

RESEARCH ARTICLE

# Blending the Popular and the Profound: Organ Concerts at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition

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## Abstract

The 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago was a watershed moment in U.S. organ culture. Over the course of four months, twenty-one of the finest organists in the country, along with Alexandre Guilmant of Paris, performed sixty-two solo organ recitals on a large new organ built by Farrand and Votey, paving the way for the rise of the solo organ concert in the United States. Although this was a seminal event in the organ world, it has largely been overlooked in modern musicological scholarship. This article contextualizes the series within the wider program of the fair's Bureau of Music and compares the programming strategies between Bureau of Music director Theodore Thomas and organ series director Clarence Eddy. Thomas chose to promote a hierarchical programming model that ultimately failed, but the organists endeavored to offer programs that appealed to both the uninitiated and the connoisseur. A detailed analysis of organ concert programs at the fair using a new database reveals the way in which organists embraced a mixture of “popular” and “profound” elements in their programming that was later disseminated in magazines, pamphlets, and performing editions after the event.

A comparison of the organ and orchestral programs at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 offers a fascinating case study in nineteenth-century concert programming. Theodore Thomas, director of the fair's Bureau of Music, sought to present a hierarchical model of orchestral music that ultimately failed disastrously before the fair was half over. In his book, *Sounds of Reform*, Derek Vaillant asserts, “The collapse of the music bureau under Thomas produced a Hobson's choice between sacralized or popular music that left no official space for alternative models as a facet of group identity and civic belonging.”<sup>1</sup> However by examining the series of solo organ concerts that commenced just as the orchestral program terminated, we see that this statement is not entirely true. Although they have been largely overlooked in modern musicological scholarship, the series of organ concerts in Festival Hall were an important part of the musical life of the World's Columbian Exposition, and they were successful in engaging a variety of listeners.<sup>2</sup> I argue that they occupied the space between the binary categories of “artistic” and “popular” concerts adopted by

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<sup>1</sup>Derek Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform: Progressivism and Music in Chicago, 1873–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 56.

<sup>2</sup>The one major exception is Michael Friesen's series of articles detailing the specifics of the three main organs of the fair, reprints of the concert programs, and reproductions of contemporary reviews. Friesen's work appears in a series of five articles in the *Stopt Diapason*, a newsletter of the Chicago Chapter of the Organ Historical Society: Michael Friesen, “Organs at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition,” *Stopt Diapason* 3, no. 5 (October 1982): 10–37. Michael Friesen, “Organists and Organ Music at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition Part 1,” *Stopt Diapason* 3, no. 6 (December 1982): 10–15; Michael Friesen, “Organists and Organ Music at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition Part 2,” *Stopt Diapason* 4, no. 1 (February 1983): 14–21; Michael Friesen, “Organists and Organ Music at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition

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Thomas, thus providing an important example of a successful alternative programming model for classical music in the late nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

The organ recital series at the World's Columbian Exposition was the most prestigious and well-publicized series of organ concerts that had taken place in the United States to date. From July 31 through October 31, 1893, twenty-one of the leading U.S. organists, along with Alexandre Guilmant of Paris, performed sixty-two solo organ recitals on a new four-manual instrument built by Farrand & Votey of Detroit for the exhibition's 7000-seat Festival Hall.<sup>4</sup> Clarence Eddy, the nation's preeminent organ virtuoso, himself a Chicagoan, was given free rein to design the exhibition instrument and organize the recital series.

Eddy's leadership of the organ series provides a stark contrast to that of Theodore Thomas, the head of the fair's Bureau of Music and director of its Exposition Orchestra. Thomas and Eddy both embraced the overarching mission of the fair as a testimony to "progress" and endeavored to program music that would both entertain and educate fair audiences. In turn, they were both supported and encouraged by respected contemporary music critics such as W. S. B. Mathews, George P. Upton, and Everett Truette. However, unlike Thomas's symphony series, Eddy's organ series was an overwhelming success. The organ series effectively balanced the dual aims of education and entertainment by offering a slate of accomplished performers, accessible programming, and performance practice guided by the notion of "progress." By examining the repertoire performed, interpretative choices made, and reviews and criticism penned in contemporary journals, we see that Eddy and his colleagues were open to embracing accessible programming that would serve as an influential model for secular organ concerts in the United States.

### Scope of Music at the Fair

Originally planned to mark the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Columbus' voyage to the Americas, the primary theme of the World's Columbian Exposition was "progress." All departments strove to create exhibits and programs that demonstrated human progress and, in particular, the United States' development from a collection of settlements to a thriving industrial society with a respectable arts scene.<sup>5</sup> The idea of progress—no doubt related to the acceptance of Charles Darwin's new ideas of evolution in this period—transferred nicely to the discipline of music. Chicago music critic and editor of the magazine *Music*, W. S. B. Mathews, articulated this belief in his eloquent descriptions of his hopes for music at Chicago's Fair: "Now the prevalent doctrine of human progress is that of evolution. Were such a hypothesis well founded in no art should there be more brilliant evidence of it than in the highly specialized art of music."<sup>6</sup> The progress of music would be highlighted in various ways at the fair. In the exhibition halls, U.S. musical instrument makers would display their technical achievements. In the music halls, U.S. orchestras would demonstrate the "evolution" of musical style by

Part 3," *Stopt Diapason* 4, no. 2 (April 1983): 11–21; Michael Friesen, "Organists and Organ Music at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition Part 4," *Stopt Diapason* 4, no. 3 (June 1983): 8–22.

<sup>3</sup>An internal memo outlining Thomas's plan for ensembles uses this terminology for categorizing orchestral concerts. Theodore Thomas, "Suggestions Regarding Music at the Exposition," December 24, 1891, box 2, folder 43, James W. Ellsworth Papers, Department of Liberal Arts Records, Chicago Public Library.

<sup>4</sup>"Official Announcement of the Bureau of Music of the World's Columbian Exposition," June 30, 1892, box 2, folder 41, James W. Ellsworth Papers, Department of Liberal Arts Records, Chicago Public Library. The circular was reprinted by almost every major newspaper and music periodical of the day. It describes the Festival Hall as having enough space for "300 singers, 2000 players, and an audience of 7000."

<sup>5</sup>Kiri Miller, "Americanism Musically: Nation, Evolution, and Public Education at the Columbian Exposition, 1893," *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 27, no. 2 (Autumn 2003): 137. In the opening of her article, Miller succinctly summarizes the philosophy of "progress" described by one of the fair's important historians: Reid Badger, *The Great American Fair: The World's Columbian Exposition and American Culture* (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979), 15. See also Chapter 2 in Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1984), 38–71, for a discussion of the ideas of progress and evolution and their implications for exposition programming.

<sup>6</sup>W. S. B. Mathews, "Music in the Columbian Fair (I. Performance)," *Music*, November 1891, 43.

performing works of great composers at the highest level. In the symposia of the World's Congress Auxiliary, musicologists would gather to present lectures on the development of musical style.<sup>7</sup>

The head of the World's Columbian Exposition planning team, director general George R. Davis, shaped the fair's mission as a demonstration of progress. He also confidently stated that the many educational exhibits and programs would spark the "cultivation of taste" in the United States.<sup>8</sup> The official guide to the exposition reinforced this focus on cultural education: "It is presumed at the outset that the great majority of visitors are those who seek to enlighten themselves regarding the progress which the world has made in the arts, sciences and industries. To him who enters upon an examination of the external and internal exhibits of this the greatest of World's Fairs a liberal education is assured."<sup>9</sup> Davis and his colleagues believed the fair would attract new audiences for the arts that would then result in what they considered to be a more civilized society.<sup>10</sup> In an era of increasing industrialization, the fair was also to be an opportunity to educate the growing working class.<sup>11</sup>

The Bureau of Music, under the leadership of Theodore Thomas, and faithfully supported by Mathews, fully embraced the fair's mission of progress and education from the start. In its first official announcement, the Bureau of Music articulated its goals for the music program:

- (1) To make a complete showing to the world of musical progress in this country in all grades and departments, from the lowest to the highest.
- (2) To bring before the people of the United States a full illustration of music in its highest form, as exemplified by the most enlightened nations of the world.<sup>12</sup>

The Bureau then outlined an ambitious plan of concerts, classified into ten categories according to location, ensemble type, and style. The crown jewel of the official program was the Exposition Orchestra under the direction of Thomas. This group would perform "semi-weekly orchestral concerts in Music Hall" on the symphony series and would serve as the primary orchestra for oratorios and choral concerts in Festival Hall.<sup>13</sup> On the days when the orchestra was not already performing, it would offer "popular concerts of orchestral music" in Festival Hall.<sup>14</sup> The Bureau also hosted official series featuring international guest ensembles, singing societies, children's choruses, chamber music groups, and organists. In addition, the Bureau invited various brass bands and wind ensembles to play in an unofficial capacity on the bandstands and exposition grounds.<sup>15</sup>

Thomas knew from his previous experience with national exhibitions and his concert travels that exposition attendees would want to be entertained when they visited the fair.<sup>16</sup> However, his passion lay with what the Bureau of Music announcement termed music of "the highest form." Thomas sought to emphasize this theme in his programming, at least in the orchestral sphere, where he had exclusive artistic responsibility. In a calculation that would have later implications for the success of the music program, Thomas chose to make a clear programming distinction between the two types of orchestral

<sup>7</sup>Miller, "Americanism Musically," 146–147.

<sup>8</sup>Trumbull White and Wm. Ingleheart, *The World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. A complete history of the enterprise; with an introduction by Col. George R. Davis. And an introduction to the Woman's department by Mrs. Potter Palmer. With special chapters by Hon. Thomas B. Bryan and Prof. F. W. Putnam* (Philadelphia: P. W. Ziegler & Co., 1893), 19.

<sup>9</sup>John Flinn, *Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: The Columbia Guide Co., 1893), 17.

<sup>10</sup>Miller, "Americanism Musically," 138–139.

<sup>11</sup>Miller, "Americanism Musically," 140.

<sup>12</sup>"Official Announcement of the Bureau of Music," June 30, 1892, James W. Ellsworth Papers.

<sup>13</sup>"Official Announcement of the Bureau of Music," June 30, 1892, James W. Ellsworth Papers.

<sup>14</sup>"Official Announcement of the Bureau of Music," June 30, 1892, James W. Ellsworth Papers.

<sup>15</sup>"Official Announcement of the Bureau of Music," June 30, 1892, James W. Ellsworth Papers.

