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The Gütter Family: Wind Instrument Makers and Dealers to the Moravian Brethren in America

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In museums associated with the Moravian Brethren in America there are ten musical instruments bearing the name “Gütter.” As figure 1 shows, these include four clarinets, two flutes, a bassoon, a cornett, a serpent, and a contrabass (there are also three clarinets in non-Moravian collections). These instruments rank the Gütter family—comprising at least two and possibly three generations of craftsmen—among the most widely represented instrument makers in Moravian collections in the United States, along with the Schmied/Schmidt family of Pfaffendorf (ten instruments) and C. A. Zoebisch & Sons of New York (twelve instruments). Eight instruments clearly identify Gütter with Bethlehem; one of these further identifies the maker—or purveyor—as “H. G. GÜTTER” and another as “HEINRICH GOTTLÖB GÜTTER.”¹ Two instruments are marked simply “GÜTTER” and one is marked “GÜTTER NEUKIRCHEN.”² It is my objective in this paper (1) to iden-

1. Gütter instruments in Moravian-related collections in Pennsylvania are described in Curtis S. Mayes, “A Descriptive Catalogue of Historic Percussion, Wind, and Stringed Instruments in Three Pennsylvania Museums” (M.M. thesis, Florida State University, 1974). Wind instruments with Gütter’s name in the Wachovia Museum, Winston-Salem, N.C., are described in Ernest Wayne Pressley, *Musical Wind Instruments in the Moravian Musical Archives, Salem, North Carolina: A Descriptive Catalogue* (D.M.A. diss., University of Kentucky, 1975). The Gütter contrabass in Winston-Salem is described in Frederick R. Selch, “Some Moravian Makers of Bowed Stringed Instruments,” this *Journal* 19 (1993): 38–64, at pp. 52–56; and idem, “Moravian Musicians and Musical Instrument Makers in Early America and the Influence on them of the Saxon-Vogtländisch Industry of Musical Instrument Making,” *Journal of the Violin Society of America* 13 (1993): 161–94. Regarding the Gütter clarinet now in America’s Shrine to Music Museum, Vermillion, S.D., see Lloyd Farrar, “Under the Crown & Eagle,” *Newsletter of the American Musical Instrument Society* 13/2 (June 1984): 7. Additional instruments bearing the Gütter name surely exist. In personal communications of 22 and 25 February 2001, Lloyd Farrar generously provided information on one, a clarinet in private hands in Canton, Ga. (included in fig. 1).

2. While there may be Gütter wind instruments in European collections, I have been unable to identify any. Even the Musical Instrument Museum in Markneukirchen has no wind instruments with the Gütter signature. Stringed instruments in European collections bearing the name Gütter are quite numerous, and are beyond the scope of this study.

tify the members of the Gütter family associated with these instruments; (2) to distinguish as far as possible the instrument-*making* activities of the Gütters from their instrument-*dealing* activities; and (3) to place the instruments bearing the Gütter name in an appropriate historical and cultural context.

Heinrich Gottlob Gütter and his Family

The Gütter family³ can be traced to Neukirchen, now called Markneukirchen, which is located near the Czech border in the Vogtland region of Saxony and has been a musical-instrument-making center for the last three hundred years. It remains so today, albeit of considerably less importance than it was prior to World War II. Historically, the instrument trade in Neukirchen, as elsewhere, was a family affair, with sons learning their craft as apprentices in the workshops of their fathers, uncles, and grandfathers. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, members of the Gütter family were principally associated with the manufacture of stringed instruments, bows, and violin strings.⁴ But according to an early nineteenth-century history of Neukirchen by Friedrich August Crasselt, one Johann Georg Gütter was the first maker of woodwind instruments in the district.⁵ Crasselt states that Johann Georg

3. The name is variously spelled Gütter, Gitter, and, after Heinrich Gottlob's arrival in America, Guetter. Even one Nickel Guter, mentioned in connection with Neukirchen as early as 1426, may possibly be an ancestor of this musical-instrument-making family: see Erich Wild, *Geschichte von Markneukirchen: Stadt und Kirchspiel* (Plauen: Vogtländischer Heimatverlag Franz Neupert, 1925), 50.

4. Karel Jalovec, *Encyclopedia of Violin-Makers* (London: Hamlyn, 1965), 1:358–60. Jalovec mentions some forty makers named Gütter from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries.

5. F. A. Crasselt, *Versuch einer Chronik von Neukirchen im königlich sächsischen Vogtlande* (Schneeberg: August Friedrich Fulde, 1821), 77; cited in Wild, *Geschichte von Markneukirchen*, 240. Crasselt goes on to say that J. G. Gütter taught the making of woodwind instruments to a Neukirchen carpenter named Heberlein: see also Louis Bein, *Die Industrie des sächsischen Voigtlandes, erster Theil, Die Musikinstrumenten-Industrie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humboldt, 1884), 10; and Friedrich August Crasselt and Franz Hellreigel, *Chronik von Markneukirchen* (Zwickau: R. Zückler, 1913), 56.

The question of priority for J. G. Gütter as a woodwind maker in Neukirchen is open to dispute. In another essay ("Dreihundert Jahre Markneukirchner Musikinstrumentenbau," in *Festschrift der obervogtländischen Musiktagen* [Markneukirchen, 1958], 15), Wild states that one Johann Klemm was active as a *Pfeifenmacher* in Neukirchen in 1710, and that other *Pfeifenmacher* were active in the 1750s: Joh. Gottfried Frank, identified as *Kunstdrechsler* in documents of 1752; and Carl Wilhelm Heber in 1756. William Waterhouse (*The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and*

Figure 1. Instruments in American Collections Bearing the Name “Gütter.”

CLARINETS

- EAS [no number]: boxwood. Mark: [fleur-de-lys] / GÜTTER / BETHLEHEM / [fleur-de-lys]. [Information from Colleen Lavdar, Northampton County Museum.]
- NAZ [no number]: 5 keys, in C, boxwood, mouthpiece probably of dark-stained boxwood, bone ferrules. Total length 600 mm (Mayes, 33). Mark: [eagle] / GÜTTER BETHLEHEM / [fleur-de-lis]. See figure 8.
- LIT 14: 5 keys, in E-flat. Only 4 sections extant; mouthpiece and barrel are modern replacements (according to Mayes, 34). Mark: S [i.e., E-flat] / GÜTTER / BETHLEHEM / PENN.
- VER 5722: 5 keys, in B-flat, boxwood, 6 sections including mouthpiece, horn ferrules, middle section originally from a different instrument. Mark (on bell joint only): GÜTTER / BETHLEHEM / PENN. Pitch mark on barrel, upper joint, middle joint, and bell: B [i.e., B-flat]. Total length 670 mm (museum files). Formerly owned by Kurt Stein, later by Frederick Starr. See figure 10.
- W-S C-174: 5 keys, in C, boxwood, originally 6 sections (with mouthpiece), missing barrel joint and mouthpiece, section 2 has brass ferrule (later repair?) at bottom, sections 3 and 4 have horn ferrules. Mark: on section 3: [fleur-de-lis] / GÜTTER / C; on bell: GÜTTER / BETHLEHEM / PENN. See figure 9.
- W-S [no number]: originally 5 keys (1 missing), in C, boxwood, originally 6 sections (with mouthpiece), missing barrel joint and mouthpiece, horn ferrules, very similar to W-S C-174. Mark (on bell): GÜTTER / BETHLEHEM / PENN.
- Henry Frassetto, Canton, Ga.: 5 keys, in C, boxwood, 6 sections including mouthpiece, horn rings. Mark: GÜTTER / BETHLEHEM / PENN / 1822. [Information from present owner. The author is grateful to Lloyd P. Farrar for informing him of the existence of this clarinet.]

FLUTES

- BETH B532: 1 key, in C, boxwood [maple, according to museum file card], with horn ferrules, four sections. Total length 645 mm. Mark: [fleur-de-lis] GÜTTER / BETHLEHEM / PENNSYLVANIA [fleur-de-lis]. Formerly owned by Morris Ellsworth Koch (1889–1918).
- W-S F-115: 1 key, in C, boxwood, 4 sections, ivory ferrules (1 missing). Mark: [fleur-de-lis] / [elephant and viper] GÜTTER [elephant and viper] / [fleur-de-lis]. Plays slightly above $a' = 440$ Hz. See figure 11.

BASSOON

NAZ [no number]: 9 keys, tiger maple, 4 sections. Total sounding length 2155 mm. Mark: [male figure enclosed in a sickle] / [indistinct ornament—?elephant and viper] GÜTTER [indistinct ornament—?elephant and viper] / [fleur-de-lis]. See figure 14.

CORNETT (ZINK)

W-S Z-101: “straight” form; boxwood, 3 sections, horn ferrules, detachable mouthpiece made of cowhorn. Total length without mouthpiece 577 mm. Mark: [male figure enclosed in a sickle] / [indistinct ornament] GÜTTER [indistinct ornament] / [elephant and viper] NEUKIRCHEN [elephant and viper] / 1805. Pitched in $a' = 465$ Hz. See figures 15–17.

