---

[280] Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica*, 39-41; Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations,* 242-45.

[281] Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica*, 34-8, 40-2.

[282] Mesopotamia Diary, Dec. 1768-Aug 1769, UA R.15.Ch.3.5, 65-66; Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations*, 242-244; Acts 2: 36-38. The hymn is adapted from "Hymn CCXXI (T. I)" in *A Collection of Hymns: Chiefly Extracted from the Larger Hymn-Book of the Brethren's Congregation,* (London: The Brethren's Chapels, 1769).

[283] Mesopotamia Diary, December 1768-August 1769, UA R.15.Cb.3.5, 65-6; Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations,* 243.

meditation on the "spiritual nourishment," of Christ's broken body associated with Christian communion.[284]

The enthusiasm among the Mesopotamia congregation was somewhat revived during the 1780s, even though harvest season, lasting from January to May, continually restricted the slaves' attendance. Bringing in and processing sugar cane and harvesting coffee required slave laborers nearly twenty-four hours a day, seven-days a week. In 1782, Brother Taylor wrote that the constant work on the Sabbath was "not right in the Eyes of God, being contrary to his Law."[285] Taylor complained that, if slaves made it to services at all, many slept through Sunday sermons. He stated that gatherings became complaint sessions about too much work and continual, harsh punishments. Many of the congregants, wrote Taylor, "are for running away, & say that they would…if not for us." Taylor's comments point out that participation in the congregation, especially singing, was important to Mesopotamia slaves.[286]

In the forty years between 1770 and 1809, the mission among Jamaican slaves was weak, disorganized, and considered a failure by Moravian leaders. In 1804, the Jamaica mission reported 936 baptisms at all the mission stations since 1754. Many converts had died, and some others, remembering Caries, disdained the other Moravians. But sizable groups still showed up for sermons and singing.[287]

---

[284] Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations,* 243; David Zeisberger Diary, December 21, 1773, *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger,* eds. Herman Wellenreuther and Carola Wessel, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 176; Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren from Hus to Comenius,* 407; Atwood, *Community of the Cross,* 204.

[285] Mesopotamia Diary, June 1782-April 1783, UA r.15.Cb.6.4/3, 23; Also quoted in Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations,* 250-1.

[286] Mesopotamia Diary, June 1782-April 1783, UA r.15.Cb.6.4/3, 23.

[287] Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica*, 34-8, 40-2.

The oppressive slave regime prevented the growth of the mission stations, but it also improved the slaves' perception of the missionaries. As sugar production became more profitable in the last decades of the eighteenth century, slaves were more expendable. Among the enslaved, rising mortality rates stunted the growth of the missions. Short lives and a constant stream of new Africans kept communities divided by language and ethnic traditions. The missionaries struggled to keep a unified congregation at any of the mission stations. Reinforcing conceptions of the racial divide between Europeans and Africans was a consistent approach to African-ness that ignored ethnic distinctions. Most Jamaica slave holders were Anglican, still holding on to the idea that enslavement was good for heathens who would otherwise be working against the progress of civilization. Slave owners blamed the uncivilized nature of Africans, even as ethnic divisions served their purposes.[288] One absentee Jamaican slave-owner argued that it was "impossible for Slaves that do not understand one another to carry on a plot against their Master, or the country in general, as it was for the Inhabitants of the primitive World to carry on the building of the Tower of Babel, after the confusion of languages happen'd amongst them."[289]

A paradigm shift in mission work was well underway by 1800. Moravians' early missions to enslaved Africans, in Jamaica and Antigua, became models for other British, Dutch, and German evangelicals.[290] Most Christians, even Anglicans, believed that enslaving non-Christians Africans, whether they were Muslims or heathens, served to

---

[288] Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 428-9; Brown, *The Reaper's Garden,* 208-9.

[289] De Bonneval to Gibson, November 24 1739, Fulham Papers, 17:287-289, quoted in Brown, *The Reaper's Garden,* 208.

[290] Jon Sensbach, "Searching for Moravians in the Atlantic World," in *Self, Community, World*, 45.

expand and protect Christendom.[291] As more denominations sent more missionaries to Jamaica, plantation owners and governing officials became more concerned about the democratic tendencies of missionaries and slave congregations. In 1802, the Jamaica Assembly passed a set of non-binding rules that essentially sanctioned harassing evangelicals. In 1807, new slave laws banned black preachers and all non-Anglican missionaries. Kingston restricted slaves from singing psalms and hymns.[292]

By 1810, Moravian congregations were expanding again and offered a sense of community grounded in singing as a group that undermined the control that plantation owners had over enslaved souls. As an abolitionist movement took shape in England, missionaries still supported the status quo of Jamaican slavery. Jamaican mission congregations began to revive during this same period.

By 1813, there were a total of 2282 Moravian converts and catechumens at six mission stations. Slave owners were beginning to see the value in a Christian educated slave population. Moravians taught obedience to one's master as good Christian practice. In 1820, the Methodist mission director wrote an extensive report on the state of slave religion in Jamaica, noting a significant amount of non-European practice among slaves, especially concerning death and the afterlife. He proposed a plan for the proper Christian education of slaves that would suppress African and obeah beliefs, and institute tight controls over slave congregations. Moravian missions, which had already instituted

---

[291] Katherine Gerbner, *Christian Slavery*,16; Blackburn, *Making of New World Slavery*, 50.

[292] Brown, *The Reaper's Garden*, 208-9; Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica*, 46-7. In 1805, the first Baptist missionaries arrived in Jamaica.

similar plans, became models of "good slave" communities.[293] One Moravian missionary working in Jamaica reported to London that "the advantages to the planters from the Negroes being instructed in the gospel, and becoming truly converted *to God,* seem to be generally acknowledged."[294]

Missionaries from all denominations argued that slave owners who kept their laborers from attending worship services or singing hymns were working against the progress of Christian civilization. Anti-slavery proponents in Britain agreed and funneled money and political support to Jamaica missions. The 1826 English Moravian hymnal contained a smaller section of blood and wounds hymns, but more copies were sent to Jamaica than any previous hymnals.[295] Moravians were increasingly invited to preach and sing at new plantations. Plantation owners who had previously condemned missionaries and denied permission for their slaves to attend Moravian services began to pay the missionaries for preaching and teaching hymns to their slaves. As the oppressive brutality of slave life continued to destroy slave bodies, communal hymn-singing at Moravian missions grounded Christian slave identity.[296]

---

[293] Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica,* 70; Brown, "Spiritual Terror and Sacred Authority: The Power of the Supernatural in Jamaican Slave Society," in Edward E. Baptist and Stephanie M.H. Camp, *New Studies in the History of American Slavery,* (Athens & London: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 199; Brown, *The Reaper's Garden,* 216. Brown cites John Shipman, "Thoughts upon the Present State of Religion among the Negroes of Jamaica," (Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Archive special Series, biographical, West Indies, box 588, fiche box 2, nos. 27-31, 1820) 4-8; Hutton, *The Moravians in Jamaica,* 70.

[294] Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica,* 70.

[295] *EHB,* 1742, Hymn # 1133, 216-17; *EHB,* 1826, hymn # 570, pp. 170; *EHB,* 1842, hymn # 569, pp. 170. The 1842 hymnal replaced direct mentions of blood and wounds with relatively innocuous terms like "crucifixion" and "passion."

[296] buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica,* 70-1; Jon Sensbach, "Searching for Moravians in the Atlantic World," in *Self, Community, World,* 45.

Moravian teachings about obedience and submission to both a heavenly God and a worldly master were a point of pride for their global mission project. As enslaved converts' longing for the Holy Spirit increased, their tendency toward rebellious and violent behavior supposedly diminished. Moravians in Jamaica proudly claimed that none of their 4100 converts participated in the 1831 slave rebellion, ignoring the fact that the rebellion began on the northeastern end of the island where no Moravian missions were located. The rebellion was blamed in large part on missionaries. The Moravians held private talks with their converts to see who might be prepared for baptism. After the rebellion, plantation overseers began to report these meeting as suspicious. The Moravians were singled out as instigators of discontent and insurrection among their congregations. As aftershocks of rebellion resonated across the island and martial law was instituted, Moravian converts protected their plantations from damage and rebellion. The Moravian lessons that Christian faith meant obedience to a heavenly God and a worldly master seemed effective. For enslaved converts, rebellion meant certain death *and* eternal damnation.[297]

Martial law scattered Moravian congregations. Slaves were not allowed to leave their plantations. Due to the renewed distrust of missionaries, they were not allowed to visit many congregants. Some slaves had transformed the missionary message of salvation into a call for social empowerment and civil rights. In 1832, despite some evidence to the contrary, Moravians were accused of seditious preaching. In April, Moravian missionaries published a rebuttal of the charges, defending their work among the enslaved. The missionaries cited frequently preached scripture such as 1Peter 2:18,

[297] Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica*, 71-2, 83-6;

"Servants, be obedient to your masters, not only to the good and gently, but also to the forward, for Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example to follow His steps." They also referred to the peace and love that was felt in their congregations when singing praise to Jesus.[298]

Moravian missions had been an example to the rest of the evangelical world. Moravian mission work, and the correspondence and publications about the work that circulated in England, had helped spark the national discussion about the morality of slavery and the oppression of other human beings. The tumultuous years of transition after the rebellion saw the end of enslavement, the institution of apprenticeship, and then the full emancipation of all Jamaicans. Moravian missions survived and were restructured during the late 1830s. In 1837, the Jamaica mission reported 9913 people under the care of a growing group of missionaries. By 1840, Moravian missions taught an anti-slavery theology. The 1842 hymnal replaced direct mentions of blood and wounds with relatively innocuous terms like "crucifixion" and "passion." A new phase of Jamaican Moravianism began, with public churches across the island that were open to black and white Jamaicans. Day schools and Sunday schools were opened with a grant from the English parliament. The spiritual haven that Moravian missions had offered during slavery translated into an expansive set of Afro-Jamaican congregations across Jamaica, although the west end of the island was certainly their stronghold.[299]

---

[298] Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica*, 86, 100-8; LaTrobe, *A Succint View of the Indians of the Missions Established Among the Heathen by the Church of the Brethren*, 6-7; Turner, *Slaves and missionaries*, 91-4; 1 Peter 2:18. Brother Pfeiffer was tried and acquited of seditious preaching in 1832.

[299] Hutton, *The Moravians in Jamaica*, 116, 120-1; Jon Sensbach, "Searching for Moravians in the Atlantic World," 45.

The period of 1754-1810 is considered the beginning of the Moravian Church in Jamaica. The struggles during those first six decades have come to define the perseverance and distinctly Jamaican character of the church on the island. But it was not until the twentieth century that Afro-Jamaicans moved into leadership positions and the Jamaican Province of the Moravian Church was established. Moravians make up a significant number of Jamaican Christians and the majority are of African descent. A Jamaican woman, who sat next to me on a bench outside the Moravian chapel in the center of Herrnhut in 2017, commented with her hand over her heart, "Isn't it a joy, a miracle, to think that the hymns my African ancestors sang were sparked by the Spirit right here!"[300]

[300] Personal conversation with unknown clerk for the Fairfield Circuit of the Jamaican Province of the Moravian Church, Herrnhut, Saxony, Germany, July 4, 2017.

V. "BELOVED SPIRIT WHO LIVES ABOVE": THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE CHEROKEE MOUNTAINS

On a hot, humid August day at the Springplace Moravian mission to the Cherokees in north Georgia, the shade of the mission barn cut the summer heat to a bearable swelter. A group of Cherokees, enslaved Africans, and Pennsylvania and North Carolina missionaries, about twenty in all, sang the hymn "Come Holy Spirit." They were gathered for the baptism ceremony of a young Cherokee woman named Peggy Vann. Her husband James Vann, also Cherokee, was one of the wealthiest men in Georgia in 1810, and possibly the wealthiest Cherokee in the Nation. The cultivated fields and brick buildings of his expansive plantation were framed by green, rolling mountains. Brother John Gambold poured spring water gently over Peggy's head as she knelt on the straw-covered red clay of the barn floor. For the Moravian missionaries, Peggy Vann was "the first fruit" of the Cherokee Nation, and afterward she used only her Christian name Margaret Ann Vann.[301]

---

[301] John Gambold and Ann Rosina Gambold, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees (MSMC),* Vol. 1, 1805-1813, edited by Rowena McClinton, (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), xxiii, 374–76; *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokees: Beginnings of the Mission and Establishment of the School,* volume 2 1802-1805, editors C. Daniel Crews and Richard W. Starbuck, (Tahlequah: Cherokee National Press, 2010), 525, 567; Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story,* 108, 45–46. The *Records of the Moravians* include Springplace diary entries that mention the singing of two "Holy Spirit" titled hymns during the early years of the mission, one "from the liturgy," "Holy Spirit, you God and Lord" (525), and one for Pentecost, "Come, Holy Spirit, God and Lord." Given the tendency in the mission diaries for various diarists to enter paraphrased versions of hymn titles and scriptural content, I believe both are referencing the same hymn in the Moravian liturgy. While the title suggests a rendition of *Veni Sancte Spiritus,* the lyrics in Moravian liturgy, and the subsequent Cherokee translation, are more in line with a Moravian *Singstunde* versification of *Veni Creator Spiritus.*

Her uncle, Charles Hicks, was deeply moved by the simple ceremony and singing. Hicks was a well-respected member of the Cherokee Wolf clan known for his strong leadership, moving orations, and love of singing. It was probably not the first time he had sung "Come Holy Spirit," but he was deeply moved at Springplace during the baptism of his niece Peggy Vann.[302] Immediately following the ceremony, Hicks confided to Brother Gambold "that he could not describe the feeling that he had experienced" during the baptismal service and singing and, "he hoped that the impression of what he had enjoyed would stay with him the rest of his life."[303] He left the baptism ceremony with a newly emerging perspective on his life and the history of his nation, one of the largest and most powerful indigenous groups in the young United States. After a decade of conversations with the Moravians, he envisioned himself stepping out of heathen darkness into the light of Christian faith. He set his course that day as the first Christian leader of the Cherokees. Before the year 1810 was over he formally requested to be baptized into the Moravian Church.[304] The spiritually unifying theology of Moravian hymn-singing became a powerful tool for Cherokee cultural perseverance in the years leading up to the Trail of Tears. Cherokees adapted hymn-singing to their own needs, generating a Cherokee

---

[302] John Gambold and Ann Rosina Gambold, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees (MSMC),* Vol. 1, 1805-1813, edited by Rowena McClinton, (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), xxiii, 374–76. The "prick in the heart" phrase was a common expression used by Moravian missionaries to describe the emotional experience that initiated desires for Christian conversion.

[303] Gambold and Gambold, *MSMC* 1: 374–6.

[304] Rowena McClinton, "Notable Persons in Cherokee History: Charles Hicks." *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 17.1 (1981): 18; Gambold and Gambold, *MSMC,* 1:374–76; Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010),108, 132.

Christian perspective that empowered a growing group of converts during the years during and after Indian Removal.

In 1813, almost three years after Margaret Ann's baptism, Charles Hicks became Renatus, "the Renewed." The previous week had been full of ominous events, with hailstorms, an earthquake, and a raucous Cherokee ballgame in a field adjacent to the mission. The missionaries were relieved to participate in the quiet but emotional ceremony. Hicks, already among the most prominent representatives of the Cherokee people, had invited most of his family, but only a few were present. Many were detained by spring floods, but others were uneasy at Hicks' divergence from a traditional Cherokee path.[305]

After the baptism, the Moravians sang "Come Holy Spirit." Hicks's jet-black hair and reddened face were still dripping wet as he sang loud and clear at the front of the gathering. Proclaiming the divine presence in his heart, Hicks said to the Moravians, "Your cause is now my cause, it will be a joy to me to help you whenever it is in my power"[306] Hicks was well-known for singing at Cherokee ceremonies and church services. Hymns like "Come Holy Ghost" linked his love of singing, instilled through Cherokee traditions, with his new Christian faith. The Moravians felt that Charles Renatus Hicks's baptism, having washed the stains of sin from his soul, rendered him a True Christian and therefore, no longer an Indian. Hicks was an honored orator among his people, his Cherokee-ness could never be undone. Hicks sustained the respect of both

---

[305] Gambold and Gambold, *MSMC* 1: 528.

[306] Gambold and Gambold, *MSMC* 1: 528–29, 2: 289; Edmund Schwarze. *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States,* (Bethlehem, PA: Time Publishing, 1984) 116–19.

Cherokees and Christians at a time when individuals were one or the other, almost never both. Upon hearing of Hicks's baptism, Indian Agent Return J. Meigs wrote to Indian Affairs officials,

> Mr. Charles Hicks' being added to the Church of Christ is an acquisition and will have an effect to strengthen your hands. His example will, I hope, be followed. The enemies of religion cannot say that the weak and ignorant only are made converts; for it may with truth be said that the most intelligent of both sexes have been added to the flock of the Redeemer in the Cherokee Nation.[307]

The "flock of the Redeemer" was slow to expand in Cherokee country, but the frequent singing at Springplace always attracted visitors. Indian Affairs officials clearly had positive hopes about what Christian Cherokees might mean for their expansionist agenda.

Music among the Cherokee

Hicks's hometown, *Tomotley* ("hewn-log place") was northeast of Springplace in the dark, centuries-old forest of the Appalachian mountains. The mountain town was probably one of the earliest central Cherokee sites to contain hewn-log cabins. Hicks' father, a Scottish trader, had given the young man the powerful gift of fluency in English. His mother, a Wolf-clan matriarch, had given him knowledge of Cherokee politics and traditions. Hicks was uniquely qualified to lead his people during the tumultuous decades

[307] McClinton, "Notable Persons in Cherokee History: Charles Hicks." *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 17.1 (1981): 18.

after the American Revolution. He took his place among Cherokee leaders as the young translator for the Cherokee National Council. He enjoyed his role, and participated in traditional ceremonies and rituals regularly. His Cherokee interpretations of Americans' words were trusted by progressive Council leaders and traditionalist elders alike.[308]

Generations of Cherokees had shared the forested valleys, rocky peaks, and clear rivers with powerful spiritual beings, and their interactions, conflicts, and attitudes to the human world were central to Cherokee perspectives on the larger world. Giant serpents, man-eating leeches, *nunne'hi* river spirits, the *Yunwi Tsunsdi* little people, and the spirits of revered ancestors and murdered clan members were just a few of the spiritual and cultural aggregations from thousands of years of Cherokee experience in the southern Appallachians. Place-based songs and stories of the Cherokee constituted a history of a people not written on pages, but layered in the landscape.[309]

For Cherokees, singing and chanting were the most effective forms of communicating with spirits. Sung words had far-reaching power, and most spiritual communication took training, skill, and lifetime dedication to particular social roles. Even for Cherokee children, speaking and singing were understood in part as direct and powerful interaction with spiritual forces that resided in particular places - a deep river pool, a waterfall, a cave, an ancient hemlock tree, or a crossroads. Songs had power and

---

[308] Rowena McClinton, "Notable Persons in Cherokee History: Charles Hicks." *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 17.1 (1981): 18.

[309] John Gambold and Anna Rosina Gambold, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, Vol. 1, xxiii, 374–76; Mooney 297–333, 410–58: Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 45–46; Heidi M. Altman and Thomas N. Belt, "Tohi: The Cherokee Concept of Well-Being," *Under The Rattlesnake: Cherokee Health and Resiliency*, ed. Lisa Lefler. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 15.

purpose, from imitating birdsong, to communicating with plant spirits to assist in curing disease, or animal spirits ”to win the favor of the lords of game.”[310] Cherokee singing ranged from “sweetly plaintive” melodies to “somber ceremonial prayers and invocations.”[311]

Christian invocations of a Holy Spirit were not out of step with Cherokee musical traditions. Christian hymns introduced European tonality, English language patterns, and Christian theology. The rhythms and melodies were taken up with intense interest by some Cherokees. Cherokees’ performance of hymns reflected caution about intervening among spirits and apprehension about incorrectly using the spiritual power of song. That respect for spiritual power, even among children, translated into the somber and attentive singing at Springplace. In 1830 an English traveler wrote of a Cherokee Christian service, “I certainly never saw any congregation engaged more apparently in sincere devotion.”[312]

---

[310] James Mooney, *History, Myths, and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees (HMSFC),* (Fairview, NC: Historical Images Bright Mountain Books, 1992) 400, 472–73.

[311] Mooney, *HMSFC,* lxx–lxxiv, 400, 435, 468, 472–73; Frank G. Speck, Leonard Broom, and Will West Long, *Cherokee Dance and Drama*, (Berkeley and LA: University of California Press, 1951), 55, 62–63; Raymond Fogelson, “The Cherokee Ballgame Cycle: An Ethnographer’s View.” *Ethnomusicology* 15.3 (1971): 337–38.

