

The "Guittar" In Britain 1753 - 1800

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Introduction

During the 1750s an instrument commonly called the "guittar" became immensely popular in Britain. This was not a guitar as we know it today but a close relative of the cittern:

"Although the guittar came in a variety of designs, most of the surviving examples share the following features: a pear-shaped body with a flat back and a string-length of 42cm; six courses of metal strings, the bottom two being single-strung and the upper four in unison pairs; watch-key tuning, which replaced peg tuning; twelve chromatically placed brass frets; and as a means of transposing song accompaniments, holes drilled through the fingerboard between the first four frets, through which a *capo tasto* could be fixed"¹ (Coggin 1987, p. 205; see also Armstrong 1908, pp. 5-24, Walsh 1987 and the interesting video by David Kirkpatrick on [YouTube](#)).

In the decades before the 1750s plucked string instruments had been totally out of fashion. Only since 1756 an immense flood of books containing music for the "guittar" was published in England and Scotland and it remained in use for more fifty years. During the early years of the 19th century this instrument fell into obscurity and was then replaced by the new six-stringed Spanish guitar.

The following text is an attempt at a history of this instrument. Much of the information used here is taken from contemporary newspaper adverts which were immensely helpful, especially those from the *17th - 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers*. The guittar was of course also quite popular in North America (see Rossi 2001) but I had to leave that out and limit myself to the development in Britain. Throughout this work I use the term "guittar", with two "t"-s that was common for most of the time. "Guitar" with one "t" also occurred regularly but not so often. The term "English guit(t)ar" came into use only late in the 18th century, mostly to distinguish it from the Spanish guitar.

In the first part I will deal with the instrument's introduction in 1753 and its history until the early '60s. The major protagonists are the actress Maria Macklin who was the first one to play it on stage, Mr. Thomas Call, the first known teacher of the guittar and instrument maker Frederick Hintz who may have been its inventor. Additionally there is a brief overview of the guittar literature published between 1756 and 1763. The second part includes a short account of the history of the guittar until the end of the century as well as chapters about the so-called "Piano Forte Guittar" and about the music teacher and instrument maker Edward Light. Part III is an extensive bibliography of the guittar literature published until 1763 while part IV offers some biographical sketches of some musicians who have written music for this instrument.

1. Coggin 1987, p. 205; see also Armstrong 1908, pp. 5-24, Walsh 1987 and the interesting video by David Kirkpatrick at [YouTube](#).

I. The "Guittar" In Britain 1753 – 1763

1. Miss Macklin And Her Pandola

"The guitar became all the rage in consequence of Miss Macklin having played on that instrument in 'The Chances'. Advertisements accordingly appeared, offering to give instruction on 'the Citter, otherwise Guittar, otherwise Lute or Pandola'" (James Hutton 1857²).

In fact young actress Maria Macklin³ (c1733-1781), daughter of Charles Macklin, played this instrument first in 1753 in *The Englishman in Paris*, a "Comedy of Two Acts" by Samuel Foote. Playwright Foote had been in Paris. There he had witnessed "the ridiculous behaviour of his country-folk in France and their absurd attempts at aping foreign ways and habits" and so he wrote this *farce*. Charles Macklin had taken great care to give his daughter the best possible education and this was her first major role. The part of "Lucinda" was created especially for Miss Macklin so she could show her abilities as a singer, dancer and instrumentalist⁴.

The successful première of *The Englishman in Paris* took place on March 24, 1753 at *Covent Garden*⁵. The play was well received and Miss Macklin's performance captivated the audience. Francis Delaval noted in a letter to his brother John:

"I just come home from Mr. Foote's farce, which went off with applause. Miss Macklin danced a minuet, played on the 'pandola', and accompanied it with an Italian song, all which she performed with much elegance"⁶.

In fall that year the Macklins joined David Garrick's company and Foote's play was then performed regularly and with great success at *Drury Lane* during the next seasons⁷. The following year Garrick also revised *The Chances*, an old piece by Sir John Fletcher. The première was on November 7, 1754 and the actors were "Dress'd after the Old Italian and Spanish Manner"⁸. Miss Macklin played the role of the "First Constantia" and was allowed to repeat her performance on the pandola.

2. [P. 318](#).

3. See BDA 10, p. 33 – 37.

4. See Fitzgerald 1910, [p. 105](#), Cook 1805, [pp. 66-7](#), Appleton 1960, p. 96.

5. Public Advertiser, March 24, 1753, GDN Z2001065056 (BBCN); London Stage 4.1, p. 360.

6. Delaval Manuscripts, [p. 201](#), Appleton 1960, p.96.

7. See London Stage 4.1, p.385, BDA 10, p. 33.

8. London Stage 4.1, p. 450, Public Advertiser, November 7, 1754, GDN Z2001068639 (BBCN).

Why was the guittar at this time called the "pandola"? In fact the pandola was another fashionable exotic instrument that had been introduced in England by one Nicolas Cloes some years earlier. Nothing is known about Mr. Cloes. He most likely was a travelling performer from the continent, perhaps from Germany, France or the Low Countries, who only came to Britain every few years. In the late '40s he compiled a book of *One Hundred French Songs Set for a Voice, German Flute, Harpsichord and Pandola* for publisher John Walsh and dedicated it to "Their Royal Highness The Prince and Princess of Wales"⁹. This was the only book ever published for the "pandola" but there were no special arrangements, the music only "consists of just a treble clef vocal line and a figured bass for the harpsichord. The other instruments are alternatives to the voice" (Tyler/Sparks, p. 30).

For the next couple of years nothing was heard of him but on March 22, 1753 - two days before the premiere of *The Englishman In Paris* - a "Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick" took place in London. This was a benefit show for Mr. Cloes, who - according to the advert - "will accompany with the Pandola the chief Airs"¹⁰. In December 1754 he was with his wife and son in Dublin for another benefit, a "Comic Concert. Vocal Parts by Signor, Signora and Master Cloes [...] Signor Cloes will accompany the Songs with a new Instrument, called the Pandola". But from the advert in the Dublin Journal we also learn that he was "Musician to H.R.H, the late Prince of Wales [...] "who had the Honour of teaching the Princess of Wales the Instrument, called, the Pandola"¹¹.

Then he vanished once again only to reappear nearly eight years later when he placed a message "To the Lovers of the Pandola or Guittar" in the *Public Advertiser* on January 12, 1762¹²:

"Mr. Cloes having been intreated by many of the Nobility, Gentry, and others to return to England, on order to give his Instructions on the Pandola, gives the Public this Notice, that he may be spoken with at Mr. Lombardi's, Operator for the Teeth, in the Haymarket, near St. James's. N. B. The Guittar or Citron being an Instrument that has been found very deficient in many Cafes, especially in regard to its being confined to one key only, as well as that it has not answered the first design, which was that of accompanying the Voice, has made several Persons lay it aside, and has taken to the Pandola. It is an Instrument far superior to the Guittar, on account of its playing in several Keys, and accompanies the Voice most agreeably. This instrument is taught in the same Manner, and with the same Ease, Grace, and Expedition, as the Guittar".

But at this point he was much too late and had no more chance to promote his instrument because in the meantime the guittar had become so immensely popular. Since then Mr. Cloes was never seen or heard of again. It should be clear that the pandola was not a guittar. Miss Macklin - or whoever was responsible - only borrowed that name for her new instrument. The term "pandola" was then quickly forgotten and later never used again.

9. See the first advert: *General Advertiser*, January 4, 1749, GDN Z2000419104 (BBCN); see also Smith/Humphries, Walsh, p. 85-6, Nos. 382 & 383 and [Copac](#).

10. See *Public Advertiser*, March 19, 1753, GDN Z2001065030 (BBCN).

11. Quoted from Boydell, DMC, p. 203.

12. GDN Z2001083608 (BBCN).

When in October 1759 *The Englishman In Paris* was first staged in Dublin an otherwise unknown Miss Rosco played the role of "Lucinda, with the Song, Guitar and Minuet"¹³. In 1761 the play was performed again at *Drury Lane* and in the advert it was announced "Miss Macklin will sing a song and accompany herself on the Guittar"¹⁴.

By all accounts Maria Macklin was the first to play a guittar on stage. Her performances since March 1753 first at *Covent Garden* and then at *Drury Lane* helped to popularize this instrument and her name remained connected to the guittar. As late as 1768 she played it once again. Another revival of Foote's farce at a benefit for Irish actor Robert Mahon included "a Minuet and Duetto, accompanied with two Guitars, by Miss Macklin and Mr. Mahoon [sic!]"¹⁵.

2. Thomas Call And Other Early Guittar Teachers

The first one to offer lessons for the guittar was one Thomas Call in London in 1754. His first advert appeared on March 2, 1754 in the *Public Advertiser*¹⁶:

"Ladies or Gentlemen desirous to learn to play on the Citter, otherwise Guittar, may hear of a Person who teaches the instrument [...] This instrument differs nothing from the Mandalien [sic!], unless in Tuning; easier to play, and yet more copious, having two Strings more than the Mandalien. It's a very proper instrument [...] especially to such Ladies as find the harpsichord too difficult for them, it being a pleasant melodious Musick, adapted to the Voice and delightful to sing with [...]"

Being a music teacher was a hard job at that time. They didn't earn much and were always looking for new clientele among the upper classes, those who could afford to pay private teachers¹⁷. Not at least many of their students were not necessarily musically gifted. Mr. Call was here clearly testing the market and tried to promote this new instrument by emphasizing its advantages and comparing it to the "mandalien" that was obviously a little better known at that time. His target group were the amateurs looking for an easy instrument to play and to sing with, not at least those who found "the harpsichord too difficult for them". Though the guittar was later played mostly by women his advert was still directed at "Ladies or Gentlemen".

A new advert appeared some months later in the *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, August 1, 1754 - August 3, 1754¹⁸:

13. Boydell, DMC p. 252.

14. Public Advertiser, April 17, 1761, GDN Z2001081561 (BBCN).

15. Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, April 26, 1768, GDN Z2000360906 (BBCN).

16. GDN Z2001067114, also Public Advertiser, May 15, 1754, GDN Z2001067557 (BBCN).

17. See Leppert 1985.

18. GDN Z2001652088 (BBCN).

"As the Instrument call'd the Citter, otherwise guittar, becomes so universally approved by those Ladies and Gentlemen, that have learn'd it, as being so engaging for private Amusement, so easy to sing with, and so soon learn'd, make many Ladies and Gentlemen desirous also of learning the same [...] This Instrument is much of the Nature of the Pandole, or Mandaleine, but by it's being otherwise tun'd, and having two Strings more than the Pandole, makes it have a greater Compass, and much easier to play."

Most interesting here is the comparison to the "Pandole". But I think Mr. Cloes would have surely disagreed with the claim that the guittar had "a greater Compass" than his own pandola. Strangely this teacher didn't mention his name in his two first two adverts. But from the next one published on April 8, 1755 in the *Public Advertiser*¹⁹ we learn that he was Mr. Call, "Teacher of the Citter, otherwise guittar, otherwise Pandola":

"[...] he having had the Honour of teaching many Ladies and Gentlemen of Rank, and also Miss Macklin, this being the Instrument which she plays in the Chances, and in the Englishman in Paris. As it is so universally approved by those who have learnt it or heard it, it would be needless to say any more of it than this, that it is portable, soothing, and pleasant; and it can be tuned several different Ways, I teach it either in Italian, Spanish, or German Manner."

It seems at that time different tunings for the guittar were common, although later it was usually played mostly in "C". Interestingly here he claimed for the very first time that he had taught Maria Macklin to play that instrument. At that time both *The Englishman in Paris* and *The Chances* were still performed at *Drury Lane*²⁰. It is surely possible that Thomas Call had been one of the teachers hired by Macklin, sen. to educate his daughter. It is only a little bit surprising that he didn't refer to her in his first two adverts.

Since then he advertised regularly and never forgot to note that the guittar was "the very identical Instrument which is play'd on in the Chances and in the Englishman in Paris" and that he "is the only Person who has, and still continues to teach Miss Macklin, this and other Particulars relating the Grounds of Musick"²¹. But the competition was close and other teachers were also offering their services in adverts, like a Mr. Alexander in the *Public Advertiser* on December 30, 1755²²:

"Any Noblemen, Ladies, Gentlemen, or others, that are desirous to learn to play on the Instrument upon which Miss Macklin plays on the Stage, may be instructed therein in an elegant, concise, musical Manner by a proper Master of upwards of thirty Years of Experience on the said instrument. He has had the honour to teach several of the Nobility and entry, who after trying other Masters, have declared that his Method both of teaching and playing, was much superior to any of the others [...]"

