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BOOK REVIEWS

David Leinweber. *The Art of Ancient Music*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books/Rowman & Littlefield, 2021. xxi + 169 pp., 8 sketches. 978-1-7936-2519-9; 978-1-7936-2520-5. \$95.00 hardcover; \$45.00 eBook.

Interdisciplinary scholarship is critically important work, yet fraught with pitfalls for the unwary. That David Leinweber, an associate professor of history at Emory University, chose to address the rich topic of ancient music is laudable, and the casual reader will find much of interest in this book. The writing is engaging and accessible without sacrificing scholarly assets like extensive footnotes and a lengthy bibliography. It provides an overview of some of the principal musical genres and types of musical instruments. However, details and nuances of the musicological and organological aspects of Leinweber's work are frequently not quite correct and sometimes wholly erroneous. Several foundational assumptions are not up to date with current musicological scholarship, leading to some skewed conclusions about music in the ancient world.

The book is not laid out chronologically, and the author does not define what he considers "ancient." Instead, the chapters treat individual themes: "The Voice," "Early Musical Instruments," "The Bow of Music," "Music and Storytelling," "Festivals and Parties," and "Church Music as an Heir of Ancient Music." Leinweber has chosen to focus on music as an art, but referring to music in the broad context of the ancient world as a "fine art" is anachronistic. Leinweber defines the fine arts as "[w]hen artists reach a truly superb level of excellence in their crafts" (p. xiv). Even *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, from which Leinweber quotes, places this definition as secondary. Merriam-Webster's primary definition is most appropriate for this usage: "an art practiced for its aesthetic value and beauty rather than any function." The concept of art for art's sake may have left traces of existence in ancient eras, but it was not a central part of any aesthetic view for centuries thereafter. This may seem a minor criticism, but when it leads to claims like "Challenges in the Stone Age made devoting much time and energy to the Fine Arts a frill" (p. 25), the careless definition leads to a serious misunderstanding of the place of music in early cultures. Although a few pages at the end of the book

mention the trivium, quadrivium, Boethius, and music of the spheres (pp. 132–35), Leinweber does not clarify that for centuries, Western art music was defined not as an art, but primarily as a science based in numbers—hence its categorization in the quadrivium.

Some problems are caused by the use of outdated sources or a failure to consult recent scholarship. Leinweber routinely uses late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sources that contain much truth, to be sure, but are often at odds with the conclusions of more recent research. For example, Ovid R. Sellers's 1941 article, "Musical Instruments of Israel" in *Biblical Archaeologist* (September 1941): 33–47, was an important piece of research in its day, but Sellers's equation of the sistrum with the castanet is now recognized as completely mistaken. Sellers's work was superseded by several other writings of relevance, including Jeremy Montagu's book, *Musical Instruments of the Bible* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2002), which does not appear in Leinweber's bibliography. Montagu is clear that the tabret (Hebrew *tōf*, old English *timbrel*) was unlikely to have had jingles in biblical times (Montagu, p. 16). Therefore, Leinweber's characterization of the "timbrel" as an instrument *shaken* by Miriam, rather than struck as a frame drum (Montagu, p. 28), is misleading at best.

In the same vein, Leinweber uses a 1922 source to define the *dithyramb* as a dirge that functioned originally as a lamentation (p. 102), but John G. Landels (*Music in Ancient Greece & Rome* [Routledge, 2001]) cites the dithyramb as a merry song early on, through the sixth and fifth centuries BCE becoming a fierce competition genre at festivals (p. 4). Again choosing the wrong tool for the job, Leinweber uses *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* to define a hymn as "a religious song . . . specifically mean[ing] 'song of praise,'" and goes on to indicate the biblical Psalms as hymns (p. 11). Later, he writes that the antiphon is a call and response part of Christian hymnody (p. 13) and that the *jubilus* was a "hymn-type" (p. 124). In today's musicology, none of these statements is entirely correct, though one may argue for grains of validity within. Another misunderstanding, common among the general populace, appears in the discussion of lullabies (p. 7), when Leinweber assumes that the *fa la la* refrains in early English song are "nonsense sounds." In fact, these non-lexical vocables were often used in Renaissance England to advance a song's satirical critique of society or as a lyrical substitution for something that could not be explicitly expressed.

Organologists rely on extant musical instruments and on iconographical evidence to provide visual clues regarding their intended functions and

performance practices. Meanwhile, the outer appearances of ancient instruments are often specific to time and place. Leinweber's use of generic drawings, rather than photographs of actual instruments or iconographical evidence, is a missed opportunity, especially in our age of abundant digital images. Line drawings of musical instruments offer a general idea in this book, as they did in Curt Sachs's *Real-Lexikon der Musikinstrumente* (1913). But by 1940, Sachs was able to include a few black-and-white photos in his *History of Musical Instruments*. Today's reader need not be satisfied with line drawings when high-quality photographs of extant instruments or artwork are widely available. Compared to the book's "artistic representation of King David's lyre," far more can be learned from a high-resolution photograph of the photogenic Mesopotamian lyre, ca. 2600 BCE, readily viewable online (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1929-1017-2). A sketch captioned "early style organ" (p. 131) is confusing, to be sure: the author has been discussing the hydraulic organ, entirely appropriately, and could easily have referenced the Wikipedia article with depictions of the organ in the "musicians" panel on the obelisk of Theodosius (Constantinople, 395 CE; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Obelisk_of_Theodosius#/media/File:Obelisk_of_Theodosius_3239.jpg), rather than a sketch of what is essentially a ca. thirteenth-century portative organ. Egregiously, when the drawn instrument is not accurate even to its generic label, an erroneous visual image is cemented in the reader's mind: fig. 2.1, "An ancient flute," (p. 30) appears instead to show a nineteenth-century American Indian courting flute. Fipple flutes may well have ancient roots, but probably not akin to the image presented here.