SERPENT

LIT 11: 1 brass key, wood covered with black leather, brass mouthpipe, brass cap, brass band 336 mm from end of bell, 6 fingerholes; bell has gold paint with red border. Total length 2350 mm. Mark: [crossed implements] / H G GÜTTER / BETHLEHEM / PENN / [fleur-de-lis]. See figures 18–19.

CONTRABASS

W-S B-641: 4 strings, wooden pegs, with machine screws for fine tuning, “attached” f-holes, 4 wooden buttons on each side on which to rest the instrument (probably added later). Total length 2171 mm, body 1143 mm. Inscription: “Heinr. Gottlob Gütter in Bethlehem Pensilvanien in Nort. America empfiehlt sich außerdem mit diversen musical. Instrumenten” (handwritten, attached inside instrument, to back plate). Formerly owned by Bernard J. Pfohl (1866–1960), long-time director of the Salem Band. See figures 20–23.

MUSEUM SIGLA: EAS = Easton, Pa., Northampton County Museum; NAZ = Nazareth, Pa., Whitefield House (Moravian Historical Society); LIT = Lititz, Pa., Brethren’s House; VER = Vermillion, S.D., America’s Shrine to Music Museum; W-S = Winston-Salem, N.C., Wachovia Museum (Old Salem); BETH = Bethlehem, Pa., Moravian Museum.

learned the art of woodwind making in Leipzig and Hof before setting up shop in Neukirchen,⁶ but he supplies no dates.⁷ The Neukirchen historian Erich Wild states that Johann Georg Gütter must have died before 1748, because church records prior to that date are missing, and his death is not mentioned in subsequent records.⁸ But in the summer of 1998 I discovered, in the church archives in Markneukirchen, records showing that Johann Georg Gütter was born 11 September 1752, the son of Georg Adam Gütter, a maker of violins and violin strings.⁹ Further research in the church records in Markneukirchen revealed that Johann Georg was married 15 October 1772, to Johanna Dorothea Würlitzer.¹⁰ This entry identifies Johann Georg as *Kunstdrechsler*—a term that literally means “artistic turner,” hence a master craftsman.¹¹

Inventors [London: Tony Bingham, 1993], 206) regards Johann Klemm as the founder of the woodwind-instrument industry in Neukirchen. Herbert Heyde (“Die Musikinstrumentenbau in Sachsen vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen: Eine Musikinstrumentenausstellung. Tage alter Musik in Herne 1987*, ed. Christian Ahrens [(Herne): Druckerei der Stadt Herne, (1987)], 59–106, at p. 91) also mentions the early Vogtländisch woodwind-instrument maker Christian Händel of Schöneck (just a few kilometers north of Neukirchen), identified as *Geigen- und Pfeifenmacher* at his death in 1746.

6. Crasselt, 77, cited in Wild, *Geschichte von Markneukirchen*, 240; see also Waterhouse, 150. Waterhouse specifically states that J. G. Gütter learned to make clarinets and flutes in Leipzig and Hof. If he studied the craft of woodwind-making in Hof, his likely teacher was J. W. Hoe, whose activity as a woodwind-instrument maker in that city can be documented during the years 1762–72. Like J. G. Gütter, Hoe is identified in local records as *Kunstdrechsler*: see Waterhouse, 178; and Josef Zimmermann, *Von Zinken, Flöten und Schalmeyen: Katalog einer Sammlung historische Holzblasinstrumente* (Düren: A. Bezani, [1967]). A straight cornett by Hoe, similar to the one by Gütter in Winston-Salem (see fig. 15), survives in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (inventory no. MI 113).

7. At the time Crasselt published his book (1821), Johann Georg Gütter was still living. It is reasonable to suppose that Crasselt derived his information from a personal interview with Johann Georg.

8. Wild, *Geschichte von Markneukirchen*, cited in Waterhouse, 150.

9. Markneukirchen, Pfarramt, *Kirchenregister*, 1748–1800, baptismal register, 11 September 1752, for Johann Georg Gütter, where his father is identified as *Geigens[aitenmacher]* and *Geigenb[aumeister]*. His death notice (*Kirchenregister*, 1820–1855, death register, for 17 August 1826) calls him *Musikinst=macher* and says that he left behind a widow and two sons.

10. Markneukirchen, Pfarramt, *Kirchenregister*, 1748–1800, marriage register, 51, where the father is called *S[aiten- und] Geigenbau[meister]*.

11. Willibald Leo von Lütgendorff (*Die Geigen- und Lautenmacher vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* [6th ed., 1922; reprint, Tutzing: Schneider, 1975], 2:189–90) lists two stringed instrument makers named Johann Georg Gütter, one who lived from 1759–1829, the other from 1781–1820. Lütgendorff calls the former “one of the best violin makers of his family” (“Einer der besten Geigenmacher aus seiner Familie”) and identifies him as the son of Georg Adam Gütter II (1726–1811). It is tempting, then, to

Church records further reveal that on 17 October 1773, a son, Heinrich Ferdinand, was born to Johann Georg Gütter and his wife Johanna Dorothea.¹² On 14 August 1796 Heinrich Ferdinand Gütter married Johanna Christiana Paulus, daughter of Johann Georg Paulus, maker of violin strings.¹³ The significance of this union between two extended families, both associated with the musical-instrument trade, will soon become apparent.

On 23 June 1797 Heinrich Ferdinand and Johanna Paulus Gütter celebrated the birth of a son, Heinrich Gottlob.¹⁴ The story now shifts from Germany to America, for twenty years later the young Heinrich Gottlob would emigrate to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the principal settlement of the Moravian Brethren in North America. In so doing he was effectively following in the footsteps of his maternal uncle, Christian Gottlob Paulus, who had settled there in 1795, just two years prior to Heinrich Gottlob's birth. Born in Neukirchen in 1764, Paulus left his native village as a young man, settling in the Moravian community of Neuwied (on the Rhine, near Coblenz) in 1787. He took his first communion there in 1788. Thus, Paulus had professed the Moravian faith prior to his emigration to Bethlehem.¹⁵

Although Paulus came from an instrument-making family, he seems merely to have dabbled in the music trade in Bethlehem.¹⁶ He was,

propose that our Johann Georg Gütter, *Kunstdrechsler*, made stringed instruments as well as woodwinds. Quite possibly he did, since so many Gütters practiced the former trade. But as we know he was born in 1752 and died in 1826, he probably cannot be identified with von Lütgendorff's Johann Georg Gütter I, in spite of the fact that both men had fathers named Georg Adam Gütter. Whether this genealogist's nightmare is the result of an error on the part of von Lütgendorff cannot be determined without further research. Jalovec, 1:359, generally follows von Lütgendorff regarding Johann Georg Gütter I.

12. Markneukirchen, Pfarramt, *Kirchenregister*, 1749–1800, baptismal register, 310. Here Johann Georg is described simply as *Musikinstrumentenmacher*.

13. *Ibid.*, marriage register, 125. The family name is spelled "Gitter" on this occasion. The groom's father, Johann Georg Gütter (Gütter), is described as *musikal. Instrumentenmacher*; the bride's father, Johann Georg Paulus, as *Saitenmacher*.

14. *Ibid.*, baptismal register. He was baptized on 25 June. (Heinrich Gottlob's death notice gives his date of birth as 21 rather than 23 June 1797: see Bethlehem, Moravian Archives, Church Register 4 [1838–1854]: 204.) Witnesses to the baptism were Gottlob Paulus, *musikal. Instrumentenmacher*, and H. G. Gütter's paternal grandfather, Johann Georg Gütter. (The name of a third witness is illegible.)

15. Information from Paulus' *Lebenslauf*, in Bethlehem, Moravian Archives, Memoirs, C. G. Paulus. Wild, *Geschichte von Markneukirchen*, 243 says that Paulus emigrated to Bethlehem "around 1805."

16. See Winston-Salem, N.C., Moravian Archives, Southern Province, receipts folder 1808–09. "Bot. of C. G. Paulus (Bethlehem) 2 rolls of silver wire á \$2, [net] \$4;

however, involved in a variety of commercial ventures—shoemaking, paper-box-making, millinery, innkeeping, and the sale of lumber and coal.¹⁷ On 24 May 1816 Paulus advertised his lumber business in the German-language newspaper *Der Unabhängige Republikaner*, published in nearby Allentown (see fig. 2).¹⁸ In addition to such items as pine boards

1 Clarinetto, 4.50, Salem June 21st 1808.” The items were purchased by Frederick Meinung for the Salem congregation. See also below, p. 70, regarding speculation that C. G. Paulus might have acted as dealer for three instruments bearing the Gütter stamp that were sold to Moravian communities—the bassoon in Nazareth and the flute and straight cornett in Winston-Salem.

A manuscript book of piano music dated 1817 that once belonged to C. G. Paulus' daughter Angelica—and apparently was prepared for her—is in the possession of the Kemerer Museum of Decorative Arts, Bethlehem. The book was displayed in the exhibition “The Square Piano in Rural Pennsylvania, 1760–1830,” as part of the Fourth Bethlehem Conference on Moravian Music, 25–29 October 2000. According to explanatory material accompanying the exhibition, Angelica S. Paulus entered the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies in 1819 at the age of nine. She was a tutor at the seminary from 1829 until 1833, when she married Ernest Lehmann, Bethlehem's most prominent horn player. Rufus Grider (*Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem, Pa. from 1741 to 1871* [1873; reprint, Winston-Salem, N.C.: The Moravian Music Foundation, 1957], 41) lists Angelica Paulus in his “Record of Names” of musicians active in Bethlehem, and cites 1810 as the year of her birth.