<sup>16</sup>Thomas was also involved in the 1876 Centennial Exposition Philadelphia. In addition to performing for the opening and closing ceremonies, Thomas and his orchestra gave concerts on an independent "Centennial" concert series in Philadelphia that year. For his account of the experience, see Theodore Thomas, *Theodore Thomas: A Musical Autobiography*, ed. George P. Upton, 2 vols (Chicago, A. C. McClurg, 1905), 1:67. Ezra Schabas also describes the event in Ezra Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–1905* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 70–78.

concerts. Programs would either be what he termed “popular,” as in the “Popular Concerts of orchestral music in Festival Hall,” or “artistic,” as in the “Semi-weekly orchestral concerts in Music Hall.”<sup>17</sup> The location for the concerts also implied a “serious” or “popular” tone. The smaller Music Hall, with its 2,200 seats, was designated for “serious” music, while the 7,000-seat Festival Hall could house programs of large choruses and ensembles that, in the words of the Bureau, would be “appealing to universal tastes and talents.”<sup>18</sup> Additionally, concert etiquette in the two halls differed. Music Hall concert-goers would be asked to pay an extra one dollar admission fee and were expected to quietly sit for the entire concert, whereas the Festival Hall matinees did not require an admission charge and attendees would be allowed to come and go in between pieces. In this way, the larger venue served a similar purpose to the fair’s exhibit halls, where people could engage with the content at their own schedule and pace. Festival Hall’s close proximity to the train station allowed for greater foot-traffic and visibility, but also meant that the accompanying noise precluded close listening.<sup>19</sup>

This decision to organize the fair’s orchestral concerts into “popular” programs or “artistic” ones was duly noted and accepted by the press and shared with potential concertgoers. Mathews outlined the distinction in his commentaries leading up to the fair:

Naturally there will be a vast amount of music which is purely incidental—for spectacle, and amusement. In all this there will be an occasional thread of something better than mere amusement, but entertainment will be the ruling motive. Under this head will be the bands, and the processions, the popular concerts of orchestral music and the like. But besides this there will be a great deal of the very highest and most finished performances of symphonies and other high-class music.<sup>20</sup>

After receiving the Bureau’s memo, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* (George P. Upton, music editor) jubilantly announced plans for the music program with the headline, “Splendid Program Arranged by the Bureau of Music.” It highlighted the two distinct categories of orchestral concerts, noting that the “popular” matinees would carry a “musical educational value which cannot be overstated. There will be in attendance thousands of persons whose only knowledge of instrumental music consists of such as has been gained by listening to the playing of the country brass band.”<sup>21</sup> Presumably, he expected the exposure to orchestral music would elevate the tastes of the “masses” and provide them with a more cultivated alternative to the music-making they were used to.

Thomas, Mathews, and Upton all wanted to generate an avid audience for classical music in Chicago, and they believed that could be achieved with a hierarchical program. It is interesting that Thomas chose to forgo the more democratic approach to audience engagement that he had established with his earlier Chicago Summer Nights Concerts. From 1877 to 1890, Thomas successfully presented nearly 400 orchestral concerts in the multi-use “Exposition Building” on Lake Michigan to an audience of mixed social and economic backgrounds.<sup>22</sup> As Derek Vaillant has shown, the Chicago musical aesthetes were not altogether comfortable with the concept of mixed audiences for high art music.<sup>23</sup> Thomas himself dismissed the programming as “of a lighter character.”<sup>24</sup> Presenting “popular” concerts seemed to be something Thomas merely endured. In the frontispiece to his 1905 autobiography, he wrote, “The master works of instrumental music are the language of the soul and express more than those of any other art. Light music, ‘popular’ so-called is the sensual side of the art and has more or less

<sup>17</sup>Thomas, “Suggestions Regarding Music at the Exposition,” December 24, 1891, James W. Ellsworth Papers.

<sup>18</sup>Thomas, “Suggestions Regarding Music at the Exposition,” December 24, 1891, James W. Ellsworth Papers.

<sup>19</sup>W. S. B. Mathews, “Music at the Fair,” *Music*, June 1893, 221–23. Mathews justifies the ushering practice thus: “The symphony concerts need greater quiet and closer attention.” In contrast, the Festival Hall concerts were apparently plagued by their vicinity to the intramural trains “which perform a solo on the whistle whenever they pass the hall.” Emil Leibling, “Harrison Wild’s Organ Concerts at the Fair,” *Music*, January 1894, 262.

<sup>20</sup>W. S. B. Mathews, “Music at the Fair,” *Music*, February 1893, 428.

<sup>21</sup>“Music at the Fair,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 3, 1892, 21.

<sup>22</sup>For a thorough discussion of the aims and audiences at the Summer Nights Concerts and how these compared with other civic music festivals in Chicago, see Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform*, 10–57.

<sup>23</sup>Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform*, 40–41.

<sup>24</sup>Thomas, *Theodore Thomas*, 1:104.

the devil in it.”<sup>25</sup> When he established the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in 1891, Thomas began pushing for more challenging programs, which would then necessitate stricter concert etiquette.<sup>26</sup> The separation of “popular” and “artistic” at the fair would allow connoisseurs to enjoy the great masterworks in Music Hall, while the masses would be unwittingly educated every time they attended a “popular” concert.

Despite the Bureau’s claim that the official concerts would present a showing of all music “from the lowest to the highest,” the scope of the concerts in Music Hall and Festival Hall, and the orchestral concerts in particular, was quite narrow. A whole host of music presented at the fair fell outside the Bureau of Music’s purview. The Bureau of Music managed the music in the fair buildings, but there were countless performances in outdoor bandstands, on the Midway Plaisance, and in surrounding commercial establishments that contributed to the rich musical life at the fair.<sup>27</sup> Thomas described these musical offerings as “popular,” but he also used the term to describe a particular type of orchestral concert.<sup>28</sup> So what did the Bureau of Music mean when they described a classical music program as “popular?” A brief comparison of the programming at the ticketed symphony concerts and the free orchestral matinees offers a clue.<sup>29</sup>

Before his resignation, Thomas led the Exposition Orchestra in sixteen ticketed symphony concerts on the Music Hall Series. These programs tended to feature instrumental genres Thomas believed to be of a more serious nature: complete symphonies, concertos, symphonic poems, and orchestral overtures. The program from May 3, 1893 offers a good example of Thomas’s approach to programming in this venue:<sup>30</sup>

Symphony No. 3, “Eroica”	Beethoven
Concerto for Piano, in A minor	Schumann
(Mr. Paderewski, pianist)	
<i>Symphonic Variations</i> , op. 78	Dvorak
<i>Hungarian Fantasia</i>	Liszt
(Mr. Paderewski, pianist)	

Music Hall programs also reveal Thomas’s fondness for presenting programs of a single composer in order to give a complete picture of a composer’s output and style. Thomas devoted programs to Schubert (May 5), Brahms (May 9), Beethoven (May 12), Raff (May 26), and Schumann (June 9).<sup>31</sup> The programs on the whole primarily featured Austrian and German composers, although Thomas also sought to promote the achievements of U.S. composers with three mixed programs on May 23, July 6, and July 7.<sup>32</sup> Thomas included the music of only two French composers and excluded Italians from these programs altogether.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Thomas, *Theodore Thomas*, 1:3.

<sup>26</sup>Richard Crawford, *America’s Musical Life* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), 312; Thomas, *Theodore Thomas*, 1:103–105. See Thomas, *Theodore Thomas*, 2:20–22 for his idea about what constituted good behavior at an orchestra concert. He felt entering a concert late was a “sin.”

<sup>27</sup>For an overview of the variety of types of music at the fair, both within and outside the exposition halls, see David Guion, “From Yankee Doodle Thro’ to Handel’s Largo: Music at the World’s Columbian Exposition,” *College Music Symposium* 24 (Spring 1984): 81–96. For a discussion of Bureau of Music programming versus informal performances on the Midway, see Miller, “Americanism Musically,” 150–152.

<sup>28</sup>Thomas categorizes outdoor concerts by brass bands as “popular” in his memo. Thomas, “Suggestions Regarding Music at the Exposition,” December 24, 1891, James W. Ellsworth Papers. On the origins of the “classical” versus “popular” orchestral concert in the late nineteenth century, see John Spitzer, “Orchestral Repertory: Highbrow and Lowbrow,” in John Spitzer, ed., *American Orchestras in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 367–71. See also Richard Crawford’s description of Theodore Thomas’s contribution to codifying the categories “artistic” and “popular” music in Crawford, *America’s Musical Life*, 304–313.

<sup>29</sup>The following two paragraphs draw on Guion’s analysis of the orchestral concerts in Music Hall and Festival Hall. Guion, “From Yankee Doodle Thro’ to Handel’s Largo,” 83–85.

<sup>30</sup>Thomas, *Theodore Thomas*, 2:282–283.

<sup>31</sup>The programs for these performances are reprinted in Thomas, *Theodore Thomas*, 2:281–287.

<sup>32</sup>Brenda Nelson-Strauss, “Theodore Thomas and the Cultivation of American Music,” in Spitzer, ed., *American Orchestras in the Nineteenth Century*, 409–410.

<sup>33</sup>Guion, “From Yankee Doodle Thro’ to Handel’s Largo,” 83.



In contrast, a daily “popular” matinee in Festival Hall looked something like this program from May 6, 1893:

March, “Rakoczy”	Berlioz
Overture, <i>Der Freischütz</i>	Weber
Allegretto from Symphony No. 7	Beethoven
<i>Hungarian Dances</i> , 17 to 21	Brahms (Orchestration by Antonin Dvořák)
<i>March Funèbre</i>	Chopin (Orchestration by Theodore Thomas <sup>34</sup> )

These free orchestral matinees generally included five to ten works in a diversity of genres. Marches, overtures, dances, opera scenes, and movements from familiar symphonies (as opposed to complete symphonies) were the main fare. French and Italian composers appeared more frequently, so the result was a more even representation of European nationalities instead of the Austro-Germanic dominance exemplified on the symphony programs. Thomas had ample experience programming “popular” concerts with success on his many national tours. His “popular” programs at the fair more closely mirrored those of the earlier Chicago Summer Nights Concerts.<sup>35</sup> He believed the familiar works of shorter length and a variety of styles and composers would be more accessible for the “universal masses” while the programs of longer symphonic works would appeal to the musical elite.

Adrienne Fried Block’s analysis of concert programming in nineteenth-century New York offers important insights as to why and how nineteenth-century concert organizers distinguished between “popular” and “serious” music. Block argues that the nineteenth-century practice of categorizing a piece of instrumental music as “popular” or “serious” related to the aesthetics of idealism that was prevalent particularly among German critics and later among German immigrants to the United States. In this thinking, pieces that were based on thematic elements, such as a sonata-form structure, appealed to the intellect and were therefore thought to have a higher artistic quality. Operatic or orchestral overtures, marches, and dances were thought to appeal to a broader audience.<sup>36</sup>

Thomas’s writings and programming decisions at the fair bear out Brock’s analysis. Interestingly, Thomas believed there would be enough like-minded music-lovers at the fair to support the cost of a full-time Exposition Orchestra. The financial success of the orchestral program depended on robust ticket sales for the symphony concerts. Given the relative novelty of well-attended symphony concerts with strict concert etiquette in Chicago, Thomas’s plan seems inconsistent with the times.<sup>37</sup> Even though a committed musical elite with financial capital had lured Thomas to Chicago, mixed reports of the initial Chicago Symphony seasons hardly presented overwhelming evidence of a large audience for such programs.<sup>38</sup> No doubt Thomas knew the plan to be risky, but perhaps the idealism of the day that touted progress and edification was too tempting.

Unfortunately, the plan turned out to be wishful thinking. In the end, Thomas was not able to realize his ambitious program of music for the fair. He had been confident that his symphony programs would generate enough revenue to support the salaries for the orchestral musicians, but fairgoers seemed loath to pay the one-dollar admission to the concerts, on top of the 50-cent general admission price, and then devote almost two hours of their day at the fair to a concert.<sup>39</sup> It seemed that people would much rather come and go as they pleased at the free “popular” matinees, and in fact there were

<sup>34</sup>“Sample Programmes of May Music at the Fair,” *Music*, June 1893, 234.

<sup>35</sup>For a reprint of the Summer Nights programs, see Thomas, *Theodore Thomas*, 2:197–226.

<sup>36</sup>Adrienne Fried Block, “Thinking About Serious Music in New York, 1842–82,” in Spitzer, ed., *American Orchestras in the Nineteenth Century*, 435–450.

<sup>37</sup>The model of permanent city orchestra that performed “music of the highest order” was only just taking hold in the Midwest. For an overview and case studies describing the forces behind the establishment of nineteenth-century orchestras, the diversity in types of orchestras in this period, and an analysis of the contemporary views on orchestra repertory for public concerts, see Spitzer, ed., *American Orchestras in the Nineteenth Century*.

<sup>38</sup>“The Chicago Orchestra Commercially Considered,” *Music*, April 1892, 574–581. The article suggests disappointing attendance the first year because of high ticket prices, too few concerts, and more serious programs than the audience was used to.