19. GDN Z2001069589 (BBCN).

20. See f. ex. *Public Advertiser*, February 4, 1755, GDN Z2001069184 and April 7, 1755, GDN Z2001069579 (BBCN).

21. See *Public Advertiser*, September 24, 1755, GDN Z2001070603 (BBCN).

22. GDN Z2001071178 (BBCN).

He also referred to Miss Macklin but didn't claim to be her teacher. Thomas Call reacted quickly and placed another ad in the *Public Advertiser* on January 12, 1756²³:

"To the Nobility and Gentry in general that are desirous to learn the Citter, or Guittar, otherwise Lute or Pandola [...] Mr.Call begs Leave to inform them that he has a peculiar Method of teaching the fingering Part of this Instrument, different from any other Teacher that has yet appeared in public, whereby the more difficult Parts of Music can with more Ease and Quickness be performed that what has hitherto been taught by others. Such Ladies as are inclined to learn it, may be taught both by Musical Notes and Tablature in so demonstrative a Manner as not to be subject of Errors; and can in short Time furnish them with the true Knowledge and Ground of this Instrument, as being sufficiently acquainted with the Grounds of Music, and a teacher of the Harpsichord. Ladies who chuse the Use of he instrument for learning on, might be supplied with one at a very small expence [...]"

The next month he also announced that he "teaches this Instrument in a different and more authentic Plan than any other Teacher that has yet appeared in Public, and in six different ways of tuning"²⁴. Nonetheless other music teachers took the chance and jumped on the bandwagon like for example the "Gentlewoman who has practised the Guittar for many years Abroad, teaches at present in the most compleat Manner and easiest Terms"²⁵. I only wonder what kind of instrument this lady had played "for many years abroad". It can't have been this new guittar.

Musicians of all kinds also were forced to make themselves familiar with this instrument. "Professionals [...] had to be able to play any exotic instrument their aristocratic pupils wished to learn"²⁶. A typical example was violin virtuoso Giovanni Battista Marella. He had worked in Dublin as a conductor and instrumentalist between 1750 and 1754 and then moved to London. There is no evidence that he had used the guittar during his time in Ireland. He must have learned to play it shortly after he his arrival in England. It also seems that he was the first professional musician who played the guittar in a concert. His first documented performance with that instrument was in Oxford on December 2, 1756:

"For the Benefit of Mr. Orthman, On Thursday the Second of December will be performed in the Music Room, a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music; the Principal Violin by the celebrated Signior Marella; who, by particular Desire, will perform on the Viola d'Amour and Guittar"²⁷.

The phrase "by particular Desire" suggests that he had played it in public already earlier. There is also good reason to assume that at that time he was already working as a teacher for the guittar. Popular

23. GDN Z2001071236 (BBCN).

24. *Public Advertiser*, February 28, 1756, GDN Z2001071446 (BBCN).

25. *Public Advertiser*, November 13, 1756, GDN Z2001072589 (BBCN).

26. Holman 2010, p. 163.

27. *Oxford Journal*, November 27, 1756, p. 3 (BNA).

musicians like Marella didn't need to place adverts in newspapers, they were able to find their students in more informal ways.

The guittar quickly became popular all over England and Scotland. In 1758 young Charles Claggett²⁸ from Ireland was in Newcastle where he taught not only the violin and violoncello but also the "Guitar" and "Citra"²⁹. His brother Walter (1742 - 1798) , "Musician and Dancing-Master", happened to be in Bath that year where he offered to instruct the "Ladies and Gentlemen" in "Dancing, And the use of the following Instruments, viz. The Violin, Violoncello, Guitar, German Flute, Likewise Tunes, Harpsichords, and Spinetts"³⁰. Mr. Roche, a "Music Master" from Germany arrived in Aberdeen in 1758. Besides "the Fiddle, the German Flute, the Hautboy, Basson, Violoncello, French Horn, etc" he also taught "Singing and the Guittar"³¹ .

Music publisher Robert Bremner from Edinburgh had sent his son to study guittar with famous composer and violinist Francesco Geminiani³² and in 1759 Bremner, jun. had "given up everything else to teach that instrument and had not an hour to spare this eleven months"³³. Italian violin player Olivieri had arrived in London in 1756 but moved to Edinburgh two years later and settled here. In 1759 he also offered his services as a teacher for the guittar in an advert published by music shop owner Neil Stewart³⁴.

At this point every "Ladies and Gentlemen" eager to learn the guittar could easily find a teacher. Many musicians found it necessary to include that instrument in their portfolio. Italian violinist and singer Guiseppe Passerini³⁵ had been in England since 1752. Besides singing and playing on London and provincial stages he also worked as music teacher. In summer 1760 he announced that he planned to open "an Academy in the great Parlour of his House [...] to Lecture and Instruct young Ladies and Gentlemen in any of the following Branches of Musick: As Singing, Playing Lessons or Thorough Bass on the Harpsichord or Organ, the English and Spanish Guittar, the Violin, Viol d'Amour, Viola Angelica, Violoncello, &c. [...]"³⁶. This was to my knowledge the very first time this instrument was called the "English Guittar", a term clearly invented to distinguish it from the "Spanish Guittar". Passerini must have been one of the first teachers for the latter that was at that point barely known in England.

28. See Holman 2010, p. 165 – 168.

29. Southey 2004, p. 67.

30. Advert quoted by Leppert 1985, p. 140-1; for Walter Clagget see BDA 3, pp. 291-2.

31. Farmer 1947, p. 325.

32. NG 4, p. 314.

33. Quoted by Coggin 1987, p. 209.

34. See Public Advertiser, May 3, 1756, GDN Z2001071726 (BBCN); Caledonian Mercury, January 31, 1758, p. 3; February 25, 1758, p. 3; November 14, 1759, p. 3 (BNA).

35. See BDA 11, p. 233, McVeigh 1989, pp. 92-4.

36. London Chronicle, July 24, 1760 - July 26, 1760, p.2, GDN Z2001672466 (BBCN).

3. Frederick Hintz - "Guittar-maker to her Majesty and the Royal Family"

The first one to offer this new instrument in a newspaper advert was one Frederick Hintz. He had a shop "at the Golden Guittar, in Little Newport-Street" and announced that he "Makes and Sells all Sorts of Guittar in the best Manner". This ad can be found in the *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, August 1, 1754 - August 3, 1754³⁷. Interestingly it was placed directly under an advert by guittar teacher Thomas Call.

John Frederick Hintz³⁸ (1711-1772) was a German craftsman who spent most of his life in England. He had started out as a furniture-maker with a store in London. But in 1737 he "became acquainted with the Moravians in London" and a year later he gave up his shop and left England for Germany "in order to [...] devote his life to the church"³⁹. During his stay in Germany Hintz must have learned to play the cittern that "was considered a 'divine' instrument among eighteenth-century Moravians"⁴⁰. It played an important role in their "liturgical life", for example citterns were often used to accompany the singing of hymns and to "comfort the sick prior to death"⁴¹.

In 1747 he returned to England, at first to Fulneck and then 1749 again to London where he opened a new shop early in 1752. There he still sold furniture⁴² but it seems that at that time he also knew how to build musical instruments. He had already made harpsichords for two congregations in the late 1740s and Holman suggests that he also "started to make cittern-like instruments in England to cater for the demand from the developing English Moravian communities"⁴³.

In an advert published in the *Public Advertiser* on November 17, 1755⁴⁴ Mr. Hintz claimed that he was "the Original Maker of that Instrument, call'd The Guittar or Zittern, who has for many Years made and taught that Instrument [...] He teaches common notes in the best and easiest manner". There is good reason to assume that Hintz had in fact "invented" the guittar. By all accounts he was an extremely gifted craftsman. It would have been no problem for him to develop it from the citterns he knew in Germany which often also "had ten wire strings" and "it is possible that he introduced a modified version to Britain". He is also reported to have played that instrument for a dying friend already in 1751⁴⁵.

37. GDN Z2001652088.

38. This chapter is partly based on Graf 2008 and Holman 2010, pp. 135-169, both excellent studies about Hintz.

39. Graf, p. 10.

40. Graf, p. 8.

41. Graf, p. 8, 26, 29, 32.

42. Holman 2010, p. 143.

43. Holman 2010, p. 147.

44. GDN Z2001070925 (BBCN).

45. Holman 2010, p.145-6.

It would be interesting to know if Miss Macklin used one of his instruments or if she knew him personally. He never referred to her in any of his adverts. Nonetheless Mr. Hintz struck gold because she had promoted the guittar most effectively on stage in *The Englishman In Paris* and *The Chances*. He became a highly successful businessman. From then on he built guittars and other musical instruments no longer only for his Moravian brethren but for the general market, for the "fashionable beau monde, which placed a premium on novelty"⁴⁶.

Hintz even supplied the Royal Family with guittars and his instruments were also sold outside of London. Neil Stewart opened a music shop in Edinburgh in 1759 and in his first advert he offered "guitars of all sorts, particularly a parcel made by the famous Frederick Hintz, who was the first maker of that instrument in London, and is at present guitar maker for the Royal Family, and most of the nobility in England"⁴⁷. Four months later Stewart announced the arrival of another big parcel from London:

"At the sign of the Violin and German flute, in the Exchange, Edinburgh, Has newly arrived from London, A Large Assortment of Guitars, From two guineas and a half to seven guineas. Guitars to play with the Bow. Small Guitars of two sizes; the smallest may be managed by young ladies from seven to ten years old, and the others by ladies from ten and upward. Mandolins and Mandolines, to be played in the same manner with the Guitar, All made by the famous Frederick Hintz"⁴⁸.

Hintz himself also placed adverts in regional newspapers:

"Frederick Hintz, Guittar-maker to her Majesty and the Royal Family, proposes to send to any Lady or Gentleman in Scotland or Ireland, that will favour him with their commands, Extraordinary Fine Guittars, both in workmanship and sound. The best sort for five guineas, another sort for four, and another for three guineas, carriage included. As also, the best guittar strings, at a reasonable rate - Please direct at his musical warehouse, the corner of Ryder's Court, Leicester Fields"⁴⁹.

In Thomas Mortimer's *Universal Director* from 1763⁵⁰ he was also listed as "Guittar-maker to her Majesty and the Royal Family" and his shop must have been a veritable treasure trove of exotic instruments. He sold "Guittars, Mandolins, Viols de l'Amour, Viols de Gamba, Dulcimers, Solitaires, Lutes, Harps, Cymbals, the Trumpet-marine, and the Aeolian Harp"⁵¹.

A letter published in the *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, October 27, 1763 - October 29, 1763⁵² gives some more insights into his activities:

46. Holman, p. 162.

47. Caledonian Mercury, November 14, 1759, p. 3 (BNA).

48. Caledonian Mercury, March 26, 1760, p. 3 (BNA).

49. Caledonian Mercury, August 16, 23 & 30, 1762 (BNA).

50. Part II, p. 51.

51. See also Holman 2010, p. 148.

52. GDN Z2001257890 (BBCN).

"As there has been lately advertised, what is called a new-invented Guitar with eight strings more in the Bass, it is thought necessary to acquaint the Publick, that Mr. Hintz, Guittar Maker to Her Majesty and the Royal Family, invented and made this Kind of Guittars 3 Years ago; but, as he found that the Ladies were not at that time disposed for them, from some Circumstances of Inconvenience which they thought attended the additional Number of Strings, he did not make them publick: But has, nevertheless, found it necessary always to keep by him a certain Quantity ready-made and finished in the best Manner. He has also a Guitar called the Tremulant, a De L'Amour Guittar, with a Lute Stop; a Guittar to be played with a Bow, as well as with the Fingers; All of which were invented by him, and are made and sold at his House [...]"

In the '60s Hintz also compiled two books:

- A Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes set for the Cetra or Guittar, Printed for Robert Bremner, London [ca. 1762 or later]⁵³
- A Choice Collection of Airs, Minuets, Marches, Songs and Country Dances &c., By several eminent authors, Adapted for the Guittar, Printed for the Author, London [ca. 1765]⁵⁴

Both collections must have been quite popular. They were still listed in Bremners *Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music*, March 1782⁵⁵ and in Preston & Son's *Additional Catalogue of Bremner's stock* published in 1790⁵⁶.

Frederick Hintz died in 1772 and his household equipment as well as his stock of instruments were sold in an auction:

"To be sold by Auction, By Mr. Elderton, On the Premises, On Thursday, August 13, and he following day, The Genuine Stock in Trade, Household Furniture, Linen, China, and Pictures of Mr. Hintz, the corner of Riders-court, Newport-street, Musical Instrument-maker, deceased, consisting of Guittars, Lutes, Mandolines, Harps, Harpsichords, Spinnets, Clavichords, Forte Pianos, Eolian Harps, German Harps, Dulcimers, Psalteries, Violins, Tenors, Bass Viols, Viol da Gambals, Trumpet Moriens [sic!], German Flutes, &c. It is allowed that the late Mr. Hintz, was one of the first Guittar-makers in Europe; and that his instruments in general were very excellent [...]"⁵⁷.