[312] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 150–51; Mooney, *HMSFC*, 329–30; Payne and Butrick, *PBP*, 2:102–3, 3: 299–300; Jack Frederick Kilpatrick, *The Wahnenauhi Manuscript: Historical Sketches of the Cherokees Together with Some of Their Customs, Traditions, and Superstitions*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Bulletin 196, Anthropological Papers, No. 77, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1966), 192–95; Fogelson, “The Cherokee Ballgame Cycle: An Ethnographer’s View,” 335; David Cozzo, “Poison in the Tooth: Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Century Accounts of Cherokee Snakebite Remedies,” *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 27 (2009): 4–6; Kidula, “Music Culture: African Life,” 38–40.

Springplace on a Cherokee Plantation

While most missionaries agreed that Cherokees were attentive listeners, Cherokees were clearly not that interested in Christianity. Cherokee leaders wanted English language and skills training, especially blacksmithing and milling. Missionaries who attempted to establish a relationship were continually denied access by Cherokee communities.[313] In the 1810s, Prinicpal Chief Pathkiller, a close friend of Hicks, told the interpreter that, "perhaps if repeated enough times" he might come to understand, but until then he preferred to "remain with the ancients" in their relationship with the sacred landscape.[314] A bleeding, crucified Christ had no place in the Cherokee mountains.

In 1753, August Spangenberg chose a spot he described as "an Indian Pass" for a settlement in central North Carolina. He believed, "that the Saviour means to bless the Catawbas and Cherokees through our settlement."[315] Moravian missionaries attempted to evangelize the Cherokees in 1735, 1753, and 1783, but they, too, were denied.[316] In 1800, Charles Hicks translated Brother Abraham

---

[313] William McLoughlin, *The Cherokees and Christianity, 1794–1870: Essays on Acculturation and Cultural Persistence.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press), 1994, 112–13.William McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839,* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 36; *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina,* volume VI, 1793-1808, edited by Adelaide L. Fries, (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1943), 2620-2621, (Salem Diary 1799) 2626-2627; Edmund Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States,* (Bethlehem, PA: Times Publishing Company Printers, 1923), 32-44.

[314] Payne and Butrick, *PBP,* 4: 109.

[315] August Spangenburg Diary, excerpted in *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, v.1, 49. The first Moravian settlement in NC was Bethebara,, "House of Passage."

[316] William McLoughlin, *The Cherokees and Christianity, 1794–1870: Essays on Acculturation and Cultural Persistence.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press), 1994, 112–13.William McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839,* (Norman:

Steiner's address at a Cherokee council. Despite the strength of traditional Cherokee culture, many realized that their world was rapidly changing. As historian Rowena McClinton states, "they viewed western education as essential to the preservation of their national domain."[317] The "warm feelings of B. Hicks" toward Christians "gave an affecting pathos to the interpretation."[318] The Cherokees allowed the first mission school for Cherokee children.[319]

In 1801 a large group of missionaries, most of them skilled, German-born immigrants to Bethlehem or Salem, moved to the southern edge of James Vann's plantation. The flea-infested, crumbling, buildings leased to the missionaries curtailed any immediate progress. The first missionary cadre wore themselves out repairing buildings, clearing fields, constructing a small chapel, with sporadic help from some of the Vann family slaves. Springplace was given a breath of new life in 1805 when John and Anna Rosina Gambold and three others arrived from Bethlehem, by way of Salem. The Moravian conference in Salem gave the fresh, energized group a clear set of directives.[320] They should, "continue to teach the

---

University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 36; *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina,* volume VI, 1793-1808, edited by Adelaide L. Fries, (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1943), 2620-2621, (Salem Diary 1799) 2626-2627; Edmund Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States,* (Bethlehem, PA: Times Publishing Company Printers, 1923), 32-44.

[317] McClinton, "Introduction" to *MSMC,* 34.

[318] *BJ,* 90. Missionary Ard Hoyt discussed Hicks warm, welcoming attitude and attentive translation in the 1810s.

[319] Rowena McClinton, "Introduction," *MSMC,* v. 1, 22-3; Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill,* (Chapel Hill: The University Of North Carolina Press, 2010), 64-5; Adelaide Fries, *The Moravians in Georgia,* 14-17. August Spangenburg Diary, excerpted in *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina,* v.1, 36, 48, v. 6, 1793-1808, edited by Adelaide Fries, (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1943), 2564-5.

[320] Rowena McClinton, "Introduction," *MSMC,* v. 1, 22-3; Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill,* (Chapel Hill: The University Of North Carolina Press, 2010), 64-5;

Cherokee children diligently to sing verses, especially about the birth, suffering, and death of Jesus, to admit them to your services, especially the Singstunde, and to sing hymns with them before and after classes and also before and after meals."[321] The council hoped that "perhaps the Savior will soon enable [Sister] Gambold to translate one or another stanza into the Cherokee language."[322]

In the early years of Springplace, conveying divine truths in Cherokee was a primary concern. Based on other successful indigenous missions, Moravians believed in the quest that had enthralled Comenius, a union of all peoples through the spiritual language of Christian community. As far as the missionaries were concerned, the only impediment to conversion was the fracturing of language at Babel and the disconnection of Cherokee language from spiritual truths.[323] In 1807, Brother Gambold wrote to a friend that the mission would proclaim the love of Jesus "to all those who understand us fully or only in part." "May his Spirit interpret it," he continued, "until we, or perhaps those who come after us, learn the Cherokee language and can tell in it the marvelous deeds of God."[324] Moravians sang to Cherokees in English and German, sometimes even

---

Adelaide Fries, *The Moravians in Georgia,* 14-17. August Spangenburg Diary, excerpted in *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina,* v.1, 36, 48, v. 6, 1793-1808, edited by Adelaide Fries, (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1943), 2564-5.

[321] Communication of the Helfer Konferenz f. G. in Salem to the Mission Conferenz in Springplace, 14 Sept. 1805, *RMAC,* v.3, 865.

[322] Communication of the Helfer Konferenz f. G. in Salem to the Mission Conferenz in Springplace, 14 Sept. 1805, *RMAC,* v.3, 865.

[323] Patrick M Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania,* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 301; General James Oglethorpe, "Report," quoted in Adelaide Fries, *The Moravians in Georgia,* 147.

[324] *RMAC,* v. 3, John Gambold to Christian L. Benzien, February 2, 1807, 1015-16.

simultaneously. The communal experience of singing as a single body in a unified voice allowed congregants to "repair the linguistic and spiritual breach inflicted at Babel."[325]

Moravians took no credit for the miraculous work that allowed Indians to comprehend the Gospel. Singing together, even if the congregants could not understand the words, was a centuries-old method that demonstrated the universal love of Jesus and the Holy Spirit.[326] Moravians argued that the Holy Spirit "can find entrance into the hearts of the roughest Indians," even among the "worst and most despised nations."[327] For the missionaries, learning Cherokee was an opportunity to get to know Cherokee thinking, to win their trust, and to share the love of Christ.[328] At Springplace the singing did attract a lot of interested Cherokees to worship services. Most of them spoke almost no English, drawing inspiration from the experience rather than the content of hymn lyrics and sermons.

The centrality of singing to community life at Springplace was intended to facilitate the translation process. On Pentecost Sunday in 1806 the missionaries held a very moving service, singing "the beautiful song of power, 'Come Holy Spirit, Lord God!'" in English with a congregation of fifteen Cherokees, over a dozen slaves, and several white settlers living near the mission, and a group of

---

[325] Patrick M Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 301.

[326] *RMAC,* v. 1, Abraham Steiner Report, 1799, November 10, 125.

[327] *RMAC,* v. 1, Abraham Steiner Report, 1799, November 10, 124-5, partially quoted in William McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839,* 43.

[328] David Zeisberger to Frederic William de Marshall September 22, 1797 quoted in Edmund Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States,* (Bethlehem, PA: times Publishing Company, 1923), 39.

travelers passing through the Cherokee Nation. The missionaries sang the hymn again in German that evening.[329] "The power of darkness in this land is great and oppressive," Anna Rosina Gambold wrote in a letter to friends the next evening, "yet the Savior is indescribably near to us in our services."[330]

Singing and music unified and expanded the network of friends centered on Springplace, even when they could not understand one another's words. In 1808, Cherokee students' tried to interpret for a man named Flea, but the missionaries could not make sense of it.[331] When they finally grasped that Flea wanted them to play the organ and sing hymns for him, "he was quite beside himself [with] tears in his eyes, and he exclaimed aloud 'Osio!' very good."[332] When an eight-year-old Cherokee student died of fever, Anna Rosina Gambold recalled that his only English words were the hymn verse "Our Savior was a lowly Baby."[333] One cold February, a traveler arrived too late for the singing service, but proceeded to sing hymns with a family of white visitors and a group of enslaved Africans late into the evening. When Margaret Ann was ill and near death in 1820, all the pupils, visitors, and missionaries gathered in her room to tearfully pray and sing hymn verses as she died.[334]

---

[329] *MSMC,* v.1, 106.

[330] *RMAC,* v. 3, Anna Rosina Gambold to Christian Lewis Benzien, May 26, 1806, 926.

[331] *RMAC,* v.3, 1110.

[332] *RMAC,* v.3, 1110.

[333] *MSMC,* v. 2, 316. 1819. This appears to be a Catholic nativity carol sung during the Christmas season.

[334] *MSMC,* v. 1, 519. The mission diarist emphasized that the traveler sang Methodist hymns; *MSMC,* v. 2, 388-9.

The singing services at Springplace attracted visitors, but the missionaries' competency in Cherokee was slow to advance.[335] The responses to hymns from Cherokees like Flea signaled a spark of the Holy Spirit to the missionaries. "Oh, that the hour would soon strike," wrote one Springplace diarist, "when the poor Cherokees would accept the word of the Cross and turn from darkness to light." Missionaries among the Cherokees referenced the lack of Christian knowledge often, writing about the ever present "power of darkness," arguing that "Satan was busy to destroy" their mission efforts, that the "enemy of souls" attempted to trick Cherokee children, and asserting that those who denied the "great truth" of Christ's suffering brought disrespect and suffering on themselves.[336] But it is unlikely that a word of Cherokee had been sung at Springplace.

Missionaries at Springplace relied heavily on translations by the school children, several friendly local men - especially their Cherokee student Dawzizi and Charles Hicks. The "very limited translating of the children" was the most common. The missionaries believed that, once a child experienced the divine presence, "the Savior Himself would interpret [the gospel] in his heart."[337] Hicks often took Cherokee students and congregants aside to clarify and explain sermons and hymns. He worked diligently to translate Christian scripture into Cherokee after his conversion in 1813.[338] Other mission

---

[335] *RMAC,* v.1, Helfer Conferenz, Conference concerning the Wachovia Plan, held in Bethlehem 22 September 1755, 3.

[336] *RMAC,* v.3, 1110, Anna Rosina Gambold to Christian L. Benzien, May 26, 1806, 926, Gottlieb Byhan to Christian L. Benzien, Salem, NC, Springplace, Jan 4, 1807, 1009; *MSMC,* v. 1, 507; *MSMC,* v. 2, 280-1.

[337] *RMAC,* v3, John Gambold to Christian Lewis Benzien, Salme NC, Springplace, Jan 30, 1808, 1102-3.

[338] *RMAC,* v4, 1713; *MSMC,* v 1, 116.

groups, coordinated by Hicks, were also translating scripture and hymns, using Latin letters to spell out Cherokee syllables. Translations often went forward with horrifying results as far as the Moravians were concerned. Hicks, who had notoriously terrible hand-writing, presented the Gambolds with another Cherokee's rendition of the Lord's Prayer sometime around 1814. Anna Rosina copied the Cherokee in her own neat hand with a note expressing her skepticism about Cherokee translations of sacred scripture.[339]

Anna Rosina wrote that a Methodist or Baptist missionary preaching at Hightower, assisted in his translations by "certain Half-breeds somewhere in the Nation," had made glaring mistakes.[340] According to Hicks, the Cherokee interpreter introduced the Lord's Prayer translation as "a reward for [the Moravians'] love of the Indians." Concluding his introduction, the Cherokee interpreter happily wished the missionaries to "go to Hell."[341] The translation problem revolved around the ambiguity of Christian ideas related in the Cherokee language. Hicks, having spoken at length with Moravian missionaries, interpreted Heaven with the word "cul-le-lo-ti," "the place above," while

---

[339] *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokees: The Anna Rosina Years, Part 1, Success in School and Mission,* volume 3 1805-1810 (*RMAV,* v.3) editors C. Daniel Crews and Richard W. Starbuck, (Tahlequah: Cherokee National Press, 2011), 970. Before 1821 there was no standardized translation methodology and Sequoyah had not yet introduced the syllabary.

[340] *RMAC,* v.3, 970; Durbin Feeling, *Cherokee-English Dictionary,* edited by William Pulte, (Tahlaquah: Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, 1975), 204; Course notes from *Intermediate Cherokee I and II,* instructors Hartwell Frances and Thomas Belt, Western Carolina University, 2011. *Sus-kee-nu-ah* has not survived in Cherokee lexicons among the Eastern Band or Cherokee Nation. The modern Cherokee word for "hell" is *jvsgino. Cul-le-lo-ti* is now written *galvladi*. Hicks' phonetics, written during the earliest era of Latin-letter Cherokee writing, is idiosyncratic and probably very much his own, although there is the possibility that the differences between his spellings and those of later Cherokees represent distinctions between nineteenth-century dialects.

[341] *RMAC,* v.3, 970.

"sus-kee-nu-ah," the word used in the Lord's Prayer translation, was translated as Hell, "The Bad Place."[342]

Cherokee cosmology was not divided by a good or evil binary. Cherokees conceived of the Underworld as a place of perfected forms – of bountiful orchards, and clear streams, a place that was both beautiful and dangerous for humans to visit. The word "sus-kee-nu-ah" consists of the root "skina," related to *u-ski-na* meaning a spirit. In the nineteenth century, *uskina* took on the negative connotation of an evil spirit based in Christian conceptions, but there is no evidence to suggest the evil associations existed in earlier decades. *Sus-kee-nu-ah* may have been translated as "spirit place," referencing the multitude of spiritual beings living in the Underworld and intended by the Cherokee translator to signify Heaven. Hicks, who spent significant time with Christian missionaries, translated the word as "bad spirit place," or possibly, "bad place." Hicks' translation of Heaven as *cul-le-lo-ti,* utilized Cherokee beliefs in "the place above," where all the most powerful spiritual beings resided, both those that were dangerously destructive and potentially helpful to human beings.[343]

Cherokee conceptions of both places - *Sus-kee-nu-ah* and *Cul-le-lo-ti* - included a spectrum of more or less helpful spirits that were not necessarily good or evil. Shaping a Christian perspective from these Cherokee ideas required a bilingual sensibility and grasp of both cultures. For a so-called Cherokee half-breed with limited English skills, the conception of the Underworld as a place of perfection logically represented the heavenly idea. For Hicks, a bi-lingual Moravian convert who applied Christian ideals in his

---

[342] *RMAC,* v.3, 970.
[343] *HMSFC*; Fogelson; Hudson.

translation process, the European conception that Hell was a bad place located below made the most sense.[344] After discussing the translation with Hicks, Anna Rosina wondered "what godless stuff such translators do," imagining the misconceptions that the "half-breed" translator could spread.[345] By the mid-1820s, Hicks use of *cul-le-lo-ti,* usually spelled *ga-lv-la-di,* was the Cherokee name for Heaven.[346]

Even with the help of Hicks, who did not write clearly, the difficulty of translating Cherokee troubled the Moravians. After more than a decade at Springplace, the failure of the Holy Spirit to ignite a fire was blamed on the Cherokee. Despite following directives about singing and compiling wordlists, the Moravians at Springplace made no real progress in learning Cherokee. Gambold and his mission cadre began to believe that an English language Christian education was the only way for Cherokees to become "happily blessed people,"

---

[344] Durbin Feeling, Cherokee Dictionary; Cherokee language class notes; Tom Belt; J.D. Wofford, *American Sunday School Spelling Book: Translated Into the Cherokee Language,* (NY: Gray & Bunce Printers, 1824), 45.

[345] *RMAC,* v.3, 970.

[346] Feeling, Cherokee Dictionary; Cherokee language class notes; Tom Belt; J.D. Wofford, *American Sunday School Spelling Book: Translated Into the Cherokee Language,* (NY: Gray & Bunce Printers, 1824), 45. The title page Wofford's Cherokee Spelling book states that it was "published for the benefit of those who cannot acquire the English language." Wofford was known at Springplace, was a student of Humphrey Posey's at Tinsawattee School in Georgia, and worked as an interpreter for Evan Jones. His translation of the Lord's Prayer is entirely different than the translation Hicks presented to the Moravians, although it does use the word *gvleladi,* synonomous with Hicks' *cul-le-lo-ti,* for Heaven. The difference in spelling may correlate with differences between the Lower Towns Cherokee dialect of Wofford and the Valley Towns dialect of Hicks. The hymns in Wofford's spelling book do not include "Come Holy Spirit," but a hymn titled "The Sufferings of Christ" renders the themes of "O Sacred Head, now wounded," and "The Litany of the Wounds*"* into Cherokee. James Wofford was one of James Mooney's primary informants in the 1880s.

the only path to gain "victory over sin, death, and Satan."[347] By the 1820s, Moravians had decided that it was "completely impossible to impart the right ideas about God or spiritual things" in Cherokee.[348] Brother Gambold declared it was an excessively difficult task to honor Christ "in the poor, dirty, drowning Cherokee Nation," where "the devil was really well served" by seasonal Cherokee festivals.[349] Studying Cherokee, argued Gambold, was a waste of time if the goal was conversion. He wrote to an army officer that "[Cherokee] Language, Customs, Manner of Thinking, etc., should be forgotten."[350] In a letter to the Indian Agent, Gambold described his belief that learning English, Christian religion, and adopting American laws were the only way for Cherokees to survive and become "useful Citizens of the United States."[351]

Moravian hymns from Springplace to Valley Towns

While Moravians seem to have totally abandoned attempts at learning Cherokee by 1819, Charles Hicks orchestrated an effort to provide European skills training and an English education to the rising generation of mountain Cherokees. Hicks's recent discussions with elders on the National Council had opened the door for more mission

---

[347] *RMAC,* v. 1, Report of Brethren Abraham Steiner and Friedrich von Schweinitz concerning their second visit to the Cherokees from 25 August to 2 November 1800, 199; *MSMC,* v. 1, 115.

[348] *MSMC,* v. 1, 16 July 1807, 199.

[349] *RMAC,* v. 3, John Gambold to Christian Lewis Benzien January 30, 1808, 1103, Gottlieb Byhan to Christian L. Benzien, Salem, NC, Springplace, Jan 4, 1807, 1011.

[350] *RMAC,* v. 6, John Gambold to Thomas L. McKenney, 30 August 1824, 3172. Underlining is in the original document.

[351] *RMAC,* v. 6, John Gambold to Thomas L. McKenney, 30 August 1824, 3171-2.

schools in Cherokee country. A Baptist mission would be the last piece in assigning all the National districts to Christian denominations. Hicks and a Baptist preacher named Humphrey Posey met at Springplace. They counted the Moravians' singing as the Holy Spirit's blessing of their intentions. They discussed plans all the next day, selecting scriptures, bible lessons, and hymns they thought best for instructing Posey's future students.[352]

Reverend Posey gave the evening sermon to an attentive congregation of Cherokees, at least nine of the Vann family's slaves, and the Moravian brethren, about twenty-five people in all. Posey preached about the Holy Spirit's power emanating from pious communities. He cried plaintively of the good will and hope that Jesus inspired in Christian hearts, and prayed for the brighter future of America's poor benighted heathens. The immanent end times, proclaimed Posey from the pulpit, were signified by the Indians hearing the call to Jesus. Posey preached that, just as Solomon had constructed the Jewish Temple as the heart of a moral, righteous, and chosen nation, the missionaries and their Cherokee friends would build a space for the light of the gospel in preparation for Jesus's return.[353]

Posey, a missionary Baptist, politely declined taking Communion with the brethren, but happily sang with them afterward. As the sunset cast long shadows across the bare, hewn-log chapel, Posey and Hicks sang side-by-side. The words of "Come Holy

---

[352] Robert Fleming, *Sketch of the Life of Elder Humphrey Posey: First Baptist Missionary to the Cherokee Indians, and Founder of Valley Town School, North Carolina*, (Newnan, GA: Western Baptist Association of Georgia, 1852), 24; Gambold and Gambold, *MSMC,* 1: 289–90.

[353] Gambold and Gambold, *MSMC,* 1: 289–90; Walker and Sarbaugh, "The Early History of the Cherokee Syllabary" 92.