<sup>39</sup>To put the fees in perspective, admission to the fair was 50 cents, which in 2021 dollars is \$15.60. Concert attendees would pay an additional one dollar to attend a symphony concert (\$31.20 in 2021 dollars); <http://www.westegg.com/inflation>.

reports that these were well-attended.<sup>40</sup> To be fair, the disappointing attendance at symphony concerts was probably not all due to programming. Bad weather, the onset of a nationwide financial crisis, and reports that some of the fair's exhibits were not yet complete (notably the Ferris Wheel, which was not ready until mid-June)<sup>41</sup> made for disappointing general admission turnout in the first three months.<sup>42</sup>

For all Thomas's grand ambitions, his directorship unfortunately ended up a catastrophe. A dispute over which piano the great virtuoso Paderewski planned to use for his exhibition performances—soon known as the “piano war”—damaged Thomas's relationship with the fair's governing bodies early on.<sup>43</sup> His brusque manner and reluctance to issue any details about the music program led to frequent attacks by the Chicago press. The inadequate attendance for the symphony concerts and the resulting financial implications for the music program was the straw that broke the camel's back. Thomas finally resigned effective August 12, due to budget cuts that made it impossible to pay his exhibition orchestra.<sup>44</sup> In his resignation letter, excerpted in the *Chicago Daily Inter Ocean*, a humbled Thomas conceded that his plan had not worked:

For the remainder of The Fair, music shall not figure as an art at all, but be treated entirely on the basis of an amusement. More of this class of music is undoubtedly needed at The Fair, and the cheapest way to get it is to divide our two fine bands into two small ones for open-air concerts, and our exposition orchestra into two small orchestras, which can play such light selections as will please the shifting crowds in the buildings and amuse them.<sup>45</sup>

Thomas would later comment in his autobiography on the hard lesson learned from his involvement with the United States' two nineteenth-century world's fairs: “It proved then [in Philadelphia]—as it has since [in Chicago]—that people go to a World's Fair to see and not to hear, to be amused, not to be educated.”<sup>46</sup> Thomas had outlined an ambitious and idealistic program for the fair and years later he still chafed at not fulfilling his mission. George P. Upton continued to lament Thomas's unrealized series with his editorial comments in the conductor's autobiography, stating, “had he been enabled to carry it out according to his original design, [the symphony concerts] would have presented a summary of the progress of music during the last two or three centuries.”<sup>47</sup> Upton believed the few programs that Thomas had been able to perform demonstrated “the dignity and importance of the purpose he had in view.”<sup>48</sup> Thomas's and Upton's sympathies lay with “high-class” music, and they were disappointed that the hierarchical model had not worked. Perhaps if Thomas had curtailed his ambitions and focused on developing the “popular” orchestral model, things would have turned out differently.

### Clarence Eddy and the Organ Program

Clarence Eddy's leadership of the organ concerts at the fair demonstrates a pragmatic approach that contrasts with Thomas's handling of the orchestral concerts. A respected member of the Chicago

<sup>40</sup>W. S. B. Mathews, “End of Art Music at the Fair,” *Music*, September 1893, 533. After lamenting Thomas's resignation, Mathews looks at it from the bright side: “It is a mistake to say the public was not interested in the [orchestral] concerts. The free orchestral concerts drew large audiences. The pay performances varied, but in the aggregate it is stated that the returns of three months amounted to something like \$100,000. This is more than has ever before been received from musical performances of high class music, in the same period of time, except where extravagant prima donnas and other singers were the drawing power.”

<sup>41</sup>Norman Bolotin and Christine Laing, *The World's Columbian Exposition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 21.

<sup>42</sup>Admission picked up in the last three months. For example, Chicago Day on October 9 drew over 700,000 people, crushing the record held by the 1889 Paris Exposition for single day attendance. Badger, *The Great American Fair*, 109.

<sup>43</sup>See Chapter 11, “Debauch at White City,” in Schabas, *Theodore Thomas, America's Conductor*, 195–212.

<sup>44</sup>Schabas, *Theodore Thomas, America's Conductor*, 195–212.

<sup>45</sup>“Music and Musicians: Music and Money,” *Chicago Daily Inter Ocean*, August 6, 1893, 25.

<sup>46</sup>Thomas, *Theodore Thomas*, 1:67.

<sup>47</sup>Thomas, *Theodore Thomas*, 2:281. The editor of Thomas's autobiography, George Upton, includes this note when reprinting the concert programs from the Exposition (he does not reprint any of the popular orchestral matinees, only symphony concerts in Music Hall and festival programs in Festival Hall).

<sup>48</sup>Thomas, *Theodore Thomas*, 2:282.

musical elite, Eddy was invited by Thomas to oversee the organ program at the fair, including designing an instrument for Festival Hall, and organizing a slate of performers from the United States and abroad.<sup>49</sup> As a member of the Bureau of Music, Eddy was familiar with the concept of progress and the goal of using music to edify audiences, but he was also eager to encourage a broader appreciation for organ music and a growing market for solo recitals. He hoped the prediction of Everett Truette, editor of the Boston-based monthly, *The Organ*, would hold true: “Thousands of people will visit the fair and see this organ who have never heard a concert piece played on an organ of any size, and good organ music will be a revelation to them.”<sup>50</sup> While Thomas concentrated on creating a product that would appeal to the musical elite, Eddy was less concerned with stratification and more focused on developing a wider audience for the instrument through varied programming.

By all accounts, Clarence Eddy was a consummate musician and accomplished organ virtuoso. Born in Greenfield, Massachusetts in 1851, he received early training with composer/organist Dudley Buck before heading off for the requisite “finishing” education abroad. Eddy spent the bulk of his two-year stint in Berlin studying piano with Carl Albert Löschorf and organ with Carl August Haupt, an internationally recognized pedagogue who taught dozens of U.S. organists during his career. While in Europe, Eddy travelled extensively and began to develop a network of musicians that included William T. Best, Alexandre Guilmant, Charles-Marie Widor, Jules Massenet, Camille Saint-Saëns, César Franck, and Franz Liszt.<sup>51</sup> Throughout his career, he frequently championed the work of these acquaintances by performing United States premieres or providing editions for U.S. organists.<sup>52</sup>

Upon his return to his home country in 1874, Eddy settled in Chicago and set about establishing himself as a church musician, pedagogue, chamber musician, and touring concert organist. During his nearly twenty-year stay in Chicago before moving to Paris, Eddy held positions as organist at the First Congregational Church and the First Presbyterian Church, taught at the Hershey School of Musical Art and the Chicago Conservatory of Music, served as consultant for a number of large new organ installations, and maintained a performing schedule that took him all over the Midwest and Northeast.<sup>53</sup> He developed his persona as a well-connected member of the Chicago musical elite by participating in musical societies such as the Apollo Club and the Wagner Club. He contributed regularly to discussions of pedagogy, programming, and organ building in numerous music journals during this period,<sup>54</sup> and he was recognized at home and abroad as a virtuosic performer with a formidable pedal technique and a vast repertoire.<sup>55</sup>

Over the course of his career leading up to the Chicago Exposition, Eddy had begun to experiment with changes in organ concert programming. Secular organ concerts were a relatively new phenomenon in the United States in this period. In many ways, the 1863 dedication of a large organ built by the German firm E. F. Walcker Orgelbau for Boston Music Hall served as the catalyst for the establishment of the public organ concert in the United States.<sup>56</sup> In the decades following, construction of organs in concert halls and a more relaxed attitude to hosting concerts in houses of worship contributed to the

<sup>49</sup>Guion, “From Yankee Doodle Thro’ to Handel’s Largo,” 90, suggests that Thomas’s involvement with the organ concerts is unclear. Thomas cancelled almost all musical contracts after his resignation, but the organ concerts commenced about the time when he resigned. All the programs appear in the Official Programmes of the Bureau of Music, which means they were submitted to the Bureau and considered part of the music program. Michael Friesen draws on a number of sources to demonstrate Eddy’s exclusive authority to design the exhibition instrument and organize the series. Friesen, “Organs at the 1893 Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition,” 20.

<sup>50</sup>Everett Truette, “Editorials,” *The Organ*, September 1893, 101. This and all subsequent citations from this source are from the facsimile edition. Everett Truette, *The Organ*, 2 vols, May 1892–April 1894 (Harrisville, New Hampshire: Boston Organ Club), 1995.

<sup>51</sup>William Osborne, *Clarence Eddy: Dean of American Organists* (Richmond, Virginia: Organ Historical Society, 2000), 9.

<sup>52</sup>For an example of Eddy’s editions including works by these composers, see Hiram Clarence Eddy and Frederic Grant Gleason, eds, *The Church and Concert Organist: A Collection of Pieces with Registration, Fingering and Pedal Marking: Adapted for Church and Concert Use*, 4 vols (New York: E. Schuberth, 1882–1909).

<sup>53</sup>See Chapter 2, “Chicago, 1874–1895” in Osborne, *Clarence Eddy*, 14–47.

<sup>54</sup>For examples of his writing, see Part IV, “Eddy as Commentator” in Osborne, *Clarence Eddy*, 331–400.

<sup>55</sup>Osborne, *Clarence Eddy*, 35–36.

<sup>56</sup>Barbara Owen, *The Great Organ at Methuen* (Richmond, Virginia: Organ Historical Society, 2011), 81. See also William Osborne, “Organ Programming 1860–1930: Roast Beef or Ice Cream?,” *The American Organist* 21, no. 9 (September 1987): 58.



rise of the public organ concert. Early concerts usually took the form of a mix of solo organ pieces and a few selections where the organ accompanied a vocal or instrumental soloist.<sup>57</sup> Eddy's 100 programs for the Hershey School in 1877–1879 fall into this category.<sup>58</sup> At Hershey, Eddy also experimented with themed programs with his 1881 set of “National Programs,” concerts in which he performed music by composers of one nationality.<sup>59</sup> However, by the late 1880s and early 1890s, Eddy had settled on a decidedly varied and accessible program model that featured a solo organist exclusively. The fair was an opportunity to share this programming philosophy with a wider audience.

Although Eddy had a substantial repertoire and had demonstrated he was capable of marathon series, he decided to enlist colleagues in presenting the fair's organ concerts. His choice of performers reveals his programming philosophy as well as an underlying expectation for U.S. musicians. As with orchestral musicians in this period, European musical training of organists held a certain cachet. Fourteen of the twenty-one recitalists at the Exposition had received musical training in Germany, France, or England. For example, Clarence Eddy and the German émigré Wilhelm Middleschulte had studied with August Haupt in Berlin, R. Huntington Woodman with César Franck, B. J. Lang with Franz Liszt, and William C. Carl with Alexandre Guilmant (see the Appendix for a list of organ recitalists, their city of residence at the time of the exposition, and biographical notes).<sup>60</sup> In addition to featuring U.S. performers with European pedigree, Eddy sought to secure international names to headline the series and was ultimately successful in contracting one of the world's leading organists, the Frenchman Alexandre Guilmant.<sup>61</sup>

We get an idea of why Eddy chose Guilmant from an 1896 article titled “Leading Organists of France and Italy” that Eddy wrote for the magazine, *Music* as a foreign correspondent in Paris. In Eddy's mind, Guilmant was a leader among organists:

As the head of the organist profession in Paris I place Guilmant, because he is more catholic in his taste, has a broader scope, plays in all schools, and is an organ virtuoso of the first rank.... He has done more for organ music than any one else in France, to popularize the instrument and bring it before the public.<sup>62</sup>

When it came to securing a European star to headline the organ series at the fair, Eddy believed that Guilmant's “catholic taste,” virtuosity, and good-natured personality would have the most appeal among U.S. audiences. He was familiar with Guilmant's efforts to “popularize the instrument” in his home country and had hopes that he could do the same in the United States.

