



The Organ Historical Society

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OPINION

Jonathan Ambrosino

Historic Organ Citation

AM GRATEFUL for the many fascinating and helpful letters in response to my editorial in *The Tracker* 44:2. The issue. however, is in danger of being sidetracked. For example,

Don Olson could not have been more justified in taking me to task for getting my facts wrong, for which he and Andover Organ Company are due my apology and my humility. But in defending the work of his firm and correcting my misleading impression of what the Buffalo organ is to become, Mr. Olson has offered a remarkable defense of my point. If one could list reasons for why any organ should not receive an OHS Citation, Mr. Olson's pages-long manifest of the changes at Buffalo, both historic and present, offer far more eloquent testimony in support of my original point than anything I could have written.

The ultimate point here is not the alteration of organs; why, how and when we alter organs is another debate for another time. Altered organs and degree of alterations, however, necessarily fall at the center of any discourse regarding the nature of the OHS Citation. I find disturbing the elasticity with which some feel the official citation language can apply to organs that are no longer, strictly speaking, historic. At Saint Joseph's Cathedral in Buffalo, many will delight to hear the new Cromorne and Mounted Cornet, for instance; but when they are heard all by themselves in dialogue, who can honestly claim that we will be hearing the Centennial Organ? How can the OHS plaque endorse an organ that provides a modern experience, however ravishing? In a negative light, when the organist is playing only upon the new electronic voices at Saint Mark's, Philadelphia, what has become of G. Donald Harrison's intent? The Society neither endorses electronic imitations, nor accepts advertising from their manufacturers. Should we allow our Historic Citation to remain on an instrument that has been so compro-

Few would disagree with Mary Gifford's catalog of the Citation's attractive qualities: providing publicity, raising awareness, instilling pride, spreading the Society's name and fame.

COVER: Durward Center of Baltimore found and donated this early photograph of the 1864 E. & G. G. Hook Op. 349, of three manuals and 58 registers, which exists in poorly electrified and unplayable condition at the former South Congregational Church, Union Park, in Boston. Barbara Owen reports that the building hos been owned by the Greek Orthodox Church for many years. The case was designed by Hammatt Billings, and B. J. Lang was the organist when the organ was built. Edward Everett Hale was the minister.

Volume 45, Number 2, 2001

THE TRACKER JOURNAL OF THE ORGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

If these, however, were the only reasons to cite historic instruments, every old organ would receive a plaque regardless of acclaim or historical condition. Ms. Gifford further questions my purpose in citing three vastly different situations in support of the same principle. The choice was utterly deliberate: there can't be two bottom lines, and the same criteria should select worthy organs regardless of pedigree. A rare organ of unremarkable interest will naturally have a high historical quotient, just as a spectacular survival of a prolific builder will as well; determination of quality has always been in the hands each generation's connoisseurship. A wise culture recognizes that arbitration is temporary while actions are, too often, irreversible.

My concern is that when the Society's name is spelled out in bold letters, it needs to be for the right reasons. However worthy the goals of organ publicity and Society awareness, they must be seen as happy byproducts of the Citation program, not its central purpose. If the plaque is to mean anything, it must live up to its uncompromising language.

Ms. Gifford's quotation of the minutes is not only relevant but also helpful, as it sheds light on some of the original intentions behind the program. But one must realize that the wording of the plaque casts a vastly different meaning to the casual reader:

This organ built by ____ of ___ in the year___ has been selected for recognition as an instrument of exceptional historic merit, worthy of preservation. (signed by the OHS president and chairman of the historic organs committee) This plaque is to be held in trust for the Organ Historical Society by the owner of this organ, as long as the instrument is maintained in a manner consistent with its historical significance.

The original notion of two citations, as brought to light by Bill Van Pelt in his last editorial and endorsed by Vice President Scot Huntington, must come up again for consideration. To turn again to Buffalo, the Society can certainly honor the historic core of this organ without misleadingly indicating unaltered heirloom status. Many small organs of no particular rarity can nevertheless shine proudly for their communities through such a plaque of recognition, fulfilling the worthy brief Mary Gifford so persuasively advocates. This leaves for the primary citation the goal of marking those organs that truly stand out as our contribution to the global organbuilding legacy. Historic organs and our Historic Citation are both serious business. It is my hope that the latter be applied more rigorously to the former.

LETTERS

Editor:

The feature on the Hinners Organ Company in *The Tracker* (44:3) was most interesting. It reminded me that we had two Hinners organs (both of which are now gone) in New Albany, Indiana. Two blocks down the street from St. Mary's R. C. Church, with its 1886 Barckhoff, Calvary Methodist Church (also known as the German Methodist Church) had a 1902 10-rank Hinners of two manuals and pedal. The late Miss Ruth Ewing, who had been organist for several years at the German Methodist Church, remembered the organ as tonally pleasing

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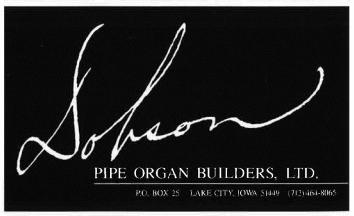
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1902 Hinners 2-10 at Calvary Methodist Church, New Albany, Indiana, destroyed by the 1937 flood of the Ohio River.

and even remembered the stoplist. During the disastrous Ohio River flood of 1937, the water completely engulfed the sanctuary of the church, with water up to the roof. The organ, of course, was ruined. The photo was given to me some years ago by the late Paul W. Seabrook, a New Albany funeral director and a member of the church. He is the gentleman seated at the left, next to the man dressed in white. The picture was taken on May 19, 1937, during a clean-up session at the church. Amazingly, the case pipes of the organ remained in place, but many other pipes floated out of the organ. The Hinners organ was junked and, after the church reopened, an electronic substitute was used until the congregation merged with Centenary Methodist Church. The building is now owned by a Seventh-day Adventist congregation.

The other Hinners organ was in St. Mark's Evangelical and Reformed Church, now the United Church of Christ. It was a three-manual, tubular pneumatic instrument. When the old building was demolished in 1957 and a new one constructed on the same site, the organ was "transplanted," but because the console was worn out, they installed a used 3-manual Pilcher console from Crescent Hill United Methodist Church in Louisville. The installation was not the greatest and gave considerable problems. In 1968, the organ was replaced with a three-manual Möller.

Keith Norrington New Albany, Indiana

Editor:

Regarding the list of Davis organs (*The Tracker* 44:4), Sixth Presbyterian Church in Newark, New Jersey, for which no information was found, was on Lafayette Street. The organist for many years was Mrs. James Chambers. In the late 1930s or early 1940s the building was sold and the membership merged with the High Street Presbyterian Church in Newark, which became the High–Sixth Presbyterian Church.

Paul O. Grammar

[Editor's Note: See "Some Notes on Davis Organs in Connecticut."]

Editor:

Regarding the Davis organ at St. Anthony's Monastery in Butler, New Jersey: the tracker organ was destroyed by water when a leak developed in the roof of the church tower. At that time, it was deemed beyond repair. In 1952, the First Church of Christ, Scientist, located in Paterson, N. J., decided to close

its doors and the ca. 1920 Steere organ was moved to St. Anthony's Church. While installing the Steere organ, John Peragallo of the Peragallo Organ Company, Paterson, decided to retain the Diapason 8' from the Davis organ. In addition, the Pedal Bourdon 16' and 8' were retained. At the time it was thought that the Steere Diapason and Bourdon were too small in scale for St. Anthony's.

In 1993 the church decided to enlarge the Steere, rescaling the Davis Diapason. The 17 bass pipes of the Diapason were retained in their decorated form as the display pipes. The balance of the Diapason rank is Davis pipework although it was re-scaled. The original Diapason 8' (Davis) was of very large scale of almost Phonon proportions.

John Murez, Jr.
Our Lady of Mt. Carmel Church
Montclair, New Jersey

Editor:

I would very much like to speak out in praise of the Frank O. Gehry organ design for the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles (*Tracker* 44:4). It is eminently suited to a seismically active area such as California — the damage from a major quake would barely be noticeable. My only criticism would be omissions from the specification: Lion King Rohr Flote and a Tinkerbell.

David H. Fox Linden Hill, New York

Some Notes on Davis Organs in Connecticut

by Barbara Owen

HE ANNOTATED DAVIS LIST in *The Tracker* 44:4 will, hope, be precedent setting for other researchers of less known builders. ne important aspect of getting such lists in print is that it invites readers to submit additions and emendations based on their own research in particular geographical areas. Having done considerable research on Connecticut organs, I would offer the following comments and additional information on the organs listed on page 14 of Mr. Davis's excellent article:

Middletown: William Cooley residence. This was undoubtedly a small chamber organ, and just the sort of thing a prosperous "gunsmith and manufacturer" would be likely to own as a domestic instrument. It is highly unlikely that this is the organ now in Mechanicsburg, for reason cited below.

East Haddam (not East Hampton): Haddam Neck Congregational Church. This organ, with a "Gothick" case similar to those shown on pages 21, 23, and 28 of the Davis article, probably dates from the 1860-65 period. It was not an original installation in the Haddam Neck church and was said to have been acquired "around 1875" from an unknown source. However, that date is not certain, and it might possibly have come from the First Congregational Church in East Haddam, which installed a 2-manual Ryder organ in 1891. There was no nameplate, but "Wm. H. Davis, Maker, 67 Macdougal St., New York" was written on the back of the music rack. The organ had been unused for some time, and in 1954 the interior portions were dismantled by Dan Eutsler, a local organ tuner. These were sold the following year to Cleveland Fisher; its subsequent history is found on page 25 of the Davis article, although it should be noted that the Nazard was added by Fisher

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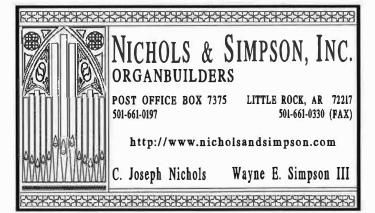


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and that the original Pedal compass was of only 13 notes. Unfortunately, the casework remained in the church for only a few years, being discarded around 1960 when the interior of the church was renovated. Although the organ is now housed in a smaller case, it will be seen from this photograph taken in 1958, that the original case was definitely of "church scale" and could not have belonged to a chamber organ.

New Canaan: St. Mark's Episcopal Church. Church histo-



Davis organ at Haddam Neck Congregational Church, East Haddam, Connecticut

ries are not always to be trusted with regard to organ terminology. While the first organ was obviously a reed organ (melodeon), it is more than likely that the organ purchased by the Rev. Long (which needed to be protected by lock and key) was in fact a pipe organ. Further research into other sources is needed.

New Haven: St. John's Episcopal Church. The information provided by Joseph Dzeda is all that is currently known about this organ, which replaced a smaller organ rented from an unknown source in 1850. More research is needed.

West Haven: Christ Episcopal Church. Mr. Dzeda is indeed correct in stating that there never was a Calvary Episcopal Church in West Haven (and errors in church and town names are certainly not unknown on organbuilders' worklists). Christ Church was founded in 1723 and its first church building erected in 1739. While it may have had an earlier organ, none is recorded until 1887, when a second-hand organ was acquired from St. Thomas's Chapel in New York. As this date coincides with the dates given on the Davis list, it is probably that this organ (possibly the 1825 Erben listed for St. Thomas's?) was rebuilt and installed by Davis. The church's present building dates from 1907 and originally had a Harry Hall organ.

Bridgeport: Parlor Organ. While it may be possible, given his connection with the Davis family, that this chamber organ might have been personally owned by the Rev. Davenport, it certainly was never in the First Presbyterian Church. This church originally had an 1840 Erben, replaced at an unknown date by a Jardine, which in turn was replaced in 1872 by a 2-manual Steer & Turner (enlarged to three manuals by the same firm two years later). Possibly the church was destroyed by fire shortly afterward, for Steer & Turner provided it with yet another 3-manual organ in 1876.

Finally, a clarification on "parlor organs." It should not be assumed that these were reed organs, for the term did not become associated with this type of instrument until later in the 19th century. The "parlor organs" cited on the worklists of Davis, Johnson, and other 19th-century organbuilders were what we today would call "chamber organs" and were simply small pipe organs intended for domestic use.

OBITUARIES

Gwendolyn Sautter Blanchard died July 4, 2001, in Columbus, Ohio. She was born August 24, 1911, in Delaware, Ohio, where she lived most of her life, graduating from Ohio Wesleyan University there in 1933 with a degree in music. She was a marimbist and pianist. In 1934, she wed Homer D. Blanchard (1912-1988) who would become a founder of the Organ Historical Society in 1956. The couple lived in Columbus; Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania; Annapolis and Hagerstown, Maryland; Oberlin, Ohio; and returned to Delaware in 1964. She relocated to Columbus in 1995. She is survived by three children: Barbara B. Nellson of Ponte Verda Beach, Florida; John Blanchard of Stanfordville, New York; and Mark Blanchard of Columbus; and five grandchildren. A memorial service was conducted at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Delaware, on July 14.

George Brandon, age 76, a long-time member of OHS, died of pneumonia on March 30, 2000, at home. A composer, hymnologist, and church musician, he published over 300 compositions, including sacred choral works based on early American folk-hymns. A native of Northern California, he was greatly interested in regional history, including early organs in this area. Among his commissioned pieces was "St. Paul's Suite," which celebrated the restoration of an 1877 Johnson & Son tracker (op. 503) at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Sacramento. Among his survivors are his wife of 45 years, Dona Lee Brandon, and daughter, Barbara Brandon Severin of Fairbanks, Alaska.

William D. Hargett of Beaumont, Texas, died on December 27, 2000, of lung cancer. Retired as a chemist from PPG Industries, he frequently attended OHS conventions and had been a member for many years. He was born April 3, 1930, in Glasgow, Kentucky, and lived for decades in Texas, pursuing his interests in wildflowers, as a pilot, and in music, especially at St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Beaumont, where he specified memorial gifts may be made to the Music Fund. He is survived by three cousins.

Otto Hofmann, a pioneer of the organ reform movement and an active organbuilder in Texas before his retirement, died May 12, 2001, at South Austin Hospital, Austin, Texas, of congestive heart failure. He was born near Kyle, Texas, December 9, 1918, of German immigrant parents. He is survived by his former wife and friend Margret and seven children.

James D. Holloway, university organist and professor of music at Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, Washington, died May 17, 2001, on the campus of PLU. He was the random victim of a gunman who committed suicide. Dr. Holloway played for the 1997 OHS convention and lectured at the Seattle AGO national convention on recently discovered organ scores by German Romantic composers. He had served on the PLU faculty and for ten years as music minister at Trinity Lutheran Church, Tacoma, before succeeding David Dahl in the position at PLU in 2000. He pursued avid interests in choral conducting and church music and was president of the Western United States region of the Association of Lutheran Church Musicians. A memorial service was conducted at PLU on May 21.

Guy Thérien, of Saint-Hyacinthe, Québec, died on May 11, 2001, at age 53, of cancer. Born November 29, 1947 in Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Québec, Mr. Thérien was a partner in the organbuilding firm of Guibault-Thérien of Saint-Hyacinthe. Among the survivors are his wife, Mme Lynne Michaut, and four children. Mass was celebrated on May 19 at the Cathedral of Saint-Hyacinthe.

Treasurer's Report

Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 2000

The Organ Historical Society passed a milestone when, for the first time in our history, annual gross income exceeded \$1-million. For the 1999-2000 Fiscal Year ending September 30, 2000, the Society's income was \$1,048,615. This increase was largely attributable to two generous bequests which benefited two of our designated funds. In December 1999, the Organ Historical Society Endowment Fund received \$102,518 from the estate of Mr. John Rice Churchill and the E. Power Biggs Fellowship Fund received a bequest of \$15,000 from the estate of Peggy Biggs, widow of E. Power Biggs. Sales through the OHS Catalog program were strong with gross sales of \$498,476 less expenses of \$392,150. Retained Earnings totaled \$250,892, about half of which was cash and half inventory. Income from memberships was also strong with the Member/Subscriber count at 4,139 for mailing the last issue in Volume 44 of The Tracker.

Balance Sheet

Respectfully submitted, David M. Barnett, *Treasurer*

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ASSETS			
Cash & Cash Equivalents	300,849.74		
Inventory	114,513.01		
Accounts Receivable	9,635.39		
Other Assets	11,166.79	436,652.93	
LIABILITIES			
Current Liabilities	18,114.11	18,114.11	
NET WORTH			
Designated Funds	167,646.54		
Retained Earnings	250,892.28	418,538.82	
Income & Expense Statement			
INCOME			
Memberships	151,138.00		
Journal and Handbook Advertising	31,045.00		
Conventions	205,371.02		
Miscellaneous	6,156.00		
Administration	5,459.39		
Merchandise Sales	498.476.34		
Interest	6,639.40		
Gifts	144,330.05	1,048,615.20	
EXPENSE			
Journal & Handbook	90,983.11		
Conventions	146,664.19		
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1885 Johnson & Son Op. 638, saved from demolition by Organ Clearing House

ORGAN UPDATE

《《 ▼ OHN BISHOP DOESN'T LOOK LIKE SUPERMAN," begins the New York Times article of July 7, 2001, about the 1885 Johnson op. 638, a 2-27 built for the First Baptist Church in Brooklyn and from which the Organ Clearing House was removing it. Bishop became the Executive Director of OCH following Alan Laufman's death in November, and saving the Brooklyn organ is the largest project and certainly the most visible one since. During the OHS

convention in Winston-Salem. Bishop appealed to OHS members present to lend money to the OCH to finance the project which the New York Times reports cost about \$25,000 to accomplish. The loans of OHS members made the salvation possible said Bishop before he left the convention and headed directly to Brooklyn on June 29. During his appeal to members, he also mentioned that the OHS Harriman Fund loans funds for such projects, resulting in on-the-spot, tax-deductible donations of \$800 to the OHS Harriman Fund. Bishop is both an accomplished organist and organbuilder, and played during the convention an 1860 Simmons & Willcox organ saved from destruction by the Organ Clearing House almost three decades ago. The Johnson organ in Brooklyn became endangered when plans to demolish the building were confirmed. OHS member Vaughn Watson contacted Bishop. The organ is for sale and is stored. Bishop estmates a turn-key restoration project will cost about \$200,000 including acquisition of the organ which stands 24 feet tall, is 21 feet wide, but is less than seven feet deep because of its uncommon "stacked" design.

The Congregational Church in Allston, MA, received the Historic Organ Citation for their 1891 Hook & Hastings, op. 1484 of two manuals and 21 "registers," on May 20. Barbara Owen presented the citation and a concert was played by OHS members Liz Carley, Richard Hill,

1885 Johnson & Son Op. 638

Quintadena

II Dolce Cornet

PEDAL 27 notes

16' Bourdon 8' Violocello

Pedal Check

16' Open Diapason

Fugara

Tremolo

8' Stopped Diapason

4' Flute Harmonique

8' Oboe and Bassoon

GREAT 58 notes

- 16' Bourdon 8' Open Diapason 8' Viola da Gamba
- Dulciana 8º Melodia
- 4' Octave 4' Flauto Traverso
- 2½ Twelfth 2' Fifteenth
- III Mixture
- 8' Trumpet
- SWELL 58 notes 16' Lieblich Gedackt Bass
- 16' Lieblich Gedackt
- 8' Open Diapason 8' Salicional
- Swell to Great Great to Pedal Swell to Pedal

Barbara Owen and Lois Regestein. The organ is original condition.

The 1933-37 Kilgen op. 5180 of four manuals and about 96 ranks at the National Shrine of the Little Flower in Royal Oak, MI, has been entirely refurbished with solid state control systems in the console and releathering of the original windchests by Pole and Kingham Organ Builders of Chatham, Ontario, assisted by Roger Mumbrue of Bloomfield Hills, MI. Tonally finished by Henry Vincent Willis prior to the original dedication recital played in 1937 by Charles Courboin, the recent project included resetting the voicing, and the work was done by Brandley Duddy (flues) and Clark Wilson (reeds). The eight divisions of the organ are installed in six concrete chambers and all manual divisions are expressive. There are no visible pipes. Five divisions of the Main Organ are located in the West Gallery behind wooden screens, and

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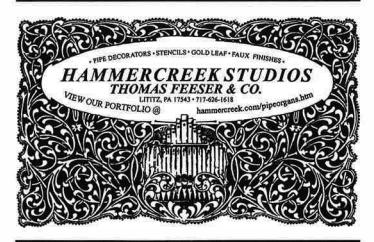
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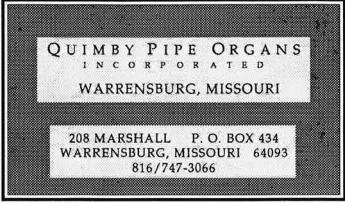
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J.W. STEFRE 1825-1900

three divisions of the Antiphonal Organ are located beneath the chancel floor, with tone openings in the floor in front of the choir stalls.

The 1917 M. P. Moller op. 2157 3m at Holy Name of Jesus Church, Worcester, MA, has been refurbished by Nobscot Organ Works of Framingham, MA. Timothy Edward Smith of Framingham played the rededication recital on June 10, 2001.



The early 17th Century organ at Smithfield, Virginia

John R. Watson, curator of musical instruments with the Colonial Williamsburg (VA) Foundation, has resigned from the organ committee of St. Luke's Church, Smithfield, VA, "because he feels the organ should

be conserved. studied and admired - but not played," reports the Washington (DC) Times of May 10, 2001. Likely the world's oldest and most intact English chamber organ (featured in an article by Barbara Owen and on the cover of The Tracker 41:2 as well as on the opening page of the website www.organsociet y.org), the instrument was the subject of an or-

gan conservation symposium and many opinions written by its participants. Richard Austin, curator of the 17th-century St. Luke's Church building, is quoted in the newspaper, "An organ isn't an organ unless it plays." Among conservators of strung keyboard instruments, Watson is known as an advocate for silencing and storing historic instruments and building replicas to play. Little more than broken glue joints and a leaky bellows prevent the Smithfield organ from playing. "Restoration" would involve much speculation because experts do not agree about crucial issues such as whether the wind system is original and, if not, which one to copy among remnants of other contemporary examples. Also, whether the stop action and even the case are original. Simply rendering the organ playable would not impinge on its current state of preservation and would require no speculative decisions on replication to an earlier

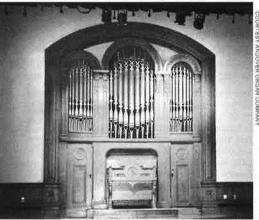
state, nor the destruction of evidence existing in its current state.

The Reuter Organ Company opened a new, 68,000-square-foot building on 7.15 acres at 1220 Timberedge Road in Lawrence, KS, on April 10. The new facility replaces three buildings at 612 New Hampshire Street in downtown Lawrence, the oldest of which was constructed in 1880s as the Wilder

> Brothers shirt factory. An Inaugural Open House is scheduled for August 12, 2001.

The 1866 E. & G. G. Hook op. 400 at Cheney Hall, Manchester, CT, has been restored by the Andover Organ Co. The organ was removed by Andover in 1987 as restoration of the building began and a contract was signed for the organ restoration in November, 1990. But, cost over-

runs on the building restoration caused work to stop on the organ restoration. Nine years later, 84-year-old John Barnini decided to donate funds for the restoration himself and he personally demon-



1866 Hook Op. 400, Cheney Hall, Manchester, CT.

1866 E. & G. G. Hook, Op. 400 GREAT PEDAL 16' Bourdon

8' Open Diapason 8' Dulciana

8' Stopped Diapason Bass 8' Melodia

Octave Fifteenth

III Mixture 8' Trumpet SWELL

8' Keraulophon 8' Stopped Diapason Bass 8' Stopped Diap, Treble 4' Flute

8' Oboe (TC) 8' Bassoon (bass of Oboe)

strated the hand-pumping mechanism at the dedication recital on June 25, 2000, which was played by four area organists. Cheney Hall was constructed in 1866 as a cultural center by Cheney Brothers Company, silk industrialists, and was designed by architect Hammat Billings (who also is credited with the design of the famous organ case for the Walcker organ at the Boston Music Hall and now in Methuen).

William T. Van Pelt

Swell to Great

Organs and Organbuilding in North Carolina In the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

Michael D. Friesen

Introduction

The organ came to North Carolina, not from the first wave of English immigrants but from the later waves of German settlers. While not great in number, the early organs there have received attention from numerous writers because of intriguing aspects of their arrival and their connection to the Moravians, whose religious, cultural, social, and economic characteristics have been an ongoing source of fruitful historical study.

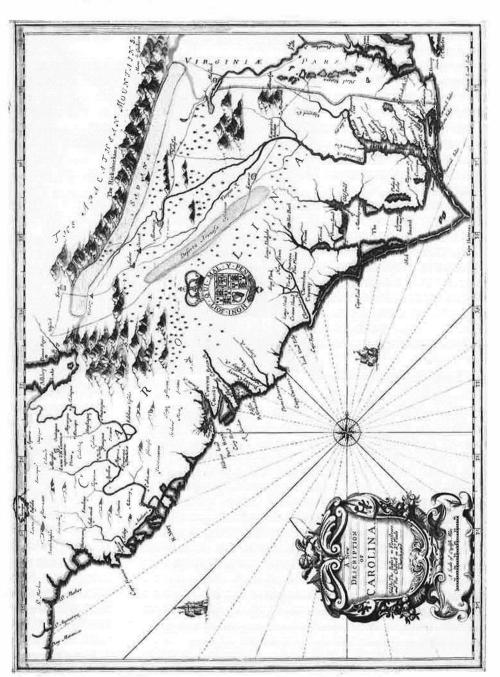
As often is the case, some of the earlier histories of the organ in North Carolina have relied on inaccurate, confusing, or incomplete sources. The discovery of additional information gives a better framework for a more accurate account and a context that may lead readers to areas of related interest or to new interpretations. This is therefore not the definitive story of the early organs in the state, but it is a more complete one.

