

THE ORGAN IN THE ACADEMY

ESSAYS IN CELEBRATION OF THE
INSTALLATION OF

THE CHARLES B. FISK
& PETER J. GOMES
MEMORIAL ORGAN

C.B. FISK, INC. OPUS 139

Edited by
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Memorial Church, Harvard University.*

The papers were paired with these performances on Harvard’s organs:

C. B. Fisk, Op. 139, Edward Elwyn Jones

“Allegro” from Concerto in G, BWV 592, Bach

E. M. Skinner, Op. 793, Christian Lane

“Innig” from Sechs Stücke in kanonischer form, Schumann

Klop Chamber Organ, Nancy B. Granert

Ballo del Granduca, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck

C. B. Fisk, Op. 139, Murray Forbes Somerville

Rondino on “I Love to Tell the Story” (2011), Carson P. Cooman

COVER:

Opus 139 organ by C.B. Fisk (photo courtesy of C.B. Fisk, Inc.)

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Introduction

On the occasion of the installation of the new Charles B. Fisk and Peter J. Gomes Memorial Organ in the Memorial Church at Harvard University, the Department of Music at Harvard sponsored a symposium dealing with the organ at Harvard, the organs of Harvard, and the role of Harvard organs and organists in American music and musical education. The symposium took place on Sunday, April 22, 2012. This volume presents the papers delivered at the symposium, along with information on the organs in the Memorial Church at Harvard.

The long association of the the Department of Music with the organ, and with the music in Harvard's Appleton Chapel and Memorial Church, makes this collaboration particularly appropriate. John Knowles Paine, the University's first professor of music, was originally engaged to be college organist; other distinguished university organists have been professors in the Music Department, including Archibald T. Davison and G. Wallace Woodworth.

It was the view of the organizers that the close relationship between music and education, and between the organ and the university, might be the subject of a very interesting symposium in which the parochial concerns of a single institution might be considered in the larger context of music and education in America and in the world. The symposium, organized along those lines, is presented in this volume; readers will be able to judge its interest for themselves.

Readers of this volume will not, unfortunately, be able to hear the organs of the Memorial Church unless they make the trip there—which we hope you will. At the symposium, papers were preceded and followed by performance on the three organs of the Memorial Church: the new Fisk, the recently installed 1930 Skinner organ, Op. 793, now the Jane Slaughter Hardenbergh Memorial Organ; and the Klop Chamber Organ. These interludes were performed by Gund University Organist and Choirmaster Edward Elwyn Jones; Associate Univer-

sity Organist Christian Lane; Organist in Residence Nancy Granert; and former Gund University Organist Murray Forbes Somerville. The association of music and musicology, of learning and listening, were made audible to all in attendance.

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*Organs and Universities—
A Universal Association?*

JOHN BUTT

Some of my earliest musical memories associate universities with the organ. My father was a regular churchgoer, so I was quite familiar with the organ as a church instrument, but he was also remarkable in acquiring two doctorates during the first six years of my life. Twice I was taken to the Great Hall of Birmingham University (UK) to see him receive those degrees and twice I was surprised to hear the organ play a major part in a ceremony that was clearly similar to church, but which seemed more focused on the worship of the group of identically attired people, to which my father clearly belonged. Only two other memories are clear: first, that the organist on both occasions was female, a fact that seemed to be treated with great amusement by those around me, and secondly, that on both occasions the organist played what I later was able to identify as Bach's Toccata in F. My assumption that organists for church were resolutely male was confirmed around the same time by the fact that my uncle (this time on my mother's side) was appointed University Organist at Oxford. This seemed to be mainly a church appointment, at the University Church of St. Mary the Virgin, and I was most impressed by the organ loft and the pile of speaking toys that my uncle had assembled for use during the sermon. I believe he pulled the string on one rather too often, and left the post under something that I later learned to be a cloud. I also later learned that this post had also involved playing for degree ceremonies in Wren's Sheldonian theatre, nearby—the sacred and secular roles of the university organist being split between the two buildings in the seventeenth century owing to the rowdiness of students' behavior on degree day. I probably would have been confused that my uncle could undertake the roles of both a male and female organist.

These two associations of organs with universities were undoubtedly influential in inspiring my own early enthusiasm for the organ, and

my undergraduate years at King's College Cambridge were dominated by my role as organ scholar in the chapel. This was hardly a scholarly post in the sense that it involved any applied study and tuition in the organ (although this came along as a secondary consideration); it was simply the fact that after a year I became the principal organist for all the services and deputy director of the choir. It was thus a sink-or-swim affair (I generally swam, but occasionally didn't) and was literally part of an ongoing institution that had little directly to do with my concurrent academic studies or any conservatory-based study of a specific instrument. Even my career as a musicologist owes something to this extraordinary situation, since, by the time I graduated, I realized I'd spent a minimal amount of time on academic work and simply craved taking this side of things a bit further.

Just to confuse matters, this post was within a college that, like all the others, is part of the University of Cambridge. Yet colleges are in many ways foundations independent of the university, able to appoint whom they wish to posts that are not funded by the university and able to maintain their own traditions, ecclesiastical or otherwise, entirely beyond the remit of the University. The University also exists in its own right as a collection of faculties, a senate, and an administrative core. If you're still able to follow all this, you will only wearily be surprised to learn that Cambridge University also has its own organist. This is not the organist who plays for the graduation ceremonies in the eighteenth-century Senate House, which, unlike Birmingham's Great Hall or Oxford's Sheldonian Theatre, has never had an organ, or any graduation music. This is the organist who plays in the University Church (also, like Oxford's, dedicated to St. Mary) for the service at which the University Sermon is preached, twice a term. But this is not played on the usual organ at the front of the church, the so-called town organ, but on the University Organ, at the back. When I was an undergraduate I was sometimes asked by the University organist, then George Guest, organist of St. John's College, to substitute for him as University organist. Not only did this bring a small fee, which seemed to be fixed at the same level as when the pipework was new in the seventeenth century, but it also brought a small key with which I was to unlock and access the organ. No one in the church, least of all the "town" organist, was allowed to have this and I was under strict instructions to keep the key

hidden and to send it back at the end of the service. This sort of clash of authority rings strikingly with the dispute in which J.S. Bach was involved at the University Church in Leipzig, by which he claimed his authority to direct music and receive fees for the “Old Service.” Both situations, Bach’s in the eighteenth century and mine 250 years later, suggest that the relationship between organs and universities is extremely deep, complex, and often contentious.

What about America, then? Well, we know that here in Harvard church music and university connections go back at least to the eighteenth century; and it seems hardly surprising that the first professor of music at an American university was also the university organist, from 1862. If Harvard is anything to go by, the primary association seems to lie in the religious function of the organ. In this same country—but perhaps in a different world—my first long-term appointment was as Professor of Music and University Organist at the University of California, Berkeley. Here was a wonderful collection of thirteen organs, some historic, some historical reconstructions; a fund to maintain and expand the collection; and no official organ duties whatsoever. The University of California is a state institution and thus not permitted to promote any religion (of course, a remarkably rich collection of churches and seminaries have grown up on the perimeter of the university, rather like the fine bars one often finds circling alcohol-free neighborhoods). The obvious inference might be that we had a very lively program of organ study and performance, but no, there were no organ students, no one studying historic instruments, and no one particularly interested in organology. This was not to stop me making what I willed of the facilities, and all colleagues were very supportive of any organ projects I undertook. The Berkeley music department, perhaps not unlike Harvard’s, had no program in performance at all at undergraduate or graduate level, just a few performance options within the undergraduate degree.

At the other end of the Bay, of course, lies Stanford University, and here my colleague as university organist headed a pair of superb American organs in a memorial chapel, not unlike Harvard’s in terms of its religious function and role within the university. However, at that time, Stanford also had a full graduate program in organ playing and continues to be

a leader in the academic study and performance of the instrument in the U.S. Thus, if Berkeley represents one extreme of the possible role of the organ in an American university—possessing a major collection representing the historical heritage of the instrument, rather as a library serves academic use—Stanford represents the opposite extreme, using the organ as part of the ongoing spiritual identity of the institution. Until recently, it also prepared doctoral students in the integrated academic and practical study of the instrument. My childhood experience of the organ as straddling the sacred and the secular seems to be substantiated, together with its role of joining the practical with the academic. Another common—and crucial—thread is the role of donors in the past and present, with virtually all university organs reflecting a fascinating fabric of motivations and beliefs, all geared towards the well-being of future generations. As my Oxbridge experiences suggest, many of the situations reflect historical accident rather than sustained historical intention. Indeed, the Berkeley collection owes its origins to a generous donation given before World War II to provide a university organ. Given that it was over a quarter of a century before this could be realized, the capital had built up to such an extent that the 1950s Holtkamp organ, now virtually an historical instrument in its own right, was only the first of a whole collection enthusiastically cultivated by Lawrence Moe.

Already it might be evident that the organ can fulfill conflicting, if not contradictory, roles within a university. Tradition—and ongoing development of skills, practice, and building styles—sometimes clashes with historicism, the imperative to preserve the past in its own particularity and learn from the very specific differences between various genres of music and instrument construction. Even an individual organist might be conflicted within the university environment. On one side lies the imperative to gain historical knowledge and some of the performance skills that relate to particular periods and area; this is the most “academic” role, perhaps. On the other side, there is the sense that an organist has his or her own specialist areas of study and expertise, separate from those of other instruments. This is an attitude that was born of the European-American conservatory tradition as it grew from the post-revolutionary French model in the nineteenth century. It has uncanny analogies to the division of labor so

necessary for the process of industrialization: choose your instrument and work as hard as you can at perfecting your skills in this one field, honing the studies and methodologies that go with it. There's also a third attitude, which is perhaps unique to organists, and comes partly from the organ's unusual historical role in university and church: the notion of the organist as "Vollkommener Kapellmeister," someone with a range of skills well beyond those specific to playing the instrument. This might involve conducting, particularly choral, knowledge of a broad range of musical genres, and technical knowledge of harmony and historical composition.

This third model of the universal university organist is perhaps the one in which my English upbringing gave me the greatest degree of engagement. There is something unique to the English situation (quite different from the Scottish one, in which I now live), in which ancient choral foundations have survived in most cathedrals and some collegiate institutions, almost against all odds. While one can see the historical association of choir schools, organists, and churches across Europe, virtually all have experienced significant historical breaks, and most healthy institutions today are the result of relatively recent restorations. Other than the Commonwealth period in the seventeenth century, the English choral foundations have somehow persisted. Most importantly, they have brought with them a type of practice that is distinct from the "modern" conservatory culture and also from the academic-historicist approach to music study and performance. In other words, this sort of practice, however much it must have changed and adapted to circumstances, preserves a link with Western music practice from before the time when music became a "high art." The latter is that culture of so-called "classical music" that became a field in its own right, prestigious specifically for its autonomous development away from church, court, or "entertainment" in the frivolous sense. In short, the culture of classical music co-opted many of the traits of religion and is still today perhaps something that rivals religion as much as it might support it. Although many great classical musicians have come through the Anglican choral tradition, there is still a sense in which it preserves a pre-aesthetic, pre-classical conception of music.

To try and sum up one of my conclusions so far, perhaps the significance of the organ in universities lies not just in its historical antiquity

or in the diversity of its traditions, but also in the way it straddles several very different musical traditions, and indeed, broader cultural attitudes in the Western world: the old, pre-aesthetic role of representing a whole collection of musical practices learned through apprenticeship and spilling well beyond the confines of the loft; the more modern, classical tradition of honed instrumental specialization, based on the conservatory model; and the academic attitude by which a variety of artifacts and practices are studied as far as possible in their own historical context in order to understand something of the richness and diversity of Western cultures.

Let me explore a little more the potentials for conflict between these practices, since they in many ways reflect broader conflicts in a university's role. I've already suggested that a university promotes scholarly study of past and parallel cultures, but given that the modern scientific model is so dominant, the university is also concerned with increasing and developing knowledge. This is a role that can be explicitly tied to Western modernity, the historical beginnings of which are not too distant from the time at which Harvard was founded. Although I've argued elsewhere that modernity is essentially a theoretical construct, it is a useful way of describing a world that involves scientific progress, organized labor, the ideals of freedom of education and personal development, and, most importantly, the idea that the worldly state can be improved through human endeavor. From this perspective, even the notion of treating the past with precision and scholarly rigor is a form of broadening understanding, and improving our knowledge and experience in a way that both respects and potentially improves upon the past.

When we think of organ culture in terms of its practical contribution to an ongoing tradition, there are some interesting conflicts. Traditions, almost by tradition, have to change in order to preserve what they value. Moreover, in the modern world they often share something of the culture of progress. Thus to return to the Anglican cathedral/collegiate tradition, organs in England have usually been "improved" and enlarged to reflect the expansion of the repertory and to make certain tasks, such as registration, more flexible. Until the advent of the historical organ movement, no one was particularly concerned with historical accuracy or integrity, and there has often been resistance to removing the modernizing

layers of an instrument's history. The imperative of progress has played a particularly interesting role in a recent dispute about organs in Oxford. In 1999 a wealthy foundation paid for the installation of a state-of-the-art computer organ in the Sheldonian Theatre, perfectly reproducing the specifications of four historic organs, including St Clotilde in Paris. To many of a scientific, progressivist bent, this organ was the ideal beacon for a world-leading university, surpassing all its predecessors in the sophistication of its technology and the seemingly foolproof recreation of real organ sound. Others, naturally, were not so sure—surely there was some sort of deception involved? Technology had perhaps created the most insidious of fakes. Much of the argument has centered on the authenticity of sound, about what actually causes the air to vibrate, but in fact just as much must lie in the authenticity of the organist's experience. There is surely a subtle sense of greater engagement in operating an instrument with real wind and pipes, particularly if the action is mechanical. Moreover, there is often a physical resistance or difficulty involved, one that is potentially part of the musical experience for both player and, ultimately, listener.

