The Band Organ In America

Fred Dahlinger, Jr. © 2002

The Mechanical Organ Comes to America

Introduction

usic is one of the greatest achievements of mankind. Whether mimicking nature and animals, or creating unique sounds entirely anew, humanity succeeded in devising the knowledge, skills and technology necessary to raise the making of pleasing audio experiences. to a high art form. Instrumental music is usually made by the direct application of the manual, foot and oral dexterity of a musician upon an instrument. Not everyone is blessed with the necessary attributes to play one, yet nearly everyone is desirous of enjoying the soothing, uplifting, exciting or mood-altering melodies composed by others. At times there is a total absence of musicians, creating a void of the enjoyable flow of sounds. The solution to this shortcoming was originally created in the form of mechanically operated musical instruments. The pipe organ, because it was so readily adaptable to mechanical operation by simple technology, was among the first to be successfully operated by means other than the human touch.

Mechanical organs first reached North America in substantial numbers in the last half of the 18th century. These indoor instruments were imported from Great Britain, the source of so many goods utilized in colonial America. Not only did this trade perpetuate England's dominance over the new nation, it also provided a captive market for the output of the island nation's industries and craftsmen. In time, as it did for all forms of manufacturing, the United States developed its own base of barrel organ construction. The history of the mechanical organ in colonial America is largely one of indoor instruments that provided a musical atmosphere inside the homes of the middle and upper classes and in places of public assembly. Larger indoor examples appeared in the form of one-of-a-kind early orchestrions. Smaller and lighter weight portable hand organs were adopted for outdoor show and street service within the first two decades of the 1800s.

Examples of street musicians with mechanical instruments are noted as early as 1799, but the generally familiar organ grinder lifestyle first proliferated in the late 1830s and 1840s. Their presence launched the domestic trade in outdoor organ manufacture in the 1850s, with a focus in New York City. It was augmented by the importation of instruments from the French and German centers of manufacture, England having long since lost its dominance in the barrel organ trade.

Side show organs and carousal organs, some of relatively large size and with percussion instruments, essentially band organs in everything but name, were manufactured here by the mid-1870s. Via a name change implemented by a French builder, the "band organ" came about in 1896. North Tonawanda, New York, home to America's portable carousel business, became the center of the American band organ industry following the establishment of the first factory there in 1893. It happened while the fortunes of the metropolitan builders were flagging. The zenith of American band organ activity was reached in the two decades after 1900, elevated by the sheer abundance of entertainment enterprises, particularly skating rinks and amusement parks, which found value in band organ music. The heyday was a blending of domestic innovation in economical roll-operated instruments with more sophisticated European built paper (book) organs energizing venues where a showman desired a grander musical experience.



Figure 1. An organ by George Astor & Co., London, circa 1810. The barrel has 10 tunes and the organ plays 64 pipes on four registers.

Source: Jacobi Collection, Köln, Germany Metzger & Kreiss, Drehorgeln, Schaurig-Schön

The primary history of the four principal North Tonawanda, New York band organ builders (deKleist Musical Instrument Manufacturing Company, followed by the Rudolf Wurlitzer Manufacturing Company; Niagara Manufacturing Company; North Tonawanda Musical Instrument Works; and Artizan Factories, Inc.) that were active between the early 1890s and the Great Depression has been related by others. Dozens of other lesser known manufacturers, importers and

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repair shops that supported the efforts of outdoor showmen have received little attention. The purpose of this series of papers will be to provide an understanding of their contributions, while reinforcing the currently available coverage on the major builders. There will also be extended coverage on several popular styles of band organ and selected individual instruments that merit detailed treatment.

The name "hand organ," as applied to instruments of the street that were subjected to "grinding," suffered multiple interpretations that can be confusing to the researcher. In addition to the small, hand-cranked barrel organ with pipes, the term was erroneously applied to both the cylinder piano (also known as a hackrett or rueckenklavier) and later the street piano. Both of

these were hand cranked and utilized barrels to operate a series of hammers to strike strings that produced the desired musical note. Regardless of the lack of wooden pipes that define an organ, period chroniclers also termed them "organs." Thus, we will also cover them in this treatise. To clearly differentiate the different styles of instruments, three identifications shall be used, all of which are consistent with correct period usage. The phrase "hand organ" will designate the small, portable, barreloperated pipe organ. The narrow, upright, barreloperated piano will be identified as the "cylinder piano." The wider barrel-operated piano that was typically moved about on a two-wheeled cart will be termed the "street piano." Other terms will be defined in the text when appropriate.

Figure 2. One Astor chamber organ survives complete with its operational instructions, tune sheet and labeled barrels. The barrel shown was furnished by the builder. Source: National Park Service

The hand organ and

its successors in outdoor show service did not develop in a vacuum, nor was their application in various venues lacking precedent. To gain a more complete appreciation for their context in American society, it is appropriate that we provide a brief overview of the history of the church and secular pipe organ (both manual and barrel-operated), the orchestrion and the organ clock, and how they connect with, or are independent from the hand, side show, carousel and band organ.

Early Church Pipe Organs

Though a pipe organ was located in the missionary-settled Southwest territory of the North American continent by 1609, the first in the heavily immigrant-populated eastern coast of the New World cannot be documented until 1703. A group of German immigrants utilized one for their worship services.¹ Thomas Brattle (?-1813) of Boston, Massachusetts, imported a British pipe organ perhaps a few years earlier, but the existence of it in his possession cannot be proven until 1708. The placement of the instrument in King's Chapel (formerly Queen's), Boston, in 1814 gave it the highest profile of any of the early pipe organs in the United States.² Johann Gottlob Clemm (1690-1762), a German who had apprenticed to one of the famed

German

builders

pipe

organ

named

Silberman, arrived here in 1733 and became the first resident pipe organ builder when he fabricated an instrument circa 1738.3 The first native-born American pipe organ builder was Bostonian Edward Broomfield, Jr. (1723-1746), who fabricated a functional, yet not totally complete organ by the time of his passing.4 Another German immigrant, a Pennsylvania builder named David Tannenberg (1728 -1804), was the most prolific builder before the Revolutionary War, and along with other German builders shaped many other significant early American organs. The growth of metropolitan centers witnessed the rise of New York and Boston manufacturers as the principal leaders of pipe organ development in the United States in the nineteenth century.

Despite the shared technology and craftsman with similar skills and knowledge, very little connected the "straight" organ business with the mechanical organ trade.