A Brief Summary of Colonial North Carolina

North Carolina is usually considered to be the site of the first English settlement of what became the United States of America. After word spread of Christopher Columbus' 1492 voyage to the New World, England's interest in North America began with John and Sebastian Cabot's explorations in 1497-98 under the blessing of King Henry VII. However, no attempt at settlement occurred until Sir Walter Raleigh obtained a charter from Queen Elizabeth I in 1584 to establish a colony, and in 1585 the first settlement was planted on Roanoke Island on the Atlantic coast. Here in 1587, Virginia Dare was the first child to be born of English parents on American soil. But soon thereafter the small community disappeared, and it has since become known as the "Lost Colony."

The charters of 1606 and 1609 that created Virginia and led to the settlement of Jamestown brought no colonization south of it. The official recognition of a separate territory from Vir-

Michael D. Friesen is an M.A. candidate in United States History at Northern Illinois University, and specializes in the history of eighteenth and nineteenth-century American organbuilding. His work has previously appeared in The Tracker, The American Organist, and The Diapason, and he has given historical lectures to national conventions of the Organ Historical Society and the American Institute of Organbuilders. He has received two American Organ Archives fellowships, was National Secretary of the OHS from 1987 to 1991, and received its Distinguished Service Award in 1996.



This map of Carolina was published in 1676 by Thomas Basset of London.

ginia came on October 30, 1629, when King Charles I granted the "Province of Carolana" area to Sir Robert Heath, his Attorney General, for additional colonization opportunities after settlements proved to be successful in Massachusetts. (The term "Carolana" is Latin for "land of Charles.") However, no colony arose from this charter, and King Charles II, who had regained his throne in 1660 in the Restoration of the Monarchy after the Cromwellian era, declared Heath's grant to be in default. On March 24, 1663, he gave Carolana to eight wealthy benefactors known as the "Lords Proprietors." Soon thereafter the current name of Carolina came into use.

The treacherous coast with a lack of good harbors kept the northern area of Carolina from having significant port cities and retarded colonization efforts. The discovery of a good harbor farther down the coastline led to the establishment of Charles-Town (named for Charles II) in 1670, which grew quickly into prominence as the only significant Southern port (it was renamed as "Charleston" after the Revolutionary War), while colonist migration was otherwise largely diverted northward to the Chesapeake region. Ultimately, however, the chaos resulting from factional communities spread across too large a territory led the Lords Proprietors to appoint a governor of the northern region on May 9, 1712, to be called "North Carolina," who was independent of the governor of Carolina, which became "South Carolina."

The division of Carolina did not settle matters for very long. Internal disagreements and conflicting interests among the Lords Proprietors and their heirs about their holdings, coupled with incompetent local appointees, grew in a few short years to the point that the area was near administrative collapse, so in 1721 King George I exerted control over the charter, and then on July 25, 1729, King George II made North Carolina a royal colony by demanding that the proprietors sell him their rights. (Seven of the eight lords acquiesced; but one did not, which set the stage for the next wave of immigration to the region, as will be seen below.) Boundary disputes between the two Carolinas with contradictory surveys ruled the day, however, until the 1780s, ultimately being resolved when both South and North Carolina became two of the original "thirteen colonies" to form the new United States in 1788 and 1789, respectively.1

The Origins of the Moravians

Moravians² trace their beginnings to John Hus of Bohemia, one of several theologians, including Martin Luther, who tried to reform the Roman Catholic Church starting in the 15th century. His teachings were declared heretical, and he was burned at the stake in 1415. His followers, known as the Hussites, were severely persecuted and scattered, and ultimately had to worship in secret. In 1457 a band of pilgrims who had found refuge in the barony of Lititz in Bohemia, about a hundred miles east of Prague, established a communal religious society which they came to call the Unitas Fratrum (Latin for "Unity of the Brethren"). This date is considered as the formal establishment of the Moravian Church. For about one-hundred-fifty years in Bohemia and the neighboring province of Moravia (which today comprise the Czech Republic), the Bohemian Brethren, as the church was then known, flourished. Early in the 17th century, however, the Brethren were forced into exile, going mainly to Poland. The deprivations and religious oppressions of the Counter-Reformation and the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) which followed destroyed the formal church, sending its followers "underground" again.3

In 1722 a small group of Brethren left Moravia and found new refuge on the estate in German Saxony known as Berthelsdorf owned by Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), a deeply religious, wealthy Austrian nobleman. There he permitted them to establish a community, which they called Herrnhut, and which, significantly, carried two simultaneous meanings: "under the Lord's watch" and "on the watch for the Lord." Additional exiled Brethren were soon attracted to Herrnhut, which lies about forty miles east of Dresden. (The Count protected and helped other sects of Christians suffering from religious persecution who came to his lands as well. Although as a Lutheran Pietist he originally thereby only

sought to broaden Lutheranism, separate denominations nevertheless gradually emerged, and thus Nicholas Ludwig may be thought of as a pioneer in ecumenism.)

The Moravians date their church's rejuvenation to August 13, 1727, where during a worship service in the Lutheran church in Berthelsdorf, the refugees experienced a spiritual renewal. One of the communicants was Johann Gottlob Klemm, who would later emigrate to America and practice organbuilding there. Known in the German tongue as the Brüderkirche or Brüdergemeine ("Brethren" church or congregation), the name "Moravian Church" took hold in the 1730s, when English-speaking Brethren adopted it because so many of the adherents had come from Moravia. 4 Zinzendorf envisioned the creation of religious communities where social, political, and economic structures were all centered around church teachings, and to this end he helped finance the work of missionaries in numerous countries, as well as the emigration of groups of followers, who went primarily to England, the West Indies, and North America. Nicholas Ludwig eventually converted to the Moravian Church and was consecrated as one of their bishops in 1737.

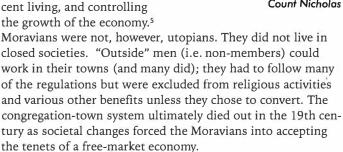
The three principal goals of Moravian settlement in America were to do missionary work among the Indians, provide property and opportunities for work for newly-arrived Moravian immigrants from Europe, and form communities that would be as self-sufficient as possible, with inhabitants devoting their labor towards the common good of everyone, while also generating income from other non-Moravian settlers through commercial trading activities that would help pay for debts and expenses of the church at large. The first settlement was started in Savannah, Georgia, in 1735 (where John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, lived from 1736 to 1737 and was influenced by the Moravians' beliefs), but constant conflict between the British and the Spanish over territorial possessions in that area led the Moravians to abandon that experiment in 1740, whereupon they turned to Pennsylvania, reasoning that the religious freedom upon which William Penn's colony was based would permit them to succeed there. That year they settled in Nazareth, located in a fertile farming area about sixty miles north of Philadelphia, on land owned by another of their patrons, George Whitefield (1714-1770), whom they had also met in Georgia in 1738.

Because of theological disagreements with Whitefield, however, in 1741 the Moravians moved on to establish their own town, purchasing 500 acres nearby. Count von Zinzendorf himself, newly arrived in the colony after having been banished from Saxony for his beliefs and his harboring of "religious fanatics," named the colony Bethlehem at the first worship service on Christmas Eve. Two years later they purchased from Whitefield the 5,000 acres that encompassed Nazareth and converted it to a Moravian settlement. These were the first two Moravian Gemein Ort ("congregation-towns") in Pennsylvania. This term meant that the church owned all property and regulated all the affairs of its citizens, but it was not the only pattern of settlement, as there were numerous other Moravian villages, principally farming communities, where this structure was not applicable. Each of the towns' names was derived from the Bible or designated after a place associated with the church. In time, other congregation-towns were started in Hope, New Jersey and Graceham, Maryland.

Moravian Social Structures and Worship Practices

Moravian communities were highly structured societies, where work and social life was organized around religious life. All labor was done both for the common good and the glory of God, and virtually all aspects of a person's activities and behavior were subject to strict church regulations.

The congregation-town owned all the land, which was leased to the residents, who could own the improvements thereon (i.e. homes and shops). Failure to conform to the rules could result in cancellation of one's lease, in effect expelling that person from the community. In addition, church officials decided what trades could be practiced in the town and how many were permitted of each at any given time. They also assigned apprenticeships and, to a great extent, controlled wages and prices. This semi-communistic approach strove to strike a balance between having sufficient products available, ensuring that the various craftsmen could earn a decent living, and controlling



Moravians grouped themselves according to their age, gender, and marital status, which divisions of the "church family" were called "choirs." (This word is from the Greek meaning "group," a term they also later used in its musical sense for vocal ensembles. The famed Moravian group playing of trombones or other wind instruments is also called a "choir".) Accordingly, there were generally seven separate choirs: one each for married couples, single men and single women (called "brothers" and "sisters," respectively), young boys and girls, and widows and widowers, although there were local variations of this pattern. Each choir had its own leaders, place of dwelling, meetings, instruction and training, schedule of religious services, and required tasks in the community. They also ate meals together. An omnipresent room in a choir house, called the Saal (literally "hall," meaning a meeting room) was where the choir worshiped. However, the groups would also gather together for common religious exercises in the community's Gemein Haus ("congregation house"), which also held a Saal as well as rooms and living quarters for the pastor. The term Saal was used deliberately by Moravians to distinguish their places of worship from the churches of other denominations. (However, as they prospered, eventually the Moravians



Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf

built free-standing churches which they referred to both as a church or a Saal.)

The Moravians' worship practices were not confined to Sundays, but imbued all of daily life. Hymn singing and prayer to accompany work activities were routine. Rather than having one specific worship service on Sunday, a series of services that occupied virtually the entire day was the norm. The closing service in the evening was known as the Gemeinstunde ("congregational hour"). In addition, they also regularly employed two other types of religious services, the Liebesmahl ("lovefeast") and the Singstunde ("hour of singing"), traditions which remain in use to this

The lovefeast is a service of thanksgiving and fellowship where the congregation sings and prays together that concurrently includes a simple meal,

usually bread baked in bun or roll fashion with coffee or tea. Its characteristics are similar to the New Testament Agape (Greek for "brotherly love") of the early Christian Church, a "meal in common" intended as a symbol of mutual charity to nourish both the soul and the body.6 The Singstunde is a worship service consisting almost entirely of hymn singing, where selected verses of multiple hymns are chosen by the presiding minister in order to create a specific devotional theme. On occasion, an expanded musical Singstunde is held that also employs anthems and instrumental accompaniment.7 The extensive hymnology of the Moravians is well-known, and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, followers would gradually learn hundreds of hymns by memory. The organ could be used for all of these services, although in the absence of an organ or organist, hymn-singing would be done a capella. The organ's role was to provide accompaniment for congregational hymn singing and as a continuo part in conjunction with other instruments for anthems, solos, or the harmonized singing of chorales. It was rarely used as a solo instrument, except for some interludes during hymn playing and occasional modest preludes before a service began, and never used for recitals until the twentieth century.

The musical traditions and practices of the Moravian Church are so rich and intertwined with their religious and social lives that even an exhaustive account of their use of organs would only be a small part of the story. Their musical practices even affected the architecture of their churches, which is yet another associated subject — for example, witness the exterior balconies of the "home" or "central" churches in Salem and

Bethlehem where trombone choirs play to call members to worship for festival services or funerals.

Usually Moravian organists were people with musical talents who primarily practiced other trades. They did not earn their living solely as church musicians until well into the 19th century, and even then would also likely be music teachers or have similar duties. Many Moravian composers were also organists. This employment characteristic, while particularly customized for the Moravian Church, was nonetheless based on a long and varied tradition of dual occupations for organists in Germany.8 Many Moravian ministers themselves were trained as organists and on occasion performed both tasks in a worship service. Some of the primary vocations of early organists in North Carolina, to cite but a few examples, included weaver, mason, shoemaker, surveyor, blacksmith, tailor, hatmaker, and apothecary.9

The German Immigration to North Carolina and the Arrival of the Moravians

John Carteret, the Earl of Granville, later Lord Granville, the Lord Proprietor who had inherited his father George's eighth-interest in North Carolina and who refused to surrender it to George II, was largely responsible for the arrival of German immigrants to this area. His land grant was a strip seventy miles deep starting from the northern border of North Carolina with Virginia, and running from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean (which seems ludicrous today, but was considered rational at the time). The north central portion of the region, later known as the Piedmont (French for "foot of the mountain"), was an area marked by low hills alternating with meadowed valleys, well-suited for upland agriculture, as distinct from the coastal plains to the east and the Appalachian mountain ranges to the west. Since much of the eastern territory was already claimed and the mountainous area was uninviting for settlement (let alone for exploration to see where the Pacific lay beyond it), those seeking to buy land concentrated their interest in the several hundred square miles of the interior. Lord Granville never came to America to inspect his holdings, however, but instead relied on agents to make land sales.

A steady influx of German-speaking peoples to the new continent in the late 17th and early 18th centuries was due to economic deprivations resulting not only from the Thirty Years' War, the effects of which lasted far beyond the end of that conflict, but also the near-constant marauding of the Palatinate by the French. This immigration gradually led to an overcrowding of land that Germans found desirable for farming in Pennsylvania, and many turned south to seek new places to settle in Virginia and North Carolina, following what is known as the "Great Wagon Road" along the Blue Ridge Mountains. By the late 1740s German settlement began primarily in portions of Lord Granville's land. (Numerous Scottish Highlanders, who were Presbyterians, established themselves in the Piedmont as well.)

In the early 1750s, Count von Zinzendorf arranged with Lord Granville to purchase 100,000 acres of his holdings for a new Moravian settlement. Granville observed that the Moravians were honest and industrious and would likely be successful settlers, thus helping increase the value of his land as it would be sold to others. In August 1752 Moravian Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg and a surveying party left Pennsylvania to start a search for the most appropriate property to buy. After much arduous exploration, the party arrived in December at a well-watered valley they deemed suitable for habitation between the Yadkin and Dan Rivers, surveyed it, and re-

turned to communicate their findings. The grassy meadows were well-suited for pasturage, the streams would power all number of mills, and the hills bore abundant hardwood trees, making the area productive for everything from dairying and crop growing to grain and saw milling and fabrication of craft articles. Contrary to impressions conveyed by some accounts of the Moravians, the Brethren were not interested in a homesteading venture focused on agriculture, but instead on ultimately developing a trade and industrial center — in other words, an urban city. 10

By August 1753 the Brethren concluded a purchase agreement for 98,985 acres from Lord Granville, and an advance party of twelve unmarried men led by Pastor Bernhardt Adam Grube left Bethlehem on October 8 for North Carolina to begin the settlement.11 They arrived at three in the afternoon on Saturday, November 17 at the site of an abandoned hunter's cabin that Bishop Spangenberg's party had discovered the previous year, set up camp, and then rested from their labors with a lovefeast. 12 The site chosen was given the name Bethabara (Hebrew for "House [or Place] of Passage"), from John 1:28, where John the Baptist had been preaching. The large tract itself the Moravians ultimately named "Wachau" (from the name of the Count's family estate in Austria, which lies northeast of Melk about 50 miles west of Vienna), which was later Latinized to "Wachovia." The first use of that term occurs in Moravian records in 1755. It is a place name no longer in official use in North Carolina, but the word survives in other contexts in the area. Because the Moravians in London had been able to gain the support of Parliament to declare their religion an "Ancient Protestant Episcopal" church in 1749, and thus be entitled to the same privileges as the Anglicans, the ecclesiastical name for Wachovia was "Dobb's Parish," named for Arthur Dobbs, Provincial Royal Governor of North Carolina at the

The Wachovia Settlements

The Moravians gradually established six communities in Wachovia at almost-regular intervals: Bethabara in 1753, Bethania in 1759, Salem in 1766, Friedberg in 1769, Friedland in 1775, and Hope in 1780 (the last for English-speaking converts). (Dates for the latter three vary in Moravian sources depending on whether a given writer uses the consecration of a Saal, the organization of a congregation, or some other event as the starting year.) Although organs ultimately were used in (and later transferred around) almost all of the Wachovia communities, capsule histories are given here for only the first three towns, along with a summary of the dates of the buildings that housed the instruments.

The first Bethabara Gemein Haus was begun in 1755 and consecrated on February 1, 1756. It was followed by a larger Gemein Haus of stone, consecrated on November 26, 1788. Bethabara (pronounced Beh-THA-bah-rah) was not intended to be the primary community of Wachovia, but rather a starting-place until the site of a central town could be determined later, a decision the Moravians approached with great deliberation.

The next settlement was started about three miles to the northwest, which differed in structure from Bethabara in that it centered on farming. Thus its inhabitants owned their land, as opposed to leasing it from the church as was the rule in congregation-towns. The place name they selected was Bethania (the Greek form of Bethany, which is Hebrew for "house of dates [or figs]," a Biblical village visited numerous times by Christ). June 12, 1759 is held as the date of Bethania's found-

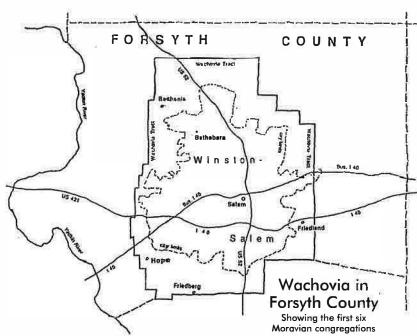
ing, based on when the site was chosen, rather than the date of March 19, 1759 when the decision was made to begin a new community, an issue not settled for almost a century thereafter. Is first Gemein Haus was a log structure with a partial field-stone foundation, the pastor and his family residing on the first floor, with worship and school classes held on the second. In 1770 the building of the second Gemein Haus began, which was of brick, this time with three levels for the parsonage on the lowest floor, the school on the second, and the Saal on the third. It was dedicated on June 23, 1771. Is

It was not until 1766 that the location of the center market town was established, about six miles southeast of Bethabara. Count von Zinzendorf had already drawn plans for its layout prior to his death and proposed the name Unitas, but ultimately a different layout and the name Salem was chosen, meaning "peace" ("salem" probably originated from the Arabic term for "peace," from which the Hebrew word "shalom" is derived, but also possibly from the Hebrew for "summit" or "completeness," which metaphors also applied to this situation). In this case it was not immediately settled; rather, a variety of buildings were erected in preparation for starting a larger community, and dwellings were not occupied until 1771. The first Gemein Haus was consecrated on November 13, 1771. Salem was soon destined to become the trading center of the Carolina backcountry, somewhat midway between Charleston, South Carolina and Petersburg, Virginia, the other closest large market centers of the time, which were still quite distant.

In spite of its status as a congregation-town, Salem played as strong an economic role for non-Moravians as it did for Moravians. Wachovia was originally part of Surry County, then Stokes County when Surry was divided, but by 1849 the number of inhabitants in the region had increased to the point that it was necessary to form additional layers of government and split off another part of the county. The new Forsyth County thereby created had to have a seat of government, and as the Moravians did not want Salem so designated, sold the State of North Carolina about fifty nearby acres to establish a secular community. The state legislature called the new county seat Winston, named after Revolutionary hero Joseph Winston. The Moravians, although not particularly happy that their community was being diluted by outside forces, nonetheless increasingly assimilated non-Moravians. In only a few years, societal influences such as this forced them to drop the congregation-town as a means of municipal administration, and Salem was thus incorporated as a city in 1856.

The establishment of tobacco processing plants in Winston beginning in 1871, however, soon dramatically boosted Winston's population and the communities effectively became conjoined by the 1880s. Although thought of as one city, Winston-Salem was not officially consolidated into a single municipality until 1913. Both Winston and Salem became the brand names for cigarettes, and although the local economy is considerably diversified from that of the late 19th century, the tobacco industry still pervades the area. Other major industries that became prominent in the area and remain so are textile mills and furniture manufacturing.

North Carolina was not destined to have large concentrations of population until the 20th century, and concomitantly, relatively little manufacturing until after Reconstruction. The



perceived unattractiveness of the state and difficulties in inland transportation (no deep and broad inland rivers ran from the Piedmont to the coast, and road-building across multiple valleys was highly laborious) resulted in few and relatively small cities. It is not surprising, therefore, that few organbuilders are known to have worked in the state, as there was not an adequate market for such craftsmen. As is true for much of the South, churches bought most of their organs from the North.

Organbuilders in North Carolina

Five organbuilders are currently known to have worked in North Carolina, four of whom had Germanic backgrounds: Joseph Ferdinand Bulitschek, Johann Jacob Loesch, and Johann and Jacob Stirewalt, all of whom built instruments for particular situations, hardly qualifying them even as regional organbuilders. The fifth organbuilder, Nathaniel Bosworth, is more of an anomaly. Bulitschek and Loesch were connected with the Moravian Church, while the Stirewalts were Lutheran. In addition, Moravian organbuilders Johann Gottlob Klemm and David Tannenberg of Pennsylvania provided three instruments to Salem in the 18th century, which also included work by Johann Philip Bachmann, Tannenberg's son-in-law and successor in Lititz. Because the preponderance of the early organ history in North Carolina is tied to the Moravian religion, it is appropriate to begin with the Moravians.

The First Organ in North Carolina

Soon after Bethabara was settled, the desire for an organ to accompany the Moravians' worship became manifest, as it is recorded that in 1758 "a congregation in Wachau" requested the home church officials in Bethlehem to supply a small instrument. This only could have been Bethabara, as it was the only Moravian settlement there at the time. The Bethlehem church, which also desired a new organ to replace an earlier, presumably smaller instrument, put the matter to a vote that September, and it was decided that organbuilder Johann Gottlob Klemm (1690-1762), newly returned to the Moravians after having lived apart from their communion for some years — in Philadelphia and New York City — should proceed with their project first. 15

Klemm delivered that organ in 1759 and another instrument in 1760 for Christian's Spring, Pennsylvania. While abso-



The 1788 Gemeinhaus, Bethabara, eventually contained the one-stop Klemm organ delivered to the Bethabara Moravians in 1762 as the first pipe organ in North Carolina. In 1798, the building received the 1772 Bulitschek organ originally located in the Salem Gemeinhaus. It now houses a modern replica (built by Charles McManis in 1971) of the 1773 Bulitschek organ which was built for Bethania but destroyed in 1942.

lutely incontrovertible evidence has not as yet been found, it seems fairly clear that Klemm did build the Wachovia instrument, starting the project for Bethabara in 1761. (Actually, all three of these instruments plus a fourth organ built for Nazareth in 1758 were constructed with the assistance of David Tannenberg [1728-1804], who had come from Berthelsdorf to Bethlehem in 1749, was apprenticing with Klemm, and would, as his successor, become the best known of the Moravian organbuilders. However, Klemm was still the "master" and Tannenberg was subordinate in accordance with the protocol regarding the Moravians' assignments of trades, and thus it is appropriate to term the instrument a Klemm organ.) A June 1761 account stated that after "the new organ for Beth." was completed, Tannenberg was requested to help build a fire engine for the town. "Beth." surely meant Bethabara, North Carolina, and not Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, as no further organs in the latter place are recorded until several years later. 16 Thus the instrument that was carried to North Carolina was probably not a pre-existing, nor perhaps imported, organ, but custom-made. It was to be Klemm's last instrument, as he died on May 5, 1762, shortly after completing it.

On April 20, 1762, Pastor Johann Michael Graff (1714-1782), his wife, and several other settlers left Bethlehem to move to Bethabara, taking the new organ with them. They arrived on June 8, and Pastor Graff, himself also an organist, soon thereafter set it up in the Saal. The Bethabara chronicler states that on July 8 "during the Singstunde in the evening we heard an organ played for the first time in Carolina, and were very happy and thankful that it had reached us safely." The organ had only one stop (probably a stopped wood rank at 8-foot pitch, although this is not certain because

no other description of the instrument survives), but it was obviously quite adequate for their purposes. In another account, it is called a "cabinet organ," a term not used in the Moravians' records for other organs, again indicating its small size.17 Neither its cost nor what party paid for the instrument — the Bethabara congregation or church officials in Pennsylvania — is known, but in 1766, the organ was valued at 15 pounds. In context with the costs associated with other organs described later in this article, this figure is further evidence that the Klemm had but one register.18 Another writer claimed that the organ was a surprise, which would indicate that it was a gift. She states: "Everybody agreed that it was better than anything we had imagined, and though it had but one register, Brother Graff's use of it was a great addition to our services and a source of much enjoyment to those of us who loved music, and most of us did." 19

The organ was re-installed in Bethabara's new, larger Gemein Haus consecrated in 1788. The Klemm organ was moved to the Single Brothers' Choir House in Salem in May 1798 (while the 1772 Bulitschek organ for the Salem Gemein Haus described below was moved to Bethabara). The Klemm instrument remained in Salem until it was given to the Friedberg church in August 1823 when the Single Brothers Choir disbanded. The organ disappeared from there about 1900, and was later said to have been allowed to go to ruin and the pipes sold or melted down. However, as the Moravians generally saved almost everything, it may not in fact have been destroyed and could very well still lie in disassembled pieces stored in a barn loft somewhere in rural North Carolina, awaiting a rediscovery.²⁰



The Single Brothers' Choir House in Salem (above) became the home in 1798 of the one-manual Klemm organ delivered to Bethabara in 1762. The half-timbered portion of the building was constructed in 1769 and the full brick portion was added in 1786.