All this brings up the issue of progress in performance and instrument construction. Behind much of this sometimes lies the mistaken belief that the more ease and efficiency involved in the performance medium the more “natural” and spontaneous will be the performer's expression. This is part and parcel of the process of modernization that accelerated during the twentieth century almost to a dizzying degree. Modernization brings untold comforts, efficiencies, and abilities, but it also has an obvious inhuman aspect, the sort of alienation that has typically accompanied industrialization and the ability to do things on a massive scale. Here the career of Charles Fisk is of signal importance: playing a small part in the Manhattan Project as a physicist, he spent the rest of his life trying to come to terms with his involvement in this ultimate horror of the modern world. Returning to historical principles in organ building was obviously one way in which he tried to compensate for the trend towards technological progress at any cost. Yet it is absolutely clear that any historical element in his organ building has nothing to do with a nostalgic antiquarianism that returns to the past because it cannot face the present. It continues with the trend of improving the present, endemic to Western modernity, but with

a much more nuanced view of both progress and tradition. Typical of this is the fact that the organ celebrated today preserves the so-called tracker action of historic instruments—now believed to be so essential in promoting the direct connection between player and instrument—but made of materials that are much more stable and reliable than the traditional wood or metal. One might hope that this sort of attitude of considered, responsible progress is essential to the health of any university today. The organ can be seen as a microcosm of the larger institution, its tensions and contradictions included, just as early modern musical thinkers such as Athanasius Kircher saw it as analogous to the whole of the cosmos.

But does any of this mean that the association between the organ and university should continue? There has been considerable diversification of religious practice since most universities were founded and the organ is only at home in particular corners of Judeo-Christian religions. And many newer universities do perfectly well without organs, or indeed any systematic study of music. To come up with a plausible justification for retaining and promoting the instrument we perhaps need to look for ways in which the organ relates to the past, present, and future in a particular fashion that is not obviously duplicated in other ways. First, the antiquity and historical endurance of the organ is surely significant: it is an instrument with a history of over two millennia and there are many allegorical interpretations of its magnificence in early Christian writings. As a combination of sounds, some akin to other instruments, it is relatively easily related to the instrumental praise of God which is an obvious part of Old Testament practice. Sometimes it is an allegory of the soul, owing to its wonderfully rich variety of disembodied sounds that fill the body of a building without necessarily disclosing the source of the sound. Other writers linked the instrument, with its increasing quantity of pipes, to the whole church with its multitude of faithful, sweet-sounding individuals. The organ became especially associated with St. Cecilia, patron saint of music (something that may have contributed to its later censure by some of the Protestant churches).

Not only does the pre-modern organ provide an analogy to the whole of creation, but it also exemplifies the ingenuity of humankind, and especially the instrumental rationalism of the West, for it allows one to do

something at one remove—it is a vast mechanical extension of the principle of the human voice. This ability to abstract from one situation to another, to learn a principle in one environment and transpose it to another, is central to the human condition, and that has been particularly developed in the West. Moreover, the organ, if winded by a relatively simple system of bellows, can have limitless breath in a way impossible for the human individual. There's almost a sense that the instrument gives us a potent token of immortality. Like so much pertaining to the human condition, progress is effected through the unintended consequences of an earlier invention. In this regard, the organ was crucial in the study of the nature of sound, with early builders duplicating the harmonic series long before this was actually discovered in the eighteenth century. The organ also contributed immensely to the development of traditional industries, not just in terms of its subtle and complex mechanisms, but also in the refinement of the astonishingly wide range of materials required: metals, together with various types of alloys, wood, leather, bone, and glue.

The instrument not only extended the human reach in terms of sound, but it also took on a strong mimetic role: by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many sounds on the organ were specifically designed to imitate other instruments such as the trumpet, trombone, oboe, flute, violin, viola da gamba, birdsong, even the human voice itself. Again this shows the benefits of empirical experimentation into the nature of sound and the interconnectedness of timbre through permutations of the harmonic series. It also evidences the importance of imitation within the human world. Imitation is successful if it allows you to do something that you could not have done before, and on a scale that was not previously available. While we might often have a sneaking feeling that an imitation can never be as good as an “original,” we don't necessarily always need everything that the original can offer, and thus should more efficiently duplicate those characteristics that are essential for our purposes. The organ seeks to encompass the whole world of music, a microcosm of our desire to encompass the whole world in general.

All this goes to suggest that the organ has as much significance in the secular world as it does in the sacred. This is most pointedly demonstrated by the history of the organ in the Netherlands. Here, after the

1570s, organs were no longer used in worship, in line with strict Calvinist practice, yet the churches of Holland were filled with the most beautiful organs of their age, many of which still stand and still dominate the organ world in terms of their enduring quality. In short, the Dutch wanted to show to their own citizens and visitors alike their material and technological wealth together with the beauty of their art; the churches were essentially secularized, the organs played on a weekly or even daily basis as an ongoing celebration of the nation's refinement and progress. On Sunday the buildings were rented back for church worship, scripturally based and entirely devoid of any interference from art. Such a rigid compartmentalization of life might seem overly rationalized from our perspective where we tend to assume a holistic desire integrating our activities, but this ability to discriminate and adapt cultural practice to different circumstances has also been a crucial tool in the success of Western modernity.

The organ also stands for the span between arts and sciences, craft and technology. Like a University it is testimony to a rich and complex human history, but it is also adapted to the life of the present in taking advantage of new developments and enabling a renewed creative culture of worship, musical composition, and performance. It is surely not inappropriate to adapt some of those early allegorical views of the organ as encompassing an enormous community. The organ here today is thus a very living symbol of the community of a great university, a testimony to the interplay of arts and sciences, history and progress, to education, inspiration and our pride in what we can achieve if we work towards a common purpose.

Uniquely, perhaps, the organ reminds us of how we got to where we are while still operating and providing real musical experience in the present. The organ is virtually part of the architecture to which it necessarily belongs, and remains a more solid and permanent fixture than virtually any other instrument. But it also periodically comes to sounding experience, literally breathing life into the corporate and physical body to which it belongs.

Puritans and Organs at Harvard and in New England

GLEND A GOODMAN

In October 2011, Professor Thomas Kelly posed a question to me: how did there come to be an organ at Harvard College, a school whose founding purpose was to train puritan clergy in colonial New England?¹ It is an intriguing question, and one that makes the title of my talk today a bit paradoxical: in a literal sense, there were no organs at Harvard or in New England when the Puritans predominated. But the absence of organs in early colonial New England was not due to a unilateral rejection of instrumental music by Puritans. Nor did Puritans denounce music generally. The story is a bit more complicated than that. This essay delves into Puritans' relationship with music, particularly instrumental and organ music. I uncover the practical and theological underpinnings of Puritans' approaches to music, which dispels the stubborn misperception that Puritans hated music.² Tracing the early years of the organ in New England and at Harvard College, we discover the multiple ways music popped up in Puritans' daily lives in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Let us start by removing a popular straw man: the music-hating Puritan. In fact, Puritans made music regularly. They sang psalms in worship services, and engaged in social music making outside of church. As a religious movement, puritanism emerged from sixteenth-century Protestant reformist impulses in England. Adhering to the doctrines of French theologian John Calvin, Puritans dissented from within the Anglican

¹I use "Puritan" to refer to people and "puritan" as an adjective.

²A classic description of music-hating Puritans is in Frédéric Louis Ritter, *Music in America* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1883), 6. For a fuller discussion, see Glenda Goodman, "The tears I shed at the songs of Thy Church': Seventeenth-Century Musical Piety in the English Atlantic World." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65:3 (Fall 2012), 691–726.

Church, hoping to change the Church and make it more “pure” by strictly following scriptural examples. Puritanism spread around the Atlantic basin in the seventeenth century, as faithful English migrants established colonies in the Caribbean and New England. In order to understand the iconic group of seventeenth-century colonists who immigrated to the Massachusetts Bay Colony from the 1620s on, we must examine their English background—that is, the cultural baggage Puritans brought with them to the New World. Specifically, I begin with English Civil War, which spanned the 1640s and left an indelible mark on Puritans’ beliefs about music, while also tainting Puritans with a persistent reputation for abjuring all music, but especially that made by organs.³

In part, the anti-music reputation of mid-seventeenth-century Puritans was deserved. Organs were defenseless victims in the English Civil War, as Parliamentary forces (who were associated with the Puritans) were responsible for the wanton destruction of organs in numerous English cathedrals. An official order of Parliament called for the destruction of organs on May 9, 1644, titled *Two ordinances of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament for the speedy demolishing of all organs, images and all matters of superstitious monuments in all Cathedralls*. From this title, we can understand that it was not organs alone that Parliament singled out—it was all things connected with “superstitious monuments.” In other words, organs were casualties in the bigger religious and political battle between Parliament and the King, between Anglicans and Puritans. Even before this official order, however, Parliamentary forces targeted organs. This violence was documented in 1642 and 1643 by Bruno Ryves, a Royalist chaplain who lamented that at Westminster Abbey, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Norwich, and Durham Cathedrals, organs were “spoiled” and “brake[d] downe,” in some cases organ pipes were “pawned...at severall ale-houses for pots of ale,” and in others their pipes were dashed apart, their keys torn up. Of course, we must take Ryves’s account with a grain of salt—as a Royalist and an Anglican, he might have been prone to exagger-

³ David D. Hall, “Understanding the Puritans,” in *The State of American History*, ed. Herbert K. Bass (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970); Alison Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

ate the grievances. But without a doubt, many organs were obliterated.⁴

Such actions alone did not earn Puritans their anti-organ and anti-music reputation, however; it was also earned by the fiery and vehement writings of irascible Englishmen such as William Prynne. Prynne was a troublemaker: his ears were clipped twice in punishment for authoring inflammatory tracts. In 1633, he querulously asked why the Anglican Church encouraged the use of organs. “Whence hath the Church so many Organs and Musicall Instruments? To what purpose, I pray you, is that terrible blowing of Belloes, expressing rather the crakes of Thunder, than the sweetnesse of a Voyce?” He went on, ridiculing the organs’ effects on people: “the common people standing by, trembling and astonished, admire the sound of the Organs, the noise of the Cymballs and Musical Instruments, the harmony of pipes and cornets.”⁵ It was the unrestrained debauchery encouraged by instruments that especially galled Prynne. Adopting a posture that is familiar to any adult who looks on with puzzled dismay at the musical tastes of the younger generation, he wrote, “now a-dayes Musicke is grown to such and so great licentiousnesse, that even at the ministration of the holy Sacrament all kinde of wanton and lewde trifling Songs, with piping of Organs, have their place and course.” To Prynne, organs were part and parcel with a musical practice that had reached the pinnacle of decadence and ungodliness.⁶

Prynne was an outlier, the limit case for musical intolerance, yet English Puritans were known for their objections to any aspect of worship considered “impure” and “inauthentic,” which meant they were teased for denying themselves things others enjoyed—such as music and dancing. No less a personage than William Shakespeare derided Puritans: in a line from *The Winter’s Tale*, the Clown tauntingly claims that a Puritan “sings psalms to hornpipes,” subverting puritan piety by hitching psalmody to a

⁴ Bruno Ryves, *Mercurius rusticus, or, The countries complaint of the murthers, robberies, plunderings, and other outrages committed by the rebells on His Majesties faithfull subjects* (Oxford: s.n., 1643). Quoted in Kenneth R. Long, *The Music of the English Church* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1971), 204–5.

⁵ William Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix: The Players Scourge, Or, Actors Tragaedie* (London: Printed by E. A. and W. I., 1633), 280, 281.

⁶ *Ibid.* 284–85.

wind instrument usually used for “ribald” dance-tunes.⁷ Most puritan colonists were not as fervent as Prynne in their opinions about music, in part because they were more concerned with other things—surviving the cold winters in Massachusetts, for example. Nevertheless, Puritans did gradually garner the reputation for being dour and austere.

It is worth pausing here to note that the image of the music-hating Puritan is still alive today. Think of H. L. Mencken’s quip that puritanism is defined as “The haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy.” And in August 2011, a news story on National Public Radio featured an interview with the President of the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, in which he blamed the Puritans for the lack of state support for the arts, claiming that the seventeenth-century settlers “thought that music and dance were evil.” The myth of Puritans’ music hatred is deeply rooted and alive today.⁸ Puritans are not without their defenders, however. Indeed, over one hundred years ago, Librarian of Congress Oscar Sonneck challenged the notion, writing with tongue-in-cheek wonder:

When reading the histories of music in America we almost gain the impression that the emigrants of the seventeenth century detested not so much the religious, political or economic atmosphere of Europe as the musical and we feel overawed by the constellation of mysterious motives prompting Providence to send to our shores out of all the millions who inhabited Europe just those few thousand beings who had no music in their souls.⁹

Yet the myth has remained.

Having dispatched with the myth of Puritans’ music hatred, let us turn to their actual attitudes toward music by examining their music theology. Seventeenth-century Puritans in both England and New England

⁷ William Shakespeare, *The Winter’s Tale*, ed. John Pitcher (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2010), 254. This remark appears in Act IV, scene III, line 45.

⁸ Ritter, 6; H. L. Mencken, quoted in Peter Conn, *Literature in America: an Illustrated History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 359; “World Art Managers Find New Funding Models in D.C.,” *Morning Edition*, National Public Radio, broadcast 11 Aug. 2011.

⁹ Oscar G. Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731–1800)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 7.

were essentially conservative about music. The spiritual integrity of the congregation was their fundamental concern, and because of that Puritans were quite cautious when it came to music. According to historian David D. Hall, it was the practice of religion that was most important to maintaining spiritual integrity, and this attention to practice generated “the perennial question of what should constitute the authentically religious.”¹⁰ The Bible provided all legitimation and authenticity for puritan religious experience. Every action, interpretation, experience, and idea was guided by scriptural precedent. With music, time and again Puritans referred to biblical accounts of singing, which legitimated and guided their own practice.