Early Pipe Organs for Secular Use

Most of the early American pipe organs served in church applications, but by the 1750s there was an instrument in Concert Hall, Boston, where secular music was played on the



Figure 3. Another of the barrels with the Astor chamber organ in Independence Hall is this one, arranged and supplied by pipe organ builder William Redstone about 1806. This view records his signature and address, presumably by his own hand.

Source: National Park Service.

keyboard. Usually one or two music halls sufficed in cities even as large as New York and Philadelphia. Perhaps of most interest here is the fact that four New York and Philadelphia summer pleasure gardens were outfitted with manually played pipe organs as musical diversions between 1797 and 1800. The practice was quickly embraced by the smaller cities, too. An organ was installed in the spring of 1802 in Hay Market Garden, a pleasure resort in Richmond, Virginia.⁵ These enterprises followed the lines of British and French predecessors, providing a pastoral setting for a variety of entertainments within a metropolitan setting. Little is known about these instruments, but the important point is that they connected pipe organs with outdoor settings in the public's mind.⁶

Early, privately owned museum interiors were also enlivened by the application of manually played pipe organs. Daniel Bowen placed one in his Columbian Museum in Boston as early as 1799. He later advertised music on the organ, as usual, in 1802, but the instrument was lost in the conflagration that destroyed his establishment on January 15, 1803.7 Edward Savage (1761-1817) owned the New York Museum in Boston's Boylston Hall. In 1811 he entertained his patrons with "Good MUSIC on an excellent Barrel and Finger ORGAN, not equaled in the United States."8 A pipe organ was in the first museum in Richmond, Virginia, situated in the painting gallery.9 "Good music on the organ, clarionet and other instruments" was one of the drawing cards of the Washington Museum and Gallery of Paintings in Philadelphia in 1819.10 Daniel Drake's Western Museum in Cincinnati advertised in 1822 that it had "1 elegant organ" among its attractions.¹¹

A contemporary to both Bowen and Savage, Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827), the noted artist and naturalist who founded America's first museum in 1786, equipped his Philadelphia establishment with what some have identified as a pipe organ in 1803. The instrument was reportedly furnished by

the inventive John Isaac Hawkins (1772-1855) from Great Britain.¹² Peale definitely purchased an eight-stop manual organ built by British immigrant John Lowe (1760-1813) in 1807. The vestry of St. Paul's Church, [Philadelphia?], were also interested in the instrument, but Lowe preferred that it go to Peale's public institution. The museum owner obviously concurred, stating that it "would be heard by more than an hundred to one than in a common church," such was the attendance at his attraction. The instrument, which Peale termed "charming," was housed in a mahogany case and cost 1,000 pounds. It was so large that Peale was forced to construct an entirely new orchestra to hold it.¹³ Of a later pipe organ's impact on his establishment, Peale advised "... the whole enlivened by Music, principally by a large and rich toned organ, on which visitors of taste perform."¹⁴ Though he had trained in the shop of Robert Gray, a known builder of both church and secular barrel organs, there is no indication that Lowe himself ever built mechanical organs during his circa 1800 to 1813 tenure in Philadelphia.¹⁵

The Mechanical Organ Arrives in America

Appropriate to its status as an English colony, America received its first mechanical organs as exports from Great Britain. The earliest existence of a barrel organ in the East that has been discovered is dated 1754. An instrument was offered for sale in Boston that year. The description readily fits the British barrel organs of the time. It was described as newly invented, housed in a mahogany case and frame, moved about on casters, featured gilt pipes and came with two spare barrels.¹⁶ The buyer's identity and how it was utilized have not been determined. The earliest documented applications included service in private homes (circa 1767, played by a servant during dinner was a suggested use), churches (circa 1780, for hymn singing accompaniment) and taverns and tap rooms (dated circa 1832, but likely much earlier, applied much like yesterday's

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juke boxes).¹⁷ The music pinned on the barrels included Handel oratorios, dance tunes, period favorites, marches and hymns. It was not unknown for an organ with hymns on its barrels to be used in a location of secular entertainment, such was the desire for music of any type to chase away silence.

America's first music store did not exist until John Jacob Astor (1763-1848) opened one in New York by June 1786 (**Figures 1-3**), so the barrel organ was left to others of a mechanical inclination to sell. Some were bought directly by stateside merchants, including watch and clock makers (1773/1774) and music dealers (1794), for retail sale.¹⁸ Others were brought to these shores by sea captains, who speculated in the purchase of goods that were destined for the colonies. One 1831 dealer specifically noted that he bought product off of arriving ships. It was a way to tell prospective buyers that he had the latest offerings and that they would not have to venture down to the docks.¹⁹ The retail outlets were generally located in the major Atlantic coast port cities including New York, Boston and Philadelphia. The instruments found ready buyers in musicstarved America.

British builders, particularly in London, manufactured the early imports. Examples are noted from the shops of Edward Pistor (1767), Longman & Broderip (built 1784, to U. S. 1794), George Astor (1799), Astor was actually a German that relocated to England), Benjamin Dobson (1829, possibly imported earlier) and Clementi (1832).²⁰ Until the rise of the French and German organ building industries, the British-made instruments were generally considered to be of better quality than those from the continent. Importations from England continued despite America's winning of the Revolutionary War and War of 1812. By 1774 there were advertisements offering tuning service for barrel organs.²¹

The earliest mention of domestic barrel organ manufacture is found in 1786, when two men practiced the trade. Robert Pope, a Boston clockmaker, offered to make "barrel organs, containing any (moderate) number of keys and stops, and new barrels made to second hand organs, on which he will put any number and kind of tunes, that best suit his employers." Pope's origins and training in the craft have yet to be determined, but it's a good bet that he came from Great Britain.²² In May of 1786, Charles Taws(e) (1763-c.1833), a Scottish immigrant recently arrived from Great Britain, advertised that he made and repaired finger and barrel organs in New York in 1786. Spillane stated "the barrel-organ, 'that curse and plague of the modern high-class musical individual,' materialized in Philadelphia for the first time in American history under the hands of Charles Taws." Another source states that he had no pupils or successor, other than his sons.²³ Another barrel organ builder was found practicing his trade in Boston in 1800.24 Additional barrel organ makers can be identified in subsequent years, but none of these had any apparent connection to later mechanical organs of street or entertainment use. The profession was adequately well established by 1837 that the instrument itself, termed "hand or barrel organ," was described in the section on musical instrument makers of a descriptive guide to professions.25