The First North Carolina Organbuilder, Joseph Ferdinand Bulitschek

Joseph (sometimes spelled Josef) Ferdinand Bulitschek was born in Coehnon, Bohemia on December 11, 1729.21 (His surname is occasionally spelled Bullitschek, but the version with the single "l" seems to have been most often preferred in Moravian records.) His family later moved to Tumigad, Bohemia, and approaching age 16, Joseph left there on November 21, 1745, for Niesky (in Saxony), Germany, and was enrolled in the boys' school at Herrnhut. He was later trained as a carpenter, and as a single man, immigrated to America in 1754 via London, leaving there September 22 on the ship Irene, and arriving in New York City on November 16.22 Bulitschek seems to have first settled in Bethlehem, but he moved to Lititz, Pennsylvania on April 24, 1759. He then began working for David Tannenberg, thus learning the craft of organbuilding.²³ Bulitschek married Maria Charlotta Haller (1741-?) in Lititz in 1762, and the couple eventually had eight children from 1763 to 1781.24

Joseph left Lititz on June 4, 1771, and arrived in Bethania on June 28 where he was reported to be situated "temporarily." Two years later reports say he had been a "guest" all that time. By August 10, 1773, Bulitschek apparently had decided to stay permanently and sought to buy property. A year later he bought a farm outside the town. Why he left Pennsylvania is not known, but possibly it was because he wanted to build organs on his own and had been told that only Tannenberg could pursue that trade. Perhaps the growth and an improved economy in the Wachovia settlements convinced him that he could make a living at organbuilding in the South. Given how long it took him to become settled, it does not seem as if the Moravians formally planned his transfer. Rather, it appears that

he took his chances in moving. In any event, the North Carolina Moravians knew from the outset that he was an organbuilder. Several days after he arrived, the records reflect that "Bulitschek has come to no decision as yet where he wishes to stay. Bethania would probably be the most suitable place for him and his family. ... Several Brethren could sound out Bulitschek whether he could and would undertake to make a small organ for us." ²⁵

Bulitschek's first work was, however, as a cabinetmaker, as on February 26, 1772, it is recorded that he had made an "Archives closet," then being delivered to Salem. That piece of furniture may still exist, since a large walnut secretary with bookcase in the possession of the Wachovia Historical Society and presently on display in the Salem Tavern "has a history of descent" in the Southern Province of the Moravian Archives and is therefore attributed to him. 26 He also made coffins, a task which was assigned to cabinetmakers, and other pieces of furniture that survive in the Winston-Salem area are also attributed to him. Statements that he first set himself up as a wheelwright are slightly inaccurate and premature, as Bulitschek did not begin mill work until late 1773, after he finished building organs.

By December 1771, Bulitschek had been negotiating a contract for a new organ for the Saal of the Gemein haus in Salem. His negotiations were with the Bethabara Elders who acted on behalf of Salem which did not yet have a functioning congregational council. The Bethabara minutes state that "Br. Bulitschek has submitted a sketch for a small organ in Salem. It would have three stops. Estimate: 70 pounds, NC [i.e. North Carolina currency]. This matter was carried over." The Elders were very cautious and obviously could not justify spending this much, so their initial reaction was to acquire an organ the



The grave of organbuilder Joseph Bulitschek at Germanton, North Carolina, is marked by an early stone bearing the initials "J. B." as well as a recent stone engraved with a spelling variation.

same size as the Klemm instrument in Bethabara. In January 1772, the minutes taker stated "On Br. Bulitschek's plan for a small organ for Salem the following was resolved: He shall work on a small instrument of one stop, the cost of it to be charged to the present account." Finally, on February 4 Joseph was given a contract to build a two-stop organ, of which only one rank was to be initially installed.

The account of this transaction is as follows:

We have spoken with Br. Bulitschek about building a little organ for Salem. He makes the following propositions: a) to make an organ like the one in Bethabara. For this he asks 26 pounds, NC; b) If he would arrange the windchest and bellows so that another stop in the bass register could be added later (that stop, of course to be paid later) he would charge 30 pounds. If one or more additional would have to be made to take care of future expansion, the cost might possibly be 32 pounds NC. Conference approved "b." He promises to deliver the organ by the beginning or middle of May. At Br. Enerson's there is a good supply of dry walnut wood. One could give Br. Bullitschek a quantity of this in lieu of a first payment on the organ; the whole cost, however, is to be charged to the present building account and the congregation council so notified. Br. Graff is to reach an agreement with Br. Bulitschek in the name of Conference. 27

While this is a somewhat convoluted account, it does not mean that they were acquiring a three-stop organ with two preparations for 32 pounds. The true meaning becomes clearer by a subsequent agreement described below. The Salem diarist confirmed the decision, stating that "in the Conference at Bethabara it was decided to contract with Br. Bulitschek for a new organ, to cost 32 pounds Proclamation money." (The term "Proclamation Money" originated with a 1705 proclamation by Queen Anne setting the value of currency in England's American colonies; it could also refer to the rate of exchange, i.e. a monetary unit, as well as the paper bills themselves. The currency would be denominated in the name of the colony, hence the use of "NC" when speaking of North Carolina transac-

tions.)²⁸ Accordingly, Bulitschek became North Carolina's first organbuilder.

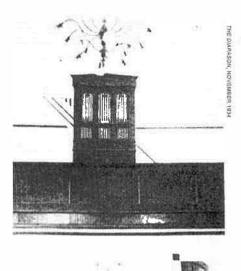
Not long thereafter the officials had reconsidered the issue, because on May 4 they agreed to pay him more money to enlarge the organ. The minutes taker stated that "concerning the new organ, it was agreed that Br. Bulitschek shall receive 10 pounds more than the 32 pounds called for in the contract, since he is making it with two stops."29 Although the specification is not known, it was a one-manual without pedal; the two registers were likely both 8-foot stops, one a stopped wood gedackt, and one an open metal viola, based on what is known of his other organ (to be discussed later in this article), although it is conceivable that the second stop was at 4-foot pitch.30 The North Carolina Moravians had to be frugal and were very deliberate about what they could afford out of many competing needs, given that they wanted to be economically self-sufficient, had debt plus annual rent on their land to pay and also contributed to mission work. It was therefore a very significant

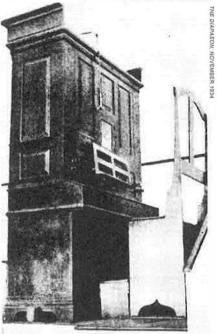
decision to go from a one stop to a two-stop instrument.

The organ was largely complete by September 9 that year, when it received its first use. The diarist stated that "Br. Bullitscheck has the new organ for Salem so far complete that one stop can be used, so in the afternoon it was brought into the Gemein Saal, and in the evening Singstunde Br. Graff played on it, giving pleasure to the entire Congregation." That it could be carted over from Joseph's shop to the Bethabara Saal, erected, and tuned in that space of time shows just how diminuitive the instrument was.³¹

On October 6, 1772, Bulitschek delivered the completed organ to Salem, and by the next day it was ready for use, having been tuned with the help of Pastor Graff. The diarist reported that "when finished, it was at once played for services, and will make them, and especially the Singstunden, more attractive. (It has two stops, is neatly made, has a very good tone, the organist can see the minister through it, and in general it is as well arranged as we could wish.)" Another chronicler stated that "services [were] rendered more pleasing and brighter by the new organ." This meant that the organ was designed to be at the rear of the Saal, and while the speaking direction of the pipes was of course toward the front, the keydesk was in an unconventional position behind the case, which was provided with a window above the music rack so that the organist could see the minister through the instrument. This arrangement was consistent with the propriety of the conduct of the service, where it was unthinkable that church musicians would be part of any "display.32

By 1781, however, there was some dissatisfaction with the sound of the organ. On April 19 the minutes-taker expounded at some length about the situation, as follows: "The musicians wish that a better tone could be given to the organ which shrieks aloud when facing the congregation. We recently found that the tone was more pleasant when the organ was turned around, but it is not safe to have it back against the wall because of the moisture which gathers there, which would injure the organ. Br. Krause thinks that he can box up the side toward the front, and can make a top which can be opened or closed at will. This will improve the tone, and was approved by







Photographs of the 1773 Bulitschek organ in Bethania Moravian Church appeared in the November, 1934, issue of The Diapason and ore reproduced at the left and center. The organ was destroyed by fire in 1942. At the right, Charles McMonis' 1971 replica of the organ shows the window through which the. organist has a view through the facade pipes to the front of the church or Saal. The replica is located in the 1788 Gemeinhous at Bethobora. The 1773 instrument was originally built for the Bethania Gemeinhaus completed in 1771 and shown In the sketch below. The pedimented cornice seen in the photographs of the original organ were added in the 19th century.

the members." By May 31 it had indeed been "improved by a box and swell." How a two-stop organ could be loud enough to "shriek" seems hard to understand, except to consider both

the restrained nature that was expected of the voicing of Moravian organs and perhaps that the organ was getting out of regulation, not just out of tune. Besides risking damage to the organ by moisture as they so properly noticed, it would have been quite strange for the pipes to speak facing the rear wall. It is telling to note that Bulitschek seems not to have been consulted on the matter, nor did he make the alterations. Perhaps having the facade boxed shut and a louver mechanism placed on the top was a treatment more ignominious to his creation than he cared to have any association with. (Brother Johann Krause was a cabinetmaker.) In their

efforts to subjugate the sound, the Salem members discovered an unintended consequence, one not entirely unexpected when something is altered to a state it was never intended to be in: later that summer the officials ordered that "the pedal to the swell on the organ shall be improved, so that its creaking does not disturb the devotions of the congregation." The last association that is recorded that Bulitschek had with his organ was on November 2, 1785, when he was engaged to come from Bethania to tune it.³⁴

The organ was reported to be in need of a pair of iron candlesticks with arms in 1793, presumably because the congregation desired to improve the lighting in the Saal, but the next year they admitted that "Our organ is in bad condition, and is affecting the singing and the instrumental music. We have long wished a new one...." One of the organists, Br. Gottlieb Schober, volunteered to go to Salisbury to see if he could sell it for a fair price, but this offer was not taken up. In addition, the church at Friedland later that year wished to buy it and began

fund-raising to that end, but this did not come to fruition, so the Bulitschek organ remained in position for the time being.³⁵ When a new Tannenberg organ finally arrived for Salem's

Gemein Haus in 1798, the story of which will be recounted later, Johann Philip Bachmann took the 1762 Klemm organ out of the Gemein Haus at Bethabara and installed it in the Saal of the Single Brothers' Choir House in Salem, then took the 1772 Bulitschek organ from Salem to the Saal in Bethabara, which he delivered, set up, and tuned all in one day on May 23, 1798. It was first used for a Singstunde the next evening. Thereafter the records are silent as to the organ's ultimate whereabouts. At some point it disappeared.

The Bethabara community gradually went economic somnolence in the late 19th and

early 20th century as Winston-Salem grew around it and farming activities were pushed further out. The town was absorbed into the city and fell largely into ruins by the mid-20th century. The site, although with a few modern encroachments, was nevertheless saved, and became Historic Bethabara Park, a National Historic Landmark, which is maintained by the city. A few of the structures (fortunately including the 1788 Gemein Haus, which survives) are restored, and the city has also replanted Bethabara's famed medicinal garden, recreated the early fort, and done other archeological work.

The Bethabara congregation itself still exists; it used the 1788 Gemein Haus until 1953, when they built a modern church nearby, and which contains a 1954 Austin organ using old parts, but there is no evidence that any of it is Bulitschek work. Inasmuch as the Moravians generally saved most everything, perhaps the 1772 Bulitschek was not destroyed and may too very well still lie in disassembled pieces stored in a barn loft somewhere in rural North Carolina, awaiting a rediscovery.



The Bethania Moravian Church built in 1809 contained the 1773 Bulitschek organ when the church burned in 1942. The current building was constructed in the general style of the original.

The old Gemein Haus now houses a modern replica of the 1773 Bulitschek organ which was built for Bethania and destroyed in 1942. The replica, based on photographs of that instrument, was constructed by Charles W. McManis in conjunction with the restoration of the Gemein Haus in 1969-70. Completed in 1971, it conveys an original visual aesthetic, although because it has an 8-4-2 chorus, which assuredly the Bulitschek did not have, the tonal aesthetic is not that which Joseph would have known some two-hundred years earlier.

The early success of Bulitschek's first instrument and the desire for an organ in his hometown of Bethania, was reponsible for Joseph's second commission for the Saal of Bethania's Gemein Haus, finished in 1771. The instrument was contracted for at the beginning of 1773, and not being ones to waste any time, the Elders mentioned their simultaneous search for an organist: ". . . Bethania would like to have an organist for the new organ they have ordered from Bulitschek." The Salem instrument had taken approximately eight months to build, and the same construction period applied to this organ. On September 10 the diarist reported that "in Bethania Br. Bullitschek placed the new organ in the Saal; one stop is so far finished that Br . [Ludwig] Meinung could play for the evening service . "37 This is confirmed in a journal kept by resident Johann Beroth, who stated that "the congregational singing has greatly improved with the new organ installation."38 It is not recorded when Joseph finished it.

Bulitschek's second organ was obviously very similar physically to the Salem instrument, being a one-manual with no pedalboard, and featuring an attached keydesk with folding cover at the rear combined with a window for the organist to see the pastor through the case, which was of solid walnut. Although the specification is also not known, it had three ranks, of which two were built at the outset and the third was a preparation. The compass was four octaves, and two of the three

registers were likely an 8-foot stopped wood gedackt plus an 8-foot open metal viola in the facade (since a photograph clearly shows 18 pipes of narrow-scale pipework arranged in three flats), while the third was possibly either a 4-foot principal or flute rank. The lower portion of the facade employed eighteen short dummy wood pipes in separate panels echoing the metal pipes above. Since there were four drawknobs, the role of the fourth one is unclear. It was somewhat offset on the right side of the keydesk and thus has been assumed to have been a "Nihil" (i.e. a non-functioning knob provided for appearance of symmetry, although in this case it

was not quite symmetrical). It may have been a bellows signal, although such a feature would hardly seem to have been necessary, given the proximity of player and bellows pumper. Since mechanicals such as tremolos were not used, it is hard to envision what else the fourth knob could have been for.

The third rank of pipes was made in 1800 by David Tannenberg, delivered to Salem, and then installed by Johann Philip Bachmann during the period that he was working on the Home Moravian Church organ to be described later. Tannenberg was to have received "40 dollars or 15 Pennsylvania pounds" for that rank, but he later complained that he had not been paid and demanded that he either be compensated or the pipes were to be returned. It seems that Bachmann failed to pay his employer, rather than the Bethania congregation failing to honor its obligation. It is not clear if this particular matter was settled, but it is known that in view of numerous arguments over Bachmann's work in Salem, the two men were thereafter on uneasy terms.³⁹

A later description of the instrument, clearly by a non-organist, sheds as much confusion as light; therein the writer states that "two of these stops include eight bass, or pedal, notes. The third has sixteen bass notes." In the absence of even a pull-down pedal, it is not clear if this meant that two of the registers shared a common 8-note bass (which they logically could have), while the other had sixteen pipes that were covered metal or wood basses before changing to open trebles, or if there was some other differentiation which is now not obviously discernible by "analysis on paper." The key dip was said to be "very slight," depressing only about one-eighth inch in playing, which would have made it a very sensitive instrument to handle. The naturals were of dark wood painted or stained black, and the accidentals had ivory tops. In addition, a swell mechanism was provided in the form of a rolling canvas shade covering the top of the case, and manipulated by a strap

running through a pulley at the top down to a pedal. The wind supply was provided not by the organist, but by a person called a *Balgentreter* ("bellows treader") standing behind the bench, who would alternatively push down two foot levers shaped somewhat like stirrups. They remained in use until 1931 when an electric blower was finally installed.⁴⁰

The Bethania congregation had outgrown their 1771 Saal by the end of that century, and accordingly, on October 22, 1806, laid the cornerstone for a free-standing church, which was completed and consecrated on March 19, 1809. The Bulitschek organ was moved into the new building on March 10. There it continued in use until November 3, 1942, when a fire destroyed the church and the organ. The exterior walls, still standing after the fire, were the basis for reconstruction of the building in its original style, which project was completed in 1945. The present organ is a 1945 Austin with later tonal changes.⁴¹

Bulitschek built only those two organs, thereafter turning his talents to milling. This perhaps suggests that there were no other customers for organs because of Bulitschek's regional isolation (which was not the case for Tannenberg in Pennsylvania, who enjoyed a constant inflow of contracts) or simply a loss of interest in organbuilding. Multiple references in subsequent years to his saw and grist mill business suggest that it flourished. He was the "only capable mill-wright" the Moravians had (although they also said "he charges a good deal and is slow").

The last mention of Bulitschek in Moravian records is February 21, 1790, the year he left Bethania, buying 300 acres in Germanton, North Carolina, about twelve miles northeast of Salem, the newly-founded county seat of Stokes County (wherein Wachovia lay; previously it was in Surry County until Stokes was split off).42 He may have become disaffected with the Moravian religion; in 1792 when his daughter Charlotta died, church officials denied his request for her to be buried in God's Acre (the name of the Moravian cemetery in Salem) because he was "no longer of the Unity." The reasons for the separation are not known. He is not mentioned as having been expelled for unacceptable conduct, as such action would be memorialized in the records, usually with the naming of names, from time to time. 43 His surname appears in multiple spelling variations in records, from Boletsheck to Bolitzcheck, which requires a careful reading of sources, and later descendants changed it to Bolejack and Bolerjack, adding further complications. In addition, his first son born in 1762 was a namesake, and since he had by then become of majority, one must also watch for Joseph "Senior" versus Joseph "Junior."

In Germanton, Joseph became involved in farming, quarrying, operating a lime kiln, and milling. For example, on October 29, 1792, Joseph and his son Joseph [Jr.] bought 10 acres "including a millseat on the townfork of Dan River" from William Fallis, a hatter, for 55 pounds. Joseph died in Germanton in 1801. His will, dated October 2, 1799, was proved in the June term of the County Court in 1801, and his death likely occurred after the March term. It has not been possible to ascertain the precise date. The will gives his occupation as "miller" but has no mention of organbuilding, and is signed "Joseph Bolicheck." His grave is marked by a simple small headstone engraved "J B" adjacent to which a modern stone marker has since been placed. The Bulitschek home in town survived until it was gutted by fire on March 12, 1987.

The early Moravian organs gained some notice in their day. For example, on November 23, 1774, some Indians came



Joseph Ferdinand Bulitschek is attributed as the builder of this Archives closet.

through Bethabara and heard the Klemm organ being played. The diarist commented that they believed that it "must be alive if it could make a sound like that," and thought that children were secreted inside who were singing. The case had to be opened to prove otherwise. Other Indians came through both Bethabara and Bethania on January 9, 1775, and heard both the Klemm and Bulitschek organs, again expressing surprise at what were utterly foreign objects to them. (The Moravians' musical activities indirectly saved them from harm by hostile Indians, however, as they later learned from friendly native Americans that certain tribes had planned attacks, but were always frightened off, thinking that their presence had been discovered and signaled by the intermittent bell-ringing and trombone playing that occurred throughout the day.) Provincial Governor William Tryon and his wife visited Bethabara on Sunday, September 20, 1767, and heard the Klemm organ during worship services, and his wife played it that afternoon. Numerous accounts of parties of soldiers are recorded as having listened to organs being played for them as they came through Wachovia during the American Revolution, which for some was the first time in their lives that they had heard an organ. Additionally, on May 31 and June 1, 1791 President George Washington visited Salem during his Southern tour, where he also heard the 1772 Bulitschek organ during a Singstunde. (Washington either liked or was intrigued by or-



The 1798 Tannenberg built for the Salem Gemeinhaus is now located in the Saal of the Single Brothers' House, Old Salem.

gans; he also visited Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, listening to the Tannenberg organ there, and he was in the audience at the dedication in 1790 of Tannenberg's instrument for Zion Lutheran Church in Philadelphia.)⁴⁶

Tannenberg's Organs for Salem

David Tannenberg built two organs for Salem, both of them built late in his career and both installed by his son-in-law and apprentice Johann Philip Bachmann (1762-1837), since Tannenberg felt that he was too old to withstand the rigors of travel from Pennsylvania to North Carolina.⁴⁷ These instruments are better known because of the attention that has been paid to Tannenberg, since he was the pre-eminent Moravian organbuilder. While more information has survived about these instruments than others and the organs themselves still exist (albeit altered), their history too needs re-telling.

By 1794, the 1772 Bulitschek organ in Salem's Gemein Haus was apparently wearing out, and accordingly, the congregation officials resolved to buy a new one that would be a little larger. Since Joseph Bulitschek had left the Brethren and there was apparently no other person in Wachovia who could build an organ, they turned to Tannenberg. On June 19 the minutes-taker reported:

Our organ is in bad condition, and is affecting the singing and the instrumental music. We have long wished a new one, and Council resolved to order one without further delay. It need have only four registers, but care must be taken that the most useful registers are selected. The case for the organ can be made here. Some difficulty was made about its cost, especially since the

town fund is behind in several payments, so it was decided to raise the money by subscription and Br. Schober made a beginning by promising 5 pounds. He also offered to go to Salisbury and see whether he could sell the old organ there for a fair price. In ordering this organ no thought need be given to the future building of a larger Saal, for even when that is built the evening meetings will be held in this one for a long time.

About a week later, on June 25, 1794, it was remarked that "by the next post a letter shall be sent to Br. Tanneberger in Lititz concerning the new organ which we wish to order." 48

Tannenberg's work, however, was in great demand and thus he had a backlog of orders. His first reply to Salem on the matter was duly noted in the minutes of September 4 that "Br. Tanneberger writes from Lititz that it will be a year and a day before he can make our new organ." But by November 27 the situation seemed different, as they were notified "that an organ can now be ordered from him which he will work on this winter. We had suggested a Gambe for one register, but he says that this is a very delicate register, that we would have no one to keep it in order, and might not be able to use it, and he proposes that we take another register, the Quinte Dene, which is also very beautiful. There will be an opportunity to send letters to Pennsylvania in about fourteen days, and we will write to him that we accept his proposal, and that he shall make preparations for the building of our organ."49 Ultimately, however, as will be seen, the Salem Brethren must have decided that they could

afford more than four stops after all, and they obtained their Gambe as well.

David ultimately vacillated about his availability for almost three years. In June 1795 Salem authorities inquired of Tannenberg about the status of their new organ, and "learned that he had so much work ahead that he could not promise to finish ours in less than two years." In March 1796, another letter from Tannenberg was read that reported "because of press of work he has not been able to begin our organ, but hopes to be able to make it next fall." That, too, was not to be, for finally in June 1797 the diarist recorded that "We hear from Br. Tanneberger in Lititz that he is now ready to begin work in earnest on the organ ordered from him long ago; that he expects

1798 David Tannenberg Organ Salem Gemein Haus Saal, Salem, North Carolina

- 8' Groß Gedact
- 8' Viola di Gamba
- 8' Quinta Dena
- 4' Principal
- 4' Flauta

The sixth knob on the console was possibly labeled "Luft" and served as a signal to the bellows pumper at the rear of the organ when wind needed to be raised.