The centrality of biblical example for the formation of the puritan worldview is demonstrated in a treatise written by two prominent Boston and Cambridge ministers, John Cotton and Thomas Shepard. Both men emigrated from England in the early 1630s, and both were highly regarded for their erudition and piety. In a treatise they titled *The Singing of Psalmes a Gospel-Ordinance* (pub. London 1647), the men vigorously advocated a liberal and tolerant approach to music, because, as they believed, psalm singing was a primary way through which the devout puritan heralded the glory of God and replenished his or her own personal piety. According to Cotton and Shepard, singing was both a both a religious duty and a spiritual pleasure. Furthermore, that King David wrote and sang psalms, according to the Old Testament, and that there were accounts of psalm singing in the New Testament told Puritans that singing in church was, in fact, permissible and orthodox.¹¹

Because music was of vital importance in puritan worship, Puritans sought out a congregational musical practice that would encourage their personal and communal piety. They stipulated that sacred music should consist of unaccompanied settings of scriptural verses—the psalms—sung in unison during worship in order to elevate the congregants’ souls and glo-

¹⁰ David D. Hall, “Narrating Puritanism,” in *New Directions in American Religious History*, ed. Harry S. Stout and D.G. Hart (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 74.

¹¹ John Cotton and Thomas Shepard, *Singing of Psalmes, a Gospel Ordinance* (London: Printed for J.R. and H.s.A., 1647).

rify God. Rigorous and deep understanding of the Bible was the primary goal for Puritans, and thus they translated the Hebrew psalms into English metrical form and sang them in a monophonic style of musical worship in which the words were clearly intelligible. They sang these psalms in church, and it was the metrical psalms that were published in *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, faithfully translated into English metre*, also known as the *Bay Psalm Book*, the first volume published in North America in 1640.¹²

Puritans embraced the simple metrical psalms, but they had to contend with two other musical repertoires that provoked them to express anti-music sentiments. Specifically, secular songs and so-called “Cathedral music” raised Puritans’ ire. Their antipathy to secular music fits easily with their overarching desire for a vigorously pure and righteous religious life, for Puritans believed secular songs were too sensual and encouraged a dangerous attentiveness to the pleasures of the flesh. Puritans’ dislike of “Cathedral music” was more complex, and stemmed from the tense relationship between reformers and the mainstream Anglican Church. In fact, by “Cathedral music,” Puritans meant the music of Anglican Church, which they believed veered too closely to the taboo Catholic liturgy.¹³ Nathanael Homes, a minister in London, gave voice to Puritans’ enmity toward Anglican Church music when, in the midst of the English Civil War, he wrote that puritan psalmody was quite different from that “Cathedrall singing, which is so abominable.” In Anglican music, Homes wrote, the congregation wasn’t able to sing. Instead, a choir sang incomprehensible and polyphonic music, which Homes compared to a tennis match, in which the Word of God was tossed back and forth like a tennis ball. “This we utterly dislike as must unlawful,” he wrote obstreperously.¹⁴

Puritans’ concerns about obscuring scriptural text with overly or-

¹² *The whole Book of Psalmes, faithfully translated into English metre* (Cambridge: Stephen Daye, 1640).

¹³ On Anglican Church music policy before, during, and after the English Civil War, see Ruth M. Wilson, *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America 1660–1820* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), chapter 1, “The Ecclesiastical Settlement and the 1662 Book of Common Prayer.”

¹⁴ Nathanael Homes, *Gospel Musick, Or, the Singing of Davids Psalms* (London: printed for Henry Overton in Popes-Head Alley, 1644), 19.

nate music furnish an important clue about their attitudes toward organs: organ music, and any instrumental music, could not help but obscure the words people were singing. When the organ played, the congregation might sound better (staying in tune and in tempo), but it was harder to understand the psalm lyrics.¹⁵ Thus, when it came to organs, Puritans had a succinct set of rules: instruments were perfectly fine for private use and social entertainment, but had little to no place in the church. This position was clearly stated in a letter from Boston judge Samuel Sewall, whose diary provides a view of New England life from 1674–1729. He visited Oxford, England in 1695, and there he experienced a service that left him quite troubled. He wrote to a friend back in Boston on 22 July 1695, “I am a lover of Musick to a fault, yet I was uneasy there; and the jostling out of the Institution of Singing Psalms, by the boisterous Organ, is that which can never be justified before the great Master of Religious Ceremonies.”¹⁶

It seems many New England Puritans drew a hard line when it came to organs. For instance, Cotton Mather, the incredibly erudite Harvard-educated puritan minister (and grandson of music-defender John Cotton) also wrote against organs in his mammoth treatise, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702). Stating that nowhere in the New Testament is instrumental music used in worship, he averred “the holy God rejects all that he does not command in his worship.” Mather used this platform to claim that God would not want organs in church. This is a particularly severe assessment of organs—Mather actually writes that God would, “in effect say to us, *I will not bear the melody of thy Organs,*” which sounds like Mather had a particular grudge against the large instruments.¹⁷

¹⁵ Nicholas Temperley, “The Old Way of Singing: Its Origins and Development,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34:3 (Autumn 1981), 511–44.

¹⁶ Samuel Sewall to Mr. Burbank, 22 July 1695. Quoted in Henry W. Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), 79.

¹⁷ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana, or, The ecclesiastical history of New-England: from its first planting in the year 1620 unto the year of Our Lord, 1698* (London: Printed for William Parkhurst, 1702). Quoted in Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England; A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962 [1934]), 248.

Not everyone was against organs, however. In fact, to some Puritans, the only real danger of organs came in how they divided congregations. This very point was made by Richard Baxter, a renowned and devout scholar in seventeenth-century England. He even-handedly decided that while any kind of music the whole congregation agreed upon was good, he did not want any music he himself could not participate in. No exclusive choirs, and no solo organ music. As he puts it, “*plain* intelligible Church-musick... a *natural* help to the minds alacrity: And it is a *duty* and not a sin to use the helps of nature and Lawful art.”¹⁸

Puritans may not have had organs or other instruments in their churches, but instruments were prevalent in private homes. Domestic instruments were far more common in England than New England; they mostly had to be imported to the colonies, which was costly and cumbersome. But scarcity in New England (or anywhere outside London) did not mean instruments were forbidden. Indeed, puritan ministers encouraged this usage for congregation members who wanted to accompany their psalm singing at home. As John Cotton and Thomas Shepard wrote, “Nor doe we forbid the private use of any Instrument of musick therewithal; [just] so that attention to the instrument doe not direct the heart from attention to the matter of the Song.”¹⁹ Instruments were orthodox, according to the two ministers, as long as they did not distract from the pious feelings psalm singing was meant to evoke.

In addition to their use in private worshipful singing, instruments were also employed in social settings for entertainment purposes. We know that Puritans enjoyed instrumental music in part because there are a striking number of instruments (and records of instruments) from colonial New England. Music scholar Barbara Lambert uncovered astonishing evidence of social music making by Puritans in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. She combed probate records—the household inventories of recently deceased individuals—and found over 150 instruments before 1730. Most were in Suffolk County, although a good number were

¹⁸ Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory: Or, A Summ of Practical Theologie, and Cases of Conscience* (London: Printed by Robert White, for Nevil Simmons, 1673), III, 167a.

¹⁹ Cotton and Shepard, 15.

in Middlesex County. She found a wide variety of instruments: plucked instruments (lutes, guitars, etc.), keyboards (virginals, harpsichords, spinets), string instruments (violins, violas da gamba), drums, trumpets, flutes, and so forth. These instruments were owned by a cross-section of society—mostly merchants, but also sea captains, innkeepers, sailors, tailors, ministers, school masters, two governors, and all sorts of artisans. As Lambert drily notes, “for a people not reputed to practice instrumental music, the list is quite impressive.” Instruments were not in churches, but they were seemingly everywhere else.²⁰

This brings us to Harvard College, the educational beacon of the “city upon a hill.” When Harvard was founded in 1646 its pupils were the sons of ministers and other university-educated men. What is more, it had been hoped that Harvard would beckon the sons of puritan families still in England—after all, Harvard was established according to puritan doctrines and ideals, and no other college in England could offer such stringency. These hopes were more or less squelched by the distractions of the English Civil War. Nevertheless, scholarly life at Harvard developed apace. That life was highly structured: modeled after the radical Emmanuel College of the University of Cambridge, Harvard gave little time for recreation to students in the seventeenth century. And with an absolute moratorium on tavern-going and card-playing—two perennially favored pastimes for college students—Harvard men had a few choices for their scarce hours of relaxation.²¹

Music was one possible outlet, however, and scraps of information about Harvard’s early musical life have filtered down to us today. Scrap one: several Harvard founders left instruments to the College when they died, suggesting a nascent and informal collegium musicum. Scrap two: in 1653, a few short years after Harvard was established, a tutor named

²⁰ Barbara Lambert, “Social Music, Musicians, and Their Musical Instruments in and around Colonial Boston,” in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630–1820: a Conference held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, May 17 and 18, 1973, Volume II: Music in Homes and in Churches* (Boston: Published by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980), 409–514.

²¹ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century Part 1* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 75–77.

Wigglesworth recounted disapprovingly of a student who kept “ill company playing musick.” Scrap three: John Cotton’s son, Seaborn Cotton (named for the oceanic location of his birth) copied English ballads into his notebook. Seaborn graduated from Harvard in 1651, and his ballad book was almost certainly intended for his private enjoyment while he was a student. Yet another scrap: Nathaniel Chauncy (son of Harvard president Charles Chauncy and class of 1661) copied a fragment of music into his commonplace book. From these wisps, we can conjure an image of a campus in which young students snatched musical experiences where they could.²²

Of course, Harvard students also sang psalms in their twice-weekly worship, and students were pressured not to go further than that in their musical interests. For instance, in a letter dated 27 March 1666, Leonard Hoar (class of 1650 and President of Harvard in the 1670s) urged his freshman nephew Josiah Flynt not to indulge in music. Following pages and pages of advice and admonitions (right after he admitted that he did not expect his nephew to speak only Latin in casual conversations), Hoar wrote, “I suspect you seek [music] both to soon, and to much. This be assured of that if you be not excellent at it[,] Its worth nothing at all. And if you be excellent it will take up so much of your mind and time that you will be worth little else: And when all that excellence is attained [it] will prove little or nothing of real profit to you unlesse you intend to take it upon you the trade of fiddling.”²³ In other words, stay away from music: it is not worth your time if you are not good at it, and if you are good at it, you will waste all your time practicing and have no other career options other than as a musician.

Knowing that music was enjoyed, if a bit illicitly, at Harvard, and knowing that instruments were quite common, we arrive at our final destination: the rise of organs in colonial New England. Organs were less common than other instruments, in part because they were so difficult and expensive to transport, and there were initially no organ makers in the colonies. Although Puritans were talking and writing about organs in

²² *Ibid.* 113–17.

²³ Leonard Hoar to Josiah Flynt, 27 March 1661. Quoted in Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century Part 2*, 643.

the seventeenth century, it was not until the eighteenth century that the mighty instruments themselves begin to appear.²⁴

The first organ to be imported into New England, which was also the first permanently installed in a church, was initially the private possession of Thomas Brattle. Brattle, a wealthy Boston clergyman, teacher, and treasurer of Harvard, imported an organ for use in his house sometime in the early eighteenth century. Organs for home use were not uncommon, and Brattle's was a small one-manual organ that had been built in England. Brattle was a liberal-minded man who had opposed the Salem witchcraft trials and welcomed Enlightenment ideas. But he was also a devout Puritan who adhered to the strict beliefs on which the Massachusetts Bay Colony had been founded. In this sense, he was the perfect figure to bring the organ into New England: both a pious minister and a forward-thinking cosmopolitan.

Brattle regularly invited friends over to be entertained by his new organ, and at least two eminent Boston figures—judge Samuel Sewall and Reverend Joseph Green—mention hearing Brattle's organ when they visited the eminent minister. Having an organ in his private home was all well and good, according to puritan doctrine; but when Brattle died in 1717, he left the organ to the puritan Brattle Square Church with a stipulation that if the Church rejected it, it should go to the Anglican King's Chapel. This is exactly what happened—it was installed at King's Chapel, Boston, where it claimed the honor of being the first organ in a New England church. English organist Edward Enstone was brought over to play the instrument.²⁵

Elsewhere in the colonies, churches were already installing organs that had either been imported from Europe or designed for specific churches. For instance, the German Pietists in Pennsylvania brought a small organ with them in 1703. Church organs truly abounded in the 1720s, however. It was in that decade that the Dutch Reformed Church of New York was given an organ by Governor Burnet, and Philadelphia's Christ Church installed an instrument in 1728. In New England, the decline of Puritan authority in the eighteenth century coincided with an

²⁴ Foote, 79.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 80–81.

increase in organs. In 1733, Bishop Berkeley bequeathed an enormous organ to Trinity Church in Newport, Rhode Island. Remarkably, the German composer Karl Theodor Pachebel, who happened to have been visiting Boston, helped install the organ. A few years later, in 1736, imported organs arrived in both Boston's Trinity Church and Old North Church, also known as Christ Church; 1743 witnessed an imported organ in St. Peter's Church, Salem Massachusetts.²⁶

Despite this growth, by 1800 there were probably no more than around twenty organs in New England churches. Those that did exist were primarily in Anglican churches, reflecting a holdover of the conservative puritan view. Indeed, many churches remained without organs until the nineteenth century. As we will learn later today, Harvard itself procured a majestic organ in 1859, right after Appleton Chapel was erected. We have these comments from renowned music critic J. S. Dwight on that organ, which possessed an impressive oak case and tin front pipes that were burnished to a high gloss. The organ loomed over the choir loft, directly above the main entrance. The chapel itself was cold—as old churches often are—and Dwight rejoiced in how the organ infused the interior with life. “There is warmth and lusty strength and richness and vitality and beauty and delicacy enough in the tones of the new Organ, to warm the soul through one sense, though it be chilled through another.”²⁷ Those are fitting words with which to close this paper, which has brought us from stereotypes about Puritans as music-haters to the Puritans as music-lovers, from sacred psalmody to covert college entertainments, and from organ destruction in the English Civil War to organ creation in New England.

²⁶ Orpha Caroline Ochse, *The History of the Organ in the United States* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), 9–36; Barbara Owen, *The Organ in New England: an Account of its Use and Manufacture to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Raleigh: Sunbury Press, 1979).