17. Robert Rau, *Notebooks* [MS compiled c. 1900, in Bethlehem, Moravian Church Archives], vol. 4, “Industries, Products, Traffic,” 41–42; Joseph Mortimer Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741–1892* (Bethlehem: Bethlehem Times Publishing Co., 1903; reprint, [New York]: AMS Press, 1971), 630, 642. Rau, 41–42, citing the *Protocol Aufseher Collegium*, further offers the following information concerning Paulus' activities in 1811: “Nov.—Paulus wants to start a millinery store. He has not been working at his trade (shoemaking) but has been manufacturing paper boxes. . . . Paulus has some bushels of coal on hand for sale. Those who have tried them think highly of them. They may in the future remove the [illegible] of scarcity of wood-fuel. Mr. Ast is one of the active men in introducing coal and Paulus will be his selling agent for Bethelhem.” The Sun Inn, where Paulus served as proprietor from 1805 to 1811, still stands on Main Street in Bethlehem, and is still in operation. Paulus was assisted there by his wife Anna Johanna, *née* Nicolaus. The couple had seven daughters, one of whom died in infancy: see Grethe Goodwin, *Moravian Innkeepers at the Sun Inn, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1760–1830* (Bethlehem: the author, 1982), 24–25.

18. Translation (by the author): Bethlehem Lumber Yard. “The undersigned herewith announces to his friends and his honored public in general, that he is now once more provided with yellow pine floorboards [and] planks, white pine [boards in] one-inch and three-quarter-inch, short and long shingles, walnut boards and planks, all types of lumber for construction, fence posts and rails, tar by the barrel, etc., etc. He also has, at his house, several flutes, violins, and all types of strings and bridges of the best quality to sell at the lowest prices.—He cordially asks for a continuation of the public's favor. Christian G. Paulus. Bethlehem, May 24, 1816.” The advertisement was repeated on 31 May and 7 June 1816. In 1817 Paulus advertised his lumber business, but not musical instruments, in *Der Friedens-Bothe* (Allentown) on 6, 13, and 20 February; 6, 13, and 20 March; and again, with the headline altered, on 17 and 24 April.

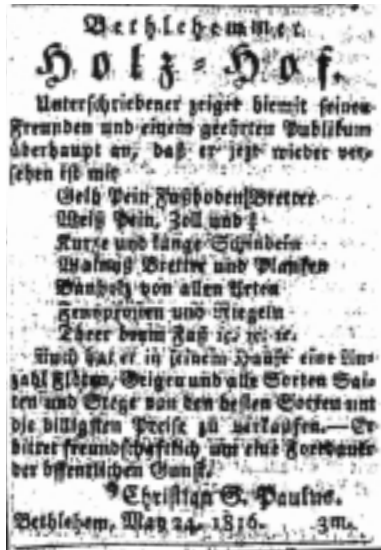


Figure 2. Advertisement in *Der Unabhängige Republikaner*, 24 May 1816. Courtesy of Allentown, Pa., Public Library.

and tar, Paulus includes, at the bottom of the ad, “flutes, violins, and all types of strings and bridges.” In the following year the *Protocol Aufseher Collegium* of Bethlehem reported that “Paulus has taken his nephew into his house, who intends going into the manufacture of musical instruments.”¹⁹ This nephew was in fact Heinrich Gottlob Gütter, newly arrived from Neukirchen. The sponsorship of his uncle helped young Gütter, who had not yet embraced the Moravian faith, to obtain entry into the closed community—and economy—of Bethlehem.²⁰

In 1818 Heinrich Gottlob Gütter left Bethlehem temporarily: Bethlehem historian Robert Rau reports that a man named Traeger, recently arrived from Herrnhut, had received permission to set up

19. *Protocol Aufseher Collegium*, as reported in Rau, *Notebooks*, vol. 5, “Worship, Education, Literature, Music,” 117. The original German text of the *Protocol Aufseher Collegium* does not identify Paulus’ nephew, but Rau inserted the name “G. [i.e., H. G.] Gütter” in his English translation.

20. See the record of his death in 1847, in Bethlehem, Moravian Archives, Church Register, 4 (1838–1854): 204, which reports that Heinrich Gottlob Gütter “in the year 1817 joined his uncle, the late Paulus, and pursued his trade as instrument maker” (“Im Jahr 1817 kam er zu seinem Onkel dem seligen Br. Paulus u. betrieb sein Geschäft als Instrumentmacher”). Wild (*Geschichte von Markneukirchen*, 243) claims that Gütter arrived in Bethlehem in 1816.

cabinetmaking in Paulus' new shop, as Gütter had gone to New York.²¹ By 1819 at the latest, however, Gütter was back in Pennsylvania, and was admitted to the Moravian Congregation in Bethlehem, as reported in the church register at the time of his death.²² It seems likely that he opened his shop in this year.²³

The historian Joseph Mortimer Levering, writing in 1903, describes the new trades that opened up along Main Street in Bethlehem around 1820:

Among these experimental novelties were a millinery stand, paper-box making, comb-making, [and] the opening of a trade in musical instruments, which became a more substantial business than the others—the first two by C. G. Paulus, the third by John Warner, the fourth by Henry Gottlob Guetter, for whom a shop was built by Paulus adjoining his house on Main Street, and who subsequently located on Broad Street, west of the alley which yet bears his name.²⁴

But was Gütter a maker of musical instruments, or merely a dealer? Possibly he was both, and he certainly did repairs as well. Early American tradesmen often promoted themselves as “makers” of goods, and affixed their own stamp to them, when in fact they were engaged primarily in importing and repairing them. The practice was widespread, and in most cases probably was undertaken, not with the intent of deceiving the prospective purchaser, but merely for advertising purposes.²⁵

H. G. Gütter's putative *oeuvre* includes a wide variety of instruments, both wind and string (see fig. 1). Modern researchers, however, have

21. Rau, *Notebooks*, 4:42.

22. See note 20 above.

23. From the *Protocol Aufseher Collegium* (see above, n. 19) as well as from Gütter's death record (see above, n. 20), we know that from the time of his arrival in Bethlehem in 1817, Gütter intended to set up a music shop. Since he left Bethlehem temporarily in 1818, we can probably assume either that his plans had not yet materialized or that his initial attempts were embryonic and short-lived. (The remark in Gütter's death notice, that he joined his uncle Paulus in 1817 and pursued his trade as instrument maker, does not necessarily imply that he opened his music shop immediately.) We know that he advertised his music business in *Der Friedens-Bothe* on 7 January 1820 (see fig. 3), so he may well have established it sometime during the preceding year.

24. Levering, 634.

25. See Herbert Heyde, “Maker's Marks on Wind Instruments,” in Waterhouse, xiii–xviii. Heyde notes that, lacking the identity of the item's maker, the customer who might be inclined to acquire additional goods would have no recourse but to negotiate with the American dealer, rather than directly with the European manufacturer.

long suspected that he was primarily a dealer rather than a maker.²⁶ In an advertisement in *Der Friedens-Bothe* (also published in Allentown) that first appeared 7 January 1820²⁷ (see fig. 3), Gütter describes himself as a “musical instrument maker in Bethlehem,” but he further “informs his friends and all music lovers that he has received, *from Europe*, a fine assortment of . . . instruments which he offers for sale at the lowest prices” (emphasis added). As the list in the advertisement reveals, Gütter was thus prepared to supply virtually every kind of instrument that might be required in the burgeoning communities of eastern Pennsylvania.²⁸ It also states that “He repairs all of the above instruments on short notice.” Manufacturing, however, surely was at most a small part of his business.²⁹

Gütter ran similar ads for his music business in the same newspaper in 1821, 1822, 1825, and 1829.³⁰ Not content to rely solely on his music business for his livelihood—and perhaps following the lead of his deceased uncle Paulus³¹—Gütter advertised a new lumber business in

26. See, for example, Selch, “Moravian Musicians and Musical Instrument Makers,” 181.

27. Jahrgang 8, no. 15. Translation (by the author): “Musical Instruments. Heinrich G. Gütter, musical instrument maker in Bethlehem, informs his friends and music lovers in general that he has received a fine assortment of the following instruments from Europe, which he offers for sale at the lowest prices, namely: clarinets [in] B-flat, C, E-flat, F, flutes [in] D, F, G, B-flat, octave-flutes [piccolos] [in] D, D#, F, G, walking-stick flutes, [?]panpipes, flageolets, fifes, bassoons and oboes, a serpent and a large bass drum, two glockenspiels, trumpets, all kinds of violins, viola[s] and violoncello[s], guitars, also all kinds of violin bows and strings. He repairs all of the above instruments on short notice, and gives his best regards to his esteemed public. 7 January.” The advertisement ran weekly through 25 February (Jahrgang 8, no. 22).