Spirit" rang loud and clear from the Moravian hymnal in the congregations' unified voice. Immediately after the service, Posey gave an emotional reflection. "My dear Brothers and Sisters, I cannot hide from you that my heart feels very well in your midst. I have enjoyed *spirituality* with you and will not easily forget the feeling of this. We are one in Jesus, members of His body, and feel ourselves very closely bound in Him.'"[354] Thereafter Posey visited Springplace often, engaging brothers Gambold and Crutchfield in frequent theological conversations. Hicks discussed the "uncivilized" Valley Towns Cherokee with Posey and other missionaries at different times and places. Making up two-thirds of the Nation, the Valley Towns Cherokee did not speak English, did not own slaves, and had no interest in becoming Christian. They would be the most difficult challenge to converting the Cherokees. Moravians at Springplace, Congregationalists at Brainerd, and Humphrey Posey at Valley towns all agreed that singing hymns should be a first step in illuminating the darkness of heathen traditions. By September, Posey had organized an educational program for Valley Towns that emphasized singing English language hymns.[355]

---

[354] Gambold and Gambold, *MSMC*, 2: 290; Paraphrased in Fleming, *Sketch of the Life of Elder Humphrey Posey*, 24.

[355] Gambold and Gambold, *MSMC*, 1:124, 285, 303, 306, 2: 374–75, 452; Humphrey Posey, "Cherokee Indians," *The Latter Day Luminary*, Volume 1, (1 Aug. 1819), *Hathi-Trust Digital Library*, babel.hathitrust.org. accessed 9 Sept. 2014.; Fleming, *Sketch of the Life of Elder Humphrey Posey*, 52–53, 57–58; Thomas Roberts, "Letter from the Rev. Thomas Roberts to the Rev. O.B. Brown, dated Jan. 22, 1822," *The Latter Day Luminary.* Vol. 3. (1 March 1822), *Hathi-Trust Digital Library*, babel.hathitrust.org, accessed 9 Sept. 2014; Kay Norton, *Baptist Offspring, Southern Midwife—Jesse Mercer's Cluster of Spiritual Songs (1810): A Study in American Hymnody*, (Warren, MI: Harmonies Park, 2002), 66–67. Gambold and Gambold, *MSMC*, 2: 319–20; *The Brainerd Journal: A Mission to the Cherokees, 1817-1823*, eds. Joyce B. Phillips and Paul Gary Thomas, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 134; Payne and Butrick, *PBP*, 6: 359; Humphrey Posey, "Cherokee Indians," *The Latter Day Luminary*, Vol. 2. (1 Feb. 1820), *Hathi-Trust Digital Library*, babel.hathitrust.org, accessed 9 Sept. 2014; Evan

After six years of relatively subdued evangelism among Cherokee elders and headmen, Hicks brought representatives from all the missions to attend the General Council meeting in October 1819. Four of the Moravians from Springplace set out on the 23rd to the new National Council House below Oostanaula (later to be named New Echota). Hicks asked Brother Abraham Steiner to give the dedication sermon to a large and attentive audience, the first official recognition of Christianity at the Cherokee National Council. Brother Steiner spoke of the small blessings at Springplace mission and plans for new buildings to house more Cherokee children. Daniel Butrick from Brainerd related the American Mission Board's support in the form of teachers, farmers, and craftsman, especially noting a blacksmith that would reside permanently at the Tennessee mission. Posey laid out the plan for the Baptist school and requested a land lease to begin. Hicks proposed a site near *Tlanusi'yi,* the home of a giant, man-eating leech, near the confluence of the Valley and Hiwassee rivers. The council readily agreed to the new school and leased the Baptists 80 acres along the Hiwassee. By early spring a gang of Vann slaves and wage laborers cleared an old settlement where powerful Natchez wizards, refugees from French-led genocide on the southern Mississippi, had been welcomed in the 1720s. The remaining structures, some of them still in use, were torn down to make room for fields and a mill. The Valley Towns mission site had probably

---

Jones,and Thomas Dawson, "Valley Towns Station," *The Latter Day Luminary,* (May 1, 1825), Appalachian State University Library Special Collections, Boone, NC; E. H. Stillwell, *Historical Sketch of Tuckaseegee Baptist Association, 1829–1929,* (Cullowhee, NC: Western Carolina Teacher's College, 1929), 1–2; Fleming, *Sketch of the Life of Elder Humphrey Posey*, 57–58.

been inhabited for ten thousand years. It was a significant place with an ancient history that resonated with spiritual power.[356]

In 1820 Posey traveled in Philadelphia, Washington City, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, procuring government funds and church donations. He collected melodies and hymn lyrics in English along the way. Many of the most popular hymns of the day spoke directly to the growth of Christ's dominion, the sinfulness of "savage" ways, and events that signaled Christ's immanent return. The hymns intended for Indian mission schools presented three modes of confronting indigenous traditions. The first involved displacing and reclassifying indigenous spiritual powers. The second sought to instill the sinfulness of indigenous traditions like ball games, all night dances, and blood vengeance. The third, applied in all Christian theology, emphasized repentance and acceptance of Christ as the only path to salvation.[357]

One popular hymn from the 1741 English Moravian hymnal was circulated by missionaries in the Cherokee Nation, "Oh, Tell Me No More of this World's Vain Store." The hymn referenced "ground" and place to express a sinner's physical and spiritual

---

[356] Gambold and Gambold, *MSMC*, 2: 319–20; *The Brainerd Journal: A Mission to the Cherokees, 1817-1823*, eds. Joyce B. Phillips and Paul Gary Thomas, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 134; Payne and Butrick, *PBP*, 6: 359; Humphrey Posey, "Cherokee Indians," *The Latter Day Luminary*, Vol. 2. (1 Feb. 1820), *Hathi-Trust Digital Library*, babel.hathitrust.org, accessed 9 Sept. 2014; Evan Jones,and Thomas Dawson, "Valley Towns Station," *The Latter Day Luminary*, (May 1, 1825), Appalachian State University Library Special Collections, Boone, NC; E. H. Stillwell, *Historical Sketch of Tuckaseegee Baptist Association, 1829–1929*, (Cullowhee, NC: Western Carolina Teacher's College, 1929), 1–2; Fleming, *Sketch of the Life of Elder Humphrey Posey*, 57–58.

[357] Gambold and Gambold, *MSMC*, 2: 289; Robert G. Gardner, *Cherokees and Baptists in Georgia*, (Atlanta: Georgia Baptist Historical Society, 1989), 44–45; Breed, *The History and Use of Hymns and Hymn Tunes*, 76, 79, 148; Norton, *Baptist Offspring, Southern Midwife*, 66–67.

distance from divinity. "*This* world's vain store," this time and place, becomes something to be denied as "*that* happy ground," becomes something to be gone after, insinuating the necessity of remaking the very ground on which non-Christians stood. Death was represented as the celebration of a redeemed soul's arrival in heaven, confronting the usual Cherokee apprehension of a remaining spiritual presence that might cause harm:

> O tell me no more of this world's vain store!
> The time for such trifles with me is now o'er;
> A country I've found where true joys abound,
> To dwell I'm determin'd on that happy ground.
>
> No mortal doth know what Christ will bestow,
> What life, strength and comfort! Go after Him go!
> Lo, onward I move, to see Christ above,
> None guesses how wondrous my journey will prove.
>
> Great spoils I shall win, from death, hell and sin;
> Midst outward affliction shall feel Christ within;
> And still, which is best, I in his dear breast,
> As at the beginning, find pardon and rest.
>
> When I am to die, receive me, I'll cry,
> For Jesus has lov'd me, I cannot tell why;

but this I do find, we two are so join'd,

He'll not live in glory and leave me behind;

This blessing is mine, through favor divine,

And O, my dear Jesus, the praise shall be thine;

In heaven we'll meet in harmony sweet,

And, glory to Jesus! We'll then be complete.[358]

In a letter announcing the Valley Towns mission to the Philadelphia Baptist convention, Posey described a visit to Tinsawattee Baptist School in Georgia, and the Cherokee children's "remarkable" improvement in singing hymns.[359] Posey and a young Tinsawattee student sang a a moving hymn "descriptive of the millennial day . . . [which] excited much interest and praise."[360]

Roll forward, dear Saviour, roll forward the day.

When all shall submit and rejoice in thy sway,

When white men and Indians, united in praise,

---

[358] Jesse Mercer, *The Cluster of Spiritual Songs*, (Augusta, GA: Hobby & Bunce, 1810), 236. This hymn was first published in English in the 1741 *Moravian English Hymnbook* in London. German version?

[359] Posey, "Cherokee Indians," 1 Feb. 1820; Jones and Dawson, "Valley Towns Station," (1 May 1825); Roberts, "Letter from the Rev. Thomas Roberts to the Rev. O.B. Brown, dated Jan. 22, 1822," (1 March 1822).

[360] *Columbian Star*, Washington D.C., (30 November 1822), 2, qtd. in Gardner, *Cherokees and Baptists in Georgia*, 38, and in Norton, *Baptist Offspring, Southern Midwife*, 67. The student is probably James Wofford.

One vast hallelujah triumphant shall raise. [361]

The hymn's simple meter and rhyme was easy for children who spoke little or no English to sing. The words taught Christian unity theology and the submission of Christian Cherokees to white authority on spiritual matters. Posey assumed Anglo-Saxon superiority in all things, believing Christ was the light of all true knowledge. The Indian mind was clouded by millennia of the Devil's unencumbered activities in the dark forests. Instilling Christian thinking in young Cherokees, according to Posey, would break the darkness that heathen traditions held over Cherokee society. Posey's educational plan included converting Cherokees, clearing forests, and building roads. His use of pedagogical hymns sought to write over Cherokee sacred places and the stories held in them.[362]

Cherokees and other missionaries took up work on translation projects.[363] Daniel Butrick at Brainerd mission, and Evan Jones, who arrived at Valley Towns as the new teacher, worked separately by the early 1820s. In 1824 James Wofford, a student of Posey and Jones at the Baptist Valley Towns mission, was credited as author of a Cherokee language version of *The American Sunday School Spelling Book* published

---

[361] Edward W. Billups, D. D., *The Sweet Songster*, (Cattlesburg, KY: C.L. McConnell, 1854), 111.

[362] Catherine L. Albanese, "Exploring Regional Religion: A Case Study of the Eastern Cherokee*," History of Religions* 23.4 (1984): 346, 353, 371; Gambold and Gambold, *MSMC*, 2: 290–91; Gordon E. Fouts, "Music Instruction in Early Nineteenth Century American Schools," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 22.2 (1974): 113–17.

[363] For more on the Cherokee syllabary and the rapid spread of Cherokee language literacy see James W. Parins, *Literacy and Intellectual Life in the Cherokee Nation, 1820-1906*, and Ellen Cushman, *The Cherokee Syllabary: Writing the People's Perserverance.*

with Latin-letter phonetics. Charles Hicks introduced the missionaries, and they collaborated, sharing word lists and written translations of hymns and bible verses. Butrick worked in the lower mountain towns of northwest Georgia and eastern Tennessee, Jones in the high mountain towns of western North Carolina and north Georgia. There were at least four Cherokee dialects in these regions and varied pronunciations generated different spellings. The use of Latin letters led to clumsy, lengthy, constructions of polysynthetic Cherokee words, sometimes containing as many as thirteen syllables.[364]

Sequoyah was a well-known Cherokee silversmith who invented an 86-character writing system. He introduced the Cherokee syllabary to the 1821 National Council, generating a Cherokee literacy revolution. While English-speaking and literate Cherokees like Charles Hicks had been writing Cherokee language in Latin letters since at least 1813, the syllabary lent a powerful social and nationalist status to written Cherokee. Europeans could not read the Cherokee syllabary. Even the traditionalist two-thirds of the population were sharing handwritten sacred formulas and other "heathen" information by 1823. By 1830, more Cherokees could read than whites. Public oration and singing remained highly valued and respected abilities in Cherokee society, but written Cherokee became a tool for sustaining, empowering, and adapting existing knowledge and

---

[364] J.D. Wofford, *The American Sunday School Spelling Book: Translated into the Cherokee Language,* (New York: Gray & Bunce, 1824). Wofford was also a student at Tinsawattee school in Georgia as a child and noted for his love of singing hymns. The title page includes the phrase "Published for the Benefit of Those Who Cannot Acquire the English Language," and states that Wofford was "one of the Students at the Valley Towns' School." The entire book uses Latin letters to spell out Cherokee words and there is no mention of the Cherokee syllabary which was increasingly in common use in the mid 1820s.

incorporating the new. As Christian hymns became part of Cherokee musical repertory, the ability to write hymn lyrics in Cherokee shaped Christian belief with Cherokee thinking. In the process, Christian ideas about good and evil and inescapable human sin began to find a place in Cherokee traditions.[365]

Through the early 1820s, just as Cherokee literacy was booming, Humphrey Posey was superintendent of Valley Towns, but a new group of teachers and preachers were being sent from Philadelphia. Hicks, who suffered from scrofula, was ill and unable to travel, weakening the cooperative missionary efforts. At the same time, Cherokee elders were concerned by the lack of skills training and education going on at the mission schools, wondering especially why there were no Cherokee blacksmithing apprentices. Posey, who had been commissioned as a federal land agent, left the mission and his collection of hymns in the hands of a missionary family that arrived in 1821. Evan Jones took over leadership of the mission with his wife, three daughters, and six other missionaries just in time for a wave of anti-mission sentiment that swept through the Cherokee Nation.[366]

Jones, a Welsh immigrant, immersed himself in the Cherokees' world, searching for effective ways to explain and spread the Gospel. In a deal for funding from the

---

[365] Walker and Sarbaugh, "The Early History of the Cherokee Syllabary," 90–92; Cushman, *The Cherokee Syllabary,* 6–13, 33–37, 172–74; Payne and Butrick, *PBP,* 2: 132–34, 4: 93; McClinton, "Notable Persons in Cherokee History: Charles Hicks," 17; Nettle and Romaine, *Vanishing Voices,* 11–12; Walter Ong and John Hartley, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word,* (New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 2012), 35–36, 57.

[366] McLoughlin, *The Cherokees and Christianity,* 194, 203; *Brainerd Journal,* 385, 392–98; Timson, John. "John Timson to William Staughton, February 13, 1824," *The Latter Day Luminary,* Vol. 6. (1 May 1825), *Hathi-Trust Digital Library,* babel.hathitrust.org, accessed 9 Sept. 2014.

Triennial Baptist convention in Georgia, Jones agreed to increase the number of preachers and preaching places on the circuit through the Cherokee Nation. Building on the foundation of the Springplace missionary network, Posey's collection of hymns, and established preaching places in the mountains, Jones traveled the well-worn paths through the mountains for weeks at a time. Through interpreters, he sought out Cherokee priests and healers, questioning them about their beliefs, practices, and relationships to sacred places. During two years of constant travelling among traditionalist "children of the forest," Jones collected and shared hymns written and sung in Cherokee.[367]

Jones' expanded preaching circuit brought new students and converts to the Valley Towns, initiating a new phase of Cherokee Christianity. Working first with hymn lyrics, many of which originated in Moravian hymns, Jones's Cherokee congregants helped him learn their language. By the late 1820s, Jones was teaching hymns, giving sermons, and debating traditionalist priests in Cherokee.[368]

By 1830, Jones's friendship and mentoring of young converts and Cherokee preachers, his conviction that the Gospel was perfectly clear in Cherokee, and his vocal resistance to Indian removal, established a strong set of Cherokee Baptist communities. Jones's pioneering mission work empowered Cherokee interpretations of scripture and

---

[367] "Accounts of the Valley Towns Station," *The Latter Day Luminary*, 1 May 1825, 155; Gardner, *Cherokees and Baptists in Georgia*, 96–97, 104–5, 113–17; William Joseph Thomas, "Creating Cherokee Print: Samuel Austin Worcester's Impact on the Syllabary," *Media History Monographs* 10:2 (2007–2008): 13–14; William G. McLoughlin, *Champions of the Cherokees: Evan and John B. Jones*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 135–39.

[368] Roberts, "Letter from the Rev. Thomas Roberts to the Rev. O.B. Brown, dated Jan. 22, 1822,"; "Accounts of the Valley Towns Station," 155; Gardner, *Cherokees and Baptists in Georgia*, 96–97, 104–5; R. Thomas, "Cherokee Values and World View," 23–24; McLoughlin, *Champions of the Cherokees*, 135–39.

hymns and opened the gates for a continuing stream of converts.[369] Cherokees Situwakee, Oganaya (called Peter), John Timson, Jesse Bushyhead, George Lowrey, and a young Cherokee called John Huss, almost certainly a former student at Springplace, worked with Jones as interpreters and exhorters. All of them could read and write in Cherokee and speak some English. Under Jones's leadership this group generated a Cherokee-inflected Baptist theology that was essential in sustaining some traditional conceptions of spiritual power in the mountain landscape. Winged *ukte'na* serpents, a feared enemy of Cherokees, were easily rendered as demons, while the spirit of "The Long Man" was associated with living baptismal waters, the blood of Christ and the Holy Spirit. Jones preached in Cherokee at preaching places imbued with Cherokee, not Christian, traditions.[370]

In 1824 Jones began requesting tribal and federal funds to set up a printing press and publish a hymn booklet and some translated scriptures. The informal education of Baptist preachers, and the fact that Jones was not an ordained minister, undermined his attempts to set up a press at Valley Towns. In 1828, Presbyterian missionary Samuel Worcester and Cherokee Elias Boudinot cast the first Cherokee syllabary type and established the first Cherokee language press at New Echota. They began printing the *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper, a translation of the New Testament, and a Cherokee hymn

---

[369] Timson, "John Timson to William Staughton, February 13, 1824"; Gardner, *Cherokees and Baptists in Georgia*, 113–17; Thomas, "Creating Cherokee Print," 13–14; McLoughlin, *Champions of the Cherokees*, 135–39.

[370] (Gardner, *Cherokees and Baptists in Georgia*, 153–63, 175–77; Payne and Butrick, *PBP*, 3:312–13, 5:262–63; Timson, "John Timson to William Staughton, February 13, 1824."; Frans M. Olbrechts and James Mooney, *The Swimmer Manuscript: Cherokee Sacred Formulas and Medicinal Prescriptions*, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1932), 308–10; Gary E. Moulton, *John Ross: Cherokee Chief*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), 105, 132–33, 197–98.

book "compiled from several authors." As a young boy, Boudinot had begun his extensive education at Springplace nearly twenty years earlier, and he certainly translated many hymns on his own. Boudinot and Worcester also included hymns from the Valley towns collection, which Jones had delivered to New Echota himself, but they did not identify the translators of individual texts.[371]

In 1830 the state of Georgia passed legislation claiming jurisdiction over all Cherokee territory within the bounds of the state, and Andrew Jackson pushed through an Indian removal bill. Worcester, preaching against removal, was arrested for residing in Cherokee Georgia. During Worcester's two-year incarceration, Boudinot promoted removal west of the Mississippi as the only means for Cherokee survival, calling for a removal treaty. Jones and the staunchly anti-removal Cherokee Baptists were shaken by Boudinot's pro-removal activities. Boudinot and the other members of the so-called Treaty Party were considered traitors by Cherokee Baptists, most of the remaining missionaries, and the vast majority of Cherokees.

During the years just after the Indian Removal bill, attendance at mission services grew. Cherokee hymn books were circulated and an expanded edition of the Cherokee hymnal was printed. The second edition included "Come Holy Spirit." Translated into Cherokee, hymn lyrics expressed a Cherokee Christian perspective. Cherokees lyrical references to "that happy ground" were not only about a distant heaven, they were also

---

[371] Samuel A. Worcester, *New Echota Letters,* eds. Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick, (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1968), 74; John R. Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees 1819–1900,* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 13-14; Cushman, *The Cherokee Syllabary,* 45–49; Payne and Butrick, *PBP,* 6: 312–26; McLoughlin, *Champions of the Cherokees,* 19–22, 136–39; Moulton, *John Ross: Cherokee Chief,* 69–70, 72–73, 36–37.

about displacing spiritual powers from sacred spaces. Spiritual forces were either demonized or associated with the Holy Ghost. But the traditional Christian meanings of hymns were often subsumed by a Cherokee sense of history, a sense of place, and a sense of their own cultural superiority. "White men and Indians, united in praise" did not mean Cherokees were to abandon their so-called sinful ways to unite with whites, but rather that whites should acknowledge Cherokees' superior value system that more closely resembled the lives of Jesus and the Apostles. Rendered back into English, the Cherokee lyrics to "Come Holy Spirit" demonstrate Cherokee-directed evangelism and an appropriation of didactic hymnody. The depth of Christian theology and historiography that Hrabanus Maurus had layered in the hymn was replaced through the interpretive process by a similar depth of Cherokee traditions. The lyrics transmit a Cherokee view of Christianity, not a European one.

> Beloved Spirit who lives above, come into our hearts, live there.
> Fill us with Your love that strengthens our lives.
> We are included in loving the bad things that we love,
> In this world where we live they are sinful and bad.
> Our souls will not make it into the Happy Place, in heaven above.
> Our songs will be in vain, if our love for You is not here.
> Now let our hearts remain still, if they are dead rest, and they are cold.
> Beloved is the spirit You live above, Jesus fill us with your love.[372]

[372] *Cherokee Hymnbook* 2014, Hymn 117.