Source: "Die Orgel auf dem alten Saal," stoplist transcribed onto the endleaf of Frederic William Marshall's book of daily texts for 1801 (Marshall papers, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem). The stops are listed here in conventional order, rather than in the sequence that Marshall wrote them down.

to finish it this summer and can send it this fall. Br. Bachmann will come to set it up in our Saal. We will write to Br. Tanneberger to make everything ready there which belongs to the organ, and in the autumn we will send a four-horse wagon for it." Yet one more disappointment followed, because in September that year Tannenberg wrote that he would not be able to finish the organ "much before Christmas," and the congregation wisely concluded that "We believe that it will then be too late to send for it: also because of the cold it can hardly be set up in our Saal in winter, so we will let it wait until spring."50

The wagon to pick up the new organ left for Lititz on March 20, 1798, and at noon on May 7 it returned safely with its cargo. Johann Philip Bachmann had traveled separately and arrived a few days earlier on May 4. He began setting it up on May 8, and on May 22 the diarist recorded that "it was finished today, and in the evening it was solemnly used for the first time, in a Singstunde with organ accompaniment, to the great pleasure of the Brethren and Sisters." While a diarist correctly noted that "it was built by the Brn. Tanneberger and Bachmann in Lititz," for convenience's sake, it is referred to as a Tannenberg, just as the 1762 instrument described earlier is referred to as a Klemm. Assisting in the installation was Johann Jacob Loesch, of whom more will be said later, and shortly after it was finished. Bachmann went back to Lititz. The diarist also noted that "the

cost of the new organ was met partly by freewill contributions from members, and partly by the diaconies which in general have been blessed this year in spite of various difficulties."⁵¹ Tannenberg is said to have charged either three hundred or one hundred-fifty pounds for this instrument. The latter is undoubtedly correct, based on known costs of other instruments.⁵²

Although just four years earlier in 1794 the congregation officials had been adamant that the existing Gemein Haus Saal was adequate for their worship needs, they had changed their minds by April 1797 and began planning for a free-standing church of larger capacity. The cornerstone was laid on June 12, 1798, and this building, finished in 1800, became later known as the Home Moravian Church. It also was to house a Tannenberg organ. The Gemein Haus organ, however, was al-



The two-manual organ built by David Tannenberg in 1800 for Home Moravian Church of Salem was removed from storage and erected in 1998-99 as part of the research conducted toward restoration of the organ. The process disclosed important information, including the identification of pipes from the 1798 Tannenberg of one-manual which had been combined in storage with parts of the larger organ.

ready ordered, and thus when it was finally installed in 1798, it was their primary instrument for only about two-and-a-half years, with the 1772 Bulitschek that preceded it having been relocated to Bethabara. After the church was opened, the 1771 Gemein Haus Saal then became, in effect, a chapel. However, by 1840 the needs of the Salem Female Academy had grown to such an extent that they were allowed to utilize the entire Gemein Haus for their purposes (it was ultimately razed in 1854 and replaced by a larger college building). Accordingly, a new wing was added onto the north side of the Home Church which contained living quarters for the pastor, archives and conference rooms, plus a "little" Saal (later called a chapel). The Tannenberg was moved to that new Saal, and the addition was dedicated on December 12, 1841. The chapel remained in use until 1912, when the church began to undergo significant alterations, resulting in the demolition of the wing and the re-



The 1800 Tannenberg of two manuals as it appeared in Home Moravian Church, Salem, in 1900. The organ was stored in the church attic in 1913. The stencilled decorations on the facade pipes were added in the 19th century.

moval to storage of the church's 1800 Tannenberg.⁵³ The 1798 Tannenberg, however, had long since been dismantled, and the records from 1866 when the organ was stored show how limited the Moravians felt their options were in the aftermath of the Civil War: "By request of the Board of Elders the expediency of either repairing or removing the Chapel Organ was taken into consideration. This organ has now for more than ten years been entirely useless, only taking up the room in the Chapel that might otherwise have been occupied by persons that attend meetings. As owing to our secluded position there is no one at hand that could undertake to repair such an instrument, and as the expense of procuring an organ builder for the express purpose of attending to the work would under our limited means at this time far exceed our ability, it was resolved unanimously to remove the instrument and store it away in a safe place, perhaps on the Church garret.54

The 1798 Tannenberg was a one-manual, five-stop instrument with detached reversed console featuring a 54-note compass (cI to f54) and no pedal and tellingly was described as being "rather complete," to use the Brethren's own words. The stoplist (see exhibit) shows what tonal resources were deemed appropriate to put in a 5-stop organ for Moravian use and thus shows a concentration on eight-foot tone and delicate chorus-building. By the early 1960s, following the successful start at restoring the original portion of the town of Salem, it was decided to restore this organ and to place it in the Saal of the

Single Brothers' House, which was also being restored, and where it could have a suitable setting. The contract was given to McManis Organs, Inc. of Kansas City, Kansas, and in 1964 Charles W. McManis and John Chrastina of the firm attempted a reconstruction of the Tannenberg. Substantial publicity about this endeavor was published, which was an initial step towards the revival of interest in Tannenberg organs and in 18th-century organs in general. Readers are referred to those articles for additional details.⁵⁵

Unfortunately, however, since the principles of proper organ restoration were in their infancy at the time, the parts of both the 1798 and the 1800 Tannenberg instruments had been amalgamated together and badly damaged by storage for years, thus being difficult to sort out, and the records were not thoroughly searched, the organ did not receive an authentic restoration. Although well-intentioned, historical misinformation led to the mistaking of a "quintadena" pipe markings to mean a "quint" type of stop, and it was not realized that short-compass parts for one of the registers meant that a common bass had been furnished for two of the stops. Accordingly, Mr. McManis wrongly assumed that the organ's chorus was 8-4-4-2²/₃-1³/₅ with the tierce rank ending at tenor C, instead of determining that there were three 8-foot stops, of which two shared a common bass, a frequent practice found in 18th and 19th-century organbuilding to save space. Because the original case plans were consulted, the exterior of the organ provides a



Home Moravian Church (center) in (Old) Salem is next door to the 1854 building of Salem College which was erected on the site of the 1771 Gemeinhaus.

visual aesthetic of its original 1798 appearance, but only three of the present five stops give a semblance of its true tonal aesthetic, the two mutations being spurious. This organ is now scheduled for re-restoration.

Moravian records do not record exactly how the contract for the second Tannenberg organ came about. On May 15, 1798, only a few days after Bachmann had arrived in Salem to set up the first Tannenberg, the diarist reported that "there should be a definite agreement with Br. Bachmann about the organ for our new church. It should probably have two manuals and pedal." This implies that they intended to contract with Bachmann to build it, not Tannenberg, but nothing further is said of the arrangements at that time. Tannenberg was in fact given the order, undoubtedly with the same understanding as before that Bachmann would install the organ, but in order to save money the Salem congregation wanted as much of it fabricated locally as possible. 56 Ultimately, it appears that Tannenberg built the chests, metal pipes, and action, while the case, bellows, and pumping mechanism, and possibly the wood pipes, were built in Salem.

About a year and a half later, November 29, 1799, a wagon arrived from Pennsylvania carrying the "windchest and other parts of our organ made in Lititz" (there is, however, more than one chest), accompanied by Bachmann as well as Jacob Fetter, a cabinetmaker of Bethlehem, who was to assist him. This was the first installment of organ parts. The plan was for the men to spend the winter working on the instrument, as the church was to be finished sometime in 1800. The Moravian historian Levin Reichel stated that Br. Van Zevely (1780-1863),

a Salem cabinetmaker, worked a year with Bachmann "building the outer organ case," whose contribution was apparently in addition to that of Br. Fetter. Vanimann Zevely (or Zively; there are numerous variant spellings of his unusual name) was an orphaned "outside" boy who was taken under the care of the Moravians in 1797 and taught cabinetmaking and he later became one of their missionaries.⁵⁷ Bachmann was also consulted about aspects of the interior design of the church during this period. However, the location of the organ had already been decided upon early on; it was to go in a gallery "on the steeple side" (i.e. at the west end of the church), at right angles to the congregation, but on the center axis of the building.⁵⁸

The next April the Salem chronicler reported that "a letter from Br. Tanneberger of Lititz was communicated. He says that a wagon from here cannot be loaded there before Whitsuntide, as he will not have finished earlier with pouring the pipes for our new organ. It was decided that the wagon should set out on the 10th of May." Of course, what was meant by "pouring" was the casting of sheets of metal for the fabrication of pipes. Almost concurrently, the overseers "discussed whether the bellows for our new organ should be made for treading or for pulling, but decided to leave it to the organ builder." The reservoirs were to be located in the attic of the church to save valuable floor space, and Bachmann decided on the (rope) pulling alternative. However, this later proved unacceptable, and in October 1802 the bellows were "changed so that they could be blown by treading in the organ gallery.⁵⁹

The organ was finished in late October 1800, and on November 3 Bachmann left for home in Pennsylvania. It was first used at the dedication of the church on November 9. According to Salem financial ledgers, the church had cost 5,785 pounds and six shillings, with an additional 794 pounds, 9 shillings, and 10 sixpence expended on the organ. Tannenberg had received somewhat more than 400 pounds, while the rest

included local materials, payments to Bachmann and his helpers, lodging, and transportation. Tannenberg complained that he did not get paid all that he deserved and sent several letters to Salem officials requesting a final accounting of expenses, which he consistently stated that both Bachmann and they refused ro provide. It is hard two centuries lacer to rake sides in this issue. Armstrong provides insight that the dispute arose from a combination of things: Bachmann's personality differences with Tannenberg,

an unrealistic expectation by Tannenberg of the estimated return he expected on a contract that was not within his sole control (and executed hundreds of miles apart over a year's time with local manufacture of parts), and Tannenberg's impatience and irritability brought on by old age.60

This two-manual, 13-rank organ featured 54-note manual compasses and a 25-note pedal compass, a reversed detached console, and a nagshead swell for the enclosed Oberwerk division. By 1845 the instrument was in need of work, and the Moravians turned to organbuilders in Philadelphia for advice about repairing and tuning it. They apparently first approached Emilius N. Scherr (1794-1874), who recommended Henry J. Corrie (1786-1858), but simultaneously warranted that Henry's son George]. (1816-1902) was "just as skillful and able" as his father and would work for \$2.50 a day instead of the \$4.00 per day rate that the senior Corrie charged. T he Salem officials took the lower offer, and that fall George repaired and tuned both Tannenberg organs during a period lasting six six-day work weeks plus two days, for which his pay and travel expenses totalled \$155.50. In addition, some consideration must have been given to making alterations in the 1800 instrument, as it is stated that "The Collegium was asked to agree to certain improvements to be added to our great organ. This is left to the Warden." It is uncertain whether Corrie thus made any tonal or mechanical changes.⁶¹

In 1870 the church was significantly remodeled, moving the pulpit to the east end and removing the balcony there, with side balconies lining the north and south walls. The Tannenberg thus became in effect a rear gallery installation. It too was mechanically and tonally altered, the work being done by William Schwarze, who was then a southern representative for organbuilder Henry Erben of New York City (and after the Erben firm's demise was in Brooklyn by the 1890s, from where he filed three organ patents). The church was also then decorated in Victorian style, and about that time the Tannenberg facade pipes were stencilled. In 1910 the organ was again renovated by one S. E. Peterson, although just exactly what work he did is not known. By 1912, remodeling the church was again planned, this time opening a portion of the north wall so

that a new chancel could be constructed therein to also contain an organ chamber and again orienting the building to the former length-wise position. A new Kimball organ was ordered from Chicago, the Tannenberg having been deemed unplayable. The Tannenberg was dismantled in 1913 and the parts were stored in various locations. The new Kimball was first used with the rededication of the church on November 30,

1913. It in turn was replaced in 1959 by the present Ae-1800 David Tannenberg Organ olian-Skinner organ.62 Many of the surviving parts of the 16' Subbaß Tannenberg, having become 16' Violon Baß badly damaged over the years, Coppel [Hauptwerk to Pedal] were reassembled and invento-Source: "Die Salemer Kirchen ried for an exhibit at the Mu-Orgel hat folgende Register,' stoplist transcribed onto the tive Arts from July 1998 to Frederic William of Marshall's book of daily texts for 1801. Note that the use of the term exhibition led to a contract for "Sub Octav" was a Tannenberg its restoration, with the organ trait; a modern reader would expect "Super Octav." The stops are listed here in conventional order, rather than in the sequence

seum of Early Southern Decora-March 1999. The success of that now planned to be installed in a new Visitors' Center for Old Salem to be finished in 2003.63 erhaps at the time that restora

tions of these two orth arolina Tannenberg organs are ac complished, all their known details from paper records to physical evidence can be thoroughly researched and studied, and an even more definitive history with detailed technical in formation would then be appropriate to be published.

Johann Jacob Loesch

that Marshall wrote them down.

The oesch family had numerous ties to the orth arolina oravians. acob oesch 22 2, the father of our organbuilding sub ect, was one of the twelve original settlers of ethabara in . e served as their *Vorsteher* business manager and was a ustice of the peace until pril of when, because of his administrative skills, he was called back to ennsylvania. esiding first in ethlehem, he moved in to a areth, serving as its farm manager and as a ustice of the peace. Two of his brothers as well as two of his sisters also ultimately came to achovia, although their lives are not recounted here.

Johann Jacob Loesch, born on June 13, 1760 in Bethabara, was the second son and the second of Jacob's five children. In spite of his given name, he is without fail referred to in Moravian records as simply "Jacob," which has sometimes resulted in researchers confusing father and son.64 After the family's return to Pennsylvania, young Jacob entered the Little Boys' boarding school at Nazareth Hall, and when he grew to apprenticeship age, he was taught gunsmithing at Christiansbrunn.65 For reasons that are not explained, in 1781 young Loesch decided to move back to North Carolina, arriving in Salem on December 18. Tellingly, one of his companions was David Tannenberg, Jr., who was the same age, and who left his organbuilding father after having been excommunicated from the Lititz congregation because of his rebellious nature.66 Whether Loesch had previously moved to Lititz and/or if he otherwise had known the Tannenbergs and seen their activities is not known, but it is clear that early on he had the opportunity to become acquainted with an organbuilder, even if he is not recorded as having worked for Tannenberg. Jacob was also trained as an organist and vocal soloist; for example, on September 8, 1782 for a lovefeast in Bethania it is recorded that "a festal Ode was sung, and Br. Jacob Loesch, who came early

Home Moravian Church, Salem, North Carolina Pedal

endleaf

Hauptwerk

- 8' Principal
- 8' Viola di Gamba
- 8' Groß Gedact
- 4' Principal Octav
- 4' Flauta
- 3' Quinte
- 2' Sub Octav

Oberwerk

- 8' Quintadena
- 8' Flauta amabile
- 4' Salicet
- 4' Flauta douce



The home of Johonn Jacob Loesch in Bethania was first constructed by others in 1775 and reconstructed by him in 1790.

from Salem, played the organ and sang the parts for the choir. 67

David Tannenberg, Jr., left Salem for Philadelphia in 1782 to build musical instruments, and Jacob worked as a locksmith for a time. Church officials discouraged him from gun-making because there was already a master gunsmith in Friedberg and because the availability of guns might attract outsiders. The war for independence from England was still being waged, and the Moravians had generally kept a neutral position about that conflict. He asked to make pewter spoons, but as that was also already being done, his request was denied. Not until March 28, 1783 with the practical end of the Revolutionary War in sight was Jacob then allowed to pursue his trade. In 1784 Loesch was assigned Christoph Vogler as an apprentice, but at the end of his training in 1787 Christoph was given the gunsmith trade, undoubtedly a blow to Jacob's pride.⁶⁸

Because he was required to support himself, Jacob received permission to try his hand at clockmaking, working for Adam Koeffler, who was principally a locksmith and gunsmith, but also a weaver and repairer of watches and clocks. This was a trade at which the talented Jacob was apparently successful: soon thereafter Adam began complaining that Loesch was drawing away customers from him. The manner in which some comments about Jacob are recorded indicate an incorrigible rebellious nature. For a diarist to record anyone as "not being satisfied with his circumstances" was serious criticism in Moravian circles, and while the elders had trouble keeping him in check, his behavior was not sufficiently poor to warrant his expulsion. Indeed, he was elected a member of the Salem Con-

gregational Council on March 7, 1782; on September 25 of that year began part-time work as the evening teacher of the boys, a calling that he continued until late in life; and he was also made master of the small fire engine on June 16, 1785.⁶⁹

Undoubtedly frustrated, on August 10, 1789, Jacob moved to Bethania where he could make clocks unhindered, as well as silverware. His command of English, not heretofore mentioned, was such that he also opened an English school for boys on October 12 of that year, an endeavor he continued for some twenty years as part of his teaching work. Presumably having found a more congenial environment, he became engaged to Susanna Leinbach, and on Sunday, February 28, 1790, they were married during the Gemeinstunde. Soon thereafter Loesch built a sturdy new house, which still exists on Main Street. In 1797 he built a town clock that was placed in the steeple of the Bethania Gemein Haus.⁷⁰

Although there are occasional references to Jacob's organ playing after 1782 (and an 1788 account that states that he also played the violin and flute), it is not until the summer of 1797 that he is mentioned in connection with organs. An entry for August 2 says that "Br. Jac. Loesch is going to come to Salem this week and start the tuning of our organ." With Bulitschek having left the Moravians in 1790 (nor would they recall him), there was no other musical instrument maker or repairer in Wachovia, so apparently the officials felt they could entrust Jacob with organ work. One suspects that the 1772 Bulitschek organ needed more than tuning, because in October the diarist reported that "Today and for several days following we could hold no services as our organ was being repaired and

tuned," which was probably continuation of the work by Loesch reported earlier.⁷¹

Then on April 3, 1798, in anticipation of the arrival of a Tannenberg organ for the Saal of the Gemein Haus, Jacob was proposed to be the local person assigned to help Johann Philip Bachmann set it up, which he presumably did. When Tannenberg furnished his second organ to Salem, installed in 1800 in the Home Church by Bachmann as noted earlier, the records are silent as to Loesch's participation. However, Bachmann must have reported Loesch's skills to Tannenberg, because in response to an 1802 request for Tannenberg himself to travel to Salem to tune the instrument, which David declined due to his old age, he stated that "according to all the description given me by Bachmann, Loesch in Bethania should be best suited to do it." Tannenberg, like any organbuilder who wants his work to sound to best advantage, was concerned that there would be someone local with the skills to tune and maintain it, and further complained that "to me it's a pity that Bachmann did not employ him when tuning." However, Tannenberg was not on good terms with Bachmann at that point, so it is hard to say based on these two comments what interaction Loesch and Bachmann may have had when the 1800 organ was installed.72

References to Loesch's organ work are very sporadic. In 1804 he was engaged to repair the Bulitschek organ of 1772 that had been moved to the Bethabara Saal in 1798, working for three days from October 10 to October 12. On April 17, 1820, congregation officials engaged Loesch to tune the two Tannenberg organs in the Saal and the church with the assistance of Br. Friedrich Meinung, who was also an organist. There were undoubtedly other occasions where Jacob did some organ repairs or tuning, as these instruments would have needed occasional maintenance and tuning at a frequency more often than what is memorialized in the records. Since there was no more need for organs in Wachovia during Loesch's lifetime, he built no instruments for them, even though he was a Moravian.

Loesch's obituary states that "he built several small organs, and made two or three pianos and other instruments." Unfortunately, only two of the organs have been identified. One was constructed in 1809 for the home of Rev. Charles Storch (1764-1831), who served Organ Lutheran Church in nearby Rowan County from 1788 to 1823, of which more will be said in the section of this article about the Stirewalt family. The Moravian diarist stated that on October 6 "Br. Jacob Loesch, of Bethania, and his son Heinrich Jacob, left today with an organ which Br. Loesch has made. It has been bought by Pastor Storch, and will be set up in his house near Salisbury." Heinrich, who was ill at the time but traveled to help his father anyway, grew worse upon their return to Bethania and unfortunately he died on October 25 of "nervous fever." 74 No details of Pastor Storch's organ are known, nor what became of it after his death. No mention of it occurs in his will, estate papers, diary, obituary, biography, or other tributes. Storch had been very ill and almost blind for the eight-year period between his resignation from the ministry and his death; perhaps the instrument was sold during that time.75

The second instrument was in Loesch's home. It was already in place by 1815, as Peter Wolle (1792-1871), the Salem organist and head teacher in the Boys' School, mentioned it in his diary during a trip to Bethania in May of that year, when he visited Loesch "and played for awhile on his small organ." It is mentioned again in Jacob's will, wherein he bequeathed his pi-

ano forte and organ to his daughter "Eliza" [Susanna Elisabeth] Krause, but it has not been traced thereafter. 76

Although Loesch worked primarily as a clockmaker, at some point he became interested in and undoubtedly worked on the water supply in Salem, which had features of a modern municipal water system, although there is no specific mention of his name in this regard. Rather than relying only on water drawn from wells and then carried in buckets to various dwellings or shops for use, the Salem Brethren had devised running water conveyed about a mile from natural springs into town via logs which had holes bored through their lengths. Undoubtedly inspired by a similar system constructed by the Moravians in Bethlehem, it was begun shortly after Salem was founded in 1766, and the network was completed in 1778. The works were sophisticated enough that they were noted in other locales.77 In 1815, Loesch was invited to design a water system for Raleigh, the state capital. A fairly young town established in 1792, Raleigh had suffered the devastation of several fires because the town lacked water. Although how Loesch came to their attention is unknown, he moved there that spring. The Bethania diarist noted that on August 19 his wife followed him there with their two surviving children, noting that Jacob had decided to live in Raleigh and had purchased a house. His home was at the corner of Morgan and Dawson's Streets, near the Freemason's Hall, where they had "a good Garden, a Pump and several convenient Outbuildings.78

The source of water chosen was springs nearly a mile and a half away. Because they were not on land high enough to supply the water by gravity, Loesch (in Raleigh spelled "Lash" as an anglicized pronunciation of his name) worked up an ingenious system for its time. First, he built a water wheel that worked from a pond in front of the Insane Asylum hill made by damming Rocky Branch of Walnut Creek south of the city. This drove a "propelling engine" placed about six hundred yards away where the spring water entered it. The engine kept four pumps constantly busy forcing water up through wooden pipes to a 110-foot tall tower about six hundred yards away on the south side of the statehouse. From there it was piped about 1200 yards to a reservoir in Union Square, and thence to two other underground reservoirs, from which the rest of the city was fed. Hydrants as well as spigots were provided. One can almost imagine how Loesch tried to apply the principles of clock mechanisms to such a system. The project took almost three years to build, being finished in September 1818. A newspaper article stated: "These Works, which have been constructed under the direction of that ingenious Mechanician Mr. JACOB LASH (formerly of Bethany, but now of this city) do credit both to the Artist, and to the citizens who have effected this desirable object, as they not only evince considerable mechanical skill, but a determination in the inhabitants of Raleigh to spare no expense or exertions to render the City not only a pleasant and healthy, but a safe and comfortable residence. 79

Unfortunately, soon thereafter the system became almost a complete failure, although the totality of the problems probably did not manifest themselves until after Jacob's death three years later. For one thing, it was inefficient and expensive to operate. Another difficulty was leaky joints. Yet a more serious problem was that unfiltered water filled the pipes with sediment, and once clogged, they often burst under the pressure. As one writer put it wryly, the water was "full of the red mud which is seldom absent from running streams in this section" (to say nothing of its potability). By February 1823 the works were abandoned.80

Jacob remained in Raleigh for a time after his water works went into operation, becoming a captain of the newly-organized company of firefighters in March 1819. However, he soon decided to leave. On May 5, 1819, it is recorded that Jacob desired to return to Wachovia. His daughter Susanna Elisabeth had become a teacher in Salem, but the rest of the family moved back to Bethabara, and the tailor Johann Gottfried Oehmann bought their old home in Bethania. Loesch's home in Raleigh was listed for sale in October of that year, the later timing probably due to the distance involved in wrapping up his affairs.81

Loesch had apparently moved his house organ to Raleigh where he tried at least twice to sell it, but was unsuccessful. In December 1815, it was advertised as "An Elegant Key Organ For Sale. The undersigned will sell low for cash, an excellent ORGAN, with two sets of pipes. The Organ may be seen and heard at the house opposite Mr. Wm. Boylan's on Hillsborough street. JACOB LASH" Then, in June 1819, he listed "One elegant

house Organ" and "one or two Forte Pianos" as well as a clock, tools, and other household furniture that he was "induced to sell low for cash," since he was anxious to move. It appears, however, that Loesch did not wrap up all of his affairs and thereafter still divided his time between Bethabara and Raleigh, the evidence being two advertisements published in Raleigh late in 1820 that note his connection with a piano for sale. The advertisements further establish that in the vicinity of

Raleigh he tuned, cleaned, and repaired pianos and other musical instruments, tried to rent out his daughter's piano for the practice of others, and even made "walking canes and guaging rods.82

Aside from his organ tuning work in 1820 already mentioned, Loesch's experience in Raleigh left him apparently undaunted insofar as water systems were concerned, as in the summer of 1821 he was hired by the Fayetteville Water Works, chartered in 1820 and under the direction of William Nichols, to help construct their project. That system, finished in 1824, also employed wooden pipes to collect spring water on Haymount and distribute it to localized reservoirs and was apparently successful. However, Jacob fell ill there, and on October 8, 1821, he died. Upon word that his illness was serious, his wife Susanna had set out to visit him, but he passed away and was buried before she arrived. The author could not locate his grave, and the Fayetteville newspaper from that time has been lost, so further details are lacking. However, the Raleigh newspaper ran an obituary which included the statement that "Mr. L. was originally a gunsmith; but possessed a great mechanical genius, and could make most kinds of instruments and machinery. He was also a Musician of great skill, and could not only play on several instruments, but could make and repair them. 83

On October 31, the Salem diarist remarked that Jacob's "progress [in the congregation] was very unsteady. Because of his passionate temperament, others found him difficult, and he came to ruin many times. Nevertheless, his behavior had been calmer and more serene during recent years." He also noted

that shortly after Susanna's return, "she received a letter from a preacher who had frequently visited the sick man. This letter contained exceedingly comforting and gratifying testimony to his spiritual condition and his passing away in trustful joy." His executor John Butner ran notices in March 1822 that the estate was to be probated, and on April 12, 1822, following the Moravian practice that widows generally couldn't economically maintain themselves independently, the Loesch property was sold at a public sale. Susanna presumably moved to rented quarters in Salem, where she died in 1832.84

Interlude - Other Small Organs

Associated with Salem was the Girls' Boarding School, later the Salem Female College, and now known as Salem College. At the time of the dedication of a new addition to their building on September 24, 1824, the chronicler stated their desire for an organ for their Saal as follows: "In order to lead the singing more effectively and render it more worshipful, the accompaniment of an organ will add much; and it has already

> been proposed to order a small organ with 4 stops from Philadelphia for the Chapel." 85

Whether that instrument was mentions that a brother asked if

purchased or not is unknown, but an organ of some sort was thereafter acquired, although its details are as yet unknown. The Moravian records are silent in this regard except to note years later that on August 22, 1836 Christian Frederick Sussdorf, a recent arrival to town, "tuned a small organ in the Girls' Boarding School." That same account

Mr. Sussdorf (who by the use of the title "Mr." instead of "Br." was clearly not a Moravian) "might tune the organ in the church. Aufseher Collegium was dubious about having a man, of whose knowledge in organ-tuning is not fully convinced, to be entrusted with this; also, considering the expense of \$5 per day, Aufseher Collegium felt that there were mechanics here who, with the help of musicians, could clean the pipes and make repairs where anything had become unglued. This could be done next winter, because the weather now is so damp for such work. In this way our town people could earn the money."86 Nothing further is mentioned of the school's instrument. If they did not buy an organ from Philadelphia, perhaps it was a relocated second-hand Loesch organ.