²⁷ Dwight quoted in Owen, 150.

*Teaching from the Organ Bench:
Nineteenth-Century Origins of
Harvard's Music Curriculum*

EVAN A. MACCARTHY

Amidst the festivities for this grand addition to The Memorial Church, it seems fitting to recount the degree to which musical life at Harvard is indebted to The Memorial Church and its predecessor, Appleton Chapel. For it is through this institution, at the very core of Harvard, with its daily and weekly services, that music regularly met the ears of its students and faculty in an official capacity for much of Harvard's history. I will focus on one of the most lasting artistic contributions of Harvard's churches to music: helping music first find its way into Harvard's course catalog.

Musical life in and around Harvard in the early nineteenth century included student choirs, the famous Pierian Sodality (founded in 1808), and the later Harvard Musical Association, formed by alumni Pierian members.¹ Pianoforte playing was encouraged, but teachers had to be found off-campus. In 1832, twenty-five years before any official courses were to be offered in music, students asked President Quincy to establish a professorship in music.² In the fall of 1840, several sophomores gath-

¹ Valuable accounts of early musical life at Harvard can be found in Walter R. Spalding, "Music, 1862–1929," in *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636–1936*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 106–29; Spalding, *Music at Harvard: a historical review of men and events* (New York, 1935), chs. 2–4; John C. Schmidt, *The Life and Works of John Knowles Paine* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1980); Elliot Forbes, *A History of Music at Harvard to 1972* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 1–8. These sources, which are filled with references to documents and contemporary journalistic evidence, served as the foundation for much of the material covered in this essay.

² Spalding, "Music, 1862–1929," 107. The Corporation vetoed the proposal on account of the expense.

ered in the room of one of their classmates “feeling desirous of cultivating their tastes and talents in Vocal Music” and sought to form a student-run singing society.³ The host of this meeting and elected conductor was one Alexander Wheelock Thayer, future author of the famous *Life of Beethoven* and later European guide for the 20-year-old organist John Knowles Paine during his three-year trip through Germany.⁴ The Glee Club would not be established until 1858, but a choir drew up a constitution for itself in the 1830s, listing as its first article: “to cultivate the knowledge and practice of sacred music, having special reference to the devotional exercises of the College Chapel.”⁵

In the early nineteenth century, there was much opposition to any official musical instruction at Harvard since many at Harvard and in society considered music to be a frivolous subject, not appropriate for a university education or curriculum. The historian and horticulturalist Francis Parkman, perhaps most famous as author of *The Oregon Trail*, served as a member of the Harvard Corporation and was known for regularly exclaiming, after reading the annual College budget, in the vein of Cato about Carthage: “Musica delenda est!”⁶ However, pressure increased from students, alumni, and lovers of music, especially the Harvard Musical Association, and the tide began to shift. According to Harvard alumnus and Boston music critic John Sullivan Dwight, the Harvard Musical Association was founded to bring about “a fuller recognition of Music among the branches of a liberal culture in the University,” and, among other its endeavors, raise funds for the “foundation of a musical professorship” and so “that a music library might be collected.”⁷

An organist by the name of Levi Parsons Homer first appeared in Harvard’s 1855 catalog as “Instructor in Music,” having also been hired as organist for the college’s chapel.⁸ At this time, the college chapel was still

³ Spalding, “Music, 1862–1929,” 107.

⁴ Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 32.

⁵ Forbes, *A History of Music at Harvard to 1972*, 4.

⁶ Spalding, “Music, 1862–1929,” 111; Spalding, *Music at Harvard*, 144; Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 61.

⁷ *Dwight’s Journal of Music* XII, no. 16 (23 January 1858), 342.

⁸ Spalding, “Music, 1862–1929,” 107; Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 47.

in University Hall as all awaited the completion of the nearby Appleton Chapel. Living in Divinity Hall, Homer divided his time between playing at services, training the College Choir, and giving “extra classes” in music for upperclassmen.⁹ His hiring was celebrated in the Boston press:

The office of musical instructor and organist to the University has been created, and our young townsman, Mr. L. P. Homer, who has spent many years of earnest study with the best musical masters in Germany, and who is one of our most thoroughly taught musicians.¹⁰

During his first academic year in his post, in February 1856, Homer even received a vote of thanks from the Faculty “for the zeal and success with which he has devoted himself to the instruction of the students in music.”¹¹

It is the following year’s course catalog however that deserves special attention, since it is there for the first time at Harvard that a course in Music was ever listed. The course title was *Vocal Music*, with the description:

Instruction in Music, with special reference to the devotional services in the Chapel, is open to all Undergraduates. This course will extend to the higher branches of part-singing. Separate classes for Graduates will be formed if desired.¹²

This course was taught until 1862, when Homer suddenly died in the spring semester at the age of 39.¹³

⁹ Spalding, *Music at Harvard*, 160.

¹⁰ Dwight drew special attention to Homer’s talents while celebrating Harvard’s move to include music instruction: “So our venerable Alma Mater at Cambridge has at length taken a first step in the direction we have so long urged of recognizing music in her circle of the arts and sciences.” In John Sullivan Dwight, “Harvard Musical Association,” *Dwight’s Journal of Music* VII (21 July 1855), 126.

¹¹ Spalding, “Music, 1862–1929,” 107; Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 47n.

¹² Cited in Spalding, “Music, 1862–1929,” 107.

¹³ Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 47. Several music works from the late Homer’s

During Homer's brief tenure as organist and instructor in music, Appleton Chapel was opened to better serve the student and faculty body that had over the past century grown beyond the capacity of Holden Chapel or the chapels in Harvard Hall or University Hall. The chapel gallery featured an organ by the Boston firm Simmons and Wilcox, which quickly fell into awful disrepair because of faulty weatherproofing on the roof of Appleton Chapel, which caused floods of rainwater to regularly pour into the instrument.¹⁴

Despite his tragic and early death, Levi Parsons Homer must be given a more prominent place in our historical accounts for achieving a proper place for music in the curriculum at Harvard. Dwight noted that it was Homer's *Vocal Music* course that served as the "entering wedge," and that "we may all rejoice in it."¹⁵ It is fitting that the practice of religious music would be the foundation for the instruction of music at Harvard.

Mere months before Levi Parsons Homer died, a 22-year-old organist hailing from Portland, Maine returned from three years of studying and performing in Europe: John Knowles Paine.¹⁶ Upon his return to America, he was described in the *Boston Musical Times* as a "devoted worshipper" and "missionary" of J.S. Bach, after giving a landmark recital on the new four-manual Hook organ in the Tremont Street Temple, then the largest and finest organ in Boston.¹⁷

Two weeks after this 1861 recital, Paine was offered the organist post at the historic and prestigious West Church on Cambridge Street in

library were purchased by Harvard for the college library. On this, see the Report of the Committee of the Overseers of Harvard College appointed to visit the Library (dated 10 July 1863), 30.

¹⁴ Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 49.

¹⁵ Cited in Forbes, *A History of Music at Harvard to 1972*, 8.

¹⁶ On his first tour of musical studies in Europe, see Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 31–46.

¹⁷ *Dwight's Journal of Music* XIX, no. 21 (24 August, 1861), 166; On Paine's interests in Bach, see Michael Broyles, "Haupt's Boys: Lobbying for Bach in 19th-Century Boston," in *Bach Perspectives 5: Bach in America*, ed. Stephen A. Crist (University of Illinois Press, 2003), 37–56, at 47.



John Knowles Paine

Photo from album of photographs of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, presented in Greek at Sanders Theatre. Harvard University Archives.

Boston at a salary of \$400 per year.¹⁸ Just weeks before the offer to Paine, the church had installed a new three-manual Hook organ, considered to be “surpassed only by the Tremont Temple organ.”¹⁹ Paine accepted the job, started the next Sunday, and made plans to “teach piano, organ, and theory,” also giving attention to forming military bands.²⁰

Not much more than three months after Paine took up the West Church organ position, Levi Parsons Homer died after holding his position and teaching vocal music for only seven years. Within a week, the Harvard faculty voted to bring in for the remainder of the spring 1862 term the young organist Paine, whose talent was becoming well known in the Boston area. Harvard’s contract asked the organist to be a “teacher of sacred music,” offering him \$500 per year.²¹ The contract was expanded to employ Paine as Director of Music and Organist for an additional \$350 per year, matching Homer’s salary.

The opportunity to teach, conduct, and perform at Harvard surely was an honor, but Paine was not so quick to run away from the decent salary and the much finer instrument at West Church in Boston. Since Harvard did not seem to have another option, they came to a compromise with Paine. Paine was to direct rehearsals and select the music for services, play and conduct the daily services, and find a substitute for the Sunday morning service so that Paine could attend to his duties at West Church.²² Such a split of responsibilities appeared to infuriate the administration at Harvard.²³

¹⁸ On Paine at Old West, see Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 43. Church records for this offer are dated 16 November 1861. This church, located near Government Center in Boston, is now known as Old West Church, where today there is another organ by C. B. Fisk, Inc. (Opus 55). The opening for the offer to Paine came about when the previous organist, Canadian Joseph B. Sharland, had fallen ill.

¹⁹ Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 43. The organ is described in *Dwight’s Journal of Music* XIX, no. 26 (28 September, 1861), 206.

²⁰ Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 43. N.B., the Civil War had only begun seven months earlier.

²¹ On Paine’s contract with Harvard, see Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 47–48; Forbes, *A History of Music at Harvard to 1972*, 11–12.

²² Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 44.

²³ Harvard President Peabody stated his displeasure on this matter and also with

So, in the spring of 1862, John Knowles Paine continued in the path of Levi Parsons Homer by offering a course on sacred vocal music to Harvard undergraduates, conducting the Chapel Choir, and playing the organ at services. When Paine took over the post, it appears that he was shocked by the state of affairs: the music at compulsory morning prayers was led by an informal group of students, and the organ was in awful shape.²⁴ Apparently, there was already water in the organ, rendering certain stops on the organ unusable and requiring immediate repair. University Hall was unhelpful since money was rather tight with the ongoing Civil War, and the organ's builders had dissolved their partnership and would not assist with the repairs.²⁵ This situation led to someone (perhaps Paine or some frustrated alumnus) printing in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* the following statement: "It is a pity that Harvard has not an organ good enough for such a player, but Mr. Paine's skill must make up for the defects of the very unsatisfactory instrument which the college owns." This too did not go over well with the Corporation.

The first course catalog to feature Paine's name was for the next academic year, 1862–63, in which Paine's name is found at the bottom of the list of College Officers because he was not a college graduate. The course description for Homer's *Vocal Music* class was revised to remove any reference to instruction in part-singing or admission of graduate students, but immediately a group of law students asked Paine for private instruction (for which Paine had to collect his own tuition since the term bill office refused).²⁶ Later that year, Paine was welcomed into the Harvard Musical Association, who were very eager to see Harvard create a chair in Music and appear to have begun backing Paine for that position

Paine's lack of proper education, remarking "1st. he is not a man of college education or college experience, and though in every way in manners and character, I regard his success with classes of collegians as problematical. And 2dly, he has an organ in Boston which he is unwilling to resign, and, should his success be all that we can hope, it still remains possible that he will find no acceptable substitute as Sunday organist here...". Cited in Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 48.

²⁴ Spalding, "Music, 1862–1929," 108.

²⁵ Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 48–49.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

from the outset.²⁷

That same year, the Board of Overseers elected as Harvard's new president Thomas Hill, who immediately inaugurated a series of University Lectures for graduates of colleges, public school teachers, and to anyone connected with the university except undergraduates.²⁸ Among the first faculty to offer these lectures were Alexander Agassiz, Benjamin Peirce, Charles Eliot Norton, and none other than John Knowles Paine with lectures on "Musical Form" and another set entitled "Instruction in Counterpoint and Fugue." Following the particular success of the counterpoint and fugue lectures, which were rooted in the music of Palestrina and J.S. Bach, Paine wrote in a report to the administration that Harvard needed to offer a class in "elementary musical theory" to undergraduates. Since the University Lectures were only available to graduates, Paine argued that a knowledge of harmony was essential to those "who wish to cultivate thoroughly their taste in music."²⁹ He also noted problems with student attendance in his courses and in choir rehearsal, asking the Board of Overseers to enact stricter rules.

The next year, the counterpoint and fugue lectures were successfully folded into the curriculum and in 1864 given the description: "Instruction in Music is given to those who desire it, and are sufficiently acquainted with the rudiments." Courses in elementary music, vocalization, part reading, and sacred music were offered by Paine.³⁰ Walter Spalding, Paine's future successor as Music Department chair, offered the perfect remark about how Paine found his way to get this course on the books: "to some administrative genius, music owes the pious deception by which instruction in counterpoint and fugue was smuggled into the scheme of University Lectures."³¹

The year 1863 saw the arrival from Europe and installation in Boston Music Hall of what would be the largest pipe organ in America:

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 50. Paine's induction took place on 19 Jan 1863.

²⁸ Spalding, *Music at Harvard*, 161–62; Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 50. Other "interested persons" could pay a five-dollar fee.

²⁹ Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 58.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 57.

³¹ Spalding, "Music, 1862–1929," 112.

the grand Walcker organ that now resides in Methuen's Memorial Music Hall. Paine was involved with the dedicatory concerts for the Walcker organ, including a large amount of J.S. Bach in his repertoire, regularly playing the *Toccata in F* [BWV 540].³² For much of his career, Paine would mostly perform recitals on the organs in Boston Music Hall, the Tremont Temple, and West Church, since the Appleton organ at Harvard remained in such an inadequate state. Not only was Paine regularly performing Bach's music, but it would feature significantly in his teaching materials.