The lyrics confront sin and perceived spiritual shortcomings in Cherokee terms, using Cherokee ways of thinking to explain and instill Christian ideals. Familiar themes of divine invocation, spiritual longing, eternal salvation, and ever-present sin are related in spatial terms - a distant heaven, a sinful here-and-now, the vanity of singing when heart-felt is "not here." "This world where we live" is a sinful, bad space, in direct opposition to the distant "Happy Place" above, a sinful "here" and a divine "there."

The phrase "our songs will be in vain" reinforces the exclusion of particular spiritual beings that were previously invoked through song from Christian faith. The Holy Spirit that resided in the human heart was the only valid spiritual power. The lyrics "We are included in loving the bad things that we love, In this world where we live they are sinful and bad" call attention to the constant threat of heathen thinking and backsliding into Cherokee traditions that cleared a path to sin. These lines may have also invoked an indictment of the forced land cessions, broken treaties, and rampant violence against Indians that proved most white men were terrible Christians. From a Cherokee perspective, hope and salvation were found in reclaiming a Cherokee history from a time before white corruption. The "Happy place" above would not be controlled by white people. The phrase *adanvdo galvladihehi,* "beloved spirit in the place above," uses two terms with pre-Christian meanings. *Adanuvdo* is probably an ancient Cherokee name for the creator spirit, sky spirit, or the sun. *Adanuvdo,* "Beloved Spirit," is an indigenous conception of the Christian Holy Spirit. *Galvladihehi* is the Cherokee place where all the most powerful spirit beings live, and contains a suffix referring to *Adanuvdo's* residency

there. The Christianized meanings for the older terms *adanuvdo* and *galvladi* were probably first transmitted through Cherokee hymns in the 1810s and 1820s.

The lyrics "Now let our hearts remain still, if they are dead rest, and they are cold" reference specific Cherokee traditions. Cherokees believed every person was the union of four spirits, each associated respectively with the head, the liver, the heart, and bone. Any one of a dead person's spirits could be a volatile force in daily life. The spirits of the murder victim could not rest until a wrongful death was avenged. Cherokee blood-revenge dictated that the clan of a murdered individual was responsible for avenging the death by killing a member of the offending clan. Cherokees usually mourned over the dead for days, in part to protect the dead's lingering spirits from falling under the influence of sorcery and negative spiritual powers. Blood vengeance was a threat to both tribal peace and Cherokee claims at being a civilized tribe. This lyric asserts the Christian belief that every human being had a single soul associated with the heart. The theological implication is that Jesus would bear responsibility for all sins, including murder, and Cherokees should focus on their relationship with the Holy Spirit rather than clan affiliations, angry spirits, and Cherokee wizards who sought to do harm. Although Christian in nature, the Cherokees' collaborative translation was geared toward Cherokee stability during a time of tumultuous change.[373]

The final Cherokee stanza is a poetic rendition of ancient Christian doxologies. The idea of eternal love is relayed through the repetition of ideas using different forms of the same root word at the beginning and end of a

[373] Cozzo, "Poison in the Tooth," 6–7, 10; Payne and Butrick, *PBP*, 4: 120, 207, 6: 232; Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees*, 5.

complete statement. *Galvquodiyu adanvdo galvladihehi* uses the word for Heaven, first with a suffix denoting a long span of time (*Galvquodiyu*), followed by a form of the word denoting the presence there of someone (*galvladihehi*). In between is the ancient name for the creator spirit, *adonvdo*. The complete line echoes the eternal grace of God in heaven presented in doxologies since the early medieval period. *Tsisa ageyudigesv, disgikaliisda,* "Jesus fill us with your love," follows, adding praise to Jesus and referencing the feeling of the heart being filled with the divine presence that was amplified by the act of congregational singing. These lines together are an indigenous Cherokee rendering of a closing doxology to the Holy Trinity.

Hymns such as "O, Tell me no More of this World's Vain Store," "Roll Forward, Dear Savior," and "Come Holy Spirit" were missionary tools for displacing and dichotomizing indigenous traditions and redirecting spiritual energy toward a tripartite divinity, a distant place, and an immanent time. Implicit in the lyrics are references to biblical prophecy that signify the latter days before Jesus' return. "White men and Indians, united in praise," and "in the faith of men unite, of every land and every tongue," reference biblical prophecies about the Christian conversion of all men, one of the signs of the final judgment day. These hymns were meant to prepare converts for faithful living during a simultaneously triumphant and tragic end of the world. For Cherokees, threats to their way of life in the 1830s imbued these hymns with a more immediate, apocalyptic meaning and a sense of Cherokee spiritual superiority that empowered the expansion of Cherokee Christian congregations. In 1820 there may have been somewhere between two

and three hundred Cherokee converts. By 1838 there were a thousand Cherokee Christians and singing – in Cherokee – was central to their worship services.

In 1832, the Georgia militia forcibly closed the Moravian mission and gave Cherokee land to whites through a land lottery.[374] Boudinot's signature on the removal treaty three years later was a devastating betrayal in the eyes of the missionaries, not to mention the vast majority of the Cherokees. Many Cherokees did not believe they could be forced to move; others moved toward the most isolated mountain communities. The growing number of Christian converts after 1835 was spurred by the circulation of a Cherokee language Bible, the resounding power of the Cherokee hymnbook, and a sense among the Cherokee that a Christian nation would be more acceptable to Americans.[375]

The social trauma of forced removal inscribed contemporary Cherokee practices like hymn-singing and gospel narratives into the bedrock of Cherokee culture. In May 1838 Winfield Scott ordered federal troops to begin rounding up Cherokees in stockade camps. Over the summer, some Cherokees who alluded capture maintained a communication network in the Baptist churches and preaching places. Jones was central to the resistance effort, having to regularly disguise himself to avoid arrest. He carried news of military search parties, Principal Chief John Ross's announcements about

---

[374] Worcester, *New Echota Letters*, 74; Payne and Butrick, *PBP*, 2:196–98; Gardner, *Cherokees and Baptists in Georgia*, 114–16; Moulton, *John Ross: Cherokee Chief*, 38; McLoughlin, *Champions of the Cherokees*, 237; Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees*, 114–15.

[375] Payne and Butrick, *PBP*, 3: 291; Gardner, *Cherokees and Baptists in Georgia*, 175–77; Moulton, *John Ross: Cherokee Chief*, 91–92, 118–19; Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees* 13–15.

negotiations, and led hymn-singing services in secret. Hymns like "Come Holy Spirit" strengthened Cherokee hearts and presented a distinct Cherokee faith to whites.[376]

Singing in Cherokee was a powerful expression of cultural resilience. In the removal camps and along the Trail of Tears Cherokee hymn-singing was a common. "Come Holy Spirit" was certainly carried to Oklahoma on the tongues and in the hearts of Cherokee Christians. In the 1840s new Cherokee communities in the Western Nation were constituted of groups who survived the Trail of Tears together, groups that gathered around traditionalist elders, and groups led by Christian missionaries that moved with the Cherokees. Charles Hicks had died in 1827, and missionaries in the West were much less unified than under his leadership. All the denominations operated independently, often in direct competition for converts and congregations. Still, in the new Cherokee capitol Tahlequah, Worcester worked directly with Jones and others to print a new expanded edition of the Cherokee hymnbook.[377]

Through expression in the Cherokee language, Christian stories were rendered in Cherokee terms, and then carried through forced removal as empowering traditions. The dark mountain wilderness remained an active landscape in Cherokee narratives, where Monsters remained monsters, but some Appalachian spaces harbored the Holy Spirit. Cherokee communities in Oklahoma were increasingly organized around church congregations. Cherokee hymn-singing disseminated a distinctly Cherokee conception of Heaven, the Beloved spirit, and superior Cherokee faith.

---

[376] Gardner, *Cherokees and Baptists in Georgia*, 170–71; Mooney, *HMSFC*, 83–84, 110–13; Payne and Butrick, *PBP*, 4: 5–6, 13–14, 86–87; Olbrechts and Mooney, *The Swimmer Manuscript*, 308.

[377] Worcester, *New Echota Letters*, 74; *Cherokee Hymnbook*, Hymn 117; McLoughlin, *Champions of the Cherokees*, 237; Thomas, "Creating Cherokee Print." 13.

APPENDIX: HYMN LYRICS AND TRANSLATIONS

PART 1: OLD WORLD MISSION HYMNS

I. VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS AND THE CREATION OF CHRISTENDOM

VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS

Veni, creator Spiritus,	Oh Holy Ghost, Creator, come!
Mentes tuorum visita,	Thy people's minds pervade;
imple superna gratia	And fill with thy supernal grace
quae tu creasti pectora:	The soul which thou hast made.
qui Paraclitus diceris,	Thou who art called the Paraclete,
donum Dei altissimi,	The gift of God most high;
fons vivus, ignis, caritas,	Thou living fount, and fire, and love
et spiritalis unction	Our spirit's pure ally;
tu septiformis munere,	Thou sevenfold Giver of all good;
dextrae Dei tu digitus,	Finger of God's right hand;
tu rite promisso Patris	The promise of the Father, rich
sermone ditans guttura.	In words for every land;
accende lumen sensibus,	Kindle our senses to a flame,
infunde amorem cordibus	And fill our hearts with love,
infirma nostri corporis	And through our bodies' weakness, still
virtute firmans perpeti.	Pour valor from above!
hostem repellas longius,	Drive farther off our enemy,
pacemque dones protinus;	And straightway give us peace;
ductore sit te praevio	That with thyself as such a guide,
vitemus omne noxium.	We may from evil cease.
per te sciamus da Patrem,	Through thee may we the Father know,
noscamus atque Filium,	And thus confess the Son,
te utriusque Spiritum	For thee, from both the Holy Ghost,
credamus omni tempore.	We praise while time shall run

Amen[378]

HINCMAR OF RHEIMS *VENI CREATOR* DOXOLOGY

Deo Patri sit gloria	All glory to the Father be,
et Filio, qui a mortuis;	with his coequal Son;
surrexit, ac Paraclito	the same to thee, great Paraclete,
in saeculorum saecula.	while endless ages run.[379]

TWELFTH-CENTURY *VENI CREATOR* DOXOLOGY

Sit laus Patri cum Filio,	To the Father and the Son,
sancto simul Paraclito,	and Holy Ghost, comforter
nobisque mittat Filius	For ages unending
charisma sancta Spiritus,	the Living Holy Spirit.[380]

VENI SANCTE SPIRITUS

Veni, Sancte Spiritus,	Come, Holy Spirit,
et emitte caelitus	send forth the heavenly
lucis tuae radium.	radiance of your light.
Veni, pater pauperum,	Come, father of the poor,
veni, dator munerum,	come, giver of gifts,
veni, lumen cordium.	come, light of the heart.
Consolator optime,	Greatest comforter,
dulcis hospes animae,	sweet guest of the soul,
dulce refrigerium.	sweet consolation.

---

[378] *Hymni Latini qui libro intersunt cui nomen: Hymns Ancient and Modern,* (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1906), 70-1; Samuel Willoughby Duffield, *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns,* (NY: Funk & Wagnalls, 1889), 121-2; John Julian, editor, *A Dictionary of Hymnology: Setting Forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of all Ages and Nations,* revised edition with New Supplement, (London: John Murray, 1907), 1206-11. . See also John Cosin, "Come Holy Ghost, our souls inspire," *Collection of Private Devotions,* (1627), and John Dryden "Creator Spirit, by whose aid," in *Songs of Praise.* Julian discusses everal German and English renditions from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[379] *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns,* ed. J.R. Watson, (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2002), 38-40; Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, 1208-9.

[380] Samuel Willoughby Duffield, *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns,* (NY: Funk & Wagnalls, 1889), 121-2; Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, 1208-9. This final stanza was common between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

In labore requies,	In labour, rest,
in aestu temperies,	in heat, temperance,
in fletu solatium.	in tears, solace.
O lux beatissima,	O most blessed light,
reple cordis intima	fill the inmost heart
tuorum fidelium.	of your faithful.
Sine tuo numine,	Without your spirit,
nihil est in homine,	there is nothing in man,
nihil est innoxium.	nothing that is not harmful.
Lava quod est sordidum,	Cleanse that which is unclean,
riga quod est aridum,	water that which is dry,
sana quod est saucium.	heal that which is wounded.
Flecte quod est rigidum,	Bend that which is inflexible,
fove quod est frigidum,	fire that which is chilled,
rege quod est devium.	correct what goes astray.
Da tuis fidelibus,	Give to your faithful,
in te confidentibus,	those who trust in you,
sacrum septenarium.	the sevenfold gifts.
Da virtutis meritum,	Grant the reward of virtue,
da salutis exitum,	grant the deliverance of salvation,
da perenne gaudium.	grant eternal joy.[381]

II. "JESUS, HAVE MERCY ON US": THE BOHEMIAN PERSECUTION, CONGREGATIONAL SINGING AND NEW WORLD MISSION

KYRIE ELEISON!

Greek

Kyrie eleison!	*Christe eleison.*	*Kyrie eleison!*
Kyrie eleison!	*Christe eleison.*	*Kyrie eleison!*
Kyrie eleison!	*Christe eleison.*	*Kyrie eleison!*
Kyrie eleison!	*Christe eleison.*	*Kyrie eleison!*

[381] Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology,* 1212-15;

Czech (modern)	Latin	English
HOSPIDINE, POMILUJ NY	*O DOMINE, MISERERE*	LORD, HAVE MERCY
Hospidine, pomiluj ny,	*O Domine, miserere*	Lord, have mercy on us
Jezu Kriste, pomiluj ny	*Jesu Christe, miserere*	Jesus Christ, have mercy,
Ty Spase všeho mira,	*Salus es totius mundi,*	Savior of the whole world,
Spasiž ny, I uslyšiž	*salva nos et percipe,*	Savior of the whole world,
Hospodine, hlasy nàše;	*O Domine, voces nostras;*	Have mercy on us and hear,
daj nám všem, Hospidine,	*da cunctis o Domine,*	O Lord, our voices,
žizña mir v zemi;	*panem, pacem terrae;*	Lord give to all of us
žizña mir v zemi	*panem, pacem terrae;*	life and peace in our land
Kries, Kries, Kries!		life and peace in our land
		Kyrie eleison!

JESUS CHRISTUS, NOSTRA SALUS (JAN OF JENŠTEJN, 1389)

Jesus Christus nostra salus,	Our true salvation Jesus Christ,
Quod reclamat omnis malus,	From evil all recalling.
Nobis in sui memorian,	To us the sacred bread has given,
Dedit hanc panis hostiam	In memory of himself.
O quam sanctus panis iste,	O, how sacred is this bread
Tu solus es Jesu Christe,	Thou alone, O Jesus Christ
Caro, cibus, sacramentum,	Art flesh, food and sacrament
Quo non majus est inventum.	Than which naught greater can be found.[382]

O JESU CHRISTUS, UNSER HELIAND (MARTIN LUTHER, 1524)

Jesus Christus, unser Heiland	Christ Jesus, our Redeemer born,
der von uns den Gottes Zorn wandt,	Who from us did God's anger turn,
durch das bitter Leiden sein	Through His sufferings sore and main,
half er uns aus der Höllen Pein.	Did help us all out of hell-pain.
Daß wir nimmer des vergessen,	That we never should forget it,
Gab er uns sein Leib zu essen,	Gave He us His flesh, to eat it,
Verborgen im Brot so klein,	Hid in poor bread, gift divine,

[382] David S. Schaff, *John Huss: His Life, Teachings and Death After Five Hundred Years,* (London: George Allen & Unwin LTD., 1915), 310-11.

Und zu trinken sein Blut im Wein.	And, to drink, His blood in the wine.
Wer sich will zu dem Tische machen, *Der hab wohl acht auf sein Sachen;* *Wer unwürdig hiezu geht,* *Für das Leben den Tod empfäht.*	Who will draw near to that table Must take heed, all he is able. Who unworthy thither goes, Thence death instead of life he knows.
Du sollst Gott den Vater preisen, *Daß er dich so wohl wollt speisen,* *Und für deine Missetat* *In den Tod sein Sohn geben hat.*	God the Father praise thou duly, That He thee would feed so truly, And for ill deeds by thee done Up unto death has given His Son.
Du sollst glauben und nicht wanken, *Daß ein Speise sei den Kranken,* *Den ihr Herz von Sünden schwer,* *Und vor Angst betrübet, sehr.*	Have this faith, and do not waver, 'Tis a food for every craver Who, his heart with sin opprest, Can no more for its anguish rest.
Solch groß Gnad und Barmherzigkeit *Sucht ein Herz in großer Arbeit;* *Ist dir wohl, so bleib davon,* *Daß du nicht kriegest bösen Lohn.*	Such kindness and such grace to get, Seeks a heart with agony great. Is it well with thee? take care, Lest at last thou shouldst evil fare.
Er spricht selber: Kommt, ihr Armen, *Laßt mich über euch erbarmen;* *Kein Arzt ist dem Starken not,* *Sein Kunst wird an ihm gar ein Spott.*	He doth say, Come hither, O ye Poor, that I may pity show ye. No physician th' whole man will, He makes a mockery of his skill.
Hättst dir war kunnt erwerben, *Was durft denn ich für dich sterben?* *Dieser Tisch auch dir nicht gilt,* *So du selber dir helfen willst.*	Hadst thou any claim to proffer, Why for thee then should I suffer? This table is not for thee, If thou wilt set thine own self free.
Glaubst du das von Herzensgrunde *Und bekennest mit dem Mund,* *So bist du recht wohl geschickt* *Und die Speise dein Seel erquickt.*	If such faith thy heart possesses, And the same thy mouth confesses, Fit guest then thou art indeed, And so the food thy soul will feed.
Die Frucht soll auch nicht ausbleiben: *Deinen Nächsten sollst du lieben,* *Daß er dein genießen kann,* *Wie dein Gott an dir getan.*	But bear fruit, or lose thy labour: Take thou heed thou love thy neighbour; That thou food to him mayst be, As thy God makes Himself to thee.[383]

[383] Martin Luther, *Geistliche lieder auffs new gebessert zu Wittemburg,* (Wittemburg: 1533/Bärenreiter Verlag Kassel, 1983), hymn 27b.

TO AVERT FROM MEN GOD'S WRATH (ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF LUTHER'S RENDITION ATTR. TO JAN HUS)

Jesus suffered in our stead;
by an ignominious death
He a full atonement made;
and by His most precious blood
brought us, sinners, nigh to God.

Christ bids each afflicted soul,
"Come that I may soothe your grief.
No one who is strong and whole
needs a doctor for relief;
therefore have no fear, draw nigh,
that your want I may supply.

But examine first your case,
whether you be in the faith;
do you long for pard'ning grace?
Is your only hope His death?
Then, how e'er your soul's oppressed,
come, you are a worthy guest.

They who Jesus' mercy knows
are from wrath and envy freed;
love unto our neighbor shows
that we are His flock indeed;
thus we may in all our ways
show forth our Redeemer's praise.[384]

HYMNS BY JAN AMOS COMENIUS (KOMENSKY)

LEAD ME LORD WHERE'ER I GO (Sám, Pane Bože, mne řeď in Modern Czech Hymnal no. 295 German version 1967 Gesangbuch no. 694)
(Complete Czech lyrics unavailable)

Lead me, Lord, where'er I go
That my life may give you praise;
Teach me all I need to know,
Help me serve you all my days.

All I am I freely give,
All my strength by grace employ;
You designed me thus to live;

[384] Source: Hymns to the Living God #280

Only thus can life be joy.

All your wond'rous love for me
Always keep before my eyes;
Help me vigilant to be,
Ev'ry sin to recognize.

And when I am penitent
You forgive my failures still,
That baptism's covenant
By your grace I may fulfill.

Lord, such time as you permit
That I still on earth shall dwell
For your service keep me fit,
Faithful as your sentinel.

When I'm called this earth to leave
Let me find a blessed end;
Your true life I'll then receive, And to you[385]

LIFT, MY SOUL, TO GOD YOUR PRAISES (Má duše, Pána svého chval)

Lift, my soul, to God your praises,
Giving thanks for ev'ry day;
All your burdens' weight he raises;
He alone our hope and stay.

Though his wisdom may seem hidden,
All creation shows his pow'r
All will end as he has bidden;
There is no forgotten hour.

In your ways you still direct me,
God, my God,, from heav'n on high;
By your Spirit you correct me,
All my life to sanctify.

To your service you appoint us;
You our falt'ring steps restore.
Till in heaven you anoint us
For your worship ever more.[386]

---

[385] C. Daniel Crews, "Comenius the Hymn-Writer" trans. 2013.
[386] C. Daniel Crews, "Comenius the Hymn-Writer" trans. 2013.