Sussdorf remained in town, however, and gradually established his credibility with the Moravians, who admitted him to the congregation on May 28, 1838, and agreed to let him earn his living as a landscape gardener and piano tuner. He repaired the Bulitschek organ in Bethania on October 11, 1844, and he must have been a musician (perhaps he played the piano), as he was given permission to give music lessons on June 28, 1847.87

The Single Sisters' Choir House had never had a pipe organ, and on March 18, 1839, Sr. Hueffel was given permission with no objections to purchase a small organ for their Saal. It was stated that their present instrument was a grand piano which did not stay in tune and was "weak for the size of the room."88 Who built this piano is not known. The commentary on the purchase, sale, and transfers of pianos among the Moravian

Manual

- 8' Stop'd Diapason Bass
- 8' Stop'd Diapason Treble
- 8' Dulciano [treble]
- 4' Violano
- 8' Clarionet [treble]

The compass of this chamber organ is 54 notes, c1 to f54. The Stop'd Diapason Bass is of stopped wood pipes, and its treble is comprised of metal chimney flutes. The Violano is a stop of Principal character. A foot lever, now missing, operated a registrational aid. The bellows may be pumped either by foot pedal or by a handle at the side.

c.1830 Henry Erben Organ

Single Sisters' Choir House, Salem, North Carolina

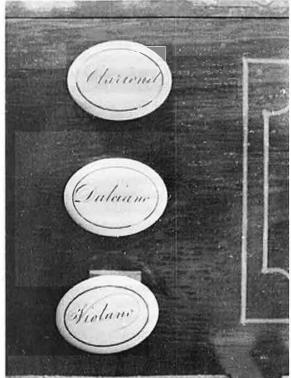
(acquired 1839 second-hand)



The ca. 1830 Henry Erben organ which was acquired in 1839 by the Single Sisters' Choir House, Salem, was photographed by organbuilder James R. McFarland while it was on display at Old Salem. Its unusual, oval drawknobs of porcelain and inlaid nameboard are at the left.

community is even more confusing in their accounts than some of the organ information.

The small organ thus procured was dedicated on June 29 of that year "with a Singstunde and a prayer for its use in the holy place."89 This was a four-stop, one-manual organ without pedal from the manufactory of Henry Erben in New York City, for which the Sisters paid \$300.00. Various aspects of the instrument besides the low price indicate that it was second-hand, rather than bought directly from Erben, and thus its original location is unknown. The case is in Empire style with a fabric sunburst front (i.e. no visible facade pipes), indicating that it was likely a residence chamber organ rather than a church instrument, and built about 1830 (the name label is undated). Double columns with metal acanthus capitals on each side are on both the upper and lower portions of the case. The cabinetry is further decorated with mahogany crotch veneers and an overhanging cornice. The Single Sisters' House was later taken over by Salem College and the organ was removed at some point. It still exists, although unplayable, partially dismantled, and in need of restoration, in storage at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts in Winston-Salem. Some pipes are missing, including the entire short-compass Clarionet. Although the records give no indication of how it





got there, it is supposed to have been acquired from George J. Corrie, perhaps because of his later involvement with Salem organs as previously noted. This may not be true.⁹⁰

It should be noted for historical context that David Tannenberg had built a "clavicembalo" that the Single Sisters' Choir acquired for their chapel in

1789, which was brought from Pennsylvania on June 29 of that year by Jeremy Elrod. This was most likely a clavichord, although this is not known for sure, since at that time the term usually meant a spinet, clavichord, or harpsichord. The ultimate whereabouts of that instrument are unknown.

Tannenberg had also at some point submitted directions for building a clavichord, accompanied by a drawing, to someone in Salem, wherein he used both the terms "clavichord" and "clavier" for the instrument. Those documents, which are undated and later came into the possession of the Moravian Music Foundation, strengthen the argument that they were likely used by a local craftsman to construct one or more clavichords.⁹¹

The Salem musician and Boys' School teacher Peter Wolle mentioned that some form of automaton with carved figures that moved to music created by a barrel organ came through town on a tour in May 1815. He recorded in his diary that "some wax figures were on display here today, but they were done so badly that, if it had not been for the sake of the children, I would not have gone to see them. The man sold them for 2,000 dollars. For a while I could work the barrel-organ, which gave me much more pleasure than all the rest." This

was undoubtedly one of the "other-worldliness" things of which congregation officials took a dim view.⁹²

Finally, there is the question of a "clock-organ" built by the Salem clockmaker Johann Ludwig Eberhardt [or Eberhard or Eberhart]. In a diary entry for June 2, 1805, he is stated to have built it for a Mr. Mendenhall, a Quaker living in Randolph County, North Carolina. Of Mendenhall and his acquisition, it is said that "he is a great friend of music, and especially of choral singing, and has had Br. Eberhart make for him a wall clock in the bottom of which a little organ is placed, which plays one or more melodies or other musical compositions each time the hour strikes. He himself selected the tunes. . . . The clock is so arranged that it can be set to repeat a tune from three to six times, so that entire hymns can be sung. In a conversation with Br. Reichel he said that he knew and loved the Saviour, that his wife and many Quakers in his neighborhood felt as he did, and that they would use this clock for their private edification and to the praise of God our Saviour."93 This was probably Elisha Mendenhall, as he appears in early county records as the largest landowner of the family, and thus likely was the most affluent member in a position to buy such an item.

As no more about this clock, nor another similar item by Eberhardt, is mentioned in Moravian records or otherwise inventoried in a recently-published study of his work, it would seem likely that it was a unique creation. While Eberhardt is known to have made "musical clocks," it is not clear if this was a "chime" clock or if it had pipes (in which case it would be more usually termed called a "flute-clock"), as apparently a chime mechanism would also at the time have been called an "organ" However, a point overlooked in that study (or not realized by its author) gives some credence to the idea that there could have been pipes in it, because Eberhardt first arrived in Salem on November 29, 1799, with Johann Philip Bachmann, who had come to install the new Tannenberg organ for the main church, so he was surely acquainted with organbuilders. 95

Eberhardt came to America from Germany via Pennsylvania at the request of Salem officials, who wanted another clockmaker in Salem to handle the demand for clocks, as Adam Koeffler had died in 1797 and Jacob Loesch had departed for Bethania ten years earlier. He was born in Stadtilm, Schwarzburg-Rudelstadt, Thuringia on May 17, 1758, and had been referred to them as a skilled clockmaker.

As to how long Eberhardt was in Lititz and what organbuilding skills he might have acquired from Messrs. Tannenberg or Bachmann there that would have enabled him to fabricate the entire clock-organ, the records are silent. Accordingly, although he was a highly-skilled clockmaker, he might not have made the entire works himself, but rather only the clock mechanism, while perhaps Loesch furnished the organ portion (or maybe they both collaborated on such), although there is no proof either way. Inasmuch as Bachmann returned to Lititz in 1801, he certainly did not make the organ portion of the clock, but he was in Salem long enough that Eberhardt may have learned enough about organbuilding from him there to make the entire timepiece. What became of it is unknown.

Eberhardt was known for his difficult personality, which made it near-impossible for him to retain apprentices, journeyman, or even "strangers" (i.e. non-Moravians) in his employ. In that respect, both he and Loesch had similar temperaments. A chronicler reported that "Eberhardt does not seem to have the gift of getting along with people," and he was excluded

from the congregation several times over the years for various deeds of misconduct. However, he was never expelled from the community, although the officials came close to doing so in 1811. He died in Salem on April 10, 1839.⁹⁶ While it may ultimately be proven as more documentation comes to light that Eberhardt's work did not involve any organ mechanism, he is included in this essay for historical context.

The Stirewalts

The Moravians were of course not the only German sect to migrate to North Carolina. Followers of the Lutheran religion and what is termed the "German Reformed" Church also began settling in the Piedmont area, being either first-time or second-generation buyers of Lord Granville's land via his agents. As noted earlier, this began to occur in the late 1740s, a few years before the Moravians arrived. In time the Lutherans grew to become the largest church body in the Piedmont. Lutherans and Reformed groups tended to settle in the same communities, however, and many of their earliest church buildings were constructed as "union churches," where two congregations, one Lutheran and one Reformed, shared the same structure, because their numbers were at the outset generally too few to be able to afford the erection of a church for the sole use of one denomination. A strict separation of theological matters, however, usually meant that each worshipped therein only on alternate Sundays.

These groups were not as interested in or as good at record-keeping as the Moravians, and consequently, such matters were neglected sufficiently that later writers' attempts to garner historical information resulted in indefinite, confusing, and/or contradictory accounts, which they readily admitted at the time. (Perhaps part of this problem relates to the fact that these early congregations did not bring a pastor with them or have an established means of obtaining one, so routine record-keeping was often neglected. Services often had to be conducted by the laity.) In addition, many early official records were lost in courthouse fires. Nevertheless, sufficient independent sources can be gathered to establish a reasonably accurate chronology of events.

The first church in Rowan County (so named in 1753 after Matthew Rowan, the acting Royal Governor at the time, when the larger Anson County was divided as population increased) was erected along Second Creek by members of the two confessions who had come from Pennsylvania. (Rowan County is about half-way between present-day Charlotte and Winston-Salem.) It was called the "Hickory Church," or "Fullenwider's," the first name referring to the type of wood poles used, and the second after Jacob Fullenwider [or Fullwider], the landowner who had given permission for the church to be built there. This site is about three miles east of what became the town of Rockwell. The date that this occurred is said to be 1757.97 The present Organ Lutheran Church, which arose out of this arrangement and of which more will be spoken shortly, likes to ascribe its beginnings to 1745, but there is no proof for this date. Congregations were organized by lay people before pastors arrived, so the actual year of the congregation's organization probably was in the 1750s.98

Sometime thereafter, however, apparently around 1772, theological dissension, probably over the doctrine of transubstantiation, caused the two groups to go their separate ways. The log church was abandoned and left to ruin. On its site is the present St. Peter's Lutheran Church. Reformed members acquired land a few miles west and in 1774 commenced construction of *Die Gnaden Kirche* (Grace Church), also a log





Gravestones of two Stirewalts: The stone of Jacob Stirewalt (1777-1855) is located at Poplar Tent Presbyterian Church Cemetery, Concord, North Carolina; the stone of John Stirewalt (1769-1828) is located in the Organ Church Cemetery, Rowan County, North Carolina.

church, about four miles southwest of Rockwell. Their third church, which was made of stone, was begun in 1795 and finished in November 1811. It is also called the "Lower Stone" Church, so named because it was lower down on the stream from the earlier site and built of stone. Grace has never had a pipe organ.⁹⁹

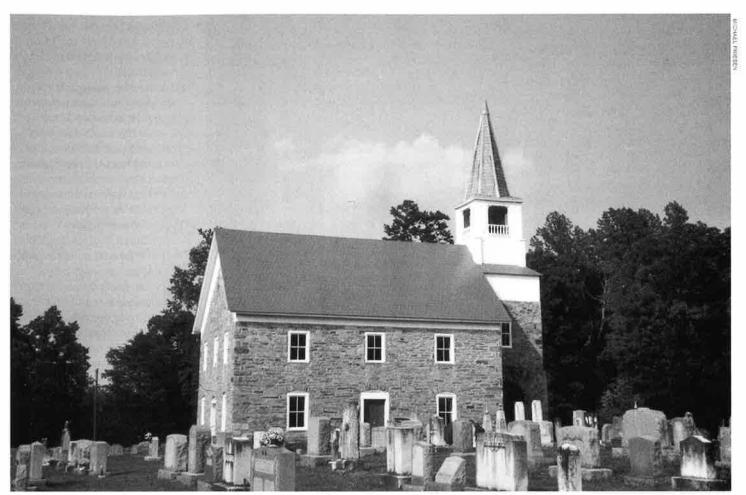
In the meantime, in 1772, the Lutherans, being without an ordained minister, sent delegates to Germany to find both a pastor and schoolmaster, securing the services of Rev. Adolph Nussmann and Johann Gottfried Arndt, respectively, who arrived in 1773. At this time the name of the congregation was Zion Lutheran Church. Construction of their own church building on a site on Beatty's Ford Road about six miles southwest of Rockwell began in 1774, but there is some question as to what it was. This second structure was likely also a log church, which was finished in 1775 and was located on the current site of the parish's parsonage. The present field-stone church was the congregation's third, begun nearby in 1792, finished in 1795, and consecrated on Easter Day, 1796, although the date 1794 is carved into one of the gables, which has contributed to date confusion. Inasmuch as the land on which this stone church stands was not purchased until 1789, it could not have been the congregation's second building. The above-mentioned Grace congregation is also stated to have begun their 1795 building after the Lutherans had completed theirs, somewhat as a "reaction" to their neighbors. This also tends to confirm that the Lutherans' stone edifice was their third effort; it does not seem likely that the Reformed congregation would have waited up to twenty years to react similarly to anything less in stature. 100 Organ Church is the oldest Lutheran church structure in North Carolina, and it along with Grace are the only two 18th-century stone churches in the state (not counting the 1788 Bethabara Gemein Haus, which is more than a church). Both were placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1972. The 1796 Organ Church is not in regular use, however, the congregation having erected a new cut stone church between 1958 and 1960, which houses a 1972 Casavant organ.

Rev. Nussmann left in 1775 to serve another parish, leaving the congregation without a pastor. Arndt was then sent to Pennsylvania to be ordained to the ministry, and returning to Zion, where he remained for ten or eleven years, until 1785 or 1786, when he resigned to serve another parish. Nussmann, considered the "father" of the Lutheran Church in North Carolina for his pioneering role, successfully petitioned the Helmstadt Mission Society, then in the Duchy of Brunswick, Germany, to send additional ministers. One of the new pastors, Rev. Carl August Gottlieb Storch, left Germany in April 1788, arrived in Baltimore on June 27, then sailed to Charleston, and traveled overland to North Carolina, arriving at Rev. Nussmann's home in early September. He was called to Zion as well as to St. John's Lutheran Church in Salisbury upon his arrival, and began his labors at these two congregations

on October 26 and November 2, 1788, respectively. His annual salary at Zion, which then had seventy-eight members, was forty pounds, North Carolina currency (the dollar not yet having been adopted as a national monetary instrument), but equivalent at that time to one hundred dollars. Storch was the first to start keeping records there, and for this reason, the reliability of all dates given by any secondary sources in connection with this parish prior to his arrival is uncertain. He served Zion for thirty-five years until 1823.¹⁰¹

Johannes Steigerwalt, a member of the parish, built a pipe organ for the church as early as 1786, which led to the name "Organ Church" being given to both the building and congregation, although Zion is still the congregation's ecclesiastical name. It was the first Lutheran church in North Carolina to possess such an instrument, and for many years the only Lutheran church to have an organ. That it was already built and in use in the former church, and thus moved into the current edifice when it was finished in 1795, is proven by a land deed of 1786 that referred to the "organ meeting house, school house, and other buildings." At the time that the congregation dedicated its current organ, the newspaper article publicizing the new instrument gave the date for the Steigerwalt instrument as 1783, which is quite plausible, although this author has not seen the evidence. 102 One historian, the Rev. Gotthardt D. Bernheim, is responsible for virtually the entirety of what little description there is of this instrument. In 1860 he wrote: "In the year 1791 [sic], the present massive and, as was then considered large and commodious stone church was erected, with large galleries on each side, except where the pulpit stands, and an organ, excellent in its day, built by one of the members, Mr. Steigerwalt, was placed in the middle of the long gallery, opposite the pulpit. This pulpit is, as a matter of course, goblet-shaped, with a sounding-board overhead. 103

This description also indicated that the organ was no longer in use. He said "the old organ is there still, a relic of a past age. Its voice is hushed and sadly out of tune, like the voices of its contemporaries, who are now mouldering in the grave-yard, its



Organ Lutheran Church, begun in 1792, completed in 1795, consecrated in 1796 and located southeast of Salisbury in Rowan County, is the oldest Lutheran church structure in North Carolina and its congregation, which dates from the 1750s, is the first Lutheran church in North Carolina to have a pipe organ. The church had adopted the "organ" name ca. 1786 when Johannes Steigerwalt, a member of the parish, built a pipe organ which was housed in a former building and was moved to the 1795 structure.

spirit of music is fled, and the external remains, though fair and tastefully ornamented, are all that is left to remind us of a former age, of a former congregation, and of a master whom it once delighted to honor." The same circumstances were present when Bernheim wrote a book on North Carolina Lutheran history in 1872, when he repeated almost verbatim his 1860 comments and added that not only had the sounding-board been recently removed when the church was repaired, commenting that "those time-honored relics are fast passing away by the encroachments of our novelty-seeking age," but said that the organ encompassed "a number of broken and disarranged pipes.¹⁰⁴

Church records do not survive to detail much of the instrument's life. It was still in use in 1844, when the congregation's new pastor, the Rev. Samuel Rothrock, stated in his diary entry for December 5 for that year that he "met the council at Organ ch. to inspect the repairs of the organ." 105

By 1894, at the centennial celebration of their church building, however, the congregation had spent about a thousand dollars to remodel the church, including the installation of a new roof, tuckpointing the walls, painting all the woodwork, carpeting the floors, removing the wine-goblet pulpit on the wall reached by winding steps and replacing it with "one of more modern style," and dismantling the organ. Its "obituary" is sad to read:

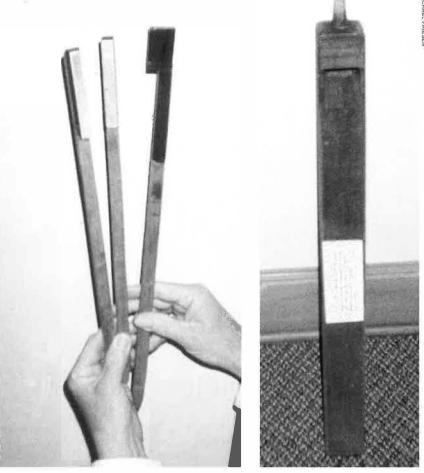
On three sides of the auditorium there is a capacious gallery with stairs leading up from either side, where facing the pulpit stood for years and years, the old pipe organ, from which the

church derives its popular name of "The Organ Church." It was built in the house, entirely by hand, by a Mr. Stigerwalt, a member of the congregation, and was one amongst the very first pipe organs ever built in America, and the first of any kind in any church in North Carolina. It possessed none of the external beauty and symmetry of the pipe organs of our day and time, but it was well adapted to its surroundings and the object for which it was made; and for long years its deep, majestic, solemn voice led the congregation in its service of praise; or wailed out its slow, heart-searching funeral dirge as the body of one after another of the people was carried out to the silent city of the dead, hard-by. Like its builder, and the many who loved it, and who for many years, from childhood through youth and manhood down to old age, had united their voices with its mellow tones, it gradually yielded to the inroads of time and use, growing each year weaker and weaker, until, at length, its work was done. Then, for a long time, it stood there in the gallery, voiceless and shattered, a relic and reminder of by-gone days.

The people loved it, cherished it, and venerated it; and even yet in speaking of it, use only hushed and reverential tones. It has long since been removed from its old place in the gallery, and its parts have become broken and scattered. Many portions of it are carefully preserved as relics. The present pastor has in his possession the old C sharp pipe, as perfect in form and clear in tone as when it was made over one hundred years ago. The congregation has had made, from its remains, many yardsticks that are eagerly sought for, and highly treasured in remembrance of the old organ. ¹⁰⁶

Of course, the writer was wrong about its being the first pipe organ in North Carolina or one of the first organs built in America, but the dispersal of it is true, the aforementioned pipe and a few keys yet remaining in a narthex display cabinet of the congregation's current church. Much lore about this organ has accumulated over the years.

Of Johannes Steigerwalt, whose family name was later simplified to Stirewalt, relatively little is known.107 He was born in Württemberg on July 9, 1732. Johannes immigrated to America in 1749, arriving in Philadelphia on the ship Ranier from Rotterdam via England on September 26, and first settled in Berks County, Pennsylvania, where he married Mary (maiden surname unknown) on February 21, 1758.108 Shortly thereafter the couple moved to Rowan County, North Carolina, as their first child Adam was born there in 1759. In all, they had eight children, of whom seven survived to adulthood.



A few keys and a pipe remain of the ca. 1786 Steigerwalt organ from which Organ Lutheran Church gains its name.

Of Johannes' activities in the area, little is known. At the time that the first known land transaction for him occurred in 1773, when he bought 350 acres from William Nisbett, a merchant, Johannes' occupation was given as "waggonmaker." He is then mentioned as being a member of Zion Lutheran parish in 1774 in Rev. Storch's records of 1789. He died on November 25, 1796, and is presumably buried in the Organ Church cemetery, although no marker now survives to prove this.

How Johannes came to build a pipe organ is unknown, but he could have seen the Moravians' instruments for inspiration, since Wachovia was within a few days' travel at the time. There is no evidence that he had organbuilding training. The instrument for Organ Church was probably a one-manual with perhaps two registers, if one can surmise that the organ that his son Jacob made (to be described below) was modelled after his father's work, and it likely was entirely home-made. Whether he built more than one organ is also unknown, as Johannes' son John (his name being given in English to make a distinction between the senior and junior namesakes) also had organs in his home, but no evidence has been found as to who constructed them, and there is no mention of any such item being bequeathed in Johannes' will to his son.

John Stirewalt was born on October 11, 1769 in Rowan County, and married Elizabeth Rintleman on March 22, 1794. He was a planter and possibly a builder, and a large brick home he constructed in 1811 still stands as a local landmark. He died on October 15, 1828, and is buried in the graveyard at Organ Church. In his will he mentioned his "house organs" and a forte piano, among other things, which he bequeathed to his

sons John N. (1802-1836) and Jacob (1805-1869), respectively.¹¹¹

The young John N. Stirewalt clearly had musical talent, as Rev. Gottlieb Schober, who was raised a Moravian but became a Lutheran minister, recommended him for organ lessons. A February 1818 Salem diarist stated that "a Lutheran boy, John Steierwald by name, who lives ten miles below Salisbury, came today to take lessons in organ playing from Br. [Peter] Wolle,." who had earlier seen the organ in Jacob Loesch's home. He remained there until July, when the diarist said that "Mr. Steierwald, whose son has been studying organ-playing for some months with Br. Wolle, and has been attending the boys school, took his son home today." John N. Stirewalt eventually became a Lutheran pastor,

but he unfortunately died young. His estate included a violin, flute, two pitch pipes, four music books, three German hymn books, and one copy of Watts' hymn book, but there was no mention of "house organs," so what became of them is unknown.¹¹²

Jacob Stirewalt, the last child of Johannes and Mary (and not to be confused with John's son), was born in Rowan County on June 16, 1777. He married Jane E. Johnston of Salisbury on September 11, 1809, and later moved south to Cabarrus County where the couple eventually owned some 2,000 acres, perhaps purchased with the help of inheritances and monies of Jane's family. The holdings included a corn mill, cotton mill, grist mill, post office, and school house, and appropriately, their land became named "Mill Hill Plantation." It is located a few miles west of present-day Kannapolis on Stirewalt Road, which was named for the family. In 1821 Jacob built a large ten-room house there. The 1850 U.S. census stated that his occupation was "cabinetmaker," and he is said to have made many types of furniture.

