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Hispanic Society of America

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*The Clavichord in the Bluegrass:
Dolmetsch, Fudge, and Hammer*

Joseph R. Jones

For the gentlemen members of the Cricket Club, for whom this was originally written.

The blacksmith's dog can sleep under the anvil, according to a Spanish proverb that means, roughly, "You can get used to anything." And we twenty-first century Americans, like the blacksmith's dog, are so used to a relentless bombardment of noise that we accept roaring jet airplanes, construction dynamiting, and passing cars that literally throb with the vibration of their stereos as natural manifestations, like the twittering of birds. In pre-Industrial times, such mechanical noises were rare, however, and silence was normal. Human eardrums were sensitive and not yet damaged by blasting stereos, headphones, and rock concerts that require earplugs to protect the aural nerves of performers. In the seventeenth century, if you wanted loud music—for outdoors only—you got a bagpipe, some reed instruments, brasses like trombones, and drums. If you wanted to be entertained or soothed by music, you picked up a wooden flute or a gut-strung lute, or you sang, well under the decibel level of Pavarotti. Early music, in spite of its lower sound level, can be as lively, fast, or sensuous as any modern music. But by our standards, it is strangely subdued. It was for private amusement in "chambers" or, as we would say now, living rooms, not for cavernous auditoria. And two of the most popular instruments for music making before the advent of the large hall, which requires loudness of its performances, were the harpsichord and the clavichord.

If it is a soft and elegant sound that you want, the clavichord is for you. It is, however, so restrained by current sound-measurement that even in the early days of the piano, the late eighteenth century, those who considered the clavichord old fashioned liked to make fun of it by saying that it had a "feeble and waspish sound." The University of Kentucky's first professor of the harpsichord, James Bonn, used to get laughs when he introduced the clavichord to an audience by saying that it has a great dynamic range: from a virtually inaudible *pianississimo* to barely audible *piano*.

The champions of the clavichord, from its rediscovery in the late nineteenth century to the present, have included some of the West's most distinguished artists and critics. When G. B. Shaw, who was a

talented pianist and an important music critic, heard his first clavichord performance in 1894, he published his opinion that the revival of this expressive instrument was of considerably greater cultural importance than the annual Handel festivals, which betrayed the spirit of eighteenth-century music by massing huge choirs and enormous orchestras to produce mere volume. Shaw was expressing the view, widely held among lovers of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music—like Albert Schweitzer—that modern pianos, organs, and orchestras had lost contact with the essentially intimate quality of earlier music and had made it unpalatable and uninteresting by overplaying it. Only the return to instruments for which it had been composed would reveal the beauty and rich emotional content of, to take the most obvious example, Bach, or the lost treasures of the viola da gamba repertory, by Purcell, or the brilliant and forgotten Marin Marais, or the emotional works of famous clavichordists like Carl Phillip Emmanuel Bach. The inherent problem with the clavichord as a candidate for revival is its intimate tone. It is simply not possible to entertain large audiences with such an instrument; and artificial amplification spoils the very effect for which the clavichord was built. The most recent recording techniques do, however, preserve its refined nuances of tone, and perhaps we have now discovered a way in which the clavichord can reach enough listeners to create a new audience for this much-beloved instrument of bygone days.

In one of those bursts of synchronicity that make one wonder about the influence of the stars, there has, since 1996, been a new level of intensity in the small world of clavichord-players and listeners. In that year, Jessica Douglas-Home published a biography of her great-aunt Violet Gordon Woodhouse (1871-1948), whom critics once rated as one of the great keyboard players of the early twentieth century. Mrs. Woodhouse was the first person to make a recording on the harpsichord, and one of the first to record on the clavichord. Her real passion was, in fact, the clavichord, of which she is said to have been the finest player of modern times. There survives only one early recording, of her playing a Bach prelude and fugue, and it confirms, even with its crackling surface noises, the expressive and vital intensity of her playing. Mrs. Woodhouse was, in her day, equally famous for her unconventional life-style: she lived with four men, including her husband, her lover, and two admirers, all of whose surviving letters are a testament to her hypnotic personality. Her life is now also the subject of an opera called *ERACLEA/Violet GW*, premiered in July 2000 by Opera Nova of New York, whose score is taken from the opera *Eraclea* by Alessandro Scarlatti, the father of Mrs. Woodhouse's favorite composer, Domenico Scarlatti.¹ Woodhouse's surviving recordings have been reissued on a compact disc with the subtitle "Great Virtuosi of the