Two years after taking up his post at Harvard (and two-and-a-half years after beginning at West Church), Paine had maintained his dual responsibilities in Cambridge and Boston. West Church had even increased his salary in recognition of his fine work. Eventually, money grew scarce for West Church and the parish leadership decided to dismiss its hired choir of four singers in favor of adopting a larger volunteer choir from the congregation who needed regular training from the choirmaster.³³ Soon thereafter, Paine resigned from West Church on 1 April 1864. On Paine's departure, John Sullivan Dwight wrote: "The West Church will sadly feel the loss of Paine, but Harvard...has long been eager to secure more of his services, especially as organist and choir director on Sundays, and Alma Mater's arguments have been persuasive."³⁴

Now at Harvard full time as organist, choirmaster, and instructor, Paine divided the chapel choir into a Sunday choir and a Morning choir for the daily services.³⁵ Later that academic year, in 1865, Paine arranged a choir of sixty voices for a performance of Bach's cantata "Ein feste Burg is unser Gott" [BWV 80] as part of the Civil War Commemoration Day, which also featured Paine's own Gloria from his *Mass in D* and selections

³² On the Walcker organ and the dedicatory concert, see Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 51–56. See also Barbara Owen, "Bach Comes to America," in *Bach Perspectives 5: Bach in America*, 1–14, at 3; Matthew Dirst, "Doing Missionary Work: Dwight's Journal of Music and the American Bach Awakening," in *Bach Perspectives 5: Bach in America*, 15–36.

³³ Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 44.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 44.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

from Cherubini's *Requiem*.³⁶ This is one of the very earliest American performances of a Bach cantata. Four years later, Paine conducted another Bach cantata "Ich hätte viel Bekümmernis" [BWV 21] to rave reviews and later that year received an honorary Master of Arts from Harvard, allowing for his eventual faculty promotion.³⁷

Four years into his post, the organ in the Appleton Chapel remained in utter disarray and finally required substantial repairs and additions. Paine and others paid for these repairs out of pocket and, in June of 1866, Paine announced a series of three subscription concerts on the repaired organ to raise funds to reimburse Paine and the others who had offered money for the restoration.³⁸ These concerts featured organ works by Bach, Mendelssohn, and Paine, as well as vocal selections from oratorios by Mendelssohn, Handel, and others. And, on the last concert, Paine included two arias and Bach's final chorus from the *Saint Matthew Passion*. It is apparent from the reviews that the organ clearly still needed further repairs, since: "the great lungs repeatedly gave out before Paine was able to go uninterruptedly and grandly through the famous Bach Toccata in F; one or two pieces had to be omitted altogether and others substituted, while others were disturbed by the rattling of the mechanism in certain stops, especially in accompaniment."³⁹

Harvard was not the only Boston area institution that benefitted from Paine's many talents. The New England Conservatory, which had opened in 1867, listed Paine among its faculty starting in the next year.⁴⁰ Boston University employed Paine for five years in the 1870s as Chair of Composition, Musical History and Aesthetics, a wonderful all-encompassing title.⁴¹ Paine also taught many students privately, but it was at Harvard

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 60–61; Broyles, "Haupt's Boys: Lobbying for Bach in 19th-Century Boston," 51.

³⁷ Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 83–98.

³⁸ On the fundraising subscription concerts and lists of the works performed, see Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 61–64.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁴⁰ On Paine at New England Conservatory, see Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, 83–98.

⁴¹ M. A. deWolfe Howe, "John Knowles Paine," *The Musical Quarterly*, 25 (1939):

that Paine left his longest-lasting contributions for music education.

With the overhaul of curriculum and departments enacted by Harvard's President Eliot starting in 1870, and the introduction of the elective course system in eight fields of study (including music), music courses started appearing in the course catalog more regularly, all taught by Harvard's organist and choirmaster.⁴² Beginning in 1871, *Theory of Music* was offered as an elective course, and in the subsequent years Paine revised the curriculum into courses numbered Music 1, 2, 3, and 4 and covering fields such as harmony, simple and imitative counterpoint, fugue, musical form, choral figuration, free composition, and the history of music (which covered "Ancient Greek music; Gregorian music; Medieval and Modern Music"). This last course, on music history, had an initial enrollment of six, but ten years later had 81 and by Paine's last two years offering it, in 1903 and 1904, 121 and 98 students, respectively. It was in the early 1870s that Harvard first recognized Paine's contributions to musical life at the college, first with an assistant professorship in 1873 and a full professorship in music in 1875, the very same year that Charles Eliot Norton was named full professor of art history.⁴³

The hearty roots of Harvard's music curriculum that were laid down by the organists Levi Parsons Homer and John Knowles Paine continued to be nurtured by Paine's successors as organist and choirmaster in Appleton Chapel. Warren Andrew Locke (Class of 1869) relieved Paine of the stress of his burgeoning list of responsibilities by taking over his musical duties at Appleton Chapel in 1882.⁴⁴ Locke adopted the English tradition of a choir of men and boys to Harvard, drawing on Cambridge schools for talented boy singers. Like Paine though, Locke served two masters: Har-

256–267, at 264.

⁴² For the fullest account of the development of music courses within the curriculum reform at Harvard, see Forbes, *A History of Music at Harvard to 1972*, 14–16.

⁴³ On Paine becoming professor, see Schmidt, *John Knowles Paine*, ch. 5. For the best survey of Charles Eliot Norton's contributions to the arts at Harvard, see James Turner, *The Liberal Education of Charles Eliot Norton* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999). N.B., the promotion of Paine and Norton made two professors in the arts among a faculty of 119.

⁴⁴ On Locke, see Spalding, "Music, 1862–1929," 108–9.



Warren Andrew Locke (Class of 1869)
Harvard University Archives

vard University and the Church of St. Paul's Boston, but was memorialized at his death as an "inspiring, devoted, and beloved master and teacher." Following Locke's departure in 1910, Walter Spalding (then chair of the Music Department) served as interim organist for five months until



Archibald Thompson Davison (Class of 1906)
Harvard University Archives

Archibald Thompson Davison (Class of 1906) was selected as University Organist and Choirmaster just as the organ was rebuilt in Appleton Chapel. Directing the University Choir, and serving as the Glee Club's first academic advisor, Davison brought choral singing to a new height at Harvard and in America. As a teacher, Davison rose from the rank of teaching assistant to the James Edward Ditson Professor of Music over

a forty-five-year career teaching in the Department of Music.⁴⁵

In 1855, the same year that Levi Parsons Homer was first hired as Organist and Instructor in Music, John Sullivan Dwight wrote about Harvard's need to find a solid music professor in order to lay the foundations of a proper Department of Music. Dwight remarked that such foundations will likely come from musical practice in College Chapel:

With a good teacher and presiding mind in that department, it can but naturally follow that some inspiring influence shall flow down from religious music through all the other musical channels of college life. And then the good of it will be so felt, that one day we may hope to see, not merely practical class teachers of music, but a musical professor, in the University, who shall lecture on the history and literature of Music, the principles of taste, the philosophy and progress of the Art, its various schools, and so forth; a chair, from which, filled by a live man, shall emanate new light and impulse to the cause of musical high Art throughout the land.⁴⁶

How fortunate we all are that the organist and choirmaster John Knowles Paine chose to serve Harvard in so many fruitful capacities. I am certain that Paine himself is smiling today at the sight and sound of this new, glorious (and non-waterlogged) instrument.

⁴⁵ On Spalding, Davison, and the history of the Department of Music in the early twentieth century, see Spalding, *Music at Harvard*, 166–76; Forbes, *A History of Music at Harvard to 1972*, 35–53.

⁴⁶ Dwight, "Harvard Musical Association," 126; cited in Forbes, *A History of Music at Harvard to 1972*, 8.

*Charles Fisk, William Dowd, Frank Hubbard,
& the Harvard School of Instrument Makers*

CHRISTOPH WOLFF

The Harvard School of Instrument Makers does of course not exist—at least not officially. Our School of Engineering and Applied Sciences certainly offers no such program. Nevertheless, in 1949 the Department of Physics produced a young graduate who eventually became one of the most distinguished and influential makers of mechanical-action instruments in the history of organ building. I am talking about none other than Charles Brenton Fisk—Charlie, as his friends and colleagues affectionately called him. I feel privileged to have been one of them.

There were two other and slightly older former Harvard College students who also ended up as very distinguished makers of keyboard instruments—stringed keyboard instruments that is—Frank Twombly Hubbard (class of 1942) and William Richmond Dowd (class of 1944), both English literature concentrators. Incidentally, we take note of the fact that none of the three took a degree in music and that, therefore, the Harvard Music Department can't take any credit whatsoever for the remarkable careers and achievements of these three instrument makers in the world of early music. Still, as can be shown, the Music Department was by no means an apathetic bystander.

Here I must add a personal note regarding Frank Hubbard. I never met him personally because he died on February 25, 1976—about four weeks after my arrival in Cambridge. His *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*¹ was actually one of the first books I bought in this country. I had very much hoped to meet him when I moved to Cambridge, but it was not to be. However, I got to know his widow, Diane Hubbard, and helped

¹ Published 1965 by Harvard University Press; 2nd edition, 1967; several subsequent reprints.



Charles B. Fisk and Christoph Wolff in 1982 at the organ of the Houghton Chapel at Wellesley College. Courtesy of Christoph Wolff.

organize a memorial recital for Frank played by Gustav Leonhardt right here in Memorial Church in the fall of 1976. Charlie Fisk and Bill Dowd were in attendance as well. It was then when Bill Dowd, looking at the Fisk organ in Appleton Chapel, at that time in its place for nine years, mentioned to me with a twinkle in his eyes and a slight grumbling inflection in his voice that Harvard acquired such a majestic instrument from Charlie but, much to his disappointment, never bought one of his so much smaller harpsichords. I had very little choice, so I replied that I would very much like to see this unjust asymmetry eventually corrected. And indeed, as chair of the Music Department a few years later, I was able to find a generous donor so that in 1984 Harvard could finally order a harpsichord from Bill. He was particularly delighted that we bought one of his first German-style doubles, a faithful replica of an instrument by Michael Mietke—the maker of the harpsichord Johann Sebastian Bach purchased for the court of Coethen in 1719.

Let me address some of the context and background that helps explain the acquisition of such unusual instruments as the first Fisk tracker organ and the Dowd ,German double harpsichord, which were by no means self-evident choices at the time. The study of music of the distant and very distant historical past had long been part of the curriculum at colleges and universities, but the academic study of ancient works and repertoires was not balanced by performance and certainly not by what today is labeled historically informed performance. The older ones among us may well recall the two-piano accompaniment of Notre-Dame polyphony typical of classroom demonstrations through the 1950s and perhaps beyond.

Then there is also the considerable gap that existed for generations between organological examination and reconstruction of historical musical instruments on the one side, and stylistically appropriate and historically informed performance practices on the other. The so-called organ movement in Germany of the 1920s, with its emphasis on the sound qualities of original Baroque instruments and the ongoing playing manners based on electro-pneumatic action, represents a case in point. Harvard happens to provide an even earlier example of such curious disconnection. Arnold Dolmetsch (1858–1940), the legendary British pioneer of old musical instruments and the revival of early music performance, spent a number of

years of his rather unconventional life in the U.S. From 1905 to 1911 he worked for the piano makers Chickering & Sons in Boston and started to make harpsichords and clavichords for the Chickering firm—curious hybrids of modern piano technology, antique looks, and exotic sound. On February 17, 1911 (a little over 100 years ago) Walter Spalding, then chairman of the Harvard Music Department, wanted to alert the Harvard community to Dolmetsch's work and wrote to the *Harvard Crimson*:

“Will you allow me through your columns to call the special attention of all music lovers in the University to the course of lectures, of which the first takes place this afternoon, to be given by Mr. Arnold Dolmetsch on the instrumental music of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as developed by the English, French, Italians, Spanish, and Germans. As the announcement of the first lecture, published elsewhere in this issue, mentions, periods of particular fascination in the history of artistic culture will be treated, which are of special interest to the layman.”

Today the Harvard instrument collection actually houses two interesting items, a harpsichord with the label *Arnold Dolmetsch, Chickering and Sons Boston V.S.A MCMVI* and a clavichord labeled *Chickering and Sons under the direction of Arnold Dolmetsch, Boston, 1907–08*. Incidentally, Ralph Kirkpatrick '31, a fine arts concentrator, later professor of music at Yale and an internationally acclaimed harpsichordist, played his first harpsichord recitals as an undergraduate on the Chickering harpsichord. (I'll return to Kirkpatrick later.)

Let us remember that the Harvard Music Department, founded by John Knowles Paine, had its origins more or less in the backyard of the university organist and these connections remained stable for a long time. Ralph Isham '89, the donor of the original Aeolian-Skinner organ in Memorial Church, established in 1932 a fund for the purchase of organ music and stipulated that it should also contain materials of value to scholars. Hence, the Isham Library in Memorial Church under its first curator and university organist, Archibald Davison, acquired photostatic copies

and microfilms of keyboard music from the 16th to the 18th centuries, although not the kind of repertoire ideally suited for an Aeolian-Skinner. The connection between the study of early music, period instruments, and historical performance practice had not yet been made—neither at Harvard, nor elsewhere in the U.S, and also not in Europe.

Symptomatic is the following situation in the 1950s: August Wenzinger, founding director of the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, the first ever academy of early music established in Basel, Switzerland, by Paul Sacher, came to Harvard in 1953 as a Lamb Lecturer. Principal cellist of the Basel city orchestra and director of the Schola, he approached and played the viola da gamba more or less like a cello. In retrospect, the disconnect seems obvious, but it wasn't perceived as such then. Two years later Ralph Kirkpatrick played a harpsichord recital at Sanders Theatre and the Harvard *Crimson* review of November 8, 1955 reveals some interesting details regarding the instrument's perception:

One hundred years ago the art of the harpsichord was dead, victim of the piano's lower cost and wider range of expression. The twentieth century, however, has seen the harpsichord revive to the extent of attracting compositions from such modern composers as Harvard's Walter Piston. The instrument has also found a place in popular music ("Come On 'a My House"), and it is even being taught at Yale. On Sunday afternoon a Yale professor [RK] honored Harvard with a concert that illustrated the reasons for the harpsichord's revival.

Playing a harpsichord with two keyboards and seven pedals, Ralph Kirkpatrick presented representative pieces from Baroque masters of England, France, Holland, Germany, and Italy. Many of these pieces were stylized dance forms, such as a *Galliaro* and a *Pavana* by England's William Byrd. The *Pavana* was a slowly paced, simple tune adorned with incredibly rapid scale passages and trills.