Family tradition also attributes a chamber organ in the Mill Hill house to Jacob, presumably also built in 1821. He would have been 44 at the time, and thus if he learned how to build an organ from his father, that would have occurred before he was 19 years old when Johannes died, but would also have been a skill not put into practice for 25 years. Thus it is more likely that Jacob copied an organ, and the most likely candidate for a model would have been Johannes' instrument at Organ Church, unless there were other of the previously-mentioned "house organs" in existence: Another possibility might have

been Pastor Storch's Loesch organ. No other churches in the area are known to have had organs that early in the nineteenth century. It is thus presumed that Jacob was also an organist, although the source of his training is unknown. Although Jacob was raised as a Lutheran, his wife was Presbyterian, and he is recorded as being the supervisor of construction for Poplar Tent Presbyterian Church near Concord, so he may have converted. Jacob died on June 3, 1855, in Cabarrus County, and is buried in the graveyard of Poplar Tent Presbyterian Church. No will has been found to determine what mentions of musicalia might have been made in such a document, 113

The house organ still survives, although it is now unplayable and in need of restoration. A one-manual, two-stop instrument without pedal, its compass is four octaves. The 98 pipes, cut from pine hearts, are an 8' stopped wood rank and a 4' open wood rank, with twelve dummy facade pipes. The manual can be slid into the case, and is protected by a hinged cover, which acts as a music rack when open. The pine case, about ten feet high by five feet wide and two feet deep, is held together by wooden pegs. It is a colorful case, the facade pipes being painted a golden yellow, the case a bluish-green, and the grooved trim in the center and side columns as well as the decorative carvings painted red, which is said to be a traditional German

color scheme. The bellows are pumped by a foot pedal.¹¹⁴ Based on its construction techniques, it too was likely entirely homemade. The home and organ are in private hands and are not available for public viewing.

Nathaniel Bosworth

There remains but a brief coda to the history of early organbuilders in North Carolina. In September 1825, one Nathaniel Bosworth, of whom virtually nothing is known, briefly advertised his services in Salisbury. A newspaper advertisement reads: "N. BOSWORTH.—Piano Fortes Tuned and repaired by N. Bosworth, organ builder, etc. until the 28th inst. Apply at Slaughter's Hotel." Bosworth was an itinerant craftsman and music store proprietor who is first recorded in Savannah, Georgia, in 1811, offering to tune and repair piano-fortes and organs as well as other musical instruments, give piano and flute lessons, and selling vocal and instrumental music. He stated that "any person inclined to have their Piano organized,



The organ believed to have been built in 1821 and located at the Mill Hill House in Kannapolis, North Carolina, is attributed to Jacob Stirewalt, son of Johannes Steigerwalt.

may have it done completely with a stop-diapason and dulciana, for one hundred and fifty dollars." He apparently would go north for the summer and return south for the winter, a pattern advertised through 1815. In 1816 he advertised as a ship builder there. By 1820 he was in Charleston, South Carolina, where he brokered another boat, and was recorded in 1822 as teaching the occupation of "an Organist & Piano maker & to play the Piano," as well as being a barrel organ maker. Where Bosworth went after 1825 is not recorded. Perhaps additional information will come to light in the future.

Conclusion

In some respects, Joseph Ferdinand Bulitschek and Jacob Loesch came to organbuilding through avenues that many others in that profession did in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; in other words, through cabinetmaking or some form of mechanical work. A gunsmith had to smelt metal, and a clockmaker had to engineer intricate mechanisms to create a



Pipes of the 1821 Jacob Stirewalt organ, Mill Hill House, Kannapolis

timepiece, so it was not an inordinately difficult leap of additional skill to cast metal for pipes, fashion a key action and bellows mechanism, and make wooden parts, in effect wedding metalworking with woodworking. And while the basic "technology" of organs was established by this period, there were still abundant ways to create variations on aspects of organ design to suit specific physical conditions or theological requirements. In this regard, it was very unusual that Bulitschek's organs were built with attached keydesks on the rear of the case with the pipes speaking forward into the congregation and a window for the organist to see through the case, but that was a direct function of the conservatism of their use and the character of Moravian worship.

Conservatism in both sound and in expense was also a direct corollary to the physical appearance of these Moravian organs, shown first by the proof that over some 35 years, they "grew" their organs from one to two to three to four (but ulti-



mately paying for five) stops from 1762 to 1798, before making a dramatic leap in expense and size for a suitable organ for their free-standing church, and second by delicate chorus-building, where a five-stop organ still did not have a 2-foot register.¹¹⁶

Although Moravian organs were known and therefore objects to be heard and admired when a person was in the vicinity to visit them, their influence on American organbuilding in a more general sense was not often significant. This is particularly the case in North Carolina, where due to many other settlement factors, the fact that there were pipe organs in the Piedmont owned by Moravians, as well as the local isolated examples of the Stirewalts' efforts, was not enough of a competitive impetus to other churches to

also acquire such instruments. Nor were organbuilders attracted to the state (witness the Moravians' eventual statements in the early decades of the 1800s that there was no one in the area skilled enough to maintain their instruments). In his account of the arts in America during the Revolutionary era, encompassing much of the period that has been the focus of this article, an eminent cultural historian stated that he "omitted from the discussion of music what was in a sense the richest and most sophisticated religious and secular music of the period, that produced in Pennsylvania and the Carolinas [sic] by the Moravians. . . . For all its esthetic value, the Moravian culture remained by choice cloistered, insular, so apart from the mainstream of life in the period, thus so European, as not to concern us here."117 Nevertheless, their music and organs could be "bridged" outside of their society when necessary or appropriate.

As modern readers, it is exceedingly difficult for us to really understand and appreciate the fortitude it took for anyone to live in the conditions of a developing society before the Industrial Revolution made possible a consumer society. Not only had the Moravians (and of course many others) had to perform considerable physical labor for decades to build themselves a "civilization" out of a wilderness, but they also had a highly-regulated personal life that most chose willingly. The application of skill and ingenuity, the pursuit of knowledge, and the creation by craftsmen of both items of beauty and utility were possible, but all these things had their proper place. With strong personalities, such as have been evidenced by virtually all the builders of organs in this essay — from Johann Klemm, David Tannenberg, David Tannenberg Jr., and Johann Philip Bachmann, to Joseph Ferdinand Bulitschek and Jacob Loesch it is significant to note that all of them were criticized in some fashion for their occasional unruly temperaments or "other-worldliness" leanings. Regrettably, we have only their words on paper and some idea of the works of their hands, as no images of these men — even in simple forms such as silhouettes — are known to exist that would add a visual dimension to their nature.

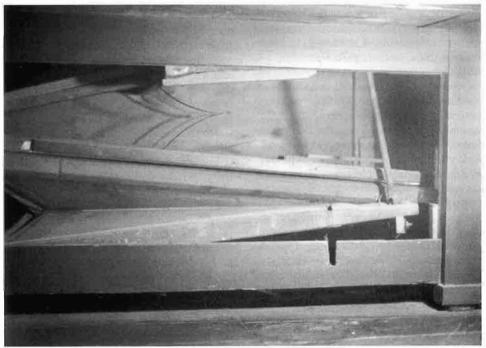
The organ has both sacred and secular elements, being a mixture of art and science, and is a creation of man but possible only through talents given by God. Thus it is a handmaiden of the Word and a machine of the world. In choosing to encourage the use of organs, the Moravians reconciled these opposing forces and in so doing, continually worked to reconcile the men who constructed them.

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Foundation and Moravian Archives - Southern Province, the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, the Wake Forest University and Forsyth County Public Libraries, all in Winston-Salem, the Rowan Public Library in Salisbury, North-





Cornice and bellows of the 1821 Jacob Stirewalt organ, Mill Hill House, Kannapolis

western University, University of Chicago, and Newberry Library staff in metropolitan Chicago, staff at various churches and historical societies, and John and Kristin Farmer, who advised on local North Carolina matters.

Bibliographical Notes

= This introduction on orth arolina history is general, and not all sources consulted by the author are listed. ost of the information for this overview is drawn from illiam . owell, North Carolina Through Four Centuries hapel ill: niversity of orth arolina, , while dates are generally found in rthur . chlesinger, r., ed., The Almanac of American

History (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1993).

2 · This summary of the oravians is also intended as a general overview, and is drawn from a wide variety of sources, not all of which are listed here. ee ev. evin Theodore eichel, *The Early History of the Church of the United Brethren (Unitas Fratrum), Commonly Called Moravians, in North America,*

A.D. 1734-1748 [Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, Vol. 3] (Nazareth, PA: Moravian Historical Society, 1888); J. Taylor Hamilton, A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church, or the Unitas Fratrum, or the Unity of the Brethren, During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries [Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, Vol. 6] (Bethlehem: Times

Publishing Co., 1900), Rev. Bernard E. Michel, *The Moravian Church ... Its Faith, Ministry and History* (Bethlehem: Moravian Church in America, 1999); and Penelope Niven, "The History and Faith of the Moravians," in *Old Salem: The Official Guidebook* (Winston-Salem: Old Salem, Inc., 2000), 8-17.

- 3 · The well-known hymntune "Bohemian Brethren," also known as "Mit Freuden Zart" ("With Tender Joy") carries as its first line in a modern translation the words "With high delight, let us unite" a succinct six-word summary of Moravian theology.
- 4 Foreign terms are translated herein and sometimes amplified upon to better convey their meaning, but in general, once a translation is given, the original term is thereafter not set in italics, nor is its translation enclosed by quotation marks, since their use and context should be apparent to the reader. It should be noted that some of the German words have over the years come into such common usage that no translation is deemed necessary when writing about the Moravians. In other usage matters, umlauts are converted to English presentation by use of the interpolated "e," and on occasion, variant spellings for Germanic surnames are presented, since many of them appear in various documents in somewhat different forms. In the eighteenth century, there was little standardized orthography in German or English, and foreign surnames were especially susceptible to widely varying transcriptions in English records. The meaning of various Moravian terms has been obtained from C. Daniel Crews. Moravian Meanings: A Glossary of Historical Terms of the Moravian Church, Southern Province (Winston-Salem: Moravian Archives, 2nd ed., 1996), and from other commentators on Moravian records. 5 More detailed accounts of this aspect of Moravian practice are found in Paula Welshimer Locklair, "The Moravian Craftsman in Eighteenth-Century North Carolina," in Ian M. G., ed., The Craftsman in Early America (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), 273-98, and Thomas J. Haupert, "Apprenticeship in the Moravian Settlement of Salem, North Carolina, 1766-86," Communal Societies 9 (1989), 1-9, and while they do not include discussion of organbuilding, their essays help one to understand the framework in which organbuilders worked.
- 6 James Boeringer, "A Guide to the Moravian Lovefeast," *Moravian Music Journal* 26:4 (Winter 1981), 86-87.
- 7 · Nola Reed Knouse, "What is a Singstunde?," Newsletter of The Moravian Music Foundation 9:2 (Summer 1994), 9. 8 · See Arnfried Edler, "The Social Status of Organists in Lutheran Germany from the

- 16th through the 19th Century" in Walter Salmen, ed., The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983), 61-93.
- 9 · This comment is based on the author's research in Moravian documents as published in the Records of the Moravians in North Carolina. (See the discussion of this source at the end of the notes.) The same pattern existed in the Pennsylvania Moravian settlements. See Rufus A. Grider, Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania from 1741 to 1871 (Philadelphia: John L. Pile for J. Hill Martin, 1873; repr., Winston-Salem: Moravian Music Foundation, Inc., 1957), 10. 10 Bishop Spangenburg's diary for a portion of the expedition is published in a translation by the Rev. R. P. Lineback in William L. Saunders, comp. and ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol. V, 1752-1759 (Raleigh: Josephus Daniels,
- Printer to the State, 1887), 1-14. 11 · The cost of the land was five hundred pounds, and in addition, there was another 416 pounds in expenses of surveying and preparing deeds. The Moravians could not afford to pay that much cash upfront, so they organized a land company among fellow Moravians, gradually paying back their investors through cash or land sales, which took until 1877 to finally clear. They also paid annual quit-rent to Lord Granville of 148 pounds, 9 shillings, 2 1/2 pence (based on four shillings for each hundred acres of claimed land) through the period of the Revolution, as well as taxes to the new North Carolina government. See Adelaide L. Fries, "Der North Carolina Land Und Colonie Etablissement," The North Carolina Booklet 9:4 (April 1910), 199-214. After the American Revolution, since the property of aliens was confiscated, Granville's heirs attempted to get his remaining unsold land back by filing a lawsuit that went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. It was litigated for years, until the heirs finally withdrew the suit as the War of 1812 arose, a decision helped perhaps by the British government paying them a large settlement. 12 A full account of their journey is given in William J. Hinke's edition of Pastor Grube's diary, "Diarium Einer Reise Von Bethlehem, Pa., Nach Bethabara, N.C. Von October 8 bis November 23, 1753," German American Annals [formerly Americana Germanica] 3:8 (August 1905), 342-56; 3:9 (September 1905), 369-79; and 4:1 (January 1906), 16-32. The account of the day they arrived is on page 29. As this precise time indicates, the Moravians were very meticulous diarists and recordkeepers. Sources differ as to how many initial settlers there were. Grube's diary lists twelve names, so the author used that figure.
- 13 · 1850 Bethania Diary, R10:5532-33. 14 Bethania in Wachovia: A Guide to the Historic Places of Bethania Town Lot [a walking tour brochure] (Bethania: Bethania Historical Association, n.d., but 1996); 1771 Bethania Diary, R1:437. 15. In matters of style, Klemm preferred to use "John Clemm" as his name in English-language documents, so organ historians write of him with both spellings as appropriate. Here "Klemm" is appropriate, as none of his work with the Moravians was done in English. It should be noted that although German was the Moravians' common language and their official records were kept in German, most spoke English to a fair degree. This was not only because they needed to do so for trade purposes, but also because education, particularly of children, was important to them, and English was an integral part of schools' curriculums in any location as soon as it could be implemented. 16 Barbara Owen, "Brother Klemm, Organ Builder," in Carol A. Traupman-Carr, ed., "Pleasing for Our Use": David Tannenberg and the Organs of the Moravians (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2000), 35, 37. 17 · 1762 Bethabara and Bethania Diary, R2:247; 1770 Wachovia Diary, R2:411. 18 Laurence Libin, "Music-Related Commerce in Some Moravian Accounts," in Traupman-Carr, 85. In this case, as well as all other cost references in this article, the author has not attempted to translate the amounts into present-day dollars, since such comparisons are at best curiosities and are often misleading. What is important is how such amounts compared to other contemporaneous costs as well as to incomes, which is a difficult exercise due to the lack of sufficient good data, and is thus beyond the scope of this endeavor. Throughout most of the Federal period (i.e. after 1783 and into the first decade of the 1800s), the British pound was worth about \$2.50 in American dollars, but before the Revolution, currency values fluctuated frequently as well as regionally. 19 Autobiography of Anna Catharina Antes Kalberlahn Reuter Heinzmann Ernst (who had been widowed thrice and married four times, thus the ultimate surname), as translated and elaborated upon by Adelaide L. Fries in *The Road to Salem* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 101. Unfortunately, in augmenting Anna's account with information from other records without notes or explicit references, Fries does not make it clear which is direct quotation and which is filler, albeit historically written. Thus this source must be used with some caution. 20 Charles G. Vardell, Organs in the Wilderness (Winston-Salem: Moravian Music Foundation, 1944, repr. 1993), 13; Donald

M. McCorkle. "Musical Instruments of the Moravians in North Carolina," The American-German Review 21:3 (February-March 1955), 12. 21 Bethania Catalog, c.1790 (located at the Moravian Archives - Southern Province, Winston-Salem), and Lititz Perpetual Soul Register. The Bethlehem Register erroneously gives his birthplace as Tumigad, and as the Bulitschek family apparently moved there when Joseph was young, this might have caused the confusion. The Lititz and Bethlehem sources are at the Moravian Archives -Northern Province, Bethlehem, and are cited in research notes by Richard L. Soash housed in the Winston-Salem archives. 22 John W. Jordan, "Moravian Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1734-1767, With Some Account of the Transport Vessels," Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 5:2 (1899), 79. The Moravians, ever efficient and resourceful, came to own four ships that were used exclusively to ferry their members to new colonies starting in 1742, a year after Bethlehem was settled, of which "Irene" was one. The decision was not only made to conserve their finances, but also to maintain their followers' spiritual welfare by preventing association with non-believers, whose influence could be harmful to the faith during a long ocean voyage. 23 William H. Armstrong, Organs for America: The Life and Work of David Tannenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967), 69 and 126, note 21; Donald M. McCorkle, "Prelude to a History of American Moravian Organs," American Guild of Organists Quarterly 3:4 (October 1958), 146. The latter gives his year of arrival in Lititz as 1765, but this is erroneous, the better fact coming from Armstrong based on his citation of the 1759 Bethlehem diary. Dr. McCorkle included several items of data in his article that he obviously derived from research in Moravian and other records, the sources for which are not presently readily apparent, as the article unfortunately contains no footnotes. Perhaps Bulitschek's employment was carpentry for a time, and then in 1765 he began working with Tannenberg. The correct answer, as well as a fuller picture of Bulitschek's work in Bethlehem and Lititz, may well lie in Pennsylvania records, which this writer did not research personally since his focus was on North Carolina organ activity. Thus such an endeavor is left for others to pursue. 24 Bethania Catalog, c. 1790. It lists only seven children, since one son, George Friedrich, had died in infancy in 1781 and was buried in the Moravian cemetery in Bethania. A family history by Virgil Ira Bolerjack, published in The Heritage of Stokes County, North Carolina, Vol. II (Charlotte:

Delmar Printing and Publishing, 1990), 100, echoes Soash's research notes and states that the Bulitschek home had been located on the square in Lititz, but was destroyed by fire in 1903. An extended family genealogy is given in Bolerjack's account, from which only the most germane items concerning Joseph are extracted in this article. His work is used in this article with caution, however, as there are a few factual and date errors therein.

25 · 1771 Wachovia Memorabilia, R1:436; 1773 Aeltesten Conferenz Minutes, R2:772; 1774 Wachovia Memorabilia, R2:812; June 29, 1771 Bethabara Aeltesten Conferenz Minutes ("a group from Pennsylvania arrived yesterday"); July 9, 1771 of same (the last two citations were not included in the published records and were furnished in translation by the Moravian Archives -Southern Province). His farm location could not be verified by available maps in the Moravian Archives.

26 Bradford L. Rauschenberg, The Wachovia Historical Society, 1895-1995 (Winston-Salem: Wachovia Historical Society, 1995), 2-3; 1772 Bethabara Diary, R2:729. (It should be noted that different entities operate within the same sphere of the original town of Salem, in what is now called "Old Salem." The Wachovia Historical Society is the original organization that preserved all manner of Moravian artifacts in the area and provided general support for preservation activities involving Moravian properties. It does not operate its own museum. For example, if items are said to be in the holdings of the Society, they are housed at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA) in Winston-Salem or in other buildings of Old Salem. MESDA is a division of Old Salem, Inc., a not-for-profit organization created to manage the "living-history museum" that encompasses most of the restored buildings of Salem, which is a National Historic Landmark District.) 27 December 30, 1771, January 21 and February 4, 1772 Bethabara Aeltesten Conferenz Minutes, furnished in translation by the Moravian Archives.

28 February 4, 1772 Salem Diary, R2:669; editorial, 629.

29 1772 Grasse Helfer Conferenz Minutes, R2:723.

30 · Armstrong, 69, states that this organ was prepared for a third stop, without citing his source. This author has found no such evidence. Armstrong's opinion may be due to an erroneous assumption, perhaps originated by McCorkle in "Prelude," 145, that the 1772 and 1773 Bulitschek organs described in this article were identical. They were not.

31 1772 Bethabara Diary, R2:739. 32 1772 Salem Diary, R2:690. The commentary in brackets was added by the editor from Frederic William Marshall's report of that year to the Unity Elders Conference in Herrnhut, which report was an annual obligation of all the Moravian colonies worldwide.

33 1781 Helfer Conferenz Minutes R4:1719; 1781 Salem Diary, R4:1694. 34 - July 19, 1781 Helfer Conferenz Minutes, R4:1725; 1785 Salem Diary, R5:2100.

35 · January 24, 1793 Congregational Council Minutes, R6:2476; June 19, 1794 Congregational Council Minutes, R6:2508; December 6, 7, and 25, 1794 Friedland Diary entries, R6:2524.

36 ×1798 Wachovia Memorabilia, R6:2603; 1798 Salem Diary, R6:2605; 1798 Bethabara Diary, R6:2615.

37 1773 Aeltesten Conferenz Minutes, R2:764; 1773 Bethabara Diary, R2:779. 38 John Beroth (trans. Robert Beroth), *My Journey to Bethabara* (Clemmons, NC: J&R Printers, Inc., 1997), 162.

39 · Armstrong, 51, 84, and 124, note 135; Raymond J. Brunner, "That Ingenious Business:" Pennsylvania German Organ Builders (Birdsboro: Pennsylvania German Society, 1990), 106.

40 The Rev. Herbert Spaugh, "Organ Built in 1773 Serves Historic Fane in South to This Day," The Diapason 25:12 (November 1, 1934), 22. There are numerous factual errors and unfounded anecdotes in this account, so only the most reliable items have been included here. For but one example, Spaugh says that Jacob Loesch, the father of the organbuilder Johann Jacob Loesch described later in this article, helped Bulitschek build the organ. That is impossible, because he had moved back to Pennsylvania in 1769. See also Vardell, 14-15, whose work must also be used with caution, as it is somewhat anecdotal in style and he is prone to generalizations. 41 1809 Bethania Diary, R7:3099; McCorkle, "Prelude," 146, states that one pipe survives, but not where the pipe is

42 He is listed as Joseph Bolinjack in Captain Shou's District in 1790 and as Joseph Bollijack in Captain Glen's District in 1791. See Iris Moseley Harvey, Stokes County, North Carolina Tax List 1790, and ditto, 1791 (Raleigh, privately printed, 1996 and 1998, respectively), 2 and 24, respectively.

located.

43 • 1790 Bethania Diary, R5:2313; Soash research notes. Of course, once a Moravian severed his membership with the congregation, no further mention of him or her is made in their records.

44 Mrs. W. O. Absher, comp., *Stokes County, North Carolina Deeds, Vols. I & II,* 1787-1797 (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1985), 28-29; *Vols. I-IV,* 1790-1804, 24. His occupation is erroneously transcribed as "jiller."

45 McCorkle "Prelude," 145, was the first source of the death year, although he provided no footnotes or documentation. Virgil Bolerjack repeats the same death year without elaboration. Bulitschek is buried in what is now known as the Westmoreland Family Cemetery at the corner of Mercer and Dale Streets in Germanton. A modern gravestone that was not there when the cemetery was surveyed in 1973 has since been added, presumably by a descendant based on family information or results of the same research that this author has recounted. See Donald W. Stanley, comp., Forsyth County, N.C. Cemetery Records, Vol. I (Winston-Salem: Hunter Publishing Co., 1976), 24.

46 · 1767 Wachovia Diary, R1:354; 1774 Bethabara Diary, R2:836; 1775 Bethabara Diary, R2:900; 1775 Bethania Diary, R2:908; 1780 Bethania Diary, R4:1640; 1791 Salem Diary, R5:2324-25.

47 Bachmann came to Lititz from Herrnhut in 1793 at the request of Tannenberg, who was then 65 and in need of someone to help him build organs. He had asked the church elders in 1790 to help him find such a person, who could possibly also marry his youngest daughter Anna Maria, which Bachmann did. After the turn of the nineteenth century, he "anglicized" and shortened his name to Philip Bachman, but the German version is used herein because that is how it appears in Wachovia records. In addition, Tannenberg's name also appears in records as "Tanneberger," but the version commonly used today in writing about him is employed in this

48 · 1794 Congregational Council Minutes, R6:2508, 1794 Aeltesten Conferenz Minutes, R6:2509.

49 1794 Aeltesten Conferenz Minutes, R6:2510; 1794 Helfers Conferenz Minutes, R6:2512.

50 - June 30, 1795 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R6:2539-40; March 17, 1796 Congregational Council Minutes, R6:2567; June 13 and September 5, 1797 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R6:2591, 2592.

51 March 20, May 4, May 7, and May 22, 1798 Salem Diary entries, R6:2604, 2605; 1798 Wachovia Memorabilia, R6:2603. In a footnote on page 2603, Fries states that "the Salem congregation ledger shows contributions from individuals,, from the diaconies of the Singles Sisters and Single Brethren, payment for the organs sent to Bethabara and to the Brothers House, and the balance covered by the Salem covered by the Salem congregation diaconie." This indicates that even when the Moravians "recycled" assets among themselves, they put an economic value on everythings and generally made some form of cash transaction to account for them.

52 John W. Jordan, "Early Colonial Organ-builders of Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 22:2 (1898), 232; Armstrong, 106. 53 December 14, 1840 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R9:4546; 1841 Salem Diary, R9:4589-90; Frank P. Albright, The Home Moravian Church (Winston-Salem: Winston Printing Co., 1983), 25, 30. 54 September 13, 1866 Salem Board of Trustees Minutes, R12:6650-51. Other writers have erroneously given 1864 as the date it was removed. In addition, since 1859 church officials had acknowledged that the time was past that they could expect an organist to serve without compensation, but they also had trouble affording this expense. They also had to begin paying the bellows pumpers.

55 See Frank P. Albright, "The Restoration Of A Tannenberg Organ," Moravian Music Foundation Bulletin 9:1 (Fall 1964), 1-4; Charles McManis, "Restoration of Tannenberg Organ at Old Salem," The Diapason 56:4 (March 1965), 36-37; Charles W. McManis, "David Tannenberg and the Old Salem Restoration," The American Organist 48:5 (May 1965), 15-20; and Charles W. McManis and Frank P. Albright, "Tannenberg Restoration: Presenting Two Interesting Views," The Tracker 9:2 (Winter 1965), 1-2, 7-8. The last source cited included a reprint of the first source cited. Each of Mr. McManis' essays are somewhat different.

