ELEVEN MONTHS AGO I received a message from Allison Alcorn-Oppedahl, who, as Councillor for Publications, suggested I might be interested in pursuing the editorship of The Tracker. I'd had, until then, only a sketchy acquaintance with the Organ Historical Society and its publications, and was daunted by the prospect of a successorship to John Ogasapian, who had served since 1992. The long period of deliberations that followed served effectively as my unofficial induction into the Society.

Every organization has its culture, its mores, and its personalities, and though I'd been active in the American Guild of Organists for some years—as an examiner, national committee member, presenter, and reviewer—and had recently become editor for the semi-annual newsletter of the American Bach Society, I still needed to grasp what it was the OHS was all about. The word “historical,” for example, seemed to call for some qualification, since there is, on the one hand, the dead historicism of that which has long ceased to exert any immediate impact, and on the other hand, the living historicism that informs and affects the present as it continues to unfold in our day. The OHS is firmly implanted in the latter camp, and thereby remains a powerful protagonist for the art and science of the organ.

The present journal has been designated as a double-number (Vol. 45, Nos. 3-4) owing to its unusual size and scope, and the design and layout have been newly refashioned by Jonathan Ambrosino and Len Levasseur. The national conventions are a big part of what the OHS is about, and this issue is devoted principally to six lectures featured at the Boston Convention held August 16-23, 2000. Like all properly finished work, these articles speak for themselves, though in two cases some editorial note is perhaps in order.

Matthew Bellocchio’s “Time, Taste, and the Organ Case,” was originally conceived as a slide presentation with commentary, involving some 196 slide projections. Since we could not include all 196 slides in anything less than a coffee-table-sized book, a substantial editorial reworking was involved, for which the author’s patience and consideration must gratefully be acknowledged.

Conversely, in Alan Laufman’s “History of the Organ Clearing House,” we avoided as much as possible any editorial reworking at all. Since it is the policy of The Tracker to provide careful proofing opportunities to all its authors, and since Alan passed away without naming a literary executor, this seemed only the right thing to do. But I’m told that Alan Laufman was such an inveterate improver that his originally prepared typescript may or may not have corresponded with what he actually discussed at the convention!

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Thursday
“Travel the Avenue”

Begin the day with a streetcar ride up historic St. Charles Avenue to St. Matthew United Church of Christ. Bruce Stevens will open the proceedings with a recital on the Hook & Hastings organ which was restored by Roy Redman. Then we travel down the avenue and stop to hear organs by Kilgen, Skinner, Austin, and Jardine. These will be played by Rachelen Lien, James Hammann, Paul Anderson, and Lucius Weathersby. After dinner, our evening recital will be at Trinity Episcopal Church on the four-manual Redman organ, played by David Dahl.

Friday
“Follow the River”

Friday we set out along the Mississippi. Our first stop is the magnificent Destrehan Plantation where a guided tour of this restored historic mansion and out buildings gives us a glimpse into the life of southern living in the early 19th century. Next we stop in the small village of Edgard to hear a Hinners tracker played by Jason Pedeaux. A beautiful one-manual Erben which has had some restorative repairs will be played by Stephen Pinel at Convent, Louisiana. Lunch will be seafood at one of those places that “locals” don’t tell tourists about: Hymels. Then we proceed on to historic St. Francisville, to hear an early Pilcher. Wine tasting, dinner, and a silent movie accompanied by John DeMajo on a three-manual Wurlitzer in Jackson, Louisiana end the day before we bus back to New Orleans.

Saturday
A Monastery, a Convent, and The French Quarter

Saturday takes us across Lake Ponchartrain to St. Joseph Abbey to hear a new Dobson organ that has been featured prominently in recent magazines. We return to New Orleans to hear Carol Britt play the new Southfield organ at Lakeview Presbyterian, lunch at the lakeside, and proceed to Trinity Methodist of Gentilly, where Marijim Thoene will demonstrate the Hinners organ that was restored by Roy Redman. Then we proceed to the old Ursuline Convent in the French Quarter where Rosalind Mohrnsen will play the newly restored New Orleans Pilcher tracker. All are then turned loose in one of America’s most famous historic districts noted for its fine cuisine, jazz music, antique stores, and art galleries.
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THE SECOND HALF of the 19th century was a time of rapid change in American music, during which musical offerings, institutions, and education in metropolitan centers aspired to a European standard. As Joseph Mussulman has shown in his book *Music and the Cultured Generation*, numerous American critics and musicians during the period proudly noted growing public musical literacy, the founding of professional and amateur ensembles, musical philanthropy, the construction of concert halls, and the establishment of educational institutions for music as indicators of cultural progress and maturity.

Fascination with European art music also led to a flowering of activity in American organbuilding, performance, and teaching, and here again, Boston led the way. Barbara Owen and Orpha Ochse have shown how, due to an increased demand for organs and the application of steam machinery and factory methods to organ building, the output of Boston-area organ builders increased dramatically in the second half of the 19th century. At the same time, the adoption by builders of the C-compass Pedal and full-compass Swell equipped American organists to play the gamut of European organ literature. Other studies have surveyed the rise in organ recital activity in 19th century Boston and the proliferation of organ method books, many of which were published in the city. Although several institutions and many private teachers in Boston gave instruction in organ, few studies to date have examined their teaching or publications in detail, or attempted to place organ pedagogy in the city in its historical context. This article will document a slice of the organ activity in Boston from 1850 to 1900, demonstrating how the Europeanization of American music during the second half of the 19th century raised standards of organ performance, made professional organ study in Boston financially feasible, and affected the establishment of organ curricula at conservatories. It will also show how European organ literature and method books influenced the teaching and publications of several important Boston organ teachers, including George Whiting (1842-1923), Eugene Thayer (1838-1889), and Henry Dunham (1853-1929).

PROFESSIONAL ORGAN STUDY AT MID-CENTURY

Although “in 1800 all the organs in Boston and vicinity could easily have been counted on the fingers of two hands,” organs became increasingly common in Boston churches during the first half of the 19th century as religious biases against the instrument were moderated and as the nation entered an era of population and economic expansion. Because there were more organs than competent, trained organists, many congregations hired amateurs, often pianists, to play their organs. Nathaniel D. Gould, describing the state of organ playing in New England in the 1830’s and 40’s, wrote “When the rapid introduction of organs took place, it was not so difficult to procure the organs as to provide competent organists. It
was represented by those who were interested that anyone might, in a short time, qualify himself to play plain psalmody; consequently, young ladies and gentlemen, old men and maidens, made the attempt. But it was found not to be the work of a day, or a month, to learn to manage an organ so as to satisfy singers or hearers. Someone, perhaps, would attempt, with little experience in execution, time or harmony, the singers and organist hobbling along in sweet confusion. Complaints are made; the organist is mortified, if not provoked; stays away from church,—no organist. But later, in 1852, Gould concluded that “these difficulties have in a great measure been overcome, so far as execution is concerned.”7 Though the level of organ playing may have been advancing, it is clear from the number of complaints registered in the musical press about church musicians that there was plenty of room for improvement. The situation elicited a general call for better education of organists, but, according to Samuel P. Tuckerman, organist at St. Paul’s Church, Boston, the musical expectations of congregations in mid-19th century America generated little incentive for acquiring substantial musical training. “It is often asserted that there is no occasion to employ men of science and skill for the little music that is done in our churches; that if an organist can, after some fashion, get through or over a psalm tune and a chant, and make sufficient noise upon his instrument to cover the final retreat of the congregation, it is enough.”9

In an 1862 article in his *Monthly Choir and Organ Journal*, John Zundel outlined other impediments potential organ students faced.10 Competent teachers were rare except in the largest cities, and access to practice instruments was often difficult to obtain. Organ study was prohibitively expensive for many, including not only the price of tuition and music, but also the cost of an organ blower for practice and lessons, not to mention the expense of requisite preparatory piano study. For country-dwellers, studying the organ almost invariably entailed having to move to the city, adding to the outlay the cost for room and board.

According to Zundel, organ positions did not pay enough or carry enough prestige to offset the serious obstacles to organ study. Since remuneration was low and since organists received little respect in the musical world, no wonder, Zundel concluded, that few young men chose to make playing the organ their profession: “A comparison with the opportunities within reach of singers and other instrumentalists must show that the mightiest of all instruments is of all the least cared for, the most inaccessible, the worst paid for, and the least respected and honored...These difficulties are sufficient to make many young men shrink from becoming students of the Organ, and indeed must render it impossible for very many to make the Organ their chief study or their profession; and thus it is that the majority of Organs are given over to be played by amateur pianists.”12

In spite of the obstacles to professional organ study, there were those in mid-19th century Boston who pursued...
it, and Boston was perhaps the most likely place in America for this. In the preface to their *American Church Organ Voluntaries* (1852), H. S. Cutler and A. N. Johnson reported that, in terms of the number of organs, “Boston is more highly favored than any other city in this country, in proportion to its population. Of the ninety-eight places of public worship in this city, sixty-four contain organs of various sizes. Of this number 21 have three manual organs, and from 30 to 50 registers.” There were also several organists in Boston around 1850 who were capable of serving as teachers, several of whom had had European musical training. A. U. Hayter, George J. Webb, and J. E. Goodson were English-born and educated, while Samuel P. Tuckerman, a native son, had studied in England. Other Boston organists, including A. N. Johnson, H. S. Cutler, B. J. Lang, and J. C. D. Parker had received instruction in Germany. Several of these musicians advertised for pupils in *Dwight's Journal of Music,* implying that there was some degree of competition for organ students. With the installation of the 1853 Hook organ in Tremont Temple, the organ received increasing visibility in Boston as a concert instrument. Early recitalists who appeared there, in particular John Henry Wilcox and New York organist George Washburne Morgan, left a lasting impression and doubtless inspired younger musicians to pursue professional organ study.

**METHODS AND MUSIC**

Although few details of organ pedagogy in Boston before the Civil War survive, commonly used organ methods may provide some insight regarding the teaching of beginning students. Certain organists, particularly those of the older generation who were accustomed to the city’s English-style instruments, may have used English organ tutors in their teaching, such as Hamilton’s *Catechism of the Organ* (1840) or Joseph Warren’s *A Few Hints to Young Organists* (1844). These two publications are text-oriented—they give a detailed history of the instrument, descriptions of important English and continental organs, and instruction in registration. While both treat aspects of organ technique and supply a few exercises devoted to its development, neither volume, it seems, was intended to provide much more than guidelines for practical application. Given the paucity of exercises and pieces for study they included, the authors surely anticipated that their readers would supplement their education with additional works.

German or German-oriented organ tutors doubtless figured more prominently than their English counterparts in the work of beginning Boston organ students, especially with the adoption of German-compass pedalboards and the German training of the city’s leading organists. Johann Christian Rinck’s *Practische Orgelschule* (1819-1821) was perhaps the most heavily used pedagogical publication in 19th century American organ study, prized particularly for its large collection of etudes with obbligato pedal. But except for a few pages of pedal exercises (in a work of over 200 pages), this publication contains no compositions explicitly devoted to the development of a specific performance skill, and no discussion of organ technique. Rinck must have assumed that a teacher would be at hand to instruct the student. Rinck’s *Die drei ersten Monate auf der Orgel* (1838), a much shorter text, popular with beginning organ students, manifests a similar pedagogical methodology.

Authors of most European methods written after Rinck took a more analytical approach to teaching organ technique, and generally provided more explicit instructions than Rinck regarding the mechanics of performance. Both Friedrich Schneider’s *Orgelschule* (1830) and August Gottfried Ritter’s *Praktische Orgelschule* (1844) are divided into two parts, treating manual and pedal technique, respectively. Each section consists of detailed explanatory notes and numerous short, illustrative exercises. Ritter’s method also includes pieces for performance; they are organized according to technical emphasis and difficulty and seem a natural outgrowth of the exercises. *Modern School for the Organ* (1853), by Englishman W. T. Best, adopts a middle ground between Rinck, Schneider, and Ritter. Although it does not provide any drills or tech-
nical discussion, each piece is devoted to developing a specific skill.

While European tutors were likely commonly used by aspiring professional organists, around mid-century, Boston firms published several native organ tutors and collections of organ music. While most of these had an amateur focus, they reflected a growing interest in European organ music and techniques. Organ compositions and arrangements of works by celebrated composers, including Rinck, Haydn, and Mendelssohn, appear in anthologies such as Cutler and Johnson’s *American Church Organ Voluntaries* and Zundel’s *Two Hundred and Fifty Easy Voluntaries and Interludes for the Organ* (1851). Oliver Ditson’s *Improved Organ Instruction Book* (c.1859) contains very little original material, drawing text, exercises, and music from a variety of European sources, including Hamilton’s *Catechism* and Rinck’s *Orgelschule*. In 1860, Oliver Ditson published the first large-scale American organ method in the European tradition, *Modern Organ School* by John Zundel. Zundel was a student of Rinck, yet this work emulates Schneider’s analytical approach. It is divided into three sections, each focusing on a different aspect of technique—manual technique, pedal playing, and registration, respectively. The method provides copious exercises and voluntaries, and integrates them with explanatory text.

As the organ was increasingly viewed as a concert as well as a liturgical instrument, ambitious organ students undoubtedly found opportunities to perform public recitals. An advertisement exists for a “Grand Organ Matinee” offered in Worcester, Massachusetts on July 6, 1858 by the 15-year-old George Elbridge Whiting, then a pupil of Rinck, yet this work emulates Schneider’s analytical approach. It is divided into three sections, each focusing on a different aspect of technique—manual technique, pedal playing, and registration, respectively. The method provides copious exercises and voluntaries, and integrates them with explanatory text.

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ORGAN STUDY IN THE AGE OF CONSERVATORIES

The 1860's saw the rise of music conservatories across America. In 1867 alone, some four conservatories were founded, including two in Boston: the New England Conservatory and the Boston Conservatory. Because instrumental instruction occurred in classes, attending conservatories was much cheaper than private lessons, and both Boston institutions had the capacity for teaching large numbers of students. NEC boasted that it taught 1,414 pupils in its first year, listing every student's name and residence in its 1868 catalogue. NEC's 1882-1883 catalogue stated that, since the Conservatory's founding, it had taught over 29,000 students. In 1883, Boston Conservatory affirmed that a total of 18,000 pupils had received instruction there. Other 19th century Boston-area institutions that taught organ included Boston University College of Music (actually an arm of New England Conservatory), Wellesley College, and Perkins Institution for the Blind.

Part of the conservatories' popularity must have been their low tuition fees. In 1860, Zundel gave the cost of tuition for private organ study, including the purchase of music (and probably, music theory lessons), as $225 to $235 a year. Because conservatory lessons were taught in classes, they were considerably cheaper. In 1877, New England Conservatory charged $15 for a ten-week quarter of organ lessons in a class of six students ($60 a year). This price did not include instruction in music theory, which would have added another $60 or $80 dollars a year to the cost. Boston Conservatory was even more economical. Although it charged $20-25 per ten-week quarter in 1870-1871, this price included harmony and composition lessons ($80 to $100 a year). Perhaps to compensate for the reduced individual attention students received due to the class format of musical instruction, both conservatories' organ classes met twice-a-week for an hour.

Conservatories helped to fill an increasing need for organists and music teachers. The period following the Civil War saw a tremendous growth in the population of the United States through immigration. More people meant more churches, and New England Conservatory's 1868 catalogue stated that “with the multiplication of churches has come the demand for organs and organists.” In addition, the call for musical instruction was not limited to Boston, and there were posts for music teachers in new schools and conservatories appearing around the country.

As musical interest and knowledge expanded generally in America, the musical expectations of congregations inevitably rose, and receiving formal training became increasingly important for organists. Whiting and Southard noted, “Melodious and piquant Voluntaries, and the tasteful accompanying of small choirs...are expected from all who aspire to desirable positions in any of our cities or large towns, as the chaotic droning and ridiculous combinations of stops which were satisfying until within a few years, will no longer be endured by Congregations of average musical culture.”

New England Conservatory catalogues during this period stated, “A new interest in [church music] has within a few years been awakened in America, and the demand for organists, directors, precentors, and solo singers, thoroughly educated in true ecclesiastical music, is continually increasing.” NEC administrators so frequently received requests to recommend students for positions as teachers, organists, or singers, that they instituted a bureau of employment in 1881.

The Walcker organ in the Boston Music Hall, installed in 1863, was also likely influential in raising standards of organ performance in and around Boston. The imposing façade, mechanical complexity, and size of this instrument generated a tremendous of curiosity among the public. Local organists performed recitals in the Music Hall on at least a weekly basis for nearly as long as the organ stood in Boston, providing both residents and visitors with an introduction to European organ literature, performed by well-trained organists. As audiences returned to their own communities and considered the music programs in their churches, these recitals doubtless...
inspired many to have organs built or to hire competent, educated organists.

Churches vied with one another to hire well-known performers to preside at their organs during worship services. In 1860, Zundel complained that the average salary for an organist was between $150 and $300 a year, a wage comparable to that of farm laborers, who earned $275 a year. In comparison, other workers earned considerably more: bricklayers, plumbers, and painters were paid $477, $587, and $615 a year, respectively. After organ recitals in Boston had become commonplace (if not passé), the situation for organists had improved considerably. In 1874, Thayer reported that organ posts requiring experience paid $600 to $800 yearly and that churches would compensate organists of “undoubted ability” up to $1,000. This was a much more respectable wage, comparable to that of many tradesmen. The average yearly wage in 1874 for farm laborers, bricklayers, plumbers, and painters was $390, $1092, $970, and $942, respectively. Thayer also stated that he had received requests from churches to recommend candidates for positions paying $2,000 to $5,000 or more yearly, though salaries this high must have been very rare. According to Everett Truette, in the 1880’s, three of Boston’s most prominent church organists—B. J. Lang of King’s Chapel, Henry Dunham of Ruggles Street Church, and George Whiting of the Church of the Immaculate Conception—were each paid $1,500 per annum. Many church organists also supplemented their income through other musical activities. Owen writes, “By the 1890’s, there were a fair number of professionally successful organists who were earning a good living from large churches, teaching, recital work, and royalties from their compositions—a far cry from the professional status of organists 50 years previous.”

ORGAN PEDAGOGY AT NEW ENGLAND CONSERVATORY

During the last third of the 19th century, New England Conservatory was the most important organ school in Boston, and perhaps, in America, evidenced by the extent of its facilities, prestige of its faculty, and thorough preparation of its students for work as church musicians. The Conservatory was founded in 1867 by Eben Tourjée, who modeled its curriculum after “the celebrated Conservatories of Germany, France and Italy.” Perhaps the most significant aspect of European conservatories adopted by Tourjée was class instrumental instruction. Most instrumental lessons in America before the Conservatory boom of the 1860’s were private, and while Tourjée readily recognized the merit of private lessons, he could offer class lessons at a much cheaper rate. Since class lessons were a European innovation, Tourjée was able to use testimonials from, or references to prestigious musicians such as Mendelssohn and Liszt regarding the advantages of conservatory education.

FACILITIES: From 1867 to 1882, New England Conservatory used the upstairs rooms of the Boston Music Hall for most of its classes, and its organ students had access to the Walcker organ for lessons and performances. Students practiced on cabinet and pedal reed organs by Mason and Hamlin or S.D. & H.W. Smith, and later by Estey. The Conservatory showed its commitment to its organ department through the continued improvement and expansion of its facilities, purchasing a three-manual Hook & Hastings instrument in 1872 for students’ practice and all organ lessons: “To furnish the very best facilities to our organ pupils, we have now in process of construction, at large expense, A PIPE ORGAN WITH THREE MANUALS, a full set of pedals, and every mechanical appliance necessary to the artistic performance of organ music. This instrument which will be in all respects superior to any organ used for a similar purpose at other institutions, will be set up in the Hall of the Conservatory at the opening of our approaching fall term. All organ lessons will be given in connection with it, and advanced
pupils will have the opportunity of practising [sic] upon it.49 The Conservatory also bought a number of smaller practice and teaching instruments from the firm of George Ryder: two-manual pipe organs in 1877, 1881, 1884, and 1886 (three in this last year), and a three-manual instrument in 1882. By 1886, the department could boast that it possessed a total of fourteen organs, including pipe and reed instruments.50 In 1896, the Conservatory replaced two of its older pipe organs with two three-manual, electric-action organs from Farrand and Votey of Detroit. It claimed, “Such advantages for organ study and practice are not furnished elsewhere either in America or Europe.”51

In 1882, Tourjée moved the Conservatory to a hotel on Franklin Square that had been purchased and adapted for its use. As a result, Conservatory students lost access to the Walcker organ, but this instrument was in a state of considerable disrepair at the time, and plans were underway to remove it from the Music Hall. The next year, NEC announced its acquisition of the Great Organ, with plans for renovation: “The Great Organ now in [the] Music Hall has been purchased by one of the Trustees for the Conservatory. A large and splendid hall is to be built for it adjoining the present Conservatory building on property granted by the city. This organ is to be enlarged to five manuals and to be made the largest and most complete instrument in the world. This, too, will be available to advanced students for practice.”52 The funds for seeing this project through must have been unavailable. When the Conservatory opened Sleeper Hall in 1886, the stage was not dominated by the façade of the Walcker organ, but by the Conservatory’s three-manual Hook & Hastings, rebuilt and enlarged.53 Although NEC continued to house the old Music Hall organ in a shed behind the Conserva-
tory building, by 1891 it had abandoned plans for enlarging or rebuilding the instrument, and the instrument was eventually sold at auction.\footnote{54}

FACULTY: According to its 1868 catalogue, the New England Conservatory was “furnished with a board of instructors who are musicians of superior talent and acquirements, and many of whom are extensively known as artists.”\footnote{55} The organists that Tourjée engaged to teach courses were among Boston’s most prominent church musicians and teachers. Several of them composed voluminously and performed regularly at local venues and national festivals.

During the Conservatory’s early years, Tourjée relied on European-trained organists to lend prestige to the program. The first organ faculty consisted of Samuel Parkman Tuckerman and George Whiting, both of whom studied in England. John Knowles Paine and Dudley Buck, each trained in Germany, also taught organ classes at NEC in its early years. However, the administration found it necessary to supplement the faculty with locally educated talent: John H. Willcox\footnote{56} and Lucien H. Southard had previously established reputations as performers and church musicians, despite not having studied abroad. In the late 1870’s, the Conservatory also hired a number of its recent graduates who had received church positions in and around Boston, including Henry M. Dunham, Allen W. Swan, Charles H. Morse, and Fred H. Lewis.

Although several faculty members, including Whiting, Dunham, and Swan, spent a significant portion of their careers teaching at the Conservatory,\footnote{57} the number of organ teachers at NEC varied widely. During the late 1860’s, late 1880’s, and 1890’s, NEC employed only two or three organ teachers. However, for much of the 1870’s and 80’s, the department had as many as six or seven organ teachers on staff.

ORGAN COURSE: At its founding, New England Conservatory admitted beginners,\footnote{58} but entrance to the Conservatory did not guarantee a place in the organ course. By 1872, the institution required fluency on the piano before organ lessons could begin.\footnote{59} “Pupils intending to study for organists [sic] should first acquire considerable skill in playing the piano forte. The correct position of the hands and the strength and flexibility of the fingers, which are alike indispensable to the pianist and organist, are far more easily gained at the piano than the organ; while the ability to read music, and skill in execution upon the piano, enable the pupil to enter a higher grade, and to progress more rapidly than would be possible, were he to begin with the Organ, and devote his attention wholly to it.”\footnote{60} For several years, organ students were also required to take piano and organ lessons concurrently.\footnote{61}

At NEC, the organ course was divided by technical ability into grades,\footnote{62} and to graduate from the Conservatory, students had to complete the most advanced grade, demonstrating their proficiency in public performances.\footnote{63} In addition, the Conservatory required its organ graduates to pass a variety of courses that prepared them to function as church musicians. In an 1887 Conservatory publication, Whiting stated that an accomplished church organist “should be, first and always, a good musician...well furnished in all the details of organ playing, a good accompanist, fair extemporizer, [and] familiar with the service.”\footnote{64} Whiting counseled his students to focus on church playing before moving on to advanced organ literature, perhaps so that they would be capable of financing their studies: “I have always advised my pupils to first fit themselves for church work, and having obtained a respectable amount of skill in simple service work and fair position as church organist to then press on to the higher forms of organ performance.”\footnote{65} Many NEC students received church positions before they graduated.\footnote{66}

Skills in church playing were taught through classes...
organists were educated in this school.”

The extent of the practice facilities and the large majority of the best players were educated in this school.”

The organ department, or as part of the organ classes themselves. Accompaniment and improvisation received particular emphasis in the curriculum. Accompanimental training prepared students to accompany vocal solos, quartets and choruses from the “standard masses and oratorios.”

Conservatory catalogues maintained that no organist could be considered wholly successful without the ability to extemporize, “at least, in the simple forms; and to do even this well, means a knowledge of harmonic construction so surely acquired as to be at the immediate command of the performer.” Consequently, the Conservatory required organists to receive training in theory, harmony, and counterpoint. Improvisation instruction focused on genres that church musicians might commonly employ—preludes, interludes, and postludes.

NEC also taught choir conducting, congregational hymn playing, transposition, and organ registration.

Because of a lack of surviving documentation, it is impossible to know the number of students who participated in organ classes at New England Conservatory during the 19th century. According to Truette, “The organ pupils taught by the Conservatory during this long period of its career [between 1867 and 1893] number[ed] many thousands. They are to be found filling important positions in every State in the Union and Canada, while in the city of Boston and the surrounding towns it is safe to say that a large majority of the best players were educated in this school.”

The number of organ faculty members at the institution also suggest that the sum total of organ pupils was not small. Yet relatively few students graduated. The typical conservatory bulletin said that diplomas were granted to those who completed “the required course of study in any department,” however, the course of study progressed through the advanced solo literature and demanded such technical proficiency that most students never received diplomas. According to extant Conservatory commencement programs and catalogues, from 1871 to 1899, the number of graduates at NEC in organ fluctuated between zero in 1872 to thirteen in 1887 and 1896. The ratio of women to men graduates was remarkably even (see table, above).

ORGAN GRADUATES FROM NEC

<table>
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<td><strong>143</strong></td>
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With special thanks to Jean Morrow, Director of the Spaulding Library at New England Conservatory, for her help in compiling this table.

Although the organ faculty at the New England Conservatory certainly employed European organ tutors in their teaching, students also learned the instrument from didactic publications by NEC professors Whiting and Dunham, and these native Boston materials hint at 19th century American approaches to Conservatory organ education. Whiting’s pedagogical publications are quite similar in format to those of his teacher, W. T. Best. Although several of them have prefaces, none gives much technical instruction in terms of text or exercises, only treating aspects of registration or notation in the manner of most of Best’s tutors and editions. Many compositions in Whiting’s publications, including his First Six Months on the Organ (1870) and First Studies for Organ (1879), have a specific technical purpose, explained, as in Best’s Art of Organ Playing, by a brief note at the beginning of each piece. Yet Whiting taught technique through organ pieces, not drills (besides their educational use, Whiting intended his compositions to be performed in church services).

Like Best, Whiting employed the pedal in nearly all of his studies, even the most elementary. Whiting seems to have expected that a teacher would be present to instruct the student in the basics of organ technique or that students would have been able to learn it through the examples his compositions provide.

Dunham took a different pedagogical approach than his teacher Whiting, in his Organ School, published in 1893 by the NEC. Dunham modeled his method on the analytic tradition, dividing it into separate volumes that focus on individual aspects of organ technique. Part 1, much like John Stainer’s The Organ (an English tutor heavily used in late-19th century America) discusses organ registration and mechanics extensively, with many detailed drawings of the pipes and action. Parts 2 and 3 treat the development of manual and pedal technique, respectively, with copious, skill-specific exercises integrated with explanatory text. Part 4 combines manual and pedal in a collection of graded organ compositions.

ORGAN LITERATURE: Although organ course descriptions in NEC catalogues rarely list specific literature played by students, they portray a philosophy in harmony
with the extant record of student recital performances. According to catalogues from 1868 to 1880, the organ course gave "special reference to the works of Seb. Bach and Mendelssohn." From 1881-1882 to 1889-1890, the course description added "arrangements from the scores of the great masters, by W.T. Best" to that short, but venerable list. In catalogues throughout the 1870's and 1880's, the NEC Organ Department showed its interest in a wide variety of organ music. "Eminent organists" frequently gave organ recitals at the Conservatory, affording students "an opportunity of listening to the best, and in many respects the greatest music of all schools and all styles, from Bach to Wagner." Students had ample opportunity to perform, whether at the Conservatory's Quarterly Concerts, weekly Pupils' Recitals, or in solo Graduate Recitals. The organ department also occasionally offered recitals featuring advanced students. Throughout the second half of the 19th century, the most commonly played organ compositions were the free works of Bach and the sonatas of Mendelssohn. However, programming in general was quite diverse. Other popular composers included Lemmens, Best, Merkel, Whiting, and Batiste. Transcriptions of choral and orchestral works by Handel, Haydn, Mozart, and others, often made by W.T. Best, also frequently appeared (see sidebar).

As the years passed, the addition of new composers to the programs of professional American organists influenced the student repertory. Organ music of Alexandre Guilmant and Josef Rheinberger became popular among NEC pupils in the mid-1870's and 1880's, respectively. During the 1890's, music of contemporaneous French composers, including Saint-Saëns, Dubois, and Salomé, appeared more frequently on student recitals. Although the performance of transcriptions by concert organists was common in America well into the 20th century, their use at the Conservatory declined in the 1890's. After 1898 all mention of transcriptions in NEC catalogues disappeared, and no organ students performed them (see sidebar).
One of the causes of the shift in repertoire at the Conservatory away from transcriptions and towards French music may have been the visits of Alexandre Guilmant to America in 1893 and 1898.84 Guilmant's recitals were a sensation, making headlines in all musical papers, and they were extremely well attended. He not only performed in Boston, but also came to the NEC and played for students. Although Guilmant had included several organ arrangements he had made of French orchestral and keyboard music on the programs of his 1893 American tour,85 Guilmant was generally anti-transcription in orientation, stating "I never play...arrangements of such a nature. I have been frequently asked to play arrangements of overtures, etc., but have steadfastly refused."86

George Whiting's resignation from the Conservatory in 1897 may have also affected student repertoire. Whiting had followed the example of W. T. Best, making numerous transcriptions and cultivating a reputation as a performer of arrangements.87 Whiting was replaced on the NEC faculty by Wallace Goodrich, who had studied with Rheinberger and Widor and whose own recital programs never included transcriptions.88 In 1897, doubtless through Goodrich's influence, Conservatory students began playing works of Rheinberger and Widor in earnest, and music by Franck and chorale-based works of Bach89 were performed by NEC students for the first time (see sidebar).

Since graduates of the New England Conservatory were admitted to the Boston University College of Music without examination,90 the College's entrance requirements provide a clue as to the level of performance expected of NEC graduates. From 1874 to 1889, applicants to the College were to "have thoroughly studied the following works or their equivalent: Rink's [sic] Organ School, first five books; Buck's Studies in Pedal Phrasing; Lemmen's [sic] Organ School, part second; The Organist, by Southard and Whiting (used particularly for the study of instrumentation), easy preludes and figures [sic] with Pedal obligato by Bach, Mendelssohn, and others."91

These works would have provided NEC students with a solid foundation, but certainly not a virtuoso technique. Henry Dunham admitted in his autobiography that the standard required for graduation when he was a student in the early 1870's was "not very high."92 However, measuring surviving NEC organ student performances against Everett Truette's A Graded List of Studies and Pieces for the Organ (1891) shows that, by the late 1870's, some Conservatory pupils were capable of performing the most technically difficult organ music available.93 Truette's publication was an organ teachers' resource, organizing commonly played student organ works by difficulty into six grades, with the sixth grade being the most advanced. Although the earliest Conservatory organ student performances—those before 1870—were of less difficult music according to Truette's list, between levels 2 and 5A, in later years the standard was generally high, with the preponderance of pieces played by Conservatory students being between grades 5A and 6B (see sidebars).

PRIVATE TEACHERS: EUGENE THAYER

Even though there were conservatories in Boston, many professional organists still taught private lessons.94 These lessons were often more expensive than conservatory tuition—in 1875, Thayer gave the cost of private organ study as three to four dollars a lesson.95 At one lesson per week, this cost would have resulted in an expense of $30-40 every ten weeks. At nearly the same time, a ten-week term at the New England Conservatory cost $15-25.96 Nevertheless, many students must have felt that the individual attention received in a private lesson compensated for the increased expense. As one letter97 to the editor of the Vox Humana complained, "[Conservatory] lessons are
not cheap—each pupil gets only ten minutes. Everybody’s business is nobody’s business; while there might be a weak feeling of emulation of everybody in general, there is rarely emulation of anyone in particular.”