Barrel arranging and pinning work as a specified skill, the most demanding aspect of the trade, was not offered following the 1786 statements again until William Howe offered the service in 1797, in New York.²⁶ A French craftsman, Louis Alexander de Peloubet, principal in the firm of Monniot, Peloubet & Co. advertised for barrel pinning work in New York in 1803. He is better known for his manufacture of woodwind instruments.²⁷ Another arranger, pipe organ builder William Redstone, Sr. (1748?-1824), was active about 1806 in New York. He likely received his training with one of the British barrel organ builders, being English by birth.²⁸

These early instruments were small chamber organs, barrel operated with a few stops and hand cranked. They were housed in free-standing furniture-style cabinets, often with exposed gilt pipes in front. They were a quality addition to any well appointed home interior of the time. Any person with a bit of skill and applied strength, whether owner, servant or guest, could cause them to render music in a land that was generally devoid of it except for worship services and activities of the merchant and wealthier classes, including dances and concerts. A 1797 instrument incorporated a harp that could be played with the organ, in addition to a drum to keep time for dancing. Stops could be operated on it for loud or soft accompaniment.²⁹ One 1798 barrel organ had stops for diapason, principal, fifteenth, open diapason and hautboys in swell, with a treble stop. Barrel organs with four stops seem to have been a popular design. A patent Astor organ, with a drum and triangle was marketed in 1799.³⁰ Multiple barrels, offering a broad variety of tunes, were noted with the first import of 1754 and were a commonplace feature. A maximum of six was noted in an 1802 offering.³¹ One combination barrel and finger organ offered for sale in New York in 1804 had six barrels set with this music: Battle of Prague; Nicolais Sonata and Coronation Anthem; twelve marches; twelve songs; twelve country dances; and twelve Psalm tunes.³²

Domestically Made Barrel Organs for American Churches

The Anglican church in England undertook a program in the latter part of the 18th century to place barrel organs into

ecclesiastical use as a means to standardize and upgrade the musical quality of their worship services. The action fueled and supported the development of the entire British barrel organ business. The excess productive capacity of the trade resulted in the sale of many quality instruments that evolved out of the church designs to secular buyers. It also sparked the ire of the "west gallery musicians," whose positions were displaced by the machine music. The novel Under the Greenwood Tree (1872) by Thomas Hardy contains a fictionalized account of the barrel organ controversy.



Figure 4. George Jardine was perhaps America's most notable builder of barrel-operated church organs. Beyond making them totally new, he also imported smaller instruments and placed his name on them. This portrait is taken from Spillane's *History of the American Pianoforte*.

Immigration patterns, worship practices and manners that characterized Americans caused the barrel organ to never have a strong presence in American churches. A few domestically made organs for ecclesiastical application were built by amateurs and other craftsmen in 1807, 1808 and 1820 (two examples).³³ The well known American pipe organ builder William Goodrich (1777-1833) entered into a contract in 1804 that called for the making of barrel organs, but none are known to have been fabricated by him.³⁴ As far as is known, no church barrel organ was built by a major American pipe organ manufacturer until George Jardine (1801-1882) fabricated one, perhaps as early as 1837 (Figure 4). The next year he won a gold medal at the American Institute Fair for a self-playing organ suitable for "country churches," where organists could not be obtained. Jardine also imported small French-made barrel organs and placed his own nameplate on them.³⁵ He apprenticed in the London shop of Flight & Robson and later labored for Joseph Walker, known barrel organ builders, before emigrating to America in 1836 or 1837.

Another major church organ builder, New Yorker Henry Erben (1800-1884), countered in 1846 when he offered a

"dumb organ" device, which appears to have been akin to a "vorsetzer" operator for pipe organ application (Figure 5). It was essentially a barrel mechanism in a box, with the stickers extending below the case to depress the keys at the appropriate time prescribed by the pinning. Three additional builders of church barrel organs can be identified in 1847, circa 1863 and 1899. With the exception of two keyboard operated organs that Erben built for traveling shows in 1849 and 1850, there is no known connection of significance between American church organ builders and the outdoor show business.36



Figure 5. One of the dominant nineteenth century New York organ builders was Henry Erben. He furnish a dumb organ device for use on regular finger organs and also made two large instruments for traveling shows in mid-century.

Source: Organ Historical Society

Barrel Organs In American Museums

Several mechanical organs that provided a musical atmosphere for public attractions are among the best documented in the surviving literature. They were publicized as one of the attractions justifying attendance, the advertising and correspondence about them serving today as a means to confirm their existence. The museums of the early nineteenth century were not altogether like the institutions of learning today. They featured collections of curious items and objects, things that would beckon and intrigue people by their uniqueness, diversity and detailing. Several large barrel organs simply furnished incidental atmospheric music in a few places, but others accompanied automaton bandsmen or automated tableaus that were located in museums in the succeeding decades. They were to be seen in 1824, 1829 and 1851 (two examples), the last of them enduring

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to 1867. One of the automated scenes, representing the depths of the "Infernal Regions" of hell, makes some contemporary mechanized facades seem rather limited and tame by comparison.37

The most notable museum barrel organ was housed in the structure that Americans revere today as Independence Hall in Philadelphia. Known in the early 1800s as the State House, it housed Peale's Museum between 1802 and 1827. From the beginning, Peale envisioned delighting his visitors with music. The organ fulfilled Peale's desire "to help amuse those found (sic) of Musick (sic)." The Long Room of the State House, the largest housing a part of Peale's collections, measured 20 feet wide by 99 feet long and about sixteen feet high, making it one of the largest rooms in colonial America. It was a vast expanse to fill with music. To that end, Peale installed an organ loft in the center of the room where he placed a barrel-operated instrument. The central wall position of a later organ can be seen in an 1822 watercolor of the museum interior.38

Peale decided that he needed to serve music up to his customers even when a keyboard artist was unavailable and to that end he bought the barrel organ in 1807. His correspondence does not reveal the builder, but he described it as being large. It arrived with four barrels of sacred music, suggesting that it had been made for church service and was more than likely of English origin. Peale himself planned to arrange and pin barrels of popular music once he had the proper equipment. With some knowledge of the topic, he wrote piano designer Hawkins that the key to the work was having an accurately divided metal disk, proportioned in the same manner as the circumference as the barrels. He planned to have a Mr. Jones make the barrels and to have a Mr. Stowe turn their outside diameter to size. His knowledge may have come from Lowe, who was obviously familiar with barrel arranging techniques. The instrument was seen and heard by the thousands of people that took the time to traverse the galleries of interesting objects filling his museum. The barrel organ further solidified a connection between mechanical instruments and popular entertainments. There was no better place to accomplish the union than in a building that symbolized American political ideals of democracy and freedom.39