There is no convincing evidence that any other instrument maker was building and selling guittars before Hintz started doing so. It seems the earliest extant guittar is one made by J. C. Elschleger, about whom nothing else is known except that his name strongly suggests that he also was of German origin.

53. See [Copac](#).

54. See [Copac](#).

55. P. 4.

56. P. 10.

57. Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, August 7, 1772, GDN Z2000824622; see also Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, August 11, 1772, GDN Z2000372644: "[...] one of he best Guittar-makers in Europe" (BBCN)

This instrument has been dated as from 1753⁵⁸. But that year Miss Macklin was already playing her "pandola" on stage.

Three guittars made by Remerus Liessem have survived, the earliest obviously from 1756⁵⁹. Judging from his name he could have been either from Germany or from the Low Countries. In 1757 he published *Il Passa tempo della Guittara. Twelve Italian Airs for the Voice, accompanied by the Guitar or Harpsichord* by Italian music teacher Santo Lapis, one of the earliest books for this instrument. Lapis had recently arrived in London and at that time lived at his "Music Shop in Compton-Street, St. Ann's, Soho"⁶⁰. Liessem's guittars had a good reputation and his "very best ones" were also sold by Neil Stewart in Edinburgh "at five guineas"⁶¹. But he died in 1760 and his widow offered a part of his stock for sale:

"Reinerus Leissens [sic!], Musical Instrument Maker, being dead, his widow gives this Notice to the Publick, that she intends reducing his Stock of Instruments that are now finished, by an immediate Hand-Sale of them, consisting of Violins, Tenors, Violoncellos, Violin d'Amour, Guittars, Mandalins, Lutes, Basses, &c. The Tone and Neatness of his Work are too well known to need Recommendation in a Publick Paper [...]"⁶².

In 1757 composer and publisher James Oswald sold in his shop the "best Guittars [...] carefully fitted, by an eminent Master"⁶³ but it is not known who had made these instruments.

Violin maker Benjamin Banks from Salisbury also built some guittars. In an *Illustrated Catalogue* of a Music Loan Exhibition in 1904 a "Cittern, English", "probably" made by him, is dated as from 1750⁶⁴ but that seems to me highly improbable. In another catalogue of this exhibition it has been left undated⁶⁵. Both catalogues list another "Cittern, English. - Made by Benjamin Banks, of Salisbury, in 1757"⁶⁶ and this date sounds much more reasonable.

Early in 1758 John Tyther's *Cane and Music-Shop* in London offered - besides assorted talking parrots and singing birds - "one of the best English-made Guittars to be sold cheap"⁶⁷. But Mr. Tyther was more of an expert for birds than for guittars and I don't think he had built this instrument himself. In March that year a Mr. Richter, "Musical Instrument Maker, in Tower-Street" put up for sale "a large number of very fine and good Guittars of new Invention, which keeps extremely well in Tune, and the Strings not liable to crack, very suitable for a Lady to tune herself, cheaper than any in London. At the

58. See Holman, p. 146; undated in Tyler 2009, p. 13.

59. See Tyler 2009, p. 14.

60. See Public Advertiser, October 6, 1757, GDN Z2001074179 (BBCN).

61. Caledonian Mercury, November 14, 1759, p. 3; see also January 23 & March 26, 1760, p. 3 (BNA)

62. Daily Advertiser, April 23, 1760; GDN Z2000152047 (BBCN).

63. See London Chronicle, June 21, 1757 - June 23, 1757, GDN Z2001662974 (BBCN).

64. [P.138](#).

65. [P. 114](#), No.1186.

66. [P. 113](#), No.1181.

67. Public Advertiser, February 3, 1758, GDN Z2001074736 (BBCN).

same Place is Instruction for the above Guittar"⁶⁸ . Nothing else is known about this guittar maker but his name suggests that he also was of German origin. The same month organ-maker William Hubert van Kamp jumped on on the bandwagon and sold "Guittars after the newest Make and Fashion, and stand the longest in Tune"⁶⁹ .

Another extant guittar by one Mr. Hoffmann has been dated as from 1758. In fact A. C. Hoffmann had a shop in Chandois-Street together with Michael Rauche. But this partnership ended in May 1758:

"A. C. Hoffmann, Maker and Dealer in all Sorts of Musical Instruments, begs leave to inform the Public, that the Partnership between him and Mr. Rauche being disso'ved, he continues to carry on the Business in Chandois-Street, Covent Garden, opposite to Bedfordbury, two Doors from the farmer Shop, and humbly begs the Continuance of the Favour of his Friends and Customers. Gentlemen and ladies may be immediately supplied with Guittars, Lutes, &c. of the best and truest Make"⁷⁰ .

Both Hoffmann and Rauche surely have built guittars before 1758 but it is not known when they started their business. I found only one more advert by Hoffmann. In the *Public Advertiser* on December 2, 1758⁷¹ he offered "extraordinary good French Horns [...] just imported" but didn't forget to note that he also sold "Guittars, Lutes [...] of the best and truest Make" at his "Music Warehouse". Since then nothing more was heard of him. Perhaps he retired or died shortly afterwards.

It seems that towards the end of the 1750s this instrument was easily available everywhere. Robert Bremner in Edinburgh offered "Guitars from two to six Guineas" on the title page of his book *Instructions for the Guitar* that was published in November 1758. It is not known when he had started to sell them. At least guittars must have been already available there otherwise it would have made no sense to publish a tutor. Also it is not clear if he only sold instruments imported from London or if they were already built in Scotland. His local competitor Neil Stewart - who opened his shop in November 1759 - at first only sold instruments made by Hintz and Liessem⁷². But since March 1760 he also offered "Guitars made at Edinburgh, equal to any made in Scotland, from one guinea and a half to three guineas the best". They were a little bit cheaper than Hintzen's original products that were sold for "five, six, and seven guineas"⁷³ .

In 1761 Stewart also began to sell guittars made by Michael Rauche, the former partner of J.C.Hoffman. In his adverts he claimed that Rauche and Hintz were "reckoned to be the best makers of

68. Public Advertiser, March 3, 1758, GDN Z2001074859(BBCN).

69. Public Advertiser, March 22, 1758, GDN Z2001074943 (BBCN).

70. Public Advertiser, May 30, 1758 , GDN Z2001075261(BBCN).

71. GDN Z2001076109 (BBCN).

72. Caledonian Mercury, November 14, 1759, p. 3 (BNA).

73. Caledonian Mercury, March 26, 1760, p. 3 & January 23, 1760, p. 3 (BNA).

that instrument in London"⁷⁴. In fact his guittars always had an excellent reputation and they were for example recommended by Ann Ford who wrote in the introduction to her *Instructions* in 1761 that they had the "best tone"⁷⁵.

Rauche's first advert was published in the *Public Ledger or The Daily Register of Commerce and Intelligence* on September 5, 1761⁷⁶ but for some reason here he preferred to promote a "Most Beautiful and Complete Cabinet of Minerals, consisting of Gold, Silver, Quicksilver, Cobalt, and all other Sorts of Ores, which has been collecting towards Thirty Years [...] from the most distant Parts of the World [...] with many other Curiosities too tedious to Mention". It seems he had other interests, too or at least sometimes a "music warehouse" had to offer more than only musical instruments to attract customers. But in the last line he also noted that he had "Completest Guittars, Mandolins, Lutes, Best Strings of all Sorts, &c."

In 1763 Rauche started publishing music for the guittar. In two adverts in January that year he offered an impressive range of books, for example works by F. T. Schuman, Rudolf Straube, Charles Clagget and the Portuguese guittar player Roderigo Antonio de Menezes. Some of them were reprints of older publications like Schuman's first set of *Lessons* but most of them were new. In May he announced some more items: two song collections by Ghillini di Asuni as well new Lessons by Menezes. He also sold Ann Fords *Instructions* both for the guittar and the musical glasses⁷⁷.

In spite of this promising start Rauche only rarely published music books during the next two decades. Most notable were two new works by Rudolf Straube, the *Mecklenburg Gavotte* for the harpsichord and the *Three Sonatas for the Guittar*, both in 1768⁷⁸. His last known advert - in 1774 - was for D. Ritter's *Choice Collection of Twelve of the most favourite Songs sung at Vauxhall, adapted for the Guittar*⁷⁹. Interestingly some works by Schuman, Straube, Ghillini and Menezes that had been originally published by Rauche were reprinted in 1776/7 by Mary Welcker⁸⁰.

It is possible that he only sold the rights to these books to Mrs. Welcker because he needed some money. It seems that he had some serious financial problems at that time. Shortly thereafter, in 1778 Mr. Rauche even was "Prisoner in the King's Bench Prison in the County of Surry" and applied for release according to the most recent *Act for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors*⁸¹.

74. Caledonian Mercury, January 17, 1761, p. 2 also July 29, 1761, p. 3 & April 28, 1762, p. 1 (BNA).

75. Tyler 2009, p. 16.

76. GDN Z2001238006, see also Public Advertiser, October 6, 1761, GDN Z2001082855 (BBCN).

77. Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, January 6, 1763, GDN Z2000341655; Public Advertiser, January 17, 1763, GDN Z2001088026 & May 6, 1763 GDN Z2001089547 (all BBCN).

78. See BUCEM II, p. 985.

79. Public Advertiser, February 11, 1774, GDN Z2001147689 (BBCN), see also [Copac](#).

80. See Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, November 9, 1776, GDN Z2000843506 & February 19, 1777, GDN Z2000844344 (BBCN).

81. See for example London Gazette, June 6, 1778 - June 9, 1778, GDA Z2000735857, p. 5 (BBCN).

But apparently Rauche survived his stay in the notoriously unhealthy debtors' prison and even got his shop back or at least could set up a new one. He most likely died in 1784. In an advert in the *Morning Herald* on January 20, 1785⁸² a Mr. Buckinger, also an instrument maker and music seller of German origin, announced that he was "the only successor to the late Mr. Rauche, whose Guittars ever justly bore the preference, he continues to make them of the same pattern, having purchased his stock and utensils [...] N.B. The Guittar taught agreeable to the manner of the late Mr. Rauche". It is obvious that Michael Rauche never became as wealthy as Mr. Hintz but at least it is good to see that his reputation was still high at the time of his death.

It seems that during the '50s very few English instrument makers tried their hands at guittars. We only know of Edward Dickenson⁸³ and of the above-mentioned Benjamin Banks from Salisbury. If they were more their names have been lost. Not at least it is not clear who had built the instruments sold for example by Oswald in London and Bremner in Edinburgh. Only since the 1760s native guittar makers played a more significant role. Most important was John Preston who introduced both the so called watch-key tuning in 1766 and the "Piano Forte Box" in 1786⁸⁴. He later also made himself a name as a publisher and brought out "a great quantity of the best music of the day",⁸⁵. In 1789 Preston & Son acquired all the stock of the late Robert Bremner⁸⁶.

Most of the earliest guittar makers were of German or Dutch origin: Hintz, Elschleger, Liessem, Richter, van der Kamp, Hoffmann, Rauche. At that time "Germans were attracted to London as Europe's most vibrant commercial centre, providing opportunities for enterprise and entrepreneurship"⁸⁷. Instrument-makers found there a lively music scene and many potential clients with deep pockets who were happy to shell out some of their money for products of high quality, especially if they had some novelty value. A guittar by Hintz was a luxury item. It cost up to 7 guineas and not everybody could afford it. Rauche, Liessem & co. were surely familiar with German citterns and they were quickly able to satisfy the growing demand for this fashionable toy. And like Hintz they could supply their customers with other exotic and unusual musical instruments.

4. Music For The Guittar 1756 – 1763: An Overview

The first one to publish a book of music for the guittar was Thomas Call who - as already noted - had made himself a name as a teacher for that new instrument. At least it was the first exactly datable

82. GDN Z2000919031 (BBCN).

83. Tyler, p. 12; Victoria & Albert Museum, [222-1882](#).

84. See chapter II.1.

85. See Kidson, BMP, [p. 106](#).

86. See their *Additional Catalogue*, 1790.

87. Jefcoate 2001, p. 503.

publication. On August 26, 1756 he placed an advert in the *Public Advertiser*⁸⁸ to announce that he had "composed a Set of Airs for the use of the Guittar only, which will be very helpful for the true Exercise of the Fingers [...] Ladies who chuse to be Subscribers to this Book, are desired to send Word at Mr. Call's Lodging [...]". His "Book of Airs and Songs, principally adapted" for the guittar was then published in November "and to prevent Imposition by Piracy or false Copies, this Book will be sold only by the Author"⁸⁹. Sadly there are no extant copies of this work. Interestingly in the second advert he took a swipe at other teachers:

"[...] Mr. Call cannot help taking Notice, that as Numbers of Ladies have learnt this Instrument, they have had different Masters for their Instructors, one teaching out of one Key, another out of another Key, and Ladies who are not thoroughly acquainted with the Grounds of Music cannot see thro' the Mystery, but taking it for the most perfect Plan that shews the open String in the plainest Manner, without considering the Difficulty that is attended with the higher Parts of the Instrument. My Method of teaching and my Book is all, from the well known Plan of the Harpsichord, taking every Key in its natural Order, without so much additional Trouble of Transposition".