The pitfalls are not only musical. Leinweber wades straight into presentism and teleological fallacy, declaring that "Even the toy musical instruments we give to children today are unfathomably better than practically any early instrument" (p. 144) and passing summary judgement on tuning systems "crude by today's standards" (p. 55). After discussing primates' use of hand gestures to communicate, he writes: "Sure, such bodily movements get the point across well enough, as we can see in American Sign Language, for example. But the precision and nuance of a complex spoken language offer much more" (p. 1). This comparison is mistakenly dismissive and ableist. Gesture is a communication, but it is not a language as described by the parameters of syntax, semantics, pragmatics, morphology, and phonology. On the other hand, American Sign Language *is* a full language, having complex and unique grammatical features, distinct

from those of spoken English.

The premise of considering what art was present in ancient music is excellent. An overview of musical genres and instruments in the context of broad ancient history is a critical part of interdisciplinary scholarship, drawing on the sister disciplines of history, musicology, and organology. The problems mentioned above somehow got past the reputable publisher's peer review and editorial processes, leading to a book with content that belies its recent publication date.

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Maggie Kilbey. *Music-Making in the Hertfordshire Parish, 1760–1870*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2020. 292 pp., many black-and-white illus. ISBN: 9781912260263. \$27.87 (paperback).

Author and historian Maggie Kilbey opens her consideration of music-making in the Hertfordshire parish by prioritizing the combination of musical and social history in her study. This interaction is central to the book and allows Kilbey to demonstrate the scope of her subject and the mutual dependence and influence of musical and social innovations within the Hertfordshire parish.

The author questions some established theories associated with church music-making during this period, arguing convincingly that different counties and parishes showed disparity in their approaches to church music-making and that Hertfordshire in particular was influenced by its proximity to London. She also challenges the idea of sequential changes in church music-making, proving through this study that many parallel stages existed in terms of suggested improvements to parochial music.

Kilbey examines the continual, and often fruitless, attempts made during this period to improve and encourage parochial music-making and congregational singing. In exploring her subject, the author skilfully draws together a wide variety of sources, including newspaper advertisements, ecclesiastical publications, private diaries, contemporary litera-

ture, and—crucially—individual church records to create a vivid picture of music-making in the Hertfordshire parish. The nine chapters are supplemented by four appendixes, including two useful and informative maps of Hertfordshire and the parishes cited in the book, and two tables noting the presence of organs, singers, and instrumentalists in the parishes considered.

The nine chapters present a vast amount of information, considering pertinent topics as wide ranging as charity schools, the production of hymnals, the impact of non-conformist movements, church musicians and the instruments they played, financial and religious disputes, the establishment of singing classes and choirs, and the fabric of church buildings. In each chapter, the author interweaves historical, social, and musical considerations, displaying their mutual interdependence and influence in attempting to improve and develop parochial music-making. Kilbey creates a highly detailed picture within each of these chapters, and there are only occasional instances where, in the effort to provide detail or explain background, the overall chronology of the central narrative is lost.

Chapter 2 focuses on the enforced role charity schoolchildren played in attempting to encourage congregational singing. The author offers a fascinating insight into the place of these children, both in society and within the church, assessing their visual and musical impacts on church congregations. Discussing the importance of their visual image, Kilbey comments: “Children in many charity schools in London and the provinces were provided with specific clothing” and therefore provided “a display of ‘clothed’ objects of charity” (p. 39) for congregations to observe and hopefully patronize. The original intention in using charity schoolchildren to lead the singing was to encourage the congregation to sing too. However, as Kilbey argues, these attempts to improve parochial music-making, although perhaps theoretically sound, ultimately proved largely unsuccessful in practice. A number of examples cited by the author demonstrate that, for multiple social and musical reasons, the reality remained that “rather than leading the singing, children were singing on behalf of the congregation” (p. 43).

Chapter 4 centers on the presence, role, and performance of the singers and church bands who contributed to parochial music-making. Through surviving church accounts and payments, Kilbey proves the use of various wind and string instruments employed in different combinations within Hertfordshire church bands. She notes that, although anecdotal informa-

tion indicates that flutes were regular members of church bands, “little evidence of their use survives, probably because flutes have neither reeds nor strings, the purchase of which provide the main surviving evidence for clarinets, oboes, bassoons, violins and cellos in churchwardens’ accounts” (p. 98). These instruments were used in various combinations in church bands (as indicated in Appendix four) and, in some cases, were recorded in contemporary paintings, such as the image featured as the cover illustration to this book. Thomas Webster’s *A Village Choir* (1847) depicts the singers at Bow Brickhill, Bedfordshire (just north of Hertfordshire) with a band comprising a clarinet (a six-keyed English example), bassoon, and cello. Kilbey’s research confirmed that the clarinetist John Wooton was a wheelwright and baker and the cellist Thomas Baskerville a blacksmith, both therefore belonging to a class of “artisan tradesmen” (p. 94). The author suggests that this was true of the majority of church musicians at this time, again demonstrating an important connection between social class and involvement in parochial music-making. When considering the resulting effects of these church bands in performance, Kilbey creates a richly detailed and engaging portrait of the (often highly questionable) musical skills in evidence, vividly bringing parochial music-making to life. The author selects an effective range of contemporary descriptions and demonstrates a prevailing opinion that, in the words of one nineteenth-century writer, “our beautiful service is disfigured and disgraced to gratify the vanity of every drivelling performer on the clarionet, flute, fiddle, or violoncello. The resemblance of all this complicated discordancy of sound, to what we usually call music, is faint indeed” (p. 92).