This may well suffice: seven pedals plus rapid scale passages and trills sum up what the harpsichord and its player could deliver. It certainly was not a Hubbard & Dowd instrument, the first of which were produced

in 1950. The two Harvard graduates together had set up shop in the late 1940s for the construction of new harpsichords and the restoration of antiques; they ran a joint shop through 1958. Hubbard '42, the senior of the two, had taken a number of music courses with Piston, Davison, Merritt, and Woodworth, and had played in the Pierian Soldality (now the Harvard-Radcliffe Orchestra). Dowd '44 graduated in 1948 because of the wartime. He wrote in his 25th Anniversary Report: "I believe that most of us who returned to Harvard after the war found it a marvelous experience. It must have felt like a new life, a completely new start. <...> Although my field in college was English literature, I took many courses in music and became fascinated by baroque musical instruments, so much that I determined upon harpsichord making as a career."

Charlie Fisk also had to interrupt college as part of the war effort; he was drafted and sent to Los Alamos where he worked for the atomic bomb team of Robert Oppenheimer. But after graduating in 1949 and working briefly at Brookhaven National Laboratories, he did not continue a career in nuclear physics. For him, who had grown up in Cambridge, had been a young chorister in E. Power Biggs' Christ Church and later a member of the Harvard Glee Club, the post-war atmosphere opened up new possibilities as well. But unlike Frank Hubbard and Bill Dowd he did not (at least not initially) reinvent the making of organs. He chose to apprentice with established organ firms like Holtkamp and the Andover Company, which built good instruments, yet with key desks that resembled airplane cockpits. By the time he founded C. B. Fisk Inc. in 1961, he had developed his very own style and became the first major American organ builder to return to the tracker key and stop action of historical instruments. In the 15th Anniversary Report (1964) of the class of '49 he wrote: "My chief interest, the design and construction of organs of the type Bach might have enjoyed playing on, has gone forward as well as I could have hoped." And he refers to two important organ projects underway, King's Chapel in Boston and Memorial Church at Harvard.

Charlie Fisk's stated philosophy of designing and constructing "organs of the type Bach might have enjoyed playing" provided for considerable flexibility—an important and perhaps vital element in modern organ building. I remember discussing this very matter with him by men-

tioning that Bach played not only his own music, he was interested in the broader repertoire, including works by Italian and French masters. He had organ music by Frescobaldi, De Grigny, Buxtehude, and others in his library, but without ever having an Italian, French, or North German organ at his disposal. Of course, he was familiar with the Hanseatic instruments of Hamburg and Lübeck because he had traveled there, but as he had never touched a French or Italian instrument he must have played the pertinent repertoire in a manner and with results that would hardly have been stylistically correct. Bach's musical perspective was limited geographically and chronologically.

What comes into play here is a perspective that has truly revolutionized the early music scene from an advantageous and rather unique post-World War II American outlook, an outlook additionally shaped by an academic exposure to a European culture of the past. Student-soldiers like Hubbard and Dowd returning home from the European theater of war had experienced various things: first, the enormous transatlantic distance of the pre-jet age; second, the smallness of the European continent with its strongly contrasting national cultures—not just British, French, German, Italian, and Spanish, but Dutch, Danish, Austrian, etc; and third, the complete non-identity of the modern present and the imaginary historical past. This created new parameters for the making of a genuine Baroque-style harpsichord. It was not to approach it from the experience of piano technology but really from scratch, starting with the materials, tools, and design principles of 17th- and 18th-century French, Flemish, German, or Italian craftsmen.

Frank Hubbard's classic *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* does not mention this post-war background because at the time of his writing it was simply taken for granted. Nevertheless, the book demonstrates very clearly the fundamental difference that existed from the earlier 20th-century practices of harpsichord making in Europe, notably the Dolmetsch (English) and Neupert (German) way of constructing a harpsichord by using, for instance, the advantages of an iron frame and losing the resonating qualities of an all-wood structure. Apart from emphasizing historic craftsmanship, Hubbard and Dowd individualized harpsichord making by paying attention not only to the national and regional differences between

German, French, Italian, and other style instruments but also between 17th- and 18th-century harpsichords, and even between several makers from about the same time, say Fleischer in Hamburg and Mietke in Berlin, or between the Blanchet and Taskin workshops in Paris.

Charlie Fisk clearly paid attention to the truly scholarly approach taken by his slightly older college mates. But he went his own way, for the ordinary church organ is a completely different type of musical furniture. Unlike stringed keyboard instruments it is not transportable, but a fixture in an architectural structure and functional scheme that usually also determines the instrument's size and character. Another important and by no means negligible difference pertains to the instrument's temperament. The temperament of a harpsichord can easily be changed by the player; that of an organ cannot. Fisk's organological research was not focused on making replicas of historical instruments and fitting them into disingenuous spaces, but on studying principles and best practices of organ design, construction, and voicing from various periods and places, and particularly from different schools of thought. As Barbara Owen once put it, his instruments were "the product of a mind that was continuously learning, questioning, and growing, there is surprising variety among these instruments."²

Tirelessly searching for the best way of fitting an instrument into an available space, of designing a proper stop list, of pipe making, and voicing gives each of Charlie's organs its very own character. This is true even of the sole instrument that was conceived as a kind of facsimile of a 17th-century North German organ, opus 72 of 1981 for the Houghton Chapel at Wellesley College. During the course of planning emphasis shifted from a Sweelinck type organ to "the type of instrument for which Scheidt, Scheidemann, Böhm, Lübeck, and Buxtehude wrote."³ Fragments of extant works by Gottfried Fritzsche, Friedrich Stellwagen, Esajas Compenius, and others had to be consulted. Of particular importance was the casework of the instrument built in 1615 for the Dresden court chapel

² *Charles Brenton Fisk, Organ Builder*, ed. Fenner Douglass, Owen Jander, and Barbara Owen, volume I: *His Work*, volume II: *Essays in His Honor* (Easthampton, Mass.: The Westfield Center for Early Keyboard Studies, 1986), vol. I, preface.

³ Vol. I: Opus 72 (1981), 48–51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 50.

that later became Heinrich Schütz's musical home. However, considering all the carefully compiled and imitated details of the various prototypes, in the end it became a true Fisk organ. As Charlie put it, "You do something in order to learn something. You produce the thing that will teach you what you want to learn; this has been an incredible opportunity."⁴

In the spirit of a modern experimental physicist and at the same time in the footsteps of a 17th-century scientist-organologist like Andreas Werckmeister, Charlie Fisk in particular tested the unruly waters of musical temperament, a problem harpsichord makers could skip because they would leave the tuning to the players. But organs had to have fixed temperaments and the Wellesley organ, for example, was deliberately constructed as a meantone instrument; the only concession made was an old 17th-century compromise in that the keyboard featured split keys which permitted minor yet essential pitch differences such as, for instance, d-sharp vs. e-flat. In clear contrast to the Wellesley organ, the Stanford Fisk of 1984 (opus 85) represented the utmost in intellectually controlled eclecticism by combining elements from the Renaissance and Baroque—North German, Central German, and French elements and an ingenious tuning system: with five additional "black key" pipes in every octave, the instrument could be switched from quarter-comma meantone to a Bachian "well-tempered" scheme by moving a lever. Charlie would not have done it had he not been encouraged by organists like Harald Vogel to engage in such innovative experiments at the intersection of science and art. Not every organ could, of course, function in this way but Charlie was convinced that college instruments in particular might set the tone and provide a new threshold for historically informed performance. The simple principle of the instrument functioning as the performer's teacher was put into place. This would not only determine the limits but also, and more importantly, tell the performer what would work best.

Let me return to a statement Charlie made in 1964, quoted earlier, regarding his "chief interest, the design and construction of organs of the type Bach might have enjoyed playing on." Like Hubbard and Dowd, Fisk realized that understanding Bach's instruments from the perspective of later keyboard types, technologies, and ideals would only produce the wrong results. We need to know first and foremost where Bach came

from, and that includes the old instruments he grew up with. It was the Dutch organist and harpsichordist Gustav Leonhardt who in an exemplary fashion helped to put it all together as a Lamb Lecturer at Harvard in 1969, leading a seminar in the performance and analysis of baroque music and bringing into focus the inseparable stylistic interrelationship of composition and performance. I was not here then, but I know an important article he wrote and that grew out of his seminar that year, an essay discussing the music and musical impact of the composer Johann Jacob Froberger on later generations, including Johann Sebastian Bach.

Leonhardt found himself in the company of Frank Hubbard, Bill Dowd, and Charlie Fisk at Harvard, a company without peers anywhere else in the world. No one knew this better than Leonhardt himself, a member of the same generation and a performer-scholar on the lookout for new paths as well. He certainly realized that these three instrument makers almost single-handedly had catapulted the design and understanding of keyboard instruments into a new orbit that challenged performers to come up with an appropriate response. It is also interesting to see that musicians who had long grown accustomed to a different scene realized what had happened. The aging Ralph Kirkpatrick, for instance, chose to retire his Neupert with the seven pedals and wrote in his Foreword to Frank Hubbard's book, quite movingly, about himself and "the preconceptions and erroneous notions with which the aesthetic of the modern harpsichord has been burdened." The Hubbard, Dowd, and Fisk instruments managed to open for the performer heretofore uncharted territories of tone quality, resonance, timbre, differentiated articulation, and an unheard of spectrum of musical expression.

The Harvard School of Instrument Makers happens to be a coincidental configuration of three brilliant Harvard College graduates. That their work was authoritatively approved by Ralph Kirkpatrick, a distinguished older college graduate, as well as by Gustav Leonhardt, a one-time Harvard visiting professor who in 1991 received an honorary Harvard degree, is just another coincidence. I don't want to overstretch the historical paradigms. Nevertheless, it shows in a general way the reach of academe and the impact of scholarly approaches—not unlike that of the intellectual climate on the musical scenes of late 16th-century Florence or mid-18th-century Berlin.

The Organ(s) at Harvard; A Tour and An Evaluation

EDWARD JONES

The inaugural festivities for the majestic new Fisk organ behind you—of which this conference is a very happy part—bring to a close a project that has dominated this church for the past several years, whose scope has included the architectural restoration of Appleton Chapel behind me, and the installation of two magnificent organs.

Op. 139 honors the vision of two extraordinary men: Charles Brenton Fisk, the pioneering organ-builder and founder of the internationally acclaimed company that bears his name; and Peter John Gomes, our beloved former minister who guided this church for over forty years. It is fitting that in this Memorial Church, there now stands a tribute to the legacy of two remarkable Harvard men, whose names will forever be associated with the ministry and music of this house of worship.

Harvard University is blessed with a rich and varied collection of organs. The magnificent 1958 Flentrop is perhaps its most famous example: championed by the playing of E. Power Biggs, it remains one of the great examples of classic organ building principles, and is still revered by organists the world over. In addition, the university houses a 1911 Skinner in Andover Hall (in desperate need of repair), as well as a Hutchings in Divinity Hall; several of the undergraduate houses have instruments, as well as a number of churches in Cambridge that house organs on loan from the university. However, it is on the instruments that have served as leaders in worship in Harvard College that I would like to focus this afternoon. For while the formal study of music might be considered a relative newcomer in Harvard's august history, worship has always played a central role, and the history of organs at Harvard is closely allied to its buildings of worship. Thus before assessing the current situation at Harvard and its future implications, I would like to give a brief historical outline of these buildings of worship, and then

focus on the instruments of this church and its immediate predecessor.

The practice of religion has always played a part in student life at Harvard, as it continues to do so today. The university's first separate building for worship was Holden Chapel, built in 1744, followed by a chapel in Harvard Hall, and one in University Hall. Finally in 1858, Appleton Chapel was built—a building dedicated solely to worship, which stood on the site of this very church. (Confusingly, the current chapel in The Memorial Church retained the name of its predecessor, so I will refer to the 1858 building as the old Appleton Chapel.) When old Appleton Chapel was built, Harvard's service of daily morning prayers was compulsory; after it was made voluntary (a not uncontroversial decision taken in 1886) the result was a building too large for the now depleted morning prayers congregation, and one too small to house those gathered for Sunday worship.

Discussions began about a more suitable building but nothing was formalized until a 1926 proposal for a memorial to Harvard's most recent war dead: President Abbott Lawrence Lowell believed that a new chapel was the correct way to memorialize these men (incidentally, a not universally shared viewpoint) and the Harvard Corporation approved the proposal in 1928. Seventy-three-year-old Appleton Chapel was razed in 1931 and the university architects, Shepley, Bulfinch, and Abbott, were enlisted to craft a new building. This church was dedicated at the 11am service on Armistice Day 1932 in thanksgiving for the sacrifice of the Harvard men who died in World War I: it now includes memorials to those who died in subsequent wars. The church is in a modified colonial style, designed to complement the imposing Widener Library opposite. Lowell's idea was that it would draw on Harvard's own 18th-century brick vernacular and pay homage to the London churches of Sir Christopher Wren. As Professor Gomes noted, "Harvard—unlike its sister institutions at Princeton and Duke—chose not neo-Gothic for its chapel, but rather Georgian, with its emphasis on light." A brochure of the late 1920s detailed the forthcoming memorial building: "Three things indicate the plan of the church: it shall be a memorial; it shall meet the daily needs of the University; and it shall be adequate to receive the large attendance at Sunday services." Thus two separate spaces used for two different functions were divided by a grand screen of oak and gilded metal, and at its east end a majestic Palladian window of clear glass.