During the years following the Civil War, Eugene Thayer was among Boston’s most active organ pedagogues. Although he taught organ at Boston Conservatory from 1867 to 1875,99 he maintained a flourishing private organ studio, teaching lessons in the churches where he served as organist. After resigning his conservatory post in 1875, Thayer opened an organ studio on Tremont Street—possibly the first of its kind in Boston—for which he had an instrument built by Hutchings, Plaisted & Co. of two manuals, and sixteen stops.100 Several of his private pupils became important figures in American music, including George Chadwick, Wallace Goodrich, Gerritt Smith, Sumner Salter, J. Warren Andrews, and J. Frank Donahoe.

In addition, Thayer was a prolific writer, editor, and composer. Besides his compositions for concert and church use, which include five sonatas at least six variation sets, he published several important pedagogical works for the organ: Pedal Studies (1868), Art of Organ Playing (five volumes, 1871-1874), Complete Organ School (four parts, 1880 and 1884), and a tutor for the reed organ entitled New Method for the Cabinet Organ (1872). He also made an edition of Bach’s Eight Little Preludes and Fugues, and edited The Organist’s Quarterly Journal and Review (1874-1877).101

His published methods show an analytical approach to teaching technique, dividing organ playing into its component parts and building proficiency through exercises. For example, his Pedal Studies contains four divisions—alternation of feet, crossing of feet, use of heel and toe, and scales—each with its own set of progressive exercises. Thayer also partitioned The Art of Organ Playing and Complete Organ School into individual volumes, treating manual technique,102 pedal playing, registration, and service playing,103 respectively. The volumes on manual and pedal technique in The Art of Organ Playing contain diagrams of hand and foot positions, as well as numerous exercises, and all volumes in the series give explanatory text. Thayer integrated pieces for practice and study at all ability levels,104 following the advice he gave in a study plan for aspiring church organists: “It will be seen that we have given mechanical and musical studies alternately. This would always be our plan; after any advance in technical ability, we would have the student play some music. The head must not be cultivated at the expense of the heart.”105

Thayer’s Art of Organ Playing106 is different from other Boston organ methods in that, while most publications provide a technical foundation only, Thayer’s tutor outlines an entire course of study, from the most elementary stages to an advanced level of performance.107 Although its orientation is predominantly Germanic, the course outlined in the Art of Organ Playing draws on organ compositions from a variety of sources—works by Bach, Rink, Thiele, Handel, Hesse, Mendelssohn, and Schumann appear, as well as pieces by Lemmens, Batiste, Petrali, Dudley Buck, and Thayer himself. He evidently had mixed feelings about the pedagogical use of French and Italian organ music, writing that while “occasional practice [of it] may be of some advantage in acquiring facility in Registration: its frequent practice I believe to be destructive of all firmness of touch and reliability of execution.”108 Thayer also reserved the study of Mendelssohn for advanced students, warning that “Mendelssohn’s pecu-
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familiar method of writing for the organ [is] destructive of pedal playing; and that the manual playing is not at all times Organ-like in its handling. I believe that it will surely injure one's touch if this music be practiced much before a perfect control of the Organ has been acquired.”

Nevertheless, Thayer had confidence in students' ability to select literature for themselves: "After Bach, Handel, and Thiele,—anything the student may choose. His musical taste and character should by this time have become so fully formed as to render it impossible for him to practice any music inimical to his artistic advancement.”

Performance was an important aspect of Thayer's teaching, and his students often performed on Thayer's series of free recitals in Boston. After they established themselves, Thayer encouraged his students to continue performing free recitals as a means of making people feel comfortable in the church and raising the general level of musical taste. Sumner Salter reported that, to Thayer, "The free organ recital was...a religion, of which he was the founder and his pupils zealous priests.”

Salter wrote that Thayer's students were "to become missionaries to carry the gospel of Bach, Handel, Merkel, Rheinberger, Schumann, Thiele, Guilmant, and Widor to the benighted heathen. The call was to 'smite the Philistines’—the Batiste, [Lefébure-]Wély, and other idolaters,—'hip and thigh.’”

If existing records of performances by Thayer's students are any indication—and, unfortunately, only programs from 1869 to 1875 survive—he was a remarkably conservative teacher in the selection of organ literature for study (see sidebar, page 17). According to Truette's Graded List, the difficulty level of the repertoire his students performed was generally high. Many of the pieces his pupils played were part of the course of study outlined in The Art of Organ Playing, and none of the extant programs includes a transcription. Among the most frequently performed compositions were J. S. Bach's Fantasia and Fugue in G minor, BWV 542 (Level 6A), and Fugue in E-flat, BWV 552/2 (Level 6B), and, unlike the teaching repertoire of many other 19th century American organ teachers, a variety of chorale preludes, several of which were from the Orgelbüchlein. Other student works included Hesse's Variations in A-flat and A, opp. 34 and 47, Mendelssohn Sonatas (5A), Handel Concertos 5 and 6, and Thiele's Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue (6B).

The fourth volumes of the Art of Organ Playing and Complete Organ School each contain instruction in service playing techniques. Here, Thayer provided several suggestions for the selection of appropriate music for worship services and ideas for the registration of hymn, anthem, solo, quartet, chant, mass, and oratorio accompaniments. He also encouraged organists to make a "thorough course of study in harmony and musical composition" so as to be capable improvisers. However, it is unclear to what extent Thayer personally instructed his students in the skills necessary for the accompaniment of a worship service. Thayer felt that technical competence was key to success as a church musician, and one wonders if, unlike George Whiting, he focused on his pupils' technique ahead of service playing skills: "We wish [students] to learn that they must first be good Organ-players before they can become good Church Organists.” Yet, Thayer obviously considered learning the duties of the church musician to be important. He wrote, “to be a great Church Organist is to be the greatest an Organ-player can be.”

The Europeanization of American music during the second half of the 19th century had a profound effect on organ pedagogy in Boston. Consideration of the organ as a concert instrument was a natural result of the increasing musical activity in the United States, and exposure to European choral, orchestral, and organ music increased the expectations of church congregations, making serious organ study necessary and feasible for aspiring church musicians. Not only were congregations more willing to pay for good music, resulting in higher organists' salaries, but with the introduction of conservatory organ programs, musical education became much more affordable. Most teachers introduced a variety of European organ literature into their students' repertoire, although organ compositions by German composers and transcriptions of choral and orchestral works predominated from early on. By the end of the century, French organ music had made significant advances in popularity, and in some circles, performances of transcriptions declined. However, a few Boston organ pedagogues, including Thayer, had eschewed transcriptions as early as the 1860's and 1870's, training their students mostly on Bach and "classical" German composers. European pedagogical approaches also influenced Boston organ teachers, who modeled their organ publications on European organ methods. These early teachers were pioneers, and, inspired by organ playing overseas, their pedagogical endeavors helped to raise the standard of organ performance in Boston from an amateur to a professional level in a mere half-century.
NOTES


5. One such work supplies information for Brooklyn organist John Zundel: Ann Marie Rigler, "John Zundel as Pedagogue" (DMA thesis, University of Iowa, 1993). Another, William Osborne's *Clarence Eddy: Dean of American Organists* (Organ Historical Society, 2000), provides a fine biography of this important figure and describes Eddy's approach to organ technique as outlined in his *Method for Pipe Organ* (1917).

6. Owen, 375.


8. According to Gould, the light, detached organ touch common in New England during this period, made it so that "piano-players had very little change to make in their touch of the keys" when they moved to the organ. Gould, 179.


11. In the 1870's, professional women organists were still relatively rare. Dwight's article, "Easter Music in the Boston Churches," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 34 (3 April 1875): 413-414, lists fourteen churches in Boston and their music staff, and the record contains no women. Dwight provided a somewhat larger directory of church musicians in his article "Boston Church Choirs," 439. Here, too, women organists appear in a catalog of the musicians at thirty-six Boston churches. By 1906, however, a third of church organists in Boston were female, although men still held most important church positions. The *Boston Church and Musical Directory* (Boston: William Grant James, 1906) lists 223 churches, 73 of which had women organists.


13. Henry S. Cutler and Artemas Nixon Johnson, *American Church Organ Voluntaries* (Boston: A. N. Johnson, 1852). The authors proceed to describe several instruments in mid-19th century Boston, including the organs in Trinity Church, Tremont Temple, Park Street Church, New Jerusalem Church, Methodist Episcopal Church (Hanover Street), St. Paul's Church (later Cathedral), and Dover Hart Cathedral, and Dover Hart Cathedral.


15. The few pieces in Hamilton's *Catechism* and Warren's *Hints* appear in an Appendix and seem almost an afterthought.

16. This publication remained popular through the end of the 19th century. Everett Triuette wrote that every organ student was familiar with Rinck's *Practical Organ School.* "This set of études is deservedly popular with organists, and forms a part of the early training of nearly every prominent organist." Everett Ellsworth Triuette, "Johann Christian Heinrich Rinck," *The Organ* (2 August 1893): 78.

17. Rinck's *Praktische Orgelschule* was issued in six volumes. Part I consists of introductory exercises in two, three and four parts, and preludes in all twenty-four keys. Parts II-IV contain choral variations, easy postludes in the fugal style, more difficult postludes, works in the free style, and miscellaneous works for advanced players.

18. This organ method marks a turning point in American organ pedagogical publication. After 1860, Boston publishers issue few pipe organ collections catering specifically to the amateur, instead anticipating professional intent among organ students.

19. This program is in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

20. Records exist for four recitals by Whiting and seven by Ture in their departures for Europe at ages 19 and 26, respectively.

21. John Zundel, "Organists and Organs." Another writer stated, "The organist,—what are his qualifications? He is a composer, and his practiced eye recognizes the good and avoids the bad of musical compositions; a harmonist, and his discerning ear detects the false note; a metronome, and his even measure perceives the slightest echo; a teacher, he imparts what he knows by the most judicious method; a conversator, he introduces to the choir and congregation a higher order of musical selections; in fine, he is a musician, and his science vies with chemistry, physiology, astronomy for the palm of greatness, more spiritual than either." See "Organists vs. Choristers," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 1 (22 May 1852): 51-52.

22. They suggested the *Guide to Musical Composition* by Heinrich Wohlfahrt and *Outlines of Musical Form* by W. S. B. Mathews.

23. Ochse, 196. The other two institutions founded that year were the Cincinnati Conservatory and Chicago Academy of Music.

24. 1,097 of those were women, 317 were men.


26. An advertisement on a program, dated 15 June 1883, in Julius Eichberg, "Scrapsheets," Allen A. Brown Collection, Boston Public Library, Boston. Enrollment figures from the New England and Boston Conservatories are staggering. If they are accurate, NEC admitted an average of over 1,800 new students each year during its first 16 years, while the Boston Conservatory averaged over 1,000 new students each year during its first 17 years. While it is possible that Tourière and Eichberg exaggerated for the sake of advertising, each institution had a large number of part-time students who took instrumental or vocal lessons but never enrolled in the complete course of musical instruction. "The large number of ‘special students’ who just dropped by for a lesson or two meant that the ‘world’s largest conservatory’ only graduated 13 (the first graduating class) in 1870 of 1414." See James Klein and Bruce McPherson, *Measure by Measure: A History of New England Conservatory from 1867* (Boston: The Trustees of New England Conservatory of Music, 1995), 37.

27. The introduction of conservatories may have reduced the need for travel to Europe, but many organists still did. Though Germany and England were popular places for organ study thru the 19th century, the increasing prominence of France as a center of organ composition and organ playing in the last two decades of the 19th century led a number of Boston's young organists, several of whom were former conservatory students, to study there. Those studying in Europe included Frank Lynes (Leipzig, 1883-85), Everett Triuette (NEC '83; Paris, Berlin, London, 1883-84), Homer A. Norris (NEC '87; Paris, late 1880s), George W. Stebbins (Paris), John Hermann Loud (Paris, early 1890s), and Wallace Goodrich (Munich, Paris, 1894-97). Stanley Robert McDaniel, "Church Song and the Cultivated Tradition in New England and New York" (DMA Thesis, University of Southern California, 1983), 741-743.

28. John Zundel, "Organists and Organs." Comparing Zundel's tuition fees with organist salaries in 1860 demonstrates the exorbitance of the former—in many cases, music study would have consumed well over 50% of one's salary. For students in the country, who would have had the expense of room and board, Zundel gave a yearly price of $450 for organ study, concluding, "We need not explain that this amount far exceeds the means of most of those who are desirous to become professional organists." See ibid.


30. NEC did offer private lessons in 1877, but at a very high price: $40 to $80 dollars per term. See ibid.


33. One writer directly connected the rising tastes of the masses to higher salaries for music teachers and organists: "The knowledge and love of music have prodigiously increased within the last few years cannot be doubted. Thousands now assist in choral societies and go to concerts and operas who a few years ago could only have been tempted to hear the simplest ballads and most common place pianoforte pieces. This is, of course, a great gain to the art, and the result is seen in many ways. Teachers of music are more successful than they used to be, while really capable vocalists and instrumentalists can [secure] a good income." *Scientific Music*, *Masonic Record*, no. 31 (3 May 1879): 66.
35. NEC, *Calendar: New England Conservatory of Music and College of Music of Boston University* (1881), 21. The catalogues also stated that "except, perhaps, in our largest cities, the supply of good organists is inadequate," and that musical standards were low.
36. Ibid., 30.
42. The Value of A Dollar, Prices and Incomes in the United States, ed. Scott Ders (Lakeville, CT: Grey House Publishing, 1999), 2, 11. I have calculated the yearly rate by multiplying the daily figure by 312 (52 weeks, times six days per week).
44. This is according to Truette's diary, in which Lang's and Dunham's salaries are given as " Rumors" and Whiting's as a " Fact." Everett Ellsworth Truette, "Traveling and Study, Musical Memoranda While Abroad: Aug. 18, 1883 to July 26, 1884," Special Collections, Boston Public Library, 2 [41].
45. Owen, "AGO Centennial," 35.
50. Most likely it had disposed of some of its other instruments by this time. According to the NEC 1892-1893 catalogue, there were "four large two and three Manual Pipe Organs, and ten two Manual Pedal Organs in the Conservatory building, for the exclusive use of the Organ students and teachers." NEC, *Prospectus of the New England Conservatory of Music: 1892-1893 (1892), 20. Orpha Ochse writes that a builder named Emory Lane constructed several practice organs for NEC, but she does not cite her source for this information. See Ochse, 252. Lane is never named in the Conservatory catalogues—perhaps he built instruments for the Conservatory's building on Huntington Avenue in 1901.
52. NEC, *Calendar: 1883-1884 (1883), 20-21.
53. NEC, *Calendar: 1886-1887 (1886), 72.
54. Lahee reports, "There was some difficulty about securing the land on which to build a hall, and the matter was obliged to rest for a time, during which the organ was stored away in a shed. In the meantime, Doctor Tourjée fell into bad health, and died—in 1891. In 1896 Mr. Grover also died, and the executors decided to sell the instrument." See Henry C. Lahee, *The Organ and its Masters* (Boston: The Company, 1902), 257.
and 4 of the Organ School were also sold as individual volumes, and it appears from the title page of a separately-sold Part 3, that Part 4 was entitled "Melodious Studies."

97. There is reason to believe that the author of this letter is actually Eugene Thayer. A letter to the editor, published in The Organist’s Quarterly Journal and Review (3 July 1876), p. 2, employs the same pseudonym (“Phil. Harmonic”) and letter title (“Some Musical Blunder- dents”) as the Vox Humana letter, and it copies passages from Thayer’s prose.


99. None of Thayer’s biographers, including his own daughter, mentions his teaching at Boston Conservatory.

100. This instrument was not the first studio organ in America, however. In 1863, John Zundel advertised the opening of his organ studio: “Having transferred my studio from Brooklyn to New York City, and having provided myself with a double hanked Pedal-Organ, Melodeon and Harmonium, I am prepared to give lessons on these instruments as well as in Harmony and Musical Composition. Students on the Organ will be afforded sufficient opportunities to practice their lessons free of charge, except for the Organ blowers.” See Zundel, [Advertisement,] Monthly Choir and Organ Journal (1 April 1863): 95.

101. Kraeger reports that Thayer also edited a journal called The Choral Journal and Review. However, no copies of this journal could be located, and it is not listed in William Jessewich’s A Checklist of Nineteenth-Century Periodicals (1850-1900), Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography, no. 16 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1970).

102. “We have treated the manual only at first—not distracting the attention with pedal-playing—as we most fully believe that if a sure foundation is not laid in manual playing at the commencement of study, all future progress or the attainment of any good or desirable proficiency will be simply impossible.” Eugene Thayer, The Art of Organ Playing (Boston: Oliver Ditson Company, 1871), 146.

103. The art of Organ Playing also includes a fifth volume, “Solo or Concert Playing.”

104. An exception here would be the Pedal Studies. The only music it contains is a pedal cadenza from a Concerto in G, presumably by Thayer.


106. Unfortunately, it is not possible to comment on Thayer’s The Art of Organ Playing alternates sections of exercises with sections of music.

107. Volume 2 ends recommending the study of Thiele’s Concert-Satz in E-flat Minor, which, according to one pupil, Thayer described as a “man-killing piece” because of its difficulty. Salter reports, “Th’o it was a pity [Thiele] died so young[,] if he hadn’t he would probably [have] been the death of many organists trying to play what he might have written.” Sumner Salter, “Thayer Memories,” The American Organist 16 (August 1933): 406.


110. Ibid.

111. Ibid. During a Summer in Saratoga, New York, Willis Shetton, a Thayer student, “gave a recital every day for one hundred consecutive days, and followed this series in the Fall by giving recitals on forty-two consecutive evenings.” The First Free Organ Recitals, Musical Record, no. 62 (6 December 1879): 148.


113. Salter, “Eugene Thayer.” Evidently, Salter had forgotten that Thayer included works by these very idolaters in The Art of Organ Playing.

114. Thayer students performed this piece no less than eleven times from 1870 to 1874.

115. Although the fourth volume in each of these tutors has the subtitle “Service Playing,” neither contains more than a few pages of instruction.


118. Ibid.
WHEN ONE THINKS of organbuilding in Boston during the 19th century, the first name to come to mind is probably that of E. & G. G. Hook, later Hook & Hastings. There were others, of course—Goodrich, Appleton, Simmons, Stevens, Hutchings—all major players at various times, as well as a number of less prominent but still familiar figures, such as Holbrook, Ryder, Hamill, Lane, and Woodberry. Most of these other Boston builders had some connection with the Hooks. Appleton and the Stevens brothers, like the Hooks, had received their earliest training with William Goodrich. Hutchings, his early partner Plaisted, the Woodberry brothers, and possibly also Ryder and Hamill were trained by, or worked for, the Hook/Hook & Hastings firm.

But perhaps the primary reason that Hook and Boston are so closely associated in our minds is that so many of their instruments are still in use in the city, including two of their most notable ones at Immaculate Conception Church and Holy Cross Cathedral. Although many of the firm’s Greater Boston organs were seen during the recent OHS Convention, to have visited every one of them would have no left time for any other builders’ instruments.

The Hook brothers were born in Salem, Massachusetts—Elias in 1805, and George in 1807—the sons of William Hook, a cabinetmaker of some repute, whose elegant furniture can be found today in the Essex-Peabody Museum, the Museum of Fine Arts, and other collections. In those days, it was common for craftsmen to train their sons in their trade, and no doubt William Hook’s boys were introduced early to the rudiments of woodworking in their father’s shop. But around 1821, when he was 16 years of age, Elias went to Boston to work for William Goodrich. And a couple of years later, George is believed to have joined him there.

One can only conjecture as to the reason for the Hooks’ interest in organbuilding rather than furniture making, but we know that they were musically inclined. They had sung in their church choir as youths, and George is known to have played the organ in churches in both Salem and Boston. As with their mentor, Goodrich, and indeed many makers of organs and other instruments today, skill in woodworking and mechanics, combined with a love of music, would have naturally inclined them toward instrument making of some sort, and the instrument they chose was the organ.

We hear nothing more of the young Hooks until 1827, when, having presumably completed their apprenticeship, they returned to Salem, where, for a while, they seem to have followed separate paths. Elias opened a music store, which was still in business in 1829, and George began building an elegant chamber organ for a Boston merchant. In 1828, Elias also built an organ of his own, for the Tabernacle Church in Salem. This has long since disappeared, but George’s chamber organ—which came back into his possession in 1871—survives in the
Essex Institute of Salem. While its interior work shows the hand of an apprentice just starting out, the elegant, ornate casework is obviously the work of a seasoned cabinetmaker, undoubtedly George’s father, William Hook.

The firm’s records for the early years are incomplete, but the Hook brothers are said to have built five one-manual church organs and fourteen chamber organs while still at Salem, perhaps working out of their father’s shop. But they knew where the action was, and in 1832, armed with contracts for larger instruments, they moved to a workshop of their own on Friend Street, in the West End of Boston. There, they built several two-manual organs, including one with a flamboyant “Gothick” case for South Church, Salem. A plainer version was built two years later for St. Michael’s Church in nearby Marblehead. In 1833, the Hooks began their first three-manual instrument, for the First Baptist Church of Providence. The Hooks’ casework in this period shows an eye for original design, breaking away from the rather standard designs then adopted by Appleton, Stevens, and Holbrook & Ware. At least three fine Hook cases from the 1830’s survive, although housing later organs—those in Marblehead and Providence, and a very handsome case of 1834, now in the Baptist Church of Bath, Maine and containing a 20th century Hook & Hastings organ, but possibly originally in the Unitarian Church of Lowell, Massachusetts.

The demand for organs in the 1830’s was high, enough so to keep at least four builders in the Boston area busy (and also, several in New York City and elsewhere). The Hooks’ fame was growing, and by 1840, they had built organs not only in Massachusetts, but in Connecticut, Vermont, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Kentucky. By 1836, they had built their second three-manual organ, and by 1840, their third—both for churches in Philadelphia.

The Hooks’ growth continued during the 1840’s, and in 1845 they built what was then the largest organ in Boston, a three-manual for Tremont Temple, a building that served as both church and public hall. This was regarded as the first organ in the city suitable for recitals. In this period, the Hooks were averaging from eight to ten organs a year, most of them of one or two manuals, and they had more or less standardized their case designs, which were largely Greek Revivalist in style. Examples of surviving organs with such cases exist in the Unitarian Church of Northfield, Massachusetts (1842), the Federated Church of Sandwich, Massachusetts (1847), and the Congregational Church of Hinsdale, Massachusetts (1849). Some smaller instruments, such as the 1847 organ in the Unitarian Church of Athol, Massachusetts (now the Historical Society), had simpler cases, and a few organs of this period, such as the 1849 instrument once in St. Paul’s Church, New Haven, were in the “Gothick” style that would become more popular in later years.

At some time during the 1840’s, the Hooks moved from their first location on Friend Street to a larger work-
shop on nearby Leverett Street. Perhaps owing to lack of space, they encouraged Samuel Pierce, their head pipemaker, to set up his own workshop elsewhere, which he eventually did in 1847, in his home town of Reading, conveniently located near a new rail line to Boston which terminated at North Station, just a few blocks from Leverett St. At Leverett Street, there were built, early in the 1850's, several fine instruments still in use, which testify to the solid and artistic design, engineering, and voicing that had, by this time, made E.&G.G. Hook the leading builder in Boston.

“Gothick” cases of various styles continued to be built during this period, the 1851 case at St. John’s Cathedral, Providence, being a good example. But “Grecian” cases were still quite standard in the early 1850’s—extant examples include those at St. Denis’ Church, Dublin, New Hampshire (1854), the Congregational Church, Stockton Springs, Maine (1852), and Westville United Church, New Haven (1852).

In 1852, fire destroyed Tremont Temple—and Hook’s magnum opus—but the hall was quickly rebuilt, and in 1854, Hook built their first four-manual organ for the new building. Although a photo has, alas, never been found, it is described as having had an ornate screen rather than pipes in the façade. It is interesting to compare its stoplist against that of the earlier organ. The 1845 stoplist is indistinguishable from those of many comparable English organs of the early 19th century. It was a 59-note “G-compass” organ, with a Swell division one octave short. It did have a 27-note pedal compass, but it was from G to A, and its three pedal stops were all Open Diapasons—a 16’ wood, and two 8’s (one wood, one metal). Even some of the newer “color” stops, such as Melodia, Viol di Gamba, and Night Horn, had been in use in English organs for decades, and all of its couplers were unisons. In contrast, the 1853 organ (not formally opened until early 1854) was a 58-note “C-compass” organ with a 27-note Pedal of ten stops, from a 32’ Double Bourdon (one of the earliest in the United States) through a 6’ Quint and 4’ Principal, with reeds at 16’ and 8’. Though most smaller organs would have tenor-C compass Swells (with a few unenclosed basses) for some time, this organ had a 13-stop Swell of full compass including four reeds (16’, two 8’s, and 4’). Its fourth manual was a Solo, consisting of 8’ Horn Diapason, Gamba, and Clarabella, 4’ Wald Flute, 2’ Picolo, and 8’ Trumpet, the latter apparently on higher wind pressure, since it had its own bellows signal. Other innovations were doubled Principals at 8’, 4’, 2’ on the Great, presumably of different scales, since one of each was designated “Grand”; and two of the earliest occurrences of the use of German stop names—a Hohl Flute in the Choir, and a Possaune [sic] in the Pedal. If some extant 1854 organs are an indication, the Gambas in this organ were bell Gambas, tapered with a reverse taper at the top—a new type of stop
at this time, but one which persisted in Hook work for decades, and which is found in several organs of the 1860’s, e.g., Immaculate Conception, Boston. The review of the dedication of the Tremont Temple organ in Dwight’s Journal of Music made special mention of the solo stops and “orchestral effects.” There were also a few mechanical innovations, such as subcoupler from Choir to Great, supercoupler from Swell to Great, Pedal octave coupler, and ventil to control the two largest Pedal stops. But the action was completely mechanical, as the Barker machine did not occur in Hook work any earlier than 1857, when it may have been applied to the Great division of the large three-manual organ built for Beneficent Congregational Church (a.k.a. First Unitarian) in Providence; this division may have also had some sort of pneumatic stop action, for its Great combination actions were activated by knobs, while other combination actions were activated by the usual pedals. One innovation in this organ did not catch on until decades later—a “Willis-Wesley” type of radiating pedalboard.

The Tremont Temple organ may have been the last organ built at the West End shop, for in 1854, the Hooks relocated to a large new frame factory on what was then the outskirts of town, on Tremont Street at Roxbury crossing, near the tracks of the Westbound Fitchburg Railroad Line. In the following years, the number of organs built increased significantly, averaging sixteen to twenty per year in the 1854-60 period. The number of larger organs was growing, too. At the Boston OHS Convention, there were three of them (two from 1854 and one from 1859) in the suburb of Jamaica Plain. Others were seen at earlier conventions, including the 1854 three-manual in Westbrook, Maine, and the 1855 two-manual in Salem, New York.

While stoplists of smaller organs were still fairly conservative, new color stops inspired by European Romantic trends continued to appear in larger instruments, among them the 4’ Harmonic Flute and 8’ Salicional, first noted in three-manual organs of 1860, such as those at the Congregational Church, Woburn, Massachusetts, and St. John’s Church, Bangor, Maine, both featured at OHS conventions. The 1861 organs once at Arlington Street Church, Boston (for which the impressive case still exists), and Old West Church, Boston both boasted “German” Gambas. French nomenclature also appears at this time, the harmonic flute being found as Flûte Harmonique; while the ubiquitous chimney flute, found in Hook organs for decades, suddenly becomes Flûte à Chiminiée (both with correct accents)—though by the later 1860’s, the harmonic flute seems to have been more often Italianized to Flauto Traverso.

Too much, perhaps, has been made of the influence of the imported Walcker organ, installed in the fall of 1863 at Boston Music Hall, on Boston organbuilding, particularly on the Hooks. As we have seen, imported Romantic voices had been appearing in Hook organs throughout the preceding decade, while mechanical innovations such as the Barker machine, sub and supercouplers, and, in the largest organs, 27-note Pedals and full-compass Swells, had all made their appearance before 1860. On the other hand, smaller organs and even some three-manual organs continued for some time to have only 20 or 25-note Pedals, and Tenor-C Swells.

In Hook’s 1863 Immaculate Conception organ, the only stops not found in previous organs were a Doppel Flute (disguised as a Stopped Diapason), a Keraulophon, and a Vox Humana—which J. S. Dwight admitted was rather better than Walcker’s. These stops also showed up in Hook’s organ for Mechanics Hall, Worcester, Massachusetts, completed the following year, the stoplist for which was nearly identical to that of the Immaculate Conception organ, but with one notable addition—a six-stop Solo division on higher pressure. Yet with the exception of the Hohl Pfeife, none of its stops can be found in the Walcker. Indeed, with stops such as the Philomela, Tuba,
and Corno Inglese—all appearing for the first time in a Hook organ—the inspiration for this Solo division seems to have been more English and French than German.

Organist B. J. Lang must have liked the Tuba, for in 1866 he had one added to his 1864 Hook in South Congregational Church, Boston, a large three-manual already containing the Doppel Flute, Hohl Pfeife, and Vox Humana which seem to have found favor with Hook, and housed in a case designed by the American architect responsible for the case of the Music Hall organ, Hammatt Billings. The organ—handsome console and all—still exists, though it is unplayable due to a botched electrification many years ago. The building that houses it is now home to a Greek Orthodox congregation that does not use instrumental accompaniment in its liturgy.

Some of the most highly touted tonal features of the Walcker, such as the free reeds, “scientifically designed” mixtures, and huge Pedal division were pretty much ignored by Hook and the other Boston builders. And all of them considered its mechanical innovations, such as the cone-valve chests and box-bellows, decidedly inferior to the slider chests and standard bellows they knew so well how to make—which indeed they proved to be after two decades of humid Boston summers and steam-heated winters. The organ as it stands today in Methuen Music Hall has American-made slider chests and double-rise bellows, substituted in 1909 for Walcker’s unsalvageable cone-valve chests and warped box-bellows.

One important innovation that the Hooks must have gleaned from Walcker was the balanced swell pedal, which suddenly appeared on three-manual organs, such as that in South Church, and even on larger two-manual instruments as early as 1864. But most smaller organs still had hitch-down swell pedals until the 1870’s, and a few had the English type of “ratchet” or “trigger” swell pedals. The idea of overhanging upper manuals probably came from Walcker as well, for these too began to appear in Hook organs during the early 1860’s.

But large Romantic organs were only a part of Hook’s output during the 1860’s. One also finds elegant, middle-of-the-road two-manual organs, such as the completely unaltered one from 1866 at Old South Church, Newburyport, Massachusetts, which also has a ratchet swell pedal and a “thunder pedal.” Other extant examples include the 1868 organ in Follen Church, Lexington, Massachusetts, seen at the Boston OHS convention, and its virtual twin at the Unitarian Church of Winchendon, Massachusetts. As some of these organs show, decorated zinc front pipes were coming into fashion in this period, as well as exposed, decorated swell boxes. But some elegant Victorian variants of the standard three-section case also come from this period, such as an 1865 instrument once at First Methodist, New Haven.

Hook’s most notable organ of the later 1860’s was the large four-manual built in 1865 for Henry Ward Beecher’s Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, New York, where John Zundel was organist. Here we find a truly eclectic combination of influences, which indeed help to explain the unique “American Romantic” characteristics of Hook’s organs in the 1860’s and 70’s. A contemporary description of the Plymouth Church organ makes note of the pneumatic lever (or Barker machine) which was applied to the entire action. And, as further evidence of French influence, the compensating reservoirs, “on the plan of Cavallé of Paris,” which we know to have been in use at least as early as 1863, at Immaculate Conception, Boston. There was also the balanced swell pedal and overhanging keyboards, both part of the Walcker legacy. And of course, undergirding everything, Hook’s solid and reliable slider chests and copious bellows. Tonally, we find in this organ Hook’s well-balanced principal choruses and chorus reeds, the English Tubas at 8’ and 4’ in the Solo, the Philomela (a rather misnamed loud principal), and the German Hohl Pfeife. And on the Great, the English Clara-bella, the German Doppel Flöte, and the French Flûte Harmonique happily co-exist. Possibly at the instigation of
Zundel, this organ also contained a very rare occurrence of free-reed stops—a 16’ Euphone in the Swell, and an 8’ Vox Angelica in the Solo.

An 1866 organ of almost equal size to the Brooklyn instrument, and of a nearly identical stoplist, but lacking the Solo division, once stood at Shawmut Congregational Church, Boston, where the composer and pedagogue Henry M. Dunham was organist. Although twice rebuilt, this organ survived with virtually all of its original pipework intact, but unplayable, until the 1960’s. But it has since met the fate of all too many urban organs, when the church was abandoned, vandalized, burnt, and finally gutted for conversion into condominiums, and today, no trace of the organ survives.

Smaller three-manual organs of the period, such as the “Gothick”-cased 1866 organ at Trinity Church, New Haven, lacked the more exotic “bells and whistles,” but by this time, Doppel Flutes, Harmonic Flutes, Gambas, Cornopeans, and 16’ Pedal reeds had become standard features on such organs, and even a mid-sized 1866 two-manual at St. Thomas Church in Taunton, Massachusetts could boast a Keraulophon, Vox Humana, and Flute d’Amour. During the late 1860’s Hook began naming the third manual Solo rather than Choir—a practice continued for over a decade—though the conservative stoplist of this division changed not at all, and no Tubas or Philomelas could be found therein.