28. Conspicuously absent from the list, however, are trombones (so beloved of Moravians) as well as horns. Horns appear in an advertisement that ran in the same newspaper from 21 December 1821 through 25 January 1822, and trombones (*militair-posaunen*) appear in an advertisement that ran from 8 November through 13 December 1822. The latter advertisement also lists *Patent Bugle= oder Signal=Horner, mit 6 Klappen* (keyed bugles).

29. But see below, p. 76, regarding the Gütter contrabass.

30. Advertisements similar to the one in figure 3 ran weekly from 21 December 1821 (Jahrgang 10, no. 13) through 25 January 1822 (10/18); 8 November 1822 (11/7) through 13 December (11/12); 24 December 1824 (13/13) through 14 January 1825 (13/16); and 23 July (17/44) through 13 August (17/47) 1829. The 1829 advertisement adds a notice for Gütter’s lumber business (*Holzhof*) at the bottom. The advertisement of 1824–25 is the latest I have found that describes Gütter as *Instrumentenmacher*.

31. Paulus died 6 November 1821 (see Paulus, *Lebenslauf*). Rau (*Notebooks*, 4:42) reports, “1822—Jan. The late Paulus’s two oldest daughters will continue in the millinery business, which they will remove into Jos. Miksch’s house.” Levering, 633, reports that

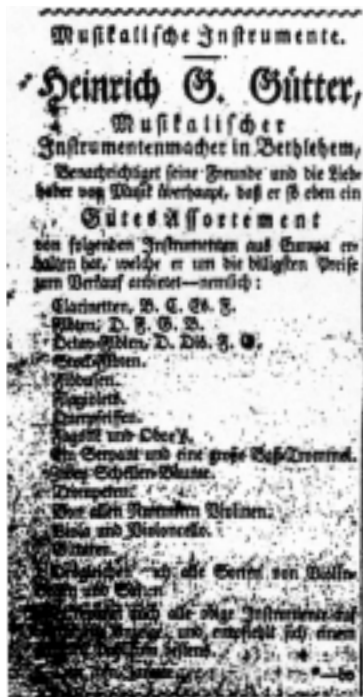


Figure 3. Advertisement in *Der Friedens-Bothe*, 7 January 1820. Courtesy of Allentown, Pa., Public Library.

Bethlehem on 8 April 1825 (see fig. 4);³² he may also have taken over Paulus' millinery business.³³ In 1833 he advertised in the English-

"Owen Rice Jr., the successor of his father in charge of the old diacony store, purchased the house of C. G. Paulus . . . in 1822."

32. Jahrgang 13, no. 28. Translation (by the author): "New Lumber Yard in Bethlehem. The undersigned informs his friends and his esteemed public that he has recently established a lumber and plank yard at his residence in Bethlehem, where he will always have a good supply of white and yellow pine boards, lumber and shingles on hand for sale. He will strive to earn the good will of the public through low prices and prompt service. Henry G. Gütter. 8 April." The advertisement was repeated in the issues of 15 and 22 April (nos. 29–30). Levering, 634, says that Gütter's shop was originally located on Main Street (adjacent to Paulus' house), and then moved to Broad Street. Gütter most likely lived in the same building as his Broad Street music store, or very close to it. His new lumber business, then, must have been cheek-by-jowl with the music store. Later the lumber business was removed to South Bethlehem, along the canal (see fig. 5).

33. Documents concerning transactions with the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies reveal that Gütter sold the institution cloth goods in addition to musical instruments, music books, and lumber (see below, n. 36).

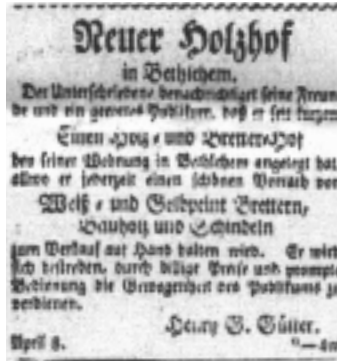


Figure 4. Advertisement in *Der Friedens-Bothe*, 8 April 1825. Courtesy of Allentown, Pa., Public Library.

language Easton (Pa.) *Centinel*, in addition to the usual musical instruments, “Nuremberg toys, all of which will be sold single or by the dozen” and “a good assortment of White Pine, Yellow Pine, Cherry and Poplar [*sic*] Boards, Scantling, Planks and Shingles.”³⁴ In 1846, not long before his death, Gütter placed another advertisement in *Der Friedens-Bothe*. Perhaps it is significant that this advertisement devotes more space to his coal and lumber business in South Bethlehem and places this aspect of his enterprise at the top, while musical instruments—at his “old” location in Bethlehem—are relegated to the bottom (fig. 5).³⁵ Keyboard

34. Easton (Pa.) *Centinel*, 20 and 27 December, 1833.

35. 7 January 1846 (Jahrgang 34, no. 1). Translation (by the author): “Lumber and Coal Yard in South Bethlehem. The undersigned, residing in the city of Bethlehem, notifies his esteemed public that he presently has at his lumber and coal yard, along the canal in South Bethlehem, a complete assortment of lumber and coal of all types, which he offers for sale to the public at low prices. His lumber consists of white pine, yellow pine, poplar, and cherry boards, and hemlock fence-boards from eleven to twenty feet long, hemlock beams and rafters, yellow pine, white pine, and hemlock lumber of various lengths and thicknesses, oak planks and small-dimension lumber, as well as a very large selection of white pine and spruce shingles and masonry laths. He also takes orders for hemlock for barns and houses and promises to obtain the best quality [material] at the lowest price. He also has on hand cedar wood for cooperage, such as: kindling, staves, shingles, and hoops.

“Piano fortes. He has just received a new supply of pianofortes of excellent craftsmanship and tone. The instruments have been produced by a master who has received the gold premium medal for his work. He also has a large assortment of other instruments such as: violins, basses, guitars, horns, trumpets, cornets, trombones, cymbals, flutes, clarinets, fifes, drums, violin strings, [and] music books of all kinds, all of which articles are offered to the public at low prices at his old location in Bethlehem, by Henry G. Gütter. Bethlehem, 7 January.” The advertisement ran in *Der Friedens-Bothe* weekly through 18 February (Jahrgang 34, no. 7). Gütter’s lumber and coal business

Gütter ran a thriving music business in Bethlehem. As the presence of several instruments bearing his name in Moravian-related collections reveals, he used his church connections to further his business interests. Further confirmation exists in the form of autograph documents concerning the sale of numerous items, musical and otherwise, to the Moravian congregation in Salem, North Carolina, and the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies in Bethlehem.³⁶ Figures 6 and 7 are itemized bills of sale, dated 1843 and 1846 respectively, for various items, mostly music-related, shipped to Salem. The 1846 bill is written in a curious mixture of German and English (i.e., *Seiten*, “strings,” and *pamend* for “payment,” fig. 7). It also bears notations in the left margin (“Church Music,” “Instr. Mus.,” “House Store,” etc.), perhaps indicating the specific accounts from which the funds were drawn.³⁷ It is odd that the 1846 bill also mentions the sale of coal (see fig. 7), which would have to have been shipped nearly 500 miles from Bethlehem to Salem.

A successful businessman, Gütter also became a prominent citizen in Bethlehem. In 1824 he married Frederica Brunner in Nazareth (approximately ten miles north of Bethlehem). The couple had four daughters and adopted a fifth.³⁸ When Bethlehem was incorporated as a borough

36. Copies of two documents were graciously shared with me by Jewel A. Smith. The documents will appear in her forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation, “Music, Women, and Pianos at the Moravian Young Ladies’ Seminary in Antebellum Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (1815–1860)” (University of Cincinnati). Dated 1834 and 1841 respectively, they are bills of sale addressed to the principal of the seminary. They mention musical items such as guitars, guitar strings, guitar cases, a piano, a violin bow, a tuning fork, and various books of music as well as such non-musical items as pencils, quills, cloth, fenceposts, and pine boards. Bethlehem, Moravian Archives, Northern Province, Box “Fem. Sem.: 1789–1877, Bills, A–L,” folder “Henry Guetter (merchant—musical instruments, music, and hats).”

37. Winston-Salem, N.C., Moravian Music Foundation, miscellaneous accounts. The 1846 bill is identified on the reverse side, “No 551 / Henry Gütters Beth / \$42.79 / [illegible] Oct. 5 1846 / Journal Oct. 31.” Charles Kluge, to whom the 1843 bill is addressed, was administrator of Home Moravian Church in Salem in the 1840s. Another document in the Moravian Music Foundation, signed “Henry G Guetter” and dated “Bethlehem April 6th 1833,” is a hand-receipt for some musical items, addressed to Rev. Josua Bonner (1839–78), who was bookkeeper at Salem Academy and also music director and organist at Home Moravian Church. My thanks to C. Daniel Crews of the Moravian Archives, Southern Province, in Winston-Salem (oral communication, 22 November 2000), for information on Kluge and Bonner.

38. Bethlehem, Moravian Archives, Church Register, 4 (1838–54): 204. The adopted daughter, Mathilde Anne Gütter, née Parkir [*?sic*], was born in Philadelphia in 1827 and baptized in Bethlehem 9 March 1845: see *ibid.*, *Tauf Register der Erwachsenen*, 143. A photograph of Frederica Brunner Gütter, taken when she was an elderly woman, is in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem. Another daughter, Caroline Angelica Gütter, was baptized 13 March 1842 (*ibid.*, *Tauf Register*, 21). Possibly she is identical to “Miss Carrie V.