THE FATHER'S SON BELOVED (Kriste, Synu premily)

The Father's Son beloved,
By angel hosts adored,
Eternally proceeding,
God's heart in love outpoured;
O Lord, all truth refining,,
O Sun, in virtue shining
To bring us joy divine

You came for our salvation
as promised long ago.
Your longed-for incarnation
The virgin's womb did know
Your death has ended dying
Your life our life supplying
Has opened heav'n on high.

May we in knowledge growing
Be joined in holy love;
Our faith, more courage showing
Be strengthened from above.
Confirm our hope and yearning,
To you at all times turning,
The sum of all we learn.[387]

SALVE MUNDI SALLUTARE (ST. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX)

Salve mundi salutare,
Salve, salve, Jesu care!
Cruci tuæ me aptare
Vellem vere, Tu scis quare,
Da mihi tui copiam.

Ac si præsens sis, accedo,
Immo Te præfentem credo.
O quam nudum his te cerno,
Ecce Tibi me prosterno,
Sis facilis ad veniam

Clavos pedum, plagas duras,
Et tam graves impressuras

[387] C. Daniel Crews, "Comenius the Hymn-Writer" trans. 2013.

Circumplector cum affectu,
Tuo pavens in aspectu
Meorum memor vulneram.

Grates tantæ caritati
Nos agamus vulnerati,
O Amator peccatorum,
Reparator constratorum
O dulcis pater pauperum!

Quidquid est in me confractum,
Dissipatum aut distractum,
Dulcis Jesu, totum sana,
Tu restaura, Tu complana
Tam pio medicamine.

Te in Tua Cruce quæro
Prout queo, corde mero,
Me sanabis hic, ut spero,
Sana me et sanus ero
In Tuo lavans Saguine.

Pllagas tuas rubicundas
Et fixuras tam profundas
Cordi meo fac inscribi,
Ut configar totus tibi
Te modis amans omnibus.

Quisquis huc ad te accessit
Et hos pedes corde pressit
Æger, sanus hinc abscessit
Hic relinquens, quidquid gessit,
Dans osculum vulneribus.

Coram Cruce procumbentem
Hosque peded conplectentem,
Jesu Christe, me ne spernas,
Sed de Cruce Sancta cernas
Compassionis gratia.

In hac Cruce stans directe
Vide me, O mi Dilecte,
Totum me ad Te converte,
Esto sanus dic aperte,

Dimitto tibi omnia.[388]

O HAUPT VOLL BLUT UND WUNDEN

O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden,
Voll Schmerz und voller Hohn,
O Haupt, zum Spott gebunden
Mit einer Dornenkron;

O Haupt, sonst schön gezieret
Mit höchster Ehr' und Zier,
Jetzt aber höchst schimpfieret:
Gegrüßet sei'st du mir!

Erscheine mir zum Schilde,
Zum Trost in meinem Tod,
Und laß mich sehn dein Bilde
In deiner Kreuzesnot!

Da will ich nach dir blicken,
Da will ich glaubensvoll
Dich fest an mein Herz drücken.
Wer so stirbt, der stirbt wohl.

O head full of blood and wounds,
full of pain and full of mockery,
O head, bound to ridicule
with a crown of thorns;

O head, otherwise nicely decorated
With highest honor and ornament,
But now scoffed:
Hail to you!

Appear to me,
For the comfort of my death,
And let me see your picture
In your crucifixion!

I want to look at you,
I want to be faithful
Press firmly on my heart.
Anyone who dies dies well.

Alternate fourth stanza:
Be near when I am dying;
Oh show Thy Cross to me:
Thy death may have supplying,
From four shall set me free.[389]

O SACRED HEAD, NOW WOUNDED

---

[388] Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology,* 835.

[389] Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen and Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle, *Neues Geist-Reiches Gesang-Buch: Auserlesene so Alte Als Neue, Geistliche Und Liebliche Lieder ; Nebst Den Noten Der Unbekannten Melodeyen, in Sich Haltend, Zur Erweckung Heiliger Andacht Und Erbauung Im Glauben Und Gottseligen Wesen*, third edition, (Halle: Wäysenhaus, 1726), Bayerische StaatsBibliothek München, Liturg. 1375 e, scan p. 189-90 (133-4), 1681, urn:nbn:de:bvb: 12-bsb10592596-7. Digital images of this rare hymnal were accessed with permission of the Bayerische StaatsBibliothek/Münchener DigitalisäerungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek Department of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books of the Bavarian State Library; *Some Other Hymns and Poems,* (London: 1752), 12. The first English translation was made by Moravian John Gambold in 1752.

O sacred Head, now wounded,
with grief and shame weighed down,
Now scornfully surrounded
with thorns, Thine only crown;

O sacred Head, what glory,
what bliss till now was Thine!
Yet, though despised and gory,
I joy to call Thee mine.

Be Thou my consolation,
my shield when I must die;
Remind me of Thy passion
when my last hour draws nigh.

Mine eyes shall then behold Thee,
upon Thy cross shall dwell,
My heart by faith enfolds Thee.
Who death thus dies well.[390]

O JESU CHRIST, MEINS LEBENS LICHT

O Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht,
mein Hort, mein trost, mein Zuverlicht!
Auf Erden bin ich nu rein gast,
Und drückt mich lehr der Sünden Last.

Ich hab vor mir ein schwere
Reix zu dir ins himmels Paradeis;
Da ist mein rechtes Vaterland,
Darauf du has dein Blut gewandt.[391]

LORD JESUS CHRIST, MY LIFE, MY LIGHT

---

[390] Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology,* 835; *Some Other Hymns and Poems,* (London: 1752), 12.*"* Julian states that, "The version by Dr. Alexander 'O Sacred Head! Now wounded,' appears with alterations made by the compilers, in th SPCK *Church Hys.*, 1903, No. 141, as "O Sacred Head! Sore wounded. With grief and shame weighed down."

[391] O Jesus Christ, meins Lebens Licht, (O Jesus Christ, my life's light) (attr. Liepzig 1625) *Ferylinghausen Hymnbuch, Liedes aus dem Evangelischen Gesangbuch für Rheinland und Westfalen*, hrsg. Von der Rheinishcen un Westfälischen synode, (Dortmund: gedruckt von Verlag W. Crüwell in, 1929).

Lord Jesus Christ, my Life, my Light,
My Strength by day, my Trust by night,
On earth I'm but a passing guest
And sorely by my sin oppressed.

Far off I see my fatherland,
Where through Thy blood I hope to stand.
But ere I reach that Paradise
A weary way before the lies.

My heart sinks at the journey's length,
My wasted flesh has little strength;
My soul alone still cries in me;
"Lord, fetch me home, take me to Thee!"

Oh let Thy suff'rings give me pow'r
To meet the last and darkest hour!
Thy blood refresh and comfort me;
Thy bonds and fetters make me free.

The blows and stripes that fell on Thee
Heal up the wounds of sin in me;
Thy crown of thorns, Thy foes' mad spite,
Let be my glory and delight.

That thirst and bitter draught of Thine
Cause me to bear with patience mine;
Thy piercing cry uphold my soul
When floods of anguish o'er me roll!

Thy Spirit cry within me still
When here my lips grow white and chill,
And help my soul Thy heav'n to find
When these poor eyes grow dark and blind!

Thy dying words let be my light
When death approaches as dark night;
Defend me in my dying breath
When then I bow my head in death.

Thy cross let be my staff in life,
Thy holy grave my rest from strife;
The winding sheet that covered Thee,
O let it be a shroud for me.

Lord, in Thy nail prints let me read
That Thou to save me hast decreed
And grant that in Thine opened side
My troubled soul may ever hide.

Since Thou hast died, the Pure, the Just,
I take my homeward way in trust.
The gates of heav'n, Lord, open wide
When here I may no more abide.

And when the last Great Day shall come
And Thou, our Judge, shalt speak the doom,
Let me with joy behold the light
And set me then upon Thy right.

Renew this wasted flesh of mine
That like the sun it there may shine
Among the angels pure and bright,
Yea, like Thyself in glorious light.

Ah, then shall I most joyful be
And with the angels sing to Thee
And with Thy blessed, chosen fold
Fore'er Thy gracious face behold.[392]

THE PLEURODY

Praise the Elections root, In the Side's holy Cut!
O Lamb, be than'd and magnify'd
For that incision in thy Side!
All Angels and Heav'n's hosts revere,
What with complacence they see there;
But soon must hide their prying face
From this bright Ruby's dazzling rays:
While Jesu's Bride, the Church, which was
Dug out and built from the Side's space,
Beholds with unconfounded sight
These Sun-beams in their strongest light.

---

[392] O Jesus Christ, meins Lebens Licht, (O Jesus Christ, my life's light) (attr. Liepzig 1625) *Ferylinghausen Hymnbuch, Liedes aus dem Evangelischen Gesangbuch für Rheinland und Westfalen*, hrsg. Von der Rheinishcen un Westfälischen synode, (Dortmund: gedruckt von Verlag W. Crüwell in, 1929); *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary*, hymn # 29. Jesu, unser ruhmreicher Haupt und Häuptling, süßes Objekt unseres Herzens Glaube! O laß uns in deinen Nagelabdrücken sehen, Unsere Verzeihung und Wahl frei! "

Pax Tibi, Gloria,
Cultus,, memoria,
Tu pallor faucium!
Ave, Cor faucium!
Or,
Honor thy Repose,
And Reverence, Soul's Spouse!
The Face by death turn'd pale,
The broken Heart we hail!

So go then, go, my heart! And hide
Deep, I say, deep into the Side.
In time brings Jesu's faithful Art,
To th' Spirit's House, our earth's? part

Who thinks in trance, that there he lies,
Is not at all inclin'd to rise.
In brief, the Magnet of the Side
Draws beyond earth and heaven wide.

When the Lamb visibly appears
And the World seeks the Rocks with tears;
Then will the holy spear-Pierced Place.
Be th' Order Star which him be?

The Side's reviving Blood, does cry
For Mercy everlastingly.
Isaiah did this Wound behold
Thro' perspective in Cov'nant old

Unto the Rock-cleft lift your eye,
And in that Cleft the Pit's hole sp[?]
Whence, chosen People! Ev'ryone?
Of you have been dug out [?] hewn

John, the Lamb's Comrad[?] Did it view,
Both how and where it was pierced thro'.
When he his Gospel just begun
Walking in his room up and down

Th'Amanuensis thundering heart
But when dear *John* himself prep
His Record how the Side was he
I fancy, he fell in a swoon.

Th' Apostles of the Lord did pry

Into the Side amazingly;
Thomas hath special freedom found,
His hand did grope in it around.

One sees how he thereby was struck,
Since *O my Lord and God!* Forth broke.
Now cries the Church, the feeling Bride,
Glory be to the holy Side!

Altho' we honour ev'ry Wound,
Feast on the holy Corpse all round;
Yet,, Jesu, in that Breat of thine,
Thanks, shame, pain, love and joy combine.

When the new Work of God arose,
That th' Woman did the Man inclose;*
Then god's tormented Mrtyr-Sheep
Brought forth his chosen She in Sleep.
(*Jer. Xxxi. 22.)

This are we Children small and mean,
Who in ourselves are nought but Sin;
But the Wounds-Roses frangrancy
Perfum'd us to a Sanctuary,

To be flesh of his Flesh and Bone,
And spirit, with his Spirit one.
So that his private Sighting each
Doth tow'rds that Womb maternal stretch.

And when distress is at an end,
One says to God his dearest Friend,
What right my body to Earth has,
'Cause from that Mother form'd it was;

That Right can I poor needy soul
Pretend much more to th' Side's dear hole,
Whence me new-bore my Maker good,
When Jesus hung upon the Wood.

Daily, O Lamb thy Church does sing,
Wishing to be quite near that Spring.
The Vine and Branches certainly
Together shall and ought to be.

That the Church does God's Nature share,

From th' Side flows,, and was founded there.
It 'bides, at least in the *Aeon,*
The Point of our religion.

Th' unutterable things which *Paul*
Did see, we've here concenter'd all.
To Him, whom creatures cannot see,
One does keep here the Liturgy.

On this the Holy Ghost does touch
So earnestly, so oft, so much,
That the whole Troop which follow Christ,*
On it, as on their Home, insist.
(*Rev. xiv. 3.)

What wonder, that much with this Theme
The present Ev'ning-Red doth gleam?
The Brethren's church is, by her call,
Of th' holy side a Filial[393]

THE LITANY OF THE WOUNDS OF THE HUSBAND

First Choir	Second Choir
Hail!	Lamb of God.
Christ,	Have mercy!
Glory	to the side wound!

Lord God Father in Heaven!

Remember the bitter death of your son. Look at his five holy, red wounds which are indeed the payment and ransom for the whole world. May we console ourselves with this at all times, and hope for mercy.

Lord God, Son, Savior of the World!

We would all be ruined by our crimes, except that you have gained for us the doorway to heaven. Glory and memory to the side wound.

Lord God, Holy Spirit!

---

[393] Nickolaus Ludwig graf von Zinzendorf, *The Pleurody (Ehre der Gnaden-wahl)* #382, *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages*, (London: Brethrens' Chapel, 1754), 290.

Preach daily the wounds of the Lamb to his Communities of the Cross which have found him. It is your office.

You Holy Trinity, blessed be you for the sake of the Lamb.

Lamb of God, holy Lord and God, receive the prayer of our need. Have mercy on us all!

From all self-righteousness;	
From all lack of discipline;	
From all unbloodied grace;	
From hearts that have not been bled upon;	
From all beauty without streaks of blood;	
From indifference to your wounds;	
From estrangement from your cross;	
From being weaned from your side;	
From unanointed gossip about the blood;	
From eternal mortal sin;	*Preserve us, dear Lord God!*
May your painful first birth	*Make us love our humanness!*
May your holy first wound60**	*Help us circumcise our hearts!*
May your childlikeness	*Help us to have childlike joy !*
May your first exile	*Teach us to be at home everywhere!*
May your first maturity	*Make our adolescence holy!*
May your diligence with your study	*Make us learned for the Kingdom of God!*
May your youth	*Bless the unmarried choirs!*
May your faithful sweat of labor	*Make all labor easy for us!*
May your faithfulness to your craft	*Make us true on our part!*
May your astonishing simplicity	*Make reason hateful to us!*
May your proper Bible foundation	*Make us all know our Bible!*
May your meritorious ignorance	*Fence in our understanding!*
May your exemplary temple devotion	*Make us faithful people of religion!*
May your powerlessness and weakness	*Make our weakness welcome to us!*
May your theology of the cross	*Remain our confession of faith!*
May your righteousness to the last will	*Make us faithful to your will!*
May your will, validated by your death	*Remain the rule of your heirs!*
May the fulfillment of your will	*Bring the scattered children of God into the ark of holy Christianity!*
May your fear of suffering and death	*Put to shame the courage of the martyrs!*
May your reliance on your heavenly Father to suffer and not to suffer	*Be our decree on your own divinity!*
May your willing passion	*Teach us tolerance!*
May your holy baptism of blood	*Ignite all of God's earth!*
May your sweat in penitential struggle	*Pour over us in body and soul!*
Your scratches from the crown of thorns,	*Mark us on our foreheads!*
Pale lips,	*Kiss us on the heart!*
Mouth dripping spittle,	*That you would not have to spit out anyone!*
Cheeks spat upon,	*Tliat the Father may not spit upon us!*

Dead eyes,	*Look out through our eyes!*
Bloody foam from your back,	*Wash our feet!*
Sweat-soaked hair,	*Dry them!*
Open arms,	*Receive us!*
O your holy five wounds	*Do like Elisha! We want to he the child!*
Pierced hands,	*Show us where we are written!*
Nail-bored feet,	*When you stand again on the Mount of Olives!*
You sign of the Son of Man,	*Appear to Israel according to the flesh, before you come in the clouds!*
You large side hole,	*Take in the entire world!*
But also side chasm,	*To you I pray especially, oh, keep your people, and me!*
May your pierced heart	*Beat and leap over us!*
May you unnamed and unknown wounds,	*Be greeted, all of you!*
Worthy wounds of Jesus,	*Who will keep us from honoring you here and there forever? You have earned it.*
Covenant wounds of Jesus,	*One must praise God, who has preserved us up to your time, where one has something.*
Dearest wounds of Jesus,	*Whoever does not love you, and does not give his whole heart to you, holds nothing dear.*
Wondrous wounds of Jesus,	*Holy fissures, you make sinners holy, and thieves from saints. How amazing!*
Powerful wounds of Jesus,	*So moist, so gory, bleed on my heart so that I may remain brave and like the wounds.*
Closing wounds of Jesus,	*If I could rest and feed my soul between you, close again.*
Mysterious wounds of Jesus,	*I thank the pastors, who made me known with the bruises and gashes of my Lamb.*
Wound-Shadow*** of Jesus	*By your Light, may I still paint many an image of your tortured visage in the heart.*
Clear wounds of Jesus,	*With whom it is true, the way is white, when it is clear in heaven and the word looks at it.****
Glistening wounds of Jesus,	*You make my heart a dazzling candle of grace before the rays and lightening.*
Cavernous wounds of Jesus,	*In your treasure hoard, roomily sit many thousands kinds of sinners.*
Purple wounds of Jesus,	*You are so succulent, whatever comes near becomes like wounds and flowing with blood.*
Juicy wounds of Jesus,	*Whoever sharpens the pen and with it pierces you just a little, and licks, tastes it.*
Near wounds of Jesus,	*I do not want to be even a hair's-width from your hole*

Painful wounds of Jesus,	*Sensitive to the Lamb, and for that reason, so grounded to the cure and so proven.*
Warm wounds of Jesus.	*In no pillow can a little child feel itself so secure before cold air.*
Dainty wounds of Jesus,	*So tender, so delicate, you are to such children proportional to little beds.*
Soft wounds of Jesus,	*I like lying calm, gently, and quiet and warm. What should I do? I crawl to you.*
Hot wounds of Jesus,	*Go on heating, until you are able to cover the entire world with your warmth.*
Treasure wounds of Jesus,	*To them, the slaves, beggars and kings, farmers and counts make a pilgrimage.*
Eternal wounds of Jesus,	*[You are] my house to dwell in. In a million eons you will still be new.*
Our wounds of Jesus,	*Which are traveled upon by every band, young and old, great and small.*
My wounds of Jesus,	*Mine, yes mine! To me it is then, as though you were there entirely for my heart alone.*
At the end of all trouble,	*Anoint us, you red wounds.******

In the meantime, I believe the death-streaked eyes, the spit-dripped mouth, the fire-baptized corpse, the thorn-scratched head, the furrows on the back:

Until I, at the proper hour, can see in my flesh the body wounded for me, on which we build so firmly, and greet close by, the works in hands and feet.

Hail!	Lamb of God.
Christ,	Have mercy!
Glory	to the side wound!

** I.e., circumcision.
*** I.e., sillouette.
**** This rather confusing petition is replaced in later versions by We want to paint still more crucifixion scenes under your streams, only bring more in the hearts! and the previous petition is omitted.
***** This is probably an allusion to extreme unction.[394]

[394] Craig D. Atwood, "Zinzendorf's 'Litany of the Wounds'" *Lutheran Quarterly*, Volume XI (1997), (188-214), 204-8. Atwood cites "Zinzendorf, Wundenlitanei Homilien, ZH 3, pages not numbered. Translated with the assistance of Ricarda Froehlich, 1990."