In the 1860’s, the organist John H. Willcox was associated with the Hook firm, and is documented not only as having dedicated many of their organs from the 1850’s on, but also as having actually voiced and finished some of them, including the New Haven organ mentioned above. It is hard not to conclude that this organist of Boston’s Immaculate Conception Church and popular performer of transcriptions had some hand in pushing Hook’s tonal designs further in the romantic direction. However, in the
late 1860’s, Willcox and three other Hook employees left to found a new company which would eventually become the George S. Hutchings firm—by the 1890’s, a strong competitor to Hook & Hastings. But the new firm was no threat in 1869, when the already substantial Hook factory was enlarged to meet the needs of increasing business.

In the late 1860’s, some adventurous visual designs began to appear in Hook’s work. A good-sized two-manual of quite exotic design was built for Church of the Unity, Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1868. Hook had used heavy tin front pipes in the Brooklyn organ, and they were used here, too, in an unusual asymmetrical case in which they are bound together with metal bands bearing mottos, such as “Break forth into singing.” Less adventurous, but still unique, is the “two-faced” case of the corner-installed 1870 organ seen at the Boston OHS Convention at the Unitarian Church of Arlington, but originally built for a Philadelphia church.

One of the most unusual organs of the 1860’s was built in 1869 for Patrick S. Gilmore’s “National Peace Jubilee.” It was intended to accompany choruses and bands whose members numbered in the high hundreds, and an audience of several thousand, all in a vast semi-outdoor (and doubtless, acoustically horrible) wooden “Coliseum.” Although it had only one manual, it contained Doppels Flutes at 16’ and 8’, “pervading” large-scaled Principals at 8’, 4’, and 2’, a five-rank Grand Cornet, and Tubas at 16’, 8’, and 4’—with a five-stop Pedal to match, based on a large-scale 16’ Sub Bass with large-scaled reeds at 16’ and 8’. It was voiced on the then unheard of wind pressure of 10”, it employed the Barker machine, and, according to contemporary reports, was loud—indeed, “almost deafening.” Although damaged by a hurricane that flattened the Coliseum in the fall, the organ was salvaged, rebuilt with a case of sorts, and, with a Swell division added and the wind pressure reduced to a mere 7”, installed at
Brooklyn Tabernacle, Brooklyn, New York. This didn’t end its bad luck, however, for two years later, Brooklyn Tabernacle burnt to the ground.

In 1870, William Horatio Clarke, an organist with some definite ideas about organ design, was organist at the Unitarian Church in Woburn, Massachusetts, and Hook built what was probably as large as possible a three-manual organ for the cramped chamber that the church provided behind the pulpit. The contract stated that the organ blowers might have to ply their trade underneath the chamber, and that as much space as possible be allowed between the front pipes of the singularly plain façade for sound egress. Even so, the organ was somewhat bottled up. It was also specified that the pipes were to be scaled like those of the 1864 South Church in Boston, which had a very similar stoplist, except, interestingly, for the Woburn organ’s unique “Carillons” stop—a set of saucer bells located behind the keyboards, not unlike those found in some Central German organs. This church closed around 1990, and the organ was sold to a church in Berlin, Germany, where it awaits restoration and reinstallation in a building said to have much better acoustics.

In the 1850’s, a young apprentice named Frank Hastings entered the Hook factory, and rose through the ranks, eventually achieving a responsible position in the design department and becoming involved in business operations. By the end of 1871, when he was 36 years old (and the Hook brothers were 65 and 67), Hastings became a full partner, and the firm changed its name to E. & G. G. Hook & Hastings. An important organ built that year for St. Alphonsus Church in New York is now at St. Mary’s, New Haven where it awaits restoration and reinstallation in a building said to have much better acoustics.

Three large organs mark the apex of the 1870’s, the consolidation of Hook & Hastings’s “high romantic” style, and, though the elderly Hook brothers were still active, the emergence of Hastings as a designer and leader. The 70-stop giant built in 1875 for Holy Cross Cathedral, Boston, was the largest the firm had built up to that time. This is the organ of which Hastings later wrote in his diary, “I think now that I have done nothing so creditable.” In its OHS—cast certain basic designs in stone, mostly for one and two-manual organs, and allowed the factory to build a few instruments “on spec” to keep on hand for quick sale. “Gothick” case designs, such as that once found at Calvary Baptist Church, New Haven (1872), were coming more into favor. But some more innovative physical designs come from the early Hastings years as well. In 1873, a two-manual asymmetrical organ—with a full-length 16’ Open in the case—was built for a Congregational church in South Boston, now occupied by the Albanian Orthodox Cathedral. And an impressive 1875 case of pyramidal design once graced New England Congregational Church, Chicago.
generous scaling, full-blown voicing, and plethora of color stops, it broke almost completely with the English-influenced vestiges of the past, and was thoroughly up-to-date mechanically, originally having Barker machine key action, pneumatic stop action, combination pedals, and even a Walcker-type sliding crescendo mechanism. Generous in every respect, it stands 40' wide, 25' deep, and 50' tall.

A year later, an organ eleven stops smaller, but with a very similar stop list and the same expansive scaling and voicing, was built for the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, where it won the highest award and was played daily by eminent organists. After the exhibition closed, it was sold to St. Joseph's Cathedral in Buffalo, where it was later electrified and somewhat tonally altered, and has recently been rebuilt with some additions. Smaller organs in this same tonal style also appeared during this period. In 1875, a 40-stop organ influenced by the Holy Cross instrument was built for Central Congregational Church, Fall River, Massachusetts. Though electrified and enlarged by Hook & Hastings in 1916, it retains...
most of its original pipework. In 1877, a 45-stop organ of the same type was built for Holy Trinity Church, Boston, many stops of which still exist in a rebuild following a fire in the 1950's, and a very similar organ was placed at St. Luke's Church, Philadelphia.

In 1877, Hook & Hastings exceeded their previous efforts in this "full-blown romantic" style with an 80-stop behemoth—at the time the largest organ in the country—for Cincinnati Music Hall. Its casework was unique, having been carved by students from a local art school. It had Barker machine key action, pneumatic stop action, combination pedals, and a sliding crescendo mechanism of the Walcker type, and was apparently the firm's first organ to have 61-note manuals and 30-note pedals. But the many smaller organs built by Hook & Hastings would continue to have 58-note manuals and 27-note pedals until the 1890's, and many such, like the modest 15-stop two-manual of 1878 in Nahant, Massachusetts (seen at an earlier OHS convention) continued to be made.

In 1879, Tremont Temple in Boston again burned down, destroying Hook's large 1854 organ, to which Hook had added a few stops in the 1860's. The following year, Hook & Hastings built an elegant replacement of similar size, with block tin front pipes—but regrettably, in 1893, it met the same fate as its two predecessors. In 1880, the firm built its thousandth organ, a small two-manual "catalog" organ, for a church in Washington, D.C. Another large organ, almost as large at the Holy Cross instrument, was built in 1881 for St. Francis Xavier Church, New York City, where a one-manual "catalog" organ was also supplied for the lower church, but both instruments were replaced some years ago.

With the early 1880's, we come to the end of an era in the company history with the death of George Hook, the younger brother, in September 1880. Various accounts of the two brothers cite George as the "practical" one, and perhaps the more musical. He is cited as having been a good mechanic, but more importantly, as a voicer, he possessed what one writer described as "extraordinary skill," especially in reeds (Hook reeds have always had a well-deserved reputation for brilliance and quality). Elias Hook survived his brother by just a few months, dying in June 1881. Contemporary accounts of Elias likewise mention his voicing skill and musical nature, but also stress his business acumen, and hint at his ability to establish good public relations for the firm. Possibly he was the more outgoing of the two, and perhaps a good salesman as well. More than one contemporary observer has noted this difference in temperament between the two, and it is this which seems to have made their long partnership so successful—the happy combination of a skilled "hands-on"

**SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY**


In 1889 Francis Henry Hastings moved the nationally known E. & G. G. Hook & Hastings organ factory to the small country town of Weston, Massachusetts. This article explores the reasons why Hastings chose to move his factory to his home town, and the “community of labor” he sought to create.

Weston is located twelve miles west of Boston along Boston Post Road, once the main route from Boston to Hartford and New York City. The second major thoroughfare is North Avenue, a main road from Boston to New Hampshire, Vermont, and Canada. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, North Avenue was an important route for farmers driving their cattle and hogs to the slaughterhouses of Brighton. The Fitchburg rail line runs roughly parallel with North Avenue, as does Stony Brook, a major tributary of the Charles River.

Until well into the 20th century, Weston was an agricultural community. By the time the organ factory came to town, most savvy farmers had taken up either dairying or market gardening of fruits and vegetables, which found a ready market in the nearby city. Like other towns in New England, Weston had small mills powered by water from brooks and streams. By the late 19th century, town leaders were actively discouraging industry as a drawback to the future of the town as a place for country homes.

By then it was clear that the town’s chief asset was not waterpower, which was limited, or retail trade, which had disappeared with the coming of the railroads. The town’s future lay in its attractiveness to well-to-do Boston businessmen and manufacturers who were just a half-hour train ride from their city homes and businesses. The town of 10,760 acres had a population in 1890 of 1,664—a density of about 6.5 acres per person. It had undulating topography, picturesque scenery, and healthy air. Town leaders kept the tax rate low, a major attraction in the days when both personal assets and real estate were taxed by the town rather than by the state or federal governments. By the turn of the century, the town had attracted so many estates that an article in the Boston Sunday Herald dubbed it the “Lenox of the East.”

Francis Henry Hastings was the third generation of his family in Weston. His grandfather, Jonas Hastings, was a farmer and boot maker who came to Weston in 1805. In 1823, Jonas built a traditional-style house now known as the Hastings Homestead, at 199 North Avenue. Jonas’s son Francis, also a boot maker, lived his whole life at 199 North Avenue. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Weston was a center for boot and shoemaking because of Hobbs Tannery, which was right down the street. The tannery was a major business in Weston through 1850.

Francis Henry Hastings was born in 1836 at the Hastings Homestead. All of his education was provided at District School #4 on North Avenue, which then had students from grades 1-8. As a boy, Francis Henry worked on the farm, but he disliked farming so much that when he was 14, he rebelled, declaring that he would no longer study or work as a farmer. He left school and became an apprentice tool maker in a machine shop in Boston. Five years later, an employer gave him this recommendation: “He has been in my employ for the last year and one-half, and for honesty, integrity, and industrious habits and
good moral principles, I would cheerfully recommend him to anyone who may be in want of his services." Thus Hastings, who was then 19, got a job in 1855 as a draftsman with E. & G. G. Hook, organ makers.

This prestigious firm was founded in 1827 by Elias Hook (1805-1881) and his brother, George G. Hook (1807-1880). In 1853, two years before Hastings joined, they had moved to a new factory on Tremont Street in Roxbury—said to have been the largest organ factory in the country at the time. Here, the Hooks built some of the century's great church and concert organs.

Hastings was clearly a valued employee. He was first taken into partnership in 1866, when he was only 30 years old. In the articles of co-partnership, it was stated that "Mr. Hastings had long been in the employment of the factory and acquired a skill in the business, fitting himself to take an interest in the products and profits thereof, and is desirous of assuming the responsibilities and duties of a partner in the business." In order to become a partner, Hastings gave the Hook brothers a note for $6,666, payable at $1,000 a year with interest. He also began paying his share of the rent, which was calculated at $2,200, based on valuation of land and buildings at $30,000.

This original co-partnership was intended to last for five years, during which time the company was still called E. & G. G. Hook. Five years later, an 1871 agreement changed the name of the firm to E. & G. G. Hook & Hastings. According to the publication The Hook Opus List, 1829-1916 in Facsimile, the firm was already using modern methods of mass production by the time Hastings became a partner. Hastings introduced stock models and greatly increased advertising as a marketing tool. His artistic and mechanical skills and good business judgment assured the company a continued period of prosperity that extended well into the next century.

One of the best known organs built at the Roxbury factory was for the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Boston (1863). It remains the largest surviving E. & G. G. Hook organ and one of the finest examples of 19th century organbuilding. Also notable were the 1875 organ for Holy Cross Cathedral, Boston, which at the time was the largest ever built by an American firm, and the organ for the 1876 Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, to which judges gave the "highest rank in its class," noting that "we can recall no organ of equal size and power that could be played with so much ease and satisfaction to the organist or so much gratification to the listener." In 1877, the company's monumental Cincinnati Music Hall organ—with its four manuals, 96 speaking registers, and 6,237 pipes—took over the national record for size and remained the largest ever built by the firm. In 1897 it was listed as the 18th of the 22 largest organs in the world.

These large organs attracted widespread public attention, and the firm's ability to handle the problems of producing and installing large instruments contributed to its fame. The Hook factory reached peak production during the 1870's and 1880's, when they averaged 46 organs per year—nearly one per week. By 1880, the company had produced 1,000 organs.

Elias Hook died in 1880, and his brother in 1881. In October 1881, Hastings purchased their share of the business from George's widow, Adeline. The company increased production of small stock organs while continuing to build large custom instruments. The name remained the same until 1893, when it was reorganized as a corporation and renamed the Hook & Hastings Company.

Little information is available about Hastings's personal life during the Boston years, except that he married...
and had a son, Francis Warren Hastings, in 1862, and that he became a Master Mason in 1865. He was apparently divorced. Until 1885, Francis Henry Hastings lived in Boston. In 1885, at age 49, he built himself a Shingle-style house, Seven Gables, located across the street from his boyhood home on North Avenue. The house was designed by the Boston architectural firm of Henry W. Hartwell and William Richardson. This noted firm achieved particular success in the 1880's and 1890's. They have been called "followers rather than innovators" who provide "an excellent example of both popular architectural taste in Boston, and the influence of H. H. Richardson on his contemporaries." In the Hastings house, the architects used one of their trademarks from the 1880's—diamond shingle patterns in the gable.

Many reasons have been offered as to why Hastings moved his home and then the factory to Weston. He may have wanted to spend more time with his aging parents, who both died in the late 1880's. The family farmland was conveniently located on the Fitchburg rail line and available for new uses. Hastings's only child, Francis Warren, had left Harvard College in 1884 because of failing health, and his father may have hoped that the young man's health would improve in the country environment.

Labor unrest in other industries and the rise of the labor movement may have inspired Hastings's effort to create a harmonious workplace and community at Kendal Green, and thus avoid costly strikes. The mid-1880's were years of often violent railroad strikes. In 1886, an anarchist exploded a bomb in Chicago's Haymarket, and in that same year, the American Federation of Labor was organized.

Hastings's "community of labor" at Kendal Green should be viewed in the context of the well-publicized strikes at Andrew Carnegie's Homestead Steel Mill near Pittsburgh in 1892 and at the Pullman factory in 1894.

Francis Henry Hastings and his son actively built up their land holdings and factory community in the decade between 1885 and 1895. Seven Gables was built in 1885, as was the stable across the street, probably designed by the same architect. At that point, Francis Henry and his son had purchased 21 acres in Weston, all land which had belonged to their forebears. In 1886, he bought another piece of the old Hastings Homestead, for a total of 45 acres, as well as the Warren Farm on Lexington Street, which was 150 acres. The next year, he bought a farmhouse on North Avenue with about 3.5 acres.

In 1887, Hastings began the factory, which initially had just the west wing. It is interesting to remember that, in an age before zoning laws, one could build a factory anywhere, without any kind of town permit. Three reasons have been suggested for the factory's widespread acceptance at a time when Weston's policy was to discourage industry and encourage country homes. First, Francis Henry Hastings was a native of the town and built the factory right next to his boyhood home and his own new residence. Second, this was busy North Avenue, on the opposite side of town from most of the large estates. Third, the company had a reputation for making fine musical instruments, as opposed to, say, textiles, which required mainly unskilled labor.

In 1887, Hastings bought property on the west side of Viles Street, including an existing tenement building that had four apartments, each with three rooms. That year, he built two double cottages next to the tenement on Viles. Also in 1887, he finished three double cottages on Lexington Street, on the Warren Farm that he had bought the year before. On May 1, 1889, he moved the business to
Kendal Green. That year, he built Hastings Hall as a community center. In 1891, Hastings added an east wing to the factory, which made it 280 feet long. Also in 1891, he built a house for his gardener behind the stable. He built a water reservoir on nearby Cat Rock Hill, and equipped the factory with an automatic sprinkler and electric fire signal.

In 1893, he built three cottages on North Avenue near the old district schoolhouse. He also built a cottage on what was then called White Lane, and began two others. In 1894, he finished these, and began a fourth. The next year, he bought yet another house on White Lane, which had been built several years earlier by a private owner.

The factory was located just north of the Fitchburg railroad tracks on the east side of Viles Street. Postcards and photographs document the appearance of the huge wood frame structure. A fixture of the landscape until its demolition in 1936, the organ factory was more visible than it would be today because of the deforested landscape. The building had a center section which was 80 feet long, 40 feet wide, and four stories high, and two wings, each 100 feet long with three stories and a raised basement level. A spur line lead directly into the factory yard, so that lumber, coal, and other materials could be brought directly onto the property, and finished organs could be loaded directly onto railroad cars for shipment. Lumber was purchased by the carload, seasoned in large airy yards for the purpose, stored in lumber houses, and finally, passed through dry kilns.

In its brochure of 1889, the company touted its new machinery, powerful steam engine, large lumber houses, dry rooms, and "all modern appliances for labor saving and for high-grade work." It concluded that "we consider our new factory the best equipped of any in the country, if not the world, of its kind." When one of the great organs was completed, it was often set up in the 80 by 40 foot central hall, called the “finishing” or “erecting” room, which was 35 feet high. Here, the organ was tested and played. As many as 300 people sometimes enjoyed an informal evening’s entertainment of singing and instrumental music before the instrument was dismantled and crated for shipment.

The large organs often took years to build, and were designed to coordinate with the church or hall in architectural style and color. This description of the organ built for the First Church of Christ Scientist, Boston, in 1906 conveys the grandeur of these masterworks: "The beautiful exterior, filling the great 60' arch, comprises many groups of large, gold speaking pipes, supported by casing of elaborately carved stone. There was a total of 126 stops, many thousands of pipes, the largest 32 feet long. This Grand organ, by its immense size, extraordinary conception, and masterly execution is unique and unsurpassed." In a brochure describing this organ, the company inserted this tribute from the *Church Music Review*: "It is rather remarkable that in every instance where the firm Hook-Hastings Co. have exhibited, covering all the important exhibits since 1853, they have received the highest awards. It is indeed seldom that a firm remains at the head of its profession continuously for so many years with uninterrupted success."

In addition to these large instruments, for which the company was justly famous, Hook & Hastings made small organs of moderate cost for chapels or schools, as well as parlor organs. A pamphlet from the early 1880's shows six

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**ABOVE left, cottages built for employee use; right, District School #4, where Hastings went to school.**

**LEFT** Hastings Hall, left, built as a community center in 1889. The houses to the right and behind the hall were rented to workers.

*Collection of Lucy D. Boyd*
models of small, ready-made organs. In the mid-1860’s, E. & G. G. Hook had built some of the first American instruments to use pneumatic action, enabling the player to deploy full organ with less mechanical resistance.13 Hook & Hastings later pioneered experiments in applying electric action to pipe organs. Their first organ with electric action was built around 1895-96 using platinum as the main contact for key and coupler actions.12 Their last mechanical action organ was built in 1924, at St. John’s Roman Catholic Church, Miller’s Falls, Massachusetts.13

The company advertised that they had “competent and experienced tuners who are continually passing through various parts of the country” who could be called upon to service a Hook & Hastings organ.14 The 1912 catalogue states: “IT IS OFTEN SAID we command higher prices because we have won a high reputation, and that the difference to be paid is for our name merely. THE FACT is that the difference is for the higher grade which our name and reputation assures...There is a vast difference between a commercial organ, built for profit only, and one where no effort or expense is spared in the selection of materials and in construction to produce that which is most approved, most trustworthy, and most artistic.” Warranty “without limit as to time.”15

The manufacture of organs required a variety of skilled tradesmen. Hastings once remarked that he needed “every branch of mechanics...workmen in wood, in metal, in leather, knowledge of music and acoustics, architecture, electricity, pneumatics, hydraulics.”16 Hastings maintained relationships with European organbuilders, and employed experts trained in their factories. In busy times, the men worked ten hours a day, six days a week, from 7 a.m. to noon, and from 1 p.m. to 6 p.m. The factory whistle called the men to work and was also the fire signal.

In 1906, Hook & Hastings had 71 employees, about half of whom lived in Weston.17 Scandinavians, particularly Norwegians and Swedes, were well represented in the workforce. Many of his employees worked at the factory for 30, 40, even 50 years and more.

An 1890 article in the Boston Herald outlined Hastings’s plan to create a harmonious workplace and community at Kendal Green. The article is entitled “A Community of Labor, An Object Lesson for Employers and Employed. The Labor Experiment at Kendal Green, A Neighborhood Like a Family.” It begins “One of the vital questions of the day is the labor question.” The author praises Francis Henry Hastings for his thoughtful efforts to plan a community “so united in its aims and its work that it represents almost the ideal of relations between man and man.”18

One way Hastings built his community was by providing a variety of housing options, including both rental and ownership, to employees who wished to move to Weston. An article in the Danvers Mirror explained the transition from city to country: “The workmen at first nearly all lived in Boston, coming out to their task daily. But the city was close and stuffy. Kendal Green was sweet and country-like. Soon the absurdity of sleeping in the city in tenement rooms dawned on the mechanics. One after another, they began to rent cottages at Kendal Green. Gradually, a whole community of clean, self-respecting, intelligent mechanics sprang up around that organ factory.”19

Hastings had anticipated the need for housing and built workers’ cottages on Viles and Lexington Streets even before the factory opened. Because he and his son owned three farms in the area, he was able to deliberately scatter the housing in different locations, thus avoiding the appearance of a factory town.

According to the article, Hastings rented some cottages by the year, reportedly for less money than the workers would have had to pay for two or three rooms in the city. He also encouraged his men to buy their own land and build their own houses, “and thus become landed proprietors.” The Boston Herald article describes the plan for the development of White Lane (now Brook Road): “A street is to be laid out on the opposite side of the railroad from the factory, and already, the house lots have been marked off and sold. A moderate price was asked for the land, and the only provisions were that the houses were to be built within two years and that none were to cost less than $1,000. This stipulation was made as much in the interest of the men as of Mr. Hastings, for the better the houses that are built, the more assured is the value of the property. Besides, it is Mr. Hastings’s idea that, the better the house is, the more highly the owner will value it, and the more pains he will make to keep it in good repair.” To this, the reporter added his own personal philosophy: “To be a capitalist even in a small way is to learn to respect capital.”

But the plan to have workers own the White Lane houses was never implemented, and the houses were always rented, rather than owned by employees. Hastings and his son did hold the mortgages on other employee homes, indicating that they financed the construction. The 1890 Boston Herald article, written only a year after the factory moved to Weston, conveys an image and vision that was not fully realized. Still, the ideals expressed are crucial for understanding the development of the community.

Hastings provided for recreation and social activities, which were undoubtedly much needed in rural Weston: “As the little community grew, there was found a need of better means of social intercourse. Family visiting was all very well, but family visiting often degenerated into..."
gossip and mischief-making. So the thing to do was to make a hall and clubhouse.” Hastings helped employees organize the Kendal Club, which met at the factory until Hastings Hall was built. This simple wooden structure was located on the west side of Viles Street. It contained a hall reportedly seating 300 for entertainments and lectures, as well as a library and reading room “with all the daily papers, many of the weeklies, the leading scientific journals, and the popular magazines of the day,” and a game room “where the younger men pass many of their winter evenings.”

Although built for employees, Hastings Hall was used extensively by all local residents and, judging from the turn-of-the-century “Kendal Green” columns in the Waltham Daily Free Press, was the scene of more social events than even the Town Hall in Weston Center. The Kendal Club sponsored spirited debates on public issues, concerts, plays, dances, suppers, and lectures. General James Marshall lectured here on “the Indian question.” A separate Ladies Club sponsored literary and social events. A Shakespeare club met here. The company maintained a playground on Viles Street used by young children and by the factory baseball team. Their annual ballgame against the Waltham Watch Company drew large audiences.

The 1890 Boston Herald article speaks to the positive influence of country life on moral values: “To some of the men, this life comes as a relief from temptation: the young men in particular are not in the way of the snares that are set at every corner in the city. They come to feel that intemperance and vice are out of harmony with the life about them.” Such sentiments are part of a strong anti-modern, anti-urban, anti-industrial sentiment that swept
through the heavily industrialized state of Massachusetts in the 1890's and into the 1900's. To many, the small rural town was a healthy environment where Christian values could best be maintained.

Francis Henry Hastings was interested in Weston history and, in 1894, compiled a history of the oldest houses. He arranged for about twenty of these houses to be photographed. The Boston Herald article of 1890 mentions the benefits of history: "...these men have found themselves taken up out of a city where they had no special interest, and set down in the very heart place of Massachusetts's pre-revolutionary history. Already, the men...have become imbued with the spirit of their adopted town, and begin to feel an individual interest in her welfare. Lectures on local history are well patronized by them...All this will make better citizenship...."

Hastings took a personal interest in all his employees and regarded them as part of his family: "Every man feels that he has a friend in his employer. If there is any trouble coming, if there is sickness in the family...the one to whom they all turn for help, for sympathy, for comfort, is the head of the concern. He knows personally every man in his employ."22 In another article, he was praised as a model employer: "He is one of those employers who looks upon his employees as of similar flesh and blood to himself, needing the same sympathy and encouragement...He has studied their mental, moral, and social improvement, and whatever he could do to advance their interests he seems to have done. It is natural that they should look upon him as a model employer." Clearly, Francis Henry Hastings got good press. But older residents of the area whose father or grandfather worked at the factory agree that the organ factory really was a good place to work, and Kendal Green, a good place to live.

In answer to the question whether he had ever had any strikes, Hastings replied that he never had "the least word of difficulty with the men in his employ." The Herald reporter speculated that the "atmosphere of friendliness and contentment" at Kendal Green was due in part to the class of men employed at an organ factory, with its "refining influences": "There is no doubt that one's occupation does stamp the worker, and nothing could be more directly softening than the work on the fine organs in the midst of beautiful surroundings. It must call into life all that is best about a person, and make him finer and more true in spite of himself."23

Some employees commuted by train to the Hastings railroad stop. A newspaper article from about 1893 provides insight into the life of the flagman, whose job was to signal the train if a passenger was waiting: "It is a shame that the Fitchburg Railroad does not provide the flagman at Viles Street (Hastings) with a suitable house. Mr. Foss is obligated to be on hand at 5:30 a.m. and stay until 9 p.m., or until [the train] goes down, every day of the week. He has, no thanks to the Fitchburg Railroad, built himself a shanty, and is now enlarging the same, in which he has a coal stove. On a cold morning or evening, it is no pleasure to wait in the waiting room at Hastings for a train, which may or may not be on time, which is heated only by that generated by the benumbed passengers themselves, and what of the sun's rays that can penetrate the building. What is needed at Hastings is more trains, and a warm waiting room. Later, we want a regular depot."24

In 1906, the railroad built a small but completely enclosed and heated station and a "crossing tender's shanty."25 But the improvement may have come too late. In 1904, employees from Waltham, dissatisfied with the train service, hired a barge from McAuliffe's stable to convey them to and from work every day. According to the newspaper, "The very poor accommodation afforded them by the Boston and Maine R.R. Co. have driven them to adopt the barge plan, which is working nicely."26 About 40 employees used the barge daily.

To protect the huge wooden factory building from fire, Hastings's insurance company demanded that he install a sprinkler system and fire hoses, and organize a fire department.27 In the fall of 1890, the Hook & Hastings factory purchased a hook and ladder truck and donated it to the town, which voted an appropriation for equipping and manning it. Acquiring fire apparatus for the north side and appointing 16 "engineers" for Hook and Ladder Co. 1 were among the first steps in establishing the Weston Fire Department.28 The fire truck was kept in a shed next to the Hastings stable. When the fire whistle blew, farm horses would be brought in from the fields and hitched to the fire truck.29

For 18 years, Francis Henry Hastings stored the fire apparatus for the north side in a shed on his property. Finally, in 1908, the town built the Kendal Green Fire Station, an unusual all-concrete, classical-style building. This had space for the equipment, but the horses were still supplied by the farm across the street. This station was only used until 1917, when it was closed during World War I as an economy measure. After that, it was felt that the faster motorized trucks could better reach the area.

Children of factory employees attended District School #4 on North Avenue, a frame one-room schoolhouse built in 1852. The North Avenue School was part of what made Kendal Green a cohesive community. Older residents recall the separate entrances and cloakrooms for boys and girls, as well as the separate outhouses in back, with a fence between them. Flushing toilets came to the
school and to area houses only after 1922, when town water pipes were installed along North Avenue. The schoolhouse was heated by a woodburning stove. The teacher, Anna Coburn, guided her pupils with a firm hand. About 54 children were enrolled at the school, with an average attendance of 36 on any given day. According to the school committee, "order prevailed and neatness enthroned itself." Miss Coburn was also a member of the Kendal Club, and participated actively in community affairs. She was described in the 1890 Boston Herald article as "a young woman who, more than any other except [for] Mr. Hastings himself, exercises a moral influence in the community."

The history of the Coburn and Hastings families intersects many times. As mentioned earlier, Jonas Hastings, grandfather of Francis Henry, first bought property on North Avenue in 1805. Nearby, on Church Street, another Jonas—Jonas Coburn—purchased his house in 1801, along with 120 acres. The large, central-chimney Coburn house dates back at least to 1726. The farmland extended north and west and adjoined the Hastings property. Jonas Coburn had seven children who survived infancy. Two sons stayed in Weston—Isaac and Edward. Isaac had eight children, including Anna and Arthur Leslie.

Francis Henry Hastings and Anna Coburn were the moving spirits behind the 1893 reunion at the "Old North School." Visitors played badminton on his lawn. One reporter wrote that, to out-of-towners, "the modern Kendal Green, with its organ factory, its pretty cottages, and its handsome mansion was quite a revelation." During the reception, two amateur photographers, employees of Mr. Hastings, took several pictures of the various groups as they instinctively massed themselves by classes around the 15 or 20 teachers present. Supper, served in the large tent erected by Hastings, was catered by "Dill of Waltham," which reported that fully 500 were seated at the tables. Post-prandial exercises included "an exceedingly interesting historical sketch of the school," followed by dancing. The North Avenue School continued until the end of the 1931-32 school year, more than 30 years after most of Weston's one-room schoolhouses had been abandoned in favor of centralized schools. The schoolhouse was demolished in the 1940's.

The Methodist Church on North Avenue was the house of worship for many organ factory employees, and an important social center for the Kendal Green community. The Weston church was one of the oldest Methodist churches in New England. This white clapboard building of simple Gothic design was built in 1828. By 1881, membership had dwindled as members died or moved away. The building of the organ factory brought new members and new vitality. The church even received the gift of a Hook & Hastings organ. But on the last night of the century, December 31, 1899, the 1828 building was destroyed by fire, as was the organ, which was not insured. With only $2,000 worth of insurance and few financial resources, the trustees nevertheless voted to begin raising money to rebuild. Religious services were held at Hastings Hall until a new white church of classical design, with a tall steeple, was completed in January, 1901. In 1917, the congregation was finally able to replace the organ with a five-year-old Hook & Hastings.

Other important North Avenue landmarks included Brodrick's store and post office, where the Kendal Green community came for their mail and lingered to exchange gossip or debate politics. This is where residents bought groceries, penny candy, pickles from a barrel, and newspapers. Down the street was Garfield's barn, located on Stony Brook very close to the factory and used as a kind of combined blacksmith shop, carriage shop, and cider mill. Garfield's was sold to James
In spring 1897, George and Sarah Thurston purchased a farmhouse on North Avenue and opened the Drabbington Lodge. For city dwellers who could not afford their own country place, the lodge offered the perfect summer escape. When the building burned in 1898, the Thurstones quickly rebuilt. Their new hostelry, painted a wood-brown color with white trim and green roof, was completed in 1899. A newspaper article at the time of the opening called it “one of the best of suburban hotels.”33 Guests would come for months at a time to rock on the porch, to play golf at several of the nine-hole courses in the area, or to stroll along the country roads.

In its 108 years of operation, E.&G.G. Hook and Hook & Hastings produced over 2,500 organs, 650 of them for churches and halls in Massachusetts. In Weston, the company made three organs for the First Parish Church (1887 and 1917, and the Memorial Chapel organ in 1930), and organs for Weston College Chapel (1926), and St. Peter’s Church (now Christian Scientist) (1931). The organ which Hastings designed for his own residence in 1905 had a player attachment enabling him to enjoy the best in organ music at home.

In his history of the organ factory published in the 1983 Weston Historical Society Bulletin, Philip Coburn calls Francis Henry Hastings “a typical New Englander with strong puritanical ideas of the right.”34 He was a student of nature, fond of good books, especially books on history, art, and science. He enjoyed horseback riding and driving. His inventive talent earned him two patents, one in 1872 for improvement in the swells for pipe organs, and another in 1897 for electro-pneumatic organ action. Hastings was a Republican and a staunch Unitarian who supported First Parish Church and the American Unitarian Association.