Rev. Charles Kluge To Henry G. Guetter

Feb 2 1840.	Sundry Musical Instruments	\$85.	62 1/2
January 2 1842.	12 pin Piano preceptors	4.	00
July 11	1 Roll Piano wire	00	50
January 3 1843.	3 Ophreas Lyra	\$9	00
	1 Sacred Melodies	1.	50
	1 Gems of Melodies	00	75
		11	25
		Nett	7. 50
Feb 11	6 pin Piano preceptors	2	00
May 13	5 Long roll Piano wire 71	4	50
	1 do do do do	00	8 1/2
Aug 19.	3 Roll Violin Strings for Church	3	00
		\$	58. 00
	3 Years interest on \$35 82		06 42
		\$	64. 42

August 26th 1843

Received for ament
Henry G. Guetter

Figure 6. Itemized account bill, Rev. Charles Kluge to Henry G. Guetter, dated 26 August 1843, in Gütter's hand. Winston-Salem, N.C., Moravian Music Foundation, miscellaneous accounts. Reproduced by permission.

Guetter of Bethlehem Pa," to whom James Bellak dedicated his *Grand Operatic Medley for 2 Performers on the Piano* (New York: J. L. Peters, n.d.). (The author wishes to thank America's Shrine to Music Museum, Vermillion, S.D., for supplying a photocopy of this composition, which must have been published prior to Caroline Gütter's marriage in 1864.) According to information generously provided by Jewel Smith, Carrie Guetter entered the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies in 1855; she married Abr[aham] S. Schropp in 1864. Compounding the confusion surrounding this Gütter daughter, Rufus Grider's "Record of Names" of musicians active in Bethlehem in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Grider, 41) identifies her as "Caroline E. Guetter," soprano,

Rev. J. Jacobsen To Henry G. Guetter

Januar 17	2	1/2 Duk Contra Bass Leitun	\$2. 12 1/2
1843	1	Roll Piano Strak	00 37 1/2
Februar 24	2	Piano Preceptor	2 00 -
Sept 27	2	Rollen Piano Strak	00 50 -
1844	1	Beyant. Piano Preceptor	3. 75 -
March 18	2	Rollen Piano Strak	1 00 -
1845	2	ton Coals for Fradruk	6 00 -
Aug 8	2	ton Coals. Deto	1 00 -
Sept 19	1	Duk Leitun E Leitun	2 00 -
Oct	5	1/2 Duk 9 A - 2	1 00 -
	5	10 Duk 2 8 G Leitun	00 62 1/2
18	3	Rollen Piano Strak	1 00 -
	1	Guine Music fagiv	00 75 -
Dec 14	1	Clarinet	6 00 -
1846	1	Buch Music fagiv	00 75 -
april 25	1	Piano Music	1 00 -
May 9	1	Buch Music fagiv	4. 50 -
			<hr/>
			\$40. 37 1/2
one year interest			2 42
			<hr/>
			\$42. 79

Bethlehem Octo 5th 1846

1 book Music fagiv 75
2 1/2 1/2

Paid payment

To

Church Mens. - 2. 12 1/2
House Nov - 2. 75

Henry G. Guetter

Figure 7. Itemized account bill, Rev. J. Jacobsen to Henry G. Guetter, dated 5 October 1846, in Gütter's hand. Winston-Salem, N.C., Moravian Music Foundation, miscellaneous accounts. Reproduced by permission.

born in 1842; Grider also mentions Caroline's marriage to "Ab'm S. Schropp." Farrar (p. 7) says that Gütter had eleven daughters, but this may be the result of confusion with another family with a similar name, "Getter." Gütter's death notice mentions only four [non-adoptive] daughters: see Bethlehem, Moravian Archives, Church Register 1838-54, *Tauf Register*, 21.

in 1845, he was a member of the first town council.³⁹ He played clarinet in the Columbian Band, a local ensemble that supported the 97th Regiment of the Pennsylvania militia.⁴⁰ He died 8 July 1847, at the age of 50, in a wagon accident near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, while visiting one of his daughters, who was attending the boarding school in nearby Lititz.⁴¹

What motivated the young Heinrich Gottlob Gütter to emigrate from Neukirchen to Bethlehem? Any young man of his day might have been attracted by the prospect of travel to foreign shores, particularly with the assurance of a warm welcome from a close relative at the end of the journey. But there is reason to believe that he had a specific plan in mind—to establish an American branch of the Gütter family firm. We know that there were many instrument-making Gütters in Neukirchen, but the only evidence I have found for a formally constituted family “firm” comes from Karel Jalovec, who cites a Neukirchen instrument-manufacturing concern known as H. F. Gütter & Söhne, describing them as “19th cent[ury] manufacturers of good instruments.”⁴² If this H. F. Gütter was Heinrich Ferdinand, Heinrich Gottlob’s father, then the latter, as one of the former’s “Söhne,” may have been a junior partner in the firm—and, apparently, its “regional manager” for the United States. Another partner in the firm—and perhaps Heinrich Gottlob’s brother—may have been Johann Heinrich Gütter (born 20 October 1800), whom Jalovec cites as “One of the organisers of the export of musical instruments to the U.S.A.”⁴³

39. Levering, 681.

40. Grider, 25.

41. For the record of Gütter’s death, see n. 20. The suggestion by some writers that he lived into the 1860s is apparently based on a misinterpretation of a passage in Levering, 701, which describes an 1863 document concerning the transfer of books from the Bethlehem Library Association to the YMCA of Bethlehem. It bears the signature of J. T. Borhek, the executor of Gütter’s estate, not Gütter himself.

42. Jalovec, 1:359. Jalovec’s entry for the firm contains a transcription of a label from an unidentified instrument: “H. F. Gütter & Söhne / in Neukirchen bÿ Adorf in Voigt.” Heinrich Ferdinand Gütter died on 29 March 1843 and was buried on 31 March. In his death notice (Markneukirchen, Pfarramt, *Kirchenregister*, 1820–1855, death register) he is described as *Musikinstrumentenmacher*. He left behind three sons (one of whom was H. G. Gütter of Bethlehem) and a daughter; his wife predeceased him.

43. Jalovec, 1:359. However, Jalovec is surely mistaken in reporting (following Lütgendorff) that this member of the Gütter family “d[ied] in the U.S.A.,” perhaps confusing him with Heinrich Gottlob.

Unlike instrument makers in large German cities such as Leipzig and Dresden, those in Neukirchen had virtually no local market, and their small village was tucked away in a mountain valley, inconvenient to major transportation routes. The lure of foreign markets was strong, and as early as the 1750s, Neukirchen makers were shipping instruments to America—not directly, but through agents in Nuremberg and Sonneberg.⁴⁴ In 1835, when a road was finally constructed from Neukirchen to Oelsnitz, approximately thirty kilometers to the north, it fulfilled the dreams of many older citizens, who were often heard to complain, “If we can only get our goods to Oelsnitz, then we can get them to America.”⁴⁵ Oelsnitz was situated near important trade routes, from whence goods could be transported to ocean ports.

Perhaps, then, the Gütter family in Neukirchen wished to establish an overseas branch, and young Heinrich Gottlob was to be their branch manager. Paulus originally may have emigrated to Bethlehem for the same reason, and other Neukirchenerers had similar ideas. As early as c. 1796, the Neukirchen musical-instrument firm of Israel Kämpffe & Söhne had dealings all over Europe, Russia, and the United States, and some of Kämpffe’s sons apparently established branches in these places.⁴⁶ Between 1815 and 1819 two brothers from another Neukirchen instrument-making family, Frederick August and Johann Georg Klemm, emigrated from Neukirchen to Philadelphia, where they set up a musical instrument shop; other members of the Klemm clan established branches in London and in Russia.⁴⁷ Around 1850, C. A. Zoebisch Jr. established a musical instrument business in New York, perhaps manufacturing some instruments locally, but primarily importing brass instruments made or brokered by members of his family in Neukirchen.⁴⁸ Perhaps it was the same sort of motivation that took various stringed-instrument makers of the Gütter family to Berlin, Stuttgart, Breslau, Vienna, and Warsaw.⁴⁹

44. Wild, *Geschichte von Markneukirchen*, 243.

45. “Wenn wir unsere Waren nur erst bis Oelsnitz haben, dann kommen sie auch nach Amerika” (Crasselt and Hellriegel, 71).

46. Wild, *Geschichte von Markneukirchen*, 235.

47. *Ibid.*, 236.

48. Waterhouse, 445. Concerning Zoebisch, see also Mike Longworth, *Martin Guitars: A History* (Nazareth, Pa.: the author, 1975), 5; and Lloyd P. Farrar, “Under the Crown & Eagle,” *Newsletter of the American Musical Instrument Society* 13/1 (February 1984): 2–3.