Probably at around the same time another a little booklet called *The Ladies' Pocket Guide or The Compleat Tutor for the Guittar* was brought out by publisher David Rutherford⁹⁰. The exact date of publication is not known so I can't say if it was available before Mr. Call's book. This tutor included some "Easy Rules for Learners" as well as a "choice Collection of the most famous Airs":

"Its author describes a somewhat primitive thumb and forefinger technique, which involves playing the bottom three strings with the thumb and all the notes that lie on thee top three strings with the forefinger. As innumerable simple melodies could be played using only the top three strings, this forefinger method ould be quite adequate, especially for the novice with little musical or technical ability"⁹¹.

In March 1757 a Mr. Meackham, not a music publisher but a hosier and glover, also announced a book of "Instructions for playing on the Cittern or Guitar" and promised instant success: "a Scale of the Notes, and the Finger Board of the Instrument are prefix'd, whereon the Stops and Frets are so pointed out, that any Person may, without other Assistance, be capable, in a very few Days, to play on this Instrument"⁹².

But the great flood of music books for the guittar only started in June 1757 with James Oswald's *Eighteen Divertimentis or Duetts, properly adapted for the Guittar, or Mandolin*⁹³. Oswald (1710 - 1769) was the "most prolific and successful composer of 18th-century Scotland"⁹⁴. At first he worked in Dunfermline and Edinburgh but then moved to London and set up shop there in 1741. He made

88. GDN Z2001072239 (BBCN).

89. *Public Advertiser*, November 5, 1756, GDN Z2001072556 (BBCN).

90. Kidson, *British Music Publishers*, [p.113](#).

91. Coggin 1978, p. 210.

92. *London Evening Post*, March 8, 1757 - March 10, 1757, GDN Z2000660255 (BBCN).

93. See McKillop 2001, p. 134.

94. NG 18, pp. 790-1, see also Kidson, *BMP*, [pp. 84-87](#) & , *BDA* 11, pp.122-124.

himself a name as a publisher, music teacher, arranger and cellist. In 1761 he was even appointed chamber composer to King George III.

James Oswald was among the first composers and publishers to recognize the potential of this new market segment created by the guittar and he was at least partly responsible for this flood of new music for this instrument. From 1758 to 1760 he brought out a collection of tunes called *Forty Airs for two Violins, German Flutes, or Guittars*, a booklet of songs by popular singer Catherine Fourmantel ("all transposed for the Guittar") and a set of *Twelve Divertimentis*, his "most important contribution to the guittar literature"⁹⁵. Oswald also published *Twelve Serenatas, for a Guittar* by Antonio Pereya da Costa, most likely a pseudonym for himself⁹⁶ as well as the *XII Favourite Lessons or Airs for two Guittars* by young composer George Rush and he was amongst the music sellers stocking Santo Lapis' *Guittar In Fashion*.

Not at least he also offered a *Compleat Tutor for the Guittar*, but that tutor was "not 'compleat' in any way, this publication consists of a single-page explanation of the fingering of the major scale in G and C, and another single page explaining note values and rests"⁹⁷. The rest of the booklet was made up of popular songs arranged for the guittar. This tutor was the first volume of the so called *Pocket Companion for the Guittar* of which at least five more parts were published that included many more arrangements that were "accessible to most competent amateurs".

Between June 1757 and December 1763 more than 70 music books for guittar players were published, most of them in London but a small number also in Edinburgh. This was quite a lot if we take into account that not a single publication was available in 1755 and only one or maybe two in 1756. One may assume that at this time, more than four years after Maria Macklin had first used her "pandola" on stage, enough gentlemen and ladies were able to play the guittar. Now the publishers had to satisfy the increased demand for new printed music for this instrument. Nearly all of this publications were aimed at amateur musicians, especially the ladies who played the guittar at home.

Interestingly a considerable number of these publications were not written specifically for the guittar. It seems that some publishers and composers treated it at first simply as one more melody instrument and placed "for the guittar" on the title pages of their tune collections so they could get a share of this new cake without much effort. For example the *Twenty-four Duets for two French Horns, two Guittars, or two German Flutes* by French horn player Joseph Real and published by Thompson and Son in October 1757. But this book had been first announced in September - "speedily will be

95. McKillop 2001, p. 135; see also RobMcKillop's [website](#) for a pdf-copy of the book and recordings of these pieces.

96. See McKillop 2001, p. 134.

97. McKillop 2001, p. 136.

published" - only as duets for "two French Horns or German Flutes"⁹⁸. In the meantime someone must have thought it a good idea to add the "guitar" to the title page.

Most notorious in this respect was music publisher John Walsh. His very first publication aimed at guitar players were the *Forty select Duets, Ariettas and Minuets for two Guittars or Mandavines, by the best Masters* that came out the same month as Oswald's *Eighteen Divertimentis*. But Walsh hastened to add to the title-page that these "airs are also proper for two German flutes or French horns"⁹⁹ (See the catalogue record of the BL via [Copac](#)). Other examples can be found in the bibliography.

More useful were some more tutors. The most important were Robert Bremner's *Instructions For The Guitar* published in Edinburgh in November 1758¹⁰⁰. Bremner was one of the most important British music publishers in the second half of the 18th century and his publications were often of high quality. It is not clear if this booklet was written by Bremner himself or by possibly his son Robert "who had been sent to London to study the guitar with Geminiani"¹⁰¹. Bremner, jun. was a musician who had his first concert in December 1755¹⁰². It is not known if he was already playing guitar at that time but - as already noted - by 1759 he worked as a teacher for that instrument.

The first half of Bremer's tutor offered detailed and helpful instructions¹⁰³ while the rest of the book was made up of more or less easy arrangements of popular songs that everybody was familiar with, for example "Allen a Roon", "O'er The Hill And Far Away", "Johnnie Faa" and "Birks of Endermay". Bremner tuned the guitar to a C-major chord and all these arrangements were in this key. We should remember that Thomas Call still knew "six different ways of tuning" and if I understand some of the explanations in his adverts correctly he was also able to play the guitar in more than one key¹⁰⁴. Italian violinist and teacher Giovanni Battista Marella used an A-major tuning and in February 1757 he had published a book of lessons "in every key, both flat and sharp". James Oswald had at first also tried out a "G"-tuning¹⁰⁵. It seems at some point the C-major tuning became standard and arrangers and composers preferred to stay in the key of C because, as Rob McKillop¹⁰⁶ has noted, "on a wire-strung guitar, the instrument never sounds as well as in the key of the chord of the open strings".

98. See Public Advertiser, September 15, 1757, GDN Z2001074085 & October 27, 1757, GDN Z2001074278 (BBCN).

99. See the catalogue record of the BL via [Copac](#).

100. A pdf-copy of this book is available on Rob McKillop's [website](#); see also www.scotmus.com for midis and an excellent introduction.

101. David Johnson in NG 4, p. 314.

102. See Caledonian Mercury, December 11, 1755, p. 2 (BNA).

103. Quoted by Armstrong, [p. 8-14](#) and on Rob McKillop's [website](#), see also Coggin, pp. 210-12.

104. See chapter I.2.

105. See McKillop, p. 135-6.

106. 2001, p. 136.

By all accounts Bremner's *Instructions* became the most popular tutor. A second edition was already published in Edinburgh in 1760 and it was later also reprinted in London where Robert Bremner had opened a shop in 1762. The book remained available at least until the end of the century¹⁰⁷.

In November 1760 Bremner also published Francesco Geminiani's *Art of Playing the Guittar or Cittra*¹⁰⁸. It is not clear why the famous composer and violinist Geminiani (1687-1762), author of the influential *Art of Playing the Violin* (1731), became interested in this instrument. This was a very ambitious work and the guittar-parts were written in tablature that had become uncommon at that time. He claimed that the guittar "is capable of very full and compleat harmony"¹⁰⁹ and interestingly most of the pieces could also be played on the violin:

"These compositions are contrived so as to make very proper solos for the violin:and as all the shefts and graces, requisite to play in a good taste, are distinctly marked, it must be of great use to those who aspire to play that instrument"¹¹⁰.

Guittar tutors were also available from publishers John Johnson and Thompson & Son. Not at least multi-instrumentalist Ann Ford wrote a book of Lessons and Instructions to "attain Playing in true Taste"¹¹¹. Besides that everybody interested in learning to play the guittar could choose between a considerable number of books of "lessons", for example by composers Giovanni Battista Marella, Charles Barbandt, George Rush, Frederic Theodor Schuman, Charles Clagget, William Bates or Rudolf Straube. There were also some sonatas, serenatas, "easy minuets", solos and duets. The great Giardini even wrote *Six Trios for the Guitar, Violin, and Violoncello*.

Additionally music publishers supplied their customers with collections of songs "adapted for the guittar". This usually meant that they were transposed to the key of C. Among the first was Robert Bremner in 1760 with his *Twelve Scots Songs*, a "veritable 'Greatest Hits' package of the eighteenth century"¹¹². The same year London publisher David Rutherford offered *Twelve of the most celebrated English Songs which are now in vogue, neatly adapted for the Guittar and Voice*. More collections followed, for example a selection of *Favourite Italian and English songs from Galluppi, Handel* etc taken from the repertoire of popular singer Miss Stevenson or a book called *The Lady's Amusement with Favourite French & Italian Songs, Airs, Minuets & Marches, none ever before Publish'd*, that were "adapted for the guittar" by Michael Ghillini di Asuni, both published in 1762.

107. See Bremner, Catalogue 1782, p. 4 & Additional Catalogue, Preston And Son, 1790, p. 10.

108. See Coggin, p. 212-3.

109. Quoted from Coggin, p. 213, see also McKillop 2001, p. 143-4.

110. From Bremner's advert in the Caledonian Mercury, 26.11.1760, p. 3 (BNA), also quoted by Coggin, p. 21.

111. See Holman 2010 and Coggin, pp. 215-6.

112. McKillop 2001, p. 133.

Especially popular were collections of songs from successful shows. For example in 1759 publisher C. Jones put out *All the Tunes in the Beggar's Opera, transposed into easy and proper Keys for the Guittar* and the following year Robert Bremner offered *The Songs in the Gentle Shepherd, Adapted for the Guitar*¹¹³. In 1762 both John Johnson and Thorowgood & Horne published the songs of Thomas Arne's *Artaxerxes* "correctly transposed" not only for the German flute and violin but also for the guittar and in 1763 at least five music publishers - Walsh, Johnson, Thorowgood & Horne, Rutherford and Rauche - threw books with guittar arrangements of songs from Arne's immensely popular comic opera *Love In A Village* on the market.

But besides all this frivolous music the guittar players were also supplied with more serious songs. The Magdalen Hospital was founded in 1758 and Thomas Call obviously became organist at its chapel. In 1760 he compiled a collection of tunes and hymns sung there, "properly adapted" not only for the organ and harpsichord but also for the guittar. William Yates, organist and teacher for the harpsichord put together *A Collection of Moral Songs or Hymns for a Voice, Harpsichord and Guittar* in 1762.

The guittar was and remained an instrument used nearly exclusively for domestic music-making. Professional musicians only rarely played it in their concerts. As mentioned above Marella – in Oxford in 1756 – seems to have been the first one but only very few of his colleagues followed his example.

German lutenist Rudolf Straube performed "several Lessons upon the Arch-Lute and Guittar in a Singular and Masterly Manner" at a concert in Bath on January 1, 1759¹¹⁴. Violinist Thomas Pinto played a "Solo on the Guittar" at a benefit for cellist Emanuel Sipurini in March 1760¹¹⁵. The legendary Ann Ford used the instrument in her concerts in 1760 and 1761. For example in her second show on March 25, 1760 the audience heard a "Concerto on the guittar" and in the third on April 4 "a Lesson and Song accompanied with the Guittar"¹¹⁶.