Hastings lived much more simply than other Weston businessmen and manufacturers who had established estates. He had no yacht, no Italian garden, no city house on Beacon Hill in Boston or seaside house on Cape Cod. He took no elaborate trips to Egypt or Africa. The large parties reported in the newspapers included his employees and the Kendal Green community.

A lot of the Hastings assets were in the name of his only child, Francis Warren Hastings. Francis Warren was an officer in the Hook & Hastings corporation. As his health grew steadily worse, he moved to Bermuda, where he became a permanent resident in 1895 and died of consumption in 1903.

After Francis Warren’s death, Arthur Leslie Coburn was elected president. Arthur Leslie, the youngest of Isaac Coburn’s eight children, was described by his son “Bud” as the last of the “pure farmers” of the Coburn family. In 1897 he joined the Hook & Hastings company, first as secretary of the corporation and superintendent, and later as president. He continued to run the family farm with the help of hired men. According to his son, he did not have the temperament of a businessman. When churches would turn off the heat, he would feel obliged to send people out to tune the organs that did not adapt well to extremes of temperature. He was a kind man and continued the traditions of Francis Hastings when it came to good labor relations.

Arthur married in 1898 and built a Shingle-style house nearby on Webster Hill, on a piece of the family land. His descendants reported that, in later years, when the organ factory was just limping along, the family would rent the house in the summer, when it was fashionable for wealthy families to come to Weston. He and his family would move into a small cabin nearby.

In 1899, Arthur’s sister, schoolteacher Annie Coburn, who was then 46, married Francis Henry Hastings, who was 62. They were married in the Coburn Homestead in a small ceremony attended by the immediate family. As was expected at the time, Anna Coburn retired from teaching. She was always a well-known, well-
respected woman, very active in community affairs. A Christmas card, printed in the year of the Coburn-Hastings marriage, shows the interior of Seven Gables.

On March 3, 1904, the company sponsored a banquet and organ recital at Hastings Hall celebrating the completion of the company's 2,000th organ. Employees and their families, numbering about 150, were present by invitation of the company. Newspapers described it as a happy gathering, where "the friendship that has long existed was manifested in many ways." In 1906, when Hastings was 70 years old, his employees gave him a party. About 300 friends and neighbors gathered at Seven Gables, which was "brilliantly lighted with Japanese lanterns festooned from tree to tree." Strauch's Waltham orchestra played on the piazza. Employees presented him with an engraved testimonial signed by 71 employees, praising his energy, perseverance, and able administration: "Whereas, We recognize in you, not only one whose powerful influence is of great gain to the community in which you live, but one whose name is recognized throughout the width and breadth of the land among musical people as the head of his profession—that of The Art of Organ Building—and rejoice greatly in the fact that you are... among us, a recognized leader and wise counsellor."

In 1913, the organ factory contributed a two-part float to the town's bicentennial celebration. The organist played from a perch in the first float, which was connected to the pipes on the second float. In 1914, Hastings sold Hastings Homestead to his long-time employee, Norman Jacobson, whose brother ran an antique shop in the barn for many years. Francis Henry Hastings died in 1916 at age 80. The newspaper wrote "The village of Kendal Green as it is at present is practically a monument alike to his enterprise and to his love of the place of his nativity." The Hastings organ at First Parish Church was given by Anna Coburn Hastings in memory of her husband. This organ, which was refurbished in 1962, is still in use. After Hastings's death in 1916, the management of the company passed to Arthur Coburn, president, Norman Jacobsen, vice-president and supervising designer, and Alfred R. Pratt, secretary and superintendent—all associates of Hastings for two decades. Output during World War I dropped to only 15 organs per year.

In the late 1920's, the company built its most famous modern organ, the "Rockefeller Organ" at Riverside Church in New York City. The instrument required one year at the factory, and nine months to install 20 truck-loads of parts. It contained 167 stops, 2,900 magnets, and 22,000 contacts; and the wires, if placed end to end, would extend a distance of more than 100 miles. After the job was completed in 1931, Harold Vincent Milligan, organist and choir director at Riverside, wrote as follows: "It has been four years now since we began to plan for the organs in the Riverside Church, and now that the instruments are in active use, it is a pleasure to look back over the delightful association. In this age of mass production and a constantly increasing mechanization of life, it is encouraging to find at least one group of highly skilled artisans such as your company has, who put into their work the best that is in them, and who obviously regard the construction of an organ as a work of art and not merely a commercial job." Although the Riverside organ marked a musical highpoint, the factory was nearing its end. "Talkies" replaced silent movies, eliminating the need for organ accompaniment. Radios and phonographs provided a new way to hear symphonic favorites. Municipal music programs were cut during the Great Depression, and church budgets were drastically reduced. Orders for residential organs declined. In January 1931, Arthur L. Coburn died. He had been the operating head of the factory for over 30 years. The company continued for a few years under Alfred Pratt, but the business was clearly changing. Production slowed to a trickle during the Depression. Phil Coburn estimated that the company produced approximately 2,536 organs in just over 100 years of operation.

Anna Coburn Hastings has been quoted as saying "The company motto was 'Quality First and Always.' My husband always quoted quality. He never quoted price. Today, organ makers are quoting price, and I decided it was time to tear it down." Hook & Hastings closed its doors in 1935. In June 1936, a contract was signed with the Mystic Building Wrecking Company of Chelsea to demolish the factory, lumber shed, tenement block on Viles Street, and railroad spur line. The buildings were taken down board by board and the lumber salvaged. The company was officially dissolved in April 1937. Hastings Hall survived until the mid-1940's, when it was damaged by fire and then torn down. Anna Coburn continued to own all the property, and the houses continued to be rented as before. When she died in the early 1950's, the land was subdivided and the houses sold, in some cases to former employees.

The factory building has been gone for sixty years now. Many new residents aren't even aware that it ever existed. It's hard to imagine Weston as a factory town. But the legacy remains—the workers' cottages, the wealth of photographs and memorabilia at the Weston Historical Society, the memories of many local residents whose fathers, grandfathers, and neighbors worked at the factory. Many local residents recall the factory whistle, which blew every morning at 7 a.m., and again at noon and 1 p.m. to signal the beginning and end of the lunch break, and then at 5 or 6 p.m. at the end of the long workday. When the factory closed, everyone missed the whistle. The sound had marked time for the community—time for work, time for lunch, time for the children to come in from play. When the whistle stopped, it was the end of an era.
NOTES

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
9. First Church of Christ Scientist (brochure), Weston Historical Society, Scrapbook no. 927.
10. “Console of Organ, First Church of Christ Scientist (Mother Church), Boston” [extract from Church Music Review], Hook & Hastings (brochure), Weston Historical Society, Scrapbook no. 927.
11. The organs at Trinity Church, New Haven, and Shawmut Congregational Church, Boston, built in 1866, both used pneumatic action. Ayars, 170.
12. The company was among the first to use electric action successfully. Ayers, 174.
17. “Organ Factory Information Wanted,” Weston Historical Society Bulletin, (January 1982): 6-7. Contains a list 71 employees who signed an engraved testimonial in honor of Hastings’s 70th birthday, 35 of whom are listed with Weston addresses. Over 30 organ factory employees are listed as Weston residents in the 1900 U.S. Census, and 27 are so listed in the 1920 Census.
18. This article, from July 13, 1890, is reprinted in its entirety in Kennedy, 2-9.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Coburn scrapbook no. 3, p. 29 (probably from the Waltham Free Press, early 1890’s).
25. Waltham Daily Free Press Tribune, January 5, March 23, and March 30, 1906. It was partially destroyed by fire in 1960, and then torn down.
30. Coburn scrapbook no. 3, p. 89. (probably from Waltham Free Press, n.d.)
31. Parents of children attending District Schoolhouse #5 on South Avenue also resisted pressure to close their neighborhood school, but it was too sparsely attended and was closed during World War I as an economy measure.
32. According to The History of Methodism in Weston (Weston: Weston United Methodist Church, 1994), this was the fifth Methodist Church building in Massachusetts, and the seventh in New England.
34. Coburn, 5.
36. "His Birthday / Employees and Friends of Mr. Hastings / Assemble to Honor His 70th Anniversary / A Notable and Enjoyable Occasion in the Organ Builder’s Life" (newspaper clipping, probably Waltham Daily Free Press Tribune), Coburn Scrapbook no. 2, p. 306 [includes names of 71 employees signing testimonial].
37. Ayars, 173.
IT IS AN oft-noted phenomenon that organ building styles have shifted more wildly in the 20th century than in any other. It is also true that the same has happened with our entire perspective, research, and treatment of the past. The 20th century has found it necessary to create a Bach organ in 1937 (the Aeolian-Skinner at Harvard University), a Bach organ in 1961 (the Baltimore Fisk), a Bach organ in 1985, and a Bach organ in 2001. It logically follows that our understanding of each instrument, as an historical entity, will shift as time goes on.

The most important aspect of 20th century organ research has been its striving toward a dispassionate honesty. It is now clearer than ever to researchers that legacy and legend are often cooked up out of the same ingredients. With respect to the Skinner and Aeolian-Skinner organ, it is critical to sift fact from fiction—both exist in abundance. Take, for example, Ned Gammons and William King Covell, Harvard graduates of the 1920’s who played a critical journalistic role in public acceptance of the Aeolian-Skinner organ of the 1930’s. Here are two gentlemen that, from a historian’s viewpoint, provide both clue and foil. Each was a real participant in the Aeolian-Skinner development and publicity machine of the 1930’s, each, a player in the drama. Gammons’s constant tinkering with the Groton School organ provided a vision of G. Donald Harrison in his laboratory; after Harrison’s death, Gammons’s further changes at Groton compromised Harrison’s vision for the organ he considered among his two or three most successful. Covell was the writer and observer, the man whose own tonal goals may have been a bit idealistic, but whose cogent written reaction to the ideas of others helped his generation understand the latest developments. Where Covell may have been most important was in writings that helped clarify G. Donald Harrison’s thinking when Harrison himself was reluctant to articulate his ideals, and when the polemical write-ups of Emerson Richards seemed too blatantly political.

In yet another sphere, Gammons and Covell are good organ characters, the types of lovable eccentrics that have peppered organ history from the beginning. The one time I met Gammons was about four months before his death in 1981. He was an unavoidably larger than life figure, not merely a famous name sprinkled through Barnes, old TAO’s, and any number of instruments for which he had served as consultant, but physically enormous too—not unlike Senator Richards. Over lunch, Mr. Gammons regaled Thomas Murray and me with stories, opinions, and perspectives about Skinner, Harrison, and Whiteford, and shared fascinating data about various instruments. He even uttered a few key sentences regarding the political quotient of “chiff,” alluding to the fact that Harrison might have been behind the times in an effort to achieve the next stage of “clarity.”

Covell was more reclusive, but no less curious a figure. A lover of antiquity, he lived in a sprawling home in Newport, surrounded by fine objects, many of them handed down from family. He was a confirmed bachelor, once grumbling to Aubrey Thompson-Allen that he’d “rather roll over and find a Father Willis Cornopean” lying next to him in bed.
Gammons and Covell are easy examples of the conflict between lore and history. When we look upon the works of great people, it is sometimes difficult for us to separate results from ideals, aspirations from achievement, what they said from what they meant, and what they meant from what they intended. Legacy and legend seem only to inflate with time (particularly when they're good and juicy), often overlapping and blurring to the point that the two sometimes become indistinguishable. Skinner wrote often about his achievements and aspirations, but helpful though his writings are, they occasionally cloud the less visible, but equally vital developments of Skinner's inventiveness. Harrison rarely wrote about his work, even going so far as to caution his son later in life, “Work like hell and stay out of print.” This is fine for folklore and for the telling of bedtime stories, but it has often led to dangerous consequences. Because Skinner didn't understand organ music, let's change his Solo into a Positiv. Because Harrison proposed adding a Positiv to an unaltered Skinner organ in the 1950's, let's fulfill his dictum and do so today, so as to “complete” the organ. This instrument sounds allright, but it doesn't have the polish of some others—let's revoice it slightly so that it approximates the “real” Aeolian-Skinner style. Harrison never really did much tonal finishing, and didn't work on this organ personally—let's refinish it as if he had. The most astonishing things have been done in this way, reflecting not an understanding of history, but a weak attempt to bridge historical folklore (“all old things are good and we mustn't tamper with them”) with present-day desire and taste. In the end, what is really being done is to alter history to suit our needs. So much of this kind of thing goes on all around us in the name of “restoration” that it is hardly surprising that most people in the organ world don't even mind doing it to organs.

My initial interest stemmed from a fascination with the work of G. Donald Harrison. His work seemed more musically responsible than Skinner's, his outlook more rational and cosmopolitan. Coming into contact with the mechanism of the Skinner organ led to a greater respect for its mechanical nature, as opposed to that of the Aeolian-Skinner. Though each is generally excellent in its own right, the Skinner mechanism is more uniformly well-built, and certainly a more honest mechanical expression—the personification of Skinner's ideal. Aeolian-Skinner made some good modifications to the Skinner ideas, but one is always struck by the fact that it is an interpretation of someone else's ideal.

Regard for the Skinner mechanism drew me deeper into what Skinner might have been seeking tonally, and from there, musically. In recent years, however, research and dissection of the best of Skinner's work has allowed me to conjure a clearer picture of where I imagine G. Donald Harrison himself might have been in 1932—loving the strengths, but candidly accepting the limitations. My reemerged interest in the work of Harrison centers around several things. As limited as his efforts may appear against today's musical goals, or even against those of a contemporary builder such as Walter Holtkamp, it is possible to retain a high regard for Harrison's seriousness of musical purpose. There is something fascinating, too, about the incredibly effective restraint of his musico-political approach, and in his ability to create a style in tune with the day. He is a perplexing organbuilder, in that it is possible to have not only utter admiration for his masterpieces from both the 30's and 50's, but also, sincere frustration at instruments whose goals seem beyond any obvious explanation.

Studying the work of both Skinner and Harrison is difficult, for very few instruments have been left alone. A bare handful of large pre-World War I Skinner organs still exist. More survive from the 1920's, but very few in truly original mechanical and tonal condition. Moreover, some of the public's favorite organs have been changed in ways that would have made Skinner cringe. The most obvious example is Girard College, with its juiced-up Pedal reed unit and Solo Tubas. With such key elements changed, enthusiasm for them becomes historically dishonest when the impression is given that the instrument represents the indelible voice of its maker.
Though Harrison's work never hit the rock-bottom level of disregard that Skinner's did in the 1950's and '60's, significant Harrison organs in original condition are amazingly scarce. Each of his landmark organs of the 1930's was chronicled and hailed by a regular propaganda machine in The American Organist magazine, in write-ups by Covell or Senator Richards. The course of development that begins with Trinity College, Hartford (1931), and ends at the University of Texas at Austin (1941), has had many connecting segments erased beyond recognition, and the only large instruments now readily available for inspection are University of Minnesota (1932), Trinity Church, New Haven (1935), Saint Mark's, Philadelphia (1937), Strong Auditorium at the Eastman School (1937), and Sage Chapel at Cornell University (1940). Ironically, all the really famous organs upon which much of the Aeolian-Skinner reputation rests, have been considerably, and in some cases drastically altered: Saint Mary the Virgin, All Saints Worcester, Grace Cathedral, Calvary Church Memphis, The Groton School, Church of the Advent Boston, Tabernacle Christian in Indianapolis, and in the postwar years, The Riverside Church, The Mother Church, The Mormon Tabernacle, First Presbyterian Kilgore. These are the organs of legend, and their original tonal condition is indeed now the stuff of legend. Either the organs have been changed in significant ways (not merely the pipes, but the wind systems and other mechanical features) or added to in such a manner that it is all too easy to overwhelm the Harrison style within—with the deficiencies corrected, the rebuilders would doubtless argue.

Skinner and Harrison had a few things in common, of course. Along with Holtkamp, these gentlemen were the last holdouts of a centuries-long tradition of forward movement in organbuilding. Successful, vital organbuilding up to 1950 was characterized by the impression that the goal of new work was to move forward in a recognizable new style, one that could be attached directly to the builder's ingenuity and sensibility. At the end of the 20th century, this kind of individuality was no longer the central factor that characterized much creative organbuilding, and where present, it often seemed downplayed. Increasingly, as the century wore on, the successful organbuilder was the one who merged his talent with an ability to be a viable conduit of the past into the present. When we try to understand what motivated Skinner and Harrison to seek genuinely new paths, we must remember that, first and foremost, this is simply what organbuilders have always done. The past might inspire, but the future held wonders as yet undreamt of. It was the organbuilder's job to realize those dreams and usher them into reality for a new public.

If neither organbuilder wished to go backward in a physical sense, the same cannot be said of musical perspective. Skinner's devotion to the orchestral literature
and its faithful tonal recreation at the organ marked him at the beginning as being of a distinctly 20th century mindset: to make an instrument specifically to satisfy a pre-existing literature. In this case, the development of English and French Horns is beyond mere ear-tickling—it reflects a passionate desire for an authentic experience. If Skinner planted the seedling, it was G. Donald Harrison who watered and trimmed the tree, and Charles Fisk and John Brombaugh who climbed it as children. A whole host of people are falling from it now, and we are the beneficiaries of their skinned knees.

Ernest M. Skinner as an organbuilding personality has something of a basis in Skinner’s mentor George Hutchings, and a bit of Boston organbuilding history. In the 1880’s, Boston’s organbuilding establishment had pretty much boiled down to a rivalry between two main houses, the conservative Hook & Hastings, now controlled by the distinguished Frank Hastings of landed gentry, and George Hutchings, also Hook-trained and possibly slightly put out that Hastings and not he, himself, had assumed the reins at the Hook atelier. The difference between the two men is one of class and station. Hastings had breeding, money, and class, a social conscience with regard to the livelihood of his workers. Hutchings was a commoner who made his name through hard work and sheer ambition. When Hastings writes to the press, it is as a proud man, defending his achievements much in the manner of a gentlemanly dispute, ruffled but never rankled. When Hutchings writes to the press, it is less refined, more pompous, short on credit. When he mentions the developments of his young superintendent, Hutchings fails to cite Ernest Skinner by name.

Hutchings’s drive is unmistakable. By 1890, however, it seems that he acknowledges a willingness to collaborate on tonal developments, almost as if he cannot move forward alone, and therefore seeks his impetus through others. First, it was Carlton Michell in 1890—the same year that Skinner joined the company. But by 1892, Michell was out, and on to other pursuits. Lahaise family folklore relates that Hutchings thought Michell too slow and painstaking in the voicing room. In this light, Skinner’s mechanical preoccupations are allowed to take center stage in the arena of artistic advance. By 1893, the company turned out important, large electric action organs, continually refining the pitman action windchests, the electrical systems, and the rather wild bat-wing movable consoles. Feature-wise, these organs outclass anything that had come from Hook & Hastings (who were still building tracker and tubular organs with slider chests), while rivaling the work of Roosevelt and Farrand & Votey.

The lack of recognition and an inability to exert real tonal influence over the Hutchings organ surely figured in Skinner’s decision to seek outside capitalization and to start his own shop. This he did in 1901, and it took about five years for him to get his sea legs. It is quite possible that Skinner saw in Hutchings’s example of upward mobility a way of fueling his own. And he is just the character to do it. After all, Skinner is the son of vaudeville actors; there is something of Mark Twain in him—he is salty, dapper, clownish yet gentlemanly, with a clipped Yankee accent and a quick tongue. And he infused his deportment with sufficient charm to make the unlikely combination work. Having been privy to so much of Hutchings’s high-profile work, Skinner seems to have used those same connections and familiarities to burst onto the scene.

One of Skinner’s interesting tenets is that he never embraced the notion of building stock-model organs, unlike both Hook & Hastings and Hutchings, for whom such instruments were bread and butter. Where other builders cranked out dozens of organs every year, the Skinner factory never completed more than 60 in any
given year. Skinner is undaunted by the possibilities of success, and has an ambition and a straightforward manner not unlike that of Hutchings. But unlike Hutchings's own beginnings, Skinner reaches immediately for a high-end clientele as if he were well-funded and well-positioned, much like Roosevelt had been able to do almost from the beginning. In this, Skinner is not the inheritor of the Hooks, Hastings, or Hutchings legend, but is taking his cue from someone like Carlton Michell, who makes a splash wherever he goes, trumpets his ideals in the press, and becomes a public personality involved in organbuilding rather than an organbuilder whose work happens to attracts public notice. This kind of approach paves the way for G. Donald Harrison himself, and comes to characterize much of the approach of the Fisk, Brombaugh, and Rosales school, in which a client gets as much involved with the man as with the creation of the instrument.

Musically, the Skinner organ was a radical in conservative garb. Where Hook & Hastings was too staid in both mechanical and tonal advance, where Hutchings went only so far, and where Robert Hope-Jones was simply too novel for most organists to cope with, Skinner's stoplists were a marvelous blending of tradition and progress. But behind the simplicity lay some quietly revolutionary ideas.

Skinner's earliest stoplists give the illusion of being mostly traditional late-19th century organs, albeit without chorus work, and with the addition of more orchestral reeds. But the disposition and balances show us that Skinner had a unique spin on the traditional organ, that he was the first to fully grasp how electric action could permit the elimination of customary divisional roles. Take any of the prominent 19th century organs seen, for example, throughout the Boston OHS Convention. The Great is clearly the center of the organ, the Swell and Choir often sharing place for a distant second, and the Pedal provides only the most necessary of bass effects. This is a direct result of both tracker action and the classical tradition, with the desire to have the Great say all there was to say in the ensemble, to avoid the strenuous work of coupled manuals. As the 19th century comes to a close, the Swell may have eclipsed the Choir to become second in command, but the station of the Great remained intact. Almost immediately, Skinner upturns this notion. In the Skinner organ of anything other than considerable size (see stoplist), the Great is now a source of foundation tone, on top of which is gathered the rest of the instrument. The Swell is really more the center of things, usually having the primary set of chorus reeds under expression. Although the Choir long since ceased to be an Echo department, it is now less than ever a stand-alone division, and it has graduated into a supporting partner of the lesser Swell voices. More forcibly than anyone, Skinner realized that electric action freed him to recalibrate the voices throughout the organ in a fresh way, and that ease of coupling through electric action made the distinction practically meaningless in the final result. This is only one of the things Skinner means when he writes in 1917 that the modern organ is made wholly possible through the disassociation of the touch and the wind pressure.

Concurrent with the alteration of divisional balance, the alteration of compass balance was an important part of the new Skinner ensemble. In one sense, Skinner was responding both to popular and personal desire to see an organ more grand, more sure-footed (through the use of higher pressures), while unquestionably less brilliant. Part of the reduction in brilliance came from limiting the amount of upperwork introduced into the specification, but in equal measure, it resulted from revising the compass balances along a generally flat regulation slope. In the case of the strings and softer celestes, the compass balance is treble-descendant, to make a heavenly effect when drawing the octave coupler.

Taken together, these features were radical. But
Skinner clothed them in a comfortable, recognizable pattern that invited, rather than intimidated. Skinner’s mechanical refinement and superb new consoles unquestionably had their part in putting organists at ease. Electric action organs of the 1890’s were still something of an experiment. Skinner’s organs in the first decade of the 1900’s were quiet, reliable and fast—the mechanical transparency would have put many a doubting organist at ease. Perhaps the console is Skinner’s most enduring contribution to organbuilding, since the basic concepts he laid down are still widely embraced today. The console was not only comfortable, with excellent keys and pedals, good swell shoes, and superb proportions—it was also the gateway to Skinner’s entire electropneumatic conversion of the organ. The difference between, say, the Mission Church Hutchings of 1897 and the Saint John the Divine Skinner of 1911 can only have been astonishing; the real question is how well the Hutchings would have felt and responded in 1911, compared to the ease, response and elegance of the Skinner. The only thing like it would have been an Austin, but an Austin console was never so refined, and the environment never quite so fluid and elegant an interface between player and instrument.

While Skinner certainly published and traded upon all of these features, his modern reputation all too often seems to boil down to what he himself concentrated so much public relations attention on: the family of orchestral reeds his firm developed between 1908 and 1927. Of these, one can list the Orchestral Oboe, English Horn and Heckelphone, and French Horn, plus a family of soft and loud celestes of uncommon beauty. But these individual voices, no matter how appealing or tantalizing, seem minor as a force of progress on their own. Issues such as divisional and compass balances, and the freedom of playing afforded by Skinner’s mechanical advances, are, more properly, Skinner’s real contributions to organbuilding, and make possible a means of subtle and smooth orchestral-type transcription playing. Techniques and musical effects from that style quickly cross over into choral accompaniment as well.

In 1898, Skinner visited England and was overwhelmed with the organs of Henry Willis. Father Willis and Henry Willis II showed Skinner through both the Liverpool and London works, and Skinner took away much valuable data on reed voicing and also tremolos. It becomes clear in Skinner’s own work that the organs per se did not so much catch his attention, as the bronzetoned ardor of the high-pressure Willis tubas, which he would have heard both at Saint George’s Hall Liverpool, and Saint Paul’s Cathedral London. This type of dark tone was to pervade all of Skinner’s later chorus reeds, whether Cornopean, Tromba, or Tuba. This, too, was revolutionary, a concept never before advanced and in no way related to anything in 19th century organbuilding. The

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III Solo Mixture 183 Tremolo

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<td>8' Clarinet so</td>
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<tr>
<td>8' Orchestral Oboe so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tremolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harp Sub --</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harp BARS 61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
goal here was no ordinary organ reed chorus, but instead the heavy brass of the Wagnerian orchestra.

This interesting new melange defined the Skinner organ: a big Swell, a small Great, timid trebles, ravishing strings, captivating orchestral colors, and a newfound ease of playing comfort. Here was, in effect, a giant one-manual organ, in which the divisions were interrelated, and stops placed in a combination of tradition and convenience, occasionally duplexed for additional flexibility. Yet Skinner eschewed the mechanical complexity and tonal chaos of unification. It was, unquestionably, a step forward that reflected a clear link with its Hutchings heritage: not too outlandish to cause concern, novel enough to stimulate new means of playing, and hardly predictable. Skinner had struck that harmonious, elevated middle ground, and had taken American organbuilding forward to its next stage.

Skinner soon proved himself a businessman in typical organbuilder fashion. Though he did have initial working capital—some from his own sale of a roll-player patent, and some from outside investors—it wasn’t quite enough, and the business grew slowly. Inevitably, down-payments on new orders provided the cash to complete organs under construction, a situation that seemed to escalate through the 1910’s. Only in 1914 was Skinner able to expand the factory and institute a pipe shop, but the pipe shop was run as a separate business by John Hanley until 1930. In 1917, Skinner hired William Zeuch, a Chicago-born organist who had sold residence organs for Aeolian, as Vice-President to assist with sales and development. Although I have yet to corroborate the data, I hope I am fair in assuming that it was probably Zeuch who was involved with the sale of, or addition to, an Aeolian Organ in Akron, Ohio at the home of Arthur Hudson Marks, a wealthy rubber magnate who had patented the process for cold vulcanization of rubber, a process used in the manufacture of automobile tires. Marks was musical, and he had a particular fascination with player organs—better still, he was rich. It cannot have taken Zeuch long to figure out what was really going on at the Ernest M. Skinner Organ Company, and I wager it was Zeuch who brought about the connection between Marks and Skinner in a sincere effort to get proper capitalization and organization into the Skinner company. In a letter from 1917, Skinner writes to Marks that the company is building an Orchestrator organ, a very complicated type of player organ, and that the profit would be one-hundred percent. This was probably one-hundred percent fiction, but it points to Skinner’s desperation to move beyond financial strains. Skinner may soon have realized that making money was something Arthur Marks no longer needed to do. Marks bought the company in 1919, eventually capitalized it with a quarter-million dollars, took the stock public, brought in key men he had worked with in his own industry and in the military, renamed the whole thing the Skinner Organ Company, and even bought up the Steere Organ Company when a disastrous fire severely jeopardized that company in 1920.

Through the early 1920’s, the Skinner output was concentrated on very large organs for prominent clients, plus the usual smaller jobs and residence organs. Development of new voices slowed, but did not stop. In 1921, Skinner provided his first organ with a series of Choir mutations, the Nazard, Tierce, and Septième. Far from any kind of traditional mutations, these were delicate Gemshorns that provided color tints. Otherwise Skinner’s style had gone essentially unchanged for a decade.

As a stimulus to artistic development, Ernest Skinner made his famous second trip to England and France in March-April 1924. Increasingly, documents reveal that the real motivation for this trip may have come
from Marks and Zeuch. Zeuch was a superb organist, practically on a par with any of the great names then current, such as Farnam or Courboin. It was likely his work with Skinner that kept Zeuch from becoming as much a household name as these other great artists. Being such a skilled player, he would have been the first person in the Skinner organization to become dissatisfied with the more serious musical qualities of the organs, the one to articulate shortcomings, as he would confess, decades later, to Henry Willis III. Indeed, one feels certain that, by 1924, Zeuch had more of Marks's ear than did Skinner. Furthermore, he sold as many of the important jobs as did Skinner, and was in a prime position to point the work of the company in a new direction.

What Skinner brought back from England was a love of bright, silvery Quint mixtures, and a view that such stops could be another ingredient in his massed ensembles. Here again, the folklore is a bit hard to separate from the facts. In an article entitled "A Trip Abroad," Skinner cites two Willis organs whose bold, silvery mixtures helped him turn a philosophical corner in using such sounds in his own work: Westminster Cathedral, and Christ Church Westminster Bridge Road, London (where, it should be noted, Carlton Michell was once organist). Willis III is eager to claim credit for Skinner's conversion experience, but the contract for Westminster Cathedral was originally let to Lewis & Co., and was built largely to a Lewis scheme. The enormous five-rank Grand Chorus mixture that drove Skinner mixture-mad is derivative of Schulze—the inspiration for Lewis, not Willis. Certainly Father Willis organs never had anything quite like such a bold, ringing unison-and-quint-only mixture sound. Christ Church Westminster Bridge Road was barely a Willis organ at all, but in fact, a slightly rebuilt and electrified T.C. Lewis organ, with a typical bright chorus capped by a bold unison-and-quint mixture. Real Willis mixtures were rarely anything other than three ranks, and they almost always contained a tierce. So even though Willis III tried to claim credit, it was really Lewis's idea that proved fascinating to Skinner.

Upon his return to America, Skinner began to introduce mixtures, and, while they resemble neither Father Willis's nor most of Willis III's mixtures, they really don't resemble Lewis upperwork either. Despite the public alliance with Willis, it would seem that Skinner was heading his organs in neither a Willis nor a Lewis direction. Reading between the lines, a third possibility emerges. In Stop Open and Reed, Skinner writes quite favorably of the Harrison & Harrison organ at Saint Mary Redcliffe in Bristol—an organ that even Henry Willis III admitted admiring. Even more curiously, in the home movies Skinner took in England, there is no footage of Liverpool Cathedral, nothing of Westminster Cathedral, or indeed, hardly anything of Willis, the Willis London works, or Willis organs. But interestingly, there is footage at Redcliffe. This 1911 Arthur Harrison organ was a landmark in every way, from its unusual stop disposition and physical layout, to the widely contrasting tone: Swell with bright trumpets and a big quint Mixture pitted against a Great with leathered Diapasons, a Mixture with Quints, Tierces, and Septièmes; Trombas so dark and smooth they might as well have been large flue stops, and Solo Tubas of extremely dark, even oily character. The overall effect is not without brilliance, but the overriding impression was one of inexorable, ocean-liner grandeur.

The manner in which Skinner organs develop from 1925 to 1930 resembles the Harrison & Harrison model more than anything else. Swell reeds eventually become brighter, but Great reeds remain Trombas. Up until the time of G. Donald Harrison's arrival at Skinner, chorus mixtures are exclusively of the unison and quint variety, but afterward, the Great mixture is often a harmonics type mixture, with thirds, fifths and sevenths. The tingly Swell quint mixture is never so strong as a Lewis mixture, and unlike any real sort of Willis mixture. It is uncannily close, however, to the usual Harrison & Harrison model.
If I am correct in this theory, Skinner could never have declared the truth publicly. He had visited Willis III out of a sense of duty for all he had gained from Willis’s father and grandfather in 1898—the 1924 trip resulted in a very public alliance, wherein Willis sent pipes and tonal tips in exchange for Skinner’s pitman chest, console mechanisms and fancy color stops. Willis had completely pulled the wool over Skinner’s eyes as far as his own popularity was concerned: it was Harrison & Harrison, not Willis, who were clearly the builders of the day. But Willis’s writing and public relations gave the appearance that it was his firm that still ruled English organbuilding, and most of the traveling American artists came to adopt this stance as well. And let us not forget also that we are dealing with an organbuilder who lacked no confidence in his own abilities and in the results of his labor. As Skinner wrote to a client on May 22, 1928, “We have just finished an organ for Ann Arbor costing $75,000. It is from every angle the most magnificent thing I ever heard on either side of the water.” English influence was nice, but rest assured, Skinner was still happily building Skinner organs.