Hand Organs for American Showmen

The practice of showmen accompanying their attractions with barrel organs had British precedents. Small instruments can readily be found in images of market fairs staged in England. The earliest known example dates to 1799. Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827), characterized as a "famous political and social satirist," published a line drawing of London's famous Bartholomew Fair, one of which documented the appearance of three show fronts, each comprised of an elevated stage with painted banners (Figure 6). Miles Menagerie and Gyngles Grand Medley flanked Saunder's Tragic Theatre, which had both a hand organ and a bass drum struck by a pan pipes player to draw attention to its offerings. The instrument was small, not more than a foot or so tall and two feet wide, the series of vertical lines on the front obviously a crude attempt to show the faux pipes of the facade.⁴⁰



Figure 6. A 1799 print by Rowlandson is among the earliest to depict a hand organ in service on a show front. This view of the organ installation on Saunder's Tragic Theatre is from Morley's *Memoirs of the Bartholomew Fair*. Note the large bass drum to the right of it, beaten by a man playing the pan pipes.

The British show organ precedent most frequently cited is an undated painting titled "A Village Fair" by Joseph Parry (1744-1826) (**Figure 7**). This early nineteenth century depiction of a market fair includes no fewer than three small instruments,

two employed to attract the attention of fairgoers to banner-fronted shows and a third operated in the hands of a grinder amidst the crowd. The frontal openings of the relatively shallow height instruments, one oval and the other kidney-shaped, are filled by representations of pipework.⁴¹

There's no knowledge of the direct transfer of the British show precedents to America, but it would be hard to argue that English immigrants did not have knowledge of such presentations prior to their embarkation for America. Market fairs had existed in England for centuries and provided a diversion for

Figure 7. Close examination reveals three hand organs in Joseph Parry's painting "A Village Fair." Two attracted patrons to the shows, while a grinder churns out music amidst the crowd in hopes of gathering some coinage.

Source: Leicester Galleries, London.

members of all classes; they never really materialized in North America. Itinerant showmen circulated about the colonies with single animals, peep shows, wax figures, automata, clockwork mechanisms and other single attractions, but the fair movement in America, based primarily upon purely agricultural activities, did not commence until circa 1804. The association of showmen with these agricultural fairs did not develop until mid-century, when banner fronted shows, primitive swings, rudimentary carousels and other outdoor features are documented in engravings and paintings of American fairs.⁴²

The exhibition of exotic animals and waxworks were two of the more popular diversions in the developing colonies. More often than not the itinerant showmen provided their wax figure and beast shows with a musical atmosphere. A set of wax figures displayed at the Exchange Coffee House in Providence, Rhode Island, on September 1, 1803, and later at Mr. Hallam's Washington Tavern, Richmond, Virginia, in 1804 were accompanied by an elegant organ. It was likely of the typical British chamber organ arrangement.⁴³ Another waxworks exhibition in a Boston hotel in 1811 featured a beautiful barrel organ accompanied by "sixteen Sister States performing upon a Chime of Bells." Presumably there was a grouping of automata that played bells in unison with the organ.⁴⁴ The same waxworks proprietor had two organs with his 1820 operation, exhibiting the figures and an automatic Temple of Industry, a sort of "busy city" affair, at Washington Hall in Salem, Massachusetts.45

An instrument with automaton figures, the first of the type mentioned in North America, was featured with a cassowary in 1808. This one played "several favorite tunes, . . . [with] a number of figures as natural as life, dancing to the music, while several artillerists discharge their pieces, &c."⁴⁶ Individual animals were exhibited indoors in some cases, or perhaps in a protected courtyard, enabling instruments that were suited to indoor service to be operated in association with them.

The first outdoor showman's hand organs are mentioned in 1814, in connection with a traveling menagerie that exhibited its caged beasts under a small round tent. One of the attractions





Figure 8. The simple balancing of a fiery torch by an itinerant juggler was made more exciting by his companion traveler, who cranked out melodies on a small hand organ behind him. Identification is lacking, but the scene could have taken place in any European or American public space in the early nineteenth century.

Source: Illinois State University (Normal)

was "Good Music on the Organ." Other instruments were accompanied by violin and clarinet (1814) and cymbals (1819).⁴⁷ A pair of tigers exhibited in 1818 were musically entertained by a barrel organ with little figures that moved, the second such example noted.⁴⁸

One showman's instrument was identified in 1821 as being made by London builder Joseph Beloudy.⁴⁹ A Beloudy barrel organ of the type probably utilized by early showmen is extant in England (Figure 9). The front of the case bears a brass plaque reading "Joseph Beloudy/Organ Builder/Collier Street/ Pentonville/ London." The frontal opening is filled by brass work formed into an arrangement to represent metal organ pipes. It measures 15" high by 20" wide by 13" deep, has eighteen keys and three ranks of pipes totaling 54 in number. They are comprised of metal pipes (five stopped, thirteen open) and 36 wooden pipes, with alternating open and stopped pipes in the bottom. It has these tunes on the eighteen-inch long barrel: [The Bluebeard] March/Moly (sic) on the Wood; The Fall of Paris/God Save the Queen; Shoemaker's Hornpipe; Little Cottage on the Moon; The Old Britaine (?); Moly Mops (?); Lord Nelson's Victory; The Devils' Dream; Rule Britannia; Lord McDonald Reel.50 Two other English organs were cited in an 1821 menagerie transaction. A mechanical and musical organ, suggesting automaton figures, was with the Doolittle menagerie in 1826. The year before, 1825, a menagerie had employed a band of musicians for the first time, somewhat limiting the future of the hand organ in the animal tents. The itinerant menagerie business did not survive much beyond the 1830s, becoming an annex of the traveling circus in the 1840s. A variety of mechanical organs would continue to entertain the patrons of the circus menagerie into the second decade of the 1900s.