This chapter also offers a fascinating insight to the provision and funding of church instruments, reeds, and strings, demonstrating the diverse ways in which these instruments were purchased and maintained. Kilbey cites the importance of multiple figures such as provincial composers, charity school teachers, organists, church band musicians, local landowners, patrons or clergymen, and provincial shopkeepers in supplying and supporting church bands. In addition, the author also notes the obtaining of church instruments by subscription, in part exchange, by hire purchase, in instalments, or as second-hand instruments, revealing “a complex funding picture” (p. 100). Kilbey also highlights a close connection between military and church bands, demonstrating the influence of the military band in introducing a wider selection of instruments into parochial music-making. Furthermore, the author also notes that in the parish of Wel-

wyn, a possible overlap of these two bands appears likely, as Mr. “Otway may have directed both the church bands and the local [military] band of music” (p. 107).

A further confirmation of this close association is displayed by parishes which appear to have used the same instruments in both their church and local military bands. One telling example of this, which even included a specific modification to an instrument to enable its use in both environments, is recorded in Oakham, Rutland. An 1806 inventory of church goods included two bassoons, and Kilbey discovered an invoice from Köhler and Percival (makers of military musical instruments) for a bassoon with a trumpet top. These trumpet tops, made from silver, brass, or copper, were interchangeable with the usual wooden bassoon bell. Although the reason for the provision of these trumpet tops is not immediately apparent, Kilbey clarifies this, commenting that “With flared metal trumpet tops the bassoons would better match military instruments such as horns and trumpets in terms of both appearance and loudness, while a standard wooden bell would give a softer appearance and volume that would blend better with church band instruments” (pp. 107–09). This demonstrates versatility in the bassoon’s usage, as Kilbey sheds new light on the technical and musical reasons behind this little known organological design feature. The author provides an interesting photograph of two bassoons housed in the Bate Collection, University of Oxford: a Goulding & D’Almaine bassoon with a trumpet top and a Cuvillier bassoon with the usual wooden bell. The black-and-white photograph is unfortunately a little too dark to discern all the details of these instruments and the material of the flared bell; however, the trumpet top shape is clearly visible and demonstrates the organological differences between these two instruments.

Several of Kilbey’s chapters are illustrated with a range of iconographical material, including photographs of surviving church instruments, contemporary paintings, plans of church interiors, patent organ designs, and satirical drawings of the time. Although the photographs used in the book are unfortunately sometimes too dark to discern all the details of the instruments under consideration, they enhance her discussions and are effectively incorporated. The author also includes a number of tables to present more detailed or complex information with greater clarity. Although this is for the most part successful, the order of information presented in the tables sometimes does not allow the reader to interpret the

information with reference to Kilbey's discussion as readily as might be hoped. This occasionally lessens the impact of the tabulated information.

For example, in table 6.2 (p. 171), the author presents an 1846 classification of hymn tunes as "1 = solid and ecclesiastical, 2 = light and inferior, 3 = lax and secular." Her point concerns the popularity of the two lower classifications of hymn tunes in Hertfordshire, despite the unfavorable contemporary descriptions cited here. However, the table is ordered not by these classifications, but rather in alphabetical order by hymn tune, splitting the classifications up and lessening the impact of the table in supporting her point in this particular case.

Likewise, Appendix 4 documents references to singers and church bands in Hertfordshire parish churches from 1760 to 1850. The presence of singers and various instrumentalists is designated by dots for each parish, and it would have been fascinating to gain an idea of the date or dates (within the period 1760–1850) that these musicians were present.

In Kilbey's introduction to this book, she comments: "It is to be hoped that the new findings presented in this book will encourage other researchers to undertake studies in their own regions, adding even more to our growing understanding of the development of music-making during this important period" (p. 6). Through her accessible and engaging written style and the rigor and depth of research presented, readers will gain a vivid picture of Hertfordshire's musical and social history during more than a century. Fostered by Kilbey's zest and enthusiasm, they may also be encouraged to investigate music-making in their own parishes.

CATHERINE CRISP

UNIVERSITY OF CHICHESTER

Nicholas Thistlethwaite. *Organ-building in Georgian and Victorian England: The Work of Gray & Davison, 1772–1890*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2020. xxii + 552 pp., 99 black-and-white plates, 17 tables. ISBN 978-1-78327-467-3. \$99 (cloth), also available as an e-book. Online supplement of 278 pp. available at www.boydellandbrewer.com/media/wysiwyg/Other/Organ-building_Online_Supplement.pdf.

Thistlethwaite's exemplary study, the first devoted to musical instruments in Boydell & Brewer's new series *Music in Britain, 1600–2000*, comes at a critical time, when historical organs are disappearing at an alarming rate (e.g., the magnificent organ at Nantes cathedral, consumed by arson in July, 2020) and important modern builders are failing (e.g., Mander Organs, bankrupt in July, 2020). Without thorough, accurate documentation, knowledge of this legacy will soon diminish irrecoverably, so Thistlethwaite's account of a major nineteenth-century English organ-building firm is both welcome and necessary.

No more distinguished researcher works in this field. The Reverend Canon Dr. Nicholas Thistlethwaite is Chaplain to H. M. The Queen, Honorary President of the British Institute of Organ Studies, and recipient of the Medal of the Royal College of Organists. He is a prominent consultant on organ construction and restoration projects and a prolific author whose works include *The Making of the Victorian Organ* (Cambridge, 1990), a valuable introduction to the present volume, which assumes some familiarity with the craft and its vocabulary.

Thistlethwaite's study of Gray & Davison is not so much technical as an historical review, based mainly upon written records, of the once-prestigious firm, founded in London around 1772 by Robert Gray. Robert, said to have been apprenticed to John Crang (according to a document in the Metropolitan Museum of Art), was soon joined by his brother William as "Organ, Harpsichord & Piano Forte Makers." Their extensive output, now mostly vanished, ranged from small chamber organs, barrel organs, and claviorgans to substantial church organs. A square piano of theirs resides in the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History and a handsome grand piano is in the York Castle Museum; two later square pianos by William alone are known, but no Gray harpsichord survives.