By 1898, when Skinner was hearing Willis organs in Liverpool and London, the tone of the Willis organ had dulled down from the slightly crude early organs of the 1850’s and the more razor-edged ensembles of the 1870’s. In recorded examples of the famous 1899 Willis organ at St. Bee’s Priory in Northumberland, England, and of the equally famous 1926 Skinner organ at Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church in Detroit, for example, it is interesting to note that the Willis organ has a greater degree of flue energy but less cohesive upperwork than foundation; the Skinner is, in its own way, slightly more brilliant, and in general, far more foundational, yet more cohesive and rather more clear. On the other hand, the likeness of the Harrison & Harrison at Saint Mary Redcliffe to this same Detroit Skinner is uncanny, though the former, with its Double Open Wood, twin 32’ reeds and gracious acoustical environment, seems to have extra trimmings of both brass and velvet.

What a Skinner organ has that no English organ ever quite gets to is the divisional balance peculiar to Skinner. Even with the dark Tromba chorus reeds, a Harrison & Harrison Great still dominates the ensemble, though energized and given fire by the reeds and mixtures of the Swell. But Skinner is not seeking choruses; he chooses to view the upperwork as an agent of brilliance, and it is a new fascination for him. He is not seeking departmental independence—in his philosophy, you’ll have all the couplers on in the end, so isn’t it handier to have the big sounds expressive?

But the pursuit of brilliance does not detract Skinner from his primary goal: orchestral opulence in pipe organ tone. The whole purpose of the Skinner organ was to produce effect, create a mood, and grace the ear with fluid, smooth, opulent timbres, disposed in such a manner as to create a wide variety of musical situations, pinpointed by the realism of orchestral color. One senses that Skinner’s goal was not that one understand music, so much as to feel it, through the agent of tonal beauty. Most likely, Skinner was entirely satisfied simply by what his ear perceived as a gorgeous sound.

The arrival of G. Donald Harrison pours water on Skinner’s very individual aesthetic. Music, not tone, is now the focus of the endeavor. Harrison is fascinated by mixtures, but not merely as stand-alone contributors of brilliance. He begins a decade-long pursuit of a chorus both elegant in tone, complex in texture, and clear in effect. His earliest choruses are exaggerated versions of certain English examples. In these choruses, the 8’ line is rather broad, sometimes keen, and the 4’ principal is pushed to the limit and finds itself between keenness and downright edginess, this pitch being seen not as a continuation of the chorus so much as a binder between unison and upperwork. The upperwork, in turn, is gentle, of small-scale, blown moderately, and sweet in effect. The effect is very energized for homophonic music, but less suited to contrapuntal music. Though Harrison is after a true chorus, the process is still adopting a bit of Skinner’s philosophy that individually brilliant elements can be applied, almost as corrective measures, in order to bring about a chorus. Such a process is, by turns, successful and distracting—the ear is sometimes drawn to the edginess of a 4’ line or the squeakiness of a 2’ line, which no subsequent addition, not even reeds, can coalesce.

What, then, are Harrison’s main sources of inspiration for organ tone and effect? Harrison was a Willis man, enamored of Father Willis and his work, but beyond that, the story becomes increasingly problematic. He originally tried to work with T. C. Lewis, the disciple of Schulze whose work blended German, French, and English ideals into a remarkably eclectic and musically Romantic instrument strongly grounded in classical traditions. Lewis rejected Harrison, perhaps because, at that point, Lewis had split from his own company and was an old man working on a very limited basis. By 1919, when Harrison decided unequivocally that he wanted to be in organbuilding, he no longer had the option of going to Lewis & Company, since that firm had been merged with Willis and was under the control of Willis III. Harrison found himself in an interesting position: although he had done some training at the Willis factory, he certainly did not ascend through the traditional five-year apprenticeship. Soon he was managing tunings, doing office work, and in general, operating as Willis III’s aide. Meanwhile, he thoroughly absorbed factory records, which included both Lewis and Willis materials, and continued to study and analyze the organs under his care, as well as other famous instruments.
Despite Harrison’s pledged allegiance to the work of Father Willis, it seems increasingly obvious that Lewis’s work left an indelible impression upon Harrison, and that he would carry Lewis’s early lessons right to the last organ he built. Even when Harrison had moved beyond trying to recreate the Lewis sound, his organs are, more than anything, governed by the way in which Lewis structured his choruses, balanced one division to the other, and sought a certain cohesion, balance, and restrained grandeur in the tutti. Despite writing to his son Michael that Father Willis was the most musical English organbuilder, it is the Lewis organ at Southwark Cathedral that Harrison repeatedly urges his son to visit, as a preface to hearing some of Harrison’s Aeolian-Skinner organs.

Lewis’s principal tone is based upon a refinement of Schulze’s—using heavy, hard spotted metal pipes with wide open toes and flues, moderate nicking, higher cut-ups (usually one-third), and voiced on the slow side with a high languid and a forward upper lip, the tone is intense, bright, precise, and with a very distinct vowel color. In building the chorus, Lewis reduced scales slightly as pitches ascend, but not like other builders. The Twelfth and Fifteenth are of almost identical scale, and voiced to equal strength. The big, crunchy Twelfth is a bit hard to bring on in a smooth buildup, but once drawn, has the effect of making a small chorus sound big and complex. Moreover, as twelfths always help to do, the inner voices stand out very clearly. Having established these principles by the late 1860’s, Lewis’s ideas changed only in degree, not in concept, over his 45 years of organbuilding. The mixture tone becomes slightly sweeter and smaller in scale as the years go by, and the twelfths very slightly duller, often with arched cut-ups. Chorus reeds play a minor role, except in the largest and grandest Lewis organs. The organ at Southwark Cathedral, voiced entirely on 3½" wind (except for two stops on 12"), has a single Great 8' Trumpet, but a battery of reeds enclosed in the Solo. The result is a flue-dominated and reed-colored manual tutti, with not overly loud, but nonetheless powerful Pedal reeds. This example is eerily reminiscent of almost all of G. Donald Harrison’s important work after 1935, and recalls his often repeated comment during the finishing of an organ that he was always a bit sorry to see the reeds installed. In recorded material from Southwark, one can note that the right-hand and pedal
melodies are utterly distinct, if not quite as prominent as in a French organ. Entirely unlike a French organ, however, the inner voices are easily distinguished and not a jumbled, however glorious roar.

In its cohesion, complexity and dignified texture, the Lewis ideal was far from the more straightforward grandeur-dominated by the glorious high pressure reeds—of the Willis organs. It took G. Donald Harrison some time to reach an organ along these Lewis-like lines, and by the time he did, other influences had already permeated his thinking. He was, of course, influenced by the many existing effects of the Skinner organ as useful supplements to basic organ tone. But the 1931 Steinmeyer organ at the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament in Altoona, Pennsylvania was to leave a permanent effect.

In principle, the full ensemble of the Steinmeyer organ resembled the Lewis ideal, in that mixtures, not reeds, dominated the manuals. But in the Steinmeyer, reeds tended to define the Pedal. And unlike the Lewis ideal, the Steinmeyer upperwork was far larger in scale and broader in tone, creating a starchy sort of chorus that tended to leave the melody perhaps slightly less distinct, but that brought out the inner voices in even higher relief—significantly, no matter how loud the registration. The large-scale mixtures gave the full ensemble an entirely different vowel color, more “ah” than “ee.” The Steinmeyer balance structure was fairly traditional, with a dominating Great, a subordinate Swell, and a colorful but restrained Choir.

Increasingly unhappy with any sort of shrill treble, and yet determined to include more mixtures and to create a more interesting sort of chorus and ensemble, Harrison surely found an intriguing way forward in the Altoona organ. The likeness to Steinmeyer’s approach to chorus design is too similar to what Harrison would later develop to be coincidental, and the example was to be found nowhere else in America than in this instrument. Perhaps most tellingly, it was German, and in the fervor to create an organ that might play Bach, anything German seemed to be an authentic instruction book, even if the Steinmeyer was merely a late German Romantic organ with a few neo-classical features.

The first Aeolian-Skinner organs to explore choruses along the lines of Altoona were built almost concurrently in 1934, Grace Cathedral in San Francisco, and All Saints in Worcester, Massachusetts. The scaling pattern begins to resemble what prevails at Altoona, with more modest unison registers, a 4’ larger than the 8’, and mixtures whose scaling results in trebles larger than anything else in the chorus, being based on slower halving ratios. With lower wind pressures and a reduced emphasis on reed tone, Harrison was beginning to find his own voice.

With his constant move away from simple brilliance, it becomes clear that Harrison disliked small-scaled trebles pushed hard and voiced bright. The adoption of large-scaled upperwork allowed him to achieve his goal of...
a brilliant but not shrill-toned organ. In comparing, for example, the Lewis organ at Southwark Cathedral, and the unaltered 100-rank Aeolian-Skinner at Saint Mark’s Philadelphia, the composition of the tutti at Saint Mark’s is uncannily like that of Southwark—one could almost believe that they were the work of the same hand—but in the Aeolian-Skinner, the sharp edges have been filed down, and it is, ironically, a less sharply brilliant organ in its fluework than, say, some of the 1929 and 1930 Harrison organs. Yet, without high-pressure reeds and a reduction in the 8’ mass, the texture of the full ensemble is at once more complicated and cohesive than in any Skinner organ.

This type of flue chorus, once achieved in 1934, would be a source of constant experimentation during Harrison’s life, but for all the experimentation, the recipe didn’t really vary that much, and neither did the effect. Much as Lewis had found his way through refinement in bits and pieces, so Harrison never really altered the basic premise once he stumbled upon it. His choruses from the mid-1930’s, where unaltered, are often very persuasive, complex, clear and melodic all at once. The Great chorus of the 1939 organ at Saint Paul’s Chapel, Columbia University is a fine example.

The 1940’s saw further experimentation with even larger-scaled trebles, but this proved short-lived—with very low cut-ups, the pipes were simply unstable and untodayable. Moreover, the mixture work, with its straight-scaling and prominent twelfths, began to give a cloying effect not unlike that of a Cornet stop, even though no tierce was present. Harrison died in 1956, and beginning in 1954, he reverted to slightly narrower trebles for a more sparkling effect. In the examples of Saint Mark’s Philadelphia and Saint John’s Evangelical Lutheran Church, Forest Park, Illinois (1954), the continuation of the basic premise is unmistakable (one can detect a slightly keener top in the choruses of the latter).

At the same time, the later heroic organs were becoming ever brighter, with the power belonging chiefly to bold mixtures of complex scale and composition. At the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine, New York City, with its sumptuous, bass-friendly acoustical environment, there is no dearth of warm foundation, even for an instrument whose bass scales are downright narrow. The trebles, however, are tank-like, and paired to excellent reeds. The build-up is an ever increasing storm of intense biting mixture and reed tone, not at all inappropriate to so vast a space.

Is there some sense of continuity between Skinner and Harrison? In subtle ways, perhaps. One of the most distinctly 20th century pipe organ sounds is that of strings. Skinner was the first traditional organbuilder to give strings a prominent role, using pipes of reverse taper construction and forceful tone. At the 1926 instrument at Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Michigan, a single pair of Solo Gambas can, with octave coupler, stand on their own in dialogue against full Swell.

In the Skinner organ, the strings were not only a tool of orchestral timbre, but a simple, ravishing indulgence. While the strings of G. Donald Harrison’s era become progressively broader, the voicing techniques were identical to those used by Skinner, and though the tone in Harrison is less intense, there is timbral continuity. A distinct postwar development was the Viola Pomposa and Celeste, slightly tapered pipes scaled halfway between real strings and principal. Heard in context, these stops register as strings; but in comparison with the earlier, narrower stops, they sound like Geigens, something we might term Principal and Voce Umana.

Did Skinner learn anything from Harrison? Yes, tapered basses, and the voicing and balancing of mixtures in an effective, Romantic fashion. Did Harrison learn anything from Skinner? Yes, when faced with a smaller organ in a conservative vein, Harrison’s work uses much of Skinner’s thinking reinterpreted into Harrison’s own vernacular. Many larger Skinner organs have no reeds on the Great, and rely upon the Swell as the sole point of chorus reed tone, and though Harrison generally brought the Swell in line with the Great from a balance standpoint (taking a cue from Cavaillé-Coll), he just as often did not, and in his work, the Swell remains, ironically, the heart of the organ.

In conclusion, if one had to sum-up one direction of the Skinner and Aeolian-Skinner organ, it would be a solid progression away from the effects of the Skinner organ, and the heroism of High Romanticism, toward an ever more restrained, yet complex effect. It has been said by some that Skinner was not interested in creating an imitation orchestra, but merely an instrument that might possess orchestral expression, responsiveness, and color. The fact remains, however, that he was hardly orthodox in what he hoped to hear an organ play. If we say that Skinner did, in fact, hope to create a surrogate orchestra, I have a feeling it is a charge he might not deny.

Yes, Skinner was a bad businessman, and in this he joins any number of other 20th century organbuilders, living and dead, who value artistic statement more than financial solvency. Under Arthur Hudson Marks’s leadership, the company made quite a bit of money in the 1920’s, building up substantial cash reserves. Virtually all of that money was spent keeping the company afloat in the 1930’s; the rest of it was eaten up by World War II and the rampant inflation directly following. By 1949, the situation became so untenable that Joseph Whiteford was able to secure controlling interest in the company with an injection of less than $50,000, while Marks had sunk $250,000 into the firm in 1919-20. The closest thing to the truth is that, if Skinner was a poor businessman, G. Donald Harrison was no better, was possibly worse, and was in no way helped by nearly two decades of very trying conditions.
Since its inception, the OHS has relied heavily upon volunteer support and leadership. As the Society grew, it became evident that there should be some way of recognizing the extraordinary services of talented individuals. The OHS Distinguished Service Awards were first proposed and implemented through the 1976 National Convention Committee. The present Awards committee is made up of past years’ award recipients, and an administrative chairperson. Nominations emanate from within the committee according to established guidelines.

This year’s Distinguished Service Award was conferred upon Peter Cameron of Methuen, Massachusetts. He is a graduate of Hamilton College whose long career in organbuilding has entailed work with Angell Pipe Organs, Louis F. Mohr & Co., Berkshire Organ Co., and Andover Organ Co. In 1994 he retired from Andover, where he had worked in the rebuilding and maintenance departments since 1977.

Peter Cameron has been active in the OHS since 1962, and served on the national convention committees in 1969 and 1987. He was editor of the local chapter newsletter in New York City for fifteen years, and contributed significant articles to The Tracker, particularly for its 20th and 25th anniversary issues. His interest in the work of New York City organbuilders has resulted in the preservation of several of its historic instruments. His study of the work of the celebrated New York-based builder George Jardine & Son will appear in a forthcoming issue of The Tracker.

Distinguished Service Award

Roster of Recipients

1976 Albert Robinson Peekskill NY
1977 Norma Cunningham McArthur OH
1978 Donald Rockwood Norfolk MA
1979 Homer Blanchard deceased
1980 Donald Paterson deceased
1981 Helen Harriman deceased
1982 Norman Walter Round Lake NY
1983 Alan Laufer deceased
1984 No award
1985 No award
1986 Kenneth Simmons deceased
1987 Lois Regestein Boston MA
1988 Barbara Owen Newburyport MA
1989 Stephen Pinel East Windsor NJ
1990 Edgar Boadway Claremont NH
1991 Susan Friesen Lake in the Hills IL
1991 Elizabeth Schmitt Rolla MO
1992 Lawrence Trupiano Brooklyn NY
1993 Thomas Finch Canton NY
1994 John Ogasapian Pepperell MA
1995 Dana Hull Ann Arbor MI
1996 Michael Friesen Dekalb IL
1997 Michael Barone Saint Paul MN
1998 Marilyn Stulken Racine WI
1999 Kristin Farmer Winston-Salem NC
2000 Richard Hamar Norwich CT
2001 Peter Cameron Methuen MA

*withdrawn from committee
In 1975 the Organ Historical Society began a program of formally citing instruments of historical significance. A plaque is presented at a special recital or worship service and is then displayed prominently. The plaques read: “This organ built by ___ of ___ in the year ____ has been selected for recognition as an instrument of exceptional historic merit, worthy of preservation.” The plaque is signed by the president of the OHS and the chairman of the Organ Citation committee. Beneath the signatures is the following: “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 first instrument given such a citation was the 1867 Marklove at St. Mark’s Episcopal Church in Candor, New York. Since then, 274 plaques have been awarded. The complete list appears here.

The nomination process is straightforward. The Chair of the Organ Citation committee should be sent a letter of nomination from the church or other owners of the organ, a complete stoplist, and a narrative history. The OHS convention handbooks are good guides for writing the history. The chairperson then sends that information on to the committee. If the committee decides positively, a plaque is prepared. It is then presented at a public recital or special worship service, and should then be displayed prominently. For further information on obtaining a plaque for an historic organ, contact the chairman of the Organ Citation Committee, Michael Friesen, 2214 Dawson Lane, Algonquin IL 60102.
Skinner Organ Company (1925), Op. 528
First United Methodist, Oak Park IL

This instrument is Skinner’s op. 528. William Zeuch performed the dedication on February 16, 1926. It is a four-manual organ with 44 ranks of pipes housed in two chambers on either side of the choir loft. In an unusual arrangement, a second two-manual console is located in an adjacent 100-seat chapel, and utilizes several ranks of pipes from the main organ for chapel use. The church is fortunate in that the instrument was never subjected to any misguided attempts at modernization, and essentially, exists today just as it was installed. It is an important monument to the symphonic organ school and has performed magnificently for 75 years. But the years have taken their toll, and the church is now in the process of trying to restore mechanical functions to their original condition.

GREAT
16 Bourdon PED
8 First Diapason
8 Second Diapason
8 Claribel Flute
8 Erzähler
4 Octave
4 Flute
8 Tromba
4 Clarion
Chimes ECHO

SWELL
16 Bourdon
8 Diapason
8 Gedeckt
8 Salicional
8 Voix Celeste
8 Aeoline
4 Octave
4 Flute Triangulaire
2 Fifteenth
IV Mixture
16 Waldhorn
8 Cornopean
8 Flügel Horn
8 Vox Humana
4 Clarion
Tremolo

CHOIR
8 Diapason
8 Concert Flute
8 Kleine Erzähler [II]
4 Flute
2 Piccolo
8 Clarinet
Tremolo
Harp
Celesta

SOLO
8 Orchestral Flute
8 Gamba
8 Gamba Celeste
8 French Horn
Tremolo
8 Tuba Mirabilis
8 Melodic Celeste
(La Marche Co., c. 1930’s)

PEDAL
32 Diapason Resultant
16 Diapason
16 Bourdon
16 Echo Bourdon SW
8 Octave [ext. Diapason]
8 Gedeckt [ext. Bourdon]
8 Cello [II] SO
8 Still Gedeckt SW
16 Trombone
16 Waldhorn SW
8 Tromba [ext. Trombone]
Chimes ECHO

Second Console in Adjacent Chapel

GREAT [from Great]
8 Diapason
8 Claribel Flute
8 Erzähler
4 Octave
4 Flute

SWELL [from Choir]
8 Diapason
8 Concert Flute
8 Kleine Erzähler [II]
4 Flute
2 Piccolo
8 Clarinet
Tremolo
Celesta

PEDAL [from Swell]
16 Bourdon
8 Gedeckt
16 Waldhorn

ABOVE recital program by Skinner Vice-President and Chicago native William E. Zeuch

BELOW main and chapel consoles
CITATION 270
Carl Barckhoff (1886)
St. Mary's R.C., New Albany, IN

This instrument was installed in 1887 at a cost of $3,100. It replaced an 1877 Pilcher and was dedicated in a sacred concert on New Year's Day. By 1935, it was in need of renovation and a successful fundraising effort was initiated. Further renovations by the Miller Pipe Organ Co. were performed in 1986 and 1990. In 1990 a new 8' Trumpet was installed, the original one having been removed in the 1930's because it was "too loud." The replacement pipes were made by the Trivo Company, Hagerstown MD, and are copies of an 8' Trumpet in the c. 1891 Barckhoff organ at St. Joseph's R.C. in Lancaster PA. The Dulciana shares notes 1-12 with the Melodia; and the Salicional shares notes 1-12 with the Rohr Flute, which is an ordinary stopped wood rank with no bored stoppers. The Pedal stops are on a three-stop slider chest, and the Flute Bass is of open wood with normal mouths. The original double-rise reservoir was replaced in 1973.

CITATION 271
Aeolian-Skinner Organ Company (1951), Op. 1174
First Baptist Church
Longview, TX

The Lacy Memorial Organ at First Baptist Longview was donated by Mrs. Rogers Lacy as a memorial to her husband, and to the glory of God. Virgil Fox performed the dedication on December 19, 1951. Aside from cleaning, releathering, and other repairs, the instrument remains essentially unaltered, with original voicing, wiring, and pipe placement intact. The console bears the signature of G. Donald Harrison.
Roster of OHS
Historic Citations

143 KY Louisville St. Phillip Neri R.C. 1899 Prante
144 IN Madison form, Second Presbyterian 1867 Johnson
145 KY Louisville St. Frances of Rome R.C. c. 1884 van Dier<br>146 KY Louisville Ascension 1892 Koebele & Grimm
147 CO Boulder First Methodist 1888 F. Roosevelt
148 FL Vero Beach Community Church 1896 Morey & Barnes
149 IA Cedar Rapids St. Michael's Episcopal 1904 Verney<br>150 MT Helena Consistory-Shrine Temple 1915 Hutchings
151 MD Catonsville Historic Old Salem 1870 Stroh
152 MI Monroe St. Peter's Episcopal 1930 Skinner<br>153 NY Nyack First Baptist 1893 Tallman
154 GA Augusta Most Holy Trinity R.C. 1868 Jardine
155 PA Altoona Blessed Sacrament Cathedral, R.C. 1931 Steinmeyer
156 CT Talcottville Congregational 1912 Steere<br>157 UT Salt Lake City Mormon Tabernacle 1948 Aeolian-Skinner<br>158 NY Cortland Unitarian-Universalist 1895 Morey & Barnes<br>159 NH Claremont St. Mary's R.C. 1839 F.Roosevelt<br>160 VT Randolph Bethany Congregational 1894 Bach
161 IL Evanston Second Congregational 1922 Skinner<br>162 CT New Britain St. Mary's R.C. 1906 Austin
163 CT Meriden Congregational 1893 Johnson & Son
164 CT Hartford St. Justin's R.C. 1912 Kilgen<br>165 CT Greenville Congregational 1869 Johnson<br>166 CT Hartford Bushnell Auditorium 1929 Austin<br>167 CT New Haven Yale University, Woolsey Hall 1928 Skinner
168 CT New Haven St. Casimir's R.C. 1874 Hook & Hastings
169 CO Central City St. James United Methodist 1899 Steere
170 MO St. Louis St. Joseph's Shrine, R.C. 1890 Pfeiffer<br>171 NC Winston-Salem St. Paul's Episcopal 1928 Skinner<br>172 IN Valparaiso St. Paul R.C. 1883 Johnson
173 CT Middle Haddam Second Congregational 1890 Clough & Warren<br>174 GA Griffin First Presbyterian 1934 Hook & Hastings<br>175 MI Detroit Sweetest Heart of Mary R.C. 1894 Kilgen & Sons<br>176 MI Dexter St. James Episcopal 1922 Skinner
177 MI Sandusky St. iEthi's Episcopal 1899 Miller<br>178 MI Battle Creek Kellogg Auditorium 1913 Aeolian-Skinner
179 MI Detroit Pilgrim Church 1889 G. Wood<br>180 MI Detroit Trinity Episcopal 1892 Jardine<br>181 NY Mt. Vernon Ascension Episcopal 1928 Skinner<br>182 IL Brimfield Jubilee College 1848 Engebretson
183 CA Los Angeles Good Samaritan Hospital 1928 Skinner<br>184 NY Cortland St. Mary's R.C. 1895 Morey & Barnes<br>185 NY Orient Methodist Church 1900 Hook & Hastings
186 MA North Hadley Congregational 1866 Johnson
187 NH Charlestown South Parish Unitarian 1846 Hook<br>188 PA Philadelphia Girard College 1913 Aeolian-Skinner
189 PA Philadelphia Highlands Tabernacle 1884 H. Roosevelt<br>190 PA Philadelphia St. Martin's R.C. 1869 Koebele & Grimm
194 VT Manchester First Baptist 1874 Hook & Hastings<br>195 PA Lancaster Westgate Baptist 1929 Skinner<br>196 IA Spillville St. Wenceslaus R.C. 1876 Pfeiffer<br>197 LA Clermont Union Sunday School 1896 Kimball
203 PA Spring City Zion Lutheran Church 1872 Tannenberg<br>204 WI Fond du Lac Peace Evangelical Church 1867 F. Roosevelt<br>205 OR Portland The Old Church 1867 Hoffmeyer & Harris<br>206 CAN Alberta First Baptist Church 1862 E. & G.G. Hook
207 WA Vancouver Church of the Good Shepherd 1879 Moline<br>208 VT Hartford Greater Hartford U.C.C. 1872 Johnson & Son<br>209 MA Lexington Folken Community Church 1868 E. & G.G. Hook
210 FL St. Petersburg St. Vincent's Episcopal 1885-86 E. & G.G. Hook<br>211 CO Denver St. Elizabeth Center 1903 Austin<br>212 CO Colorado Springs Colorado College, Shove Chapel 1931 Welte-Tripp<br>213 CO Colorado Springs Grace Episcopal 1928 Welte

214 CO Denver Trinity United Methodist 1888 F. Roosevelt
215 CO Denver Saint's John's Episcopal 1938 Kilgen
216 CO Denver Episcopal Cathedral 1910 Wirsching
217 CO Georgetown Grace Episcopal 1876 Anderson
218 CO Denver Grandview Methodist 1910 Kilgen
219 CO Leadville St. George's Episcopal 1882 Ryder
220 CO Leadville First Presbyterian 1889 Schuelke
221 CO Denver South Gate Lodge 1937 Farrand & Votey<br>222 CO Denver All Saints R.C. 1896 Hook & Hastings
223 CO Denver Denver Consistory 1925 Kilgen
224 CO Denver Bahai Assembly 1916 Hook & Hastings
225 NC Red Springs Presbyterian 1908 Pitcher
226 NJ Jersey City St. Mary's R.C. 1939 Aeolian-Skinner
227 IN Indianapolis First Lutheran Church 1898 Miller
228 MN Duluth Sacred Heart Music Center 1897 F.Roosevelt
229 IA Pomeroy Elmhurst Lutheran 1897 Schuelke
230 NH Salem Pleasant Street Methodist 1898 James Treat
231 CO Lyons The Old Stone Congregational 1902 Hook & Hastings
232 IN Michigan City First Congregational 1911 F. Roosevelt
233 FL Ruskin St. Anne's R.C. 1920 Henness
234 FL Ruskin St. Anne's R.C. 1889 Gill
235 MA Conway Conway Congregational 1886 Hook & Hastings
236 ME Royal Oak Shrine of the Little Flower 1934 Goss, Kilgen & Sons
237 CT Hartfield Fourth Congregational 1898 Austin
238 MO Kansas City First Church of Christ, Scientist 1911 Steere & Son
239 MI Detroit St. Anne's R.C. 1899 Goss, Kilgen & Sons
240 NY Brooklyn Church of St. Ann 1923 Skinner
241 CA Sacramento Memorial Auditorium 1927 E. & G.G. Hook
242 MA Peterborough First Congregational 1897 Johnson
243 NY Lodi Lodi Historical Society 1852 E. & G.G. Hook
244 CAN Montreal, P.Q. Immaculée Conception R.C. 1961 von Beckerath
246 CAN Saint-Hyacinthe, P.Q. Immaculée Conception R.C. 1865 Casavant
247 CAN Saint-Cécile Eglise de Saint-Cécile 1891 Casavant, Milton
248 CAN Vaudeville, P.Q. Eglise Saint-Michel-de-Vaudreuil 1871 Louis Mitchell
249 MN Minneapolis Northrop Memorial Auditorium 1932 Aeolian-Skinner
250 KY Lexington St. Patrick's Church 1949 Holkamp
251 CAN St. François-du-Lac, P.Q. Eglise Saint-François-Xavier 1865 Casavant
252 ME Monson Immaculée Heart of Mary 1906 Kilgen
253 VA McLean Trinity Methodist 1856 Hook & Hastings
254 IN Indianapolis Zion Evangelical UC 1839-41 Kilgen
255 IN Indianapolis Scottish Rite Cathedral 1929 Skinner
256 NY St. Paul's Episcopal Church 1859 Kilgen<br>257 TX Houston Covenant Baptist Church 1889 Hook & Hastings
258 MA Brookline United Parish 1932 Skinner
259 MA Charlestown St. Mary's R.C. 1893 Woodherry & Harris<br>260 MA Roxbury St. Patrick's R.C. 1880 Hook & Hastings
261 MA Framingham First Baptist Church 1890 W.B.D. Simmons
262 MA Brookline Children's Church 1862 E. & G.G. Hook
263 MA Cambridge Adolphus Busch Hall 1959 Kidder
264 MA Woburn First Congregational 1896 E. & G.G. Hook
265 MA Jamaica Plain St. Thomas Aquinas 1896 E. & G.G. Hook
266 FL Casselberry Westminster Presbyterian 1906 Kilgen<br>267 MA Allston Allison Congregational 1891 Hook & Hastings
268 MA Jamaica Plain First Baptist 1895 E. & G.G. Hook<br>269 IL Oak Park First Baptist 1925 Skinner
270 IN New Albany St. Mary's 1866 Carl Buehler
271 TX Longview First Baptist 1915 Aeolian-Skinner
272 NC Durham Duke University Chapel 1931-32 Aeolian-Skinner
273 NC Asheville Biltmore House 1916 E. & G.G. Hook
274 NC Raleigh Peace College Chapel 1880 Pomplitz

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Many members voluntarily renew membership above the regular level each year, raising the support of the Society's programs by several thousand dollars. In addition to the voluntary increase in contributions made as dues, many members make donations to several special funds of the OHS. Some corporations generously match their employees' contributions to not-for-profit organizations, and OHS members can as much as double their gift. Those who have paid dues above the regular level or who made contributions this fiscal year are listed below.
LAST YEAR IN PORTLAND, Oregon the City Council unanimously voted to ban the construction of “snout houses.” The term “snout house” was coined to describe a house style that is rampant in American suburbia—viewed from the street its most prominent feature is a large, multi-bayed garage. The house portion is attached somewhere to the side or the rear. The City Council felt that this style of house, which is designed for the automobile driver, depersonalizes neighborhoods and reduces the opportunities for social interaction among neighbors.1

During the hearings on this issue, one of the most interesting pieces of evidence presented was a study conducted by a professor of city planning at Ohio State University in Columbus. It was about peoples’ perceptions of house styles. In this study, 118 adults in Columbus were shown pictures of homes in six different styles: Farm, Tudor, Mediterranean, Saltbox, Colonial, and Contemporary. The participants were then asked a series of questions to determine if they perceived symbolic messages from the various styles. Interestingly, there was a very strong consensus in the Columbus responses. When asked which house they would go to for help to fix a flat tire (friendliness), most people chose the Farm style house. When asked to identify the houses in which community’s upper-crust lived (status), they chose the Colonial or Tudor houses. Surprisingly, when this study was repeated in Los Angeles, where housing is typically unlike that of Columbus, 102 adults gave nearly identical responses.2 In a follow-up study, participants were shown photographs of houses and were asked to fill-out personality inventories for what they imagined the occupants were like. Researchers then interviewed the actual occupants, and the judgments people made from the outside turned out to be accurate. Perhaps one cannot judge a book by its cover, but these studies suggest that many people form impressions about the occupants of a house based upon its exterior appearance.

The same thing can happen with organs. What impressions would we form, for example, from an instrument with a compact freestanding case, no ornaments, natural length façade pipes, a vertical arrangement of the manual divisions, a secondary division in Brustwerk position, drawknobs in flat jambs, built-in keyboards, and a 58-note manual compass? When would we suppose it was built—in the 60’s or 70’s? What would it sound like—probably thin and bright? What about the action—a light mechanical action, perhaps? There is such an organ in Portland, Oregon, and a friend tells me that the first time he tried it he thought, “This is the strangest feeling tracker I’ve ever played.” He later discovered why: it’s not a tracker at all, but rather, a 1965 electric action Gress-Miles. Apparently, many organists were initially fooled. Why? Because its form and visual style are that of a tracker.

ABOVE A proportional scheme from the only known surviving Roman treatise on architecture, written by Vitruvius c. 25 BC, first published 1490

OPPOSITE Gothic style: Cathedral of Notre-Dame-de Vaulère, Sion, Switzerland (1430’s)
Forms and styles carry messages, often very strong ones. Just what do we mean by style? The Oxford English Dictionary defines architectural style as “a definite type of architecture distinguished by special characteristics of structure and ornament.” For present purposes, let us consider style as a specific or characteristic manner of execution, construction, or design in any art, period, or work.