harpichord."² For the harpsichord, the baroque organ, the viola da gamba, and the recorder (flute), the road from revival to full-fledged acceptance as a normal part of the Western musical battery of instruments has been a long one, lasting, in most cases, for over a hundred years. For the recorder, the greater delay in arrival has been partly due to the lack of players who could match the skill and sensitivity of eighteenth-century masters. But the clavichord is still on the road (to continue the metaphor), because there has been no truly great player like Woodhouse whose performances could be captured on disc and made available to a wide audience, as has the incredible virtuosity of artists like the Danish flautist Michala Petri (b. 1958), to take but one example, who has raised recorder playing to a level of perfection that must surely match that of the greatest specialists of the Baroque period. But clavichordists and their supporters are a stubborn and hardy lot, and their struggles to restore their favorite instrument to its deserved place at recitals are an interesting chapter in the history of modern music.

The Bluegrass area of Kentucky is more often associated with the folk and popular songs of Appalachia than with pre-Classical music, and it may seem an unlikely home for pioneers of the clavichord revival. But in fact at least three men with a serious interest in resurrecting the keyboard instruments of the Renaissance and Baroque periods have lived in the Louisville-Lexington area, even if their activities are associated primarily with other sites. The earliest of these pioneers is Arnold Dolmetsch (1858-1940), who spent perhaps a year in Louisville in 1878-79 with his first wife and their baby daughter. Dolmetsch was making his living by tuning pianos, presumably, and Mme. Dolmetsch may have given piano lessons. But neither the Dolmetsch archives in Surrey nor the likeliest sources of information on life in Louisville in the 1870s have turned up any trace of the young couple's stay. Present day early music buffs in Kentucky amuse themselves by speculating about the possibility that, had the Dolmetsch family started a successful music academy in their new home, the center of the early music revival might have been Louisville, Kentucky, instead of Haslemere, Surrey. And the "revolution in domestic instruments" predicted by G. B. Shaw when he heard Dolmetsch's first clavichord might have begun in Kentucky, where there was considerable musical activity throughout the nineteenth century and where there were a number of piano and organ builders active during the time of Dolmetsch's sojourn.³

Another instrument builder with Kentucky connections is Carl Fudge (b. 1929), one of the craftsmen in "the Boston School of Harpsichord Makers"⁴, who used the surviving work of early masters as models for their own new instruments. Fudge grew up in Frankfort,

the capital of Kentucky, where his father was director of the YMCA and his mother a piano teacher. After a career as musician and builder of organs, harpsichords, clavichords, and clavichord kits, Fudge retired from the Boston area and moved back to his family home in Frankfort in the 1980s. In 1999 he sold his house there and moved to Mérida, Yucatan, taking a fine collection of antique and new instruments with him. In Mérida, he was active as a conductor and player, though no longer as a builder. He directed the local baroque orchestra, taught both keyboard and strings, and was awarded a citation of gratitude from the city for his cultural achievements. He recently returned to the United States to live closer to his children. Fudge's much-admired clavichords in kit form are still being produced by Charles Wolff in Canton, Massachusetts.

The least known of the three adopted Kentuckian clavichord pioneers is the Austrian immigrant Victor Hammer (1882-1967). Hammer was born in Vienna, educated in local Jesuit schools and, from age 16 to 24 was a student at the Academy of Fine Arts. Upon graduation, and with a government scholarship, he traveled to Munich, Paris, and Italy to further his studies. In 1913 he briefly associated himself with the important art movement known as the Wiener Sezession, but World War I interrupted his career, and from 1914 to 1918 he was in the Austrian army, traveling as far as Istanbul to carry out his duties as military artist. After the war, while maintaining a studio in Vienna, he rented lodgings in Florence, where he spent part of each year from 1922 to 1933 painting, designing types, producing finely printed books, and pursuing his musical interests. In 1933 and 1934 he worked in London on various commissions, including a private chapel and its furnishings for the noble Grunelius family of Kolbsheim, in Alsace. In 1938 he received an appointment at the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts, but the Nazi-sympathizing administrators suspended his teaching duties, and rather than allow the authorities to abuse his talents, as he himself states it, he and his wife left quietly for Alsace in the summer of 1939 and made their way to America. Hammer taught at Wells College, in Aurora, New York, until his retirement in 1948, when he moved to Lexington, Kentucky, to be artist-in-residence at Transylvania College (founded in 1780) for four years.