56 May 15, 1798 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R6:2610; 1799 Wachovia Memorabilia, R6:2622.

57 · Rev. Levin T. Reichel, *The Moravians in North Carolina: An Authentic History* (Salem: O.A. Keehln, and Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1857), 203. It was general practice for most Moravians to compose late in their lives a *Lebenslauf*, which was an autobiographical account of their life as well as an expression of their faith, which would be read after their death. Zevely does not mention doing this work in his *Lebenslauf* (Moravian Archives - Southern Province).

58 May 17, 1798 Aeltesten Conferenz Minutes, R6:2611; 1799 Salem Diary, R6:2627; December 10, 1799 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R6:2631; May 27, 1800 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R6:2653. 59 April 15 and 22, 1800 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R6:2651, 2652; October 14, 1802 Salem Diary entry, R6:2703.

60 · The letters from Tannenberg include those of 11 June 1800 to Samuel Stotz, 17 October 1800 to Frederick Marshall, 20 October 1800 to Bachmann, 7 December 1800 to Stotz, 18 June 1801 to Stotz, and 25 May 1802 to Stotz, all located in the archives of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, various portions of which

have been quoted in translation by different writers. Representative excerpts are in Thomas McGeary, "David Tannenberg and the Salem 1800 Organ," Moravian Music Journal 31:2 (Fall 1986), 18-23. 61 1845 Salem Memorabilia, R9:4825; September 15 and November 18, 1845 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R9:4857, 4860; for biographical details on Scherr, see Laurence Libin, American Musical Instruments in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: W.W. Norton, 1985), 130ff.; for biographical details on the Corrie family, see Stephen L. Pinel, "Late from London: Henry Corrie, Organbuilder, and His Family," The Tracker 40:4 (1996), 11-25. 62 · Although the Aeolian-Skinner opus list dates the instrument as 1957, the nameplate is dated 1959.

63 Armstrong, 107-08; Brunner, 91-92; Frank P. Albright, *The Home Moravian Church*, 27-37; museum and restoration information courtesy of Paula Locklair, Curator at MESDA.

64 · Careful cross-checking of entries in the published records by the author, using logical application of genealogical details provided by Laura M. Mosley's monograph Loesch, Lösch, Liesch, Lash (Bethania: Bethania Historical Association, n.d., but 1994), results in this revised biographical account. Fries indexed the younger Jacob as "Jacob Jr.," but that was not his true name. 65 Biographical details are from the October 31, 1821 entry of the Salem Diary (of which only a portion was included in R7:3474), the full transcript of which was provided the author courtesy of the Moravian Archives - Southern Province. 66 Armstrong, 39.

67 · 1781 Wachovia Memorabilia, R4:1660; 1781 Salem Diary, R4:1706, 1707; 1782 Bethania Diary, R4:1825.

68 · 1781 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R4:1738; 1782 Helfers Conferenz Minutes, R4:1802; 1783 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R4:1849; 1784 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R5:2036; 1784 Aeltesten Conferenz Minutes, R5:2044; 1787 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R5:2182-83.

69 : 1787 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R5:2180; 1782 Aeltesten Conferenz Minutes, R4:1803, 1806, 1807; 1785 Salem Board Minutes, R5:2095.

70 · 1789 Salem Diary, R5:2269; 1789 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R5:2280; 1789 Bethania Diary, R5:2288, 2289; 1790 Bethania Diary, R5:2313; 1797 Aeltesten Conferenz Minutes, R6:2592; Location No. 9 on site map in *Bethania in Wachovia*

71 - August 2, 1797 Aeltesten Conferenz Minutes, as reprinted in James H. Craig, *The Arts and Crafts in North Carolina*, 1699-1840 (Winston-Salem: The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, 1965), 26 (not transcribed in the published Records); October 23, 1797 Salem Diary, R6:2586. 72 1788 Bethabara Diary, R5:2251; 1798 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R6:2610; postscript of letter of 25 May 1802 from Tannenberg to Samuel Stotz, Salem, cited in Thomas McGeary, "David Tannenberg and the Salem 1800 Organ," Moravian Music Journal 31:2 (Fall 1986), 20.

73 · 1804 Bethabara Diary, R6:2788; 1820 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R7:3449. 74 Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette, 19 October 1821, 3; 1809 Salem Diary, R7:3085; 1809 Bethania Diary, R7: 3101. Unfortunately, Orpha Ochse's The History of the Organ in the United States (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), 88, is wrong in its citation of the Storch organ. It was not built in 1804. 75 By the time of his death he had anglicized his name to Rev. Charles Stork [or Storke]. Microfilm copies of his will, estate papers, and diary are in the local history collection of the Rowan Public Library in Salisbury (hereafter referred to as RPL). His obituary in the Western Carolinian, 4 April 1831, 3, states that he was a scholar and familiar with languages and the sciences (his extensive library was donated to the Lutheran Seminary in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania), but the only mention of music in any material this author could find is one sentence saying that he was "said to have been a good musician, vocal and instrumental," in John G. Morris, The Stork Family in the Lutheran Church, or Biographical Sketches (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1886), 24.

76 May 3, 1815 entry in "The Diaries of Peter Wolle" (transl. by Peter S. and Irene P. Seadle), The Three Forks of Muddy Creek 10 (1984), 28; Kate James Lepine and Anna Sherman, comps., Will Abstracts: Cumberland County, North Carolina, 1754-1863 (Fayetteville: Katana Co., 1984), 85. 77 See, for example, Daniel L. Schodek, Landmarks in American Civil Engineering (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1987), 197. Perhaps not coincidentally, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, best remembered today as an architect, and who like Loesch was a Moravian and an organist, also engineered waterworks. Although they apparently never met, Jacob may have known of Latrobe. (His brother Christian Ignatius Latrobe was a Moravian organist and composer in London.) Benjamin designed water systems for Philadelphia and New Orleans, and in 1816 was organist at St. John's Episcopal Church in Washington, D.C., according to Talbot Hamlin, Benjamin Henry Latrobe (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 463, and Schodek, 197-202.

78 1816 Bethania Diary, R7:3316; Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette, 15 October 1819, 3. 79 Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette, 16 September 1818, 3.

80 Moses N. Amis, Historical Raleigh From Its Foundation in 1792 (Raleigh: M. N. Amis, 1902), 81-82; Hope Summerell Chamberlain, History of Wake County, North Carolina: With Sketches of Those Who Have Most Influenced its Development (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Co., 1922), 196; Elizabeth Reid Murray, Wake: Capital County of North Carolina (Raleigh: Capital County Publishing Company, 1983), Vol. 1, 145-46.

81 1819 Salem Diary, R7:3399; 1819 Bethania Diary, R7:3427; the previously-cited full October 31, 1821 Salem Diary entry; Murray, 146; Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette, 12 March 1819, 2, and 15 October 1819, 3; The Raleigh Minerva, 12 March 1819, 3. Various writers state or assume that Loesch lived again in Salem. The records contradict this. He did not reside in Salem after 1789.

82 The Star [Raleigh], 15 December 1815; Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette, 11 June 1819; Register, 13 October 1820; Register, 29 December 1820.

83. John A. Oates, The Story of Fayetteville and The Upper Cape Fear (Charlotte: The Dowd Press, Inc., 1950; repr., Raleigh: Litho Industries, Inc., 1972), 108-09; Roy Parker Jr., Cumberland County: A Brief History (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1990), 54; October 31, 1821 Salem Diary entry; Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette, 19 October 1821, 3. 84 October 31, 1821 Salem Diary entry; 1822 Bethabara Diary, R7:3518; The Star And North-Carolina State Gazette [Raleigh], 29 March 1822, 4. A more detailed family genealogy and additional anecdotal information about Johann Jacob is given in Mosley's previously-cited monograph. There is no separate Lebenslauf for Loesch to be found at the Moravian Archives, and it was therefore presumably incorporated into the October 31, 1821 Salem Diary entry. 85 Account of the Formal Dedication of the

85 Account of the Formal Dedication of the Chapel or Meeting Hall (Saal) of the Girls Boarding School in the New Addition to their Present Dwelling-Schoolhouse, September, 1824, in Salem, R8:3692.

86 1836 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R8:4227-28.

87 · 1838 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R9:4402; 1844 Bethania Diary, R9:4804; 1847 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R9:4966.

88 1839 Aufseher Collegium Minutes, R9:4476.

89 1839 Salem Diary, R9:4462. 90 John Watson, "Claviers for Salem: Historic Keyboard Instruments in the Salem Moravian Community," *Moravian Music Journal* 31:1 (Spring 1986), 10-11; inspection notes by Barbara Owen on file at MESDA.

91 · 1789 Salem Diary, R5:2268; Armstrong, 113. Donald M. McCorkle states that the general tendency was to use the term "clavier" in a generic sense for any keyboard instrument, which thus prevents an accurate accounting of all the various keyboard instruments in Wachovia, in his aforecited article "Musical Instruments of the Moravians in North Carolina," 14. Thus, ultimately, there is only the translation of the 1839 text to go by. See also Thomas McGeary, "David Tannenberg and the Clavichord in Eighteenth-Century America," *The Organ Yearbook* 13 (1982), 94-106.

92 May 12/13, 1815 entry in "The Diaries of Peter Wolle," 29.

93 1805 Salem Diary, Records 6:2808. 94 Frank P. Albright, *Johann Ludwig Eberhardt and His Salem Clocks* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978, 93-94.

95 + 1799 Wachovia Memorabilia, R6:2622; 1799 Salem Diary, R6:2627.

96 Albright, Eberhardt, 10-19, 63. 97 James S. Brawley, The Rowan Story, 1753-1953: A Narrative History of Rowan County, North Carolina (Salisbury: Rowan Printing Co., 1953), 30. He also quotes a long-time member of the congregation who claimed that it was not a "union" church. However, most sources state that it was. The distinction as to true "union" churches may lie in whether or not more than one sect had title to a property, versus one merely being permitted to hold services in another congregation's church when they were not using it. Brawley also states that it was in the 1750s that the Reformed Germans and the Lutherans separated over doctrinal issues, but he was likely wrong, as the date seems premature. On the other hand, the Rev. George H. Cox, in his History of Organ Church, Rowan County, N.C., with an Account of the Centennial Celebration of the First Edifice, May 6, 1894 (Newberry, SC: Aull & Houseal, 1894), 3, stated that the exact date of the congregation's organization is not known, but he surmised it to be between 1765 and 1770. He was likely wrong as well, as the date seems too

98 · See, for examples, William H. Gehrke, "The Beginnings of the Pennsylvania-German Element in Rowan and Cabarrus Counties, North Carolina," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 58:4 (October 1934), 342-69; Robert W. Ramsey, Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 146-51; and Carl Hammer, Jr., Rhinelanders on the Yadkin: The Story of the Pennsylvania Germans in Rowan and Cabarrus Counties, North Carolina (Salisbury: Rowan

late.

Printing Co., 1943, 2nd ed., 1965), 26, all of whom agree that aside from a trickle of German arrivals around 1747, the true influx began in the 1750s (witness that most place names, particularly waterways, in the area were English titles, given by the Scotch-Irish who preceded the Germans). Jacob L. Morgan, Bachman S. Brown, Jr., and John Hall, eds., "The Lutheran Church is Planted," in History of the Lutheran Church in North Carolina (n.p.: Union Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina, 1953), 19-28, as cited in Davyd Foard Hood, The Architecture of Rowan County, North Carolina: A Catalogue and History of Surviving 18th, 19th, and Early 20th Century Structures (Salisbury: Rowan County Historic Properties Commission, 1983), 75, give "by 1750" as the date of Zion's organization. 99 - Rev. Jethro Rumple, A History of Rowan County, North Carolina, Containing Sketches of Prominent Families and Distinguished Men with an Appendix (Salisbury: J. J. Bruner, 1881; repr., Salisbury: Elizabeth Maxwell Steele Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, 1916, 1929; repr., Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1978), 329-30. 100 Cox, 4-5, quotes Rev. Storch's statement (in the original German and in English translation) written on January 31, 1789 in the church's records that "In the 1774th year after the birth of Christ, the following members of our congregation began to build the so-called Organ church." This does not mean that it had an organ in 1774, as will be seen. Brawley's, Cox's and Hammer's beliefs that the present stone church was started in 1774 and took twenty years to finish due to the economic and social disruptions caused by the American Revolution, but saying it was in use by the congregation at least by 1784, are incorrect. A letter from Rev. Storch to Johann Caspar Velthusen in Germany dated December 19, 1791 included a statement that "The congregation of the Organ Church will erect a new building next summer, and, to be specific, it will be a stone church." See William K. Boyd, ed., and Charles A. Krummel, transl., "German Tracts Concerning the Lutheran Church in North Carolina During the Eighteenth Century," North Carolina Historical Review 7:2 (April 1930), 261-62. Another letter to Velthusen dated February 25, 1796, reprinted in Morgan, Brown and Hall, 263-64, and cited in Hood, 76, included the comment that "The stone church of my congregation on Second Creek was completed last Autumn and will be consecrated on Easter of this year. It is fifty feet long, forty feet wide, and about twenty feet high. It cost 1100 to 1200 Spanish taler."

101 Rumple, 284-85.

102 Rowan County Deed Book 11, page 408, listing the purchase by Zion congregation of land from Lutvick [Ludwig]

Sefret, cited in James S. Brawley, "Origin of Organ Lutheran Church," *Salisbury Post*, 4 November 1961. A letter from Rev. Storch to Velthusen dated May 28, 1789, cited in Boyd and Krummel, 240, also referred to the church as "Organ Church," two years before they started work on their new building. By then the congregation had grown to 87 families. The 1783 date is in Alene Ventura, "Church Famed For Pipe Organ Has One Again," *Salisbury Post*, 4 June 1972.

103 · G.D.B., "The History of Organ Church, Rowan County, N.C.," Carolina Watchman [Salisbury], 17 January 1860, 1, and 24 January 1860, 1.

104 G. D. Bernheim, History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina, from the Earliest Period of the Colonization of the Dutch, German, and Swiss Settlers to the Close of the First Half of the Present Century (Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store, 1872), 243, 337. Portions of his book were published in abridged form in William L. Saunders, ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol. VIII: 1768-1771, 769.

105 Bernard William Cruse, Jr., transcriber, *The Samuel Rothrock Diaries*, 1834-1893 (Salisbury: North Carolina Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 1994), 88.

106 - In addition to yardsticks as souvenirs, a gavel and block was made from part of the organ frame and inlaid with bone from some of its keys, according to Cox, 6, 20. Morgan, Brown and Hall, 265, state that it was during the pastorate of the Rev. William R. Brown, 1886-1894, that the remodeling occurred and the organ was "allowed to be destroyed."

107 As with Bulitschek, Steigerwalt's name was spelled with many variants in multiple records; for example, at immigration it was noted as "Steygerwaldt." The name roughly translates into English as "forest guide." For most of the basic genealogical details on the Stirewalt family herein, the author has relied on James M. Kluttz, Some of the Descendants of John Stirewalt (Johannes Steygerwaldt), Rowan County, North Carolina (Landis, NC: privately printed, 1994), but supplemented with specific documents wherever possible. Organ Church also has some Stirewalt material in a "Stirewalt Family File" in its office, but some of the statements therein are garbled by well-meaning but inaccurate research by descendants.

108 Ralph Beaver Strassburger and William John Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, 3 vols. (Norristown: Pennsylvania Geramn Society, 1934), Vol. 1, 411-12. 109 Rowan County Book of Deeds, Vol. 12, p. 436, December 29, 1773, as "John Sitcherwalt." Later deeds spell his surname as "Staggerwalt" (transcriptions in the

McCubbins collection, RPL). The year 1773 is also the earliest that Eugene H. Bean found in his *Rowan County (N.C.) Records, Early Settlers* (Washington, DC: The Carnahan Press, 1914), 10.

110 Some writers have claimed that Stirewalt family members, such as Johannes, John, and Jacob were architects and/or professional housebuilders. There is no absolute proof for these assertions. This point is included here because it strengthens the premise of this essay that any organbuilding they did was also non-professional. See Hood, 85-86, note 26, for details

111 Will of John Stirewalt, November 1827, Rowan County Will Book N, 436-440 (microfilm at RPL).

112 February 18 and July 26, 1818 Salem Diary entries, R7:3365, 3368; William L. Saunders, *Colonial Records VIII*, 792; loose estate papers of John N. Stirewalt, 1837 (microfilm at RPL), *Life Sketches of Lutheran Ministers, North Carolina and Tennessee Synods, 1773-1965* (Salisbury: North Carolina Synod of the Lutheran Church in America, 1966), 206-07.

113 - Hammer, 87, 97; Kluttz, 16-17. 114 Marian Wright, "Pipe Organ Built by Stirewalt in 1821 Has Unique Background," The Charlotte Observer, 31 August 1941, 6. Ms. Wright's article must be used carefully, as it has obvious historical and technical errors concerning Stirewalt and organs. 115 Craig, 369; Barbara Owen, comp., "New Revised Builder's List," The Tracker 9:2 (winter 1965), 9, The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger, 5 February 1811; Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser, 20 January 1812; The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger, 30 January 1813, 16 November 1815, and 30 April 1816; mortagage and indenture record summaries in card file at MESDA.

116 John Speller's review essay in *The Tracker* 44:1 (2000), 5-9, is an excellent summary of how the Moravians' pietistic approach to religion affected their organ designs.

117 Kenneth Silverman, A Cultural History of the American Revolution: Painting, Music, Literature, and the Theatre in the Colonies and the United States from the Treaty of Paris to the Inauguration of George Washington, 1763-1789 (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1976), 640, note 32.

SPECIAL NOTES

The most precise and detailed primary sources for this article are contained in the various diaries and writings kept by the Moravians themselves, many of which have been compiled and published in an ongoing, multi-volume, modern edition entitled *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. Due to the extent of their use herein, some additional explanation is required. The volumes published thus far are as follows:

Vol. 1, 1752-1771 (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Co., 1922)

Vol. 2, 1752-1775 (ditto, 1925)

Vol. 3, 1776-1779 (ditto, 1926)

Vol. 4, 1780-1783 (ditto, 1930)

Vol. 5, 1784-1792 (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1941)

Vol. 6, 1793-1808 (ditto, 1943)

Vol. 7, 1809-1822 (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1947)

Vol. 8, 1823-1837 (ditto, 1954)

Vol. 9, 1838-1847 (ditto, 1964)

Vol. 10, 1841-1851 (ditto, 1966)

Vol. 11, 1852-1879 (ditto, 1969) Vol. 12, 1856-1866 (ditto, 2000)

The editors have been as follows: for the first seven volumes, Adelaide L. Fries, Archivist of the Moravian Church in America - Southern Province; for the eighth, Fries and Douglas LeTell Rights; for the ninth, Minnie J. Smith; for the tenth and eleventh, Kenneth G. Hamilton; and for the twelfth, C. Daniel Crews and Lisa D. Bailey. Records were kept in German until 1855, and thereafter in English. Dr. Fries did her own translations, while the others had assistance in this regard. There are five primary types of documents used in these compilations, as follows:

Aeltesten Conferenz Minutes

This was the Conference of Elders, which was originally the governing body of Wachovia as a whole, but later was concerned primarily with spiritual matters, as well as education, morals, and general behavior. This body had responsibility to ensure that all other boards and officials within its jurisdiction functioned harmoniously.

Aufseher Collegium Minutes

This was the Supervisory (literally, "Oversight") Board, a body that was responsible for the material and financial interests of the congregations, regulating businesses, prices, and wages, accounting for funds received and expended, and controlling property ownership. It also acted as an arbitrator in the case of disputes.

Congregational Diaries

(e.g. Bethabara, Bethania, Salem, and so forth)

This was an account of the happenings in a given congregation, generally written by the pastor. Almost every day of the year received some form of entry in a diary.

Helfer Conferenz Minutes

This was the Conference of Ministers (literally, "helpers"), comprised of the pastors of the different congregations in Wachovia.

Wachovia Memorabilia

This was a year-end summary of noteworthy events for the year in the entire Wachovia tract, generally written by the head pastor, and read each December 31 during a worship service of each assembled congregation.

Over time, the responsibilities of different bodies changed, or different combinations of officials were created. For example, on occasion minutes are included from a "Congregational

Council," which was an advisory body made up of elected and ex-officio representatives from other groups. While all this may seem unnecessarily complicated to a modern observer, the Moravians were extremely deliberative people and thus created an organizational structure that ensured that all possible aspects of a matter would be carefully considered before a decision was made. The information from the various sources tends not to overlap much, as each account represents its group's perspective or objective.

Other primary sources, including letters, reports, and personal accounts, are occasionally appended to or interspersed among the above five types of sources, and the editors generally provided introductory historical sketches to each volume or each year as necessary to provide contextual information. The volumes are paginated continuously, and by now comprise some 6,700 pages of text. Due to the volume of their use in this article, notes are simplified by the use of an abbreviated method of citation: first, the date and name of the source is given, then the volume number (e.g. R2), and then the page number(s). The diarists were usually the minister of the congregation, but attributions of authorship have not been included to reduce the complexity of citations.

Finally, it should be noted that the Records do NOT contain complete transcriptions of all documents. (They also do not contain transcriptions of financial information. The business organization of a congregation or a choir was known as a "Diacony," and their journals may be deemed equivalent to ledgers, but these must still be consulted in manuscript.) The editors chose their own excerpts, and thus on occasion some organ information which has been made separately available over the years by Moravian archivists to researchers was not included in the published volumes. In addition, although the volumes are well-indexed, the indices are not always exhaustive or totally accurate, and although this author has carefully examined this compilation, it is still possible that some additional details may have escaped attention. It was not possible to examine the original writings.

Minutes

National Council Meeting Friday and Saturday, February 2-3, 2001 Boston, Massachusetts Trinity Episcopal Church

The minutes below follow the order of the Agenda, and not necessarily the order of their discussion.

Call to order: The meeting was called to order by Vice-President Scot Huntington at 7:44 p.m., Friday, February 2. Present: Scot Huntington (Vice-President), Stephen Schnurr (Secretary), David Barnett (Treasurer), Allison Alcorn-Oppedahl, Michael Barone, Paul Marchesano, Patrick Murphy, Lois Regestein, Peter Sykes, William Van Pelt (Executive Director). Absent: Jonathan Ambrosino (President).

Approval of minutes: minutes of the meeting October 20-21, 2000, in Princeton, New Jersey, had been approved previously by e-mail.

Reports:

Executive Director: William Van Pelt. A written report was received from the Executive Director. He reported orally that gross sales from the catalogue in the first quarter of this fiscal year have experienced a growth of 21% from the same quarter in the previous year. Discussion of possible additional clerical help ensued. The next issue of *The Tracker*, volume 44, number 3, is expected to be sent to the printer within the week, perhaps mailed within three weeks. Items for volume 44, number 4, are now in-hand.

Treasurer: David Barnett. A written report was presented by the Treasurer.

The meeting recessed for the day at 9:00 p.m. The meeting was reconvened by President Ambrosino on Saturday morning, 9:22 a.m., Saturday, February 3. Present: Jonathan Ambrosino (President), Scot Huntington (Vice-President), Stephen Schnurr (Secretary), David Barnett (Treasurer), Allison Alcorn-Oppedahl, Michael Barone, Paul Marchesano, Patrick Murphy, Lois Regestein, Peter Sykes, William Van Pelt (Executive Director).

Councilors' Reports

Finance and Development: Patrick Murphy. Councilor Murphy presented a written report. Gifts in the amount of \$4,884 have been received for the Millennium Fund between October 1, 2000, and February 1, 2001.

Historical Concerns: Lois Regestein. A written report was delivered by Councilor Regestein. Reports regarding the Pipe Organ Database (Elizabeth Towne Schmitt) and the Organ Citation Committee (Mary Gifford) were given. The Citations Committee has awarded plaques to the following organs: 1906 Kilgen, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Casselberry, Florida; c. 1919 Kilgen, Olivet Episcopal Church, Alexandria, Virginia; 1859 E. & G. G. Hook, First Baptist Church, Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts; 1891 Hook & Hastings, Allston Congregational Church, Allston, Massachusetts. Minutes of the October 2000 meeting of the American Organ Archives Governing Board were presented.

Organizational Concerns: Michael Barone. A written report was given by Councilor Barone.

Research and Publications: Allison Alcorn-Oppedahl. Councilor Alcorn-Oppedahl delivered a written report. Discussion of a monograph series and other publications followed.

Conventions: Peter Sykes. Councilor Sykes submitted a written report on upcoming conventions. President Ambrosino reported that much of the research for the next Organ Handbook had been accomplished in November. A rate card for advertising is due to be sent out at mid-April. Production is due to be sent to the printer by early June.

Education: Paul Marchesano. A written report was submitted by Councilor Marchesano.

Old Business

Ten Year Plan: Vice President Huntington reported that a number of job descriptions of Council positions and the Executive Director have been received. Councilor Barone will convey these items to the By-laws subcommittee for their review with their work.

Membership Brochure: A mock-up of the brochure was presented by Councilor Murphy to be produced in-house.