Throughout history, structural and decorative styles have evolved to express the spirit of the cultures which gave them birth. Nearly all objects of material culture contain stylistic clues about how the people who created them viewed themselves, their time, and the objects themselves. These clues can be seen both in consumer products such as clothing and cars, and in more permanent items such as buildings, furniture, and pipe organs. In this article, I will show how the pipe organ, as an artifact of Western musical and material culture, continually changed its appearance to conform to changing tastes in architecture and the decorative arts. I will show how reproductions of older styles—that is, revivals—have periodically occurred in architecture and in organ cases. I will also show that some of the case designs of the 19th century, which we now consider old fashioned, were actually quite radical in their day.

We begin with some European examples to illustrate historical precedents and stylistic developments, but we will focus primarily on American architecture and organs of the 18th and 19th centuries, including some noteworthy Boston buildings, and some organs visited during the Boston OHS Convention.

Before discussing the various styles themselves, let us consider how they spread. We can summarize the process in four words: creation, acclamation, publication, and imitation. The process works something like this. First, an artist creates something in a new or altered style. Second, the new object is noticed and acclaimed for its originality, beauty, utility, etc. Third, people publish the word about this new thing. This spreads awareness and appreciation of the object. In early times, people recorded their impressions in pictures. The invention of printing, and later improvements in publishing greatly accelerated the transmittal process. Since the 15th century, many architectural styles have been spread through printed materials, some of which I will refer to later.

In the final stage in the spreading of styles, craftspeople visit or read about celebrated objects and imitate aspects of them in their own work. The imitation can range from an exact copy to a highly edited adaptation. The practice of imitating or copying an important work has a long tradition and was once considered an essential part of the education process. In many art and architecture schools, one traditionally spent the first few years studying and copying the old masters before being permitted to do any original work. Of course, the trouble with every great work of art, be it a building, a painting, or a pipe organ, is that it inspires both good and bad imitations, as we shall see.

GREEK AND ROMAN ARCHITECTURE

Many European organs of the past four centuries, and many 18th and 19th century American organs have cases that reflect the forms and language of Greek or Roman Classical architecture. George Hersey, in his book *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture* observes that Greco-Roman Classicism “was not only the architecture of the Greeks and Romans and of their empires, it was also the architecture, *mutatis mutandis*, of Romanesque Europe and of Byzantium, of the Renaissance and the Baroque, of Neoclassicism, the Baroque Revival, the Beaux-Arts, and Fascism; it is even, in a peculiar but strong way, a contributor to postmodernism.” Greek Classical architecture developed over a thousand-year period, from c. 1100 BC to 146 BC. Greek architecture is classified into three principal styles, called orders: Doric,
Ionic, and Corinthian. The quickest way to identify an order is to look at the capital on top of the column. The Doric is the oldest and simplest of the three. A Doric column has a simple ring-like capital, and a rather stout shaft with vertical ridges, called flutes. Because of its simple nature and its stout columns, it is considered the strongest, the most “masculine” of the three orders. As such, it was deemed appropriate for military buildings and generals’ houses.

Next came the Ionic order. Its columns are a bit more slender than the Doric. Its capitals have two curlicues, called volutes. Some people interpret them as the curled-up ends of an open parchment scroll set face-down on top of the column. For this reason, the Ionic order is generally associated with reading or writing. Thus, the Ionic order was frequently used for buildings which housed courts, libraries, colleges, or anything having to do with arts and letters.

Finally, we come to the Corinthian, the latest and most elaborate of the orders. Its column proportions are the most slender. Its capital contains stylized acanthus leaves, and corner volutes. Of the three Greek orders, the Corinthian is the most elegant and ornamented, and is considered the most “feminine.” This order was judged appropriate for buildings where elegance, gaiety, or magnificence was required. It was often used for galleries and theaters.

There is an easy way to keep track of which style is which. The word Doric has two syllables, the word Ionic, three syllables, and Corinthian, four. As the number of syllables increases, the capital decoration becomes more ornate: Doric, Ionic, Corinthian.

To these three Greek orders may be added two others. The Romans adopted Greek architectural styles, and added “downgrade and upgrade models” to the three orders. Thus, the Tuscan order is basically a stripped down version of the Doric, with slightly heavier column proportions, but no fluting; and the Composite order is a high-end upgrade of the Corinthian, with the same column proportions but with a few more bells and whistles on the capital.

There is an important characteristic that distinguishes Greek architecture from Roman: there were no arches in ancient Greece. Every door lintel or span atop columns was straight across. It was the Romans that invented the arch that we call, appropriately enough, the Roman arch. Hence, if a building has a curved arch, it’s Roman, but if there’s no arch it’s probably Greek.

**ROMANESQUE**

After the fall of the Roman Empire in the 6th century, Western Europe entered the so-called Dark Ages. The study and perpetuation of art and architecture underwent a period of dormancy, and it was not until the time of Charlemagne, in the 9th century, that any centralized art form emerged again. Charlemagne brought France, Germany, and much of Italy under his control as the Holy Roman Empire. In his palace chapel at Aix-la Chapelle (presently the German town of Aachen), he recruited artists and craftsmen from both East and West. They built his churches in a style that was a naïve interpretation of Roman building styles. Thus was born the Romanesque style, whose chief characteristics are thick, massive wall structures, round arches, and column capitals with deep-cut, stylized foliage. This style lasted until the advent of Gothic architecture in the middle of the 12th century. It was during the Romanesque period that the pipe organ began to evolve.

**GOTHIC**

The Gothic style originated in France in the mid-12th century, and by the mid-13th century, it spread throughout the rest of Europe. It was known then as *opus modernum* (modern work), or *opus Francigenum* (work of French origin). The term “Gothic” was coined in the 17th century by people who thought the style looked primitive and barbaric. Gothic architecture was a structural revolution. The heavy, thick walls of the Romanesque gave way to the thin lines of column shafts, flying buttresses, and...
window tracery. Interiors were divided into a succession of ribbed cells. Masonry mass was reduced to the minimum necessary for structural support, and was replaced with expanses of stained glass windows. The Gothic architectural style lasted for approximately 400 years, from the mid-12th century to the mid-16th century. It went through three major stylistic periods—Early, High, and Late. As the style progressed, it became more elaborate.

Early Gothic architecture was a very efficient and honest form of structure. Architectural decoration was mainly an enrichment of the essential structural elements of the building. Early Gothic furniture consisted mainly of simple joinery, with some carved ornament such as tracery or linen fold panels. The English coronation chair in Westminster Abbey dates from the late 13th century, and is typical of early Gothic furniture. It is a rather simple piece. The earliest extant Gothic organs have simple casework with flat fronts and uncomplicated lines. Decoration is used mainly as an enrichment of flat or blank areas, such as the traceried pipes, or the incised panel work. A specimen at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame-de-la-Vallée, Sion, Switzerland dates from the 1430s. Perhaps its case arrangement was inspired by a castle or church façade of the period, with towers flanking the gabled roof of the nave. We see the same simplicity in an Italian case from the 1480s at the Basilica of San Petronio, Bologna. Again we see a flat front and geographically inspired carved and painted ornament (but the ornamental shell around it is from a later period).

In the High Gothic period, architectural structures become three-dimensional, and the ornament more fluid. The small, north ambulatory organ in the Sint-Lauvenskerk, Alkmaar, Netherlands, from 1511 is believed to be one of the earliest Dutch organs to have projecting towers. We can tell from its three-dimensional pipe arrangement and more elaborate carved decoration that it is from a later Gothic period than the Sion Organ.

The Late Gothic phase is often termed Flamboyant Gothic—not because of any behavior by the architects, but rather, because of the flowing, flame-like shape of the window tracery and the elaborate decoration. An organ case at the Sint-Nicolaas Kirk, Jutphass, Netherlands, from the mid-1500s, leaves little doubt that it is from the florid, tail-end of the Gothic period. It is very busy, both in plan and in ornament.

One thing that becomes apparent in looking at Gothic period instruments is that they appear very un-Gothic to our modern eyes. There are few Gothic arches to be found in original Gothic period organ cases. Pointed arch pipe flats with heavily ornamented gables above, such as we see on the 1854 E. & G. G. Hook at First Parish, Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, for example, were a naïve invention of the 19th century Gothic Revival.

THE RENAISSANCE

In the 14th century, most of Europe was in High Gothic mode. But in Italy, scholars began to take a serious interest in antiquity—both in buildings, and in ancient writings and philosophies. Long-forgotten manuscripts in monastic libraries were rediscovered and studied. This led to a new philosophy called Humanism, which combined medieval Christian and ancient Roman thought. People began to seriously study and codify the design features of ancient Roman buildings, and to use them as a source of inspiration for the creation of new works. This revival of classical art and learning eventually spread throughout Europe and became known as the Renaissance, from the French word for rebirth. One of the most important manuscripts that came to light was the only known surviving Roman treatise on architecture, written by Vitruvius around 25 BC. It was first published in 1490. Vitruvius describes the universe as an architectural structure, and from it, derives laws for architecture based upon proportion and geometry. From this arose the Renaissance idea of a building being not merely an expression of structure and proportion, but an expression of “heavenly harmony” as well.

The invention of the printing press in the 15th century greatly aided the spread of the new Renaissance style. Over the next 100 years, several Italians wrote treatises which codified the rules of classical architecture and explained the use of the five orders. Andrea Palladio's 1570 treatise entitled The Four Books of Architecture would become the most influential architectural design manual for the next two centuries in Europe and its colonies—and that includes the first 150 years in America. Palladio was an architect who adapted ancient Roman forms for a new style of classically inspired architecture which we now call Palladian. His first commission, in 1549, was to surround the old Palazzo Comunale in Vicenza with a classical wrapping of columns and arches. The motif he used was a three-part opening whose center section has a rounded arch. It came to be known as the Palladian window.

As a result of these important treatises, building façades became more sculptural, more three-dimensional. Windows and doorways were framed with columns or with square columns known as pilasters, and were crowned with rounded arches or triangular gables. And as building façades became more sculptural, so did organ cases. The first cases in this new style appeared in Italy, where they set a pattern that became the norm in that country for several centuries. Such cases are typical architectural compositions, shaped like large doorways or small temples, with columns or pilasters at each side supporting an entablature topped by a pediment. Another characteristic feature of Renaissance cases is the riot of three-dimensional carved ornament, much of it based on
ancient Roman interior decoration. The French developed a liking for rounded towers topped with little shrines or tabernacles, as in a 1542 example at Notre Dame, Caudebec-en Caux, France. (It’s busy carvings are authentic, but the Positive case is from 200 years later.)

Because of the religious warfare during much of the 16th century, parts of Holland and Germany did not fully embrace the Renaissance style until the early 17th century. The 1618 case at Sint-Jan, ’s-Hertogenbosch, Netherlands is a good example of a typical Dutch façade layout with fine late-Renaissance carving. The architectural elements include an elaborately ornamented cornice, and columns which separate the pipe fields.

In the mid-16th century, Italian artists began to grow weary of the limited, regimented design possibilities of classical art. They began to experiment, distorting classic details and rules in order to create shock and drama. Everything on a building seems at first to look fine, and then one notices a detail that intrigues the eye and puzzles the mind—a kind of architectural joke. This style is known as Mannerism. Take, for example, the 1580 Porta delle Suppliche at the Uffizi (the former Medici palace, now an art museum) in Florence. The classical segmented pediment has been chopped in half and reversed. The pilasters, which support it, can barely be seen behind the overgrown door casing. One asks oneself “Why did they do something so strange?” The answer is Mannerism.

There are Mannerist traces in early English organ cases. Because of the civil and religious wars, the Renaissance style did not catch on in England until the Mannerist period. In the west façade of the main case at King’s College Chapel, Cambridge, the pipe flats use slanting toeboards and curving tops to give the illusion of receding perspective. This was a common English Mannerist device.

**BAROQUE**

During the second half of the 16th century, most of Europe had been wracked by religious warfare as Protestants and Catholics fought for their beliefs. By 1625, the tide of Protestantism had been checked. The Roman Catholic Church turned from a defensive mode to a celebratory one. It initiated a period of building in which exuberant architecture would show the faithful that, despite the Protestant Reformation, Catholicism was still triumphant. The resulting style is characterized as sweeping, flowing, and ornate. The senses are overwhelmed by visual splendor and dynamic movement. Its detractors called the style “Baroque.” The name comes from the Portuguese term for a deformed pearl.

The architect whose work first gave expression to this style was Gianlorenzo Bernini. His most famous creation is the baldacchino, or canopy, completed in 1633, in St. Peter’s, Rome. This bronze canopy above the high altar is over 95 feet high and is supported on four elaborate, twisted columns. It transcends the boundaries dividing architecture and sculpture. This, in a nutshell, defines Baroque architecture.

The other great master of the Italian Baroque was Bernini’s contemporary, Francesco Borromini. In his famous Church of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (1638, façade 1665) in Rome, Borromini took architecture several steps beyond Bernini. Indeed, Bernini condemned Borromini’s designs, and declared that Borromini had been sent to destroy architecture. The church’s façade is a play of concave and convex curves, which create an undulating, wavelike sense of motion in the wall. With architecture like this, buildings became funhouses.

Due to the religious wars, the Baroque style did not really catch on in Germany until the early 1700’s. But this late start was more than compensated for by the highly decorative German version of the Baroque style, known as Rococo. To the sweeping curves and undulating surfaces of the Italian Baroque style, German architects added a riot of plaster decoration. It reached its peak in the opulent palaces and pilgrimage churches designed by architects such as Balthasar Neumann, who assimilated and surpassed the Italian style.

One sees early Baroque influences in the organ cases of Gottfried Silbermann, where there is a sweeping sense of movement. Elaborate Rococo cases, such as those at Weingarten or Ottobeuren seem to grow out of the ornament of their buildings. They are musical-architectural props in an 18th century religious prototype of Disneyland.

In England, the Baroque was interpreted with typical British restraint. One historian has stated that “English Baroque is not a style of movement but of eccentric solidity.” This style is best exemplified by the work of Christopher Wren. Following the Great Fire of London in 1666, Wren was appointed General Director for the rebuilding of the city. During the next sixteen years he designed 52 new churches in London, including St. Paul’s Cathedral. With Wren’s introduction of Baroque classicism into churches, British organbuilders changed their case designs to suit the new architecture. Architecturally inspired five-sectional cases with elegant proportions, classically profiled moldings and richly carved pipe shades and imposts—such as George England’s 1765 case for Wren’s Church of Saint Stephen Walbrook—became the norm. The 1743 Thomas Griffin organ at St. Helen’s Bishopsgate, London, has the Baroque sense of movement in its pipe flats. The tops, toeboards and front surfaces are all ogee shaped — that is, “S-curved.”

**NEO-CLASSICISM**

The 18th century is often referred to as the Age of Enlightenment. The study of the natural sciences became popular, and the systematization of knowledge began. In Sweden, Linnaeus developed a system for the classifica-
tion of plants and animals. In England, Samuel Johnson compiled the first English dictionary. In France, Diderot initiated the “Encyclopedia” project, which set out to publish descriptions of all the known sciences, arts, and trades. Dom Bedos wrote his famous treatise on the art of organbuilding as part of this project. This was the age in which Bach composed his masterpieces. This was also the century in which America became independent and American organbuilding began.

Architectural styles went “over the top” with the Baroque and Rococo, and then underwent a pendulum swing back toward restraint in the 18th century. There were several reasons for this. People began to travel more widely, and consequently became aware of other styles of architecture. The discovery and excavation of the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum in Italy sparked renewed interest in Classical Roman decoration. Also, for the first time, the buildings of ancient Greece were studied and documented. In the Enlightenment climate of England and France, pure classicism was seen as a rational style, in contrast to the emotional excesses of the Baroque. All of this stirred a move among architects toward greater fidelity to the ancient models. An architect’s reputation was enhanced if he had studied or published original research on ancient buildings.

This dignified Neo-Classicism was soon reflected in public buildings, churches, and organ cases on both sides of the Atlantic. James Gibbs’s 1721 Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London was widely admired, and in 1728, he published drawings of all his works in his Book of Architecture, which became a pattern book for many American church builders. The St. Martin-in-the-Fields chancel feature of a Palladian window was imitated in countless American colonial churches, such as King’s Chapel, Boston (1749).

The organ case at St. Sulpice, Paris, completed in 1779 for the Cliquot organ, is a consummate example of French Neoclassical design. It was designed by architect Jean-François Chalgrin, who also designed the Arc de Triomphe. But while his arch was a triumph, his case was a tone trap. He obviously intended this case to represent a temple of music, but one writer has deemed it “a preconceived architectural straight-jacket” for the organ. Nevertheless, it makes an attractive shrine for the world-famous Cavaillé-Coll it now houses.

Following the War of Independence, a new American architectural style evolved. It utilized simplified neoclassical features, curved or elliptical elements, and elongated windows. This style is known as Federal, since it came into vogue just after the Constitution was ratified and the Federal government came into being. It is epitomized by the work of Charles Bullfinch, who was America’s first professional architect. Bullfinch’s buildings transformed Boston from a provincial capital to an elegant city. In 1795, he designed the Massachusetts State House, and in 1806 he skillfully enlarged Faneuil Hall, Boston’s first market building, from three bays and two stories to its present seven bay, three-story form. Bullfinch never published his designs, but another New Englander, Asher Benjamin, translated Bullfinch’s style into words and illustrations. Beginning in 1797, Benjamin published a series of handbooks or builders’ guides. They contained practical information on geometry, carpentry, and structure, plus architectural plans and decorative details. These served as the only architectural education for many New England carpenters and builders. His most famous book is The American Builder’s Companion, which went through six editions between 1806 and 1827.

Along with architecture, European and American furniture underwent a change as well. The last phase of Neoclassicism is called the Empire Style, because of its association with the French Emperor, Napoleon. It used motifs from imperial Rome, Ancient Greece, and Egypt to create an impression of monumental splendor. The introduction of woodworking machinery in the late 1700’s had...
In the 1820’s, a new decorative style based on Greek motifs evolved. This Greek Revival style evoked the ancient Greek republics, and also symbolized the democratic ideals of the young American nation. Over the next three decades, the style spread through the country. The 1827 edition of Asher Benjamin’s American Builder’s Companion contained information on the new Grecian style that was replacing the Federal style. Soon, churches, banks, and courthouses in every American town came to resemble Greek temples. During this period, American organs began a transition as the Greek revival style influenced case design. The Federal style is epitomized by the elegant mahogany cases of Thomas Appleton, whose design and details make them among the most refined ever produced in this country. In the next step, the pipe flats lose their curved tops, as in the 1830 Appleton now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (photo, page 84).

A c.1840 E. & G. G. Hook at St. Mary’s Episcopal Church, Northfield VT shows the next step. The center tower is now flat, and there are no curves in the casework. The pilasters of the center tower have Greek-style rectilinear fretwork on their upper surfaces. This ornamental treatment is identical to one in a doorway design shown in Plate XXVIII of Asher Benjamin’s 1830 book The Architect, or Practical House Carpenter. The 1852 Hook at United Church of Westville, New Haven shows the final stage of the Greek Revival case. The five sections have been reduced to three, and all the decoration is distinctly Greek. Instead of mahogany, the case is now painted pine. In other instances, it was fake grained, reflecting the changed taste in furniture decoration. Greek Revival was only the first in a series of 19th century architectural revivals—let us now look at some others.

**GOTHIC REVIVAL**

Between 1750 and 1850, Britain changed from an agrarian to an industrial economy. With the introduction of power machinery, production shifted from rural crafts to urban industries. People left the countryside and moved to the larger regional towns to find work. These towns grew to become cities, and with this growth came all the problems one finds in large urban centers. By the 1820’s, it was obvious that Britain was changing, but not necessarily for
the better. In the 1830’s and 40’s, when the industrial economy experienced its first slump, concern over the social consequences of industrialization came to a head. One of the first architects to question the situation was Augustus Pugin. In an 1836 book, he contrasts the virtues of pre-industrial England with the vices of industrial England. The book was intended as a protest against the ugliness of the contemporary English cityscape. In one illustration, he contrasts the pleasant environment of an English town of 1440, with its church spires, and the same town in 1840, now blighted by factories and smokestacks.

Pugin is one of the more interesting 19th century architects, and was a force behind the Gothic Revival in Britain. He is best known for designing the interior and exterior decorations of the Houses of Parliament. He was the precocious son of an architect who had fled the French Revolution. Early on, he became obsessed with Gothic architecture and sailing. Pugin had an eventful, if short life. He was shipwrecked at 18, married at 19, widowed at 20, remarried at 21, converted to Roman Catholicism at 22, widowed again at 32, remarried again at 37, and went mad and died at 40. He was a fanatical convert to Catholicism who equated the virtues of England’s pre-industrial past with the Catholic faith, and its vices, with the Protestant Reformation. He considered Gothic architecture to be the only valid Christian architecture. He considered the Classical architecture of Wren’s London churches secular and pagan.

Between 1837 and his death in 1852, Pugin designed six cathedrals, over forty churches and dozens of seminar-ies, convents, and other religious buildings in England and Ireland. He believed that the simple, Early English style of Gothic was the most appropriate for churches. In his 1841 book The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture, he stated several important design principles. He declared that “there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety,” that “all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building,” that “the smallest detail should have a meaning or serve a purpose,” and that construction “should vary with the material employed.” Pugin was, in effect, saying that form should follow function—provided that the form was Gothic. Pugin’s organ case designs show a clear understanding of the simple lines of historic Gothic cases. He provided several drawings for Sir John Sutton’s 1847 book A Short Account of Organs Built in England, and he designed the organ case for the chapel of Jesus College, Cambridge, where Sutton was organist.

Another important force behind the Gothic revival was the Oxford Movement, which grew out of an 1833 sermon preached by John Keble at the University Church of St. Mary the Virgin. This movement was, in essence, a rejection of the Protestant practices of the Church of England that developed in the 17th and 18th centuries. It called for a return to medieval Catholic forms of worship. (As many church musicians know, an important consequence of this was that Anglican church choirs and organs were moved out of west galleries and into chancels.) Though the founders of the Oxford movement were concerned primarily with spirituality, others had far more ambitious agendas.

In 1836, a group of Cambridge University undergraduates who were preparing for the priesthood formed the Cambridge Camden Society, later known as the Ecclesiological Society. They shared an interest in medieval art, and set about to reform church ceremony and to restore medieval church buildings. They upheld the Gothic as the only true Christian style. They announced their plan to

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**OPPOSITE** Trinity Church, New York City, designed by Richard Upjohn (1846), bears an uncanny resemblance to Augustus Pugin’s so-called “ideal church” (True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture, 1841).

**OPPOSITE, INSET** Henry Erben’s organ for Trinity Church (1846)

**RIGHT** 1854 E.&G.G. Hook at First Parish, Jamaica Plain MA.

The pointed arch pipe flats are a naïve invention of 19th century Gothic revival.
influence the design of new churches by making measured
drawings of selected medieval churches available to
clergymen and their architects. A generation of church-
men fell under the Ecclesiological Society’s influence. The
first issue of the Society newsletter, the Ecclesiologist,
appeared in 1841, and announced as follows the subjects
which future articles would address: “Church Building at
Home and in the Colonies: Church Restoration in England
and abroad: the Theory and Practice of Ecclesiastical
Architecture: ...the Connection of Architecture and
Ritual: ...the Principles of Church Arrangements: Church
Music and all the Decorative Arts which can be made sub-
servient to Religion: ...Criticisms upon Designs for and
upon New Churches.”

The Society’s publications influenced clergy and
architects on both sides of the Atlantic. Richard Upjohn,
the architect of Trinity Church, New York City, owned
issues of the first volume of the Ecclesiologist. He also
probably owned a copy of Pugin’s True Principles of
Pointed or Christian Architecture. The final appearance
of Trinity Church, completed in 1846, bears an uncanny
resemblance to an 1841 illustration in Pugin’s True Princi-
pies, showing a design for an “ideal church.” Trinity
Church elevated Upjohn’s career and firmly established
the Gothic Revival style as the model for Episcopal
Churches for nearly a century. His case design for Trinity’s
Erben organ started a similar trend for American organ
cases. Unfortunately, it looks more like a piece of Gothic
architecture than a Gothic Organ. I don’t think Pugin
would have approved. In fact, Pugin’s old friend, Sir John
Sutton, complained about similar English organ cases:
“Many of our Cathedrals, College Chapels and Parish
Churches are disfigured by these unsightly organ cases,
which become every day larger and more heavy looking,
and the ornamental parts resemble the barley sugar orna-
ments we see about Christmas time in pastry cooks’
windows...Every part of a church has been copied for the
organ case, and attempts have been made, at one time, to
make the organ look like a tomb, at another, like a screen.
At another, the canopies of the stalls have been placed on
the top of the organ.”

HISTORICAL ECLECTICISM

One of the seminal events in the development of the
organ—indeed, in the development of Western architec-
ture, decorative arts, and industry—took place in London,
in the summer of 1851. It was called the Great Exhibition
of the Works of Industry of all Nations. This event marked
the beginning of an international movement utilizing
world fairs to popularize the fruits of industrial and tech-
nological progress. These fairs were called “universal exhi-
bitions” because they presented displays of natural history
and fine arts as well as manufactured goods. Their purpose
was to organize and display all of human knowledge in one
place. These exhibitions also filled a very practical need. By
the middle of the 19th century, the industrial revolution
had increased the production capacity of the industrially
developed nations, far outweighing the demands of their
consumer base. The search for new markets became an
urgent necessity. Through these displays of new inventions
and consumer goods from industrialized nations, and
ethnic crafts from undeveloped territories, the world’s
middle-class could expand its horizon for acquisitions.
World trade and conspicuous consumption were born. It is
hard to overstate the important roles that these exhibitions
played in facilitating the acceptance of new technology and
new design trends. Many things which we now take for
granted were introduced as novelties at such fairs—the ele-
vator, the Ferris wheel, the ice cream cone, moving side-
walks, touch-tone dialing, the microwave oven, and also,
electric action organs.

Perhaps the most famous item at the 1851 great
exhibition was the exhibition hall itself, which made archi-
tectural and engineering history. Punch magazine nick-
named it the Crystal Palace. It was an extremely large
five-aisled hall, 1,851 feet long (in honor of the year), 408
feet wide, and up to 111 feet high. Constructed on-site,
using modular components of glass, iron, and wood, it
was completed, astonishingly, in 17 weeks. It was the first building to be constructed from standardized, prefabricated elements. Pugin, however, did not approve. He called it “the Crystal Humbug,” “the Glass Monster,” and “the most vile thing ever imagined.”

Industrial architecture was born, but it would take almost another century for such architecture to be accepted. In the 19th century, iron and steel were considered unnatural materials, not worthy of architecture. While it became increasingly common to use them for factories, exhibition halls, and railway sheds, these utilitarian buildings were seen as having nothing to do with architecture. Often, their iron and glass structures were hidden behind traditional façades of stone or brick. This architectural schizophrenia permitted the use of new construction materials, while satisfying the Victorian need for proper appearances.

A similar thing happened with organ cases. The Industrial Revolution changed furniture making from a craft to an industry, and what is an organ case but a large piece of furniture? Prior to the 1850's, most organ cases also functioned as the structural frame which supported the windchests. With the introduction of woodworking machinery and the rise of factory shops, it became more efficient to separate these two functions and to farm them out to specialized departments. The case became a skin instead of an exoskeleton. This permitted the insides and the outsides of the organ to be built independently in relation to each other, meeting only at the final assembly stage. This new practice saved time and money. It also permitted organbuilders to offer a wide variety of case styles without having to redesign the organ's interior mechanisms for each one. The same basic organ could be dressed in many different costumes, depending upon the situation. This, too, satisfied Victorian sensibilities.

The 1851 exhibition showcased many innovations in organ tone and mechanisms, and helped boost the careers of several builders who exhibited there. It was an instrument (now at St. Anne Limehouse, London) displayed by the English firm of Grey & Davidson that would have the most far-reaching effect on the future appearance of the organ. The lower portion of the case, with frame and panel casework and bracketed tower bases, is very traditional. But the absence of casework between or above the pipes clearly marks it as a Victorian object of the machine age—the perfect symbol of the union of art and technology. This organ marks a turning point in case design—the beginnings of the pipe fence.

With the change of furniture making from a craft to an industry, design had sunk to a low level during the first quarter of the 19th century. The organizers of the Crystal Palace Exhibition hoped that the exhibition of the finest pieces from all over the globe would elevate the taste of the general public. Unfortunately, it had the opposite effect. In an attempt to win prestige and gain customers, many manufacturers exhibited exaggerated, gaudy pieces in a mixture of styles: Gothic, Renaissance, Elizabethan, Rococo, and even Near East. Eclecticism was let out of the barn, and soon it galloped into every Victorian home. Eventually it found its way to church, especially in America, and American churches soon sported organ cases in an amazing variety of styles.

The following organ cases are loosely interpreted in terms of historic architectural style. In addition to the Greek Revival and Gothic confections we’ve already seen, cases appeared in the Italianate style, such as the 1866 Hook at Old South Church, Newburyport, Massachusetts in which the basic pattern is the Roman triumphal arch. The 1863 Hook at Immaculate Conception, Boston has a Romanesque-style variation designed by the church architect, Patrick Keeley. The 1862 Hook case at Christ Church Unity (Sears Chapel), Brookline, Massachusetts is a variation of the Italianate style known as Norman. The simple treatment of the arches and columns was meant to evoke the architecture of early English churches. The pipes are decorated with a repeating diaper pattern, as were Norman cathedral piers. The 1860 Hook case at the First Congregational Church, Woburn, Massachusetts seems to have an identity crisis—it has Norman, Renaissance, and Classical elements, plus Moorish tops on the towers. It gives new meaning to the term eclectic (photo, page 27).

**BOSTON MUSIC HALL ORGAN**

With the demon of historical eclecticism let loose in the organ world, it was only a matter of time before things would reach critical mass. What conditions would be necessary to create something really pretentious? Well, to start, let’s throw together lots of money, the best (or at least the most) organ that money can buy, and a committee of musical amateurs who consider themselves artistic experts. So far, we have the makings of the typical big-city church organ committee. But now, let’s up the ante. Let’s add a prominent architect to design the case, and a high-end furniture maker to build it. Instead of a church organ, let’s make it a civic organ; that way we can throw in a healthy dose of civic pride, as well as a desire to show off to the rest of the world. What would we get if we combined all these things?

After endless public debate, much planning, and a gestation period of six years, the baby is ready to be born. The music swells, the curtains part, the gaslights go up, and voila! The late Boston organist Jack Fisher used to ask first-time viewers, “What do you think? Is it hideously elegant, or elegantly hideous?”? The answer is, both. The 1863 Boston Music Hall organ, now in Methuen, Massachusetts, has a case which sums up Victorian America’s artistic pretensions and aspirations. The initial design, by prominent Boston architect Hammatt Billings,
was embellished and executed by the New York firm of Herter Brothers, who were furniture makers and decorators to the very wealthy. It is an architectural and allegorical tour de force.

Though the façade pipe arrangement is somewhat French in design, the language of the elaborate casework is in high Italian Renaissance style. Larger-than-life-size hermes (figures which grow out of reverse-tapered brackets) support the towers. There are lions, the kings of beasts, guarding the king of instruments. Beneath the two tallest towers, muscled Atlases strain under the weight of the 32’s. Unlike Classical Roman examples that flaunt everything, these musclemen are discreetly draped to avoid upsetting Boston’s Puritan sensibilities. The panels below the impost have carved trophies of musical instruments, and webs of strap work in Renaissance style. They display the names of the famous composers—Cherubini, Palestrina, Mendelssohn, Lasso, Handel, Gluck, Haydn, Mozart. On the two largest towers, cherubs stand atop domes reminiscent of St. Peter’s in Rome. Above the center pipe flat, St. Cecilia sits upon the segmented pediment. Further below, a bust of Bach gazes sternly forward. Below him is the arch of the console niche, capped by a Renaissance-style head of a singing woman, a symbol of the organ’s voice. This pecking order probably symbolizes the origins of music—from heavenly harmonies, to the great composers, and then to the singing voice of the instrument. The instrument was originally the backdrop for the nation’s first concert oratorio group—The Handel & Haydn Society of Boston. The High Renaissance-style case combines Christian and Pagan symbolism, and in displaying the names of the great composers, the Boston Brahmins sent out a clear message, that the great music of Western civilization had been reborn in the new world, and that Boston would carry it to the rest of the country. The organ case is an unrivaled piece of symbolic propaganda as well as sculpture. Having heard many recitals on this organ, I can state that its overwhelming appearance commands the attention of the audience even when the recitalist’s performance does not.

**AESTHETIC MOVEMENT**

The gaudy eclecticism unleashed at the Crystal Palace did not go unchecked. It raised a huge negative reaction from many people in the arts. As a result, British artists, designers and theoreticians set about to reform design and improve the level of public taste. Industrial training schools were reformed. Theoreticians and designers published guidebooks of decoration for the public. The Aesthetic Movement was born.