Although the performers and their choice of programming would be an important factor for the success of the organ series, the concerts had an additional draw: the exposition instrument. The four manual, sixty-three-stop organ built by Farrand & Votey Organ Company of Detroit was lauded

<sup>57</sup>Osborne, “Roast Beef or Ice Cream,” 59–60. Organists may have based the practice of alternating instrumental works with vocal solos on orchestral concert models of the time. Adrienne Fried Block notes that the New York Philharmonic established this model as early as 1842 as a way to satisfy a range of tastes and sell tickets. For more on the establishment of this programming model see Block, “Thinking About Serious Music in New York, 1842–82,” 440–441.

<sup>58</sup>For a reprint of all 100 programs, see Osborne, *Clarence Eddy*, 166–221.

<sup>59</sup>Osborne, *Clarence Eddy*, 217–221.

<sup>60</sup>Osborne, *Clarence Eddy*, 234–236 gives a more detailed background of each recitalist.

<sup>61</sup>Friesen notes that Eddy initially invited a handful of international artists. Early announcements of the line-up enthusiastically listed William T. Best of England, Filippo Capocci of Italy, and Camille Saint-Saëns and Alexandre Guilmant of France as the international artists who accepted invitations to participate. Of these three, Guilmant was the only performer who actually made it to Chicago. Nothing more is mentioned about Capocci, but papers reported that Best could not make the trip due to illness. Saint-Saëns had plans to appear at the fair jointly in the organ and orchestral program but cancelled his appearance when the orchestral program collapsed. Friesen, “Organists and Organ Music at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, Part 2,” 14–15.

<sup>62</sup>Clarence Eddy, “Leading Organists in France and Italy,” *Music*, November 1896, 163–4. Eddy goes on to contrast Guilmant's “catholic taste” to the narrow programming tendencies of his Parisian colleague Charles-Marie Widor, who he reported played only “Widor and Bach.”

as a mechanical and tonal masterpiece.<sup>63</sup> Months before the exposition opened, Farrand & Votey had been fortunate enough to receive the valuable patents, machinery, and craftsmen from the Roosevelt Organ Firm when the firm's president decided to retire.<sup>64</sup> Roosevelt's innovations assimilated into the Farrand & Votey instrument represented the cutting edge in organ building, making it easier to play virtuosic repertoire: electric action, pneumatic couplers, adjustable combination pistons, and a crescendo pedal.<sup>65</sup> The organ's tonal concept favored flue and reeds at unison (8') pitch, which made it more suitable for concert repertoire and orchestral transcriptions than the average church instrument.<sup>66</sup> Plus, it was large! The instrument was designed not only as a solo instrument but was also meant to support performances with massed choirs and orchestras.<sup>67</sup> The exposition instrument represented the epitome of progress, innovation, and creativity in the United States. Whereas thirty years prior, Boston had looked to Europe for the highest craftsmanship and innovation in organ building for Boston Music Hall, now U.S. builders demonstrated first-class workmanship with the latest technology.<sup>68</sup>

Eddy endeavored to build an audience for solo pipe organ concerts in the United States by featuring leading U.S. organists and a European headliner, a large instrument in a secular space, and a varied and "catholic" approach to concert programming. Judging by the reception in musical magazines of the day and the box office receipts, the series was a success. Honoraria for performers came in just under the \$2,000 allotted in the music budget, and the box office receipts from the twenty-five cent admission price grossed a little over \$6,700.<sup>69</sup> Thus, close to 27,000 people must have paid admission to hear these performances over the course of three months, while countless others probably attended with complimentary passes.<sup>70</sup> While the numbers only represent a small percentage of the overall general admission to the fair, news of the recitals reached a far wider audience via articles and reviews in major newspapers, music magazines, and organ periodicals.<sup>71</sup> Chicago's organ program was the first national large-scale recital series of varied performers that exclusively featured solo repertoire for the instrument and it furthered the rise of the solo organ recital in the United States. The discussion that follows presents an analytical examination of the sixty-two concert programs as a way to understand the driving factors behind programming at the fair and the particular way organists approached their audiences at this event.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>63</sup>*Musical Instruments at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 271. The World's Fair jury on musical instruments gave the large Farrand & Votey organ an award "For remarkable quality of tone, due to proper voicing, scaling, material of pipes, and even wind supply through patent wind chest. For rapidity and reliability of touch from electric pneumatic action. For general finish, compactness and simplicity of construction". It was also praised by Clarence Eddy and Alexandre Guilman, among others, (274). After the fair, the Farrand & Votey organ was sold to the University Musical Society for \$15,000 (the original cost to manufacture the instrument was said to be \$25,000), which then presented it to the University of Michigan. It resided in University Hall before being moved to Hill Auditorium, where it underwent a series of rebuilds by the Hutchings Organ Company (1913), E. M. Skinner Organ Company (1928), and finally Aeolian-Skinner Company (1955). For the organ's history in Ann Arbor, see James O. Wilkes, *Pipe Organs of Ann Arbor* (Ann Arbor: James O. Wilkes, 1995), 1–35.

<sup>64</sup>Orpha Ochse, *History of the Organ in the United States* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1974), 212.

<sup>65</sup>*Musical Instruments at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 274.

<sup>66</sup>Ochse, *History of the Organ in the United States*, 274.

<sup>67</sup>In the Bureau of Music's original plan, there was to be a second organ in the Music Hall that would be used specifically for solo organ recitals. The Bureau contracted Carl Barckhoff of Salem, Ohio to build a four-manual and the firm was ready to install the instrument by the start of the fair, but problems with the hall's acoustics led Thomas to redesign the stage in such a way that made it impossible to fit the organ. The Bureau paid \$10,000 to the firm as a concession. One wonders if the organ concert programming would have developed differently if the series were to have taken place in the smaller hall as originally planned. Friesen, "Organs at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition," 31.

<sup>68</sup>See Owen, *The Great Organ at Methuen*, 26–27 for an account of the 1856 debate in *Dwight's Journal of Music* over the worthiness of American organs compared to those built in Germany.

<sup>69</sup>George Henry Wilson, [*Correspondence, clippings, pictures, etc. relating to the Bureau of Music*], (Chicago: World's Columbian Exposition Bureau of Music): 1893, Special Collections, Newberry Library, Chicago.

<sup>70</sup>Wilson, [*Correspondence, clippings, pictures, etc. relating to the Bureau of Music*], Newberry Library, Chicago. This number is derived from dividing the gross ticket revenue listed in this source by the admission price. The result is 26,974. No doubt many more attended the concerts with complimentary admission. The average concert attendance would thus be 435 people.

<sup>71</sup>For many of these reprints, see Friesen's series of articles in the *Stopt Diapason*.

<sup>72</sup>The analysis uses database methodology. Entries in an Excel spreadsheet for each piece played at the fair allow for sorting according to multiple fields, such as composer, performer, genre, and arranger. The database is available for download at <https://annelaver.com/worlds-fair-projects/>.

### More Popular than Profound?

It was amidst the firestorm leading up to Thomas's eventual resignation that the Farrand & Votey organ was finally ready for its unveiling. On July 31, Clarence Eddy inaugurated the instrument for an audience of 1,200–1,500 people<sup>73</sup> with the following program:

Toccata in F Major	J. S. Bach
Variations on "The Star Spangled Banner"	Dudley Buck
"A Royal Procession"	Walter Spinney
"Pilgrims' Chorus"	Richard Wagner
<i>Funeral March and Seraphic Song</i>	Alexandre Guilmant
Offertory in C Minor ("Saint Cecilia"), Op. 7	Antoine Batiste
Grand Fantasie in E Minor	Jacques Lemmens
Overture to <i>Oberon</i>	Carl Maria van Weber <sup>74</sup>

Newspapers from as far afield as Dallas, New York, and Wheeling, West Virginia ran articles describing the July 31 event and contemporary reviews highlighted its popular nature. A write-up in *The American Art Journal* noted that Eddy's first program "served two excellent purposes: first, to illustrate the strong points of the new instrument; secondly, to gratify a miscellaneous audience."<sup>75</sup> A writer for *The Presto* wrote: "the program offered was a pleasing one, rather popular than profound, as organ programs generally are."<sup>76</sup> Part of the reason for the more accessible approach on this first program was no doubt due to the "miscellaneous audience" that the new instrument was expected to attract in the huge hall. The following analysis of the repertoire shows that the organ programs, under the astute leadership of Clarence Eddy, on the whole embraced the idea of accessibility by offering a blend of "popular" and "profound." Performers endeavored to bridge this binarism between edification and entertainment with their program choices and their performance practice. While Thomas tried to separate "artistic" and "popular" into two different halls with two different audiences, organists found a way to engage the miscellaneous audience and the connoisseur in the same program, sometimes within the same piece.

Categories of musical genres carried a "popular" or "artistic" connotation on organ concerts, just as they did in the orchestral world. Some programs had a higher percentage of pieces in "popular" categories, as in the opening program, but an analysis of the series on the whole reveals a balance between "popular" and "artistic" elements. The following discussion will focus on overall programming tendencies at the fair, namely the composers and nationalities featured, the genres represented, the number of original organ works versus transcriptions, the works' dates of composition, and the inclusion of improvisations.

As was the case with most official concerts at the fair organized by the Bureau of Music, organ concerts exhibited a preference for the works of European composers. Given that the majority of the performers had studied in Europe, and given Americans' tendency to look to Europe for cultural legitimacy, the breakdown does not come as a surprise. Nonetheless, organists eschewed the model of Thomas's symphony concerts at the fair—programs featuring music of primarily Austrian or German composers—instead opting for a more balanced sampling of national styles. [Table 1](#) shows programs featured works by German composers most often, followed by the French at a close second, and those from the United States at a distant third. Fourth place went to England, fifth to Belgium, and Italy, Poland, Hungary, Norway, Denmark, Austria, The Netherlands, Denmark, Canada, and Alsace

<sup>73</sup>*Musical Instruments at the World's Columbian Exposition*, 271.

<sup>74</sup>Program number one given by Clarence Eddy on Monday, July 31, 1893, at three o'clock in the afternoon. This and all programs heretofore are taken from *Official Programmes of the Bureau of Music of the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: World's Columbian Commission, 1893).

<sup>75</sup>"Opening of the Farrand & Votey Organ in Festival Hall," *American Art Journal*, August 5, 1893, 388. Quoted in Friesen, "Organists and Organ Music at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, Part 2," 18.

<sup>76</sup>"Exposition Music," *Presto*, August 3, 1893, 13. Quoted in Friesen, "Organists and Organ Music at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, Part 2," 19.

**Table 1.** Frequency of pieces played, sorted by composers' country of birth

Composer country of origin	Number of pieces performed by organists at the fair
Germany	193
France	155
United States	67
Great Britain	30
Belgium	16
Italy	11
Poland	7
Hungary	6
Denmark	4
Norway	3
Austria	2
Alsace	1
Canada	1
The Netherlands	1
Unknown*	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>499</b> 6 Improvisations not included

\*Unknown composers include entries for a "Communion" by an unlisted composer on program number 7 and a "Concert Fantasia" attributed to a "Leopold du Prins" on program number 14, nationality unknown.

were each represented in small numbers. The proportion of French and U.S. composers on these programs more closely mirrors programming on Thomas's orchestral matinees.