The meeting recessed at 12:23 p.m. and reconvened at 2:03 p.m. Moved: Alcorn-Oppedahl; Second—Huntington; that National Council direct the Executive Director to enter into negotiations with Frank Morana to be editor of *The Tracker*, beginning within volume 45. Passed unanimously.

Moved: Regestein; Second—Murphy; that the Executive Director be authorized to offer 2001 Convention registration and expenses to the candidate for editor of *The Tracker*, to be taken from the Development Fund. Passed unanimously.

New Business

Moved: Alcorn-Oppedahl; Second—Marchesano; that contracts for convention lectures must be written to: 1) state that the Organ Historical Society will have first refusal for publication of the lecture or an adaptation of it in some form, whether it be in a periodical such as The Tracker, or as a book, monograph, video, or some other appropriate format. The lecturer will be informed within one year whether the OHS will publish the lecture. In the absence of such notification, all rights in the lecture revert to the lecturer; 2) require transfer of lecture text or notes during the convention or before to a designated OHS representative for consideration for publication; 3) the lecturer or an editor/publications specialist appointed by the OHS may adapt the text for publication in the format chosen; 4) the lecturer will receive payment at the conclusion of the lecture and upon delivery of the lecture text or notes (payment will not be delayed if these two conditions are met). Passed unanimously.

Moved: Murphy; Second—Barone; that the Councilor for Finance and Development establish an endowment committee consisting of the Councilor for Finance and Development as chair, and two members, appointed by the Chair, plus the Treasurer as *ex officio*, to advise on endowment investment. Passed unanimously.

Moved: Sykes; Second—Marchesano; that National Council accept a proposal to have the 2005 National Convention of the Organ Historical Society in the Old Colony of Southeast Massachusetts. Passed, one opposed.

Moved: Sykes; Second—Barone; that one free day's convention registration or 15% off early registration for an entire convention be extended to convention recitalists and lecturers. Passed unanimously.

Moved: Regestein; Second—Marchesano; that \$600.00 be provided to Elizabeth Towne Schmitt to assist with database consulting and development, with understanding that she will notify the Executive Director how much additional funding is needed. Passed unanimously.

Moved: Barone; Second—Huntington; that National Council approve the request of the By-laws Review Committee that funding be given to the Committee to meet by the end of 2001. Passed unanimously.

Moved: Barone; Second—Huntington; that Michael Friesen be appointed chair of the Distinguished Service Award Committee. Passed unanimously.

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Moved: Barnett; Second—Barone, to adjourn the meeting. Passed, two negative. Meeting adjourned at 5:46 p.m. Next meeting to be held Tuesday, June 19 (1:00 until 9:00 p.m.), and Wednesday, June 20, 2001 (beginning 9:00 a.m.), in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

—Respectfully submitted, Stephen Schnurr, Secretary.
—Approved Wednesday, 20 June 2001, in Clemmons, North Carolina.

National Council Meeting Monday, March 26, 2001 Park Ridge, Illinois Mary, Seat of Wisdom Catholic Church

Call to order and establishment of quorum. ree c
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Moved (Marchesano); Second—Alcorn-Oppedahl; that all meetings of the National Council and appointed committees be conducted in accordance with Robert's Rules of Order, current edition. Said edition shall be the reference authority on all questions of Parliamentary Procedure in all Society business. Motion passed unanimously.

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Old Business

Tabled Motion from February meeting, that National Council create a full-time Director of Publications. Motion withdrawn by mover—Huntington.

Moved Alcorn-Oppedahl; second—Marchesano, to amend tabled motion from previous meeting to read that lectures from the Boston Convention of 2000 be published as a triple issue of *The Tracker* in volume 45. Motion passed unanimously.

Moved Alcorn-Oppedahl; second—Marchesano, that the Boston 2000 Convention chairman and the Executive Director be directed to forward all lectures and accompanying photos for the Boston 2000 lectures delivered by Jonathan Ambrosino, Matthew Bellocchio, Pamela Fox, Alan Laufman, Barbara Owen, and Andrew Unsworth, to the newly-appointed *Tracker* Editor, no later than May 1, 2001, for publication in the upcoming special triple issue. Motion passed unanimously.

Meeting recessed for luncheon at 12:45 p.m. Meeting reconvened at 2:03 p.m.

New Business

Moved Marchesano; Second-Alcorn-Oppedahl, to amend the Organ Historical Society By-laws as follows:

- a) Article IV, section 8 (b) to read, "Councilor for Archives:

 Co—ordinates the work of the Society with regard to the American
 Organ Archives, and in the areas of general gathering of organ—historical information, viz., of extant organs, and the Archives
 Fellowship Research Grant, and Archives Symposia. Councilor for
 Archives shall be the Chair of the American Organ Archives Governing Board and acts as liaison between the American Organ Archives Governing Board and National Council."
- Article IV, section 8 (a) to read, "Councilor for Education:
 Co—ordinates the work of the Society in the areas of educational programs and resources, symposia, fellowships, and of recognition

of historic organs, of historical organ recitals, of audio-visual and internet programs, in the areas of ethical standards of conservation and restoration standards, and in international interests." Motion passed unanimously.

Moved Murphy; Second—Marchesano; that National Council authorize expenditure from interest on the Millennium Fund with shortfall from the General Fund to cover printing and mailing costs of the Millennium Fund-drive brochure. Motion passed unanimously.

Moved Murphy; Second—Schnurr; to direct the Councilor for Finance to co-ordinate the work of Jerry Morton, Fund Drive Administrator, with respect to the Millennium Fund routine duties. Motion passed unanimously.

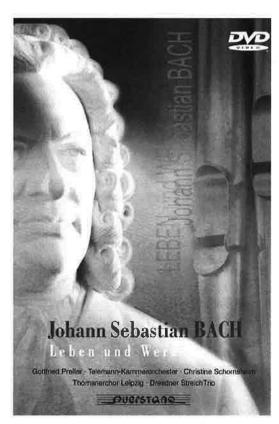
Moved Murphy; Second—Marchesano; to direct the Executive Director to work with the Councilor for Finance to enter into an agreement with Solomon Smith Barney to establish an investment account for the Millennium Fund Drive. Once said account is established, the Treasurer is directed to transfer all principal and accrued interest collected for the Millennium Fund Drive into this account. Motion passed unanimously.

Moved Alcorn-Oppedahl; second—Murphy; to investigate the administrative structure of the Organ Historical Society and to explore the need to create additional director positions and the hiring of additional employees. Subsidiary motion: Moved Alcorn-Oppedahl; Second—Marchesano; to commit the question to a special committee, consisting of: Scot Huntington, Chair; Agnes Armstrong; Michael Felenzer; Len Levasseur; Randall Wagner; James Wallman; William Van Pelt; to be called, "The Employment Review Committee." This committee shall review the need to hire additional employees, including the possible creation of additional director positions and to make a formal report to Council with its recommendations, including budgetary impact, preferably by the June meeting, but no later than the regularly-scheduled fall meeting. Said committee shall be empowered to conduct business by telephone fax, mail, and e-mail. Motions passed unanimously.

Resolved Marchesano; Second—Schnurr; that until a plan for future employment structure is accepted by National Council, any new employee is hired with the understanding that the employment structure of the Organ Historical Society is under review and subject to change. Resolution passed unanimously.

Adjournment: Moved: Sykes; Second—Marchesano; to adjourn the meeting. Meeting adjourned at 5:30 p.m. Next meeting to be held Wednesday, June 20 (1:00 p.m. until 7:00 p.m.), and Thursday, June 21, 2001 (beginning 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.), in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

—Respectfully submitted, Stephen Schnurr, Secretary.
—Approved, Wednesday, 20June 2001, in Clemmons, North Carolina.



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Toccata & Fugue in D minor, BWV 565

Gottfried Preller, organist; Bach Church, Arnstadt; Wender organ reconstructed by Otto Hoffmann Orgelbau of Ostheim

Cantata Gott ist mein König, BWV 71

Telemann-Kammerorchester and Choir, St., Mary's Church, Mühlhausen

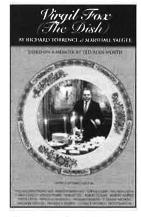
Concerto in C, BWV 984, after Johann Ernst von Sachsen-Weimar Christine Schornsheim, harpsichord, Weimar Castle

Brandenburg Concerto No. 3, BWV 1048 Telemann-Kammerorchester, Köthen Castle

Der Geist hilft unser Schwachheit auf, BWV 226

The Boys' Choir of St. Thomas Church, Leipzig, conducted by Thomaskantor Georg Christoph Biller

Excerpts from The Art of Fugue, BWV 1080 Dresden String Trio



Virgil Fox, The Dish

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tional Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, Washington, D.C., spectacularly recorded in grand acoustics. Each of three Mollers in the main church (with about 120 ranks altogether) is played individually and together, with the addition of the Washington Brass Ensemble for rousing Gabrielli and Litaize works. The fourth organ is the much admired Schudi 3-29 in the Crypt. Latona, director of music at the Shrine, plays beautifully. A sonic blockbuster! OAR-560 \$14.98



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Barbara Owen

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Program No. 0132

8/6/2001

Everything Old is New Again... it's initial "run" as accompaniment to silent films lasted barely a decade, but the resilient theatre organ is reborn for each new generation.

GERSHWIN: They all laughed — Lyn Larsen (Wurlitzer/Sanfilippo Music Salon, Barrington, IL) Musical Contrasts-207 OHS ROSE-CONRAD: Barney Google — Leonard

ROSE-CONRAD: Barney Google — Leonard Leigh (Wurlitzer/KSTP Studio, St. Paul, MN) RCA LSP-1665 (out-of-print)

WAYNE: It happened in Monterey — Walter Strony (Wurlitzer/BerkeleyTh.) TV-101 OHS

RODGERS: My funny valentine —Jim Riggs (Wurlitzer/Oakland Param'nt)RTR-103 OHS

GIBBONS: Garden in the Rain —Jim Riggs (Barton/Granada Theater, Kansas City, KS) RTR CD-105 (see above)

ALLEN & BAYER-SEGER: Everything old is new again—David Peckham (Marr & Colton/ Clemens Center, Elmira, NY) Veteran Hill CD-1961 (OHS)

HERMAN: Mame — Tom Hazelton (Wurlitzer/Merle Norman Tower, Sylmar, CA)
Pro Arte-435

BART: Where is love — Billy Nalle (Wurlitzer/ Century II Center, Wichita) LP-1458 (OLF)

CHOPIN: Fantasie-Impromptu — Ashley Miller (Wurlitzer/Radio City Music Hall, NYC) Columbia CL-945 (OLF)

KETELBY: In a Persian Market—Patrick Wedd (Wurlitzer/Vancouver, BC) CBC-1019 ELLINGTON: Swamp Fire—Barbara Sellers (Allen/Music Box Theatre, Chicago)

SCOTT: Powerhouse. BLANE: The boy next door — John Seng (hybrid/Mundelein College) P&P-51193

ALLEN: I go to Rio — Rob Richards (Wurlitzer/Detroit Senate) Rainbeaux RR-1001 (1509 W. Ileso Circle, Mesa, AZ 85202)

KERN: The way you look tonight—Dan Bellomy (Trousdale Studio organ) Beldale-101 RODGERS: This nearly was mine—Chris Elliott (Wurlitzer/Shea's Buffalo [NY]) CPE-104 (out-of-print)

ANONYMOUS: Steppin' on the Ivories

—Ron Rhode (Kimball/Colonial Theatre,
Phoenixville, PA) Roxy-105 OHS

Program No. 0133 8/13/2001

Italian Evolution . . . musical prototypes were born and nurtured in the Italian Boot. FRESCOBALDI: Toccata No. 5 (Bk 2) — Liuwe Tamminga (1596 Malamini/San Petronio Basilica, Bologna) Radio Nederland CD-8903 (Box 222,1200 JG Hilversum, The Netherlands) ANTEGNATI: Ricercar del Duodecimo Tono MERULA: Capriccio Cromatica — Stef Tuinstra (1556 Antegnati/San Maurizio, Milan) Radio Nederland CD-8905

GABRIELI: Ricercare on the 7th and 8th Tones — Roberto Micconi (1972 Tamburini/ San Marco, Venice) Motette-10561 (OHS)

PELLEGRINI: Organ Concerto in G, Op. 8, no. 4 (1st mvt) — Rudolf Ewerhart (Altenberg Parish) FSM CD-92201

BERGAMO: Sinfonia in D – Jos van Immerseel (1825 Serassi/Santa Maria Basilica, Piacenza) Radio Nederland CD-8905

GALUPPI: Sonata in d; Largo in F. LUCCHESI: Sonata No. 2 in F — Roberto Micconi (1790 Callido/San Zaccaria, Venice); 1856 Bazzani/St. Maria del Rosario, Venice) Motette-10561 (OHS)

BOSSI: Chant du soir, Op. 92, no. 1; Scherzo in g, Op. 49, no. 2.

RAVANELLO: Theme & Variations in b—Roberto Micconi (1986 Kney/St. Thomas Univ., St. Paul, MN) MPR tape (r. 11/30/87)

CASELLA: Sinfonia, fr Concerto Romano (1926) — Austrian Radio Sym/Leif Segerstam, cond; Martin Haselböck (1975 Rieger/St. Augustine Church, Vienna) Koch-Schwann CD-317002 (OHS)

Program No. 0134 8/20/2001

An Austrian Succession ... a selective and occasionally irreverent survey of four centuries of music from in and around Vienna.

KERLL: Toccata No. 8; Capriccio Cucu
– Martin Haselböck (1642 Freundt/
Klosterneuburg Monastery) Novalis
CD-150094 (OLF)

MOZART: Sonata in g, S. 312; Eine kleine Gigue, K.574 — Ales Barta (1993 Rieger-Kloss/Unicov Concert Hall, Czech Republic) Supraphon CD-0008-2131

STRAUSS: Emperor Waltz —Peter Conte (1908 Hope-Jones, with additions/Ocean Grove Auditorium, New Jersey) Pipedreams CD-1002 OHS

WAGENSEIL: Organ Concerto No. 1 in A -SW German Chamber Orchestra of Pforzheim/Yadislav Czarnecki, cond; -Stefan Johannes Bleicher (1828 Vischer/ Church of St. Peter & St. Paul, Mössingen) ebs-6089 (Qualiton, 718-937-8515)

SCHUBERT: Fugue in e, D 952 — Elizabeth Anderson and Douglas Lawrence (1991 Casavant/Melbourne Concert Hall, Australia) Move CD-3180 (OHS)

SCHUBERT: Ave Maria — Virgil Fox (Aeolian-Skinner/Riverside Church, New York City) EMI Classics CD-66088 (OHS)

KERLL: Magnificat Quarti Toni —Hofmusikkapelle Wien; Martin Haselböck (Klosterneuburg) Novalis CD-150094

MUFFAT: Toccata No. 5, fr Apparatus Musico-Organisticus — Michael Radulescu (1714 Sieber/Michaelerkirche, Vienna) Ars Musici 2CD-1108 (QI)

RADULESCU: Psalm 88 (Lord, God of my salvation), fr Old Testament Prayers - Maria Höller, s; Michael Radulescu (1982 Metzler/Jesuit Church, Lucerne, Switzerland) Ars Musici-1075 (QI)

MOZART: Fantasia in f, K. 608 – Martin Haselböck (1758 Pirchner/Brixen Cathedral, Switzerland) Novalis-150054 (OLF)

Program No. 0135 8/27/2001

Sebastian and Sons... a select survey of the work of diligent offspring laboring mightily in the shadow of their immortal father, a Bach family album.

J. S. BACH: Toccata in C, S, 564 — Harald Vogel (1991 Ahrend/San Simpliciano Basilica, Milan) Deutsche Harmonia Mundi-1024 W F. BACH: 2 Fugues for Keyboard, F. 31 (No. 1 in C; No. 4 in d) — Leo van Doeselaar (1828 Lohman/Reformed Ch., Farmsum, The Netherlands) Etcetera-20031 (OI)

W. F. BACH: Fugue in B-flat, F.34 — Leo van Doeselaar (1727 Müller/Jacobin Church, Leeuwarden) Etcetera CD-2003-2 (QI)

 C. P. E. BACH: Sonata in F, Wq.70, #3
 Roger Sherman (1982 Brombaugh/ Christ Epis., Tacoma, WA) Loft-1001 (OHS)

J. C. BACH: Concerto No. 5 in E-flat — London Bach Consort; Stephen Farr (Kennetli Tickell trunk organ) Meridian-84295 (Al)

J. C. F BACH: Cello Sonata in A —Anner Bylsma, vcl; Bob van Asperen (1985 Rama & Raadgever trunk organ) Sony-45945 (prms) W. F. BACH: 3 Chorale-preludes, F.38 (No. 2, Christe, der du bist; No 6, Wir Christenleut, No. 5, Wir danken dir); Fugue in g, F.37 —Wolfgang Baumgratz (1797 Holzhay/ Neresheim) Christophorus-77109 (QI) J. S. BACH: Adagio & Fugue in C, S, 564 —Harald Vogel (1991 Ahrend/San Simpliciano, Milan) Deutsche Harmonia Mundi-1024

Program No. 0136 9/3/2001

Continental Zephyr...a sampler of recordings made in France and Germany by the small CD labels, Aeolus and Unda Maris, fresh breezes from western Europe.

MOZART: Overture in C, L. 399 -Michelle Leclerc (1990 Boisseau & Cattiaux/St. Stephen Cath., Sens, France) Aeolus-10071 (OHS)

BACH: Fugue in c, S. 546-Suzanne Chaisemartin (1974 Kem/l'Eglise Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, Paris) Aeolus-10111 (OHS)

BOËLY: Duo; Dialogue; Grand-Choeur -François-Henri Houbart (1878 Cavaillé-Coll/Bayeux Cath.) Aeolus -10101 (OHS)

LANGLAIS: 2 Pieces (Française; Prelude sur les grands jeux), fr Suite Française -Pierre Cogen (1990 Göckel/Holy Ghost Church, Mannheim) Aeolus-10081 (OHS)

FLEURY: Carillon sur le 'Victimae' -Denis Comtet (1993 Dargassies/Church of Saint-François-Xavier, Paris) Aeolus-10041 (OHS) GUILAIN: Suite du Premier Ton (excerpts) -Francis Chapelet (1754 Dom Bedos-1985 Quoirin/Abbatiale Sainte-Croix, Bordeau) Aeolus-10051 (OHS)

WALLENHORST: Scherzo-Improvisation -Ansgar Wallenhorst (1958 Seifert/St. Matthias Church, Berlin-Schönberg) Aeolus-10021 (OHS)

KRAMER: Pentecost Improvisations-Otto Krämer (1890 Cavaillé-Coll/Saint-Ouen de Rouen) Aeolus-10031 (OHS)

SOLDT: 2 Dances. BACH: Chorale-prelude, Allein Gott, S. 711. KELLNER: Fantasia in g -Andreas Schröder (1989 Fischer & Krämer/St. Konrad Church, Mannheim-Rheinau Casterfeld) Aeolus-10011 (OHS)

VIERNE: Carillon de Longpont, fr Pieces in Free Style, Op 31 -Joachim Neugart (1907 Seifert/Quirinus-Münsters, Neuss) Unda Maris-20021 (OLF)

BLANC: Fresque-Improvisation -Frédéric Blanc (1964 Beuchet/St. Peter's Cathedral, Angouleme) Aeolus-10091 (OHS)

REGER: Finale, fr Chorale-Fantasy, Op. 52/1 -Stefan Schmidt (1981 Seifert/St. Mary's Basilica, Kevelaer) Aeolus-10061 (OHS)

Program No. 0137 9/10/2001

From the Wolf's Den . . . a return visit with the iconoclastic Wolfgang Rübsam, recitalist, CD producer, pilot, Bach-fancier and barber. BUXTEHUDE: Praeludium in A, BuxWY 151 -Wolfgang Rübsam (1993 Fisk/Caruth Audit., SMU, Dallas) RMC-1994 (RMC, 46 South, 700 East, Valparaiso, IN 46383)

BUXTEHUDE: Chorale-prelude, Gelobet seist du, BuxWV 152 -Wolfgang Rübsam (Metzler/ Jesuit Church, Zurich) Bellaphon CD-69001029 (OLF)

BASSANO (trans. Scheidemann): Motet, Dic nobis Maria -Wolfgang Rübsam (1959 Schlicker-1999 Dobson/Valparaiso Univ., IN) VUCA-1004 (vucamedia@valpo.edu)

RHEINBERGER: Praeludium, fr Sonata No. 8 in e, Op. 132 -Wolfgang Rübsam (1877 Sauer/Fulda Cath.) Naxos-8.554549 (OHS)

JEHAN ALAIN: Berceuse sur deux notes; Intermezzo-Wolfgang Rübsam (1970 Rieger/ Marienstatt Abbey) Bayer-100198/9 (OLF)

BACH: Trio Sonata No. 6 in G, S. 530 -Wolfgang Riibsam (SMU, see above)

WALTHER: Concerto in B-flat after Torelli -Craig Cramer (1770 Hofmann/Marien-kirche, Mechterstädt, Thuringia) Naxos CD-8.554317 (OHS)

REGER: Chorale-Fantasy, Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme, Op 52, no. 2 -Wolfgang Rübsam (SMU, see above; r. 7/13/94)

Program No. 0138 9/17/2001

Organ Plus... another exploration of the remarkable repertoire for pipe organ in consort with other instruments and voices.

MICHEL CORRETTE: Organ Concerto No. 6 in d -Concerto Rococo Ensemble; Jean-Patrice Brosse (unidentified organ) Pierre Verany-793113 (Allegro, 800-288-2007)

TITELOUZE: Magnificat Sexti Toni -Jean-CharlesAblitzer, with schola (1675 Dallam/Church of Saint Miliau, Guimiliau, Brittany) Harmonic-9037 (AI)

GUILMANT: Marche Fantaisie sur deux chantes d'eglise -Ingolstadt Philharmonic/Olaf Koch, cond; Franz Hauk (1977 Klais/Ingolstadt Cath.) Guild-7215 (OHS)

MOURET: Rondeau. PURCELL: Gigue. MARTINI: Toccata -Rolf Smedvig, tpt; Michael Murray (1943 Casavant /1st United Methodist, Cleveland) Telarc-80341 (PRMS)

HOLST: Duet for Trombone & Organ -Alain Trudel, trb; Patrick Wedd 1913 Casavant/ 1991 Guilbault-Thérien/Saint-Viateur, Outremont, Quebec) Naxos-553716 (OHS)

RAVANELLO: Prelude-Berceuse - Eira Lynn Jones, h; Graham Eccles (1998 Wood/St. Asaph Cathedral, Wales) OxRecs - 82 (OHS) RICHARDSTEWART: Prelude for Organ and

RICHARDSTEWART: Prelude for Organ and Tape -David Engen (1985 Schantz/St. Leo, Saint Paul, MN) Pipedreams-1003 (OHS)

KARG-ELERT: Quasi Minuetto, fr Silhouetten, Op. 29-Mats Jansson, p; Hans Fagius (1990 Marcussen/Norwegian College of Music, Oslo) BIS-551 (OHS)

LISZT: Les Préludes (arr. for organ and piano) -Laurent Cabasso, p; Olivier Vernet (1874 Cavaillé-Coll/1959 Beuchet-Debrier/Cath. St. Maurice, Angers) Ligia-6798 (OHS)

Program No. 0139 9/24/2001

Out of the "B"s Nest... works by British and American composers Britten, Bridge, Bairstow, Bowers-Broadbent and Bernstein exploit the 20th century pipe organ.

BRITTEN: Prelude & Fugue on a Theme of Vittoria (1946) -Christoph Robinson (Harrison/King's College Chapel, Cambridge, England) Naxos CD-8.554791 (OHS)

BRIDGE: Allegretto grazioso, fr Organ Pieces, Book1 (1905); In Memoriam C.H.H. Parry (1918). BAIRSTOW: Prelude in C -Todd Wilson (2000 Quimby/St. Margaret's, Palm Desert, CA) JAV-120 (OHS)

BRITTEN: Missa Brevis, Op. 63 (1959) -Girls' Choir of St. Paul's Cathedral, Buffalo/Dale Adelmann, cond; Daniel Fortune (1964-75 Schlicker) Pro Organo CD-7087 (OHS)

BOWERS-BROADBENT: 4 Duets & Canons (1996)-Kevin Bowyer (1995 Marcussen/Tonbridge School, Kent) Nimbus-5664 (QI) BROADBENT: Popsie (1977) -Malcolm Archer (1909 Norman & Beard/Lancaster Town Hall, England) Priory CD-400 (OHS) BERNSTEIN (arr. Marshall): West Side Story Medley-Wayne Marshall (1992 Fisk/Meyerson Center, Dallas) Delos-3228 (OHS) BRITTEN: Hymn to Saint Peter (1955) -Choir of St. Paul's Cathedral, London/John Scott; Huw Williams (Willis-Mander/St. Paul's Cathedral) Hyperion CD-67087 (OHS)

BERNSTEIN: Chichester Psalms (1965)
-Dale Warland Singers; Dean Billmeyer (1984 Kney/St. Thomas Univ., Saint Paul, MN) American Choral Catalog CD-123 (www.americanchoral.com; 800-246-7257)