The Memorial Church, *circa* 1932

As we have heard, the Puritans of New England originally rejected pipe organs in worship, and I think the extreme views of Cotton Mather were a kind of fear-mongering tactic: the use of the organ—even as an accompaniment to psalm-singing—was the beginning of a slippery slope downwards that would lead to “the imposition of all the instruments used among the ancient Jews... Yea, dancing as well as playing, and several other Judaic actions.” There would be no timbrel-shaking in the aisles of his churches. It’s ironic then that the first organ in Boston was the property of a Puritan, Thomas Brattle, treasurer of Harvard College. But as Congregationalists and Unitarians began to relent, the organ’s place in worship began to be assured. There is a tradition that maintains the 1805 organ by William Gray of London was the first instrument owned by Harvard, given to the University in 1821 by Mrs. Craigie. At that time there were no other organs in Cambridge and only a few in Boston. Documentation is lacking, but this is almost certainly the organ that was installed in the Chapel of University Hall in 1821. After a brief sojourn in Maine (there is a fascinating history of where Harvard’s organs have traveled that is beyond the scope of this essay), it went to the Fogg Museum, and it is now on long-term loan to Christ Church, Cambridge, where it resides in the rear gallery.

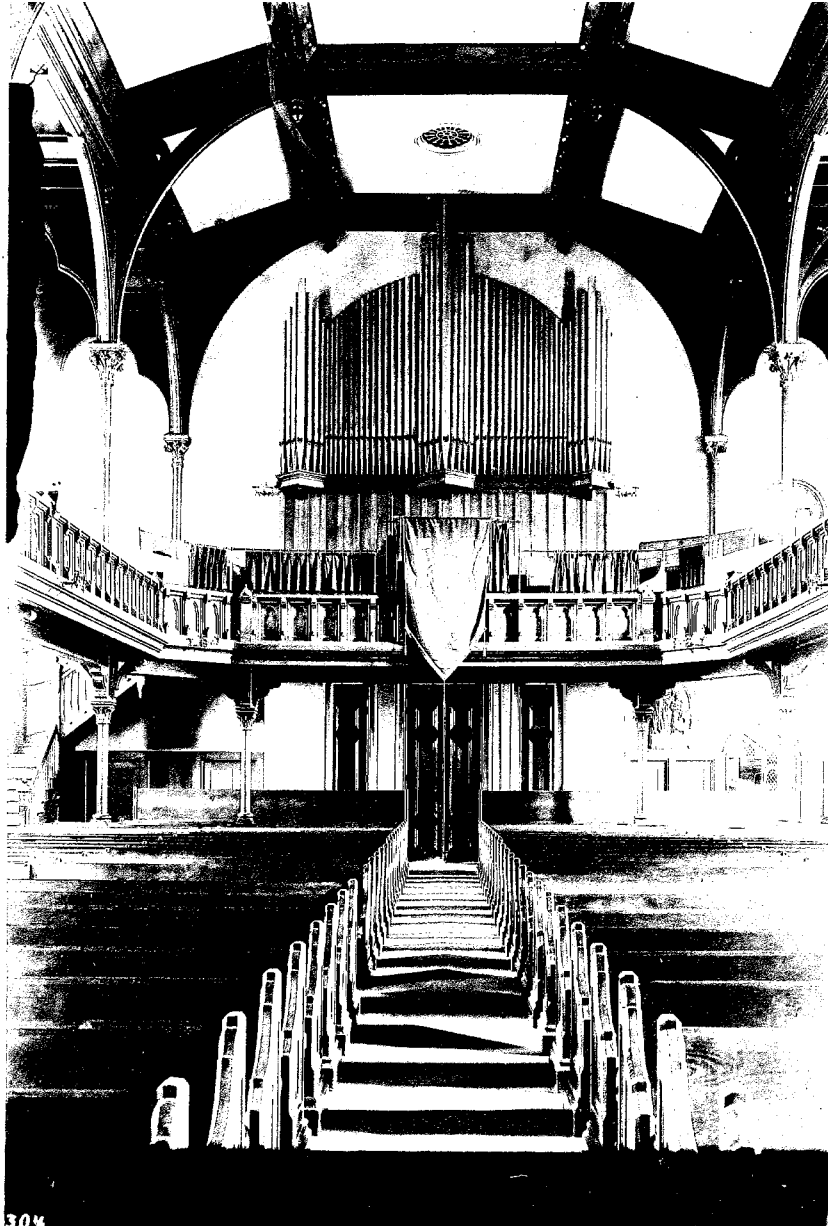
With the planning of the old Appleton Chapel in 1857, a new organ by the German firm of Walcker was first considered—the order for that firm’s famous Boston Music Hall organ was placed the same year—but eventually the local firm of Simmons and Willcox was contracted. They promised a large three-manual instrument at a lower cost and to be completed in half the time, an offer that Harvard could not refuse. The instrument contained several avant-garde features and European influences: cone-valve windchests, pneumatic stop-action, and—heaven-forbid—stops with German names. Unfortunately, the organ (and chapel) suffered water damage soon after, and in 1866 the choir division was removed. The organ was rebuilt in 1873 by Hook and Hastings, but was evidently poorly maintained: complaints by both Paine and Locke abound, and in 1912, it was replaced by Skinner Op. 197.

The match of the new Skinner organ and the newly appointed University Organist and Choirmaster, Archibald T. Davison, was not one made in heaven. Straight away Doc Davison reported that “this organ is not at all what I wanted” and the tense correspondence between the two men provides a fascinating window into the changing musical aesthetics of the time. E.M. Skinner had been the darling of his generation and the pioneer—at this exact time—of the orchestral-type organ, of which this instrument displayed several examples. Doc Davison had studied with Widor, the great Bach teacher of that age, and his preference for contrapuntal clarity was quite at odds with Skinner’s homogenous, orchestral soundworld. In addition, Davison was expecting French reeds on the organ, quite unlike the English ones that appeared. In 1930 work was done on the instrument, but evidently to no one’s satisfaction. Davison wanted to brighten up the sound of the organ; Skinner thought Davison’s ideas would make it cold and unsympathetic. What seemed warm and beautiful to Skinner was to Davison’s ears wallowing and muddy. The famous exchange over the First Diapason is worth quoting again, “My Dear Dr. Davison; if you change that First Diapason, it will be over my dead body.” The old Appleton Chapel organ had been a showcase of thinking for its day both in terms of its electrical mechanism, and in its orchestral tonal disposition, but times were changing.

Despite having undertaken these alterations in 1930, the old Appleton Chapel was torn down the following year to make way for the new Me-



Simmons and Wilcox, 1859, old Appleton Chapel



Skinner Op. 197, 1912, old Appleton Chapel

morial Church, and the Skinner was relocated to the Allinn Congregational Church in Dedham. With a sour taste still lingering over the unsatisfactory rebuild of the 1912 organ, Doc Davison was very much against a new contract being awarded to the now Aeolian Skinner company; rather, he was in favor of the Canadian firm of Casavant building the church's new instrument. An impressive lobbying effort on the part of G. Donald Harrison, alongside quiet pressure from G. Wallace Woodworth—one of Davison's closest friends—ensured that the contract did go to Aeolian Skinner, and thus this building's first organ came from the country's most prominent builder, Boston's own Aeolian-Skinner, with G. Donald Harrison given total control over the new project, much to Ernest Skinner's ire.

Aeolian-Skinner Op. 886 was located in the side chambers of The Memorial Church's Appleton Chapel and an ornately carved casefront, modeled after the 18th-century example of St. Stephen's Walbrook in the City of London, fronted the grillwork on the North side. It is worth reiterating that by design Memorial Church was meant to serve two different needs in two essentially separate spaces; the small, intimate service of morning prayers in the chapel; and the larger Sunday service in the main sanctuary. Musically, Op. 886 had a tall task. It needed to be delicate enough to lead Morning Prayers in the chapel, but strong enough to turn the corner into the main sanctuary on Sundays to lead the congregational singing. Perhaps no organ could satisfy such a mandate in what is essentially two different rooms, both with their own acoustical challenges. One interesting note is that the original plans for an instrument in Memorial Church (both the proposal from Casavant and the actual Aeolian Skinner stoplist with preparations) include a substantial section of the organ in the rear gallery, and it was hoped that this would be accomplished soon after the installation of the main instrument. Unfortunately, this proposal was vetoed by the new President of Harvard, James Conant, on financial grounds, and thus an essentially incomplete (though still very substantial) organ was presented as the finished product. Reports of the organ and its relative success vary greatly depending on the bias of the writer, but it seems fair to say that the instrument was a compromise from the start. While its wealth of quiet stops must have made it an excellent accompanimental instrument—and probably very successful for the morning prayers service—the sound seems to have been thick, muddy,



Aeolian Skinner Op. 886, 1932

and somewhat ineffective in the body of the church.

By the sixties a new musical aesthetic was emerging, with possibilities for the performance of baroque and pre-baroque music. In the organ world this translated into a revival of classic organ-building principles; mechanical action instruments which offered a direct link between finger and pipe-speech, celebrated in Harvard by the iconic Flentrop instrument in Adolphus Busch Hall. The barely thirty-year old Aeolian Skinner could not have seemed more outdated and more out of fashion.

With the appointment of a new University Organist and Choirmaster in 1958, John Ferris, and with the prospect of an expensive overhaul to the 1932 Aeolian Skinner looming, a new organ setup for Memorial Church was considered. A committee was formed, among whose number were E. Power Biggs and Daniel Pinkham, and attention focused on the Harvard physicist turned organ builder Charles Brenton Fisk, well known in Boston for the 1963 instrument in King's Chapel. The Aeolian Skinner was removed, and Fisk Op. 46 was installed in 1967.

Photo by C.B. Fisk Inc.



Fisk Op. 46, 1967

Fisk's instrument was the first four-manual tracker-action built in the United States in the twentieth century, and it became a celebrated landmark of organ building. Interestingly, the initial plans were for a three-manual instrument in the rear gallery, but in a sad instance of history repeating itself, this proposal was vetoed by Harvard's then president, Nathan Pusey, citing loss of congregational seating in the balcony. The location that was granted was at the church's extreme east end; unlike its predecessor, Op. 46 would have no corner to turn to get into the main sanctuary, though it continued to reside in a different room, even more so perhaps with the necessary subsequent reorientation of the chapel and the closing up of the screen. Once again, the mandate of the organ was to lead both Sunday worship and morning prayers, and Fisk engineered to these challenges with ingenious solutions: the Great and Positive divisions were placed on the top to try and get as much sound out into main church; the swell and ruckpositiv were on ground level for use in Appleton Chapel. These were brilliant solutions, but Fisk himself knew that the instrument could never be a wholly successful one. On Op. 46 he wrote movingly that "Of the seventy or so organs we have built in my lifetime, I can safely say that none has lifted me to greater heights, or consigned me to the depths that only an organ builder can know, than this organ at Memorial Church."

The sad reality was that Fisk Op. 46 suffered from many of the same problems as its predecessor; it was too powerful for daily use in the chapel (where only a handful of stops could ever be used), but was nevertheless underwhelming in the main sanctuary.

As the 75th anniversary of The Memorial Church approached, Professor Peter J. Gomes began to reconsider the situation, allowing decades of experience in both chapel and church to inform new thinking. A committee was formed, which began by questioning whether changes should be made to Op. 46 to better serve the building's needs, or whether it should be removed intact and honored in a different space as the icon of American organ building that it is. The latter was quickly approved, and a new home sought for the instrument. Most importantly, the committee discussed whether any one instrument could ever serve the needs of both church and chapel, and given that the two famous examples which set out to do exactly that had all but failed, it seemed unlikely. More than anything, the building seemed to have

taught those who work and worship within that its two spaces would be best served by distinct musical resources. The obvious conclusion was that two organs were necessary—one in the rear gallery to lead the music in Sunday worship and on principal festival days of the university, and one in Appleton Chapel speaking directly therein. That the organs would be complementary in nature yet distinct in character and temperament was desirable from the outset. Central to the musical plan was the relocation of the Harvard University Choir to the rear gallery. Since 1932 the choir had led the musical worship on Sunday mornings from a different room, and much of the sound (like the organ's) had remained confined within the chapel. Finally the most acoustically advantageous part of the building was being considered for voice and pipe.

Allied to these musical considerations was the restoration of the building to its original formation. Professor Gomes oft lamented the unfortunate architectural consequences of the installation of Op. 46 in 1967: the reversal of the chapel's orientation—thereby blocking any link between chapel and sanctuary—and the complete obstruction of the beautiful Palladian window at the east end, which deprived the chapel of its natural light-source.

An architectural and musical plan began to emerge. Those elements of the chapel changed for the 1967 redesign would be returned to their original configuration; Op. 46 would be removed and relocated; a vintage organ for Appleton Chapel would be sought; and a new tracker instrument for the rear gallery commissioned.

After a lengthy assessment of contemporary American organ builders and the availability of suitable vintage organs, a timeframe emerged that has seen the completion of this remarkable project.

After a year-long celebration, Fisk Op. 46 was removed in May 2010, and is en route to its new home in Redeemer Presbyterian Church, Austin, Texas. A vintage 1930 Skinner organ, Op. 793, was purchased from the Third Church of Christ Scientist Hartford, Connecticut, and was installed in the summer of 2010 and dedicated as the Jane Slaughter Hardenbergh Memorial Organ in the fall of that year. Fisk Op. 139 was installed in the Summer of 2011 and dedicated on Easter Day, 2012.

While history will be the ultimate arbiter of this project, I can give an outline of the goals of these instruments, and our hopes for their roles



Skinner Op. 793, 1930 (relocated, 2010)

within the Harvard community and beyond.

The restored Skinner organ in Appleton Chapel is used primarily for the daily service of Morning Prayers, occurring Monday through Saturday at 8:45 a.m. For this service a choir of sixteen choral fellows instituted by my predecessor Dr. Murray Forbes Somerville (and on a personal note I would like to say how grateful I am that he is here with us today and has given this project his full support) gather every morning to sing an anthem, and a congregation of about sixty join in prayer and hymn-singing. An organ voluntary and a choral amen frame the brief address that forms the center-

piece of the service. With six musically varied services a week, the chapel organ needs to be versatile in terms of breadth, texture, and variety. With its multitude of different tone colors and two enclosed divisions, Op. 793 is ideal for choral accompaniment and for leading congregational singing.

Its pipework has been placed in the original chambers of the old Aeolian-Skinner on both sides of the chapel, and the sound is full and rich in a space that is exactly contemporaneous with the instrument. Apart from the console, Op. 793 was complete and virtually unaltered; the instrument now fills the room with those quintessential Skinner sounds including, of course, the exquisite First Diapason—the cause of so much tense dialogue between Doc Davison and Ernest Skinner himself on the old chapel's 1912 instrument.