The fact that U.S. composers fared as well as they did was related to the fair's mission to laud the United States' progress in all areas. While organists believed in the superiority of the European masterworks and the necessity of European musical training, like Thomas, they wanted to recognize the achievements of native composers. The majority of them did this by including one or two works by U.S. composers on a varied program, similar to the "popular" orchestral matinees. Some of the pieces performed most frequently were those based on familiar tunes, such as Dudley Buck's variation sets on "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "The Last Rose of Summer." One notable exception to this trend was Chicago's Harrison M. Wild, who performed a program devoted exclusively to U.S. composers:<sup>77</sup>

<i>Triumphal March</i>	Dudley Buck
<i>Allegretto</i> , Op. 29, No. 2	Arthur Foote
a. <i>Romanza</i> , Op. 17, No. 3	Horatio Parker
b. <i>Scherzo</i> , Op. 32, No. 3	
<i>Processional March</i>	Samuel B. Whitney
"Vorspiel" to <i>Otho Visconti</i>	Frederic Gleason, arr. Clarence Eddy
<i>Concert Variations on an American Air</i>	Isaac Flagler
<i>Pastorale</i>	George E. Whiting
<i>Serenade</i>	Harry Rowe Shelley
<i>An Autumn Sketch</i>	John Hyatt Brewer
Fugue on "Hail Columbia," Op. 22	Dudley Buck

<sup>77</sup>Program 34 given by Harrison Wild on Wednesday, September 20, 1893, at twelve noon. *Official Programmes of the Bureau of Music*.

This program was the only organ program that featured composers of a single nationality. The only other program that embraced the theme model was Frederick Wolle's all-Bach program on October 13, 1893.<sup>78</sup>

Table 2 lists composers according to the frequency with which their works appeared on fair programs. The top three composers—Bach, Guilman, and Buck—represent the top three countries represented. The pride of place afforded Bach on these programs is a testament to the efforts of nineteenth-century Bach-devotees such as Mendelssohn, Liszt, Widor, and Guilman. By the end of the nineteenth century, Bach's organ works were widely available in modern editions and concerted efforts to increase the level of organ playing in Europe and the United States had produced performers who were ready to tackle these difficult works. Bach's organ works with obbligato pedal offered performers a chance to prove their mettle. The virtuosic element could fascinate a broad audience while the trained listener could appreciate the masterful counterpoint. As early as 1831, Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy had reflected on the broad appeal of Bach organ works in a letter to his teacher, Carl Friedrich Zelter. In a visit to an organ loft in Weimar, the host organist asked him if he wanted to hear "something learned or something for the people (because he said that for the people one had to compose only easy and bad music)." After listening to the organist play "something learned" that was "not much to be proud of," Mendelssohn got on the bench and "let loose with the D-minor toccata of Sebastian [Bach] and remarked that this was at the same time learned and something for the people, too, at least some of them."<sup>79</sup> Even in the early stages of the Bach revival, performers recognized the appeal of Bach's organ works for a broad range of listeners.

That so many organ works could be considered on some level both "popular" and "profound" makes it difficult to determine how much of a program fell into each of these categories. However, sorting according to genre does offer some insights into programming trends. For example, fugues by Bach appeared on more than half of all organ programs at the fair. Most of these instances were the 30 performances of prelude and fugue, toccata and fugue, or fantasy and fugue pairs, but organists also played Bach fugues as stand-alone pieces eight times.<sup>80</sup> The frequent appearance of fugues shows organists embracing a "serious" genre with a long association with their instrument. Even Thomas did not go as far as programming fugues on his symphony programs.

Concertos or movements of concertos arranged for solo organ appear ten times. Nine of these came from the collection of Handel organ concertos. The other instance was a Concerto for Organ and Orchestra by Adolph Coerne that the U.S. composer adopted for solo organ after the Exposition Orchestra disbanded and the original premiere was no longer possible. Organ sonatas also featured prominently on programs; whole sonatas or movements appear forty-three times (see Table 3). Organists performed movements of symphonies thirteen times. Six of these instances were transcriptions of Beethoven symphony movements and seven were movements from solo organ symphonies by Charles-Marie Widor.

Organists seemed comfortable programming purely instrumental genres: preludes, fugues, fantasies, sonatas, and symphonies with no formal associations with vocal, dance, or church music. This body of repertoire makes up close to forty percent of the total pieces performed at the fair (192 pieces of the total 505, see Table 4). Bach was well represented in this category. Fifty-six of the sixty-two programs included at least one example of a Bach "free" work—a prelude, toccata, fantasy, or fugue not based on a chorale melody—or at least one movement from a sonata. Thirty-seven of these programs had more than one example of these genres.

However, pieces with extra-musical associations made up the majority of pieces on the organ programs. For instance, there were sixty-four marches of all stripes: funeral, pontifical, religious, wedding,

<sup>78</sup>Program 43 given by Frederick Wolle on Friday, October 13, 1893 at five o'clock in the evening. *Official Programmes of the Bureau of Music*.

<sup>79</sup>Russell Stinson, *The Reception of Bach's Organ Works from Mendelssohn to Brahms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 18.

<sup>80</sup>In addition, the organists played preludes and toccatas without their accompanying fugues ten times. Eight of these instances are performances of the Toccata in F, BW 540, which is paired with a lengthy alla breve double fugue.



**Table 2.** Composers represented most frequently (top 35)

Composer name	Number of works performed	Nationality
Johann Sebastian Bach	60	Germany
Alexandre Guilmant	48	France
Dudley Buck	23	United States
Richard Wagner	21	Germany
Felix Mendelssohn	20	Germany
Theodore Dubois	13	France
Jacques Lemmens	12	Belgium
Théodore Salomé	12	France
George Frederic Handel	11	Germany
Ferdinand de la Tombelle	11	France
Charles-Marie Widor	10	France
Josef Rheinberger	9	Lichtenstein
Antoine Batiste	8	France
Ludwig van Beethoven	8	Germany
W. T. Best	8	Great Britain
Gustav Merkel	8	Germany
Johann Thiele	8	Germany
George Whiting	8	United States
Camille Saint-Saëns	7	France
Charles Guonod	6	France
Edmond Lemaigre	6	France
Franz Liszt	6	Hungary
Robert Schumann	6	Germany
Harry Rowe Shelley	6	United States
Henry Smart	6	Great Britain
Arthur Foote	5	United States
Jakob Meyerbeer	5	Germany
Walter Spinney	5	Great Britain
Frédéric Chopin	4	Poland
Eugène Gigout	4	France
Georges MacMaster	4	United States
Horatio Parker	4	United States
Charles Chauvet	3	France
César Franck	3	Belgium
Frederick G. Gleason	3	United States

coronation, processional, regal, for Schiller, of the magi, priests, crusaders, peasants, and so on. Pastorales appeared twenty-five times, including three performances of Rheinberger's Pastoral Sonata, op. 88, another example of a piece that straddles the two categories of "popular" and "artistic." Performers favored these pieces with extramusical associations because they provided listeners with

**Table 3.** Sonatas or sonata movements performed at the exposition

Composer	Title	Performer	Program number
Bach	Sonata No. 4: Andante in B minor	Middleschulte	37
Bach	Sonata No. 3: Adagio e dolce	Middleschulte	36
Buck	Sonata in G minor, No. 2, Op. 77	Eddy	45
Buck	Sonata No. 2: Adagio	Baldwin	27
Dienel	Sonata No. 2 (Op. 11): Adagio	Baldwin	29
Finck	Sonata in G minor: Allegretto Recitativo, Allegro Fuoco	Vogt	19
Guilmant	Sonata in D minor, No. 1	Eddy	46
Guilmant	Sonata in D minor, Op. 42	Howland	56
Guilmant	Sonata No. 3, in C minor	Eddy	44
Guilmant	Sonata No. 4	Guilmant	24
Lemmens	Sonata Pontificale	Guilmant	23
Lemmens	Sonata Pontificale: March pontifical	Eddy	60
Lemmens	Sonata Pontificale: March pontifical and Fugue	Wild	33
Mendelssohn	Sonata No. 1	Eddy	53
Mendelssohn	Sonata No. 1	Guilmant	25
Mendelssohn	Sonata No. 2	Eddy	54
Mendelssohn	Sonata No. 2	Guilmant	24
Mendelssohn	Sonata No. 2	Taft	41
Mendelssohn	Sonata No. 3	Eddy	55
Mendelssohn	Sonata No. 3	Guilmant	23
Mendelssohn	Sonata No. 4	Eddy	57
Mendelssohn	Sonata No. 4	Woodman	8
Mendelssohn	Sonata No. 5	Eddy	58
Mendelssohn	Sonata No. 6	Eddy	59
Merkel	Sonata in D minor, Op. 118	Middleschulte	37
Merkel	Sonata in G minor, No. 2	Eddy	48
Merkel	Sonata in G minor, Op. 42	Middleschulte	38
Merkel	Sonata in B minor, No. 8	Baldwin	28
Piutti	Sonata in G minor, Op. 22	Baldwin	27
Reubke	Sonata "The 94th Psalm"	Baldwin	29
Rheinberger	Pastoral Sonata, Op. 88	Eddy	18
Rheinberger	Pastoral Sonata, Op. 88: Intermezzo and Fugue	Howland	56
Rheinberger	Pastoral Sonata, Op. 88: Pastorale	Coerne	35
Rheinberger	Sonata in D, No. 15 (Op. 168)	Eddy	50
Rheinberger	Sonata No. 3, Op. 146	Eddy	62
Ritter	Sonata in E minor, Op. 19	Eddy	51
Ritter	Sonata in E minor, Op. 19	Wild	33
Salomé	Sonata in C minor (first movement)	Woodman	9
Salomé	Sonata No. 1	Guilmant	25

(Continued)

**Table 3.** (Continued.)

Composer	Title	Performer	Program number
Tombelle	Sonata No. 1: Finale (Toccata)	Woodman	10
Wermann	Sonata in C minor, op. 70	Eddy	12
Whiting	Sonata in A minor, first movement	Whiting	3
Whiting	Sonata in A minor: Theme, with Variations and Finale	Whiting	4

*Note:* The last four official programs are numbered 59, 59A, 60 and 61. This paper and database follow Friesen's numbering, with the last four using numbers 59, 60, 61, and 62.

**Table 4.** List of instrumental genres performed at the exposition

Title category	Number of performances
Adagio	5
Allegretto	8
Allegro	3
Andante	8
Canon	1
Concert Piece or Morceau de Concert	6
Concerto (complete and movements)	9
Fantasia and Fugue	9
Fantasia	13
Finale	9
Fugue	16
Larghetto	1
Largo	1
Organ sonata (complete and movements, incl. Pastoral Sonata)	43
Organ symphony movement	7
Passacaglia and Fugue	2
Prelude	2
Prelude and Fugue	16
Scherzo	6
Toccata	25
Trio	2
Total	192

context or narrative. Many works by French composers bore titles such as Offertoire, Communion, Elevation, Benediction, Sortie, and Meditation that related to their alternate function as music appropriate for the Roman Catholic liturgy. French organ music in this period tended to be harmonically conservative, which probably had something to do with its liturgical connection as well as its reliance on elements of color and texture for impact. Both of these factors made them easier for the novice listener to digest. Funeral and wedding music abounded, as did Christmas music, and variation sets on familiar tunes. While the frequent appearance of fugues and sonatas on almost every program pointed to organists' willingness to include serious genres, the abundance and variety of genres with extra-musical associations showed they also embraced accessible repertoire.