One of its most influential books was Owen Jones’s *Grammar of Ornament* (1856), which took a scientific approach to design. Jones gathered and analyzed samples of all the world’s ornamental traditions. From the structural language or “grammar” of these various decorative styles, he derived 37 “propositions” to serve as guidelines for decorative ornament. The final one sums up the mission of the new Aesthetic Movement: “No improvement can take place in the arts of the present generation until all classes, Artists, Manufacturers, and the Public are better educated in Art, and the existence of general principles is more fully recognized.”

It has been suggested that the Aesthetic Movement is epitomized by Olana, the Hudson River summer home of American landscape painter Frederick Church. It was built at the height of the movement during the 1870’s and 80’s. The cluttered decoration of the house’s Court (entrance) Hall embodies Owen Jones’s Proposition 4: “True beauty results from that repose which the mind feels when the eye, the intellect, and the affections are satisfied from the absence of any want.” Indeed, nothing could be wanting in this space.

A new style of architecture also developed, which was just as free. Traditional architecture was based upon symmetry and proportion. For centuries, buildings were designed to form a pleasing, symmetrical composition on the outside. The inside was then divided up as attractively as the shell allowed. There was a good reason for this. The traditional post and beam method of construction with a mortise and tenon frame required that all joints be planned, cut, and fit before assembly began. The simpler the layout, the quicker to build. An important construction innovation appeared in 1833. St. Mary’s Church in Chicago was the first public building to be erected using a skeleton of thin machine-cut studs with a covering of clapboards, all held together by machine-cut nails. Because of the lightness of this new type of construction,
it was derisively called a “balloon frame.” Old-timers predicted that the church would collapse, but within its lifespan, it was razed and re-erected three times. This development, which we now call stud framing, revolutionized building construction, and made possible the rapid buildup of western cities such as Chicago and San Francisco. By the 1870s, the balloon frame had made the mortise and tenon frame obsolete. It allowed houses to become less formal. Architects began to experiment with new spatial layouts on the insides, and with new shapes and surface treatments on the outsides.

New house styles appeared, such as the Stick Style and the Shingle Style. The most elaborate was the Queen Anne. The term is a misleading one, since it has virtually nothing to do with Queen Anne, nor with the architecture of her time. This style, especially when accented with several paint colors, is really the ultimate in decorated eclectic architecture. As wild as this style of building is, I can relate it to at least two of Owen Jones's Propositions: no. 5 states that “Construction should be decorated,” and no. 14 states that “Color is used to assist in the development of form, and to distinguish objects or parts of objects from one another.” Speaking of color, another innovation which facilitated its use was the development of the paint can in the 1860s. Prior to that time, colored paint was custom made by painters, who hand-ground pigments and mixed them with oils. By 1875, factory-prepared paints were readily available. With this innovation, colorful paint became affordable to all.

As I mentioned, the seeds of the Aesthetic Movement were sown at the Crystal Palace Exposition in 1851. Twenty-five years later, they reached full bloom. In 1876, the United States marked the 100th anniversary of American Independence with a grand Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. This fair attracted nearly seven million visitors. It instigated a turning point in American design. Among the most elaborate and popular displays were furniture and fine arts from all over the globe. This was an eye-opener for most American visitors; they saw the latest in both American and European styles.

The English design reform movement was now in full bloom. The new style of furniture that had evolved was sometimes described as Modern Gothic. It combined the honest construction Pugin had advocated in his writings about the Gothic with the painted decorative ornament advocated in Owen Jones’s *Grammar of Ornament*. Some American firms exhibited similar furniture. They called this style Eastlake, as it was loosely patterned after the design principles outlined in Charles Eastlake’s 1872 book *Hints on Household Taste*. It had straight-line construction, sharp, incised ornamental carving, marble tops, and painted ornament on flat panels.

Two well-known American organ companies exhibited large instruments at the Philadelphia Exposition. Hilborne L. Roosevelt of New York built a three-manual instrument, whose façade looks like an enlarged version of the Gray & Davidson pipe fence premiered at the Crystal Palace 25 years earlier. Despite its appearance, the Roosevelt organ displayed a distinct mechanical novelty—two remote divisions controlled by electric action.

E. & G. G. Hook & Hastings exhibited another large organ. Since Boston was the American city closest in geography and temperament to England, it is not surprising that the visual design of their instrument was very much in the new British Aesthetic style. It had simplified, Modern Gothic-style casework with colored banding and stenciling on the pipes. This organ (now at St. Joseph’s R. C. Cathedral, Buffalo, New York) would set the standard for high style American organ cases for the next two decades. Gone were the Greek temples, the Gothic tabernacles, and the Roman triumphal arches with their gilded pipes. The organ’s appearance would henceforth be beautified with...
simple casework and tastefully applied painted ornament.

When I was growing up, many people dismissed this style of façade as "a painted pipe fence with bedposts and rails." But the Victorians saw it as a return to a simpler design. After all, didn't historic illustrations of early Positivives show horizontal or diagonal stays in front of the pipes, and no casework above them? Besides, as the organ evolved from a small G-compass instrument with one Open Diapason, to a large one with several 8's and perhaps a 16', these pipes had to go somewhere. If you've got it, flaunt it in the façade.

The true art of these designs was in the creative arrangements of the pipes, achieved with little or no woodwork. There was also great artistry in the use of painted decoration to accentuate or minimize the mass of the pipes. Some of these pipe façades have an exciting, dynamic appearance. Unfortunately, many were later painted over, which robbed them of their visual interest. An 1882 Johnson façade at the Westminster Preservation Trust, Baltimore illustrates Owen Jones's Proposition 10: "Harmony of form consists in the proper balancing, and contrast, of the straight, the inclined, and the curved."

Stenciled pipes were an integral part of the aesthetic organ façade. A close-up of the restored stenciling on the Johnson illustrates Jones's Proposition 13: "Flowers or other natural objects should not be used as ornaments, but conventional representations founded upon them sufficiently suggestive to convey the intended image to the mind." (I.e., stylized, rather than accurate, representations should be used.) It also illustrates Proposition 31: "Gold ornaments on any colored ground should be outlined with black." Following Jones's example, many other designers and art historians published pattern books of ornamental designs and stencils which were used by organbuilders.

In an 1881 photograph of a small E. & G. G. Hook and Hastings stock model organ, one can observe stylized trefoil floral ornaments incised into the wood below the wooden pipes. A similar trefoil flower appears in a plate of diaper ornament from a book published the same year in Liverpool entitled *Outlines of Ornament in the Leading Styles*. The authors were William and George Audsley.26 George Audsley later went on to write *The Art of Organbuilding*.

So far we've touched only upon the conservative side of the Aesthetic organ façade. Now, let's get radical. George Jardine was, in his day, New York City's most progressive organbuilder. He was born in England and returned there occasionally to keep abreast of the latest European trends.25 In 1864, he built the organ for the Church of St. John the Evangelist, New York City. This was the first example of what would be called the "open style" of pipe display. It had tasteful Modern Gothic casework, and artistic stenciling. The Hooks must have taken note of this organ for their construction, four years later, at the Christian Union Church, Stoneham, Massachusetts. Unlike the scandalous New York Jardine, which had naked pipes above the waist, this Hook organ, now at Follen Church, Lexington, Massachusetts, is a proper Boston lady, who keeps her blouse on. But her neckline plunges to reveal a tattooed swell box! Is this something that the Hook brothers, by then in their 60's, would have come up with? More likely, it was the work of their 32-year-old head draftsman, Frank Hastings.

The following year, the Hooks built an organ at Church of the Unity, Springfield, Massachusetts (photo, page 26). The case and façade were designed by the church's architect, Henry Hobson Richardson. The brackets supporting the impost were walnut, with gold accents and deep maroon panels. The pipes were block tin, with gilded mouths and top bands of red and gold. Blue metal diagonal bands, with painted inscriptions, meandered across the fronts of the pipes at different angles, like so many wrapping ribbons.27 Maroon? Tin? Blue? Must have looked like the Fourth of July!

The year 1869 also saw construction begin on H. H. Richardson's first Boston church. His Norman style Brattle Square Unitarian Church (now the First Baptist Church, at the corner of Commonwealth Avenue and Clarendon Street, in the Back Bay section) has a 176-foot tower whose top is adorned with a life-size frieze by Frederick Bartholdi, who would later sculpt the Statue of Liberty. A few years later, Richardson would design his masterpiece—the quintessential example of American Aesthetic Movement church architecture—Trinity Church, Boston. These two churches are within short walking distance of one another.

In the 1890's, the Aesthetic Movement began to fade, but by raising the public's level of appreciation for artistry

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**ABOVE** 1953 Aeolian-Skinner, St. Paul's Cathedral, Boston, with original drapery intended as a temporary cost-saving measure
in everyday objects, it had sown the seeds for the Arts and Crafts Movement, and for Art Nouveau. At the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago, the pendulum swung decisively back to the conservative. Most of the exhibition halls were designed by American architects who had studied classical design in Paris at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Thus, Beaux-Arts classicism became the new standard in American architecture. The leading architectural firm in this new style was McKim, Meade & White. Charles McKim had drafted for Richardson during the construction of the Brattle Square Church. Appropriately, just across Copley Square from Richardson's masterpiece, Trinity Church, is McKim's Boston masterpiece, the Renaissance style Boston Public Library.

With the ascendancy of the Beaux-Arts style, architectural elements began to reappear above the impost in organ cases, as in Hutchings's 1897 organ at the Mission Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts. Ultimately the pipe fence survived, but only as a vestige of its decorative past. In the 1906 Hook & Hastings at Christian Science Mother Church, Boston, the pipes were placed between imposing architectural elements, and gilded to be dignified brides in an arranged marriage between pipes and Beaux-Arts architecture. These high-style façades can best be described as "pipe fence meets architecture." (In more humble circumstances, the result was usually "pipe fence meets organ chamber.")

ART DECO
World War I brought Beaux Arts and everything else to a crashing halt. The Great War, as it was called, marked the point at which the traditional battle techniques of Napoleon and Wellington—breastplates, horses, and charging the enemy—met with the killing technology of the modern age—machine guns, high-explosive shells, and poison gas. The losses were staggering, and virtually an entire generation of young men was wiped out in Europe. With the carnage of war ending an age of optimism, European artists totally rejected the classical forms favored by the military imperialists.

In postwar Germany, a modern architecture movement arose. It was born of economic necessity, a movement to improve workers' living conditions in the interests of public health and social tranquility. In 1919, a new kind of design school was started at Weimar. It was called the Bauhaus. In 1925, the school moved to a new building in Dessau, designed by Walter Gropius. The school's philosophy was based upon acceptance of the materials of industrial mass production, and rejection of academic conventions derived from the past. At its core was the belief that the 20th century was a new era whose people had new needs, and that a new architecture should evolve to meet those needs. This new architecture would be rational, functional, economical, democratic, and international.

The next major International Exposition was held in Paris in 1925. It marked a turning point in European design. Promotional literature stated that "reproductions, imitations, and counterfeits of ancient styles will be strictly prohibited." The exposition would showcase works of "new inspiration and real originality." The new style born of this exposition was called Art Deco, and took its name from a shortening of the exposition's official title, Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes. Designers incorporated the materials and influences of modern industry, along with geometric motifs from African and Native American cultures. Forms were streamlined, and a futuristic effect was sought. Art was finally coming to terms with the machine age. Art Deco ornamentation consists largely of low-relief geometrical designs, often in the form of parallel straight lines, zigzags, chevrons, and stylized floral motifs. Deco furniture ranged in design from coolly rational to delightfully conceited.

The 1931 Steinmeyer at Blessed Sacrament Cathedral, Altoona, Pennsylvania (photo, page 53) is an excellent example of a Deco style façade. Here, the pipe tops and mouths create simple, zigzag lines which obey the Deco canon. European builders seemed more willing than American builders to experiment with Deco façades.

Most American organs installed in Deco buildings were placed behind geometric grilles. A notable example of this is the 1933 Kimball at the War Memorial Auditorium, Worcester, Massachusetts. The grille façades at either side of the stage have flanking pipe towers. Judging from the identical pipe diameters and lengths, they are dummies merely intended to advertise the presence of an organ.

The Deco style might gradually have found wider acceptance for churches and pipe organs. Unfortunately, the stock market crash of 1929 and the resulting depression wiped out many church endowments and crippled many organ projects. But Deco fared better in the secular sector. Notable buildings and artworks in Deco style were produced under the programs of the Works Projects Administration during this period.

In the postwar German organ world, there was also a rejection of the artistic conventions of the previous generation. The 1926 Freiburg Organ Conference led to the beginnings of the Orgelbewegung—the organ reform movement. But the path these reformers took was very different from that of the Bauhaus. They rejected the concept of the organ as a modern, industrially produced machine. Organbuilders decided to look to the past, to the great instruments of the 17th and 18th centuries, for new inspiration. Some began to experiment with higher-pitched stops, unenclosed pipe placements, and mechanical actions.

In 1933 the Cleveland firm of Votteler-Holtkamp-Sparling added a Rückpositiv division to the 1922 Skinner
organ in the Cleveland Art Museum. This new addition, with its exposed pipework placed prominently on the gallery railing, attracted wide attention—for both its design, and its designer, Walter Holtkamp. The following year, while most American organbuilders were busily stuffing oversized instruments into undersized black holes, Holtkamp built an organ for the rear gallery of St. John's Roman Catholic Church, Covington, Kentucky. Its visual design featured simplified Gothic woodwork and exposed Great and Pedal pipework, reminiscent of Jardine’s earlier open-style instruments. Writing that same year in the journal *Architecture*, Holtkamp made a plea for open organ placement: “The world of music would be eternally indebted to the architect who would bring the organ out into the open and insist that it be treated so as to provide the organist an opportunity to comprehend the nature of his medium. The artist-musician, whether he plays a kettledrum or violin, is sensitive to his instrument and merges himself physically with it. With present conditions of organ placement, the organist is in the unfortunate position of the man who must woo his lady by correspondence.”29 Over the next decade, Holtkamp worked with architects and designers, and eventually developed exposed pipework arrangements into a signature visual style.

In Paris, the 1937 Gonzales rebuild of Cavaillé-Coll’s 1878 Trocadéro organ remodeled the instrument with a functional pipe display. Gradually, exposed pipework came to be seen as a musically advantageous realization of the modernist canons that “form should follow function,” and that “less is more.” With the economic hardships caused by the Great Depression, many people became dissatisfied with capitalism. After all, it had gotten them into this mess. People in Western countries began to flirt with socialism. The Nazis came to power in Germany, the Fascists in Italy. Many Americans developed communist or socialist sympathies. In times of political, economic, and social upheaval, people often develop a longing for the good old days. The Nazis promised Germany a return to a strong, stable government. As they consolidated their strength and hatched plans to build an empire, they adopted the symbols of ancient Rome. New government buildings, such as Albert Speer’s 1938 Chancellery building in Berlin, used neoclassical architectural elements to display the might of the new regime. Modern art and architecture were condemned as degenerate, and the Bauhaus was closed down. At the outbreak of the Second World War, many leaders of the modern architecture movement fled Germany and sought refuge in the United States, where they were received with open arms and given key positions at architecture schools in major universities.

**MODERNISM**

After the Second World War, modern architecture’s moment finally arrived. The Neoclassical architecture promoted by the Nazis might just as well have been condemned with them at Nuremberg. Modernism had been born of economic necessity in 1920’s Germany in the interests of social equality. Many of its proponents had long dreamt of tearing down the old cities and building new ones. Now, the bombing raids and artillery shellings had done it for them! Western Europe was in ruins, and rebuilding was needed—as quickly and cheaply as possible. With traditional architecture discredited, modern architecture fit the bill. Although the United States did not suffer the loss of fabric that Europe did, the war had stopped most new construction. There was a pent-up demand for housing, schools, churches, offices, and factories. Here too, modern architecture offered a quick fix. And more importantly, modernists had taken over the architecture schools.

Britain’s Prince Charles once observed that postwar development in London has caused more serious destruction to that historic city than all of the German bombing raids.30 Perhaps a similar thing might be said for historic American buildings, and for pipe organs as well. There are many bad examples of new churches and organs of the postwar period. The real problem is that time has not yet culled a sufficient number of the worst of them, as it traditionally has with other styles. But it is starting to, and for this we should all be grateful.

Two names stand out in postwar American organbuilding—Walter Holtkamp and G. Donald Harrison. Let’s look at what each one did with organ cases. Harrison, with his Willis and Aeolian-Skinner pedigree, is perhaps the more revered of the two. But as far as organ casework is concerned, his record is uneven. Think of some of the instruments Aeolian-Skinner is famous for: Groton School, St. Paul’s School, The Mormon Tabernacle, Church of the Advent in Boston. Now think of their cases. All have elaborate cases, which were retained from previous organs. The Church of the Advent used the 1883 Hutchings-Plaisted façade. St. Mary the Virgin in New York has no case at all. (An elaborate case was proposed, but due to limited funds, Harrison advised putting the money into pipes.) In instances where the company designed and provided new casework, the results were not felicitous. The original casework for St. Paul’s Cathedral, Boston (1953) looked more like a display rack for a drapery showroom. In a letter to William King Covell, Harrison explained that the drapes were intended as a temporary measure to save money.31 But we all know how temporary measures become permanent. Thankfully, the drapes are now gone.

On the other hand, Walter Holtkamp did no cases at all. He continued to design highly original pipe displays.
which were lauded as the perfect complements to modern church architecture. Some of his firm's asymmetrically cantilevered arrangements are visually poetic. They call to mind the floating horizontal planes of Fallingwater—Frank Lloyd Wright's 1937 masterpiece. Ironically, Holtkamp's most stunning visual masterpiece was executed by another firm. Hired as the government's consultant, he provided visual designs and technical specifications for the two chapel organs for the new U.S. Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colorado. The 1963 Möller organ in the Protestant Cadet Chapel is considered one of the icons of 20th century American organbuilding.

In 1957, Joseph Blanton published his landmark book *The Organ in Church Design*. It opened the eyes of architects and organbuilders to the fact that pipe organs could be things of visual beauty. His second book, *The Revival of the Organ Case*, appeared in 1965. It illustrated the visual and musical merits of housing the organ in well-designed, freestanding casework. From that point on, casework—simple and modern, of course—became the new visual style for organs. Electric action unit organs, such as the 1965 Gress-Miles mentioned at the outset, were dressed up to look like modern European trackers. Even in instances where a traditionally designed tracker organ went into a traditional interior, modernism still held sway. The 1967 Fisk at Harvard University's Memorial Chapel has a classically proportioned case with a traditional shape and sits in an elegant neoclassic room. Yet the simplistic treatment of the case's cornice moldings and pipe shade carvings reveals unmistakably the fashion of the time.

POST MODERNISM

In the late-1960's and early 70's, cracks appeared in the world of Modernism. Some architects began to realize that the modern International Style did not hold all the answers. The elegant simplicity and technical perfection that the pioneers of modernism envisioned had given way to cheap, boring, mass-produced monoliths. As the world's major cities filled up with look-alike glass and steel boxes, one architect, Robert Venturi, paraphrased the modernist maxim "less is more" into "less is a bore." It rang true.

Several key events shook peoples' faith in Modernism as the reigning architectural religion. In 1963, New York City's Penn Station was demolished to make way for a new, boring Madison Square Garden arena and office building. The 1910 station, designed by McKim, Mead and White, was a replica of the ancient Caracala Baths in Rome. It was considered a civic masterpiece. Its destruction shocked and outraged New Yorkers and led the city to adopt a Landmarks Preservation Law in 1965.

In 1972, the City of St. Louis dynamited three city blocks of a vast, modern high-rise housing project (Pruitt-Igoe), which was only 17 years old. The buildings had been designed by the architect of New York's World Trade Center, and had even won an award from the American Institute of Architects. But their modernist design was so impractical for everyday living that even the poor didn't want to live in them.

Also in 1972, construction began on I. M. Pei's new 60-story office tower for the John Hancock Insurance Company in Boston. It forever changed the look and scale of Copley Square. It calls to mind Pugin's epithets, "the Crystal Humbug...the Glass Monster." During construction, the glass panels began to fall out in high winds and had to be replaced temporarily with plywood sheets. The locals dubbed it the "plywood palace." The solution involved reengineering and replacing of all the glass, and resulted in multi-million dollar lawsuits and countersuits filed by the owners, builders, architects, engineers, and glassmakers.

In 1978, architect Philip Johnson, who had helped introduce the International Style to America in the 1930's,
designed a new headquarters for AT&T in New York City. It was a skyscraper whose top is a sloping, broken pediment reminiscent of a Chippendale bookcase. This set the architectural establishment on its ear.

Two years later, Michael Graves designed a municipal office building for Portland, Oregon that rejected the modernist canon of uniform exterior treatment, and incorporated large decorative motifs. Instead of glass curtain walls, it used heavy masonry and small windows. It also brought color back into architecture. It has been called the first Post Modern building. After they caught their breath, architects on both sides of the Atlantic began to realize that their Modernist prison doors had been opened and that they were set free.

In the year of our nation's bicentennial, work began on one of Boston's greatest architectural success stories. The dilapidated 1824 Quincy Market building across from Faneuil Hall was restored and adapted as a tourist and retail location. It became a very popular destination. This led to a revitalization of the other historic buildings in the old waterfront district and served as a model for waterfront rehabilitations in other cities. That which was old was to become appealing.

Some years earlier, comparable things had begun to happen in the organ world. In 1971, Charles Fisk built an organ for Old West Church, Boston in which the main case utilizes parts of a three-towered Thomas Appleton case, which Fisk expanded to four, and the Ruck positive case was newly built in a complementary style. This organ looks perfectly at home in the restored Federal interior of this historic Asher Benjamin building. It was a brave thing to do at the time, since Boston was, then, still very much a bastion of modern design and architecture.

The Old West Organ is an appropriate point to end this story about the repeating cycles of time, taste, and the organ case. The Book of Proverbs says "Hold fast that which is good." This instrument does just that. It combines old and new casework and incorporates recycled pipes from Appleton, E. & G. G. Hook, Hook & Hastings, Hutchings, Stevens, and Cole and Woodbury. In effect, it is a visual and musical "communion of the saints." It is also the perfect symbol of what Boston is—a harmonious blending of the old and the new.

I shall not discuss case design trends over the past 25 years—suffice it to say, the field is wide open. But today, we no longer feel that things have to be in the latest style in order to be appealing. The historic preservation movement has given us a better appreciation of our architectural heritage, and the knowledge to distinguish between that which is stylistically appropriate and that which is merely the fashion of the moment. And the OHS continues to do likewise for the organ.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


NOTES


7. Wilson, 58.

8. A. W. N. Pugin, Contrasts: or a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day: Showing the Present Decay of Taste (1836, 2nd ed. 1841).


10. Stanton, 18.

11. Stanton, 16.


17. Personal recollection.


19. It is also referred to as the Design Reform movement.


27. Owen, 200-201.


30. “You have to give this much to the Luftwaffe. When it knocked down our buildings, it didn’t replace them with anything more offensive than rubble…What, then, have we done to it since the bombing? In the space of a mere 15 years,…the planners, architects, and developers of the City wrecked the London skyline and desecrated the dome of St Paul’s.” Speech delivered at Corporation of London Planning and Communi-cation Committee Annual Dinner (1 December 1987), http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/about/princework/ architecture_quotes.html


32. Tom Wolfe, From Bauhaus to Our House
A.R. Schopp’s Sons, Inc.

is the largest supplier of organ pipes in the United States today. The firm has been in operation for 103 years, and four generations of Schopps have been involved in its operation.

A.R. Schopp’s Sons continues to produce fine pipes, much as August Schopp, the company’s founder, did a century ago. Because the company’s reputation has been built on the relentless effort to manufacture pipes of the highest quality, Schopp’s flue and reed pipes are found in many significant instruments throughout the country.

In 2000, the company consolidated its staff into a new 42,000 square-foot, single-level factory building, more than double the size of the previous facility. This has permitted the firm to increase its staff, decrease delivery time and increase the product line to include electro-pneumatic pitman and unit chests, electro-mechanical windchests and shells, ribbed and floating top reservoirs, schwimmers and wooden flue and reed pipes. The efficiency gained by this move has resulted in reduced costs, savings that will be passed on to the firm’s customers.

WE ARE PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT WE NOW ACCEPT ORDERS FOR WOOD PIPES.
**Obituaries**

While at St. George's, he was also responsible for the planning and installation of the 1958 Möller organ, designed by Ernest White, which replaced the 1927 Austin instrument. He was also a member of the organ faculty of the Union Theological Seminary School of Sacred Music.

A member of the AGO since 1939, Charles Henderson served as both dean and treasurer of the New York City Chapter. Partly because of a severe hearing loss, which made playing and conducting increasingly difficult, Henderson resigned from St. George's in 1973 to become editor of the Guild journal, then called MUSIC/The AGO and RCCO Magazine.

In his first column for this journal (September 1973), Charles Henderson wrote:

> I have always considered our magazine the most effective force to bind our members together. One of the Guild's strengths is that the membership includes organists of all degrees of training and accomplishment. It is important for us to experience a sense of unity, of "belonging," so that we are strengthened in our work. Through reading MUSIC we realize that our colleagues across the country are facing the same problems, the same challenges, that we are.

Charles Henderson retired as editor in May 1982 and moved to Erwinna PA. From 1976 until 1983, he was organist at the First Presbyterian Church in Milford NJ.

In August 1992, Charles Henderson became editor emeritus of The American Organist and resumed some of his editorial duties by writing the “Pipings” column and reading the monthly proofs. He continued this work until one week before his death.

Charles Henderson was preceded in death by his wife Jane, who died on February 21, 2000. He is survived by daughters Ann and Sarah, and grandson Dubois Thomas.

A memorial service was held on August 11 at Trinity Church, Solebury PA. Interment was in the cemetery of the Upper Tinicum Lutheran Church, Upper Black Eddy PA. In lieu of flowers, Charles Henderson requested that contributions be made to the AGO New Organist Fund, 475 Riverside Drive, Suite 1260, New York, NY 10115.

— Anthony Baglivi
MY INTEREST in the pipe organ goes back to the time after the Second World War, when my grandmother and I would listen each Sunday morning to E. Power Biggs on WEEI in Boston. In the mid 1950’s, as a student at Brandeis University, I was on the faculty at the Cambridge School of Weston, a nearby boarding school. By that time, I had a pretty good collection of organ records—mostly E. Power Biggs—which I played on my low-fi set in the dorm. Marc Chalufour, a junior at the school, hearing my organ records, told me about an old pipe organ he had rescued from a church and had installed at his parents’ summer home in New Hampshire when he was fourteen years old.

He took me to visit some old organs in Boston, including those at Immaculate Conception, Holy Cross Cathedral, and the three-manual 1856 Simmons & Fisher at the old Charles Street Meetinghouse. In the spring of his senior year, he persuaded me to go with him to New Hampshire to see a two-manual E. & G. G. Hook organ of 1858 that he had saved at the last minute several years before. The men of the church had already begun dismantling it with chain saws and sledgehammers when he drove by with his folks on a shopping expedition; he begged the men to stop, and he and his brother spent the rest of the day, and far into the night carefully removing what remained.

He did not get the case, for the church wanted to retain that. The key and stop actions had all been smashed, but he got the pipes, chests, framework, and keyboards. He then spent the next two years putting it all together and building a new action. I had never seen or heard anything like it, and simply fell in love with it. I was “hooked.” The following summer, Marc was staying with relatives in Concord, Massachusetts, while I was living with my foster family in nearby Acton. He and I spent the summer traveling around New England “organ hunting.”

Before Marc left for France in September (where he has lived ever since) he gave me an address for Ed Boadway, and urged me to contact Ed and to join the OHS. I had kept track of all the old tracker organs Marc and I had seen, and wrote to Ed about them. Among these were the magnificent 1868 Wm. B. Simmons organ at the Bulfinch Unitarian Church in Lancaster, Massachusetts, later visited by the OHS during the 1978 and 1983 conventions, and the one-manual 1876 Simmons at the Universalist Church in South Acton, Massachusetts, a splendid organ we later moved into storage before finding a home for it in Virginia. I joined the OHS, and Ed and I corresponded for several months, but didn’t meet until the day after Thanksgiving in 1958, at which time he took me on an extended tour of old organs in Vermont. The next spring, I went to Europe for five months.

In the meantime, the Organ Clearing House had been started as a short column written by Barbara Owen for The Tracker. It generally listed two, three, or maybe half-a-dozen tracker organs available, some for free, some for a price. The column listed the name of the builder, the organ’s date, the number of manuals and ranks, and contact information. When I returned from Europe, I was
putting together what were to become comprehensive lists of tracker organs in New England (and elsewhere), the precursor of the Extant Organs lists. I kept pestering Barbara for information about where this or that organ had gone, until finally she suggested that I take over the listing of organs for sale so that I would have first-hand information on their peregrinations.

The lists kept getting longer and longer, and churches asked me not to include contact information in the lists, since they did not want to be bothered with curiosity seekers and tire-kickers, so my lists merely indicated the approximate location of the various organs for sale. I have continued this practice to the present day. We now have a website, featuring some of the most interesting organs available, and we plan to have the lists online before long. Moreover, with the passage of time, we expect to have online descriptive flyers on many of the organs currently for sale. We have those in hard copy now—it just takes a long time to enter the information in the computer, and I’ve had some other things on my docket in recent months.

Anyway, back in the early 1960’s, some OHS Councillors were convinced that I was throwing most of the relocation business to the Andover Organ Co., for which I worked in the summer of 1961, and insisted on having detailed quarterly reports on each transaction, including technical information on each organ, who moved it, and how much it cost. But they would not provide me with a budget, so all expenses came from my pocket. When Councillor Bob Whiting suggested separating the OHS and OCH in 1964, I welcomed the opportunity to set up the Clearing House as a small business. So, it started out as an arm of the OHS, a non-profit organization, but since 1964 has been run as a business. It’s still non-profit most years, but we didn’t plan it that way.

In the early years, we acted primarily as brokers, though from time to time we would get word of some organ that had to be removed in a hurry or be destroyed, so many weekends and vacations were spent dismantling and moving organs into whatever storage space we could find. I say “we” because, even though I was running the Clearing House, I had a great deal of help from Barbara Owen, Ed Boadway, and many other members of OHS, as well as many organbuilders, who kept me informed about organs that were, or might be, in danger. I was, at that time, Director of Studies and English Department Chair at the Thomas More School in Harrisville, New Hampshire, and had much help from my students.

One winter, I had a call from a Reformed Church in Syracuse, New York. Their building had been condemned; moving into smaller quarters, they wanted to sell their old organ, a II/29 Steere & Turner from 1883. I had a church that was willing to buy it for $5,000 (the average asking price in those days was around $1,000), but the sellers assured me that they would not let it go for less than $30,000. The Friday before Labor Day weekend they called and asked if the $5,000 offer was still on the table, since the building was scheduled for demolition starting the day after Labor Day. Unfortunately, the church that had made that offer had already purchased some other organ. We eventually settled on a price of $1,000, payable if and when we found a buyer for the instrument.

I arranged to leave Harrisville with some of my students the next day, with no buyer, and in fact, no firm idea as to where to store the organ once it was dismantled, but with the faith that something would develop. Just moments before we departed, a call came from the United Methodist Church in Newark Valley, New York—looking for an organ, they were having an organ committee meeting that very morning. Their builder was Dick Strauss, who was familiar with the Syracuse organ, having seen it when the OHS visited the church during its 1962 Convention. While we were on the road to Syracuse, the Newark Valley people decided to buy the organ.

Dismantling it was a difficult and even dangerous operation. We had neither rigging nor scaffolding; the gallery, high off the church floor, was reachable only by a two-foot wide staircase with a right angle bend at the
bottom—in other words, everything had to go over the rail. Richard Strauss and some church volunteers assisted with pipe removal on one day, but the bulk of the project was left to our crew, augmented by Richard Hamar, who flew out from Connecticut to assist. We put in exhausting sixteen-hour days for nearly a week, in a building with no power or running water. The organ was divided in the gallery, with 16' façades mounted right on the gallery rail. Taking them down was a hair-raising experience, with workers holding on for dear life 30 feet off the floor. The extremely large and heavy chests had to be roped down the same way. Luckily, no one had alerted OSHA. Two days after we finished, the wreckers moved in, and the splendid stone building, with walls several feet thick, was reduced to rubble over the next six weeks. Remember, the building had been condemned as being in imminent danger of collapse. Richard Strauss subsequently rebuilt the organ for the Newark Valley Church, and the OHS visited it in its new incarnation during the 1980 Convention.

In 1968-69, I was teaching at St. Thomas Choir School in New York, and again had much assistance from my students. I read one day in the New York Times about a church fire on the Lower East Side. Knowing that there was a one-manual Jardine organ there, I went by subway to see it, talked with the minister, and learned that the building was to be demolished the next week. I agreed to remove the organ for safekeeping, with the idea that the church might want it for their new building, and if not, we would offer it for sale. When my students and I arrived on a school holiday to take the organ apart, we found the building wreckers already at work, and we had to carry the various parts over large holes in the floor, dodging workmen wielding sledge hammers and power saws. Because the neighborhood was somewhat rough, I hired a couple of local residents to keep an eye on the truck and organ parts as we hauled them out to the street. At 3 p.m., the foreman announced that he and his people were all leaving, would have to lock up the church, and that we would have to come back the next day. That was not possible for me or my crew, so I hired one of the wreckers—at union wages—to stick around and lock up when we were finished. When the time came for us to leave, I found him in a nearby bar. Richard Hartman and David Beaty later rebuilt the organ for installation in the new church.