The organ was beautifully restored by Foley-Baker of Connecticut, renowned restorers of the organs of Duke University Chapel and Boston's Symphony Hall. Another Aeolian-Skinner console (originally from Op. 907 in Brooklyn, New York) was refurbished by Richard Houghten of Michigan, and now sits in the same position as the 1932 console, its casework having been refinished to match the coloring of Appleton's dark English oak. The glorious Palladian window at the chapel's east end has reemerged, and once again bathes the chapel in light, and the screen has been reopened, allowing once more a physical connection between the two spaces.

The majestic Fisk Op. 139 instrument is once again on the cutting edge of American organ building. Its beautiful casework (designed by Charles Nazarian) has an American grandeur and nobility quite in keeping with the rest of the building and, as several commentators have pointed out, the instrument looks as if it should have always been there. Its casework reflects not only the beautiful woodwork throughout the rest of the building, but also the exquisite design and cabinetry of so many New England organs of the nineteenth century. An eclectic instrument by design, its sound palette represents the best of French, German, and English organ-building, but it speaks with a voice that is distinctly American. The instrument has three primary mandates: to lead congregational hymn-singing; to accompany a wide variety of choral repertoire; and to perform the gamut of the organ's rich repertoire at the highest level.

Congregational hymn-singing is a fundamental part of our worship

in The Memorial Church, and one that was most important to Professor Gomes. With the publication of the Fourth Edition of the *Harvard University Hymn Book* in 2007, a wide-ranging document now reflects the diversity of our daily worship, and one of the primary goals of the organ project was to craft an instrument that supports congregational singing. Positioning the choir and organ in the rear gallery, where they can lead from behind, has proved very advantageous in offering the necessary support for hearty hymn-singing.

A wide variety of colors for choral accompaniment was an important requirement from the start, and with two divisions (swell and positive) under expression, this is an instrument with infinite accompanimental possibilities. The building's natural disposition towards higher sounds has been addressed through an abundance of 8- and 16-foot tone, and with the relocation of the choir to the rear gallery, both choral and organ music take place within the same room as liturgy for the first time in this building's history.

The instrument excels in a wide variety of solo repertoire—as continues to be demonstrated in the diversity of our opening recitals—and is equally fluent in the Baroque German, Classical French, Romantic English, and contemporary American repertoires.

It is remarkable reading through Charles Fisk's correspondence of the sixties in comparing his initial thoughts for an organ for this building with Op. 139. A three manual instrument in the rear gallery with two enclosed divisions, designed primarily for accompanying Sunday worship, was his original desire. So much has been achieved in this new instrument that was sought in Op. 46 that Opus 139 seems a truly fitting tribute from the current Fisk workshop to their revered founder and teacher.

In many ways this project is a fulfillment of the frustrated hopes and dreams of the building's previous organ builders and architects. An organ and choir now stand in the most musically advantageous part of the building, and can work with it; and its architectural integrity has been restored, which, ironically, both acknowledges the division of the building into two disparate musical spaces, and also unifies it once again.

In addition, I think it's fair to say that the organ scene is somewhat less factious than a generation ago when the rival personalities of the two giants of the American organ world, E. Power Biggs and Virgil Fox, seemed

to personify the bitter divide of the tracker and electro-pneumatic worlds. Now the merits of both types of instrument are evident and much appreciated, and we join the company of several of our sister institutions—including Duke, Princeton, and Stanford—in affording examples of both types of design.

Boston and New England have long been important centers in the American organ world, and as we go forward it is our great hope that this university will become an exciting and sought-after place for the study and performance of the organ and its literature. Thanks to the generosity of so many patrons and benefactors we can now offer practice and performance opportunity to Harvard's students, faculty, and visiting artists on two exquisite examples of American organ-building; and as we enter a new era in the ministerial life of this church, we enhance our worship with the inspiring sounds of these magnificent instruments.

Photo by C.B. Fisk Inc.



Fisk Op. 139, 2012

Organ Stop Lists

The Michael von Clemm '57 Chamber Organ

Henk Klop, 2006

8' Gedeckt

4' Chimney Flute

2' Principal

1 1/3' Quint

Regal

Transposing from 392–465

Casework from cherry wood with ornamental grill panels.

Skinner Op. 793 (1930/2010)

THE JANE SLAUGHTER HARDENBERGH MEMORIAL ORGAN

Originally located at Second Church of Christ, Scientist, Hartford, Connecticut. Organ rebuilt and relocated to Appleton Chapel 2010—Foley-Baker Inc., Tolland, Connecticut. Console from Aeolian-Skinner Op. 906, 1933—renovated Richard S. Houghton, Milan, Michigan

	Trumpet 8'
GREAT	Oboe 8'
Diapason 16'	Vox Humana 8'
First Diapason 8'	Clarion 4'
Second Diapason 8'	Tremolo
Harmonic Flute 8'	Swell 16
Octave 4'	Swell 4
Flute 4'	Swell Unison Off
Fifteenth 2'	
Mixture III	CHOIR
Tuba 8'	Gamba 16'
French Horn 8'	Cello 8'
French Horn Tremolo	Cello Celeste 8'
Great Unison Off	Concert Flute 8'
Chimes (2010 addition)	Dulciana 8'
	Unda Maris 8' (tenor C)
SWELL	Fugara 4'
Bourdon 16' (2010 addition)	Flute d'Amour 4'
Diapason 8'	Nazard 2 2/3'
Salicional 8'	Clarinet 8'
Voix Celeste 8'	Tremolo
Rohrflöte 8	Choir 16
Flauto Dolce 8'	Choir 4
Flute Celeste 8' (tenor C)	Choir Unison Off
Octave 4'	Great Reeds on Choir
Δ Flute 4'	Harp
Chorus Mixture V	Celesta
Waldhorn 16'	Chimes

PEDAL

Bourdon 32' (2010 addition)

Open Diapason 16'

Contrebass 16'

Bourdon 16'

Gamba 16' (Ch.)

Echo Bourdon 16' (Sw.)

Octave 8' (ext.)

Cello 8' (ext.)

Gedeckt 8' (ext.)

Still Gedeckt 8' (Sw.)

Super Octave 4' (ext. C.B.)

Flute 4' (ext.)

Trombone 16'

Tromba 8' (ext.)

NOTE: *Chimes come to Pedal at 4ft*

via Great Chimes plus Great to Pedal

Electro-pneumatic key action

256 levels of memory with appropriate thumb pistons and toe

COUPLERS	
	Swell to Great 16
Great to Pedal	Choir to Great 16
Swell to Pedal	Swell to Great 4
Choir to Pedal	Choir to Great 4
Swell to Pedal 4	Swell to Choir 16
Choir to Pedal 4	Swell to Choir 4

Swell to Great	COMBINATIONS
Choir to Great	Great 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
Swell to Choir	Swell 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
	Choir 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
Choir to Swell	Pedal 1-2-3-4-5
Great to Choir	General 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10 (thumb and toe)

Continued

Skinner Op. 793 (1930/2010) continued

General 11-12

(righthand, thumb and toe)

Great to Pedal (thumb and toe)

Swell to Pedal (thumb and toe)

Choir to Pedal (thumb and toe)

Swell to Great (thumb)

Choir to Great (thumb)

Swell to Choir (thumb)

Sforzando (thumb and toe)

Next

Back

All Pistons Next

Memory Up

Memory Down

Crescendo Standard A-B-C

1 pedalboard

3 keyboards

4 divisions

39 voices

45 ranks

2,965 pipes

C.B. Fisk Inc. Op. 139 (2012)

THE CHARLES B. FISK & PETER J. GOMES MEMORIAL ORGAN

GREAT, MANUAL I

Double Diapason 16'

Open Diapason 8'

Gamba 8'

Harmonic Flute 8'

Chimney Flute 8'

Principal 4'

Open Flute 4'

Twelfth 2 2/3'

Fifteenth 2'

Seventeenth 1 3/5'

Mixture IV-VI

Trumpet 8'

Clarion 4'

POSITIVE, MANUAL II

enclosed

Principal 8'

Salicional 8'

Unda maris 8'

Gedackt 8'

Dulciana 8' *prepared*

Octave 4'

Chimney Flute 4'

Nasard 2 2/3'

Doublette 2'

Tierce 1 3/5'

Mixture IV

Clarinet 8'

Tuba Mirabilis 8'

SWELL, MANUAL III enclosed

Bourdon 16'

Diapason 8'

Viola de gambe 8'

Voix céleste 8'

Flûte traversière 8'

Bourdon 8'

Prestant 4'

Flûte octaviante 4'

Octavin 2'

Plein jeu IV

Basson 16'

Trompette 8'

Hautbois 8'

Voix humaine 8' *prepared*

Clairon 4' *prepared*

PEDAL

Sub Principal 32' (ext.)

Resultant 32' (ext.)

Open Bass 16'

Double Diapason 16' (Gt.)

Bourdon 16'

Octave 8'

Gamba 8' (Gt.)

Flute 8' (Gt.)

Bourdon 8' (ext.)

Super Octave 4'

Contra Posaune 32' (ext.)

Posaune 16'

Trumpet 8' (alt. Gt.)

Clarion 4' (alt. Gt.)

Continued

C.B. Fisk Inc. Op. 139 (2012) continued

Couplers

Swell to Great

Positive to Great

Swell to Positive

Great to Pedal

Positive to Pedal

Swell to Pedal

Swell to Pedal Super

Octaves graves

Flexible Wind

General Tremulant

Swell Tremulant

Swell Tremulant Rapide

Cymbelstern

Direct mechanical key action

Kowalyshyn Servopneumatic Lever

256 levels of memory

with appropriate thumb pistons and toe

Key Action: Directomechanical (tracker) except for large bass pipes.

Kowalyshyn Servopneumatic Lever: This provides a pneumatic assist to the Great key action and anything coupled to the Great. It also allows the addition of the "Octaves graves" couples to the organ, which couples the Great to itself at sub-octaves and any division coupled to it also appears the Great at sub-octaves.

Stop Action: electric solenoid.

Combination Action: 256 levels of memory by Solid State Organ Systems.

C.B. Fisk Inc. Op. 139 (2012) continued

Key Desk: Built into main case of organ, 3 manuals and pedals, manuals 61 notes CC-c4, cowbone naturals, sharps of ebony Pedals 32 notes CC-g1.

Casework a single cabinet of wood located in the rear gallery.
Front pipes of hammered lead gilded with 22-carat gold leaf with antique finish.

1 pedalboard
3 keyboards
4 divisions
44 voices
55 ranks
3,110 pipes

Contributors

JOHN BUTT is Gardiner Professor of Music at the University of Glasgow, Scotland and musical director of the Dunedin Consort. He has previously worked at UC Berkeley and the University of Cambridge and, as a musicologist, has published five monographs on Bach, the Baroque, and the culture of historical performance. As a performer, he is active as a conductor and organist, having produced award-winning recordings of Bach and Handel with the Dunedin Consort and regularly touring throughout the world. The most recent recordings include Handel's *Esther*, Bach's *St. John Passion*, with Bach's *Brandenburg Concertos* due for release in late 2013.

GLENDA GOODMAN received her PhD in historical musicology at Harvard University in 2012, where she completed a dissertation on musical transatlanticism and early American identities. Glenda's research has been supported by fellowships and grants at numerous libraries across the United States; in 2011 she was invited to join the scholarly community at the McNeil Center for Early American Studies where she was the Barra Foundation Fellow. The fruits of her research can be seen in articles in the *Journal for the American Musicological Society* and the *William and Mary Quarterly*.

In September, 2003, EDWARD ELWYN JONES took up his appointment as Gund University Organist and Choirmaster at Harvard University, where he is responsible for the direction of the music in the University Church. He conducts the Harvard University Choir in its program of daily choral services, broadcasts, tours, commissions, and recordings; the choir's latest CD *Glorious the Song*, was released in 2012. Jones studied music at Cambridge University, where he was the Organ Scholar of Emmanuel College, and the conductor of three university orchestras. He pursued graduate studies in orchestral conducting at the Mannes College of Music in New York City, where he was the winner of the Felix Salzer Memorial Award. Jones has focused particularly on conducting opera, which he has pursued with the Harvard Early Music Society, Mannes Opera, Lowell House Op-

era, and the Reykjavic Summer Opera Festival in Iceland. He is currently the Music Director of New England's Intermezzo Opera.

EVAN MACCARTHY completed his PhD in historical musicology at Harvard in 2010 with a dissertation on music and intellectual life in fifteenth-century Ferrara, and is currently writing an interdisciplinary book on music education in early modern Italy. He was Harvard College Fellow in the Department of Music at Harvard from 2010–2012, and a Fellow at Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies in Florence during 2012–2013. MacCarthy received his BA in classics and music from the College of the Holy Cross. He co-edited with Edward Roesner the seventh and final volume of the *Magnus Liber Organi* edition and has several publications on different aspects of late medieval music and music theory. He has served on the music faculties of MIT and Boston University, and sang as bass section leader with the Schola Cantorum of the College of the Holy Cross.

CHRISTOPH WOLFF is Adams University Research Professor at Harvard University. Born and educated in Germany, he studied organ and historical keyboard instruments, musicology, and art history at the Universities of Berlin, Erlangen, and Freiburg, taking a performance diploma in 1963 and the Dr. Phil. in 1966. He taught the history of music at Erlangen, Toronto, Princeton, and Columbia Universities before joining the Harvard faculty in 1976. At Harvard he served as Chair of the Music Department, Acting Director of the University Library, and Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. Wolff currently serves as Director of the Bach-Archiv Leipzig, President of the Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, and on the faculty of the Juilliard School. Recipient of several awards and honorary degrees, he is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, the Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften, and an honorary member of the Mozarteum Salzburg. He has published widely on the history of music from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries. His most recent books, *The Organs of J.S. Bach: A Handbook* and *Mozart at the Gateway to His Fortune: Serving the Emperor, 1788–1791*, were published in the spring of 2012.