Early Orchestrions In America

A few European and domestically made mechanical organs

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that would qualify as being orchestrions by later standards were exhibited in North America at the same time as smaller mechanical organs proliferated. The earliest example dates to 1811-1812, when a Mr. Pardy, assisted by organ builder William Goodrich, toured an early orchestrion called the "Panharmonicon" around the eastern United States. It was presumably the first one built by Johann Nepomuk Maelzel (1772-1838).⁵¹ A cylinder operated "Harmonicon," possibly with an added keyboard attachment, was featured in Edward Savage's New York Museum in Boston's Boylston Hall in 1811.

Another half-dozen early orchestrions can be cited from the 1810s through the 1850s, some of which may have been return engagements of the same instrument. They were fabricated and maintained by skilled singular builders and not the mass production workshops that characterized the later years of the orchestrion. These large machines had to be dismantled and reassembled with each exhibition as they were moved between eastern metropolitan centers to earn their keep. They were usually

housed in an open framework that supported the pump, cylinder mechanism, chests, pipework and percussion devices, along with "ranks" of individual clarinets, flutes, etc. The apparatus was largely concealed by draped pieces of fabric and ornamentation. One suspects that the frame was made for disassembly into individual pieces, with the more sensitive musical parts



Figure 9. The shallow profile of the early British hand organ is well defined by this 18-key Beloudy instrument. An instrument of this make was with an American menagerie in 1821.

Source: Michael Bennett-Levy

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loaded into wooden boxes specially constructed to fit their delicate cargoes and to protect them from damage. These orchestrions were exhibited as novelties in concert halls and salons, institutes of learning and privately owned and operated museums.

The heyday of the orchestrion in America commenced later, in 1865, following Emil Welte's placement of a large M. Welte & Sons orchestrion in William Kramer's famed Atlantic Garden, in the German section along the Bowery in New York City. The German orchestrions were barrel-operated pipe organs with percussion instruments, housed in elaborately carved, furniture style cases of imposing proportions. In the next several decades numerous large orchestrions featuring characteristic sprays of brass resonator trumpets for display flair were exported from Germany to America, where they served in beer gardens, hotels, restaurants, dime museums and private residences with great distinction and favor. A few even provided the musical atmosphere for skating rinks, amusement rides and parks before and after the turn of the century, such was their audio power and appeal.

Organ Clocks

Unlike Germany, where the organ clock served as the origin of the subsequent Black Forest barrel organ industry, there appears to be little that links the organ clock with the American hand and band organ business. American clockmakers presumably preferred to cater to the residential and commercial customers that were in need of timepieces, as opposed to managing the myriad difficulties of contacts with itinerant musicians and showmen. Additionally, the musical attachments were secondary to their primary craft of clock making. Despite their relative popularity as novelties, little interest was shown in America for the manufacture of organ clocks.

Mechanical clocks that incorporated musical movements that played bells or chimes had become quite sophisticated by the arrival of the eighteenth century, with both English and continental builders contributing advances in the craft. The cuckoo clock originated in Germany about 1738. Some of these musical clocks also featured mechanical figures or automated scenes that were activated at will or at selected times of the day by the clock. By the 1820s, clocks that incorporated small barrel organ movements, termed flute clocks, became the foundation of the Black Forest hand and show organ industry.⁵²

Musical clocks of the bell and chime types were exported to colonial America, with examples noted as early as the 1740s. British clocks with bells and chimes were the most popular, while those with organ movements were seldom mentioned. By 1766 American craftsmen advertised their services in repairing them. Because the provenance of clocks is often lost and later imports difficult to separate from those of earlier times, it is difficult to identify with assurance any of the flute clocks that came to colonial America. One early import was the claimed 1785 arrival of an organ clock with automata made by Johann Kettenbach of Neustadt, Germany, which was placed in a Cold Spring, New York tavern.⁵³ In late 1786 a shipment of clocks arrived from Germany that included a hackbrett clock with six variations (presumably meaning tunes), three dancing clocks (six variations), three bird teaching clocks (six tunes) and four organ or flute clocks (six or seven variation). They were exhibited at the Golden Swan, likely a tap room, and were such a novelty that a fee of eight pence for adults, and three for children, was charged.⁵⁴

Our search has revealed only a limited number of American builders of organ clocks, with but one maker's efforts surviving today. Clockmakers that advertised their ability to make organ clocks included Seril Dodge of Providence, Rhode Island (1784), John Fisher of York Borough, Pennsylvania (1796) and Johann Ludwig Eberhardt of Salem, North Carolina (1805).⁵⁵ Other makers may have assembled organ clocks with imported German movements. Charles Kirk (1800-1865) and a gentleman named Todd, of Kirke [with an "e"] & Todd, Wolcott, Connecticut, made organ clocks of which at least two examples survive today. They date from the period of 1838-1843.⁵⁶

By the middle of the nineteenth century, organ clocks were exported from Germany and offered for sale in the United



Figure 10. Stephen Engle's imposing apostolic clock, with two barrel organ movements, was not quite as large as this artwork depicts it. It entertained thousands in the last few decades of the 19th century when it was toured throughout the United States.

States. The finest of these machines were the large and elaborate trumpeter clocks. Within their decorative cases were barrel mechanisms for playing a set of trumpets. The brother of a Waldkirch organ builder, claiming to also be involved as a maker, offered musical clocks presumably of the flute organ type for sale in New York in 1861. Both bugler and cuckoo clocks were sold by orchestrion builders. In 1869, the New York office of M. Welte & Sons of Freiburg, Germany, offered them, as did Wellenberger & Ganter, which had Black Forest roots, in 1873. The 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia included a large display of Black Forest clocks, with at least some of the builders represented being known flute and trumpet clock manufacturers.

Other craftsmen fabricated barrel organ movements that were incorporated in their unique and elaborate apostolic clocks. These were generally created in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. One of the most famous is the Engle clock, created by Stephen Engle (1837-1921) between 1858 and 1876 (**Figure 10**). At the appointed time in its operation, each of the two barrel organs plays a musical composition. The Engle clock survived and is now preserved in the National Association of Watch and Clock Collectors Museum in Columbia, Pennsylvania.⁵⁷

The Bias Against Mechanical Organs

America did not start as a particularly instrumental music friendly nation. Puritans cited a Biblical passage from the book of Amos, verse 23, that stated "I will not hear the melody of thy viols" as a reason to avoid it.⁵⁸ Time spent in music was likely deemed frivolous, unproductive, and not conducive to a lifestyle that prized the productive use of time for products,

service and worship. In time, however, the pleasing melodies enjoyed by others softened even hardened Puritanical attitudes.