The dismantling project hit the New York Daily News, and was picked up by the Newark Star Ledger, where it was spotted by Mrs. Elizabeth Kampf, daughter of the turn-of-the century organbuilder F. J. N. Tallman. She wrote to me, and in due course we met and began a warm friendship that lasted until her death in 1981. She had many stories about her father, and recalled going with him to Port Jervis, New York to help him tune one of his organs. She didn’t remember which church it was, but when her son took her there, she located the building right away—nearly 70 years after having last been there—and wrote to the minister when she got home. The two-manual 1900 tracker built by her father was still there, but was soon to be removed; we found a home for it at Calvary Episcopal Church in Burnt Hills, New York, where it was rebuilt by Sidney Chase. The OHS visited it during the Upper Hudson Valley mini-convention in 1997.

For four years, I was English Chairman at the Storm King School in Cornwall-on-Hudson, New York, and continued running the Clearing House nights, Sundays, and holidays. When the two-manual 1868 Steer & Turner, which I had found while organ-hunting, at a church in Kingston, New York, was offered for sale, we found a new home for it at St. Thomas Aquinas Roman Catholic Chapel at the University of Connecticut in Storrs. Richard Hamar contracted with the Chapel to install the organ, which we had removed with the help of Storm King students and Chapel volunteers, including Sue Nesbitt. Because he was unable to do the work right away, Richard Hamar subcontracted it to A. David Moore. Sue Nesbitt assisted in the installation; one thing led to another, and she and David were married there that same year. The OHS visited the organ during the 1994 Convention.

In 1975, I returned to Harrisville. I had maintained
legal residence there during the years I was away. I had no teaching job, but plenty of organ work. The next summer, a former teaching colleague asked me to find work for Amory Atkin, a youngster from New York. The Church of the Cross in Ticonderoga, New York had contacted us about finding an organ. Their one-manual Jardine had been removed some years before and relocated to another Episcopal church in New York State, and they wanted to know if their old pipe organ might be available, since their fancy electronic substitute had failed after twenty years. Not a chance, but we were listing a one-manual 1902 J. W. Steere & Son tracker from a closed Episcopal church in Claverack, New York, that would fit nicely, and organ-builder William Baker and I were scheduled to install it at the end of the summer. I hired Amory, who proved to be a quick study, and he has worked with me ever since. I “adopted” him and four other boys over the next dozen years, all of whom have worked with me in the organ business at one time or another. At their request, Joshua Wood and Amory became my partners in the business after having worked with me on a regular basis for some years, and they are now bearing the brunt of the heavy lifting, while I stay home and write letters, make phone calls, and pay bills.

Over the years, we provided a number of organs to the Pacific Northwest, most of them installed by Randy McCarty of Seattle, or Bond Pipe Organs of Portland, Oregon. One year, we removed a one-manual 1903 Morey from St. Paul’s Methodist Church in Pittston, Pennsylvania. On the way back to New Hampshire from Pennsylvania, we stopped overnight in New York City, the next morning the Ryder rental truck was gone, having been stolen during the night—with the organ in the back. Police recovered the truck several weeks later, but impounded it for six months. Eventually, we sold the instrument to Immanuel Lutheran Church in Vancouver, Washington, and Randy installed it there, none the worse for wear, except for the Melodia, which had suffered water damage while the truck was in police custody. He reassembled and glued up the pipes, and all was well.

Although we are set up to travel long distances on short notice, it often happens that we simply make arrangements, and an organbuilder dismantles and moves the organ. This happened when a church in Los Angeles changed hands, and offered their three-manual 1887 Kilgen for sale. Richard Bond was looking for a large organ for Holy Rosary Roman Catholic Church in Edmonds, Washington, and we suggested the Kilgen. The Bond crew removed and rebuilt the organ, which, despite its unmistakably Victorian appearance, works well in the rather austere modern building of Holy Rosary Church.

Another example of a Victorian organ working well visually in a modern building is the two-manual 1866 S. S. Hamill that we found in Medford, Massachusetts for the University Lutheran Church in East Lansing, Michigan, and which Dana Hull rebuilt so beautifully for them. The OHS visited it during the 1995 Convention. Yet another is the two-manual 1870 E. & G. G. Hook organ at the Unitarian Universalist Church in Arlington, Massachusetts, meticulously restored by Richard Nickerson, which was visited as part of the Boston Convention.

Churches that want to obtain an organ sometimes need to be able to move expeditiously, as did the Newark Valley Church that got the old organ from Syracuse. Some years ago, Amory and I delivered an organ to Manuel Rosales in Los Angeles, and then met with a church committee in Ventura, California. We measured the available space, learned what their budget was, and were told that they must have an organ of seventeen ranks. Not sixteen, not eighteen, but seventeen. We explained to them that they might have to act quickly if the right organ came along. A few months later, we learned of a II/17 1894 L. C. Harrison tracker in a closed Episcopal church in Stottville, New York. It had to be taken out within three days. We
notified the Ventura church, and reminded them of the need for prompt action.

Nearly a year later, we heard from them: “We’re so excited that you have found the right organ for us. What do we need to do to buy it?” I advised them that they could attend its dedication the very next week at the First Lutheran Church of Mandan, North Dakota, which had bought the organ the same day we told them about it, and had it rebuilt by Lance Johnson. “Oh.” In due course, another suitable organ became available. We told the Ventura church of it, again stressing the need for quick action. Three months later, they contacted us, said that they had speeded up the process, and were ready to buy the organ. I informed them that they would have to weep and gnash their teeth, for the organ had been sold three months before. Again, “Oh.”

Time and a half went by, and I learned from Dana Hull of a II/17 1899 Felgemaker in a church in Piqua, Ohio. The organ had to be removed immediately, as the razing of the building had already begun. I notified the Ventura church’s organbuilder of the availability of the organ, and within half-an-hour received five phone calls from the rector, senior warden, organist, associate rector, and chairman of the organ committee: “We’ll take it.” We rounded up a crew, built pipe trays, rented a truck, and headed for Ohio. The stairs to the gallery had already been demolished, so everything had to come down ladders. We got it all safely removed, and Amory and I drove it to California, where it was subsequently installed.

Another time I received a call on a Thursday afternoon from the Episcopal Bishop of Rhode Island. Christ Church in Providence was to be razed after the last service on Sunday—could we find a home for the organ? It was available free of charge, especially to an Episcopal church. I knew the instrument to be a two-manual 1889 Hook & Hastings which I had seen years before, but I didn’t have its dimensions. I called six churches that had said they were ready to jump at a moment’s notice, but it turned out that only three were really ready—one of the others had recently lost its rector, another had to put on a new roof, and the third needed a new furnace. The other three said they’d take it if I found out it would fit. We arrived in Providence on Sunday afternoon, measured the organ, and found that it would be ideal for one of the three churches. We dismantled it, packed it, and shipped it (along with a large stained glass window which the Bishop also donated), and it was dedicated a year later at St. Andrew’s Episcopal Church in Yokahama, Japan, which had been willing to take it sight unseen, on faith. Incidentally, the old Christ Church building never was razed; a trucking firm bought it and now uses it as a warehouse.

When the Clearing House first started, and for some years after that, we dealt only in tracker-action organs. In more recent years, we have also relocated many electric action instruments. We also deal with parts. Some organs have excellent pipework, but worn-out mechanism, or mechanism that was never very good to begin with, so we remove the pipes and send the rest to the landfill. Or it may be that the organ has some good parts, but for one reason or another does not merit retention as a complete organ. This was the case at St. Andrew’s Dominion-Douglas Church in Montreal, which wanted to replace their much-rebuilt Casavant with a recycled von Beckerath tracker. We took down the old organ; the badly water-damaged windchests went into the dumpster, but we salvaged all the pipes and the keyboards from the console. When Amory came to the border with the pipes and some offset chests in the truck, the customs broker who had arranged for an easy crossing was sick, and Amory had to deal with a customs official who wanted to inspect every tray, or at least to know in detail what was in each one. Amory started to explain the workings of an organ, and after about three minutes of explanation about the differences between tracker and electric action, the official’s eyes glazed over, and he waved the truck on through.

We sometimes learn about available organs in roundabout ways. One evening as I was preparing dinner, I received a phone call from a young man who wanted to buy some organ parts. I told him of the various options, meanwhile aware that my chicken pot pie was nearly ready to be removed from the oven. I was politely trying to terminate the call, but he persistently wanted more and more details on available parts. Just as we were about to finish up, he said “Oh, one last thing—does the name Thomas Appleton mean anything to you?” One might as well ask a museum curator if the name Rembrandt means anything to him. The pot pie was immediately forgotten.

I knew of two Appleton organs in Pennsylvania. One is a two-manual with no nameplate; the other is a one-manual with a nameplate. So I asked if the organ had one or two manuals. He replied, two, and said that it had a nameplate. He was reluctant to tell me exactly where it was located, but said it was in a Roman Catholic church in the Scranton and Wilkes-Barre area. In the meantime, I had gotten out my Catholic directory, and a good map of Pennsylvania, and just making educated guesses, asked if it was in such and such a town. After three tries, I got lucky, and hit on Plains. He seemed surprised that I even knew of the place, and said yes. Bingo! I called Jim McFarland, who went to Plains the next day and confirmed the report. The Appleton was indeed there, and in virtually pristine condition, having been boarded up and unused for many years. Negotiations ensued, and eventually, the Metropolitan Museum in New York bought it and had it beautifully restored by Mann & Trupiano.

Some projects do not go smoothly. We received word one Thursday back in 1961 from Paul Carey of a
large two-manual 1870 Johnson in a small church in Melrose, New York. This was when I was working at the Andover Organ Company. Bob Reich promptly drove to New York State to inspect the organ, to see if it would work for the Congregational Church in Amherst, New Hampshire, which was seeking an instrument. He reported back that it would work just fine, so a crew headed out Friday morning with a trailer full of pipe trays. We worked late on Friday, and Saturday until midnight, since everything had to be out of the church in time for the Sunday morning services. On the way back home, the axle on the trailer broke down outside of Bennington, Vermont. We were all exhausted, and opted to spend the night in Bennington. The trailer man came out the next morning with a replacement, and we were able to transfer the load in short order, because everything in the trailer was in trays.

Alas, the truck itself broke down outside of Keene, New Hampshire. The rental company offered to send a replacement, but we insisted on repairs, as the truck was loaded to the roof, and would have taken all day to repack. Repairs could not be made on Sunday, so we departed for home while the truck was towed into Keene. The volunteers waiting at Amherst got to unload only the trailer that day. The instrument was eventually rebuilt by Andover and has been in use ever since. Incidentally, the truck rental company was not Ryder, which we have used almost exclusively now for many years. (I even named my cat after the Ryder trucks.)

Another project that ran into trouble involved the four-manual 1969 Gil Adams organ at St. Thomas Church in New York City. The removal went as planned, stretching over a period of three weeks with a large crew, shuttling back and forth between the church and the excellent storage space in upstate New York. (Ordinarily, when we take down an organ, we spread out the parts all over the church, and remove them all at once, but the authorities at St. Thomas required that the church be cleared every Saturday afternoon.) The organ, by the way, has had a poor reputation over the years, which was truly undeserved. Gil had to build and install it in a much shorter time than had originally been allocated, and it did have some mechanical problems as a result. Its sound was magnificent however, and the organ was used for many years before the church decided to replace it, rather than having it rebuilt mechanically.
The difficulties began when the landlord of the ideal storage space had an opportunity to rent it to someone else, and had his totally inexperienced helpers move the instrument into another space in the building—a space which was inadequate and inappropriate—and did so without notifying us in any way. We would have been willing to move the organ ourselves to other quarters had we had the opportunity. The organ was effectively destroyed by incompetent moving and improper storage, and we are engaged in a lawsuit against the landlord at this time.

We are often called on to handle jobs that no one else wants to do, and sometimes, jobs that others have said can’t be done. Amory and Josh have become quite adept at these projects, and I think I can say without exaggeration that they are the best in the business. When we were called upon to remove the remains of the four-manual 1906 Skinner Organ Co. instrument at Trinity Episcopal Cathedral in Cleveland, several builders informed us that the 32’ Double Open Diapason could not be removed, or that at least the largest pipes would have to be taken out in pieces. The pipes could not be lowered into the church through the available small tone openings; they had to be taken from the chamber through Sunday School rooms, down a long corridor, over a fire escape, and three stories down to the ground. Amory and Josh had the chamber cleared in about half the time allocated for the job, with every pipe intact. Some pipes went to Nelson Barden for a large “new” organ, using all Skinner parts, being built for the Community of Jesus on Cape Cod; others went to Quimby Pipe Organs for use in a Skinner restoration project.

A few years ago, Marylhurst College in Portland, Oregon contacted us, looking for an organ for their chapel. We knew of a three-manual 1901 Hutchings-Votey that we thought would fill the bill, but the owner of the former church building in which the organ was located refused to let us remove the organ until he had his asking price in hand, and the building was due for demolition in a few days. Fortunately, Marylhurst was able to make a decision on short notice, and wired the money to the owner of the building at 9 p.m. the night before we were to begin. We had already built pipe trays and rented trucks and had a large crew ready to roll at a moment’s notice, and at 7 a.m., I got the word that the owner had his money. We headed for Brockton to work for several days in frigid weather in a building with no heat or running water, a condition not unfamiliar to us. George Bozeman rebuilt the organ for the college, and the OHS visited it during the 1997 convention.

One organ that the OHS won’t get to visit during a convention until we start having conventions overseas is the two-manual 1892 Johnson & Son organ we rescued from a church in Buffalo, New York. The church had contacted us in 1995, but insisted that they would never sell the instrument for less than $50,000. In the middle of winter, they called again and allowed as to how they would accept a tenth of that, since the building was to be demolished the next week. Roland Rutz agreed to take it. Our crew went out to dismantle it with his assistance, and once again they labored in sub-zero weather. The next week, the temperature in Buffalo was in the 50’s, but by then, the building was a pile of rubble. Roland Rutz subsequently rebuilt the organ for a church in Latvia.

The two two-manual 1883 Johnson & Son organs in the Buffalo Masonic Hall were not so fortunate. The owner of the building absolutely refused to allow us to remove the organs unless we could come up with his asking price, which was exorbitant. We couldn’t, and in the three days before the building was to be razed, we were unable to find buyers, so the organs were razed along with the building.

The story of the two-manual 1876 Jardine in Ironton, Ohio, has a happier ending. Church officials informed us that they had been told the organ was worth $150,000, but that they would let it go for $80,000, which “God had told them they should get for it.” We told Father Arthur Walm Ley, the Rector at St. Paul’s Episcopal Church in New Haven, Connecticut, about the situation. He was looking for an organ for St. Paul’s. He called the Ironton church and told them that God had told him he should get the organ for $8,000, and he did. We removed it after a week...
of hard work, assisted by Richard Hamar, Bill Van Pelt, and others, and Brunner & Heller restored it for St. Paul’s, where it looks as though it had been built for the church. The OHS visited it during the 1994 convention.

During its last Boston Convention in 1961, the OHS visited the two-manual 1860 Simmons & Willcox organ at St. Phillip’s Catholic Church. It had been built originally for First Church in Cambridge (where Peter Sykes is now organist), which was visited during the Boston Convention. It was moved to St. Phillip’s early in the last century. In the 1970’s, the church closed, and the building was taken over by its neighbor across the street, Boston City Hospital, for use as a clinic, and for storage. Security in the building was tight, but we were nervous about the organ, and finally I got permission to remove the pipework. We removed everything above 4’, and organ-builder Bill Baker kindly provided storage. We also exacted a promise that we would be notified when the building, which the hospital was occupying on a temporary basis, would be closed.

Well, it was closed, and no one told us. A Boston Organ Club member found the building abandoned, with the doors open, thousands of dollars worth of medical equipment (hospital beds, X-ray machines, and the like), still stored in the church. The gallery was open, and some of the remaining pipes had been thrown around. I was down with the flu, but managed to raise an emergency crew including Lois Regestein and Rosalind Mohnsen, as well as David Wilde from George Bozeman’s shop. They labored valiantly; I joined them the next day, and we got it all out, pigeon droppings and all, and into storage at Richard Hamar’s shop in Connecticut. Despite our attempts to secure the building the night between the two work days, vandals broke in and broke off all the natural keys, probably thinking they could sell the ivory. We had removed the drawknobs the night before, so they were safe. Arsonists torched the building a few months later.

We eventually moved the organ to storage in Victoria, Texas, at the shop of Rubin Frels, when Richard Hamar had to move out of his storage space. Some years later, we moved it again to George Bozeman’s shop, and he rebuilt it for the Methodist Church in Danville, Virginia, where the OHS will have visited it during the 2001 Convention.

The three-manual 1870 E. & G. G. Hook at the Unitarian Church in Woburn, Massachusetts became available when the church closed a few years ago. We tried hard to find a home for it in this country, and had several promising leads, but the interested churches had woefully insufficient funds. Just dismantling and packing the organ would cost well over $40,000, and was a three-week project for a crew of fifteen. The one church that might have been able to use the organ had only $150,000 for the entire project, which would likely have cost closer to three times that. So the organ was shipped to Berlin, where I understand it is to be restored and installed in the near future. [Ed. note: The organ slated for rededication on at Heilig-Kreuz Kirche by Thomas Murray on October 21, 2001.]

The three-manual E. & G. G. Hook organ at St. Mary’s, New Haven is probably our most spectacular success, masterminded by Larry Trupiano. He and I put together a large crew to remove the organ from St. Alphonsus Church in New York, which we did while the building was being prepared for demolition, moving the parts day-by-day to storage at Richard Hamar’s shop in Connecticut. One afternoon, we were informed that the chain fall (which is a kind of skyhook) we were renting from the salvage company, would not be available the next day, so our crew, having worked all day, worked all night to extract the remaining large pieces. Needless to say, the chainfall sat idle all the next day. Larry and I then put together a consortium of organbuilders to retrackerize, restore, and install the organ at St. Mary’s, where, again, the organ looks as though it had been built for the place.

Well, there are many more stories, but enough is enough for one day. What we have done is to relocate well over 2,000 organs in churches all across the United States and Canada, as well as overseas. We offer dismantling, packing, and moving; consultation services; and—our primary role—international pipe organ brokerage. We are listing more than 500 organs, both tracker and electric action, large and small, new and old. We list organs built by Aeolian-Skinner, Austin, Casavant, Erben, Hook & Hastings, Jardine, Johnson & Son, Möller, Odell, Schantz, the Skinner Organ Co., Steer & Turner, Wicks, and many more, built by all the usual suspects. We have instruments suitable for large churches, for small chapels, and for residence or studio use.

We have had much assistance over the years from many OHS members and organbuilders not mentioned elsewhere, including Terence Atkin, Sidney Chase, Bill Czelusniak, the folks at C. B. Fisk, George Gibson, Steuart Goodwin, Stephen Hermes, Michael Herzog, Herb and Marianne Huestis, Scot Huntington, Anthony Meloni, Patrick J. Murphy, Fritz Noack, Hugh Pierce and Thorn Thomas, Michael Quimby, Roy Redman, Tom Rench, Brad Rule, Andy Smith, Ronald and Christoph Wahl, David Wallace, Wayne Warren, Bob Waters, and David Wigton. We could not have done all that we have done without their help, and the help of so many others, too numerous to mention. For that, we are forever grateful.
BÖHM:

Going On Record…

SOWERBY:

music from diverse American composers

American Perspectives…

JACOB:

ANONYMOUS:

BITGOOD: Chorale-prelude

BINGHAM:

PRIMA:

Program No. 0146 11/12/2001

Go Sing Record …our autumn review of recent CDs, with organ music old and new

BOHM: Praetextatum in C – Lorenzo Ghielmi (1997 Fischer/St. Laurentius Church, Greifswald) Stradavarii-CD-33559

BACH: Fuga in b b minor – Gerhard Weinberger (1730 Bach) JAV CD-1001

ANONYMOUS: My Lady Winkfelds Rownde; Many and great, o God, are thy things; Whenever I may wander – Frances Nobert (1998 Glatter-Götz/Rosales, UCC Claremont CA) Raven CD-550


BINGHAM: Ritual – Ken Cowan (1926 Skinner/First Presbyterian Church, Detroit MI) JAV CD-119

PRIMA: Sing, sing, sing; ELLINGSTON: Caravan; GEO. WRIGHT: G.W.'s Boogie

HAMPTON: Suite No. 2 – James Biery (r. 7/7/99); WAGGONER: Prelude on Forest Green – Richard Waggoner (r. 6/30/99); FETLER: Toccata – Diana Lee Tucker (r. 10/18/99)"
Minutes
Governing Board of the American Organ Archives
of The Organ Historical Society
April 27, 2001, Boston MA

A MEETING of the Governing Board (“GB”) of the American Organ Archives of the Organ Historical Society was held on Friday, April 27, 2001, at the residence of Lois Regestein, 6 Worthington Street, Boston, Massachusetts. Present were governors Lois Regestein (Chair), Lynn Edwards, Laurence Libin, Elizabeth Towne Schmitt, Rollin Smith, and James Wallmann, and the Archivist, Stephen Pinel. Governor Kristin Farmer was absent. Allison Alcorn-Oppendahl, soon to be a governor and the OHS Councilor for Archives, had been invited but was unable to attend. Except for the paragraph entitled “Miscellaneous,” the outline of these minutes follows the agenda of the meeting. All actions taken by the GB were unanimous, except as otherwise indicated.

CALL TO MEETING: The Chair called the meeting to order at 1:10 p.m. A quorum of the GB was present to conduct business. Mr. Wallmann was appointed secretary to record the minutes of the meeting. The minutes of the previous meeting of the GB were considered and Ms. Edwards was thanked for her efforts in preparing those minutes. Upon motion duly made (Ms. Schmitt) and seconded (Mr. Libin), it was

RESOLVED: That the minutes of a meeting of the Governing Board of the American Organ Archives of the Organ Historical Society held on October 12, 2000, be, and hereby are, approved.

AGENDA: An agenda (Attachment A) was distributed.

ARCHIVIST’S REPORT. The Archivist’s Report had previously been distributed and reviewed by the governors. The GB thanked Mr. Pinel for his thorough report. Many of the items in the report were discussed in the meeting and are reflected in these minutes.

OPERATING PROCEDURES. The GB thanked Mr. Wallmann for his efforts in drafting Operating Procedures. A proposed draft of Operating Procedures (Attachment B) had previously been distributed to the GB with a memo (Attachment C), and Mr. Wallmann led the GB in an extended discussion of the proposed Operating Procedures. Major points discussed were these: the official name of the Archives is the “American Organ Archives of the Organ Historical Society” (§1.3); the purpose clause should be revised to reflect other materials collected by the Archives and to permit the Archives to sponsor symposia and publications (§1.4); it was proper for the GB to have the ability to remove a governor (§2.8); the GB should have the flexibility to chose any of the governors as chair; not necessarily the Councillor for Archives (§2.19[a]); the Vice-President of the Society should not be an ex-officio member of the GB (§3.2); §5.1 should be modified to state that “the Archives rely on the National Council to allocate sufficient funds for the Archives”; and budget procedures should be clarified to make clear that Dedicated Funds are in addition to the regular budget of the Archives (§5.2). Mr. Wallmann suggested that the GB adopt no resolution at the moment concerning the Operating Procedures. He will revise the Operating Procedures according to the comments made at this meeting and circulate a version marked to show changes from the first draft. Only then if the Operating Procedures are acceptable to the GB will they be presented to the National Council of the Society (“NC”) for consideration and adoption by that body. The GB looked forward to having its governing rules codified in the Operating Procedures and the relationship between the Archives and NC clarified.

ACCESS POLICY. Mr. Libin had previously distributed a draft access policy for the Archives (Attachment D) and led the GB in a discussion of same. The GB felt strongly that there should be no change to the present policy of allowing general access to the collection only by arrangement with the Archivist and of permitting Talbott Library personnel to retrieve most cataloged books and periodicals by specific request. The proposed emergency access policy was discussed. Any emergency access policy of the Archives should refer to Rider University’s policy. The Archivist was directed to determine what kind of emergency access policy Rider has. The Archives access policy needs to be part of the Archives website and brochure. Throughout the discussion, specific wording changes to the access policy were discussed. Upon motion duly made (Ms. Edwards) and seconded (Dr. Smith), it was

RESOLVED: That the Governing Board learn what Rider University’s emergency access policy is; that the access policy presented to the Governing Board and as modified by the Governing Board in its deliberations be, and hereby is, accepted by the Governing Board; that the access policy be redrafted and circulated to members the Governing Board; and that the National Council be informed of the revised access policy of the Archives. Mr. Libin will revise the access policy and have it circulated. Budget. A proposed budget had previously been distributed. (See page 5 of the Archivist’s Report.) As specific items of the agenda were discussed, their impact on the budget was discussed. With two exceptions, the budget to be presented to the NC followed the budget proposed by the Archivist. The line item for cataloging was increased by $1,500 to account for OCLC charging billed by Rider and the Archives’ move to join Palinet/OCLC. The line item for GB expenses was increased by $500 because more governors are coming from farther away than had previously been the case. The budget to be submitted to the NC shows an increase of $1,500 over the budget for 2000-01. (The correct total for the 2000-01 budget is $57,100, not the $56,600 shown in the Archivist’s
The GB noted with appreciation that the current fiscal year’s budget had been approved by the NC as submitted. In addition, the GB complimented the Archivist that the amount actually spent by the Archives for the 1999–2000 fiscal year was within $600 (1.3%) of the amount budgeted. Upon motion duly made (Mr. Libin) and seconded (Ms. Schmitt), it was

**RESOLVED:** That the following budget for the fiscal year 2001–02 be presented to the National Council for adoption by that body as the budget of the Archives.

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**CATALOGING (CASSIDY).** The GB questioned the Archivist about the necessity for moving to an established cataloging service rather than continuing with the practice of engaging independent music catalogers on an as-needed basis. The Archivist told the GB that having Cassidy would improve the quality of cataloging for the collection and eventually reduce the backlog of uncataloged material. The proposed Contract for Cataloguing Services with Cassidy Cataloguing Services, Inc., dated April 1, 2001, had previously been distributed as part of the Archivist’s Report. Mr. Wallmann was generally satisfied with the contract and had two minor comments. (Use the correct name of the Archives, and change the choice of law from New York to New Jersey because both the Archives and Cassidy are located in New Jersey.) The Archivist was directed to make sure that Cassidy was aware of the Archives’ budget for cataloging and to be sure that Cassidy’s fees under the agreement would not exceed the budget. Upon motion duly made (Mr. Libin) and seconded (Ms. Schmitt), it was

**RESOLVED:** That the Archivist be, and hereby is, directed and authorized on behalf of the Archives to execute that particular Contract for Cataloguing Services with Cassidy Cataloguing Services, Inc., dated April 1, 2001, Cataloging–Rider Invoice. The Archivist had recently received an e-mail message (Attachment E) from John Buschman, Acting Chair of Talbott Library, regarding OCLC access fees he proposed to charge to the Archives. Access to OCLC is necessary for catalogers to properly catalog material added to the collection, and the GB concluded that it was difficult for the Archives to dispute the legitimacy of these charges, albeit that this was the first time anyone at Rider had gone to the trouble of estimating what it was owed from work done on Rider’s OCLC account by those cataloging for the Archives. Mr. Buschman had originally sent the Archives an invoice for $1,512.69, but in his most recent e-mail had offered to reduce the charge to $1,400. The Archivist had kept better records than Rider and was able to quantify in more accurate terms what the Archives had cost Rider by using Rider’s OCLC account. (In particular, Rider did not account for the credit for original records added to OCLC [$3.99 each] through cataloging done by the Archives.) Nevertheless, the difference was not great and a majority of the GB felt that paying the full $1,512.69 would win goodwill for the Archives in future dealings with Rider. Upon motion duly made (Mr. Libin) and seconded (Ms. Edwards), it was

**RESOLVED:** That the Archives pay Rider University $1,512.69 for OCLC charges detailed in Rider University’s invoice to the Archives. (Mr. Wallmann voted no.)

**CATALOGING (MEMBERSHIP IN PALINET/OCLC).** Knowing that the Archives were likely in the future to receive invoices from Rider for its use of OCLC, the Archivist presented a proposal to join Palinet/OCLC as a general member. There would be a one-time expense of $509 to join and an annual membership fee of $315, in addition to the ongoing access fees (no change from what Rider would charge). Being its own member would give the Archives greater flexibility in having its collection cataloged, would avoid conflicts with Rider, and is a logical next step for the Archives to take in its ever more noticeable role as an important specialized library. Upon motion duly made (Mr. Libin) and seconded (Ms. Edwards), it was

**RESOLVED:** That the Archives no longer rely on Rider University for access to OCLC, and

**RESOLVED:** That the Archives join Palinet/OCLC as a general member.

**ARCHIVES RESEARCH GRANT.** Dr. Smith distributed a grant application form and “Questions Grant Evaluators Ask” (Attachment F). Three applications for research grants at the Archives have been received to date. The deadline for applications is September 30, 2001. The GB suggested adding to the grant application form the applicant’s Social Security number, a budget of the amount requested, and a narrative of the project. Dr. Smith and Mr. Wallmann will check whether the Society needs to prepare a Form 1099 (or other IRS form) for grant recipients. Members of the grant committee are Orpha Ochse, Mr. Pinel, Ms. Edwards, and Dr. Smith.

**AOA VISIBILITY.** The Archivist reported that the Society website had been updated with current information on the Archives. Articles for The Tracker promoting the Archives have been or will be prepared by John Bewley (“Online Access to the Catalog of the American Organ Archives” for 45:2–4) and the Archivist (“New and Notable Materials in the American Organ Archives” for 46:1). Mr. Wallmann volunteered to write an article for 46:2 and Dr. Smith an article for 46:3.

**COLLECTION MAINTENANCE.** Insurance on manu-
scripts in the collection and microfilming books were mentioned in the Archivist’s Report. Further discussion on insurance was set for the next meeting, but the Archivist pointed out that manuscripts will need to be appraised for Rider’s insurance to be of any value. The Archivist reported that he had ordered microfilms of a few books from the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Initial costs were not unreasonable and the Archivist will investigate additional titles to be microfilmed.

SYMPOSIUM WRAP-UP. The first symposium of the Archives held in October 2000 was a great success and comments by participants were generally very positive. The letter of Nancy Wicklund (Rider librarian) to John Ogasapian (Attachment G) contained praise for the symposium along with some constructive criticism. Ms. Regestein will reply to Ms. Wicklund’s letter. Ms. Schmitt expressed her concern that it was a safety issue to have lit candles in Talbott Library for the opening reception of the symposium. The idea of a Society- or Archives-sponsored symposium on organ restoration was favorably received by the GB. Mr. Wallmann welcomed such a symposium but questioned whether the topic was germane to the purpose of the Archives. Mr. Libin remarked that if the Archives are to be a source of information on historic organs, such a topic would be consistent with the mission of the Archives. The Archivist will meet with the Society President (Jonathan Ambrosino) and other members of the NC to discuss the matter. Any such symposium would be two or three years away.

MISCELLANEOUS. The Archivist and members of the GB thanked Ms. Regestein for her service to the Archives during the past eight years and presented her with a bouquet of flowers in “overwhelming gratitude” for her efforts. The Society Treasurer had submitted a list of year-to-date expenses of the Archives and a summary of gifts to the Archives for 1999–2000 and 2000–01 (Attachment H). (The gift by Curtis Lippincott to the Archives was not designated for the Möller Archives. The Archivist will contact the Treasurer to clarify this gift.)

NEXT MEETING; ADJOURNMENT. The next meeting of the GB was tentatively set for 10:00 a.m. on Saturday, October 20, 2001, at the principal office of the Archives in Princeton, New Jersey. (This date has since been confirmed and the time set from 10:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. Lunch will be provided.] Ms. Regestein was invited to attend this meeting in her capacity as immediate past chair of the GB. Upon motion duly made (Ms. Schmitt) and seconded (Mr. Libin), the meeting adjourned at 5:37 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

James Wallmann, Acting Secretary

[Ed. note: The following referenced attachments have been omitted here owing to space considerations, but are available on request through the Archivist.]

Attachment A: Agenda (1 p.)
Attachment B: Draft Operating Procedures (12 pp.)
Attachment C: Memo dated 4/17/01, New Operating Procedures of the AOA (3 pp.)
Attachment D: Access Policy (4 pp.)
Attachment E: E-mail from John Buschman; OHS cataloging statistics (2 pp.)
Attachment F: Grant application; “Questions Grant Evaluators Ask” (2 pp.)
Attachment G: Letter, Nancy Wicklund to John Ogasapian (1 p.)
Attachment H: Archives Gifts; Archives Expenses (2 pp.)