Hammer was a man of prodigious talent in many areas. He was a painter, sculptor, type designer, fine printer, binder, and architect, and has left important works in all of these areas, although perhaps his most remarkable success was the design of a typeface called American Uncial, now used all over the world. He was passionately interested in every kind of art, particularly music. He exchanged ideas on aesthetic matters with eminent artists and scholars during his long life, and the names that appear among the addresses and signatures of his surviving

correspondence (now in the libraries of Lincoln Center, the Mannes College of Music, the University of Kentucky, and the Library of Congress), make up a *Who's Who* of personalities in many areas. In the field of music, for example, there are numerous letters exchanged between 1913 and 1927 with the Austrian musicologist Heinrich Schenker (1868-1935), whose portrait Hammer produced in the complicated technique of mezzotint in 1923. Hammer and Schenker discussed wide-ranging matters; but for Hammer it was Schenker's ideas about the basic structure of all art that had caught the painter's attention.

On the subject of music and performance, in 1913 Hammer's letters tell Schenker that he detests the modern piano for its loud, uninteresting sound and prefers earlier types of keyboard instruments. He writes that he owns an antique clavichord, on which his wife is learning to play. This is presumably the large unfretted instrument made by Joseph Luchser now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg. In 1913 Hammer sent it to the Deutsches Museum in Munich for restoration by Otto Frank, and either Hammer or Frank built a new stand for it. Hammer also tells Schenker that he has an 1820 piano by André Stein (son of a famous instrument maker, who founded his own company in Vienna in 1802) and—a most unusual fact—owns a copy of a *fortepiano*. In a later missive (1923) he talks of his pleasure when a friend plays Bach on a lute for him.⁵ According to his widow, Carolyn Reading Hammer, he eventually acquired a harpsichord, of which photographs are said to survive (though I have not seen them).

Between 1913 and 1939, when Hammer left Austria for good, he had assembled a collection of early instruments that must have been unusual for the period: it included the claviers already mentioned as well as an exact copy of his antique clavichord, at least one other clavichord that he had made, and two lutes (which Hammer referred to by the musicological term *Zupfinstrumenten*, or plucked chordophones). There is a photograph (now at the Library of Congress) of a clavichord that is probably the antique one mentioned in the 1913 letter to Schenker and which was later sold to the Rueck piano company of Nuremberg for its museum of ancient instruments. Hammer still had all three clavichords in 1937. At that time, he was apparently trying to find homes for his instruments, anticipating a possible departure, because in 1937, he writes Dr. Otto E. H. Reicher, a poet of some distinction, that he would like to lend Reicher the copy of his antique instrument.⁶ He says that it is already crated and ready to send. It would appear from subsequent events that Reicher did not accept the offer.

In early 1947, after learning of Hammer's whereabouts in America, the head of the Rueck piano company, Ulrich Rueck, wrote to the artist, then at Wells College, giving a brief account of his own life

since 1940 and of his efforts to restore the family business, asking Hammer for news, and recalling pleasant hours that he and his brother had spent at the artist's apartment near the cathedral in Vienna.⁷ He tells the artist that a clavichord, one of four instruments that he had bought from Hammer, has perished in a fire, but that he had managed to save the "the three other instruments" (the Stein piano and two plucked instruments).⁸ He concludes the letter with news of two musical friends, Greta Kraus (1907-1998) and Gabriella ("Yella") Pessl (1906-1991), both of whom were living in North America, and both of whom were currently performing as harpsichordists. Pessl was known as America's "First lady of the harpsichord."⁹

Rueck's family had founded the Pianohaus Wilhelm Rueck in 1892. On its stationery from the 1940s, the Pianohaus advertised the sale of clavichords, harpsichords, spinets, lutes, etc. After Hammer and Rueck renewed their acquaintance in 1947, Hammer designed the company stationery, using his famous Uncial types. The Rueck collection of 1200 playable historical musical instruments,¹⁰ as Rueck tells Hammer,¹¹ had been stored in Sieghartstein Castle during the war, and the American military government had returned it to its owner late in 1946. It was being housed temporarily at the University of Erlangen in Nuremberg.¹² After receiving the letter from Rueck, Hammer immediately answered, sent a "care package" of some kind, and asked his daughter Veronika, the Baroness Oppenheimer, who was still living in Vienna, to contact Rueck. In a grateful response, Rueck repeats the address of Yella Pessl, the harpsichordist, and says that he had received it from his "old friend" Ralph Kirkpatrick (1911-1984), America's greatest native performer on the harpsichord and an eminent musicologist.¹³ A few years later, Hammer corresponded with Kirkpatrick regarding the latter's recordings and his book on Scarlatti. The exchange of letters between the two is preserved at the Library of Congress.