The community of musicians has generally had a bias against any type of mechanical or reproduced music. They railed against mechanical organs and did the same at the advent of the first sound reproduction systems. Their reaction was primal; they feared losing their jobs and being replaced by a machine. Their arguments were usually couched in terms of the lower quality and poorer dynamics of sound produced by mechanical instruments or sound reproduction devices; however, if the choice were poor music versus no music, most citizens would opt for the former as better than nothing.

The general disdain for mechanical instruments of any type was clearly expressed by one American editor commenting on a newly invented mechanical piano in 1826. He wrote "That barrel piano fortes, may as well be made, as barrel organs, every mechanisian (sic) knows, and that they will hold the same comparative rank, no musician be informed. The organist, however, will never wish for a barrel organ, nor the piano forte player, employ an automaton instrument, unless that can be made to express all the taste, feeling and variety of which keyed instruments are capable, however mechanically correct they may be in their execution. In fact, such instruments, although they may serve to show the consummate skill of the workman, ought never to be admitted as improvements, so far as the science of music is concerned, and will never be highly valued, excepting by those who cannot play."59 Such bias, in conjunction with a growing number of keyboard instruments and artists that could perform satisfactorily upon them, likely stymied the growth of any American builders of mechanical instruments.

One must acknowledge the existence and perpetuation of the underlying bias attendant to the arrival of the organ grinder. Particularly, "sophisticated" and well-educated metropolitan dwellers were the most aggressive in their denunciation of the hand organ, as one would expect from those possessing a "cultured" and refined musical taste.

Early Street Organs In America

There are British illustrations from the early nineteenth century, notably one from 1802, that show organ grinders in that land with small hand organs in outdoor settings (Figure 11). The instruments are of a low, rather flat, profile, a manageable size package that could have been carried about by means of a leather strap slung around the back of the neck. The length of the sling placed the organ at about the waist level, a convenient



Figure 11. A number of British couples were so enthused by the music from a hand organ in Greenwich Park in 1802 that they broke into dance as the melodies wafted by them. The view is one of the earliest dated scenes of an organ grinder.



Figure 12. This delightful animated engraving of a European street scene reflects how the arrival of a hand organist could completely overwhelm the daily lives of people. Whether focused on the music or others that stopped to enjoy it, the hiatus from the day's rituals was very welcome. Source: Author.

and comfortable position for cranking. It kept the operator's left arm free to move about, primarily to accept tokens of appreciation. One sees images of the grinders at fairs and festivals, mixing with and moving about within the body of attendees. One surmises that the same scene was witnessed on the streets of metropolitan communities (Figure 12).

The devices depicted within these illustrations are all small, low profile, rectangular box affairs. They are shown with square, rectangular, oval, and kidney-shaped grills in the front, the brass work crafted to represent organ pipes. Essentially all are operated by the right hand, which became something of a standard because the majority of the population was and is right-handed. Modest British hand organs, made by craftsmen such as Joseph Beloudy, A. Hinton (Figure 13) and White & Langshaw, may well have been the instruments utilized. Existing instruments of their manufacture closely follow the lines of hand organs in the early illustrations and probably exemplify the style and origin of early street organs in America. In these instruments the pipework was in front, immediately behind a cloth screen. The barrel was in the middle with the bellows or pump in the back. The layout was similar to that of serinettes, the small organs employed in the training of song birds.60

Given British precedents, it is not surprising to find the term street "organ" in an early 1799 American advertisement. It is our first knowledge of such an activity, and the name itself, in the United States. John and M. Paffs, New York dealers in musical instruments, clocks and toys at 112 Broadway, offered a number of articles recently imported from London including barrel organs and a "street organ." They closed their sale offering with the advisory "The Street organ will be hired out upon good security." By specifically calling out the instrument the Paffs suggest some novelty existed in it, while at the same time invoking the name suggests a certain level of familiarity with the terminology. The requirement suggests that the business was prone to renters absconding with their instruments. Unfortunately, there is no other information about the instrument other than the Paffs intended to lease it and that the people operated them in the streets.⁶¹

One searches in vain for accounts of street organists in America between 1800 and the late 1830s. Searches of the usual productive resources on such matters, and even the power of the Internet to access major databases of nineteenth century American publications yield nothing. John E. Zucchi, author of an extensive treatise on the subject of organ grinders in London, Paris and New York, states that Americans seldom commented upon the topic of organ grinders here until the 1840s.⁶² It is clear that there were very few here, whether making music or disturbing the peace. Paris seems to have been afflicted first by an excessive number of grinders, resulting in an 1816 law banning organs in the streets. The grinders relocation to London appears to have picked up momentum in the 1830s. The circumstances

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that caused primarily Italian immigrants to grind away on the streets of London and Paris in the early years of the nineteenth century had not yet caused them to reach across the Atlantic Ocean to the New World. They would not do so until national politics and immigration forces caused a change in world population demographics.

But there must have been organ grinders on New York streets in the 1820s. In 1831, John Pintard (1759-1844) made a comparative reference to hand organs and invoked the verb "grind" to designate their operation.⁶³ It is one of the few references that we have found in the three decades after the first mention of street organs, but is significant for the verb and the familiarity with the instrument that it invokes. Whether "grinding" was taken from metallurgical grinding, or the preparation of foodstuffs, such as corn, we don't know. The sharpening of knives by itinerant street vendors on a grinding wheel



Figure 13. The interior of an 18-key Hinton hand organ clearly shows the crankshaft on the right side, with the barrel between the pump and the pipes, which speak in the front. Source: Marv Freund.

would be the most likely origin of the term. One can readily envision the visual comparison between the revolving sharpener's wheel and the rotation of the barrel in the street organ. Hopefully the slow, constantly repetitive, rotational action, rather than the sounds that accompanied it, suggested the action word applied to hand organ operation.