Thistlethwaite untangles confusing and sometimes contradictory accounts of Robert's and William's early years, speculating on their training

and locating their various premises with the aid of contemporary maps, insurance records, and other evidence suggesting acquaintanceship, at least, with older builders such as Crang and the Pether family. Robert died in 1796; William carried on the business, joined in the early 1800s by his son John. Father and son repaired and sold pianos as late as the 1820s, but by that time they specialized in conventional organ building. As their reputation spread, commissions from prestigious clients followed.

Thistlethwaite provides specifications of eleven of the Grays' chamber organs dating from 1775 to about 1809; he discusses their tonal and mechanical features and often elegant casework, and notes that after about 1815 the firm produced fewer chamber organs, as the function of these as domestic status symbols declined in the face of the piano's growing popularity. On the other hand, their output of barrel organs accelerated toward 1840 to suit the needs of provincial churches as far away as India that lacked competent organists, a situation largely rectified after mid-century, when "barrel and finger" hybrids became more common until they too were superseded.

The Grays provided conventional organs for churches as distant as Australia, Canada, and the United States, as well as some of the largest and most prestigious instruments in Britain up to their day. Thistlethwaite tabulates specifications of twenty-two church organs by the firm dating from 1782 to William's death, in 1821; another table enumerates John Gray's yearly output from 1822 to 1840 (39 percent of it destined for London clients), which reflects rapid expansion of church construction driven by population growth.

John Gray was joined from 1836 by his son Robert as Gray & Son. Interestingly, Thistlethwaite notes that while their products were forward-looking in some mechanical and tonal respects, John Gray resisted equal temperament; when was it finally adopted? One wonders also about changing pitch standards, but because so many of the Grays' organs have been lost and none of the survivors remains unaltered (among other things, wind pressures and tunings have been changed, and organs were not infrequently relocated from their original homes), we cannot always know their intended sounds with certainty. However, Thistlethwaite analyzes existing contracts that reveal many of the instruments' basic characteristics, allowing comparison with organs by other contemporary builders.

The firm became Gray & Davison soon after John's daughter married the businessman and Bach enthusiast Frederick Davison, formerly a

partner in the progressive organ-building company of Hill & Davison. A year after this marriage, in 1839, Robert Gray left the business; thereafter Davison oversaw expansion of its operations into a new custom-built factory with a branch in Liverpool. Davison also prompted modernization of the firm's tonal designs and workshop methods, impelled by a vogue for French-inspired concert organs. To accommodate the technical and tonal demands of increasingly popular orchestral transcriptions, Gray & Davison introduced several "improvements," including new registers and mechanisms that Thistlethwaite discusses; these innovations in turn led toward the so-called German system, intended to facilitate performance of organ works of Bach. Thus the firm entered a new era, influenced by Britain's increasing openness to Continental fashions, at least in concert music.

Thistlethwaite sees Gray & Davison's Germanic "New Model" emerging in the 1843 organ for St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. Among its modern features were a full C compass for all ranks, an expanded Great division and independent Pedal, addition of solo orchestral stops such as the novel Keraulophon, and generous Mixtures (although details of many Mixture compositions are lacking). Anomalously, for organists still unfamiliar with use of a pedalboard, a separate short-compass manual played St. Paul's Pedal stops.

Through the 1850s and '60s, under Davison's leadership the firm's organs progressed along these lines, with introduction of new voices especially among the reeds, more couplers, better-engineered Swell enclosures, experiments with different wind pressures provided by water-powered blowers, and overall increased expressive capabilities especially in large, civic concert organs. Thistlethwaite discusses instances of these developments, drawing mainly on written accounts since so many instruments have been lost or radically altered.

Demand for Davison's organs remained fairly stable into the 1870s, but as sole proprietor personally responsible for the firm's debts, he seems to have become averse to risk, so the firm's organs settled into a fairly standard "house style," to use Thistlethwaite's words. After acquiring the decayed business of the late Thomas Robson and incorporating as a limited company in 1877, Gray & Davison faced increasing competition from more adventurous rivals such as Henry Willis. Davison's now mostly unremarkable instruments failed to attract much attention, and the company's output contracted in the 1880s. A few notable commissions still came in,

but only three new orders arrived in 1885 and none in 1886. Henceforth the firm survived mainly on rebuilding and maintenance work.

Following a period of declining health, Frederick Davison essentially became incapacitated by 1885, whereupon his nephew Charles, who had managed the Liverpool branch, became managing director in London. Charles Davison oversaw the firm's last important work, including a four-manual concert organ for Portsmouth Town Hall and a well-regarded ecclesiastical instrument commissioned by the Duke of Newcastle for the "miniature cathedral" at his estate in Clumber, Nottinghamshire. But as Thistlethwaite makes clear, these successes came too late to save the firm. Among other problems, an important employee was found to be working illicitly on his own account and was dismissed a month after Frederick Davison died, in November 1889. By that time the company's liabilities had risen to the point that operations could not be sustained, consequently Gray & Davison went into liquidation in 1890, the terminus of Thistlethwaite's account. (Charles Davison continued some operations until his own death, in 1906; later companies operated under the Gray & Davison name until around 1970, with diminishing success.)