PART II: NEW WORLD MISSION HYMNS

III. ”FROM MY HEART, BECAUSE OF YOUR TEARS”: THE RANSOM FOR SIN ON THE BERBICE RIVER

FROM MY HEART, BECAUES OF YOUR TEARS

Dallua aija	From my heart
Bikira uduma	Because of your tears
Mamalîn bukuburukku	sadness inside you
Hallikebbeni biau bullukku	for us to rejoice inside you
Atullu dukutta de	I let myself be opened
Bukutti münide	I am at your feet
Manʃwakuwa aün bumün	We kept on weeping for you
Wikira akuna	Our tears flow
Woala ukuna jujun wamün	Our cheeks feel wet
Wanisʃia uduma ~~bumün~~	because of what we did to you
Aboatu wanîsʃia ~~bumun~~	the pain we did to you
Maijaontin ~~bupau~~	You will not buy us
Wahaikâshia hittinîn	We forgot it out of our own will
Nanîshia wamün~~iba~~ dîn.	like what they did to us ~~again~~
Jumüntun wunabu	where the earth is
Jujun buttena abu	wet with your blood
Dakartan damüntu	my book is a thing for me
Büi diamantu tabu	just like you, with it
Daija dipiruba, Bokkia ibenatu	my spirit, my body, it is a part of you
Imehuabüni bia	for always
Buttiadükkü aku	in your wound [395]

[395] NB. VII. R 3. 71c T.S. Schumann (1748-60, c. 1750); Arawakisches gesangbuch von Quandt (c.1800); NB. VII. R 3. 72b Arawackischen gesangbuch Hoop on the Corentyn, C.L. Schumann (1779)

THE ONE WHO DOES NOT LIVE ON EARTH

Wunabu bannamámutti,	The one who does not live on earth
Haddikai Jesus ahuduti,	he is like this right here, Jesus who died
Haddikai wakakü	He is like this right here, our life
Wamün aijuhudunnua,	his hanging is for us
Lisʃi aijuladdunnua,	his head sagging down,
Luttenna akunnun dikki.	after his blood had flown
Haddika üssa huabu	Like this right here …
Jesus büttenna abbu	Jesus with his blood
Lipiru tumân iben,	all his body is full,
Lullua abukunnua,	His heart is scared
Lükkarri maübunnua,	His pain is not finished
Lüttatta tumaqua belên	All his strength is soft
Hamma aburükabu?	What are you shy/ashamed for?
Jesus hamma aparrabu,	Jesus, what killed you?
Manʃuakumutti üssan?	the one who keeps on being good
Tumaqua bumalitisʃia	All this is what you made
Üsʃaketai banîsʃia,	what you did is truly very good
Abbakurru bui diamân!	No one is like you
Dakia, damasʃikani,	I myself would like to convert/change my disobedience
Daboahüddun damani,	I would make all sick
Kia güddüka bumün	That I have thrown away for you
Kia aijulatta banʃi,	That is what torments me
Kibilitu juran wanʃi,	We want...
Baninikin hinnân badia koan	…
Dai Namaquakebe nama	All of them together they…
Aijaontin kubama	could pay long time ago
Hikkihi akulukku.	in the fire
Kia bui annikisʃia,	That is you what you received
Badiakoa bannikissia,	And still what you received
Kia tumaqua dadummatu.	All this is because of me
Damün nakoamatabu	Because of me they put you a hat
Jurua isʃiri abu	with the spikes of thorns
Nimitan hinnabu:	Their mocking of you…
Bui Jesus danisʃisʃia,	You, Jesus, is who I love
Dadumma nimiritasʃia	Their curses are because of me

Nasʃoka Kreuz ukunnabu!	They nailed you to the cross!
Bui Jesus ahudabu	You are dying, Jesus
Damün bahittin abbu,	for me, out of your own will
Kakünni biade,	so that I can be alive,
Daijalukkudu kubabu,	Instead of me, long time ago
Apparrananikabu.	They killed you of course
Poi! Mansuakuba kanʃinde!…	You keep on loving me so much
Dallua ebeledoabu	My heart is becoming soft
Bamün dikira abbu,	For you, with my years,
Banʃin hinna gidin;	your loving is exactly like that
Daija dipiru muttimy	spirit and my body
Bui, Jesus aninuti,	are your property, Jesus,
Banipa damün banʃisʃia di.	You will do for me what I love…
Mammalika daijaontin,	I cannot pay
Jesus, kia ban kanisʃin;	Jesus, that is what you do
Kia hanna busʃigipan	Because of that you will give it,
Buttenna buhudun bad	Saviour blood, your dying as well
Dallua ullukkunn bia,	to be in my heart
Lamünnin oân kakündemân.	All my life I would be by you
Hallikakewaboan	How…
Hallumata wamasʃikan,	…
Hammahü tüjaona	What is the cost
Dadittân büja abeikunnua,	I know your spirit…
Kia buttiadikki tunnua	That, you let yourself be wounded
Buhudun damunba udumma.	Because of you dying for me again
Buhudun wamün üja	Your dying for us…
Dakkulukkua koajmappa	
Dakkulukkua koajmappa	…
Tumaquadikebe;	Everywhere
Dakakümân budumma	My whole life because of you
Buttennaba udumma	because of your blood again
Rubuün hallikebbepade.	only, I will be happy
Wamasʃikân turrahapa	…
Tumaqua manʃiwapa	We will not love all
Kia bui manʃimasʃia	That what you do not like
Banʃisʃia wanʃipa	What you love, we will love
Bokkia hallikebbepa	You yourself will be happy

Danuhu wakunnamünniba	with us again today[396]

JESUS WANDERED FOR MILES

Jesus aijuhudoa	Jesus wandered
Kan manʃuahuabu	… really a lot for miles.
Lumaqua karriniba	All his body hurt him again
Lüttiadikki abbu	because of his wounds.
Jumün lahakâsʃia	And there, what he said,
Wamün, asʃimakinnîn,	calling out to us
*Üsʃahuabün bias*o	that it goes very well
Uakuburukkumünnîn	with us
Haddiala attenennua	This is what he said first:
Maijaontin bupa	You will not buy/You shall not believe
Namünnîn nanîsʃia	What they have, what they did
Datti, haddiatupa	Father says it shall be like this
Madittin nani hannan	They don't know why they did
Nanîsʃia damün!	what they did to me,
La dei Jesus adiân	This is what Jesus said, I truly know that,
Aparti ukunnamün	about those who killed him.
Mansuana imitani,	They mock him a lot,
Kaparkati nama	those who killed him…
Abba addika libiti	One of them looks at Jesus.
Lumamün landama	He can come near Jesus
Jesus haddiama lumün	And Jesus spoke to him like this
Kidduaheiniredabu	Truly, I tell you,
Danuhu kasʃakumün	today towards the light/sky…
[indistinguishable line missing]	…
Jesus addikan luju	Jesus sees his mother
Adinamün jumün	standing there
Lanisʃîsʃia abbu	with the one he loves
Ladiaka tumün	Josef spoke to her
Liraha badittika	He is your little son
Hiäru, baddikatte!	Come have a look, woman
Johannes umünniba:	Josef spoke again

[396] Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch/Ins Arawackische Übersetzt. – Unpag. Handschrift, T.S> Schumann, NB VII. R 3.71A. (final Stanza Omitted).

Buju bekittatte!	Come touch your mother
Nimitani ukunn	They mock him about it'
Hadalli aüboa	but the sun…
Akündün, kan lullua	shines and… his heart
Tumân abokua	his whole heart…
Ladiân hakannaba,	You heard him speak
Tukurrukus∫ukuttade,	It made me tremble
Lân; Datti Datti, hamma	Jesus said, Father, Father, why
Bia buibade!	why [have] you left me
Lis∫imâka hidaba:	He called out again like this:
Hallukus∫iude!	I am thirsty
Ladai Jesus adiân	That's what Jesus said, I truly know
Lanis∫in himnade.	he wanted…
Dai badia ibiti	And they also said to him:
Hallukus∫iabu	Are you thirsty?
Tumakoa hebbendiki	After they finished, all of them
Hurrus∫inikabu.	they would be very full
Semekutan ladiân	His words remained sweet
Kiännibennaba	And afterwards, he said again
Hebbi! La as∫imakân	Enough! Jesus said
Üs∫amakewaba	We are very good again
Lüttenna wadummatu	and because of us his blood
Üüs∫adabäu	becomes good
Lüttiadikki muttu	and so do his wounds
Lamünnikabäu	He is with us again
Sumaqua addikikimün	Afterwards…
La kakannakühüa;	he said loudly…
Datti, bukkabbu umün	Father, for your hand/blessing
Das∫ikabunu daija!	I am giving my soul
Luhuda Jesus hida	Jesus died again
Kabbukükan hitti	Out of his own wilL
Lipiru, Jesus üja	his body and his soul were received
Lamünnika litti	His father is by him
Jesus, buhudun damün	Jesus, you died for me
Dallua ullukkunti:	you are the one inside my heart
Bus∫iqipa damünnîn,	You give me
Dakuburukkunti	what is inside of me

Semetu kia badiân	Your words are good
Dai umün badia,	for me as well
Dallukkumün Dakakümân	Inside me, throughout my life
Derekedinni biân	I will keep it safe.[397]

IV. ”MY WOUNDED PRINCE”: BLOOD AND WOUNDS AND ENSLAVEMENT

MY WOUNDED PRINCE, THY CHOSEN RACE

My wounded Prince, Thy chosen Race
With everlasting Love embrace;
Let Streams of Life Thy church o’erspread,
For which Thy precious Blood was shed.

Thou Lamb from everlasting slain,
Thou always dost the same remain,
The same kind loving Sinners Friend,
Whose Years and Mercies never end.

Before Thy Throne asham’d we sink,
When on Thy wond’rous Grace we think,
Which more than ever now appears,
I Wonder lost we melt in Tears.

Thy gospel, in these blessed Days,
Throughout the Earth its Beams displays’ Nations,
that ne’er had heard of Thee,
They great Salvation shout to see.

Now to Thy Wounds ev’n Gentiles fly,
And Thy great Thirsting satisfy;
They, seiz’d with Flames for Love divine,
Sweetly with us poor Sinners join.

From Ages all, this Myst’ry seal’d,
The Lamb has by His Death reveal’d,
That heav’nly Thrones and Pow’rs shou’d know.
God’s Wisdom by the Church below.

Thy Blood and Death upon the Tree,

---

[397] Litaneien, Lieder,, Communionsbuch/Ins Arawackische Übersetzt. – Unpag. Handschrift, NB VII.R 3. 71A, T.S.Schumann (C.1750).

Our only Meditation be;
Thy Wounds and Stripes be Day and Night,
Our darling Pleasure and Delight.

Thro' this bad World they ransom'd guide,
seal'd up within thy bleeding Side;
From Satan's Wrath and Craft therin,
They harmless Doves for ever screen.

They are thy just Reward, they Spoil,
The Purchase of Thy bloody Toil;
This was the Father's firm Decree,
That they Thy *chosen* Race should be.

Much hated they, despis'd and mean,
Yet, while they on the Bridegroom lean,
Let Nations rage, let Devils roar,
The slaughter'd Lamb they still adore.[398]

I Peter 2:9 **"**But ye *are* a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people: that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light."[399]

THE SOUL OF CHRIST ME SANCTIFY

The Soul of Christ me Sanctify;
His Spirit seal me graciously;
His Body torn with many a Wound,
That make my Soul and Body found!

The Water spouting from Thy Side,
The Soldier's Spear had open'd wide;
Theat be my Bath, and let Thy Blood
Cleanse me, and bring me near to God.

The Blood-sweat trickling down they Face,
Assure my Heart of purchas'd Grace;
Thy Cross, they Suff'rings and thy Pain
My everlasting Strength remain.

Dear Jesu, grant this my Request,

---

[398] *A Collection of Hymns with Several Translations for the Hymn-Book of the Moravian Brethren,* (London: James Hutton, Bible and Sun, 1742) tune #1197, pg. 120-2.

[399] See David G. Horrell, "Race, nation, people : ethnic identity-construction in I Peter 2:9" *New Testament Studies* 58, (2011), Cambridge University Press, 123-143.

Take, hide me quite within thy Breast;
And grant me in Thy Wounds to dwell,
Secure from all the Pow'rs of Hell.[400]

BLESSED NEGROE CONGREGATION

Dost thou hear the Gospel Sound?
Be, O be in meditation
Over the Dear Saviours Wounds
Jesus Cross, Blood, Death and Suffering
And Sin expiating off'ring
Jesus Cross Devine to thee
Shall thy One & all things be.

Come, O Come! With Soul and Spirit
To thy Saviours Table Draw
Come to his Dear Holy Merit
With great Respect, with deep Awe
Eat his holy Corpse so Bloody

---

[400] Joseph Theodor Mueller, *Hymnologisches Handbuch zum Gesangbuch der Bruedergemeine,* Mueller stated that the hymns was "First in the author's Holy Soul Lust or Spiritual Shepherd songs. Wroclaw 1657." *Zuerst in des Verf. Werk: Heilige Seelen-Lust oder Geistliche Hirtenlieder. Breslau 1657.* (5 Str.) Das Lied ist eine Bearbeitung der aus 14 Jahr. Stammenden Precatio in coena Domini: Anima Christi sanctifica me. Eine alte Uebersetzung derselben s. Wackernagel II. No. 1098; The German hymn is found in the very rare *Heures a Lusage de Lengres. Imprimé a Troyes chez Jean le Coq*, without year or pagination, in *Hortulus Animate*, Lyons, 1516; and 1519; *Rambach*, i. p. 360, and *Daniel*, i., No. 498. In the last it is included among the hymns written by unknown authors, before the 16th century and not inserted by authority in the Offices of any Breviary or Missal. This hymn has also been rendered into German, and thence again into English:— *Die Seele Christi heil'ge mich***.** A free translation in 5 stanzas of 4 lines, by Johann Scheffler. No 53, in Bk. ii., 1657, of his *Heilige Seelenlust*, p. 169 (*Werke*, 1862, i. p. 106). Included as No. 80 in *Freylinghausen's Gesang-Buch*, 1704, and recently as No. 222 in the Berlin *Geistliche Lieder*, ed. 1863. The only translation in common use is "Thy Soul, O Jesus! hallow me," good and full, by M. Loy, as No. 231 in the Ohio *Lutheran Hymnal*, 1880. The other translations have much in common, (l) "Thy Soul, my Jesu! hallow mine," in the *Supplement to German Psalmody*, ed. 1765, p. 25, and *Select Hymns from German Psalmody*, Tranquebar, 1754, p. 34. (2) "Jesu, Thy soul renew my own," in the Wesley *Psalms and Hymns*, 1741 (*Poetical Works* 1868-72, vol. ii. p. 15). (3) "The Soul of Christ me sanctify," as No. 136 in the *Moravian Hymn Book*, 1742. In 1789 altered to "Lord Jesus, sanctify Thou me," and repeated thus in later editions. Excerpt from John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology: Setting Forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of all Ages and Nations*, (London: John Murray, 1907).

Eat the Heav'nly food, his Body
Drink the Blood, which he did shed
Drink the Blood, the Blood so red,

His Dear Corpse for thee was broken
His Clean Blood for thee was spilt
This is more than Heav'nly Token
Takes away all Sin and Guilt
O! how happy is a poor Soul
When she comes to his dear wounds hole
Eats and drinks, and is renew'd
Thro' this Heavenly Drink & Food….

O Lords Supper-congregation!
At Mesopotamia
Might thy Saviours sweet Salvation
As he his last Breath Did Draw
As he on the Cross hung dying
As he for thy Sins was Crying
B'fore they Hearts and Eyes appear
And he always to thee near.[401]

EACH DIFF'RENT CHOIR HATH ITS OWN BLESSED PLAN

Each diff'rent choir hath its own blessed plan,
Which each on in it should enjoy and can.

Each Sex, each state of life, thro' fiath, is found
With blessings from God's incarnation crown'd.

O Lamb, for thy wounds sake give us this grace,
That ev'ry soul be happy in its place.

All our ideas with thy blood sanctify,
And make old foolish thought and fancies die.

---

[401] Mesopotamia diary, Dec. 1768-Aug 1769, UA R.15.Ch.3.5, 65-66; Also quoted in Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations,* 243. The hymn is adapted from "Hymn CCXXI (T. I)" in *A Collection of Hymns: Chiefly Extracted from the Larger Hymn-Book of the Brethren's Congregation,* (London: The Brethren's Chapels, 1769). *EHB*, 1742, Hymn # 1133, 216-17; *EHB,* 1826, hymn # 570, pp. 170; *EHB,* 1842, hymn # 569, pp. 170. The 1826 hymnal retains references to blood, wounds, and water. The 1842 and later hymnals replace direct mentions of blood and wounds with the terms "crucified" and "passion." References to Christ's "purchase" of human salvation remain into the twentieth-century.

Thy holy manhood can this grace bestow,
Thy tortur'd body, Lord! Can make us so.[402]

V. "BELOVED SPIRIT WHO LIVES ABOVE": THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE CHEROKEE MOUNTAINS

COME HOLY SPIRIT

Etsa lvquodi yu adanuvdo, galvladihehi	Beloved spirit who lives above
Tsogina wiyihiyvha nahnahanelada	Come into our hearts, live there
Tsogalini gohisdisgi, gvnidvhiyoga	Fill us with you love
Adageyudi tsatseli, disgikaliisda	That strengthens our lives
Hagasayasda nusdvquo, aniotsehvi	We are included in loving the bad things that we love,
Ogilvquodi yutsigi, a sganauyono	In this world where we live they are sinful and bad
Tsogadanvdovtlayeli, yiwidogalugi	Our souls will not make it into
Alihelisdidigesv, galvladitsosv	The Happy place in heaven above
Asequoyi notsiweha, dotsinogisgvi	Our songs will be in vain,
Aleitsvlvquodisgv, nedohvnayigi	And if our love for you is not here
Nvwasdesdiquo gehhnaquo, tsogadanvdogi	Now let our hearts remain still,
Tsuyohusvigagadv, aletsuyvtliyu	If they are dead rest, and they are cold
Galvquodiyu adanvdo galvladihehi,	Beloved is the spirit, you live above
Tsisa ageyudigesv, disgikaliisda	Jesus fill us with your love[403]

O TELL ME NO MORE OF THIS WORLD'S VAIN STORE!

O tell me no more of this world's vain store!

---

[402] Hymn CCXXI (T. I)*A Collection of Hymns: Chiefly Extracted from the Larger Hymn-Book of the Brethren's Congregation,* (London: The Brethren's Chapels, 1769)

[403] *Cherokee Hymnbook,* (Cherokee, NC: Museum of the Cherokee Indian, 2014), hymn 117.

The time for such trifles with me is now o'er;
A country I've found where true joys abound,
To dwell I'm determin'd on that happy ground.

No mortal doth know what Christ will bestow,
What life, strength and comfort! Go after Him go!
Lo, onward I move, to see Christ above,
None guesses how wondrous my journey will prove.

Great spoils I shall win, from death, hell and sin;
Midst outward affliction shall feel Christ within;
And still, which is best, I in his dear breast,
As at the beginning, find pardon and rest.

When I am to die, receive me, I'll cry,
For Jesus has lov'd me, I cannot tell why;
but this I do find, we two are so join'd,
He'll not live in glory and leave me behind;

This blessing is mine, through favor divine,
And O, my dear Jesus, the praise shall be thine;
In heaven we'll meet in harmony sweet,
And, glory to Jesus! We'll then be complete.[404]

ROLL FORWARD THE DAY

Roll forward, dear Saviour, roll forward the day.
When all shall submit and rejoice in thy sway,
When white men and Indians, united in praise,
One vast hallelujah triumphant shall raise. [405]

[404] Jesse Mercer, *The Cluster of Spiritual Songs,* (Augusta, GA: Hobby & Bunce, 1810), 236. This hymn was first published in English in the 1741 *Moravian English Hymnbook* in London. German version?

[405] Edward W. Billups, D. D., *The Sweet Songster,* (Cattlesburg, KY: C.L. McConnell, 1854), 111.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

"Accounts of the Valley Towns Station." *The Latter Day Luminary* 1 May 1825. 155.

"Adomonitio generalis," Edited by Boretius, *Capitularie regum Francorum*, I, no. 22, 789.

Albanese, Catherine L. "Exploring Regional Religion: A Case Study of the Eastern Cherokee*." History of Religions* 23.4 (1984): 344–371.

Altman, Heidi M., and Thomas N. Belt. "Tohi: The Cherokee Concept of Well-Being." *Under The Rattlesnake: Cherokee Health and Resiliency.* Ed. Lisa Leffler. Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P: 2009. 9–22.

Ambrose of Milan. *St. Ambrose: Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel, Ambrosii Hexaemeron libri VI (The Six Days of Creation).* Fathers of the Church Series, Volume 42, ed. Hermigild Dressler, Washington D.C.: The Catholic University Press, 1962.

Anthologia Latina, v. 1, poem 490. Edited by Franciscus Buecheler and Alexander Riese. Amsterdam: Adolf M Hakkert, 1964.

Benedict of Nursia. *The Rule of Saint Benedict.* Translated by Bruce L. Venarde, (London: Harvard University Press, 2011.

Billups, Edward W. D. D. *The Sweet Songster.* Cattlesburg, KY: C.L. McConnell, 1854.

Blahoslav, Jan. *Musica*, translated by Thomas Sovik, (Denton, TX: Czech Documents in Translation, Czech Historical Society, 1991

Blankenburg, Walter. "The Music of the Bohemian Brethren." *Protestant Church Music: A History.* Ed. Friedrich Blume. New York: Norton, 1974. 591–607.

Boretius, Alfredus. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Capitularia, Legum Sectio II, Capitularia regum francorum*, I ed. Hanover: 1883.

Breed, David R. *The History and Use of Hymns and Hymn Tunes.* Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1903.

Brett, W.H. *The Indian Tribes of Guiana; Their condition and Habits with Researches into their past history, superstitions, legends, antiquities, languages, 7 c,* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1868

Clark, Samuel. *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie, conteined in the Lives of the Fathers, and other Learned Men, and Famous Divines, which have Flourished in the Church since* Christ's *Time, to this present* Age. London: William Du-gard, 1650.

Comenius, John Amos. *The Angel of Peace, 1667*. Edited by Milos Safranek, NY: Pantheon Books, 1944.