Coming next . . . The Organ Grinder in America

8. Columbian Centennial (Boston), November 20, 1811.

Notes

1.	Barbara J. Owen, <i>The Organ In New England</i> (Raleigh: Sunbury Press, 1979), page 1; Orpha Ochse, <i>The History of the Organ in the United States</i> (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), page 14.	 <i>Richmond Enquirer</i>, January 1, 1818, cited in Stoutamire, page 94. Alfred Prime Coxe, <i>The Arts & Crafts In Philadelphia, Marylana and South Carolina 1786-1900</i>, (Philadelphia: Walpole Society, 1932), pages 60-61.
2.	Ochse, page 20.	1752), pages 00-01.
3.	Owen, page 36; Organ Historical Society Tracker, XXXI, 2, pages 19-23.	 Louis Leonard Tucker, "Ohio Show-Shop,' The Western Museum of Cincinnati," pages 73-105 in <i>A Cabinet of Curiosities</i> (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1967), page 81, cit- ing the <i>Cincinnati Inquisitor and Advertiser</i>, October 8, 1822.
4.	Ochse, page 25.	
5.	Virginia Gazette and Daily Advertiser, May 1, 1802, in Albert Stoutamire, Music of the Old South: Colony to Confederacy (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972), page 91. The secular use of pipe organs is covered in Edward C. Wolf, "The Secular Pipe Organ in American Culture," <i>Bicentennial Tracker</i> (Wilmington, Ohio: Organ Historical Society, 1976), pages 142- 162.	12. Though a Claviola type piano made by Hawkins is mentioned in 1807 correspondence, we find no other reference to a Hawkins organ at Peale's. Charles Coleman Sellers, <i>Mr. Peale's Museum</i> , (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980), page 196, makes the statement, which appears to be a mis-reading of Peale correspondence. See Laurence Libin, <i>American Musical Instruments in the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985) pages 142-143 and <i>Music & Automata</i> , III, 2, pages 139-141, for more on the Claviola.
7.	Robert A. Gerson, <i>Music In Philadelphia</i> (1940: rpt. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1970), page 14, lists the elements of a July 30, 1799 recital at Bowen's establishment; H. Earle Johnson, <i>Musical Interludes In Boston 1795-1830</i> (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), pages 21-22; unidentified Boston newspaper, May 26, 1802.	 13. Letter from Charles Willson Peale to John Isaac Hawkins dated December 15, 1807, Peale papers, American Philosophical Library. 14. Philadelphia Directory, 1822, per Coxe, pages 61-62.

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- Arthur W. J. G. Ord-Hume, *Barrel Organ* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1978), pages 451-452; Lindsay Langwill and Noel Boston, *Church and Chamber Barrel Organs* (Edinburgh: the author, 1967), page 54; Ochse, pages 70-71; and Eugene M. McCracken, "Pennsylvania, the Keystone State," *Tracker*, III, 4, pages 1, 3-4.
- 16. Boston Gazette, May 21, 1754, cited in George F. Dow, The Arts & Crafts in New England, 1704-1775 (Topsfield, MA, 1927) page 114.
- Virginia Gazette, September 17, 1767, cited in Stoutamire, page 29, and Bicentennial Tracker, page 24; Owens, page 26; Langwill, page 110; MBSI Technical Bulletin, XXIII, 1, page 96 and MBSI News Bulletin, February-March 1973, pages 4-5; Langwill, pages 47 and 111, Warner Tavern, Northampton, Massachusetts, organ now at Yale University. A home instrument from the 1797-1805 era, presumably British built and sold by the New York dealer William Howe, is preserved in the Fenimore House in Cooperstown, New York. See Kathryn Boardman, "Howe Barrel Organ Restored at Cooperstown," *Tracker*, XXXIII, 2, pages 30-31.
- 18. Kate Van Winkle Keller, Musical Clocks of Early America and their Music, National Association of Watch and Clock Collectors Bulletin, XXIV, 3, pages 253-317, revised and reprinted in Music & Automata, II, Number 6, pages 84-96, cites a barrel organ offered for sale by a clockmaker in 1773; Rivington's New York Gazetteer, April 14, 1774, cited in Rita Susswein Gottesmann, The Arts and Crafts In New York 1726-1776 (New York: New York Historical Society, 1938), page 157.
- 19. Spirit of the Times, December 10, 1831, page 3.
- 20. Langwill, pages 61, 111 and 59 and Musical Box Society International *Technical Bulletin*, XVI, 1, pages 1-4; *New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, January 12, 1799, cited in Rita Susswein Gottesmann, *The Arts and Crafts in New York 1777-1799* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1954), page 378; Ochse, page 8; Louis J. Schoenstein, *Memoirs of a San Francisco Organ Builder* (San Francisco: Cue, 1977), page 605; and MBSI *Technical Bulletin*, XXXIII, 1, pages 78-82; Langwill, pages 47 and 111.
- 21. Rivington's New York Gazetteer, April 14, 1774, cited in Gottesmann, 1726-1776, page 157.
- 22. Pope's solicitation for barrel organ business is cited in Keller, without attribution.
- Daniel Spillane, *Technical History of the Player* (New York: the author, 1890), pages 73, 78-80; *New York Daily Advertiser*, May 23, 1786, cited in Gottesmann, 1777-1799, pages 363-364; Gerson, page 45; Ochse, pages 80-81; Owens, page 36; Walter Edward Mann, "Piano Making In Philadelphia Before 1825," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1977, pages 164-177.
- 24. Johnson, page 281.
- 25. Edward Hazen, *Professions and Trades* (Philadelphia: Uriah Hunt, 1837), page 153.
- 26. New York Daily Advertiser, July 5, 1797, cited in Gottesmann, 1777-1799, page 363.