As far as the evidence allows, and without excessive detail, this well-indexed book comprehensively covers the business history of Gray & Davison and the musical and mechanical characteristics of their organs, including data not previously found in the National Pipe Organ Register. Its value is enhanced by the massive online supplement, consisting of annotated work lists (indexed by location) and transcriptions of documents cited in the main text. Together, these accounts, and an extensive bibliography current through 2015, fill a gap in the history of British organ building and set a high standard for others to follow. One could wish for an audio supplement offering music recorded on surviving instruments, but as noted above, most have been so altered that they may no longer sound as their makers intended, and so could give a false impression. It is better to leave well enough alone and focus instead on further technical documentation of what little remains intact.

LAURENCE LIBIN
RAMSEY, NEW JERSEY

Mike Baldwin. *Harp Making in Late-Georgian London*. London: Bright Light, 2020. 413 pp., 68 color illus., 77 black-and-white illus., 9 tables. ISBN 978-1-5272-6511-0. \$76 (hardback).

Harp Making in Late Georgian London is a handsomely produced book by Dr. Mike Baldwin, a British organologist and instrument builder. Baldwin has had an interest in harps for much of his life, beginning in his early teens. He continued his work and studies at several institutions and harp workshops, completing his PhD in 2017 at London Metropolitan University. The hard-cover volume, printed on high-quality paper with many color illustrations, is laid out in eleven chapters, each divided into several sections. Over 100 pages of appendices make up a quarter of the volume.

In the introductory first chapter, the history of Soho, where harp makers lived and worked, is briefly covered, then the development of the pedal harp. After a reasonably clear and well-balanced overview, Baldwin soon delves into the Erat company. This establishes early on one of the problems of the book: much of it is not a general history of a particular time and place in harp making, but a study of just one workshop. Baldwin has made a very thorough study of English harp makers, and of the Erats, but his subjects might have been better served by two separate books, rather than a single, oddly balanced one.

The second chapter, “Consuming the Harp,” is a sociological look at the predominantly affluent and feminine world of amateur harpists in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Here Baldwin does a good job of presenting quantifiable documentation. In the first section of the chapter, he cites literary and epistolary references to the harp as seen in social settings. The second section presents a relatively small selection of iconography featuring harps and young women, examined with an eye to the relationship between harps and the fashions of the period. The chapter closes with a section enumerating the contemporary publications of harp music in London and how they compare with publications for other instruments. Also presented is a summary of Simon McVeigh’s *Calendar of London Concerts, 1750–1800*, focusing on the harp, but without interpretation or explanation.

The third chapter, “London Harp Makers,” is a roll call of the harp makers operating in London at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first two pages provide an interesting, if brief, context for the concentration of builders in the Soho area, followed by a list of makers. The in-

formation given about each is something of a mixture, ranging from a list of their addresses to enumeration of their offspring, and on to gossip regarding their extramarital affairs. Much of Baldwin's interpretation of the information is admittedly conjectural. The section on John Falce Browne is problematic. While Baldwin illustrates some rare advertising material, much of the information set forth in the text is inaccurate. Browne's middle name is twice given as "Fuce" rather than "Falce," and the company of Browne & Buckwell is said to have closed at the start of the twentieth century, when in fact the company was still operating into the 1940s.

Baldwin addresses the decoration of harps in the fourth chapter, "A Decorative Design History." While the decorative aspect of harps is responsible for much popular interest, the topic is rarely examined. Here, Baldwin makes only too thorough an investigation. The information he presents is important, but the result is fraught with problems. A good deal of text is expended going down a rabbit hole of unsuccessful comparisons between orders of Classical architecture and the more fanciful ornamentation of harp columns. He cites the Erard spiral column Gothic design as having been introduced in London in 1835. In fact, that model was first produced in Paris, and not until ca. 1890.

Chapter 5, "A Technical Design History," goes into considerable detail on the technical developments of the harp's pedal mechanism and the relevant patents. The early nineteenth century was the time of transition from the single action to the double, and a fertile period in harp engineering. Here, Baldwin has assembled a remarkable collection of patent drawings, but did not include the explanatory texts. To make matters worse, most of the drawings are printed in half-page size, too small to be readily deciphered. While Baldwin's summary explanations are useful to a degree, it would have been far more helpful to have the original descriptions.

The real center of this book is the Erat establishment, who built some of the best harps of the time. They are brought into focus in chapter 6, "The Erats: A Manufacturing Family." The details of the family's life are presented in the most granular detail, ranging from the content of wills to the cost of clothing for the Erat children. To fully quantify the status of harp makers in the context of the general populace, Baldwin includes a table from the period showing eight social classes, ranging from royalty down to criminals, and their relative incomes. It is not made clear, however, to which tier the Erats would have belonged. An interesting passage summarizes the Erats' involvement in the Society of British Musicians, affording

some insight into concert production and promotion at the time.

The examination of the Erats' lives continues in chapter 7, "Jacob Erat's Manufactories." The subjects are primarily the buildings in which the business was conducted, though Baldwin also ranges into inventories, expenses, and the number of times people fell down a particular flight of stairs in one of the buildings. The chapter is interesting as information about early nineteenth-century artisanal life and production, but the lack of interpretation as to its relevance to harp making renders this study of the Erats' environments of greater interest to the social historian than to the organologist.

Chapter 8, "Making the Harp," is a catchall of information that might have made more sense had it been presented elsewhere in the book. The first section, "Business Arrangements," discussing staffing and suppliers, would have added dimension and context to the preceding chapter. The second section, "Making the Harp," which looks at the woodworking and metalworking processes, might have been included in the chapter on technical design. The last section, "Decorating and Finishing the Harp," is a valuable description of casting the applied decoration, and painting and gilding techniques, all of which might have fitted better into chapter 4. There are also difficulties with terminology, such as referring to "lead white" and "flake white" as two different pigments, though they are the same. The chapter concludes with a study of the cash flow of the Erat business, including a most confusing spreadsheet, in which income is shown as negative numbers.