49. Jalovec, 1:358–60.

It seems, then, that there was a Gütter family concern in Neukirchen engaged in wholesaling musical instruments. Perhaps they accepted instruments from various family members for overseas shipment. This could explain the presence of the simple family name “Gütter”—with no Christian name—on three of the instruments listed in figure 1. It is also possible that the Gütter family concern bought up instruments from various small craftsmen in the Neukirchen area, as was certainly done by other local wholesalers later in the century.⁵⁰ According to Herbert Heyde, independent craftsmen had little choice but to consign their instruments to wholesalers, who marked up the price by as much as 100 percent. The domestic market was in a depressed state by the mid-nineteenth century, and some fifty percent of Neukirchen production was destined for America.⁵¹

The Instruments

Let us now take a closer look at the surviving instruments bearing the Gütter name. Given the wide variety of instruments mentioned by H. G. Gütter in various newspaper advertisements (see figs. 3 and 5) as well as the activities of several Gütters as violin makers back in Neukirchen, it is curious that, with a single exception, the only Gütter instruments that survive in American collections are woodwinds. Of course it is possible that only those instruments from the Gütter family firm in Neukirchen were stamped with the Gütter name. Instruments obtained elsewhere—and therefore stamped with other names or bearing no label at all—may also have passed through Heinrich Gütter’s shop in Bethlehem.

For the most part, Gütter’s instruments are rather ordinary examples of their respective species—average-quality merchandise of the early nineteenth century. His woodwind instruments in general are slightly old-fashioned in their design, largely reflecting late eighteenth-century styles of construction rather than the latest developments in Europe. They were made and sold primarily for amateur use, to Moravian communities and also to independent musicians in the Bethlehem area. Gütter’s customers sought well-made, serviceable instruments of moderate cost.

50. Regarding the Markneukirchen firm of Paul Stark, see Heyde, “Maker’s Marks,” in Waterhouse, xxiv.

51. *Ibid.*

Clarinets. The majority (seven out of twelve) of Gütter's surviving wind instruments are clarinets, and while they represent three different pitches—B-flat, C, and E-flat—all are quite similar in construction. Each is made of boxwood with horn ferrules, originally consisted of six sections (including mouthpiece), and had five keys. Three of the clarinets—the one in Lititz and both of the Winston-Salem specimens—are incomplete. The Nazareth instrument (fig. 8) is typical of Gütter's clarinets. It has five brass keys with flat, rectangular flaps. The keys are mounted in rings and fitted with brass springs and leather pads. Its pitch, C, is stamped on three body joints, while the maker's mark appears on the bell. The instrument reveals the Germanic approach to clarinet-making in its short-tenon mouthpiece. The "cranked" f#/c# key, however, is typical of English and American clarinet design, and suggests that this instrument was built specifically for the American market.⁵² The clarinet Winston-Salem C-174, though missing its barrel joint and mouthpiece, is obviously quite similar to the Nazareth specimen; Gütter's stamp is visible on two of the sections (fig. 9). Vermillion 5722 also closely resembles the Nazareth instrument in the shape and disposition of its keys and ferrules (fig. 10). Its pitch, B-flat, is clearly identified by the letter "B" stamped on the barrel, upper joint, middle joint, and bell. According to Herbert Heyde, the middle joint of this clarinet is from a different instrument, though it might have been manufactured in the same workshop: the socket and tenon of the middle joint do not match the corresponding sockets and tenons of adjacent joints.⁵³ The resemblance of Gütter's clarinets to one in F by I. C. Adler of Neukirchen, dated "ca. 1820," in the Musikinstrumentenmuseum of the University of Leipzig (no. 4626) lends further support to the theory that H. G. Gütter acquired these instruments from sources in the Vogtland.⁵⁴

Flutes. The two Gütter flutes, one in Winston-Salem and another in Bethlehem, are pitched in C, with lowest note d'. Both are made in four sections and have a single brass key (for E-flat)—a typical design for inexpensive early nineteenth-century flutes. The Bethlehem flute has horn fittings, while those on the Winston-Salem instrument (fig. 11) are made of ivory (though one is missing and another has been repaired).

52. Written communication from Albert R. Rice, 6 January 2001.

53. Herbert Heyde, cataloger's report, in files of America's Shrine to Music Museum. Regarding this instrument, see also Farrar (June 1984), 7.

54. See Ahrens, ed., *Preise dein Glück, gesegnetes Sachsen*, 123.



Figure 8. Clarinet in C, stamped GÜTTER / BETHLEHEM / PENN. Photo courtesy of Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth, Pa.



Figure 9. Clarinet in C (#C-174), stamped GÜTTER / BETHLEHEM / PENN. Photo courtesy of Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, N.C.



Figure 10. Clarinet in B-flat (#5722), stamped GÜTTER / BETHLEHEM / PENN. Photo courtesy of America's Shrine to Music Museum.



Figure 11. Flute in C (#F-115), stamped GÜTTER. Photo courtesy of Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, N.C.

The Winston-Salem instrument blows nicely in its middle range, and plays just slightly above $a' = 440$ Hz.

It is possible that this flute is among the earlier items bearing the Gütter name. Only it and the bassoon described below bear no place-name; moreover, it is one of the few instruments stamped with mirror images of an emblem that appears to depict an elephant facing a viper (fig. 12), the other two being the straight cornett in Winston-Salem (also stamped "NEUKIRCHEN") and—possibly—the bassoon in Nazareth.⁵⁵ The bassoon and the straight cornett also share another unusual emblem, a male figure enclosed in a sickle (fig. 13). The significance of these emblems is unknown to me. The date on the cornett (1805) indicates that it was acquired by the Moravians in Salem before Heinrich Gütter established his music business in Bethlehem, perhaps through the agency of Gütter's uncle, C. G. Paulus. Since the bassoon and the Winston-Salem flute lack the "Bethlehem" stamp, and since their stamped emblems are similar to those of the Winston-Salem cornett, perhaps they too were sold by Paulus rather than Gütter. If this admittedly speculative theory is accurate, these two instruments must have been made prior to 1817, when Gütter arrived in Bethlehem—or at least before 1819/20, by which time his music business was firmly established.

Bassoon. The bassoon (fig. 14) is made of tiger maple, in four sections, with nine brass keys, mounted on brass saddles with single-leaf springs. Heinrich Grenser (1764–1813) of Dresden, perhaps the most prominent maker of such instruments at this time, built several nine-keyed bassoons (among other types),⁵⁶ and this model remained reasonably popular roughly through the 1830s. The contour of the body of Gütter's bassoon closely resembles some of the bassoons of the Grenser family, particularly one by August Grenser (1720–1807), dated 1779.⁵⁷ The latter instrument, however, originally had only five keys, and these are of a different shape than those on Gütter's bassoon, which are partly oval (teardrop) and partly spade-shaped. In fact, the keys on Gütter's bassoon may represent English influence, and suggest that this instrument,

55. The ornament flanking the maker's name on the bassoon is indistinct.

56. Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments: An Inventory of 200 Makers in International Collections* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 105–06. Dresden, located approximately 160 kilometers northeast of Neukirchen, was the capital of Saxony.

57. Paris, Musée de la musique E.188, C.505. See Phillip T. Young, *The Look of Music: Rare Musical Instruments 1500–1900* (Vancouver: Vancouver Museums & Planetarium Association, 1980), 157.

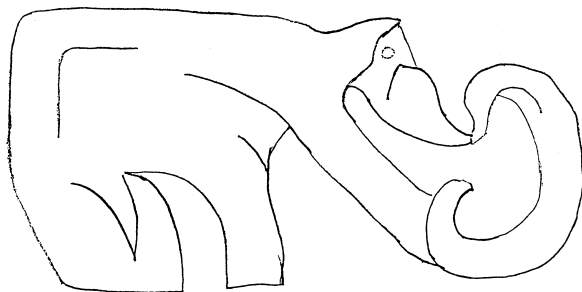


Figure 12. Elephant-and-viper emblem, from straight cornett in figure 15.

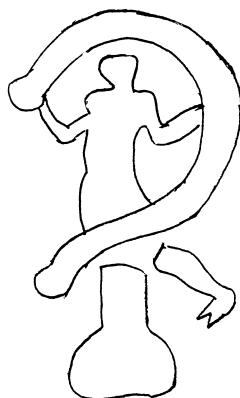


Figure 13. Man-in-sickle emblem, from straight cornett in figure 15.

like the Nazareth clarinet (see above), was built specifically for the American market.⁵⁸ The bassoon has BB-flat as its lowest note. Its German-silver bocal is a recent replacement.⁵⁹ Its stamped emblems, discussed above, suggest that it is among the earlier Gütter instruments in American collections.

Cornett. The Gütter cornett in Winston-Salem is something of a puzzle. Straight cornetts traditionally were made in a single piece, somewhat conical in bore, with a detachable cupped mouthpiece. But the Winston-Salem specimen is in three sections—jointed, rather like contemporary flutes and oboes (see fig. 15). The instrument has an ivory mouthpiece, probably original (see fig. 16), and horn ferrules. In addition to the unusual emblems stamped near the distal end of the upper joint, described above (see figs. 12, 13, and 17), an arrow pointing upwards is stamped near the proximal end of the middle joint, perhaps as an indication of proper orientation. The instrument is in excellent condition, and plays nicely, with a clear tone. It is pitched approximately at $a' = 465$ Hz. I can identify only seven instruments of similar construction in collections

58. Written communication from Albert R. Rice, 6 January 2001.

59. The bocal is listed as missing in Mayes, 47.



Figure 14. Bassoon, stamped GÜTTER. Photo courtesy of Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth, Pa.