German child prodigy Gertrude Schmeling - later the famous singer Madame Mara¹¹⁷ - was on tour in England since 1759. She sang and played the violin. While laying sick for some weeks in 1760 she also learned to play the guittar:

"Ich bekam indessen den Keuchhusten, und da ich deshalb zu Hause bleiben mußte, so lernte ich die Guitar [...] welche damals das Mode-Instrument war und von allen Damen gespielt wurde. Ein deutscher Instrumentenmacher hatte eben eine mit einem tiefern Boden als gewöhnlich verfertigt, sie mit stärkern Saiten bezogen, wodurch sie einen schönen vollen Ton bekam [...] Da traf sichs, dass ein Porugiese Namens Rodorigo nach London kam, er spielte die spanische Guitar vortreflich [...] er erbot sich mir Unterricht zu geben, ich äußerte einige Zweifel, weil mein Instrument nicht von der Art wäre als das seine, er erwiederte, man könnte auch aus dem meinigen Vortheile ziehen, wenn man sich nur zu benehmen wüßte. Darauf spielte er mir etwas auf meiner Guitare vor, und

113. See McKillop 2001, pp. 130-13.

114. Holman 2010, p. 153.

115. Public Advertiser, March 20, 1760, GDN Z2001078435 (BBCN).

116. See Holman 2004, p. 179.

117. See BDA 10, pp. 77-87.

ich was außer mir für Freuden. Er gab mir einige Musikalien, und lehrte mich einige Arien nach seiner Art zu accompagnieren"¹¹⁸.

"Rodorigo" most likely was the Roderigo Antonio de Menezes whose *Divertimenti* and *Lessons* were published by Rauche in 1763. Gertrude then used this instrument in her concerts, much to the pleasure of her audience:

"Miss Schmeling, a native of Hesse-Cassel, in Germany [...] though but ten years old, not only readily speaks several languages [...] and sings charmingly in concert, &c. but also plays surprisingly well on the violin and guittar"¹¹⁹.

In an advert for a concert in Oxford in March 1761 it was announced she would perform - besides "a Concerto on the Violin and also several Songs both English and Italian" - a "Variety of Lessons on the Guittar"¹²⁰. In Dublin the 50-year old wife of a Colonel "fell in love" with her guittar-playing and asked the girl to give her some lessons¹²¹.

French violin player Etienne Piffet came to London in March 1762. At his first concert there on March 16, a benefit for the famous singer Tenducci, he played the "First Violin with a Concerto and a Solo". But in an advert for his own benefit in May that year it was announced that he also "will sing several Songs accompanied with a Guittar"¹²². So it seems that quickly learned to play that instrument, perhaps as a favour to his English audience.

I only found these few examples. Perhaps there were some more, but it can not have been that much. One may assume that most professionals were sceptical about the guittar and saw it more as a toy for the amateurs than as an instrument for the serious music-making. Nonetheless a considerable number of musicians had to make themselves familiar with this "toy" because it was so popular among their clientèle. At least for some of them it surely proved to be a profitable sideline.

Interestingly many of those who wrote music for the guittar, taught that instrument or played it on stage were Italians. But that should come as no surprise. At that time Italian music was highly popular and musicians from Italy were busy all over Europe¹²³. London was an especially attractive destination: "Italy had the reputation for producing the best singers and composers, while England had

118. Selbstbiographie Mara, 1875, p. 514.

119. London Magazine, Vol.29, [p. 489](#), about a show in Exeter.

120. Oxford Journal, March 28, 1761, p.2 (BNA).

121. Selbstbiographie Mara, 1875, p. 516.

122. See Public Advertiser March 13, 1762; GDN Z2001084161; May 26, 1762, GDN Z2001085001; see also May 17, 1763, GDN Z2001089733, the advert for another benefit (BBCN).

123. See for example the articles in Strohm 2001.

the reputation for paying them"¹²⁴. Italian Instrumentalists of all kinds also flocked to London¹²⁵ and Italians were "most sought after" as music teachers¹²⁶.

Therefore we find an interesting cross section of Italian musical immigrants and visitors among those who took up the guittar and tried to get a share of that new cake: Santo Lapis, a wandering music teacher who also had worked for some time as an opera impresario and Felice Giardini, a famous violin virtuoso and prolific composer; cellist Pasqualino di Marzi, a hard-working orchestra musician and conductor and violinist Giovanni Battista Marella; legendary composer Francesco Gemiani; a complete unknown like one Luigi Senzanome who apparently worked outside of London and is only known from a single publication but also a gentleman musician like Michael Ghillini di Asuni, who over the course of more than twenty years regularly published guittar books until he was appointed consul of Cagliari. But of course not everybody was as successful as he would have wished. For example Lapis - after some years in London - moved to Bath, then settled for some time in Edinburgh and later possibly went to Ireland. We don't even know where he died.

Of course also native teachers and composers were busy in this field, but at least some of them also showed Italian colours. Thomas Call offered to teach the instrument "in Italian, Spanish, or German Manner" - obviously there was no English "manner" -, George Rush wrote his *XII Lessons* after his return from Italy and Robert Bremner, jun. had studied with Geminiani. The guittar had been invented and introduced by a German instrument maker and was at first mostly built and sold by Germans. But one should remember that Miss Macklin played the "pandola" to an Italian song in *The Englishman in Paris* and in *The Chances* she was "Dress'd after the Old Italian and Spanish Manner". For the English audiences this instrument was not so much connected to German culture instead it clearly had an exotic Italian touch. This may have been another reason for the guittar's great popularity.

II. The Next Fifty Years

1. The Guittar Since The 1760s: An Overview

In the early 1760s the guittar was one of the most popular instruments for domestic music-making. Young Gertrude Schmelting from Germany noted at that time that it was played by "all the Ladies"¹²⁷. But this fashionable instrument had several shortcomings and from the start there were attempts to "improve" it and expand its possibilities. Already in 1757 Liessem had built a guittar with additional

124. Berry 2011, p. 41.

125. See f. ex. McVeigh, 1983, 1989, 2001; Sadie 1993; Lindgren 2000.

126. Leppert 1988, p. 56.

127. Selbstbiographie Mara, 1875, p. 516.

bass strings¹²⁸. Later Rauche constructed a "Lyre [...] an Instrument that imitates the Harp as well as the Guittar"¹²⁹. Frederick Hintz tried his hand at a guittar "with eight strings more in the Bass", one "called the Tremulant, a De L'Amour Guittar, with a Lute Stop; a Guittar to be played with a Bow, as well as with the Fingers"¹³⁰. But none of this experiments were successful.

More serious was another problem of the early models: it didn't keep in tune for long. Hintz himself admitted later that this was "a principal Defect, as well as inconvenient"¹³¹. Already in 1758 instrument makers Richter and van Kamp both offered guittars that they claimed stayed much longer in tune¹³². None of their instruments have survived until today so we don't know how what exactly they did to achieve this purpose. But early in 1766 English guittar maker John Preston introduced the so-called watch-key mechanism "where the strings are attached to metal levers adjustable with a little key similar to that used to wind up a pocket watch"¹³³. This technique worked much better than the wooden pegs used for the early models.

"John Preston, Of Banbury Court, Long Acre, London, Guittar And Violin-Maker, Begs Leave to acquaint the Nobility, Gentry, and others, that he has lately found out and invented a new Improvement, or Instrument, for Tuning of Guittars; and which is greatly approved of by all Masters and Dealers in that Branch of Business, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, by many Years Practice and Industry, which never could as yet be found out, though various Attempts has been made for that Purpose, but to no Effect. The Manner of the Tuning the above Guittars is by a small Watch Key, which is done instantly, and will keep the same in that Order for a month together, unless altered.

Whereas others will not keep in Tune for five Minutes, the Pegs belonging thereunto are so bad a Nature, that the Nobility, Gentlemen, and Ladies, do not chuse so much with the above Guittars, being so troublesome to tune. The Proprietor of the above Guittars begs leave to say, that, upon producing the same, that all those who are pleased to favour him with their Commands, will be fully satisfied of the above, and shall be waited on immediately. N. B. Please to beware of Counterfeits, as the Proprietor signs his Name on the Belly of the above Guittars; [...]"¹³⁴.

Only two months later Frederick Hintz also announced that he "has now found out, on a Principal entirely new, several Methods, whereby it is much easier and exacter tuned, and also remains much longer in Tune than by any Method hitherto known; which compleat Improvement has met with universal Esteem and Approbation. He has now by him a great Variety finished, in the neatest Taste; where those Ladies who chuse to change their's, or have them altered to this new Improvement, may

128. See Galpin, [plate 8, Nr.2](#).

129. Public Advertiser, January 13, 1766, GDN Z2001108850 (BBCN).

130. See St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post, October 27, 1763 - October 29, 1763, GDN Z2001257890 (BBCN).

131. Public Advertiser, March 17, 1766, GDN Z2001109879 (BBCN), also quoted by Holman 2010, p. 139.

132. See chapter 1.3.

133. Holman 2010, p. 148-9, see Andreas Michel, English Guitar, [Studia Instrumentorum Musicae](#).

134. London Evening Post, January 7, 1766 - January 9, 1766, GDN Z2000674154 (BBCN).

depend on having them done to the greatest Perfection"¹³⁵. It is not clear if he was also referring here to this watch-key mechanism or what other "Methods" he had found out. But Preston's invention prevailed and was adopted by all other guittar-makers. Even older instruments were upgraded with this new mechanism as was the case for example with the guittar built by Liessem that can be seen in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London¹³⁶.

The guittar remained immensely popular for the next several decades. Therefore this instruments were for example regularly sold at auctions of household equipment. Here I will only quote from one of the many relevant adverts I have found:

"To be Sold by Auction [...] The Genuine and elegant household furniture, pictures, china, some wines, fire-arms, and other curious effects of a Gentleman going abroad [...] consisting of cotton and other beds, feather-beds, &c., a curious counterpane, morine window-curtains, Turkey, and other carpets, mahogany tables, chairs, sophas, desks, and bookcases, cloath-presses, chests of drawers, &c. pier and chimney glasses, in carved, gilt, and painted frames, a small spinnet, an organ, a guittar, a curious air-gun, and other fire-arms [...]"¹³⁷.

Even those looking for work as a domestic servants sometimes considered it advantageous to point out that he could play and teach the guittar. For example the "young person" applying for a job as a lady's maid in 1775 did not only know about "Millinery, Hair-dressing in the present taste". She also had a "knowledge of music" and was a "compleat Mistress of the Guittar"¹³⁸. Two years later a "middle-aged man" who wanted "a Place, in and out of livery" announced that he also was "very capable of teaching the violin and guittar"¹³⁹.

It seems there also was an over-abundance of professional teachers. The competition was so great that one music shop even offered lessons for free:

"Music taught Gratis on the Violin, German Flute, or Guittar, by A.B. and C. D. [...] Ladies and Gentlemen are only requested to buy their Instruments, &c. of them, who being the Makers, are determined to sell as cheap as any where in London. They not only teach for a Month as reported by their enemies, bur Persons are attended till they are able to play any common Tune at Sight, on their respective Instruments, the Truth of which will be testified by any Pupil now under their tuition"¹⁴⁰.

Nonetheless new teachers appeared and offered their services. For example in 1765 a Mr. Ritter came from Germany and introduced himself to his prospective customers with a somewhat bombastic advert:

135. Public Advertiser, March 17, 1766, Z2001109879 (BBCN); also quoted by Holman 2010, p. 139-9.

136. See the images on their website for Museum Number [230-1882](#).

137. Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, June 2, 1767, GDN Z2000358228 (BBCN).

138. Public Advertiser, June 17, 1775, GDN Z2001154725 (BBCN).

139. Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, March 26, 1777, GDN Z2000932717 (BBCN).

140. Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, October 13, 1764, GDN Z2000345853 (BBCN).

"Mr. Ritter, lately arrived from Berlin, who has been musician to a certain great Prince in Germany, well known for his particular attachment to music, takes this method of making his addresses to the nobility and gentry in offering his services. As the German flute and the guittar are his principal instruments, he without vanity, has confidence enough to dare say, that he excells in playing on the said two instruments; and his method to play the guittar is entirely new, on gutstrings, like a lute. Those ladies and gentlemen who will do him the honour to take lessons of him, may depend upon his utmost application to fulfill his engagements in the easiest and most profitable manner to themselves; he engaging himself to bring these who have yet no notion of music, in a short time to perfection [...]"¹⁴¹.

Ritter later published two books: in 1770 *Lessons for the Guittar ... Consisting of rondeaus, allemands, minuettes and variations, likewise English & French songs with accompanyments* and in 1774 *A Choice Collection of xii of the most favorite Songs for the Guittar sung at Vaux Hall and in the Deserter*¹⁴². I couldn't find any more information about him but he must have been quite popular. In 1796 a Mr. Stevenson, "Professor of the French and English Guittar", claimed that he had been "a pupil of the celebrated Ritter"¹⁴³.

These teachers always promised a lot and I really wonder if they always could keep their promises. A typical example was this anonymous expert:

"Ladies taught the Guittar in a new and easy manner, so that any person, unacquainted with music, may be able to play any common tune in the first month, and to accompany it with the voice [...] it is in this method played in all the keys, sharps, and flats, as well as the naturals which has hitherto been thought a great difficulty"¹⁴⁴.