The correspondence between Rueck and Hammer adds substantially to information about Hammer's circle of musical friends in pre-World War II Vienna. It included collectors and purveyors of pre-Classical instruments (the Rueck brothers), a famous musicologist (Schenker), and performers of early music (Krauss, Pessl, and the lutenist Hans Weisse, whose portrait Hammer painted and who composed music for Hammer). There were also two world-class personalities, the pianist Rudolf Serkin (1903-1991) and the violinist and conductor Adolf Busch (1891-1952).¹⁴ Two other publications add details to the picture of Hammer's musical life. Rudolf Koch, (1876-1934) a famous letterer and type designer, and head of an arts community in Offenbach (the Offenbacher Werkstatt) in 1930 recalls Hammer strumming the lute, copying lute tablature, and playing a clavichord

which "he built himself with the help of a cabinetmaker" in Florence named Pratesi.¹⁵ Mrs. Hammer believes that her husband actually taught lute briefly during his stay in London in 1933-34. Sir John Rothenstein (1901-1992), the British art historian and director of the Tate Gallery from 1938 to 1964, who early in his career, in 1927, taught at the University of Kentucky at Lexington and whose wife, Elizabeth Smith, was from Lexington, says that Hammer corresponded with Dr. Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965), whose views on the superiority of early musical instruments would have found a supporter in Hammer,¹⁶ and that the artist, urged by Schweitzer, formed a plan to produce affordable clavichords.¹⁷



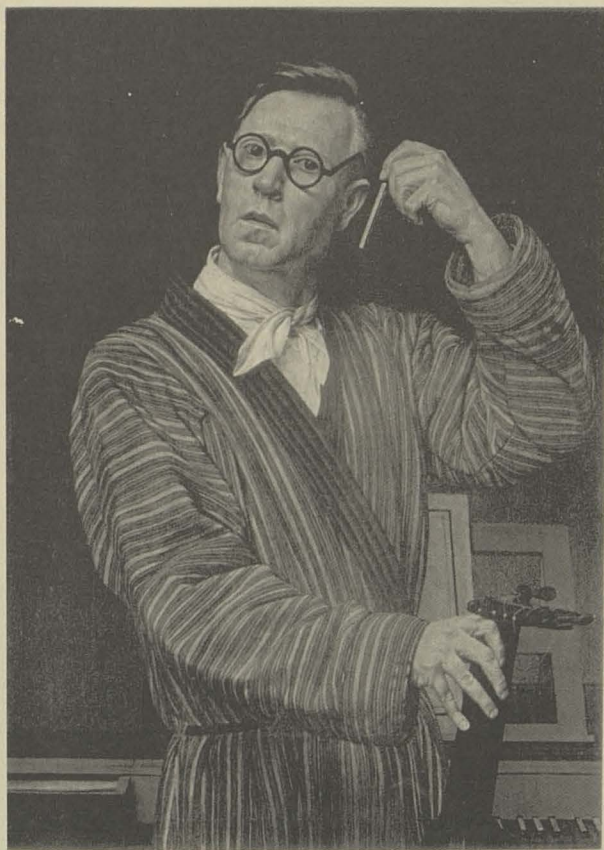
The Opus 2

Both Schweitzer and Hammer perceived that the instruments for which great composers like Bach wrote their works were the only ones that could reveal the profundity of the ideas in such great art. Both men also revered the craftsmanship and techniques that had been lost with the disappearance of the instruments themselves. Mrs. Hammer is convinced that it was in consultation with Schweitzer that the artist designed and built at least two instruments. The only one that survives, or at least that is now identifiable, is "Opus 2," built in Florence. The label on the clavichord reads "Victor Hammer / Opus 2 / Arcetri Firenze."