As with chapter 9, "Materials and Suppliers," much of the content of chapter 10, "Selling the Harp," seems misplaced. There is an extensive list of harps and related items and their prices sold by Erat and by Grosjean, though the list is not organized or interpreted. There are also several maps showing the locations of Erat's customers in London, England, and Wales, but scant connections are made between the locations shown on the maps and the customers listed in the text. From here, Baldwin returns a third time to an examination of harp decorating, painting, and gilding. It is interesting, but why was this information not included in the chapter on harp design and decoration? Of greater value are the sections on harp covers, music stands, benches, string boxes, and gauges. Musical instrument accessories are in general a neglected field of study, so it is refreshing to see some documentation.

The final chapter 11, "Willis, Erat and the Harp," is something of a

puzzle. It is a recounting of a diary by one Robert Willis, a young man who took an interest in improvements to harp mechanisms, spending roughly two years at the Erat workshops. His successes in the field were limited and certainly not lasting. It is difficult to understand why something so self-contained merited a chapter in a general overview of a period of harp making, especially when Willis's full diary is included in the appendices. While the story of Robert Willis is at times entertaining, it might have done better as the subject of an article.

Much of the greatest value of this book lies in the appendices, where Baldwin has assembled over 100 pages of rare source material. Included are workshop inventories, a directory of harp makers' addresses, photos of the molds for decorative castings, makers' wills, and patent drawings, albeit still without the accompanying texts. Indeed, none of the appendices include more than minimal notes of context or explanation, leaving readers to draw their own conclusions.

Harp Making in Late Georgian London is a substantial work, representing a good deal of effort. It includes some valuable information and resources. Unfortunately, it is shot through with typographical errors, misinformation, and questionable organization. It's hard to understand why the services of a proofreader and editor were not employed. The book is not without value but will be of the most use to researchers already well-versed in the field of early pedal harps.

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William E. Hettrick. *The American Piano Industry: Episodes in the History of a Great Enterprise*. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2020. American Music and Musicians Series 8. v-xii + 427 pp.: 5 color, 23 black-and-white illus. ISBN 2020910304. \$48.00 (soft cover).

Longtime AMIS members will remember past president (1995–1999) Dr. William Hettrick regaling attendees at annual meetings with tales of the piano industry of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This book shares its origins with those talks, plus articles in the AMIS *Newsletter* under his editorship (1999–2003). The print music-trade journals of that period fueled Hettrick's extensive research into the American piano industry. This volume revises and expands upon several of those talks and articles, bringing to life some of that period's character and characters.

The six chapters can stand alone, though several share the personalities. The first three chapters discuss the piano supply industry, advertising, and the mandolin attachment. The energetic, controversial, and verbose entrepreneur Joseph P. Hale's exploits and words fill a chapter, several appendices, and additional references. The story of ill-fated John J. Swick likewise fills a chapter plus several appendices. The pugnacious trade journal owner/editor Harry Edward Freund lurks alongside Hale, additionally filling his own chapter that includes the legendary Great Square Piano Bonfire. Along the way, the book reveals much about the business practices, advertising, finances, labor, and family issues of the piano industry. The importance of the press and trade journals is a constant theme.

The first chapter demonstrates Hettrick's ability to adeptly present potentially awkward, yawn-inducing material. The first half covers the diversity of manufacturing outsourcing and suppliers, while the second half takes the readers inside large firms that made most of their own components. It opens with an amusing and illustrative anecdote quoted from a speech to the 1899 New York Piano Manufacturers' Association. The piano component industry was nearly invisible to the public, due to the industry-fed perception that superior instruments and their components were made wholly in-house, a "practice that harked back to the storied time when pianos were hand-crafted to order, piece by piece, in shops." I would have liked to see a clearer indication that this description was essentially never true, wire and hardware being the most obvious examples. The potentially tedious lists of component categories, makers, and

consuming firms wisely reside in Appendices 1.1 and 1.2. The chapter summarizes each category, then illuminates and humanizes the data with stories about select firms, their owners, and interrelationships. My second quibble is overlooking any discussion about the wire-making American company Washburn & Moen. Still, given the oceans of information available, Hettrick completed a herculean effort at collation and selection. The second part examines firms that made and assembled nearly all components in-house. Hettrick considers four models of manufacturing—ranging from the everything-made-in-house model to the contract systems exemplified by Joseph P. Hale—and the effect of increasing specialization in all trades. Obviously, it is impossible to completely cover the history of the piano supply industry in one chapter, but this is more than a light introduction.

Chapter 2 introduces the colorful and controversial Joseph P. Hale as the earliest and most productive client of the piano-supply industry. Quibble three: while certainly not the earliest client of piano-supply houses, Hale likely was the most productive and a major buyer. A brief biography outlines his diverse business pursuits. Uniquely and controversially, having no prior experience making pianos, Hale applied his prior successful business methods to become prolific, famous, and wealthy. Hettrick smoothly presents the man, the times, the growing business, properties purchased, ever larger buildings going up (or up in flames), and the controversy over his methods, labor practices, and scale of production. Fires being a recurrent issue for piano firms, an enlightening and detailed discussion of the building construction, workmen, tasks, materials, and methods related to the tremendous fire of 1877 is included.

No discussion of Hale would be complete without introducing his nemeses: the trade unions, the newspaper *The New York Sun*, and most notably John Christian Freund, publisher and editor of *Music Trade Review*. Freund instigated a long-lived vendetta against Hale, accusing him of fraud in the form of manufacturing so-called “stencil” pianos that could mislead the buyer as to maker and quality. Hale entered into the feud, publishing favorable articles and letters elsewhere. The colorful exaggerated language, satire, and cartoons used in the press by the combatants is highly entertaining. It is worthwhile to remember the violent strikes in the early days of trade unions through the lens of piano manufacture. While Hale was deliberately scorned, ignored, or otherwise forgotten, it is fitting that Hettrick ends the chapter with a quote by Henry Z. Steinway that Hale was “the founder of the present-day piano business.”