Figure 15. Straight cornett (#Z-101). Photo courtesy of Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, N.C.

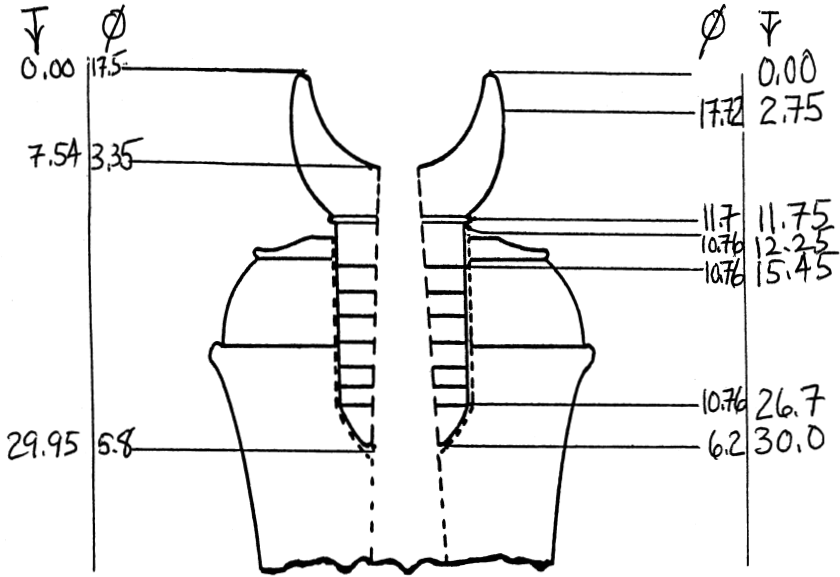


Figure 16. Mouthpiece for instrument in figure 15. Drawing by Graham Nicholson, after measurements by John McCann; reprinted by permission.



Figure 17. Detail of instrument in figure 15, showing stamp, GÜTTER / NEUKIRCHEN / 1805, and emblems: male figure in sickle (above), fleur-de-lis (below), and ??elephant facing viper (indistinct, on either side of “GÜTTER” and “NEUKIRCHEN”). Photo courtesy of Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, N.C.

around the world.⁶⁰ This is one of only two Gütter wind instruments known to me that bears a date—1805—and the only one specifically marked “Neukirchen.” No cornett known to exist anywhere bears a later date (historical reproductions excluded);⁶¹ moreover, this instrument and its unsigned companion in Winston-Salem (Wachovia Museum Z-102, a curved cornett) are the only surviving representatives of their species known to have been used in the United States. We might be inclined to assign the straight cornett to Johann Georg Gütter, Heinrich Gottlob’s grandfather, who in 1805 was almost certainly still active as a maker. But if Johann Georg Gütter was such a notable maker of woodwind instruments, would he not sign his instruments with his full name? The question is rhetorical and the answer, unfortunately, conjectural. Perhaps the instrument was made by Johann Georg Gütter; perhaps it was made by another member of the Gütter family; perhaps it was roughed out by an apprentice and then finished or fine-tuned by Johann Georg; or perhaps it was made by someone else altogether, and then consigned to the Gütter firm. Interestingly, there is in a private collection a straight cornett in three sections that is very similar to the Gütter instrument, judging from the photo in Edward H. Tarr’s catalog. It is signed “C. F. PAULUS / NEUKIRCHEN.” I cannot precisely identify C. F. Paulus, but we have already observed a marital connection between the Paulus and Gütter families.⁶²

Serpent. The serpent in Lititz is a rather conservative design for the early nineteenth century (fig. 18). Pitched in C, it has six fingerholes

60. See Edward H. Tarr, “Ein Katalog erhaltene Zinken,” *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 5 (1981): 11–262. Of particular significance for the present study, because of their similarity to the Gütter cornett (i.e., their three-piece construction), are specimens by Hetsch of Urach (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum MIR 34, dated c. 1840; see Tarr, 181, and also Waterhouse, 174, who identifies the maker as Carl Friedrich Hetsch, 1769–1843), Johann Wolfgang Hoe of Hof an der Saale (Germanisches Nationalmuseum MI 113, dated c. 1765; Tarr, 177), C. F. Paulus of Neukirchen (Basel, private collection, dated eighteenth/nineteenth century; Tarr, 50–51 [with photos]), Wolfgang Thoma of Bayreuth (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesmuseum 1981-76, dated mid-eighteenth century; Tarr, 277 [with photos]), and anonymous specimens in Nuremberg (Germanisches Nationalmuseum MIR 33, dated late eighteenth century; Tarr, 181) and Munich (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum Mu 101, dated nineteenth century; Tarr, 158–59 [with photos]).

61. See Tarr. However, among surviving instruments, undated cornetts outnumber dated specimens by a substantial margin.

62. For what it is worth, the cornett by C. F. Paulus, like some of Gütter’s instruments (see fig. 1), has the mark of a trefoil or fleur-de-lis: see Tarr, 50–51.



Figure 18. Serpent (#LIT 11), stamped H G GÜTTER / BETHLEHEM / PENN. Photo courtesy of Moravian Church, Lititz, Pa.

and one brass key, for C#. The relatively compact folding of the tube is characteristic of English rather than Continental serpent design, and suggests that this instrument, like the clarinets and bassoon mentioned above, may have been built specifically for the American market.⁶³ The curved brass mouthpipe extends from a brass ferrule at the proximal end of the tube, and a narrow brass band on the lowest curve of the instrument supports a small ring, intended to receive a hook. The instrument is made of two pieces of pearwood, hollowed out and fastened together, covered with black leather. The mouthpiece is almost certainly not original.⁶⁴ The bell end has been decorated in a snake motif, showing the snake's eyes, head, and mouth, with gold paint trimmed in red. The inside of the bell has been painted red.

Contrabass. The contrabass in Winston-Salem (B-641; fig. 19) has been described in two articles by Frederick Selch,⁶⁵ who suggests that at least three additional contrabasses in American collections, all unsigned, may also have been made or sold by Gütter.⁶⁶ Selch notes the similarity of the Gütter instrument(s) to those of the New Hampshire builder William Darracutt—particularly the “attached” (discontinuous) f-holes (fig. 20)—but also says that Winston-Salem B-641 “exhibits the unmistakable features of Saxon bass making”;⁶⁷ therefore the Gütter bass(es), like the Gütter woodwinds, may have come from Neukirchen. Alternatively, they might have been made by Christian Frederick Hartmann of Nazareth, another immigrant from the Vogtland.⁶⁸ The Winston-Salem bass has four strings.⁶⁹ Each of its four wooden pegs fits into a cog mechanism made of brass; a wing-style machine screw adjacent to each wooden peg facilitates fine-tuning (fig. 21).⁷⁰ Four wooden buttons have been affixed

63. See Reginald Morley-Pegge, Philip Bate, and Stephen J. Weston, “Serpent,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 23:140–46, at p. 142.

64. See Mayes, 54–55, and photo, 173.

65. See the two articles by Selch cited in n. 1, above.

66. According to Selch (personal communication, 26 February 2001), two such instruments are owned by the Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth. Another is the property of the Moravian Museum in Bethlehem, but is not on display.

67. Selch, “Moravian Musicians and Musical Instrument Makers,” 182.

68. *Ibid.*, 187.

69. Selch (*ibid.*, 182) says that the instrument originally had only three strings. However, the instrument's pegbox appears to be original, and appears to have been designed to accommodate four strings.

70. The metal parts possibly are not original.



Figure 19. Contrabass (#B-641). Photo courtesy of Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, N.C.



Figure 20. Detail of instrument in figure 19, showing attached f-hole. Photo courtesy of Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, N.C.



Figure 21. Detail of instrument in figure 19, showing metal screw and cog. Photo courtesy of Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, N.C.

to each side of the instrument in order to protect it while resting on the floor. A label attached inside the back of this bass, translated from the German, reads, “Heinr. Gottlob Gütter in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in North America offers in addition diverse musical instruments” (fig. 22). This legend is an advertising slogan; it does not establish Gütter as the maker of the instrument.⁷¹

Establishing the manner in which Gütter’s instruments were used in Moravian communities is at once both an easy and a difficult task.⁷² Most of them probably were used in the *collegia musica*—ensembles for secular music-making that existed in the more substantial Moravian settlements—and later in local bands. Such a case is easy to posit for Gütter’s flutes, clarinets, bassoon, contrabass, and even the serpent. The cornett, however, presents a special problem. As mentioned previously, there is a companion instrument in Winston-Salem—a curved cornett bearing no maker’s mark or date. Some secondary sources attribute the curved cornett to Gütter, assign to it the same date (1805), and assert that both cornetts were ordered at the same time, though I have found no evidence to support these claims.⁷³ This curved cornett follows the usual form for the instrument (though it appears to be made of a single

71. Selch, however, reports that a bill from Salem dated 1829 records that \$57.10 was paid “to Gütter for *making* Contrabass” (emphasis added): see “Moravian Musicians and Musical Instrument Makers,” 194, n. 20. I have been unable to locate such a record in the Moravian Music Foundation or in the Moravian Archives, Southern Province.