It is undated, but Opus 2 appears in the background of a self-portrait painted in Florence in 1924.¹⁸

Hammer had taken the clavichord back to Vienna by 1933, but

had to abandon it with all his belongings when he left Austria in 1939. He believed that it had been destroyed with his other possessions, but he received a pleasant shock when it and its companion reappeared in Aurora, New York, in 1948 with a load of personal effects, including music,¹⁹ recovered from Nazi confiscations. Hammer sold one of the two instruments to a Chicago publisher and music lover named Henry

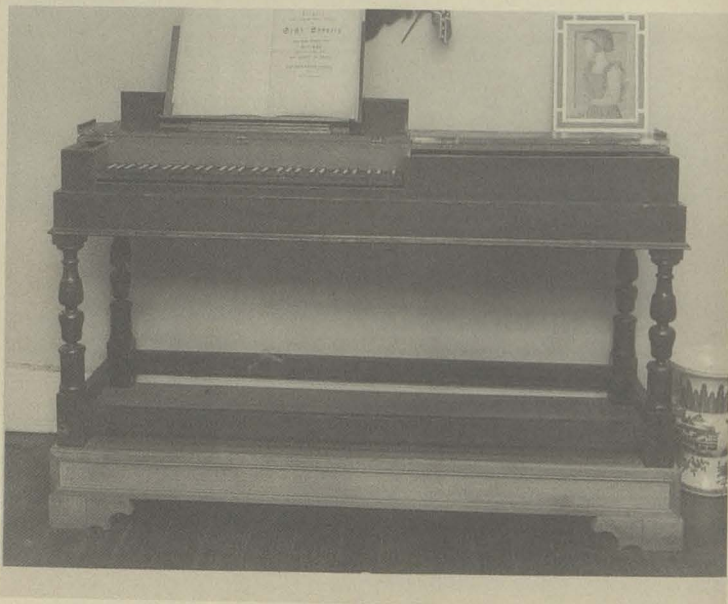


Regnery (1912-1996) in 1948.²⁰ Unless Hammer built more than two instruments in Florence, the one sent to Chicago must be the copy that the artist had once tried to lend to his friend Reicher. It has disappeared again. Regnery's son does not know of the whereabouts of the instrument, according to Mrs. Hammer.

Hammer was extremely proud of *Opus 2*, and he painted himself standing in front of it, tuning a lute, with his head cocked to

one side as he listens intently to a tuning fork. The symbolism of the picture is obscure and personal, but it undoubtedly suggests at least the following ideas: that Hammer prefers the music and instruments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (the great centuries of the lute and clavichord); that he loves the kind of music intended for private recreation (Hammer is in a dressing gown); and that music is a universal art based on mathematical proportions (the *Stimmgabel* or tuning fork). The picture is also Hammer's tribute to great painters of the seventeenth century, like Vermeer, who frequently show domestic scenes with a keyboard instrument as a symbol of harmony. And it is an ironical answer to the faintly embarrassing portraits of musicians like Gluck, who are shown listening with rapture to the invisible Muse, eyes turned heavenward. Hammer, in contrast, is staring straight at the viewer (or perhaps at a mirror, since the image of the clavichord is reversed), inspired by reason and the discipline of craftsmanship, not by heavenly strains. Hammer was actually fascinated by the Muses as symbols of the unity of art, and it was his intention to paint the underside of *Opus 2*'s cover with a picture of the Olympian ladies. He eventually painted them in 1948—but not, alas, on the clavichord.

It is of some interest to note that the iconographical studies of the clavichord by Swiss performer and musicologist Bernard Brauchli



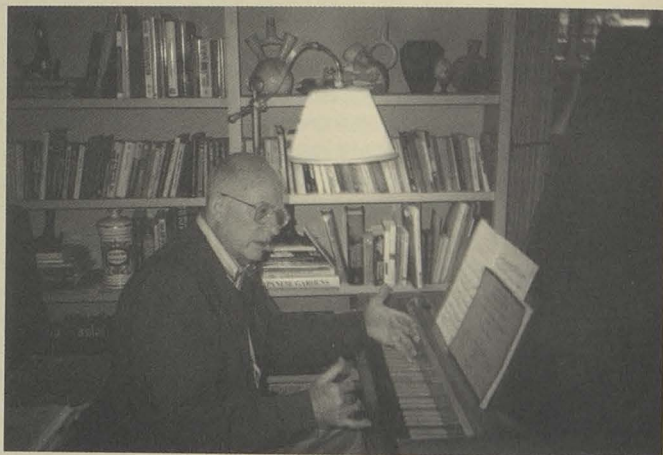
The Opus 2 as it stood in the Hunt Morgan House. Note the raised platform.