_____ *Naturall Philosophie Reformed by Divine Light: or, A Synopsis of Physicks.* London: Robert and William Leybourn, 1651.

_____ *The History of the Bohemian Persecution, From the beginning of their conversion to Christianity in the 394, to the year 1632.* London: John Walker, 1650.

_____ *Continuatio admonitionis fraternae de temperando charitate zelo ad S. Maresium.* Amsterdam, 1669.

_____ *The Bequest of the Unity of Brethren.* Chicago: The National Union of Czechoslovak Protestants in America, 1940.

_____ *Triertium Catholicum*, Caomenius Jubilee Facsimile Edition, Prague: The Sokol-Packard Publishing company, 1922.

_____ *An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England: Wherein is set forth The Good of Unity, Order, Discipline and Obedience, in Churches rightly now, or to be constituted.* London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1661. {img.9402}

_____ *Orbis Sensualium Pictus: Facsimile of the Third London Edition, 1672.* Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967. James Bowen Introduction.

_____ *Janua linguarum reserata.* Bernae: Andream Hügeneium, 1701.

_____ *Ratio Disciplinae Ordinisque Ecclesiastici in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum* (1642)

_____ *The Great Didactic of John Amos Comenius: Now for the first time Englished*. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1896.

_____ *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart,* trans. Matthew Spinka. Chicago: The National Union of Czechoslovak Protestants in America, 1942.

_____ *The History of the Bohemian Persecution: From the Beginning of their Conversion to Christianity in the year 894 to the year 1632.* London: B.A. and John Walker, 1650. {img.8224}

_____ *A Reformation of Schooles designed in Two Excellent Treatises.* London: Michael Sparke, 1642. {img.9352}

Confession of Faith and Religion of the Barons and Nobles of the Kingdom of Bohemia Presented to the Most Serene and Invincible King of the Romans, Bohemia, etc., At Vienna, Austria, In the year of our Lord 1535,

Cranz, David. *The Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren, or, A Succinct Narrative of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren, or, Unitas Fratrum, in the Remoter Ages, and Particularly in the Present Century,* translated by Benjamin LaTrobe, (London: W. and A. Strahan, 1780

Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and Valerie Hotchkiss. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003

Cyril of Alexandria, "Commentary on Luke, Homily 94" in *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, Luke,* edited by Arthur A. Justice Jr., (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003.

Dähne, Lewis Christopher. "Extract of Brother Lewis Christopher Daehne's Narrative of His Own Life," in *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, Established Among the Heathen,* (London: The Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1790)

Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels, Editors Joel B Green, Jeannine K. Brown, and Nicholas Perrin. Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 2013.

Documenta Mag. Joannis Hus vitam, doctrinam, causam in constantiensi Concilio actam et controversias de religione in Bohemia annis 1403-1418 motas illustrantia, editor Polacky, F. Prague: Tempsky, 1868.

Fleming, Robert. *Sketch of the Life of Elder Humphrey Posey: First Baptist Missionary to the Cherokee Indians, and Founder of Valley Town School, North Carolina.* Newnan, GA: Western Baptist Association of Georgia, 1852.

Fragmenta quadam Caroli Magni Imp. Rom. Aliorumq. Antverpiae: Apud Ioannem Bellerum, sub-insigni Falconis, 1569.

Fudge, Thomas A. editor. *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia,, 1418-1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades.* Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2002.

Gilbertus Genebrardus, *Chronographia in duos libros distincta,* (Paris: 1567.

Gilpin, William. *The Lives of John Wycliff; and of the most Eminent of His Disciples, Lord Cobham, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Zisca.* London: J. Robson, 1765.

The Heliand: The Saxon Gospel. Translated by G. Ronald Murphy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Hrabanus Maurus, "Sermon on the Day of Pentecost,"

Hrabani Mauri, *Expositio in Matthaeum,* edited by Bengt Löfstedt, in *Corpus Christianorum: continuation Mediaevalis CLXXIV, I-IV.* Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2000.

Hus, Jan. *De Ecclessia (The Church).* translated with notes and introduction by David S. Schaff. NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

_____ *Letters of John Hus: Written During His exile and Imprisonment with Martin Luther's Preface.* Edited by Émile de Bonnechose. Translated by Campbell Mackenzie. Edinburgh: William Whyte, 1846.

_____*The Letters of John Hus.* Translated from the Latin and the Czech by Matthew Spinka. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972.

Instructions for the Members of the Unitas Fratrum, Who Minister in the Gospel Among the Heathen, (London: Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen, 1786

Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae,* ed. Wallace M. Lindsay. Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis, VIII. Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1911.

Jones, Evan, and Thomas Dawson. "Valley Towns Station." *The Latter Day Luminary,* May 1, 1825. Appalachian State U Lib. Special Collections, Boone, NC.

Jones, George Fenwick, and Paul Martin Peucher, "'We Have Come to Georgia with Pure Intentions': Moravian Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg's Letters from Savannah, 1735." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 82.1 (1998): 84–120.

Kadlec, Jaroslav. "Synods of Prague and their Statutes, 1396-1414." *Appolinaris,* 54 1991.

Kilpatrick, Jack Frederick. *The Wahnenauhi Manuscript: Historical Sketches of the Cherokees Together with Some of Their Customs, Traditions, and Superstitions.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Bulletin 196, Anthropological Papers, No. 77, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1966.

LaTrobe, Benjamin. *A Succint View of the Indians of the Missions Established among the Heathen by the Church of the Brethren, or Unitas Fratum; In a Lettor to a Friend.* London: M. Lewis, 1771.

Long, Edward. *The History of Jamaica: Reflections on Its Situation, Inhabitants, climate, Products, Commerce, Laws, and Government.* London: T. Lowndes, 1774, reprint Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.

Lumnius, Joannes Fredericus. *De Extremo Dei ludicio et Indorum vocatione.* Antwerp: 1567.

Mercer, Jesse. *The Cluster of Spiritual Songs.* Augusta, GA: Hobby & Bunce, 1810.

Olbrechts, Frans M., and James Mooney. *The Swimmer Manuscript: Cherokee Sacred Formulas and Medicinal Prescriptions.* Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1932.

Payne, John Howard, and Daniel Butrick. *The Payne-Butrick Papers.* 6 vols. Eds. William L. Anderson, Jane L. Brown, and Anne F. Rogers. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2010.

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, Established among the Heathen, vol. II, (London: The Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1790-5.

Phillips, Joyce B., and Paul Gary Phillips, eds. Brainerd Journal: A Mission to the Cherokees, 1817–1823. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1998.

Pilgerhut diary, "Jeptha's report on the various Indian Tribes," May 26, 1751

Polacky, F Editor. *Documenta Mag. Joannis Hus vitam, doctrinam, causam in constantiensi Concilio actam et controversias de religione in Bohemia annis 1403-1418 motas illustrantia*, Prague: Tempsky, 1868.

Posey, Humphrey. "Cherokee Indians," *The Latter Day Luminary,* Vol. 1, 2 May 1818. *Hathi-Trust Digital Library*, babel.hathitrust.org. Web. 3 July 2011.

———. "Cherokee Indians," *The Latter Day Luminary.* Vol. 2. 1 Feb. 1820. *Hathi-Trust Digital Library,* babel.hathitrust.org. Web. 9 Sept. 2014.

———. "Cherokee Indians," *The Latter Day Luminary.* Volume 1, 1 Aug. 1819. *Hathi-Trust Digital Library,* babel.hathitrust.org. Web. 9 Sept. 2014.

———. "Cherokee Indians: Extract of a Letter From Elder Humphrey Posey, to the Corresponding Secretary." *Boston Recorder.* 4 Sept. 1819. Print. Appalachian State U Special Collections, Boone, NC.

Roberts, Thomas. "Letter from the Rev. Thomas Roberts to the Rev. O.B. Brown, dated Jan. 22, 1822," *The Latter Day Luminary.* Vol. 3. 1 March 1822. *Hathi-Trust Digital Library,* babel.hathitrust.org. Web. 9 Sept. 2014.

Ross, John. *The Papers of Chief John Ross, 1807–1839.* Ed. Gary Moulton. Norman, OK: U of Oklahoma P, 1985.

The Septaugint Bible: The Oldest Version of the Old Testament, translated by Charles Thomson 1774-1789, edited and revised by C.A. Muses, (Indian Hills, CO: The Falcon's Wing Press, 1954.

Thorowgood, Thomas. *Jewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race.* London: W.H. for Thomas Slater, 1650.

Southey, Robert. *The Life of Wesley: And the Rise and Progress of Methodism,* Volume 1. NY: Clayton and Kingsland Printers, 1820.

Spangenberg, August. *Idea Fidei Fratrum,* 1777.

Spangenberg, August Gottlieb. *An Account of the Manner in which the Protestant Church of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, Preach the Gospel, and carry on their Missions among the Heathen,* English translation (London: H. Trapp, 1788

Spinka, Matthew. *John Hus at the Council of Constance*. A translation of Peter of Mladonovice's Eyewitness Account. *Relation de Mag. Joannis Hus causa* NY: Columbia University Press, 1965.

Spinka, Matthew. Editor. *The Letters of John Hus,* translated from Latin and Czech. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Discoverie of Guiana, edited by Joyce Lorimer, (London: Ashgate, The Hakluyt Society, 2006

Theophilus Schumann to N. L. von Zinzendorf from Pilgerhut in Berbice, December 27, 1748.

Timson, John. "John Timson to William Staughton, February 13, 1824." *The Latter Day Luminary.* Vol. 6. 1 May 1825. *Hathi-Trust Digital Library,* babel.hathitrust.org. 9 Web. Sept. 2014.

Staehelin, Fritz. *Die Mission der Brüdergemeine in Suriname und Berbice im actzehnten Jahrhundert,* (Eine Missionsgeschichte hauptsächlich aus Briefen und Originalberichten, v N.L. Zinzendorf, Materialien und Dokumente, Hildesheim, Zürich, NY: Georg Olms Verlag, 1997

John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam: Transcribed for the First Time From the Original 1790 Manuscript,* edited by Richard Price and Sally Price, (NY: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988),

The Voyages of Adriaan van Berkel to Guiana: Amerindian-Dutch Relationships in 17th-Century Guyana, edited by Matijn van den Bel, Lodewijk Hulsman, and Modewijk Wagenaar, (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2014)

Watson, John *A Letter to the Clergy of the Church, Known by the Name of Unitas Fratrum, or Moravians, concerning a Remarkable Book of Hymns Us'd in their Congregations: Pointing Out Several Inconsistencies, and Absurdities in the Said Book,* (London: 1756

Worcester, Samuel A. *New Echota Letters.* Eds. Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick. Dallas: Southern Methodist UP, 1968.

Zinzendorf, N.L. "Lecture VIII: concerning the Blessed Happiness of Sincere and Upright Hearts," in *Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion: Preached From Fetter Lane Chapel in London in the Year 1746,* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1973

HYMN BOOKS

A Collection of Hymns: Consisting chiefly of Translations from the German. Part III, Second Edition. London: James Hutton, 1749.

A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages, From the Beginning till now. In Two Parts, Designed chiefly for the Use of the congregations of Union with the Brethren's Church. London: Brethren's Chapel, 1754.

A Collection of Hymns: Chiefly Extracted from the Larger Hymn-Book of the Brethren's Congregation. London: The Brethren's Chapels, 1769.

A Collection of Hymns, with several Translations from the hymn-book of the Moravian Brethren, London: James Hutton Bible and Sun, 1747.

A Litany for the Use of the Negroe Congregations of the Brethren in the British Dominions. 1774.

Babtsche Gecangbuch von 1545. Geystliche Lieder mit einer newen vorrhede/ D. Martin Luther. Leipzig, 1545. Faksimiledruck mit einem Geleitwort herausgegeben von Konrad Ameln. Bärenreiter Kassel: 1988.

Cherokee Hymnbook: New Edition for Everyone. Cherokee: Museum of the Cherokee Indian, 2014. Print.

Das Gesangbuch der Gemeine in Herrn-Huth. Wansen-Hause, 1735.

Das Klugsche Gesangbuch. Martin Luther. Geistliche lieder auffs new gebessert zu Wittemberg, 1533. Facsimile, 1983.

Ein Gesangbuch der Brüder in Behemen und Merherrn. 1544.

Ein New Gesengbuchlen. 1531.

Freylinghausen, Johann Anastasius and Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle. *Neues Geist-Reiches Gesang-Buch: Auserlesene so Alte Als Neue, Geistliche Und Liebliche Lieder ; Nebst Den Noten Der Unbekannten Melodeyen, in Sich Haltend, Zur Erweckung Heiliger Andacht Und Erbauung*.

Gesangbuch der Brüder in Behemen und Merherrn. 1659.

Hymni Latini qui libro intersunt cui nomen: Hymns Ancient and Modern. London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1906.

Hymnal of the Moravian Church. The Moravian Church in America. Chicago: Raynor, 1969.

Im Glauben Und Gottseligen Wesen, third edition, (Halle: Wäysenhaus, 1726), Bayerische StaatsBibliothek München, Liturg. 1375 e, p. 883, urn:nbn:de:bvb: 12-bsb10592596-7.

Schumann, C.L. "Arawackischen Gesangbuch Hoop on the Corentyn," (1779), Unitäts-Archiv, NB. VII. R 3. 71c.

Schumann, T.S. "Litaneien, Lieder, Communionsbuch/in Arawakisches Übersetzt, - unpag. Handschrift," (c. 1750), Unitäts-Archiv, NB VII. R.3. 71a.

Songs for the Praise of God. Jan Roh. 1541.

von Quandt, Christian "Arawakisches gesangbuch von Quandt" (c.1800), Unitäts-Archiv, NB. VII. R 3. 72b.

Worcester, Samuel A. and Elias Boudinot, *Cherokee Hymns: Compiled from Several Authors and Revised.* Tahlequah, OK: Mission P, E. Archer, 1854. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Adams, Charles B. *Our Moravian Hymn Heritage: chronological Listing of Hymns and Tunes of Moravian Origin in the American Moravian Hymnal of 1969.* Bethlehem, PA: Department of Publications Moravian Church in America, 1984.

Adey, Lionel. *Hymns and the Christian "Myth."* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.

Aikenvald, Alexandra Y. *The Languages of the Amazon,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012

Arena, Carolyn. "Indian Slaves from Guiana in Seventeenth-Century Barbados," *Ethnohistory,* (Jan. 2017), vol 64, Iss. 1, 65-7.

Arndal, Steffen. *Spiritual Revival and Hymnody: The Hymnbooks of German Pietism and Moravianism.* Translated by Hedwig T. Durnbaugh. *Brethren Life and Thought,* 40(2) 70-93.

Atwood, Craig D. "Understanding Zinzendorf's Blood and Wounds Theology," *Journal of Moravian History*, No. 1 (Fall 2006)/

Atwood, Craig D. *The Theology of the Czech Brethren from Hus to Comenius.* University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009.

Atwood, Craig D. "Deep in the Side of Jesus: The Persistence of Zinzendorfian Piety in Colonial America," in *Pious Pursuits: German Moravians in the Atlantic World,* (NY: Berghahn Books, 2007.

Craig D. Atwood, "Little Side Holes: Moravian Devotional Cards of the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Moravian History,* No. 6 (Spring 2009

Banniard, Michel. "Rhabanus Maurus and the vernacular languages," in *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*. London and NY:. Routledge, 1991.

Reid, Basil A. *Myths and Realities of Caribbean History,* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2009.

Buchner, J. H. *The Moravians in Jamaica: History of the Missions of the United Church, to the Negroes in the island of Jamaica, From the Year 1754 to 1854.* London: Longman, Brown, & Co, 1854.

Beasley, Nicholas M. *Christian Ritual and the Creation of British Slave Societies, 1650-1780.* Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2009.

Becker, Bernhard. *Zinzendorf und sein christentum im Verhaltnis zum kirchlichen und religiosen Leben seiner Zeit,* 2d ed. (Leipzig: F. Jansa, 1900.

Betts, R.R. "English and Čech Influences on the Husite Movement," read to the Society 10 March, 1938, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* Fourth series, volum XXI. London: Offices of the Society, 1939.

Beyreuther, Erich. *Der junge Zinzendorf,* (Marburg an der Lahn: Francke Buchhandlung, 1957

Bloom, Metropolitan Anthony. *Living Prayer.* Springfield IL: Templegate Publishers, 1966.

Bowen, James. "Introduction," *Orbis Sensualium Pictus: Facsimile of the Third London Edition, 1672.* Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967.

Boyce-Tillman, June. "Tune Your Music to Your Heart: Reflections for Church Music Leaders," in *Christian Congregational Music: Performance, Identity and Experience.* Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013.

Brett, W.H. *The Indian Tribes of Guiana; Their condition and Habits with Researches into their past history, superstitions, legends, antiquities, languages, 7 c,* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1868.

Brundage, James A. *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader.* Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.

Randy M. Browne *Surviving Slavery in the British Caribbean,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017)

Bulgakoc, Sergius. *The Comforter.* Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2004.

Bullogh, D.A. "Ethnic History and the Carolingians: An Alternative Reading of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum,"* in *The Inheritance of Historiography, 350-900,* ed. C Holdsworth and T.P. Wiseman, Exeter Studies in History 12 (Exeter, 1986) 85-105.

Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge. *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700,* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Cassidy, Frederic G. *Jamaica Talk: Three Hundred years of the English Language in Jamaica.* Hong Kong: The Continental Printing Company, 1971.

Cassidy, Frederic G. and R.B. Le Page, *Dictionary of Jamaican English,* NY & London: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

Černy, Jaromir et al. *Historical Anthology of Music in the Bohemian Lands up to ca. 1530,* (Prague: 2005), No. 1, 4.

Chazelle, C. "Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word & Image 6* (1990): 139.

Cozzo, David. "Poison in the Tooth: Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Century Accounts of Cherokee Snakebite Remedies." *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 27 (2009): 4–19.

Crews, C. Daniel. Translator. *The Confession of 1535.* Winston-Salem: Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, 2007.

Cushman, Ellen. *The Cherokee Syllabary: Writing the People's Perseverance.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011.

Davis, Leo Donald. "Hincmar of Rheims as a Theologian of the Trinity," *Traditio,* Vol. 27 (1971).

De Boor, Citres H. *Die deutsche Literatur 770-1170.* Munchen, 1949.

De Jong, Mayke. "Charlemagne's Church," chapter seven in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society,* Edited by Joanna Story. NY & Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

De Jong, Mayke. "Carolingian political discourse and the biblical past: Hraban, Dhouda, Radbert,"

Dell, James A. *An Archaeology of Social Space: Analyzing Coffee Plantations in Jamaica's Blue Moutains.* NY: Plenum Press, 1998.

Diebold, William J. *Word and Image: An Introduction to Early Medieval Art,* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000

Diptee, Audra A. *From Africa to Jamaica: The Making of an Atlantic Slave Society, 1775-1807.* Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 2010.

Doane, A.N. *The Saxon Genesis: An Edition of the West Saxon* Genesis B *and the Old Saxon Vatican* Genesis. Madison" The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.

Donnan, Elizabeth. *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America, Volume II: The Eighteenth Century,* (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1931

Duffield, Samuel Willoughby. *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns.* NY: Funk & Wagnalls, 1889.

Duffield, Samuel. "The Authorship of the 'Veni, Creator,'" *The Sunday School Times,* Vol. XXVI, No. 6, (February 9, 1884), 83-4.

Dunn, Ricahrd S. *A Tale of Two Plantations: Slave Life and Labor in Jamaica and Virginia,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Dupertuis, Rubén René. "The Acts of the Apostles, Narrative, and History." *The Oxford Handbook of biblical Narrative.* Edited by Danna Nolan Fewel. London: Oxford University Press, 2016. 330-8.

Early Medieval Theology, vol. IX, Translators and editors, McCracken George E. and Allen Cabaniss. Louisville, KY: Westminster Press, 1957.

Erben, Patrick M. *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Ellspermann, Gerard L. "The Attitude of the Early Christian Latin Writers Toward Pagan Literature and Learning." Dissertation. Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1949.

Evans, Arthur. "The Creative Universe," *White Crane,* 80 July 29, 2009.

Eyerly, Sarah J. *"Der Wille Gottes:* Musical Improvisation in Eighteenth-Century Moravian Communities," *Self, Community, World: Moravian Education in a Transatlantic World,'* eds. Heikki Lempa and Paul Peucker, (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2010.

Finger, John R. *The Eastern Band of Cherokees 1819–1900.* Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1984.

Fogelson, Raymond. "The Cherokee Ballgame Cycle: An Ethnographer's View." *Ethnomusicology* 15.3 (1971): 327–338.

Fudge, Thomas A. *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia.* Brookfield, AT: Ashgate Publishing company, 1998.

_____ "Jan Hus at Calvary: The Text of an Early Fifteenth-Century 'Passio.'" *Journal of Moravian History,* no. 11 (Fall 2011), 69-71.

_____ *The Memory and Motivation of Jan Hus, Medieval Priest and Martyr*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2013.