Of course the publishers and composers kept on supplying their customers with new music for the guittar. As far as I can see most of what was thrown on the market was clearly aimed at the amateurs and "dilettanti" and there were only very few more ambitious works. Armstrong¹⁴⁵ even claimed that there were "no really fine advanced pieces". But at least it should be noted that German lutenist Rudolf Straube wrote some sonatas for the guittar that were published by Rauche in 1768:

- Three Sonatas for the Guittar, with Accompanyments for the Harpsichord or Violoncello, With an Addition of two Sonatas for the Guittar, accompanyd with the Violin. Likewise a choice Collection of the most Favourite English, Scotch and Italian Songs for one, and two Guittars, of different Authors. Also Thirty two Solo Lessons by several Masters, Printed for M. Rauche, London 1768¹⁴⁶.

141. Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, May 10, 1765, GDN Z2000349281 (BBCN).

142. See [Copac](#).

143. Oracle and Public Advertiser, Thursday, January 28, 1796, GDN Z2001028361 (BBCN).

144. Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, February 27, 1772, GDN Z2000370960 (BBCN).

145. P.17.

146. See Public Advertiser, March 29, 1768, GDN Z2001123227 (BBCN); BUCEM II, p. 985 and [Copac](#).

According to Coggin these compositions were a "notable exception to the predominantly violinistic style of writing [...] Straube's pieces contain some of the most idiomatic guitar textures in the whole repertory"¹⁴⁷. In 1775 another set of *Six Trios for the Guittar, Violin, and Piano Forte, or Harp, Violin and Violincello* by Felice Giardini was issued by William Napier¹⁴⁸ and at around the same time Longman, Lukey & Co. published a *Sonata for the Guitar with an Accompaniment for a Violin* by the John Christian Bach¹⁴⁹: "With Bach, the overriding sensation is that of a musical genius, toying with the instrument"¹⁵⁰.

Otherwise composers preferred to produce lessons and other more easy pieces for the guitar-playing ladies. But the greatest part of the repertoire were songs of all kinds and song collections. Music publishers were anxious to include guitar arrangements on single sheets of popular songs, "scarcely a song or ballad was printed without its being transposed or set for the instrument"¹⁵¹. A good example is Thomas Arne's "The Cuckow". He had written this song in the '40s for a revival of Shakespeare's *As You Like It* and it remained popular for the next decades. Some time in the late '70s a version as "sung by Mrs. Baddely" - who performed the song in 1775¹⁵² - was published. Here the publisher included an arrangement for the guitar, but in fact this only meant that the tune was transposed to the key of C¹⁵³.



1. "The Cuckow", guitar arrangement from undated songsheet, ca. 1775

Another easily available example¹⁵⁴ is *Lady Jane Gray's Lamentation to Lord Guilford Dudley, a favourite Scotch song as sung at Vauxhall* by Tommaso Giordani, published by Longman & Broderip circa 1785. Only occasionally other keys were used. The guitar arrangement for John Christian Bach's *Blest with Thee, My Soul's Dear Treasure*¹⁵⁵ is in F.

147. P. 217.

148. See Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, May 8, 1775, GDN Z2000836937 (BBCN); McVeigh 1989, p. 315.

149. See [Copac](#).

150. Rob McKillop 2001, p. 134.

151. Armstrong, [p. 5](#).

152. Public Advertiser, May 11, 1775, GDN Z2001154196 (BBCN).

153. Available at [IMSLP](#).

154. See [IMSLP](#).

155. Longman & Broderip, ca. 1780, available at [IMSLP](#).

Besides that there were numerous songbooks, for example the *Collection of the most celebrated Songs set to Music by Several Eminent Authors, adapted for the Guittar* published by John Rutherford circa 1774¹⁵⁶. This is a small booklet with eight popular oldies, all of course in the key of C. Most of them were written by Thomas Arne, for example "Attic Fire" from his *Eliza* (1754), "Noontide Air" from *Comus* (1738) or "A Dawn Of Hope" (1745). Joseph Baildon's "If Love's A sweet Passion" was first published in 1750 in *The Laurel. A New Collection of English Songs*.

In 1775 Longman, Lukey & Broderip brought out *A Pocket Book For The Guittar, with Directions Whereby every Lady & Gentleman may become their own Tuner. To which is Added suitable to the refined Taste of the present Age an Entertaining Collection of Songs, Duets, Airs, Minuets, Marches, &c.*¹⁵⁷, another typical example of this genre. This was no tutor, there were only two pages about how to tune the instrument while the remaining 100 pages contain an interesting collection of music that everybody knew: instrumentals of all kinds from from "Martini's favorite Minuet" to the "Peasant's Dance in Queen Mabb", from the "Bedfordshire March" to "Mulloney's Jigg" and songs mostly taken from the repertoire of popular performers like Mr. Vernon, Miss Catley, Miss Jameson or Mrs. Weichsell. This book was clearly directed at the amateurs, and it seems that many of them had serious problems tuning their instrument:

"These directions will I hope be sufficient for ev'ry Lady and Gentleman to tune their own Guitar. It will be more satisfaction to themselves and save a great deal of carriage and expence, to and from the Music Shops; and often when it has been tuned at them, the Strings will probably get out of tune before the proprietor can have he instrument in possession. When ev'ry one of our Obliging Customers can tune their own Guitar, it certainly will be greater satisfaction than the profits arising to the Editors" (p. 5).

This book must have been quite successful. A second edition "with some additions" was published the following year¹⁵⁸ listed in a catalogue of Longman & Broderip from circa 1780.



2. *The Laughing Minuet*, from: Longman & Broderip's *Pocket Book For The Guittar*, 1776

156. Available at the [Internet Archive](#).

157. Lloyd's Evening Post, July 7, 1775 - July 10, 1775, GDN Z2000523157 (BBCN); available at [IMSLP](#).

158. See Lloyd's Evening Post, February 5, 1776 - February 7, 1776, GDN Z2000524311 (BBCN).

Instrument maker and publisher James Longman (c.1745-1803) was amongst the music sellers who took particular interest in the guittar. He had arrived in London in 1760, learned the trade as an apprentice at Johnson's music shop and then set up his own business in 1768. Charles Lukey was his partner from 1769 until his early death in 1776 while Francis Broderip joined him in 1777. Longman & Broderip became one of the biggest and most important music sellers in London but went bankrupt in 1795 and was divided into two firms, Broderip & Wilkinson and Longman, Clementi & Co., in 1798. James Longman himself died in debtors' prison in 1803¹⁵⁹.

One of the earliest publications of Longman & Co. was a book called *Twelve new Songs and a Cantata, with a compleat Scale for the Guittar* and it was soon followed by *Twenty-four Familiar Airs for the Guittar* by one R. Haxby¹⁶⁰. A couple of years later he was able to offer an interesting range of guittar books as can be seen from the list included in the *Pocket Book* and a catalogue from circa 1780 (p. 2-3).

NEW MUSIC for the GUITAR,	
Printed & sold by LONGMAN, LUKREY, & BRODERIP, at the Apollo, No 26 Cheapside: LONDON.	
New Instructions for Playing the Guittar, with Tunes, Songs, &c.	0.1.6
Throckmoy's 1 st sett Lessons	0.2.6
————— 2 ^d sett D ²	0.3.0
————— 44 Airs	0.3.0
Haxby's 24 Easy Airs	0.1.0
A New collection of Cotillions	0.1.6
Twelve Songs, a Cantata, & Solo	0.2.0
Schuman's 6 Solos	0.5.0
————— Songs 1 st sett	0.3.6
————— Songs 2 ^d sett	0.5.0
Twelve new Lessons by a Lady	0.1.6
Nufer's Lessons Op. 12	0.3.0
Vauxhall, Marybone, Songs, &c.	0.1.6
Barb's Duets	0.2.0
————— 15 Duettinos	0.2.6
Bach's Sonata with an accom- paniment for a Violin	0.0.9
Padlock, with the words	0.1.6
Cymon, D ²	0.2.0
Ladies Frolic D ²	0.1.6
Institution of the Guittar	0.1.6
Golden Pippin	0.2.0
Defence	0.2.0
Love in a Village	0.1.6
The Sylphs	0.1.6
Christmas Tale	0.2.0
Magdalen	0.2.0
Magdalen Hymns, &c.	0.1.6
Foundling D ²	0.2.0
A Collection of Scots and En- glish tunes	0.1.6
A complete Pocket book for the Guittar &c. 0.3.6	

3. From Longman, Lukrey & Broderip's *Pocket Book For The Guittar*, 2nd ed., London 1776,

More than a half of his publications for guittar players were songbooks, especially from popular shows like *The Christmas Tale*, *The Padlock*, *The Golden Pippin* or *Love In A Village*. Besides that there were also a couple of thematic collections like *Vauxhall and Marylebone Songs*, the *Magdalen Hymns* or a *New Collection of Cotillions* as well as two compiled by Frederic Theodore Schuman. The rest of the program was made up of mostly easy pieces for amateurs with Bach's *Sonata* the only

159. See Nex 2011 for an excellent history of this company.

160. Public Advertiser, September 15, 1768, GDN Z2001126212 & November 24, 1768, GDN Z2001127435 (BBCN).

exception. There are some familiar names like Schuman with a set of *Solos*, Bates with *Duets* and *Duettinos* as well as Noferi with some *Lessons*.

But of course some new names can also be found there. I don't know who this Mr. Haxby was, no other works by him are known. Equally obscure is Mr. Citracini whose *Six Divertimentos for two Guitars, or a Guitar and Violin* were first published in 1772¹⁶¹. Another mysterious Italian was Giovanni Battista Canaletti. He is not listed in the catalogue but his self-published *VI Trii Per Violini due é Cetra. Dedicati all' Thomas Mayer Esq*¹⁶² were also sold by Longman, Lukey and Co.

The most interesting name here is that of Thomas Thackray who is represented in the catalogue with four works: two sets of *Lessons*, a book of airs and a collection of *Divertimenti* that were published between 1765 and 1772. Thackray (1740-1793) was from York¹⁶³. He played the violin and violoncello and possibly he also had a music shop there for some time¹⁶⁴.

The first set of *Lessons* was published in York in 1765¹⁶⁵. The *Six Lessons for the Guittar. Opera Secunda* were first announced in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* on February 4, 1769¹⁶⁶. In London John Preston took subscriptions. It seems that this book was a great success. According to Robert Spencer in the *New Grove*¹⁶⁷ there were more than 600 subscribers. His next work, the *Twelve Divertimentis for two Guittars, or a Guittar and Violin, Opera 3d* was offered in London not only by Preston but also by Longman, Lukey & Co. and John Johnston¹⁶⁸ and at around the same time Johnston also published Thackray's *Collection of Forty-four Airs, properly adapted for one or two Guittars*¹⁶⁹. These were his only works for the guittar, later he only wrote a piece for the piano forte called *Miss Sophia Wentworth's Minuet*¹⁷⁰.

It seems that Mr. Thackray always lived in York and never moved to London permanently. He only played there occasionally, for example in 1776 at Marylebone Gardens¹⁷¹. On April 14, 1778 he was appointed "one of the Musicians to his Majesty" by Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Hertford¹⁷². This brought him some nice additional income but I have no idea how often he played for the King. At least

161. Public Ledger, June 20, 1772, GDN Z2001230968, (BBCN).

162. Ca. 1775, available at [IMSLP](#).

163. See NG 25, p. 326-7, BDA 14, p. 404-

164. According to the *Leeds Intelligencer*, March 7, 1769, p. 1 (BNA) he sold tickets for a performance of Händel's *Messiah* and *Judas Maccabäus* as well as "Books of the Oratorios, as they will be performed at the Theatre [...]"

165. See NG 25, p. 326, see also [Copac](#), with a wrong date.

166. GDN Z2000363223 (BBCN).

167. Vol. 25, p. 326.

168. *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, May 1, 1772, GDN Z2000371900 (BBNC), see also [Copac](#).

169. *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, May 8, 1772, GDN Z2000823950 (BBCN).

170. See [Copac](#).

171. NG 25, p. 326.

172. *Newcastle Courant*, April 18, 1778, p. 4 (BNA).

he remained member of the royal "Band of Music" until his death in 1793 as he was still listed in that capacity in the *Royal Calendar* from that year (p. 90). There is a good possibility that he was only a part-time musician and always kept a day-job. According to Bailey's *British Directory* from 1784¹⁷³ he was a linendraper and after his death the short notice in the *Leeds Intelligencer*¹⁷⁴ didn't even mention his musical activities:

"On Monday evening died, very suddenly, greatly and deservedly regretted by his family and friends, Mr. Thomas Thackray, linendraper in York, and a common Councilman for Micklegate Ward."

Thackray was one of those musicians who for a short time jumped on the bandwagon and wrote music for the guittar. It is not known if he himself was a guittar virtuoso or if he ever played that instrument in a concert. But his works were quite popular for some time and they were sold not only by Longman & Broderip but also by other music publishers like Preston, Johnston¹⁷⁵ and John Welcker¹⁷⁶. He clearly had good connections to the music sellers in the capital.