(b. 1944) have no pictures of the clavichord in a significant work of art (as opposed to drawings intended for technical purposes or in historical recreations) after 1856. So Hammer's portrait is something of a landmark in the sub-genre of the depiction of musical instruments.²¹ Hammer kept the instrument in his house in Lexington, now called the Hunt-Morgan House: a fine Federal mansion (1814) named after its most famous owners, a Confederate general and a Nobel laureate in biology. The artist played in seventeenth-century fashion, standing up, with the instrument raised on a now-disappeared platform. He moved it to his "new" residence in Gratz Park (known as the Peter Paul house, ca. 1816) in 1955. Opus 2 stood in the entrance hall there for three decades, its dull black-green case concealing the scarlet interior trim (its outside measurements are: 1.66 meters long, .56 wide, and .84 tall; the case is .25 deep; compass: FF-g''').

A few years after the artist's death in 1967, Mrs. Hammer asked University of Kentucky harpsichord professor James Bonn (b.1937) to tune and repair the instrument.²² This unexpected revelation of a local interest in clavichord music encouraged Bonn to give a recital for the university community in 1970, the first public recital on a clavichord in Kentucky (or at least the first of which I am aware). Even in the small auditorium available, however, the sound of Bonn's instrument was hardly large enough, and the audience was so silent and straining so hard to concentrate that when Bonn, after finishing the last piece, turned and spoke in a normal voice, the members of the audience jumped as if he had fired a gun. Had Bonn not left Lexington for a post at the University of Southern California, Hammer's instrument might well have come into the University of Kentucky's small collection of historic instruments, which includes John Jacob Niles' dulcimers, as well as two modern harpsichords and a clavichord. Mrs. Hammer gave the instrument to the piano department of the University in 1984. But since the instrument must be constantly tuned to stay at standard pitch (a pitch that Hammer may not have intended the instrument to maintain), the piano faculty decided to "de-access" this historically interesting example of work by a world-famous artist, and thus it came to me. Carl Fudge's student David Sumrell, an excellent player and builder, and currently a technician for the Baldwin Piano Company in New York, repaired and restrung Opus 2 in 1989 and inaugurated it with an intimate recital that would have gladdened Hammer's heart. And in November of 1999, Fudge himself examined and played on the instrument and pronounced it still good, in spite of its now warped and cracked soundboard, and the rattling of key-levers in the rack.

Opus 2 is of historical significance because it may be the earliest modern instrument produced in Italy or by an Austrian builder.

It is symbolic of the devotion of those hardy souls, like Schweitzer, in German-speaking countries, who strove to restore early instruments to their rightful place in the normal performance of the music composed for them, and, specifically, to make the clavichord, the most popular private keyboard instrument in Central Europe before the early nineteenth century, available once again. Hammer's decision to portray himself with the Opus 2 clavichord was his way of recording for posterity his own place in the movement to revive the best of pre-Classical musical culture. His meticulous copy of an eighteenth-century instrument antedates by a quarter of a century the earliest instruments of Hubbard and Dowd, the leading American "post-revival" builders, whose productions would eventually include clavichords, and whose



Carl Fudge

scholarly copies would alter permanently this century's way of approaching the early keyboard sound, technique, and repertory. And Opus 2 was the catalyst for the first public clavichord recital in Kentucky about which I can find any evidence. So it is—thanks to Victor Hammer—that the expressive voice of the clavichord has been sounding in the Bluegrass, for a small but appreciative group of listeners, for over half a century.²³

Notes

1. Opera Nova's production of *ERACLEA/VioletGW* employed music from Scarlatti's 1700 opera *Eraclea* (unheard in 300 years apart from a few academic performances in the 1970s), realized and arranged by Susan Stoderl to accompany a story and libretto by Robert Turner, based on