- 27. New York Morning Chronicle, November 6, 1803, cited in Rita Susswein Gottesmann, The Arts and Crafts in New York 1800-1804 (New York: New York Historical Society, 1965), page 333; Nancy Jane Groce, "Musical Instrument Making in New York City During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1982, page 380.
- 28. Letter to the author from John M. Bacon, National Park Service, March 8, 1991 concerning barrel arranged by William Redstone, 342 Greenwich Street, New York, in G. Astor & Co. barrel organ at Independence Hall. This instrument has an unknown heritage and was bought from a dealer to be part of the City Tavern restoration. The tunes on the Redstone barrel are not identified. Similar instruments are preserved in several American collections. Also see Stephen L. Pinel, "Out of Obscurity: William Redstone, Early Nineteenth-Century New York Organbuilder," *Tracker*, XXXVII, 4, pages 20-30.
- 29. The Minerva & Mercantile Evening Advertiser, May 22, 1797, cited in Gottesmann, 1777-1799, page 377.
- 30. New York Gazette and General Advertiser, January 12, 1799, cited in Gottesmann, 1777-1799, page 378. An example of this style Astor organ was in the Dick and Dixie Leis collection in 1987.
- 31. New York Evening Post, April 19, 1802, cited in Gottesmann, 1800-1804, page 332.
- 32. New York Evening Post, October 11, 1804, cited in Gottesmann, 1800-1804, pages 334-335.
- Owen, page 95 and *Tracker*, XXXVIII, 1, page 24; *Tracker*, IX, 1, page 10, XIII, 1, page 3.
- 34. Boston Public Library, manuscript 451.119 and *Tracker*, V, 2, page 10. Goodrich did repair an early orchestrion in 1811.
- 35. John Ogasapian, Organ Building In New York City 1700-1900 (Braintree, MA: Organ Literature Foundation, 1977), pages 111-113 and illustration XV. Also see *Tracker*, XLI, 4, page 4; Barbara J. Owen, "Hymn Tunes from an American Barrell-Organ (sic) of 1842," MBSI *Technical Bulletin*, XXI, 2, pages 124-129. Reportedly about a dozen Jardine barrel operated church organs are in existence today.
- 36. Advertisement in The *Churchman*. A dumb organist is illustrated in Ord-Hume, plates 40 and 41. *Bicentennial Tracker*, page 74 and 1967 Organ Historical Society Annual; *Tracker*, IX, 2, page 9 and XXXVIII, 1, page 27; *Tracker*, XX, 2, page 11 and Langwill, page 111.
- Tucker, pages 90-95; *Tracker*, XX, 3, pages 10-11; Sellers, Peale, page 313; *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, June 28, 1851.
- Detroit Institute of Arts, reproduced on page 16 of William T. Alderson, ed., *Mermaids, Mummies and Mastadons: The Emergence of the American Museum* (Baltimore, MD: American Association of Museums, 1992).

- 39. Letter from Charles Willson Peale to John Isaac Hawkins dated May 5, 1807, Peale Papers, American Philosophical Library. One cannot help but wonder if the machinist was John Stowe, brass founder of Philadelphia, who with John Pass re-cast the State House bell, now commonly known as the Liberty Bell.
- 40. A portion of the sketch is reproduced in Henry Morley, *Memoirs of the Bartholomew Fair* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1859), page 464.
- 41. Leicester Galleries, London, reproduced in color in M. Willson Disher, *Fairs, Circuses and Music Hall* (London: Collins, 1942), facing page 8.
- 42. Wayne Caldwell Neely, *The Agricultural Fair* (New York: AMS Press, 1967).
- 43. Broadside, Rhode Island Historical Society; *Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, December 1, 1804, cited in Stoutamire, page 94.
- 44. Columbian Centennial (Boston), September 7, 1811.
- 45. Salem Gazette, April 6, 1820.
- 46. *Richmond* (Virginia) *Argus*, September 6, 1808, cited in Stoutamire, page 94.
- 47. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, October 26, 1814. See the author's paper "Mechanical Organs of the American Traveling Circus, Menagerie and Wild West," Carousel Organ Association of America, *Carousel Organ*, No. 4 (July 2000), pages 1, 7-15.
- 48. Liberty Hall (Cincinnati), March 18, 1818.
- 49. Concord (New Hampshire) Observer, June 2, 1821.
- 50. *The Music Box*, X, 5, page 226; other information courtesy of Michael Bennett-Levy.
- Johnson, page 92; Henrike Leonhardt, Der Taktmesser, Johann Nepomuk Maelzel--Ein lueckenhafter Lebenslauf (Hamburg: Kellner, 1990).
- 52. The literature on organ clocks is extensive. Among the many worthwhile treatises recently published are Herbert Juettemann, Schwarzwaelder Floetenuhren (Waldkirch: Waldkircher Verlag, 1991) and Figurenuhren aus dem Schwarzwald (Waldkirch: Waldkircher Verlag, 1998); Karl Kochmann, Black Forest Music Clocks (the author, 1990) and Black Forest Clockmaker and the Cuckoo Clock (the author, 1990); and Rick Ortenburger, Black Forest Clocks (West Chester, PA: Schiffer, 1991).

- 53. Hobbies, LV, (August 1950), page 42.
- 54. Pennsylvania Packet, March 14, 1786, cited in Coxe, page 273.
- 55. Keller, pages 95, 89 and 88.
- Arthur W. J. G. Ord-Hume, "Kirk's Most Unusual Musical Shelf Clock," MBSI *Technical Bulletin*, XLII, 3, pages 11-19 and back cover detail one of the Kirke & Todd organ clocks.
- 57. "The Engle Automatic Clock," Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, April 13, 1878, pages 101-102; "The Clock of Clocks," in H. L. Harvey, The Progressive Ages (Philadelphia: J. A. Ruth & Co., 1881), pages 404-405; Thomas J. Bartels, The Eighth Wonder of The World, NAWCC Bulletin, XXXII, 1, pages 16-24.
- 58. Frederic Louis Ritter, *Music In America* (New York: Scribner's, 1900), pages 100-101.
- 59. Franklin Journal and American Mechanics Magazine, 1826, page 188.
- 60. White & Langshaw organs are in *Drehorgeln: Schaurig-Schoen*, (Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum, 1994), plate 45 and Barrel Organ, plate 74. The 18-key Hinton instrument is in the Marv Freund collection. A plate on the front bears the unusual legend of "A. Hinton Organ Builder/London/Dominic Gafsell (Gassell?)/Cost L30/Proprietor." The fourteen barrel tunes include *There's No Place Like Home, Scottish Highlander* and *God save the Queen*. Open and stopped metal pipes stand in front of the barrel, inside the case.
- 61. New York Gazette and General Advertiser, January 12, 1799, cited in Gottesmann, 1777-1799, page 378.
- 62. *The Little Slaves of the Harp*, (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1992) is an excellent study of the sociological aspects of the street organ trade.
- 63. Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter Eliza Noel Pintard Davidson 1816-1833, (New York: New York Historical Society, 1940), III, page 225.

Fred Dahlinger is a frequent contributor of articles to the *Carousel Organ*. This issue, Fred and his wife, Anita, are featured in the "Meet Your Member" feature on page 35. Learn and enjoy a little more about them there.

Organ Rally Canceled

Walter Moore has informed the COAA staff that the organ rally on September 27-29, 2002, in Dallas that the Sunbelt (MBSI) chapter had planned has been unilaterally canceled by the State Fair of Texas board. Walter may be working on getting a similar rally scheduled for 2003 and will let us know.