A good example of this type of accessible work is Guilmant's "Funeral March and Hymn of Seraphs" ("Marche Funèbre et Chant Séraphique," Op. 17, No. 3). This piece was performed five times by five different artists, including the composer himself.<sup>81</sup> One of the elements that would have made this piece appealing to the miscellaneous audience at the fair was its programmatic connection. Chopin's Funeral March from Sonata No. 2 in B flat Minor was tremendously popular in this period, and Guilmant borrows the march-trio format for his piece. Guilmant's Funeral March presents two clear themes: a slow dotted march rhythm that opens the piece, and a second sustained melody on the trumpet stop that accompanies the opening theme beginning in measure 7 (Example 1). The melody assigned to the dotted rhythm is diatonic, easy to hum, harmonized with parallel thirds, and repeated often. In addition to having clear, memorable melodies, the piece lends itself to a large organ with a wide range of timbres and dynamics. For instance, the trio calls for constant dialogues between the Hautbois of the Swell, the flues on the Great, and the Diapason on the Choir (measures 54–57, Example 2). A dramatic crescendo to tutti in measures 75–104 and octaves played on a solo Tuba stop provide excitement and an opportunity to show off the power of the instrument (Example 3). The soft pianistic arpeggios over a sustained lyrical melody in the pedal for the concluding "hymn of the seraphs" (measure 119 to the end) are an opportunity to highlight the virtuosity of the performer (Example 4). The clear formal structure and expert use of the tonal resources of the organ would earn it praise from the musically savvy, while the extramusical association, clearly defined rhythms, singable melodies, conservative harmony, and dramatic use of dynamics would keep the attention of a less-learned audience.<sup>82</sup> The piece is a prime example of how nineteenth-century French organist-composers skillfully manipulated the organ's ability to effect contrasts in timbre, dynamics, and texture. All of these features combined to create a piece that both connoisseurs and novice listeners appreciated and enjoyed.<sup>83</sup>

Organ transcriptions of works for other instruments were another important body of repertoire at the fair, making up ninety-seven of the total 505 pieces.<sup>84</sup> Some of the more conservative contemporary critics, such as Everette Truette, the editor of the Boston-based monthly, *The Organ*, believed this repertoire was inferior to "legitimate" original works for organ and dismissed it as overly "popular."<sup>85</sup> But, like Bach's preludes and fugues, this repertoire blurred the lines of "popular" and "profound." On the one hand, transcriptions were considered "popular" because they offered a chance to present familiar works, such as Rossini's *Overture to William Tell* and Chopin's Funeral March from his Piano Sonata in B Minor (two pieces that also appeared on Thomas's "popular" orchestral series, including Thomas's own arrangement of the Chopin). Many of these pieces were arrangements of operatic works, such as Wagner overtures or scenes, and therefore connected to a narrative. In addition, when presented in a transcription, the performer's skill in orchestration offered an added level of interest for the average concertgoer. Part of the thrill was hearing how a single performer could take the

<sup>81</sup>The following organists performed this work, making it the most frequently played work by Guilmant at the fair: Clarence Eddy on July 31, William C. Carl on August 11, R. Huntington Woodman on August 16, Alexandre Guilmant on August 31, and Samuel Baldwin on September 11, 1893.

<sup>82</sup>This analysis draws on Theodore Thomas's understanding of the attributes that made music more accessible for novice listeners. See Crawford, *America's Musical Life*, 309–310.

<sup>83</sup>Guilmant premiered this piece in 1868 for the inauguration of the Cavaillé-Coll organ in Notre Dame Cathedral and performed it often in subsequent years, including at the 1878 Paris Exposition Universelle and numerous times on his first North American tour that began with the World's Columbian Exposition. Mention of this piece in music periodicals of the day indicate this was a favorite concert piece with both French and U.S. audiences. A review of Guilmant's 1878 concert describes the piece as one that was "well known and which deserves its reputation." See "[Trocadéro: Inauguration de l'orgue Cavaillé-Coll; Guilmant]," *La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 45, no. 32 (1878): 255. Wayne Leupold's preface to the edition of Guilmant's organ works lists some of the U.S. concert programs that included this piece. Wayne Leupold, "Preface," in *The Organ Works of Alexandre Guilmant*, vol. 1, ed. Wayne Leupold (Melville, NY: Belwin Mills, 1984), xiv–xv. William Carl's obituary of his teacher mentions the origins of the piece and its fame. See "The Life of a Great Master: Felix Alexandre Guilmant, as Musician, Teacher, and Man—A Biography and Appreciation," *The Diapason*, 2, no. 6 (May 1911): 2.

<sup>84</sup>In many programs, transcriptions are listed as such and the arranger is recognized, but a closer look at the programs shows at least fifty-five pieces are lacking a designated arranger. The number listed here reflects both transcriptions where an arranger is listed and those where one is not.

<sup>85</sup>Everette Truette, "Editorials," *The Organ*, January 1894, 197. Facsimile edition, 1995.

2.  
(A la Mémoire de ma Mère.)

# FUNERAL MARCH.

(MARCHE FUNÈBRE ET CHANT SÉRAPHIQUE.)

Performed by the Author at the inauguration of the Organ of Notre Dame, Paris.

ALEX. GUILMANT. Op. 17. No. 2.

REGISTRATION: {  
 SWELL : Diapasons and Reeds. (Trumpet and Hautboy.)  
 GREAT : *p* = Gamba and 8 ft. Flutes, *ff* = Full Organ.  
 CHOIR : Open Diapason and Flute 4 ft.  
 PEDAL : Bourdon and Diapason 16 ft. and 8 ft. (Coupler Ped. & Gt. *ad lib.*) *ff* = Full.

Andante maestoso. (♩ = 63.)

The musical score is written for organ and consists of 15 measures. It is in a minor key (three flats) and common time. The tempo is 'Andante maestoso' with a quarter note equal to 63 beats per minute. The score is divided into three systems, each with a four-measure measure rest at the beginning. The first system (measures 1-4) features a 'Gt.' (Great) section with a *p* dynamic. The second system (measures 5-8) features a 'Sw.' (Swell) section. The third system (measures 9-15) features a 'Gt.' section. The score includes various textures, including chords, arpeggios, and melodic lines. The bottom of the page contains the number '1866' and a small copyright notice: 'ENTERED ACCORDING TO ACT OF PARLIAMENT IN THE YEAR 1875 BY G. SCHIRMER & CO. IN THE OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN AT BIRMINGHAM'.

Example 1. Alexandre Guilmant, Funeral March, measures 1–15.

place of a multi-voice orchestra. A large organ at the hands of a skillful orchestrator could rival the timbral and dynamic capabilities of an orchestra. In this respect, transcriptions were crowd pleasers. On the other hand, transcriptions offered organists a chance to provide substantive masterworks from the orchestral repertoire. Organ concerts embraced the dual function transcriptions of these pieces carried, allowing the performer to present the “popular” and “profound” within a single piece.



Example 2. Alexandre Guilmant, Funeral March, measures 51–59.

With a handful of exceptions, the most notable being Bach, organ music at the fair featured living composers or those who had died within the last fifty years. Fourteen of the sixty-two programs list at least one work as being “new” or in manuscript copy. Additionally, fourteen programs announce that the composer has dedicated this or that work to the performer. William C. Carl was one performer who took special pains to seek out new works and list them as such in his programs. The program from August 7, 1893 noted that Carl was the dedicatee for two of the eight pieces: “Noel” by Théodore Dubois and “Allegretto” by Theodore Salomé. “Noel” is listed as “new.” Carl’s request to Chicago composer Frederick Grant Gleason from 1891 for a new piece for a program of U.S. music shows the performer actively seeking out new repertoire.<sup>86</sup> This close relationship between composer and performer contributed to the frequency of contemporary pieces on organ concerts. Another reason for this phenomenon is that nineteenth-century organists were trained as improvisors and composers. In the French tradition, the organ class was an extension of the composition curriculum, rather than part of a separate performance-based curriculum.<sup>87</sup> While both the symphony and “popular” orchestral programs made an effort to feature contemporary works, the large number of performer-composers represented on the organ programs was a trend unique to organ concerts at the fair.

Organists also included a higher percentage of pre-nineteenth-century music on their programs, compared to either of the orchestral series. As we have seen, works of Bach were important staples on the organ programs. By and large, organists tended to opt for the more accessible or virtuosic

<sup>86</sup>William Carl to Frederick Grant Gleason, 1891, box 3, folder 32, Frederick Grant Gleason Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago.

<sup>87</sup>Orpha Ochse, *Organists and Organ Playing in Nineteenth Century France and Belgium* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 151.

75

79 (Tabas ad lib.)

83

1966

Example 3. Alexandre Guilmant, Funeral March, measures 75–118.

part of Bach's oeuvre (see Table 5 for a list of Bach works performed at the fair). The fact that the Toccata and Fugue in D Minor was the most popular Bach work (and in fact, the most frequently performed work at the fair overall) exemplifies this tendency. Organists chose to share the loud and extroverted toccatas and fantasias and the virtuosic "Spiel" or "Gigue" fugues rather than the slower "Alla Breve" or "Art" fugues.<sup>88</sup> Organists rarely shared chorale preludes or trio sonatas, which called for softer registrations and (for the chorale preludes) an audience's familiarity with Lutheran chorale tunes. The sheer power of the full organ called for in the "free" works impressed audiences, whereas an ornamented chorale tune would be lost on most listeners.

Organists seemed committed to Bach and Handel, but only rarely did they perform music from earlier periods. The only pre-Bach works performed at the fair were two pieces by Dieterich Buxtehude, the Fugue in C Major and Ciacona in E Minor, played by Guilmant; "Choral" by Samuel Scheidt, played by Coerne; and a Trio attributed to Giovanni Pierluigi de Palestrina, played by Taft. Notably, Guilmant chose to play Buxtehude's sprightly "Gigue" Fugue and a variation set on a ground bass rather than any of the multi-sectional prelude. This was not to say that performers did not have earlier pieces in their repertoire. By examining his Hershey School programs, we know that Eddy had the prelude of Buxtehude, toccatas of Girolamo Frescobaldi, and trio sonatas and chorale preludes of Bach in his repertoire.<sup>89</sup> For his part, Guilmant had distinguished himself as an early-music pioneer in France with his Historical Organ Concert Series at the Trocadéro in 1889 and the

<sup>88</sup>This terminology is borrowed from George Stauffer's categorization of Bach organ fugues as described in George Stauffer, "Fugue Types in Bach's Free Organ Works," in *J.S. Bach as Organist*, ed. George Stauffer and Ernest May (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 133–156.

<sup>89</sup>Osborne, *Clarence Eddy*, 166–221.

7

87

91

96

102

110

1566

Reduce Gt. to Bourdon 16 fl. alone

Gt.

Sw. ff

off Couplers Gt. & Sw. and Ped. & Gt.

Bourdon 16 & Cello 8.

ppp

Prepare Sw. Bourdon 16, St. Dia. 8, Flute 4fl.

12tb. & 15tb.

Example 3. Continued.

subsequent edition of the works he performed on these recitals.<sup>90</sup> In 1893 he had already begun issuing a twenty-five volume set of early music from the French, German, Austrian, and Italian traditions

<sup>90</sup>Hans Uwe Hielscher, *Alexandre Guilmant: Leben und Werk* (Bielefeld, Germany: Gesellschaft der Orgelfreunde, 1987), 58–60. Guilmant's most involved publication project was the multi-volume set of early music that he issued with musicologist André Pirro called *Les Archives des Maîtres de L'orgue des XVIe, XVIIe, et XVIIIe Siècles*. Released over the course of twelve years



8

**CHANT SERAPHIQUE.**

119 *pp* Sw. (closed.) Coupler Ped. & Ch. or Ped. & Sw. *at lib.*

121

123

125

127

1566

Example 4. Alexandre Guilmant, Funeral March, measures 119–28.

called *École Classique de L'orgue*. However, both Eddy and Guilmant knew their role at the fair was to engage a broad audience, and as a result, they curtailed their performances of early music.

beginning in 1898, this collection issued the first modern editions of complete works by French organists Titelouze, Couperin, d'Grigny, Raison, Marchand, and others.