Robert Spencer in his article in the *New Grove* noted that "his music displays no particular originality but was workmanlike enough to satisfy the amateur demand for simple tuneful pieces for the newly fashionable English Guittar". To me this sounds a bit too condescending. In fact Thackray simply wrote what was needed. At that time the market for music that was specially designed for amateurs and "dilettanti" of all kinds had become more and more rewarding. Particularly the popularity of the guittar had created new opportunities for part-time composers like Thackray and he - like many others - simply took his chance.

The guittar literature sold by other publishers looks quite similar to Longman & Broderip's program: song collections - especially from popular shows - and more or less easy pieces for the amateur players. John Welcker - son of Peter Welcker who started his own business in 1775¹⁷⁷ - offered publications for the guittar by English composers like Parry, Rush, Millgrove, William Jackson, Thomas Carter and of course Thomas Thackray, by Schuman and Ritter, both of German origin and of course by Italians: Noferi, Giardini, Ghillini di Asuni, the obscure Signor DeFrancisci¹⁷⁸, mandolin virtuoso Giovanni Battista Gervasio¹⁷⁹ and guittar player Giacomo Merchi.

In a catalogue of the Thompsons from 1788 ([pp. 18-9](#)) many familiar names can be found - Clagget, Millgrove, Real, Ritter, Yates - but only very few more recent publications. Towards the end of the century the flood of guittar books clearly dried out a little bit while on the other hand some of early

173. Vol. 3, p. 744.

174. November 11, 1793, p. 3, (BNA).

175. See Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette, 07 March 07, 1771, p. 4 (BNA).

176. Catalogue, ca. 1775, p. 3.

177. See Humphries/Smith, p. 326; Welcker, Catalogue 1775, p. 3.

178. "2 Books Solos", see Public Advertiser, February 14, 1767, GDN Z2001116190 (BBCN).

179. "Songs, Duets &c", possibly *Airs for the Mandoline, Guittar, Violin or Ger. Flute, Operaiiii*, see [Copac](#).

classic works were regularly reprinted. It seems that guittar players and even more so the publishers were somehow conservative

This was surely the case with Robert Bremner. He had moved to London in 1762 and then continued his business until his death in 1789. We have some of Bremner's catalogues from the '70 and '80s. After he had died Preston And Son acquired his stock-in-trade and plates and in 1790 published an *Additional Catalogue Of Instrumental and Vocal Music [...] late the property of that eminent dealer, Mr. Robert Bremner*. His classic publications from the late 50s and early 60s always remained available: the *Instructions*, the *Scots Songs*, the *Gentle Shepherd*, Geminiani's *Art of Playing the Guitar* and also both of Frederick Hintzen's collections, the *Airs and Minuets* and the *Hymns and Psalms*.

Bremner also bought up the stock of deceased publishers like John Cox, Mary Welcker - who herself had acquired some of Rauche's publications - and Ruth Johnson¹⁸⁰ and was able to add some more older works to his catalogue, for example Real's first two books of *Duets*, Schuman's second set of *Lessons*, Noferi's *Solos*, Pasqualino di Marzis' *Sonatas* and Bates' *Lessons*.

But Bremner himself only rarely published new guittar literature since the 1760s. One exception was a set of *Solos* by Schuman¹⁸¹ but the most important new entry in his catalogue was Giacomo Merchi who is represented with four publications, two books of "Italian, French and English Songs" as well as *Lessons* and *Duetts*. He was the brother of guitar player Joseph Bernard Merchi¹⁸². They were from Venice and had moved to Paris in the 1750s where they made themselves a name as composers and teachers for all kinds of stringed instruments.

He came to England in the mid-60s, his earliest advert can be found in the *Public Advertiser*, April 7, 1766¹⁸³ where he not only offered for sale a great number of his earlier publications but also announced "Two Books" of music for the guittar: a set of *Sonatas* as well as a collection of songs "with Accompaniment for a Guittar or Violin". Two years later Bremner published Merchi's "Second Book of the most favourite Italian, French and English songs" and offered a part of his back-catalogue, works for the English and Spanish Guitar, violin and mandolin¹⁸⁴.

Merchi also worked as a teacher in England and of course he had to give lessons not only for his main instrument, the Spanish Guitar but also for the English "guittar", according to one advert "on the newest principles"¹⁸⁵. But interestingly he explicitly advised his prospective customers against learning this instrument:

180. See Humphries/Smith, p. 84.

181. See London Evening Post, August 25, 1770 - August 28, 1770, GDN Z2000679791 (BBCN).

182. See NG 16, p. 449-50.

183. GDN Z2001110241 (BBCN).

184. Public Advertiser, May 28, 1768, GDN Z2001124249 (BBCN).

185. See Public Advertiser, February 10, 1769, GDN Z2001128699 (BBCN).

"Signor Merchi [...] begs Leave to acquaint the Nobility and Gentry, that he continues to teach Singing, and the Accompanyment on both the Spanish and English Guittar; he however recommends the former; for though it be a more difficult Instrument than the English Guittar, yet it is more harmonious and pleasing; nay, it proves as proper for Accompanyment as the Harpsichord; and as to the Difficulties, a skillful Master may very easily remove them. Signor Merchi has invented a new and most expeditious Method, after which any Person with a little Attention may be able to play a Minuet in two Lessons, and to accompany an Air in four or five. He also offers to supply the Dilletanti with the choicest Collection of Opera Songs, both French and Italian, with some of his own Compositions, s well as Duo, Trio, Allemandes, Minuets, Rondeaux, which he has lately set [...]"¹⁸⁶.

But at that time this advice was not so successful, the original English guittar was still much too popular. It remained the instrument of choice for the amateurs while on the other hand professional musicians still refrained to use it in their concerts. This was even the case with specialists like Merchi who usually preferred to play the Spanish guitar, the Califoncino - an obscure two-stringed instrument - and the self-invented Liutino Moderno¹⁸⁷. Only in one advert - for a concert in Bath in December 1768 - it was announced that a Signora Piatti "will sing some Barcarolle Airs, composed by Mr. Merchi for the English Guittar, and accompanied by that Instrument"¹⁸⁸.

In fact on stage the guittar remained an oddity, and if so, then it was played for example by children like young Master Valentine in Rugby and Daventry in 1771¹⁸⁹ or actors like Thomas Crawford who showed his abilities as a musician with a performance of a "popular" trio by Giardini at his benefit at Drury Lane on May 19, 1781¹⁹⁰.

A notable exception was Giovanni Battista Noferi. On February 24, 1778 at the King's Theatre, Haymarket "a new Grand Ballet Espagnol, called La Serenade Interrompue" was performed "With a Pas de Deux du Masque, by Mons. Simonet and Madmoiselle Baccelli, accompanied un de Guittare by Signor Noferi"¹⁹¹. This piece became a great hit and was played regularly on stage for the next three years. It seems that he also tried out the guittar for other pieces, for example when he accompanied an "Italian Canzonetta" sung by Signora Bernasconi¹⁹² but after Noferi's premature death in February 1782 these attempts to use the guittar for opera and ballet came to a quick end.

Interestingly the most popular performer on the English guittar during the latter part of the 18th century was Count Joseph Boruwlaski¹⁹³ (1739-1837), the celebrated Polish dwarf. While in Paris he

186. Public Advertiser, January 15, 1774, GDN Z2001147297 (BBCN).

187. See for example Public Advertiser, April 27, 1769, GDN Z2001129931 (BBCN); Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette, December 1, 1774, p. 3, January 9, 1777, p. 3 (BNA).

188. Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette, November 24 1768, p. 4 (BNA).

189. Northampton Mercury, April 1, p. 3 & May 20, p. 1, 1771 (BNA).

190. Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, May 10, 1781, GDN Z2000858345 (BBCN).

191. See Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, February 23, 1778, GDN Z2000384533 (BBCN).

192. See Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, Thursday, April 13, 1780, GDN Z2000392180 (BBCN).

193. See BDA 2, p. 237-239.

had learned some kind of guitar from violinist Pierre Gaviniès¹⁹⁴. He came to England in 1783 and was received with great enthusiasm. The English were delighted with this "little Gentleman":

"New Rooms, Hanover-Square. On Friday next, the 13th inst. the wonderful Dwarf of Polish Russia, Mr. Boruwlaski [...] will have a Concert at this Place. To consist of several pieces of Music, by the best Masters, some of which he will execute on the Guitar, accompanied by Signor Gonetti, inventor of that much admired instrument, called Apollo's Harp. This entertainment, unique in the world, if we consider the surprising abilities of the little personage, the grand object of rational admiration, is humbly recommended to the notice of those who are curious and well versed in Natural History"¹⁹⁵.

For the next 20 years Count Boruwlaski travelled all over Britain and regularly performed at concerts of all kinds, for example in 1788 in London at a ball, "at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand [...] where he hopes for the patronage of a generous Public, when he proposes to entertain the Company with several Airs on the English Guitar"¹⁹⁶. His last public appearances were in 1804 in Edinburgh where in February that year at a "Grand Military Promenade, with Martial Music" he was to perform "Two Pieces of his own Composition upon the Guitar"¹⁹⁷. Soon afterwards he retired to private life but at this time the English guitar was already slowly but surely falling out of fashion.

2. Christian Clauss And The "Piano Forte Guittar"

In the 1780s some instrument makers introduced so-called "keyed guittars": the strings were "struck by piano-like hammers operated by a small keyboard mechanism"¹⁹⁸. There were both internal and external devices¹⁹⁹. I must admit that I do not see the advantages of such an innovation except that it saved the player's fingernails from damage. Nonetheless these keyed guittars became immensely popular for some time, two music sellers got entangled in an more or less absurd legal dispute and no less than three patents were filed for different variants of this mechanism.

194. Memoirs, p. 49.

195. Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, June 11, 1783, GDN Z2000913494 (BBCN), see also the same newspaper, May 22, 1783, GDN Z2000913256, the advert for what was possibly his first show in London where announced that he "will execute several Pieces of Music on the Guitar".

196. World, May 30, 1788, GDN Z2001505158 (BBCN).

197. Caledonian Mercury, February 9, 1804, GDN BB3205345772 (BBCN).

198. Tyler 2009, p. 11.

199. See Kinsky 1912, [pp. 190-1](#), also the images p. 188; Steffen Milbradt, Tastenzister, at [Studia Instrumentorum Musicae](#); Armstrong 1908, [after p. 14](#).

On July 3, 1783 a guittar maker named Christian Clauss first announced his new "Forte Piano Guitar"²⁰⁰ with an advert in the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*²⁰¹. His name suggests that he was a immigrant from Germany but it is not known to me when or why he came to London:

"Christian Clauss, the sole Inventor of that celebrated and admired Instrument, takes the liberty to acquaint the Nobility and Gentry, that after twenty years close application and practice, he has at length constructed the said instrument, in so happy a manner as to render it deserving and worthy the notice of the Public."

But also warned his prospective customers strongly against imitations:

"[...] that since his instruments, from their mere merit, have become so generally esteemed, and preferred by the first judges and people of fashion, there are Tradesman now basely endeavoring to impose upon the world a guittar of no kind of merit, besides that of an outward resemblance to his own, and which they have the impudence to name after his [...]."

In fact the firm of Longman & Broderip, one of the biggest music sellers in London, was already selling their own brand of "Piano Forte Guittars" since June²⁰². Their instruments had also made it to Scotland: they were offered for sale by Corri & Sutherland in Edinburgh²⁰³. At the same time a Mr. Schafftlein, a musician from "the Orchestra at the Theatre Royal, In Covent-Garden" was on a promotional tour through England:

"[...] he has a new-invented, curious, and most harmonious Musical instrument now with him, called a Piano-Forte Guitar; on which he has had the Honour to perform before their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, and many other Persons of first Distinction, with their entire Approbation [...] It is an Instrument of singular Ingenuity in the Construction, very easy of Performance, being played upon by Keys, like a Piano-Forte; at the same Time nearly of the same Shape, Size, and equally portable with a common Guitar, and will be found a most delightful Instrument to the Ladies in particular [...]."²⁰⁴

It is clear that Mr. Clauss saw this as threat to the success of his own invention and he became involved in a long-running legal quarrel with Longman & Broderip. If I understand it correctly Clauss applied for a patent for his keyed guittar that was granted on October 2, 1783²⁰⁵. But then he was sued by James Longman and Charles Pinto, the latter an instrument maker who apparently worked for that firm²⁰⁶ and may have been the inventor of their piano forte guittar. They issued a caveat against his

200. See Victoria & Albert Museum, London, [Nr. 240-1881](#) for an instrument by Clauss.

201. GDN Z2000913751 (BBCN), regularly repeated until October.

202. *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, June 11, 1783, GDN Z2000913502 (BBCN).

203. See *Caledonian Mercury* July 19, 1783, p.3 (BNA).

204. *Oxford Journal*, July 5, 1783, p. 2 (BNA).