Chapter 3 brings the reader into the world of piano advertising and marketing during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Advertisements reveal much about the techniques, society, business practices, and the lives of the writers, readers, and consumers. Hettrick presents many examples of the wild range of style, drama, art, and character of advertising by piano manufacturers. Poetry, historically questionable imagery, and essays praising the brand (sometimes hidden in the guise of historical pamphlets) were rampant. Notable is the selection of poetry by the maker George P. Bent. The chapter includes quick discussion of the role of corruption regarding World's Fair prizes. Hettrick does not mention that what we see today as deceptive was the norm for much advertising of any product during this period, leading to the establishment of the Federal Trade Commission in 1914.

In Chapter 4, the author traces the invention, manufacture, and advertising of the family of tone-modifying devices for upright pianos, now grouped under the generalized term "mandolin attachment." Hettrick once again humanizes this fad, primarily via the colorful and poetic advertiser George P. Bent, who claimed that his "Orchestral Attachment" could achieve hundreds of different tones by different combinations of the four pedals—a combinatorial impossibility. A few other interesting tone modifiers are included, along with descriptions of various installations and patents, along with the expected patent infringement cases and licensing. I was pleased to see noted the vestigial remains of this fad via cheap kit versions, as well as putting thumbtacks into the piano hammers, in a poor imitation. Appendix 4.1 lists the American and European makers and dealers who included mandolin attachments in their upright player pianos and Orchestrions.

Interestingly, the mandolin attachments were touted not only by makers, but also by some contemporary performers and professors as a means towards understanding baroque and early classical music by "reproducing" the sound of harpsichords, early pianos, clavichords, and the lute (via Everett's *Plectraphone*). I suspect few have recognized that mandolin attachments might have played a part in maintaining interest in the importance of the sound characteristics of early keyboards for the performance of the music of their times.

Chapter 5 tells of John J. Swick and his business practices, personal life, and problems. To quote Hettrick, "He was merely forgotten, and his life's history—a tale of diligence and desperation, fortune and failure—passed into oblivion." Appendices 5.1–5.11 colorfully illustrate Swick's story with

relevant period letters and articles, including suspicious circumstances surrounding the death of his wife, a co-conspirator in his business deceptions.

The final chapter dives deep into the life, work, and family of Harry Edward Freund and explores the hoopla and myth of the famed Great Square-Piano Bonfire he instigated. Freund's *Musical Age* contained advertising and news, promoted causes and makers, and condemned various practices within the industry. In 1903, Freund proposed a great bonfire of old square pianos, in order to reduce their number and thus help promote new sales. The chapter, full of quotes, newspaper article excerpts, and imagery from before and after the event, shows how the generally accepted account was far from reality. The author examines those both in favor of and against the proposed conflagration and the actual effect of the event; he also includes various entertaining topical cartoons.

Included are an impressive 153 pages of appendices—approximately three-eighths of the entire book—which serve as useful supplements. We find reproduced the full text of self-aggrandizing, decoratively verbose newspaper articles by Hale; an article in the *New York Sun* published after Hale's great factory fire of 1877; an article singing the praises of Hale after that same fire; and Hale's letter responding to the *New York Sun*. Also included are Hale's response to Freund in the *Music Trade Review*, a favorable report on Hale's new post-fire factory by Freund, revealing his changed attitude, and a published interview with the aging Hale. Appendix 3.1 is devoted to advertising poetry by the inimitable George P. Bent.

All in all, Hettrick has created a readable, well organized, and entertaining work that is also a great aid in preserving some of the overlooked history of the American piano manufacturing industry in the late nineteenth and very early twentieth centuries. It draws the reader into that world, its people, and its practices. An excellent source for further research, it contains copious footnotes, source references, photographs and print images, and selective bibliography. While primarily of interest to technicians, scholars, and amateur fans of the history of pianos, it is also of value regarding advertising and business practices in general during this time.

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Uri M. Kupferschmidt. *Strings and Celebrities—Hakkert’s “First Dutch Stringmakers.”* Haifa: Pardes Publishing, 2019. 389 pp., 221 illus. ISBN: 978-1-61838-505-5, \$54.00 / €47.00 (paperback).

This publication provides an account of the life and professional activities of the violin maker and gut-string manufacturer Jacques Wolfgang Hakkert (1891–1944), who was active in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, during the years between the two World Wars. His parents founded the renowned music store Muziek Hakkert, which was taken over in 1925 by Jacques’ younger brother Max. Tragically, Jacques and Max, as well as most of their close relatives, all Jewish, were murdered in the Nazi camps during World War II. Only a few family members survived, among them Max’s wife Flora, who reestablished the music store after World War II, and one of Jacques’ two daughters, the mother of this book’s author, who regained her father’s shares in the gut-string factory after the war.

This latter enterprise and its founder are the book’s subject. The text informs us that the company flourished during the interbellum years, making gut strings for musical applications, but also for medical and technical purposes, as well as for tennis-racket stringing. To reach such a high level of production in a short timespan was an accomplishment, especially considering that no longtime string making tradition existed in the Netherlands. The name of the company, First Dutch Stringmakers, appears to have been somewhat inaccurate, however, as Hakkert was preceded in the making of gut strings several years earlier by his fellow citizen and violinist Carel Blitz, who started string making in 1904, eight years before Hakkert. Still, the Hakkert Company turned out to be much more prosperous: in 1917 a new production facility opened around the same time that the Blitz Company ceased its activities. Underlying Hakkert’s success were his keen entrepreneurial and marketing skills. We learn that already from the company’s outset, Hakkert managed to obtain recommendations for his strings from numerous Dutch and international musicians, eventually including famous performers such as Casals, Heifetz, Milstein, and Menuhin. Among other things, this resulted in a brochure for promotional use featuring photographs and handwritten testimonials for Hakkert’s strings from those artists. The acquisition of a rare extant copy of this promotional item by the author, Uri M. Kupferschmidt, provided his motivation to write the book reviewed here.