-
- incidents in the life of Violet Gordon Woodhouse. The work was performed at the Producers' Club Theatre in New York City, 12-16 July 2000. (E-mail message, 6 March 2001, from Robert Turner, Co-Director of Opera Nova.)
2. The interested reader may consult the Internet for the growing list of CDs of works performed on the clavichord, and this writer suggests, to any who may wish to hear splendid playing, the recordings of Richard Troeger, an American trained at Indiana University.
 3. On Dolmetsch's first visit to the US and on Shaw, see Larry Palmer, *Harpsichord in America: A Twentieth Century Revival* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 14-15.
 4. Palmer, p. 141.
 5. This information comes from summaries of letters from Victor Hammer to Heinrich Schenker dated 12 and 17 September 1913, and 22 October 1923. I wish to thank the Rev. Dr. Paul Holbrook for the use of his summaries of the letters that are now at the Library of Congress, and for sharing his incomparable knowledge of Hammer, his family, and his circle. I would also like thank Ruth Foss, of the Music Division of the Library of Congress (who is herself an accomplished harpsichordist), for her assistance in obtaining copies of letters and photos from the Hammer archives, cited hereafter.
 6. Victor Hammer to Otto Reicher, 5 September 1937, Library of Congress.
 7. Ulrich Rueck to Victor Hammer, 9 January 1947, Library of Congress.
 8. I am unable to reconcile Rueck's statement about the burned instrument with the fact that Hammer's antique clavichord survives in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum collection.
 9. For a brief account of Pessl's career, see Palmer, 106-110, whose biography is based on Catherine Dower's *Yella Pessl, First Lady of the Harpsichord: A Life of Fire and Conviction* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992). Mrs. Hammer recalls that she and her husband met Pessl by chance at the University of North Carolina in 1956, when the Hammers attended a recital by Mischa Mischakoff and Pessl. (Dower, 104) Pessl recognized Hammer and greeted him warmly, but Mischakoff warned the Hammers that Pessl was suffering from serious mental problems that did not affect her playing or teaching but blighted the last years of her life. She died in 1991. Kraus (b. Vienna 1907) became a well-known performer and director of the Toronto Collegium Musicum. See Don L. Hixon and Don Hennessee, *Women in Music* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1993), p. 594.
 10. Ulrich Rueck to Victor Hammer, 31 August 1953, Library of Congress.
 11. Ulrich Rueck to Victor Hammer, 9 January 1947, Library of Congress.
 12. Dr. Thomas Roeder, of the Institut fuer Musikwissenschaft at Erlangen, in an e-mail message dated 18 Jan 1999, says the following: "The Rueck collection . . . was in fact housed at the university of Erlangen until 1957, when it was moved to Nuremberg and finally sold to the Germanisches Nationalmuseum there. Some 50 instruments of minor interest are still at Erlangen. The main body is stored at the above-mentioned museum; great parts are on permanent exhibition there."
 13. There are three more letters from Rueck in the Library of Congress collection. On 31 August 1953 Rueck writes on the new stationery

printed by Hammer that he enjoyed renewing acquaintance by telephone if not by a meeting in person, and sending the address of Lonny Epstein, a performer to whom Rueck had sent a copy of a Mozart fortepiano. In December he sends Christmas and New Year's greetings. And finally, in February of 1956, he congratulates Hammer on his marriage the previous year to Carolyn Reading of Lexington, thanks him for a box of China tea, and mentions that he is himself 73 years old. This is the last preserved letter from Rueck.

14. The information on Weisse comes from John Rothenstein (see note 17 below), p. 27. Rothenstein also says that Hammer, Serkin, and Busch were friends in Florence. But it seems likelier to have been in Vienna, where both performers spent time before emigrating, first to Switzerland and then, in 1939, to the USA. Busch is now less well known, but in his day he was famous for his interpretation of Bach and Handel. Serkin, Busch's son-in-law, was an outstanding player of Bach. Serkin visited Hammer in Lexington and played the clavichord for old times' sake, then invited Hammer and his wife to stay at his house at Marlboro. Serkin also owned the wonderful preliminary drawing of Thomas Merton (Hammer's close friend) for the now-disappeared portrait of the famous Trappist.
15. From Rudolf Koch's pamphlet *Wer ist Victor Hammer?* (ca. 1930), translated by Ulrich Middeldorf for *Victor Hammer: An Artist's Testament* (Lexington: Anvil Press, 1988), p. 25.
16. In 1896, Schweitzer decided that modern factory-built organs were inferior to the older organs while listening to a new instrument at Stuttgart (Charles R. Joy, *Music in the Life of Albert Schweitzer* [Boston: Beacon Hill Press, 1951], p.27). This experience inspired him to begin the study of older construction methods. He published his findings in 1906 and began a drive to stop the destruction of old instruments in the craze for larger and louder organs. In 1909 Schweitzer spoke at a meeting of the International Music Society in Vienna (where Hammer might have heard or met him) and introduced a 50-page set of regulations for organ builders. In 1927, when a German publisher reissued his 1906 book, Schweitzer wrote an epilogue in which he reviewed the intervening years and concludes, "Today the fight is won." (206) Schweitzer was in Africa from 1913 to 1917, when he was taken to France as a prisoner of war, and again from 1929-31 and 1933-59, with many visits to Europe. Hammer might have met him during any of these periods. Schweitzer won the Nobel Prize in 1953. I wish to thank the Schweitzer Foundation's Archives Centrales at Gunsbach for searching their files, with no results, for any mention of Hammer. The librarian adds in a message that Schweitzer showed "no particular interest for clavichords." (E-mail message 25 July 1999.) Schweitzer did have an interest in the harpsichord, however, according to Alice Ehlers, a Viennese and a pupil of Landowska, who had an illustrious career in the United States as a performer and teacher. In 1928, Ehlers met Schweitzer and took her harpsichord to the Schweitzer's residence in Gunsbach (in Alsace, near Colmar) to play for Dr. and Mrs. Schweitzer. She spent several other summers visiting the family. (*The Albert Schweitzer Jubilee Book*, ed. A. A. Roback