_____ *Heresy and Hussites in Late Medieval Europe.* Burlington, VT: Variorum collected Studies Series, Ashgate, 2014.

_____ *Jan Hus Between Time and Eternity: Reconsidering a Medieval Heretic.* NY: Lexington Books, 2016.

Foreman, Grant. *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians,* Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1972.

Fouts, Gordon E. "Music Instruction in Early Nineteenth Century American Schools." *Journal of Research in Music Education* 22.2 (1974): 112–115.

Gambold, John, and Anna Rosina Gambold. *Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees.* 1801–1821. 2 vols. Ed. Rowena McClinton. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2007.

Gaposchkin, M. Cecilia. *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2017.

Gardner, Robert G. *Cherokees and Baptists in Georgia.* Atlanta: Georgia Baptist Historical Society, 1989.

Gillis, Matthew Bryan. "Heresy in the Flesh: Gottschalk of Orbais and the predestination controversy in the archdiocese of Rheims," in *Hincmar of Rheims: Life and Work,* edited by Rachel Stone and Charles West. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.

Gimlette, John. *Wild Coast: Travels on South America's Untamed Edge,* (NY: Alfred Knopf, 2011

Ginzberg, Louis. *The Legends of the Jews: Bible Times and Characters for the Creation to Jacob.* Translated from the German by Henrietta Szold. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909.

Godman, Peter. *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance.* London: Duckworth, 1985.

Goeje, C.H. *The Arawak Language of Guiana.* Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1928.

Gordley, Matthew E. *Teaching Through Song in Antiquity: Didactic Hymnody Among Greeks, Romans, Jews, and Christians.* Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.

Goslinga, Cornelis C.H. *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in Surinam 1791/5-1942,* Assen/Maastricht, The Netherleands: Van Gorcum, 1990.

Greene, Jack P. *Settler Jamaica in the 1750s: A Social Portrait.* Charlottesville & London: University of Virginia Press, 2016.

Hamilton, J. Taylor and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Frattrum 1722-1957.* Bethlehem, PA: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education Moravian Church in America, 1967

Handler, Jerome S. "Slave Medicine and Obeah in Barbados, Circa 1650 to 1834," *NWIG: New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 74, no. ½ (2000).

Hen, Yitzhak. *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul: to the Death of Charles the Bald (877).* London: The Henry Bradshaw Society, 2001.

Hewitt, Thomas B. ""German Hymns in American Hymnals." *The German Quarterly* 21.1 (1948): 37–50.

Higman, B.W. & B.J. Hudson. *Jamaican Place Names,*

Hiley, David. *Gregorian Chant.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Holdsworth C. and T.P. Wiseman. *The Inheritance of Historiography, 350-900.* Exeter Studies in History 12 (Exeter, 1986), 85-105.

Holmes, John. *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen, From Their Commencement to the Present Time.* Dublin: R. Napper, 1818.

Hoover, Peter. *Behold the Lamb: The Story of the Moravian Church.* Plain City, OH: AllGodsWord.com, 2005

Hutton, J.E. *History of the Moravian Church.* 1909.

Hutton, J.E. *A History of Moravian Missions*. London: Moravian Publication Office, 1923.

Hyles, Joshua R. *Guiana and the Shadows of Empire: Colonial and Cultural Negotiations at the Edge of the World.* NY: Lexington Books, 2014

Im Thurn, Everard F. *Among the Indians of Guiana: Being Sketches Chiefly Anthropologic from the Interior of British Guiana.* NY: Kegan Pual Trench & Co., 1883.

Jekyll, Walter. *Jamaican Song and Story: Annancy Stories, Digging Sings, Ring Tunes, and Dancing Tunes.* NY: Dover, 1966.

Johnson, Christopher D.L. *The Globalization of Hesychasm and the Jesus Prayer: Contesting Contemplation.* London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010.

Jolliet, Ellie. "Veni Creator Spiritus: Der Pfingsthymnus und seine hymnologische und musicalische Rezeption," Masters thesis, Berner Fachhochschule, Hochschule der Künste Bern, Fachbereich Musik, s Abgabefrist: 1. April 2016.

Josa, F.P.L. *The Apostle of the Indians of Guiana: A Memoir of the Life and Labours of the Rev. W.H. Brett, B.D., for Forty Years a Missionary in British Guiana*. London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1887.

Julian, John. Editor. *A Dictionary of Hymnology: Setting Forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of all Ages and Nations.* Revised Edition with New Supplement. London: John Murray, 1907.

Kaminsky, Howard. *A History of the Hussite Revolution.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

Kars, Marjoleine "Dodging Rebellion: Politics and Gender in the Berbice Slave Uprising of 1763," *American Historical Review,* (Oxford University Press, February, 2016), 44-45.

Keatinge, M.W. *The Great Didactic of John Amos Comenius: Now For the First Time Englished.* London: Adam and Charles Black, 1896.

Kelly, Thomas Forrest. *The Practice of Medieval Music: Studies in Chant and Perfromance.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate/Variorum, 2010.

Kidula, Jean Ngoya. "Music Culture: African Life." *Music in the Life of the African Church.* Eds. Roberta King et al. Waco, TX: Baylor UP, 2008. 37–55.

Kitts, Eustace J. *Pope John The Twenty-Third and Master John Hus of Bohemia.* London: Constable and Company Limited, 1910.

Klassen, John Martin. *The Nobility and the Making of the Hussite Revolution.* NY: Columbia University Press, 1978.

Kloos, Peter. *The Maroni River Caribs of Surinam.* Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971.

Klooster, Wim. *Revolution in the Atlantic World: A Comparative History.* NY: New York University Press, 2018.

Knouse, Nola Reed. Editor. *The Music of the Moravian Church in America.* Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008.

Kouwenberg, Silvia. "The Ijo-derived lexicon of Berbice Dutch Creole: an a-typical case of African lexical influence," self-published, https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1386/1015fa019083eecb3a5fec711b9d04b699ad.pdf (July 2006)

Kramer, Rutger "Teaching Emperors: Transcending the Boundaries of Carolingian Monastic Communities," in *Meanings of Community Across Medieval Eurasia,* NY: Brill, 2016.

Langley, Lester D. *The Americas in the Age of Revolution 1750-1850.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

Laurie, S.S. *John Amos Comenius, Bishop of the Moravians: His Life and Eductional Works.* Syracues, NY: C.W. Bardeen, 1892.

Lausberg, Heinrich. *Der Hymnus Veni Creator Spiritus.* Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1979.

Leach, Elizabeth Eva. *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2007.

Leclercq, Jean. *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture.* NY: Fordham University Press, 1961.

Lempa, Heikki and Paul Peucker, editors. *Self, Community, World: Moravian Education in a Transatlantic World.* Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2010.

Levy, Kenneth. *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Lewis, A.J. *Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer; A Study in the Moravian Contribution to Christian Mission and Unity.* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962.

Lewy, Hans. "A Latin Hymn to the Creator Ascribed to Plato," *The Harvard Theological Review* Vol. 39, No. 4 (Oct., 1946), 243-258.

Long, Edward. *The History of Jamaica: General Survey of the Antient and Modern State of that Island,* Volume II. London: T. Lowndes, 1774. Reprint, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1970.

Lynch, Joseph H. *The Medieval Church*: *A Brief History*. London: Longman, 1992.

Mason, J.C.S. *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England, 1760-1800.* London: Royal Historical Society, Boydell Press, 2001.

Masser, Achim. *Bibel und Legendenipik des deutschen Mittelalters,* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1976.

Matter, Ann. "The Lamentations Commentaries of Hrabanus Maurus and Paschasius Radbertus," *Traditio,* Vol. 38 1982.

Mather, Cotton. *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum Nov-Anglorum*. Boston: 1726.

Maurice, C. Edmund. *Bohemia: From the Earliest Times to the Fall of National Independence in 1620.* London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896.

McCarthy, T.J.H. *Music, Scholasticism and Reform: Salian Germany, 1024-1125*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2009.

McClinton, Rowena. "Notable Persons in Cherokee History: Charles Hicks." *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 17.1 (1981): 16–27.

McLoughlin, William G. *Champions of the Cherokees: Evan and John B. Jones.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1990.

———. *The Cherokees and Christianity, 1794–1870: Essays on Acculturation and Cultural Persistence.* Athens: U of Georgia P, 1994.

McLoughlin, William G., and Walter H. Conser Jr. "'The First Man Was Red': Cherokee Responses to the Debate over Indian Origins, 1760–1860." *American Quarterly* 41.2 (1989): 256–258.

McGinn, Bernard J. Meyendorff, and J. Leclercq edsitors. *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century.* NY: Crossroad, 1985.

McKitterick, Rosamond. Editor. *Atlas of the Medieval World.* London: Oxford University Press, 2004.

_____ *History and Memory in the Carolingian World.* NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

_____ *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity.* NY: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

_____ "Latin and Romance: an historian's perspective," in *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages.* Edited by Roger Wright. London: Routledge, 1991.

Meiklejohn, Alexander. *Education Between Two Worlds.* NY: Harper & Borthers Publishers, 1942.

Menezes, Mary Noel. *British Policy Towards the Amerindians in British Guiana 1803-1873.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Messenger, Ruth Ellis. *The Medieval Latin Hymn.* Washington DC: Capital Press, 1953.

Mettele, Gisela. "Erudition vs. Experience: Gender, Communal Narration, and the Shaping of Eighteenth-Century Moravian Religious Thought," in *Self, Community, World: Moravian Education in a Transatlantic World.* Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2010.

Miles, Tiya. *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Mooney, James. *History, Myths, and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees.* Fairview, NC: Historical Images Bright Mountain Books, 1992.

Monroe, Will S. *Comenius and the Beginnings of Educational Reform*. NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900.

Moulton, Gary E. *John Ross: Cherokee Chief.* Athens: U of Georgia P, 1978.

Muller, John. "Sublimation and *das Ding* in Mahler's Symphony No. 8," chapter four in *A Spirit the Impels: Play, Creativity, and Psychoanalysis.* Edited by M. Gerard Fromm. London: Karnac Books, 2014.

Mundy, John Hine and Kennerly M. Woody. *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church,* translated by Louise Ropes Loomis. NY: Columbia University Press, 1961.

Munro, Dana Carleton. *The Middle Ages, 395-1272,* Volume 30. NY: The Century Company, 1921.

Murphy, G. Ronald. *The Saxon Savior: the Germanic Transformation of the Gospels in the Ninth-Century Heliand.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Mužik, František. "Hospodine,, pomiluj ny," *Miscelanea Musicologica* 18 1965: 7-30.

Nettle, Daniel, and Suzanne Romaine. *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Norton, Kay. *Baptist Offspring, Southern Midwife—Jesse Mercer's Cluster of Spiritual Songs (1810): A Study in American Hymnody.* Warren, MI: Harmonies Park, 2002.

Ong, Walter, and John Hartley. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word.* New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 2012.

Osložilik, Otakar. "Comenius and Christian Unity" *Slavonic and East European Review,* Vol. 9, No. 25 (Jun., 1930), 79-93.

_____ *Jan Amos Komensky (Comenius).* Chicago: Czechoslovak National Council of America, 1942.

_____ *The Hussite King: Bohemia in European Affairs, 1440-1471.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1965.

O'Reilly, William. "Conceptualizing America in Early Modern Central Europe," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies,* Vol. 65, Exploration in Early American Culture (1998). 101-121.

Palmer, James T. *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 690-900.* Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.

Parry, Kenneth L. *Christian Hymns.* London: SCM Press LTD, 1956.

Patte, Marie-France. *La langue Arawak de Guyane: Présentation historique et dictionnaires arawak-français et français arawak.* Marseille: IRD Éditions Institut de Recherche Pour le Développement, 2011.

Paton, Diana and Maarit Forde, eds. *Obeah and Other Powers: The Politics of Caribbean Religion and Healing.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.

Paxton, Frederick S. "Curing Bodies-Curing Souls: Hrabanus Maurus, Medical Education, and the Clergy in Ninth-Century Francia," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences,* V 50, No. 2 (April 1995) ?

Perdue-Davis, Vernon. *A Primer of Ancient Hymnody.* Fenton, MO: E.C. Shirmer Music, 1968.

Phillippo, James M. *Jamaica: Its Past and Present State.* London: John Snow, 1843. Reprint, Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970.

Pilch, John J. *Healing in the New Testament: Insights from Medical and Mediterranean Anthropology.* Minneapolis: Fortune Press, 2000.

Plitt, Hermann. *Zinzendorfs Theologie.* Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Berthes, 1871.

Price, Richard and Sally Price. "Introduction," *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam: Transcribed for the First Time from the Original 1790 Manuscript.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988

Price, Richard. *Alabi's World.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990

Raaijmakers, Janneke. *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c. 744-c.900.* Cambridge & NY: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Raby, Frederic James Edward. *A History of Christian-Latin poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953.

Racek, Jan. "Das älteste tsechische Bittlied 'Hospodine, pomiluj ny' (Herr, erbarme Dich unser)," in *Geschichte der Ost-und Westkirche in ihren wechselseitigen; in memoriam S.S. Cyrilli et Methodii.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967.

Rath, Richard Cullen. "African Music in Seventeenth-Century Jamaica: Cultural Transit and Transition," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. 50, No. 4 (Oct., 1993). 700-18

Reichel, William C. *Memorials of the Moravian Church,* Vol. 1. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1870

Report and Papers of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Society of Church History: Held in the City of New York, December 29 and 30, 1896. NY: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1897.

Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam.* NY: Columbia University Press, 2008.

Rood, Wilhelmus. *Comenius and the Low countries: Some Aspects of Life and Work of a Czech Exile in the Seventeenth Century.* NY: Abner Schram, 1970.

Rostain, Stéphen. *Islands in the Rainforest: Landscape Management in Pre-Columbian Amazonia,* translated by Michelle Eliott, (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2013

Roth, Walter Edmund. *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians.* Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.: 1924.

Routley, Erik. *A Panorama of Christian Hymnody.* Chicago: G.I.A Publications, 1979.

Rybka, Konrad. "Between Objects and Places: The Expression of Landforms in Lokono (Arawackan)," *International Journal of American Linguistics,* 81: 4 (October 2015), 541-3.

Rymatzki, Christoph. *Hallischer Pietismus und Judenmission: Johann Heinrich Callenbergs Institutum Judaicum und dessen Freundeskreis (1728-1736).* Halle: Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2004.

Sadler, John Edward. *J.A. Comenius and the concept of Universal Education.* NY: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1966.

Sager, Alexander J. "After the Apple: repentance in *Genesis B* and its Continental Context," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology.* Volume 112, No. 3, (July 2013), 292-310.

Saunt, Claudio. "Telling Stories: The Political uses of Myth and History in the Cherokee and Creek Nations." *The Journal of American History* 93.3 (2006): 673–97.

Saunt, Claudio *West of the Revolution: An Uncommon History of 1776.* NY: W.W. Norton and Company, 2014.

Schaff, David S. *John Huss: His life, Teachings and Death After Five Hundred Years.* London: George Allen & Unwin LTD., 1914.

Schattschneider, David A. "The Missionary Theologies of Zinzendorf and Spangenberg," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society,* Vol. 22, No. 3 (1975). 213-233.

Schumann Matt and Karl Schweizer, *The Seven Years War: A Transatlantic History.* NY: Routledge, 2008

Schwarze, Edmund. *Moravian Missions among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States.* Bethlehem, PA: Time Publishing, 1984.

Schwarze, W.N. "Early Hymnals of the Bohemian Brethren," Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, catalogue item Cgb 78, unpublished manuscript.

Sensbach, Jon F. *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Settari, Olga. "Jan Amos Comenius: A Czech Hymnographist, Music Theorist and Educationist," Sbornik Praci Filozoficke Fakulty Brneske Univerzity H-19-20, (1984), 66.

Sibley, Inez Knibb. *Dictionary of Place-Names in Jamaica.* Kingston: The Institute of Jamaica, 1978.

Smahel Frantisek, and Ota Pavlicek, editors. *A Companion to Jan Hus*. Keiden and Boston: Brill/Koninklijke Brill, 2015.

Smith, John Holland. *The Great Schism: 1378.* London: Hamilton, 1970.

Speck, Frank G., Leonard Broom, and Will West Long. *Cherokee Dance and Drama*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951.

Spinka, Matthew. *John Amos Comenius: Tha Uncomparable Moravian,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.

_____ *John Hus' Concept of the Church.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.

_____ *The Letters of John Hus.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972.

Stillwell, E. H. *Historical Sketch of Tuckaseegee Baptist Association, 1829–1929.* Cullowhee, NC: Western Carolina Teacher's College, 1929.

Szöverffy, Joseph. *A Concise History of Medieval Latin Hymnody: Religious Lyrics between Antiquity and Humanism.* Leyden: E.J. Brill Classical Folia Edition, 1985.

Talbot, C. H. *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany.* NY: Sheed and Ward, 1954.

Talbot, John Michael. *The Jesus Prayer: A Cry for Mercy, a Path of Renewal.* ??: Intervarsity Press, 2013. Appendix, 139-40.

The Amazonian Languages, edited by R.M. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikenvald, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800, eds. David Armitage & Michael J. Braddick. NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe. Edited by Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick and Sven Meeder. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Thiselton, Anthony C. *The Holy Spirit in Biblical Teaching Through the Centuries and Today.* Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2013.

Thomas, Robert K. "Cherokee Values and World View." N.d. Robert K. Thomas, "Cherokee Values and World View," unpublished essay manuscript, N.d. Collection of David Cozzo, Cherokee, NC, Collection of James A. Owen, Athens, GA. 1–25.

Thomas, William Joseph. "Creating Cherokee Print: Samuel Austin Worcester's Impact on the Syllabary." *Media History Monographs* 10:2 (2007–2008): 1–20.

Thompson, Alvin O. *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Guyana, 1580-1803,* (Bridgetown, Barbados: Carbi Research & Publications, 1987

Thompson, Augustus C. *Moravian Missions: Twelve Lectures*, (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882

Tierney, Brian *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Fourth Series, Volume XXI. London: Offices of the Society, 1939.

Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society. Volume 22. London: Offices of the Society, 1969.

Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society. Volume 27. Bethlehem, PA: Moravian Historical Society, 1992.

Turner, Mary. *Slaves and Missionaries: The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society, 1787-1834.* Chicago: University Of Illinois Press, 1982.

Ullmann, Walter. *The Origins of the Great Schism: A study in fourteenth century ecclesiastical history.* Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1948.

van Baarle, Peter. "Eighteenth-Century Descriptions of Arawak by Moravian Missionaries," in *Languages different in All Their Sounds…: Descriptive Approaches to Indigenous Languages of the Americas 1500 to 1850,* edited by Elke Nowak,, (Münster, Nodus Publikationen, 1999.

Vasconcellos, Colleen A. *Slavery, Childhood, and Abolition in Jamaica, 1788-1838.* Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2015.

Vogt, Peter. "Headless and Un-Erudite": Anti-Intellectual Tendencies in Zinzendorf's Approach to Education," in *Self, Community, World: Moravian Education in a Transatlantic World,* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2010.

Walker, Willard, and James Sarbaugh, "The Early History of the Cherokee Syllabary." *Ethnohistory* 40.1 (1993): 70–94.

Walsh, Peter G. and Christopher Husch. Editors. *One Hundred Latin Hymns: Ambrose to Aquinas.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Ward, W.R. *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History 1670-1789.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Ware, Kallistos. *The Orthodox Church.* London: Penguin, 1993.

Warner-Lewis, Maureen. *Archibald Monteath: Igbo, Jamaican, Moravian.* Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2007.

Warner-Lewis, Maureen. "Akan Echoes in Jamaican Folk Melodies," *Jamaican Journal,* Vol. 33 Issue 1-2 (Dec 2010), 60-5.

Watson, Gerard. "St. Augustine's Theory of Language," *The Maynoonth Review,* Vol. 6, No. 2 (May, 1982), 4-20

Whitehead, Neil L. *Dark Shamans: Kanaimà and the Poetics of Violent Death*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002

Whitehead, Neil L. "Arawak Linguistic and cultural Identity through Time: Contact, Colonialism, and Creolization," in *Comparative Arawakan Histories,* edited by F. Santos-Granero and Jonathan D. Hill. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

Williams, Henry L. "The Development of the Moravian Hymnal," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society.* Vol. 16, No. 2 (1962), 239-266.

Wood, Ian. *The Missionary Life: Saints and the evangelization of Europe, 400-1050.* Harlow, England: Pearson Education, 2001.

Woods, Edward J. *The 'Finger of God' and Pneumatology in Luke-Acts.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.

Yeager, Jonathan M. *Early Evangelicalism: A Reader.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Young, Robert Fitzgibbon. *Comenius in England.* London: Oxford University Press, 1932.

Young, Robert Fitzgibbon. *Comenius and the Indians of New England.* London: the School of Slavonic Studies, University of London, 1929.