The content and structure of Kupferschmidt’s book is closely molded

(to use violin-making vocabulary) after the said brochure, more specifically the version from spring 1931. The main part of the book consists of facsimiles of the brochure's pages, displaying on a single page a photograph of each musician or ensemble with their endorsements, complemented on the adjacent page with the author's added biographical annotations. In total, 140 entries are included. Regarding the musicians' profiles, the author states that he mainly relied on available publications such as dictionaries, journals, memoirs, and biographies, as well as less formal online sources. Given their brevity, the resulting profiles should be considered biographical sketches based on existing information rather than new findings or in-depth analyses of each performer's life and artistry. Nevertheless, with the inclusion of the facsimile brochure pages, this section provides a unique, but not necessarily exhaustive, insight into the music scene between the two World Wars both in the Netherlands and globally. Additionally, the author quite rightly emphasizes the aesthetic and semiotic values of the photographic portraits.

Preceding this core section of the book is a 72-page Introduction discussing the lives of Jacques Hakkert and his family, as well as their professional activities. In contrast to the central section, which displays the trade brochure, the preceding section features full endnote references, providing scientific solidity. For me, as an organologist with an interest in bowed string instruments and biographical research, this section proved to be the most informative and significant part of the book. It starts with a short biography of Jacques Hakkert, which describes his youth with his brother Max in their parents' music store, his study as a luthier, the subsequent start of his atelier in Rotterdam, and finally the deportation and gruesome fate of Jacques and his relatives. Other personal information, for example regarding his living conditions, marriage, and the birth of his children, appears to be missing, which suggests that the information was either considered private or the information was lost, caused by the events during the war. In a similarly concise manner, only one violin made by Hakkert is discussed and illustrated in the main text, allegedly his first. It may be hoped that the current book will induce continued research and interest in Jacques Hakkert's instruments, possibly resulting in a published catalog. The Introduction section also vividly discusses gut-string making and gut violin strings in general; Hakkert's entrance, progress, and marketing strategies within the string business; his professional and in some cases amicable relationships with the endorsing musicians; concert life in

Holland; the transition from gut to more modern strings; and finally the transfer and ultimate closure of the gut-string factory in the late 1970s. Although these discussions offer solid contextual information to augment the value of the book's central part (the annotated brochure), a minor point of criticism may be expressed concerning the treatment of the more technical, instrument-related topics, such as gut strings, violin making history, and developments in violin construction. The information provided appears somewhat one-sided at times, lacking the inclusion of more diverse references and up-to-date viewpoints. However, the author anticipates such an evaluation in the book's final section by mentioning that he is not a musicologist. In this six-page afterword, he also adds a welcome personal perspective by elucidating some of the backgrounds and motives behind his research and writing process.

Until the publication of the book currently reviewed here, information on the violin maker Jacques Hakkert and the associated music store and string factory was scarce and scattered. Pre-war violin making encyclopedias (e.g., those by von Lütgendorff and Vannes) briefly summarize Jacques' education as luthier and praise his violin making capacities. The book *400 Jaar Vioolbouwkunst in Nederland / 400 Years of Violin Making in the Netherlands* (by J. H. Giskes et al., Abcoude: Uniepers, 1999) contains a similarly short entry, but mentions also "more than a hundred violins to his own design," the string factory, and, of course, Hakkert's death "under tragic circumstances." Max Möller already provided comparable information in his book *The Violin-Makers of the Low Countries (Belgium and Holland)* (Amsterdam: M. Möller, 1955). Further previous sources include a short mention in a twenty-fifth-anniversary magazine by the Dutch Musical Instruments Foundation (2013), a 100th-anniversary booklet for the Muziek Hakkert company (1980), containing mostly photographs and reproductions of relevant documents, and a website and Facebook page maintained by the last Muziek Hakkert manager, Albert Rottier (the music store closed in 2007). Kupferschmidt's book is the first scholarly publication regarding the family and their activities involving musical instruments, and a valuable contribution to the field of organology. The book is well written, and given the trade brochure as its foundation, not only informs us about the life of the Hakkerts and their music store and string making business, but also provides an enlightening view of the classical music scene of the era. Understandably, antisemitism and the German occupation form a major theme in the book, reflected by the terrible fate

of the Hakkert family and several of the Jewish musicians featured in the brochure; the destruction of Hakkert's former house and atelier during the 1940 Rotterdam Blitz; the confiscation of the string manufacturing company in 1942 (presumably for its production of suture thread); and the apparent indifference towards—and even collaboration with—the Nazis on the part of several Dutch musicians (among them some included in the Hakkert brochure), conductors, and impresarios.

The author of the book is a professor emeritus at the Department of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at the University of Haifa. Although this book is his first major publication concerning a musical topic, and it is thus outside of his specific academic field, it nevertheless shows analogies with his previous research, especially regarding the micro-historical focus towards a particular individual or family, the emphasis on entrepreneurship and commercial publicity, and the attention to “small technologies.” This results in an expert treatment of the topic, especially regarding its socio-economic aspects, and therefore the book is highly recommended for readers interested in entrepreneurial activities in the Netherlands during the first half of the twentieth century in general and the musical instrument and string business and its promotional tools in particular. Moreover, the personal relation between the author and the subject has allowed him to create a worthy and impressive monument for the immediate family members whom he never got to know in real life.

GEERTEN VERBERKMOES

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