72. Though it is difficult to be certain, most of the instruments marked “Gütter” in Moravian-related collections were probably purchased by their respective communities for community use. This is almost certainly true of all the Gütter instruments in the Wachovia Museum in Winston-Salem (even though the contrabass subsequently passed through the hands of Bernard J. Pfohl [1866–1960], long-time director of the Salem Band, prior to its acquisition by the Museum). According to Mayes (32–35, 46–47, and 54–55), all the Gütter instruments in Moravian-related collections in Pennsylvania museums (except for the flute in Bethlehem, acquired after the completion of Mayes’ thesis; see fig. 1) similarly derived from local Moravian church collections. The clarinet in Vermillion, like the flute in Bethlehem, was acquired from a private collector.

73. See Pressley, 73–76. Pressley says that the straight cornett “was ordered from the Moravian instrument maker H. Georg Gütter, Neukirchen, Germany. . . . Another *Zink* [i.e., the curved cornett, Z-102] was received at the same time”; however, he offers no documentation. He further states that the two cornetts have identical signatures. Pressley is thus the likely source for subsequent errors concerning the provenance of the curved cornett: see Tarr, 261 and Farrar (June 1984), 7. Waterhouse, 150, ascribes both cornetts to “Gütter, H. . . fl. Neukirchen 1805.”



Figure 22. Detail of instrument in figure 19, showing label affixed to back plate. Photo courtesy of Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, N.C.

piece, rather than two pieces glued together as in most cornetts of this type⁷⁴): it has no medial joints, and is covered with parchment.

The Winston-Salem cornetts show few signs of wear. The straight cornett in particular is in excellent condition, and the deterioration in the mouthpiece of the curved cornett may be the result of the ravages of time rather than excessive use. But even if these instruments were used infrequently, why did the practical-minded Moravians of Salem acquire them? There is only one musical source in the Moravian collections in the United States that specifies cornett—a score copied by Johannes Herbst (1735–1812) but never used in performance.⁷⁵ However, cor-

74. Tarr, 261.

75. In the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, N.C., there is a manuscript score (#XXXIV) of the the aria “Mein stille Abend ist gekommen” from the oratorio *Lazarus*, by Johann Heinrich Rolle (1716–85). The performing forces required are soprano, alto, tenor (solo), and bass voices; cornett, three trombones, two bassoons, two violins, viola, and basso continuo. Michael Collver, whom I thank for graciously supplying this information, dates the score “after 1778.” Collver’s personal communication of 13 July 1999 corrects a tiny but significant typographical error in Michael Collver and Bruce Dickey, *A Catalog of Music for the Cornett* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 156, where this manuscript is cited as belonging to the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. (library siglum US-Ws), rather than the Moravian Music Foundation (US-WS). I also wish to thank Nola Reed Knouse, director of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, for helping me to locate this score, and for supplying information about its history.

netts traditionally have been associated with trombones, and we do know how trombones were used in Moravian communities—to accompany the singing of hymns and to announce important ceremonies, festival occasions, arrivals and departures of important personages, and particularly deaths. Although Moravian trombone ensembles at this time customarily embraced all four sizes of the instrument—soprano, alto, tenor, and bass—the Salem cornetts might have been acquired as substitutes for soprano trombones in the trombone choir. However, the Wachovia Museum also possesses a soprano trombone, signed “C. F. DUIRRSCHMIDT / IN NEUKIRCHEN 1805”—the same year as is stamped on the straight cornett. Is this a coincidence? Or did the Moravians of Salem, perhaps wishing to experiment with various timbres for the soprano part on chorales played by the trombones, order these cornetts and the soprano trombone at the same time? Another possible explanation is that the Salem cornetts represent an early move away from the trombone ensemble and toward the church band. Indeed, Salem records specifically mention a church band in 1835.⁷⁶ As the nineteenth century progressed, Salem seems at first to have used a band of mixed brasses, then later one comprising both woodwinds and brasses, a format still used by Moravian churches in the Winston-Salem area today.⁷⁷

As mentioned above, a few of the instruments described in this article may have been sold to various Moravian communities by C. G. Paulus

76. An entry from the Salem Diary for 24 September 1835, describing a school celebration, states, “On leaving the church the celebrants were greeted by the soft music of the church band playing chorale music, which continued playing sweetly for some time.” Cited in *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, vol. 8: 1823–1837, ed. Adelaide L. Fries and Douglas LeTell Rights (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1954), 4174. I have found no use of the term “band” in Salem records prior to 1835, but references to the playing of “wind instruments,” while not particularly frequent, are scattered throughout these records, even during the heyday of the trombones.

77. Donald McCorkle suggests that other brasses were added to the trombones around 1835, with woodwinds joining later: see *Moravian Music in Salem* (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1958), 45. The *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* contain no references to trombones between 24 September 1832 and 28 March 1839, but an entry for the latter date notes that the Last Supper of the Lord was commemorated, “using again for the first time for several years the custom of the blowing of a verse by the trombone choir”: see *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, vol. 9: 1838–1847, ed. Minnie J. Smith (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1964), 4449. The last reference to trombones in the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* appears in an entry for 31 October 1847, when the Salem Trombone Choir journeyed to Friedland, about ten miles away, for the dedication of a new church building. From the Salem Diary of 1847, quoted in vol. 9: 1838–1847, 4947.

prior to the establishment of H. G. Gütter's music business in Bethlehem. There is no evidence, however, that the close personal and commercial relationships Paulus and his nephew developed with the Moravian Brethren predated their departure from Neukirchen. Selch is therefore off the mark when he writes

I believe that the number of unusual personalities connected with the early, renewed [Moravian] church was the lucky result of some local proselytizing among the residents of nearby Saxony and Vogtland, especially those involved with the musical trades. This led to many professionally trained musicians, composers, players, singers, and makers arriving simultaneously in the new land.⁷⁸

Despite a vigorous and far-flung program of missionary activity directed toward the "unconverted," Moravians did not actively proselytize among their Christian brethren. Moreover, Moravian musicians, however competent, were not professionally trained in the traditional sense, and they probably would have been offended to be called "professional musicians."⁷⁹ Music was an essential and integral part of their religious, communal, and personal lives, but it was almost never a direct source of income. There is in fact no evidence that anyone in Neukirchen ever embraced the Moravian faith, at least while resident there.⁸⁰

In the present study I have identified the direct ancestors of Heinrich Gottlob Gütter and clarified his role as principally a dealer in (rather than a maker of) musical instruments in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. I have further shown that his father was probably the head of an instrument manufacturing and exporting concern in Neukirchen and that his grandfather was one of the earliest and most important makers of woodwind instruments in the Vogtland region. The study has opened a window on the Gütter family in particular, and on Neukirchen instrument

78. Selch, "Moravian Musicians and Musical Instrument Makers," 192.

79. According to Nola Reed Knouse, director of the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem (personal communication, 9 March 2000), "The very thought of 'local proselytizing,' looking for people in specific trades, would have been repugnant to the Moravians; in fact, it was generally quite difficult to get oneself accepted into the Moravian communities. An eighteenth-century Moravian prayer actually states, 'From unhallowed growth, deliver us, gracious Lord and God.'" Most of the leading Moravian musicians in the United States had trained as pastors.

80. My own research in the archives of the *Unitas fratrum* in Herrnhut, Germany, reveals that itinerant Moravian pastors who traveled through Germany as part of a movement called the "Diaspora" never reached Neukirchen, nor any of its neighboring villages such as Adorf, Klingenthal, or Schoeneck.

makers in general. The business activities of the Gütter family illustrate the beginnings of vertical integration, global marketing, private-label manufacturing, mass-media advertising, and even—to stretch a point—targeted advertising (see the label inside the contrabass, fig. 22) in the musical-instrument industry. But the survival of so many Gütter instruments in Moravian-related collections in the United States reveals also that H. G. Gütter was adept at “networking”: he used his church connections to further his commercial interests. This study also opens some avenues for further research, in particular on the influence of various families from Neukirchen and environs on the musical-instrument-making industry in the United States.⁸¹

81. One thinks immediately of such well-known names as Christian Friedrich Martin (1796–1873), the guitar maker of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, and Rudolph Wurlitzer (1831–1914), who established a leading musical instrument business first in Cincinnati, then in Chicago. But any list of those who influenced the musical growth of nineteenth-century America ought also to include, in addition to the Gütter family, such lesser lights as Christian Frederick Hartmann (1820–1893), a maker of violins, violas, and cellos who also worked for the C. F. Martin Guitar Co. in Nazareth; Franz G. Kaiser (c. 1825–1890), a Wurlitzer cousin who made brass instruments in partnership with William Kohler in Cincinnati; the Klemm brothers, John G. (1795–after 1833) and Frederick August (1797–1876), instrument importers and publishers in Philadelphia; William F. Seidel (1848–1922), founder of the Seidel Band Instrument Co. in Elkhart, Indiana; Albin Voigt (who worked for the C. F. Martin Guitar Co. before moving to Philadelphia to make violins); and Charles August Zuebisch Jr. (1824–1911), a prominent Moravian layman and founder of a New York firm specializing in brass instruments.