- [Cambridge, Mass.: Sciart, 1945], p. 226-8.) Since Hammer destroyed much of his correspondence when he left Austria, apparently to protect his correspondents, it is now impossible to document Schweitzer's part in Hammer's activity as a reviver of the clavichord.
17. John Rothenstein, *Victor Hammer: Artist and Craftsman* (Boston: Godine, 1978), p. 27: "While living in Florence, encouraged by Albert Schweitzer with whom he was in correspondence, he designed and built two clavichords as models for possible manufacture. Schweitzer felt that the clavichord and the harpsichord were 'lost' instruments and that the interest in the playing of them could be revived if they were available at reasonable cost. Their project was never accomplished; years later Hammer was amused, and gratified, to learn that harpsichords could now be had in 'kits.'" It is Rothenstein who names the cabinetmaker who helped Hammer in Florence and who was still alive when Hammer returned for a visit in 1957: Ezio Pratesi (p. 17). I am grateful to Dr. James Birchfield for his help with Rothenstein's work and with other matters pertaining to the culture, history, and genealogy of the Bluegrass area.
 18. The dating of surviving modern clavichords in Italy and Austria is still incomplete, but it appears that Hammer may be the earliest builder in Italy and Austria, if one may use him to represent both areas. Lothar Bemann, of the German Clavichord Society, and an authority on the history of the instrument in Germany, is unaware of any *Austrian* makers of clavichords between the end of the original period of the instrument and Hammer's day. The earliest modern German instruments that survive are from 1926, although there is an advertisement for clavichords by Pfeiffer of Stuttgart, ca. 1913, which indicates that Pfeiffer anticipated Hammer's efforts. (E-mail message, 2 August 1999, from Lothar Bemann.)
 19. Hammer's surviving printed music collection, considering only those materials that predate his emigration in 1939, include the works of J. S. Bach, C.P.E. Bach (edited by Schenker in 1902), Handel, and Haydn. Hammer often hand-bound the music in elegant covers. He also left a substantial number of music manuscripts, including 16th century *basses dances*, lute tablature, and works on early music, music theory (e.g., Helmholtz), and method-books for the lute (e.g., Giesbert, 1940).
 20. Henry Regnery to Victor Hammer, 11 August 1948, Library of Congress.
 21. Emmanuel Khuner bought the portrait in Vienna at an unknown date, then took it to New York; it was in the possession of the Khuner family in 1978 (according to Rothenstein, 56). Its current location is unknown. On iconography, see Bernard Brauchli, *The Clavichord* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Appendix I, esp. p. 294. Brauchli has added substantially to this iconography in *De Clavichordio* (the proceedings of the International Clavichord Symposium, 1993-), edited by him with Susan Brauchli and Alberto Galazzo.
 22. Bonn, with degrees from the University of Minnesota and the Manhattan School, studied harpsichord with Gustav Leonhardt and, according to Bonn, had "two [clavichord] lessons with Leonhardt on [an instrument that stood on] the landing of his front staircase in Amsterdam." Bonn considers himself to be a self-taught clavichordist. After moving

from Lexington to California, he gave three more public performances on the clavichord before his retirement from the University of Southern California in 1999. His personal instrument was built by David Way, but he has also used antique instruments from the Metropolitan Museum and the Smithsonian, as well as the Colt and Finchcocks collections in England on recordings and in concert. Since there are apparently no records of Bonn's clavichord recital, it is not clear whether he borrowed Hammer's instrument or whether he located another clavichord for the recital.

23. It is impossible to express adequately my gratitude to Mrs. Carolyn Reading Hammer for her advice, information, access to her library, and generous gifts, including some of Hammer's bound sheet music, drawings, and photographs—and the Opus 2 clavichord itself.