**Table 5.** Works by Johann Sebastian Bach performed at the exposition

Title	Performer	Program number
Adagio in A minor	Coerne	35
Andante in C major	Lang	22
Aria from the Orchestra Suite in D	Eddy	58
Aria in F major	Wolle	52
Chorale in G	Wolle	43
Chorale in G, "Alle Menschen muessen sterben"	Wolle	52
Fantasia and Fugue in A minor, from English Suite	Middleschulte	38
Fantasia and Fugue in G minor	Thunder	20
Fantasia and Fugue in G minor	Guilmant	26
Fantasia and Fugue in G minor	Baldwin	29
Fantasia and Fugue in G minor	Wild	32
Fantasia and Fugue in G minor	Middleschulte	36
Fantasia and Fugue in G minor	Eddy	44
Fantasia and Fugue in G minor	Wolle	52
Fantasia in G major	Lang	22
Fugue in D minor	Wolle	43
Fugue in D minor	Wolle	52
Fugue in D minor, from WTC	Middleschulte	37
Fugue in E-flat (on St. Ann's Tune)	Vogt	19
Fugue in E-flat (on St. Ann's Tune)	Corey	47
Fugue in E-flat (on St. Ann's Tune)	Eddy	55
Fugue in G minor	Wolle	52
Fugue in G minor (the lesser)	Eddy	54
Passacaglia and Fugue in C minor	Wolle	52
Passacaglia Fugue	Woodman	9
Pastorale in F major	Lang	22
Prelude and Fugue in A minor	Guilmant	24
Prelude and Fugue in A minor	Eddy	48
Prelude and Fugue in B minor	Eddy	46
Prelude and Fugue in C major	Eddy	59
Prelude and Fugue in C minor	Eddy	51
Prelude and Fugue in E-flat major	Baldwin	27
Prelude and Fugue in E minor	Sterling	49
Prelude and Fugue in E minor	Eddy	50
Prelude and Fugue in E minor	Eddy	57
Prelude and Fugue in G major	Eddy	45
Prelude and Fugue in G major	Wolle	52
Prelude and Fugue in D minor	Eddy	18
Prelude in B minor	Woodman	21

(Continued)



Table 5. (Continued.)

Title	Performer	Program number
Prelude in B minor	Middleschulte	37
Sonata No. 4: Andante in B minor	Middleschulte	37
Sonata No. 3: Adagio e dolce	Middleschulte	36
Toccatà and Fugue (Doric)	Eddy	60
Toccatà and Fugue in C major	Wolle	52
Toccatà and Fugue in D minor	Whiting	2
Toccatà and Fugue in D minor	Carl	7
Toccatà and Fugue in D minor	Guilmant	25
Toccatà and Fugue in D minor	Radcliffe	30
Toccatà and Fugue in D minor	Andrews	31
Toccatà and Fugue in D minor	Middleschulte	36
Toccatà and Fugue in D minor	Taft	42
Toccatà and Fugue in D minor	Eddy	53
Toccatà in F major	Eddy	1
Toccatà in F major	Carl	5
Toccatà in F major	Baldwin	28
Toccatà in F major	Coerne	35
Toccatà in F major	Guilmant	23
Toccatà in F major	Taft	41
Toccatà in F major	Howland	56
Toccatà and Fugue	Pfefferkorn	39

When they did play early music, organists at the fair updated these works for contemporary audiences by subjecting them to modern performance practice. Pre-nineteenth century composers rarely included registration indications in their works, relying on shared practice and a close relationship with a particular instrument type to lead the performer in these choices. A handful of the Bach works carried the designation “organo pleno,” to indicate full organ registration, and terraced dynamic indications and manual changes exist in his Prelude in E-flat and Dorian Toccata, respectively, but the majority of the manuscript copies leave registration up to the performer. The absence of registration information invited multiple solutions as performers reengaged with these works in the mid- and late nineteenth century. For example, the manuscript copy of Buxtehude’s Fugue in C Major that Guilmant played at the fair carries no registration indications, but a published edition by the performer gives us a clue as to how he might have orchestrated this piece at the event. In an 1898 collection put together by his student William Carl, Guilmant’s registration markings for this piece prescribe a gradual crescendo alternately opening swell boxes and adding specific registers on a three-manual organ.<sup>91</sup> Registering a fugue to build to a crescendo was a favorite nineteenth-century technique, as was orchestrating these contrapuntal works in such a way that the average listener could easily hear subject entries and structural points. The noted pianist and pedagogue Emil Liebling, in his account of the organ concerts at the fair in the magazine *Music*, highlighted this practice: “Mr. [Harrison] Wild displayed considerable

<sup>91</sup>William C. Carl, ed. *Masterpieces for the Organ: A Collection of Twenty-one Organ-works, Selected Chiefly from the Programs of Alexandre Guilmant* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1898), Preface.

orchestral sense in the manner by which the different entrances of the theme [of Bach's *Fantasia and Fugue in G Minor*] were introduced."<sup>92</sup>

Organists of the period also used a new legato technique, with the full integration of heel and toe pedal playing, to recast older works in a modern light. The new electric actions were much lighter than traditional mechanical key and pedal actions, making it easier to play legato at quicker tempos. Eddy, in a written response to a paper on organ pedaling given by Gerrit Smith at the 1892 Music Teacher's National Association, provides insight as to how he and others approached old music from a performance practice standpoint:

An absolutely free and independent use of the heel in pedal playing is seldom found, and yet it is as important as a skillful employment of the thumb upon the manuals. The old school said *avoid using the heels*; but the new school says, *use every means to obtain artistic results*.<sup>93</sup>

This motto, "use every means to obtain artistic results," reflected nineteenth-century performers' belief in the progression of performance practice. By opting for registrations for modern organs and legato technique, they felt they were updating the old works, giving them a better chance for understanding among modern audiences.

One feature of organ programming that had no parallel in the orchestral program at the fair was the presence of improvisations. There were six instances of improvisations at the World's Columbian Exposition: Guilmant included improvisations on each of his four programs, and the U.S. performers B. J. Lang and Winthrop Sterling included one each.<sup>94</sup> In France, organ inaugurations always included improvisations because they were the best vehicle for displaying the features of the new instrument. As a representative of the French school of organ playing, Guilmant saw fit to uphold his country's traditions by improvising on a new exposition instrument. Improvisations also offered a special opportunity to engage an audience because an organist could tailor their performance to the particular time, place, instrument, and context. Guilmant's choice of themes shows he viewed his improvisations as a way to connect with the audiences at the fair. He opted for secular themes on popular U.S. and French tunes—"Hail Columbia," "Suwanee River," "Marseillaise Hymn," and "John Brown's Body"—that would be familiar to his U.S. audience.<sup>95</sup> One contemporary reviewer was especially impressed with Guilmant's treatment of the chosen themes, commenting that the performance "took a wide range, and readiness of resource no less than musical phantasy were evident all through."<sup>96</sup> Another reviewer remarked that Guilmant's improvisations were "both spontaneous and scholarly."<sup>97</sup>

<sup>92</sup>Emil Liebling, "Harrison Wild's Organ Concerts at the Fair," *Music*, January 1894, 263.

<sup>93</sup>Clarence Eddy, "Organ Pedaling," *Organ*, September 1892, 115. For insight into Eddy's performance practice as demonstrated through his pedagogy, see his teaching method, Clarence Eddy, *Pipe Organ Method*, 2 vols (Philadelphia: John Church, 1917).

<sup>94</sup>For an account of the 1878 organ series, including the twelve concert programs, see Rollin Smith, "The Organ of Trocadéro and its Players," in *French Organ Music from the Revolution to Franck and Widor*, ed. Lawrence Archbold and William J. Peterson (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1995), 279–308. Orpha Ochse's *Organists and Organ Playing in Nineteenth Century France and Belgium*, 94–97 and 103–104, includes descriptions of some of 1878 and 1889 performances. Rollin Smith notes that since improvisation was such a central part of the French organ playing tradition, it was considered odd when a performer chose to present a program without improvisation. In a write-up of Widor's concert in Trocadéro as part of the 1878 Paris Exposition, the reviewer demanded, "Why, with his virtuosity and talent as a composer, has not M. Widor followed the example of his French colleagues who have all reserved a place on their programs for improvisation?" "Nouvelles musicales de l'Exposition," *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* 45, no. 36 (1878), 285–286. In Smith, "The Organ of Trocadéro and its Players," 290.

<sup>95</sup>A correspondent for *The Organ* is the source that states "Mr. Guilmant chose for themes, 'Hail Columbia,' 'The Suwanee River,' 'Marseillaise Hymn,' and 'John Brown's Body.'" "Chicago and World's Fair News," *Organ*, October 1893, 137. Quoted in Friesen, "Organists and Organ Music at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition Part 3," 18.

<sup>96</sup>W. S. B. Mathews, "Organ Music at the Fair," *Music*, November, 1893, 87. Quoted in Friesen, "Organists and Organ Music at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, Part 3," 17.

<sup>97</sup>"Guilmant," *American Art Journal*, September 9, 1893, 510. Quoted in Friesen, "Organists and Organ Music at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, Part 3," 20.

Through his improvisations, Guilmant was able to connect with his audience using familiar themes while simultaneously impressing fellow organists and musicians by demonstrating his skill at invention and demonstrating composition in the moment.

The analysis above shows organists at the fair embracing an accessible programming model. The variety of composers featured, the high frequency of pieces with extra-musical associations, and the inclusion of transcriptions mirrored programming on the “popular” orchestral matinees. However, the high percentage of organ fugues, sonatas, concertos and symphonies suggests that these programs also aimed to engage the serious listener and fellow organist. Influential music critics praised the organ concerts as having represented high artistic standards, filling the void left by the Thomas orchestra. At the close of the fair, Mathews wrote in *Music*, “The place of honor must be given to the organ programmes, which have been important in themselves, as illustrations of all schools in this department, and by reason of the eminence of the artists who have co-operated in them.”<sup>98</sup> Truette used his column in the January 1894 edition of *The Organ* to praise the “taste of our organists” for championing original compositions for organ on their programs as opposed to transcriptions. He also made a point of listing the number of performances of Bach works, and the number of sonatas and fugues that appeared on the programs.<sup>99</sup> Both of these members of the musical elite saw the organ concerts as representing a high-quality cultural product worth extolling. That organists were able to please influential critics like Mathews and Truette while also appealing to the fair’s “miscellaneous audiences” speaks to their pragmatism and willingness to cast a wide net. No doubt their approach was a major reason why the concerts were successful on the whole.

### Reinforcing the Trends

After the close of the fair, organists shared resources that reflected the success of the approach to organ concert programming at the fair. Two published collections by performers at the fair, one by Carl and one by Eddy, both demonstrated and reinforced this model. Published in 1898, Carl’s volume, *Masterpieces for the Organ: A Collection of Twenty-one Organ-works, Selected Chiefly from the Programs of Alexandre Guilmant*, capitalized on his teacher’s successful United States debut in 1893 and subsequent concert tour of 1898 (see [Figure 1](#)). Carl’s preface clearly outlines the function of the anthology: “In compiling this Collection of Original Organ pieces, I have endeavored to bring together those which will especially serve for Recitals and Concert-work.”<sup>100</sup> Like Guilmant, who famously wrote in 1898, “I am utterly opposed to the playing of orchestral works on the organ,”<sup>101</sup> Carl believed in the appropriateness of original organ music over transcriptions. The table of contents (see [Figure 2](#)) lists many of the same composers that were frequently performed at the fair, the majority of them French. It also reflected the attitude of both Carl and Guilmant about what constituted suitable concert repertoire.

Eddy also used his own editions to promote a slightly different philosophy of concert programming. He published a four-volume set between the years 1881 and 1909 titled *The Church and Concert Organist: A Collection of Pieces with Registration, Fingering and Pedal Marking; Adapted for Church and Concert Use*. Schubert & Co., the publisher of Eddy’s anthologies, issued a promotional booklet to coincide with the release of the 1909 volume. In the preface to this pamphlet, *Twenty-five Organ Recital Programs by Clarence Eddy*, the respected performer shared his approach toward programming for a larger audience:

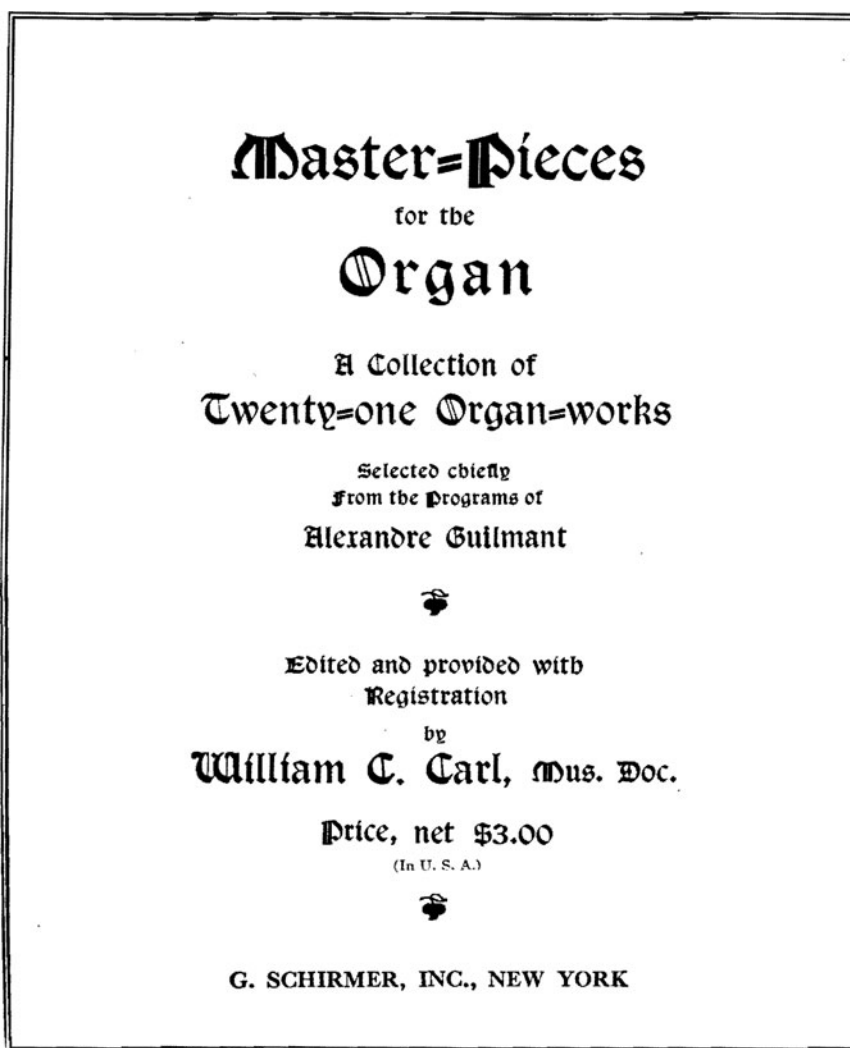
These programmes have been carefully selected and arranged with special regard to *effective contrasts* and progressive interest, the intention being to combine some of the most pleasing and grateful works by the old masters with the best of modern compositions for the organ.

<sup>98</sup>W. S. B. Mathews, “Organ Music at the Fair,” *Music*, November 1893, 84.

<sup>99</sup>Truette, “Editorials,” *Organ*, January 1894, 197. Facsimile edition, 1995.

<sup>100</sup>Carl, *Masterpieces for the Organ*, Preface.

<sup>101</sup>Alexandre Guilmant, “Organ Music and Organ-Playing,” *Forum* 25 (March 1898): 83–89. Reprinted in Alexandre Guilmant, *The Organ Works of Alexandre Guilmant*, vol. 1, ed. Wayne Leupold (Melville, NY: Belwin Mills, 1984), xxv–xxviii.



**Figure 1.** Title page from William Carl's edited volume, *Masterpieces for the Organ: A Collection of Twenty-one Organ-works, Selected Chiefly from the Programs of Alexandre Guilmant*.

Each programme should occupy about one hour and a half, and it is the hope of the arranger that they will prove of value, and possibly serve as a guide to his fellow organists.<sup>102</sup>

All but one of the twenty-five programs feature a free work by Johann Sebastian Bach and eight to ten pieces by mid- to late-nineteenth-century composers from a variety of nationalities. A quarter of the pieces are transcriptions, most of them arranged by Eddy himself.<sup>103</sup> They thus mirror the programming model he established at the fair. Eddy's volumes were reissued numerous times throughout the twentieth century, proving that organists continued to accept and promulgate his philosophy and tastes long after the fair was over.

The World's Fair at Chicago and the publications that had stemmed from it provided the benchmark for organ programming in the decades that followed. Organizers at subsequent expositions in the United States adopted the organ concert series and programming models Eddy established in

<sup>102</sup>Osborne, *Clarence Eddy*, 222–223.

<sup>103</sup>See Osborne, *Clarence Eddy*, 223–232 for a reprint of the programs listed in Schubert's promotional pamphlet.

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<i>Malling, O., op. 48. The Shepherds in the Field</i>	88
<i>Pierné, G., op. 29, No. 2. Cantilène</i>	110
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Figure 2. Table of Contents from William Carl's edited volume, *Masterpieces for the Organ: A Collection of Twenty-one Organ-works, Selected Chiefly from the Programs of Alexandre Guilmant*.

Chicago with great success.<sup>104</sup> Eddy himself was invited to perform at multiple expositions in the early 1900s and Guilmant returned to perform forty recitals at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904.<sup>105</sup> As the new century got underway, organ concerts had become a staple of musical

<sup>104</sup>Osborne describes Eddy's series as model for the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, Osborne, "Roast Beef or Ice Cream," 61. The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis sought to out-do the Chicago Fair with a vastly expanded organ program, however, the programming philosophy was maintained. See John Hylton, "The Music of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition," *College Music Society* 31 (1991): 59–60. Raymond A. Biswanger, "The Story of the Wanamaker Organs, Part One: A Merchant Prince and His Regal Concert Series," in *The American Organist* 22 (September 1988): 52.

<sup>105</sup>Osborne, *Clarence Eddy*, 81–110. Eddy performed at the Pan-American Exposition (Buffalo, 1901), 81; Louisiana Purchase Exposition (St. Louis, 1904), 83; and the Ter-Centennial Exposition (Jamestown, Virginia, 1907), 89; and he gave over thirty-five



life in the United States and it was not uncommon for virtuoso organists to draw audiences in the thousands.<sup>106</sup> As the new century opened, solo organ recitals and touring virtuosos became more and more common and, as a result, choices about concert repertoire became a focal topic. Organists of all persuasions shared philosophies on what constituted a good organ program, prompting a lively debate on the merits of transcriptions versus original organ works in music trade journals such as *The Etude*, *The Musical Courier*, and *The Diapason* in the early twentieth century.<sup>107</sup> At the close of Eddy's career, concert organists began to push their audiences toward a more serious product, mirroring the shift Theodore Thomas had initiated in the symphony concerts at the fair.<sup>108</sup> Nevertheless, the desire to entertain has remained an undeniable aim of the U.S. concert organist and can be counted as one of the myriad legacies of the World's Columbian Exposition.

**Supplementary material.** To view supplementary material for this article, please visit <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196322000013>.

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recitals at the Panama-Pacific Exposition (San Francisco, 1915) 110. He also performed multiple times at the Palais du Trocadéro in Paris during the years 1896–1900 on various series associated with the Exposition Universelle, 63–76. For a reprint of Guilmant's programs at St. Louis, see Ernest Kroeger, *The Forty programs rendered by M. Alexandre Guilmant at Festival Hall, World's Fair, St. Louis* (St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904). Reprinted with foreword by Stephen Pinel (Richmond, VA: Organ Historical Society, 1985).

<sup>106</sup>Craig R. Whitney, *All the Stops: The Glorious Pipe Organ and Its American Masters* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003), 42. One example among many is Belgian organist Charles-Marie Courboin's series of twenty-seven concerts at the Wanamaker Department Store in 1920 that reportedly drew 150,000 attendees. The organ was built by Murray M. Harris for 1904 the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and later installed in the Philadelphia store.

<sup>107</sup>Osborne, "Roast Beef or Ice Cream?" 58–64.

<sup>108</sup>Osborne, *Clarence Eddy*, 134. At the 1922 convention of the National Association of Organists, audiences and critics seemed to favor the slightly heavier program of Lynnwood Farnum to the typically accessible one by Clarence Eddy. Together with Joseph Bonnet and Marcel Dupré, Farnum helped shift tastes to a more serious product in the first third of the twentieth century.

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## Appendix

## Organ Recitalists at the World's Columbian Exposition

Performer name	Number of concerts	City of residence at time of exposition and biographical notes
Clarence Eddy	21	Chicago. Organizer, WCE organ concerts. Foremost concert organist in U.S. Studied with Buck, Haupt (Germany), lived in Europe for many years.
Alexandre Guilmant	4	Paris. Studied with Lemmens, considered most exciting French performer of his day. Succeeded Widor as organ professor of Paris Conservatoire in 1896.
R. Huntington Woodman	4	Brooklyn. Church organist and choral conductor. Studied with Buck and Franck.
Samuel A. Baldwin	3	St. Paul. Would later become organist of City College of NY.
William C. Carl	3	New York. Most active concert organist in U.S. next to Eddy. Organist at Old First Presbyterian Church, NY. Studied with Guilmant. Established Guilmant Organ School in 1899.
Walter E. Hall	3	Pittsburgh. Had previously been organist of Chicago's Church of the Epiphany.
Wilhelm Middleschulte	3	Chicago. RC Cathedral of the Holy Name. German émigré, composer. Studied with Haupt. Often played from memory.
Frank Taft	3	Brooklyn. Favorite student of Eddy's.
George Whiting	3	Boston. Composer and faculty member, New England Conservatory. Studied with W.T. Best.
Harrison M. Wild	3	Chicago. Studied in Leipzig and with Eddy. Conductor for Apollo Club, Mendelssohn Club. Organized weekly recital series at Chicago's Unity Church.
John Fred Wolle	2	Bethlehem, PA. Organist at Moravian Church, later founded Bethlehem Bach Choir. Studied with Rheinberger.
George W. Andrews	1	Oberlin, OH. Faculty, Oberlin Conservatory of Music. Studied with Rheinberger, Guilmant. Founding member of AGO in 1896.
Louis Adolphe Coerne	1	Boston. Orchestral composer. Studied with Paine, Rheinberger. First to receive Ph.D. in music from U.S. university (Harvard, 1905).
Newton J. Corey	1	Detroit. Instructor, Michigan Conservatory of Music.
C. A. W. Howland	1	Detroit. First Unitarian Church. Blind, studied with Rheinberger, Guilmant.
B. J. Lang	1	Boston. Conductor of Handel and Haydn Society. Accomplished pianist (studied with Liszt) and chamber musician. Champion of American music.
Otto Pfefferkorn	1	Chicago. German émigré, primarily pianist.
Thomas Radcliffe	1	Salt Lake City. British émigré, trained in London.
Winthrop S. Sterling	1	Cincinnati. Dean and chair of organ department, Cincinnati College of Music.
Henry Gordon Thunder	1	Philadelphia. Organist of St. Patrick's Church, conductor of Philadelphia Choral Society.
Augustus Stephen Vogt	1	Canada. Important Canadian music teacher. Became founding conductor of Mendelssohn Choir in Toronto in 1894.

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