205. See *Patents for Invention*, [p.14](#), No. 1394.

206. See *Nex*, p. 31.

patent but it had to be withdrawn and Christian Clauss "accordingly obtained his Majesty's Royal Letters Patent under the Great Seal, for this improved instrument" on November 5²⁰⁷.

Clauss then started an aggressive, sometimes nearly hysterical marketing campaign for his new instrument to counter the "laborious, oppressive, and very expensive opposition" to his patent²⁰⁸. And expensive it was: during the next two years he placed numerous adverts in the newspapers, more than fifty in 1784 alone. In these ads he heavily attacked his competitors, "certain musical instrument-makers, who, irritated by the great excellence and success of the Patentee's improvement, are [...] attempting to insinuate a right to make and sell the genuine Forte Piano Guittar" and then praised his own instrument in glowing, not to say bombastic terms:

"[...] the Patentee humbly intreats the Nobility and Gentry to make a comparative trial of such spurious Guittars with his genuine Patent Guittar, and in one minute the superiority will be decided [...] The richness and strength of tone, facility of execution, and delicacy of expression, which the Patent Guittar possesses, justly entitle it to compare with, and even rival the Forte Piano itself; but, independent of these superior advantages, it has this further peculiar excellency, that the grand improvements may, at a small expence, be affixed to any other Guittar of the old form and make"²⁰⁹.

But maybe the court's judgement was not as unambiguous as Clauss wanted the public to believe. In fact Longman & Broderip claimed that by the "late decision in the High Court of Chancery" they had "fully established their right to the above improvements on the Piano Forte Guitar" and they of course kept on selling their model, "manufactured [...] upon the late invented principle, whereby the tone of the said instrument is greatly proved, and the performance thereon amazingly facilitated"²¹⁰. They also offered to add this "late Improvement on the Guittar [...] to any Instrument" and later in the year published a book of *New and complete Instructions for the Piano Forte Guittar*, written by Michael Ghillini di Asuni, a well known musician²¹¹. But Mr. Clauss was not amused:

"Among the many attempts daily made to infringe upon the rights of patentees in their new inventions, none have met with less success than the imitation of the Piano Forte Guittar [...] every attempt to deprive the Patentees of the honor [...] has been totally frustrated by the lame and imperfect manner in which the spurious instrument offered under the name of Piano Forte Guittar

207. See Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, November 6, 1783, GDN Z2000915131 (BBCN), also the advert in the same newspaper on April 17, 1784 with a quote from the court order; for the date see Woodcroft, Subject-Matter Index, [p. 505](#).

208. Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, November 19, 1783, GDN Z2000948479 (BBCN).

209. Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, February 14, 1784, GDN Z2000948816, BBCN and many more.

210. Public Advertiser, December 23, 1783, GDN Z2001184356 (BBCN).

211. E. Johnson's British Gazette and Sunday Monitor, May 16, 1784, GDN Z2000087084; Public Advertiser, October 11, 1784, GDN Z2001187456 (BBCN).

has been constructed, as well as by the generous indignation the public always express at seeing genius abused, and private rights infringed"²¹².

In 1785 he sued Longman & Broderip for infringing on his patent and it seems that this time the court again decided in his favour. The *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* reported on June 23, 1785²¹³ that "after a long trial in which the defendants attempted to overturn the patentee's right to the invention, a verdict was obtained on favour of Mr. Clauss". But this account of the trial sounds as if it was written by himself. Amazingly he hadn't even sued for damages but only for "the patentee's right to his invention, and to prove that the defendants had lately infringed on his patent, thereby injuring the patentee as well as the public". A report on the same day in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*²¹⁴ offered some more details:

"The attempts of illiberal men to wrest from the hands of industry and genius the rewards of their inventions, have of late been so frequent that it is with pleasure we communicate to the public the decision of an English Jury in the case of Mr. Claus [sic!], the inventor of the Piano Forte Guitar. He has at length obtained a verdict against Longman and Broderip, for an attempt to infringe his patent by an imitation of his instrument. The defendants endeavoured to prove by one of their witnesses [...] that the specification of the patent was so obscure that he did not understand it. This however was clearly contradicted by the plaintiff's witnesses, particularly by Mr. Merlin, who proved that the specification was perfectly intelligible to the meanest mechanic. The Jury found a verdict for the plaintiff".

But this verdict had barely any consequences. Perhaps Claussen's position wasn't as strong as is claimed in these reports. Longman & Broderip still kept on producing and selling their piano forte guittars²¹⁵. But one may assume that they simply got tired of these annoying legal wrangles and eventually they solved this problem in a most effective way: they got heir own patent. In fact since April 1786 they only sold "patent Piano Forte Guittars, the mechanism of which draws out, for the convenience of keeping in perfect order"²¹⁶. There is none recorded for Longman & Broderip. They used a patent that was filed by John Goldsworth on July 23, 1785 - only a month after the trial - for an "Entire new improvement upon the musical instrument called the Guittar" including the "box or frame, which contains he mechanism, and draws out of side of the guitar near the tail spins for the sake of repairs"²¹⁷. Mr. Goldsworth was at that time a partner of Culliford & Co., a London firm that was under contract to build instruments exclusively for Longman & Broderip²¹⁸.

212. Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, December 4, 1784, GDN Z2000918792 (BBCN).

213. GDN Z2000952918 (BBCN).

214. GDN Z2000400382 (BBCN).

215. See for example their ad in the Daily Universal Register, June 29, 1785, GDN Z2000290554 (BBCN).

216. Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, April 28, 1786, GDN Z2000955040 (BBCN); see *Studia Instrumentorum Musicae*, No.628; Kinsky, p. 191, No. 628 and images on p. 188; see also World and Fashionable Advertiser, January 5, 1787, GDN Z2001548125 (BBCN).

217. See Patents for Invention, pp. 15-6, No. 1491.

218. See Nex 2011, pp. 36-7, 52.

James Longman's firm was not alone in getting an own patent for a keyed guittar By this time other competitors had also arrived on the scene. In an advert in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* on November 16, 1785²¹⁹ instrument makers William Jackson and Edward Smith introduced a new instrument called the "British Lyre", an "improved" guittar with seven strings. The patent had been registered in the name of Mr. Jackson on August 20, 1784²²⁰. This instrument also had a keyboard mechanism but in this case it was an external device that "may be put on any Guittar, and taken off; at pleasure, without the least injury to the instrument, it being put on the outside thereof, with the keys hanging over the strings".

For some reason Smith and Jackson dissolved their partnership in January 1786 and Mr. Smith continued the business on his own²²¹. The "British Lyre" was no success and never heard of again and Edward Smith also quickly vanished from the scene. But some month later, in July, well known music seller and guittar maker John Preston announced "Patent Piano Forte Guittars, Superior to any ever offered to the Public and greatly reduced in price":

"Preston, Musical Instrument maker, and original Inventor of the Machine for tuning the Guittar, with a Watch Key [...] has now ready for sale a verity of Guittars of his own manufacture (which have been so many years greatly esteemed) with the new Improvement of the Piano Forte Box, and at half the price usually paid for Piano Forte Guittars. This ingenious invention, for which the proprietor has obtained his Majesty's Royal Letters Patent, is allowed greatly to surpass every Improvement on that Instrument: Is not liable (like the generality) to be out of order, and may be taken off at pleasure. The keys being over the things, renders the fingering pleasant, the position of the hand graceful, and the tone produced from this Instruments infinitely exceeding anything ever heard"²²².

No patent for Mr. Preston is known but his description sounds very close to the one given by Smith and Jackson for the keyboard device of their British Lyre. It is not unreasonable to assume that he had acquired the rights to use their invention or he may have even hired Edward Smith himself. This would not only explain why nothing more was heard of Smith's music shop but also why the Preston's "Piano Forte Box" was known as the "Smith Patent Box".

In summer 1786 Christian Clauss clearly was in serious trouble. His two competitors, Longman & Broderip as well as Preston, were two of the biggest music sellers in London at that time. It is obvious that was also running out of money. That year he placed much less adverts for his instrument in the

219. GDN Z2000874586 (BBCN).

220. See Patents for Inventions, [p. 15](#), No. 1449.

221. See Morning Herald, February 21, 1786, GDN Z2000886471 (BBCN).

222. Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, July 25, 1786, GDN Z2000955644 & November 4, 1786, GDN Z2000956362 (BBCN); see the instruments at Studia Instrumentorum Musicae, [No.626](#): National Music Museum, University of South Dakota, [NNM 1292](#): Metropolitan Museum of Art, [89.4.1014](#): Victoria & Albert Museum, [London, 37-1870](#) (a guittar originally made by Frederick Hintz between 1755 and 1760 but later upgraded with both watch-key tuning and a Smith Patent Box)

newspapers. But it seems that there also were some technical problems with his keyboard mechanism. Already in 1785 he mentioned in one of his adverts that it had been "been maliciously reported that the Patent internal improvements are liable to speedy disorder" and in response to these allegations he provided a 20-year warranty²²³. John Preston in his advert for his own piano forte guittars also suggested that his competitors' models were "liable [...] to be out of order" so there may have been something to these charges and Claussen's mechanism wasn't as perfect as he always claimed. In a later advert in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* on December 16, 1786²²⁴ Preston furthermore noted - and this sounds like a deliberate swipe at Mr. Clauss - that the "Mechanism of all Piano Forte Guittars hitherto made, being so complexed, occasioned their continual want of repair" and that they had been "manufactured by artists totally inexperienced in this instrument".

To make matters worse Clauss also became entangled in a legal dispute with his partner, Joseph Levy²²⁵. In an advert in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* on July 7, 1786²²⁶ he accused a "combination of certain individuals" of "insidiously taking and carrying away, not only all his stock in trade , but also all his working tools by Force and violence [...] for the purpose of ruining him and his infant family if possible". In this case Longman & Broderip were innocent, a reputable company like theirs surely would have never dared to do such a thing to a competitor, no matter how annoying he was. In fact this particular incident had happened some months earlier. His partner had apparently sold Claussen's stock and working-tools to one Henry Holland, a respected instrument maker who simply had come to pick up what he had bought²²⁷. One can conclude that at during these months Christian Claussen's business was not in the best condition and the end was imminent²²⁸.

His last known advert can be found in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* on November 4, 1786²²⁹. Here he once again offered for sale "his much-admired Patent Piano Forte Guittars [...] so much improved in point of tune, lightness of touch, and ornamental beauty, as to render it one of the most melodious, elegant, and desirable musical instruments ever invented". But to no avail: half a year later Christian Clauss went bankrupt and afterwards nothing more was heard of him²³⁰.

223. See *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, December 25, 1784, GDN Z2000951223 (BBCN).

224. GDN Z2000877568 (BBCN).

225. See Nex, p. 30.

226. GDN Z2000955540 (BBCN).

227. See Mr. Holland's version in the *Morning Herald*, May 30, 1786, GDN Z2000887071 (BBCN).

228. It seems that Mr. Clauss was a somehow troublesome character. The following year a "Friend to Mr. Levy" published a klet with the title *An Account of the Conduct of Mr. Levy, respecting Christian Clauss, and other extraordinary Personages*. A reviewer in the *Monthly Review*, Vol.77, August 1787 [p. 169](#) noted after reading this pamphlet that "never man had greater cause of complaint, than hath the person who had the misfortune to be connected in business with Mr. C. C."

229. GDN Z2000956362 (BBCN).

230. See *London Gazette*, July 31, 1787 - August 4, 1787, GDN Z2000741526; *Whitehall Evening Post*, August 4, 1787 - August 7, 1787, GDN Z2001624052; *Public Advertiser*, August 6, 1787, Z2001198862, p. 2 (BBCN); Nex, p.30; his premises were later taken over by one James Cooper who opened a "Cheap Music Repository", see *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, January 15, 1788, GDN Z2000956890 (BBCN).

This story may look a little bit absurd at first glance but in fact it strongly suggests that the piano forte guittar must have been a very lucrative endeavour. The music making ladies from the upper classes were a worthwhile target group for instrument makers. What we have seen here was a kind of market adjustment. The two big players survived while the two small companies either were swallowed by a financially stronger competitor, as was the case with Mr. Smith whose innovation was made ready for the market by John Preston or went bankrupt like Christian Clauss. I have to admit that I got the impression that Mr. Clauss was his own worst enemy but on the other hand the piano forte guittar was the main pillar of his business while for James Longman's firm it was only one of the many instruments they manufactured and sold.

Longman & Broderip kept on producing their patented model and it was listed in their catalogues until the nineties:

"Patent Piano-Forte Guitars, On an entire new principle from others: The Machinery is curiously constructed, that it acts with amazing facility, and produces a tone far beyond conception, and nearly equal to that of a Piano Forte. The Machinery may be drawn out with Ease, to rectify any Impediment in the Movement. The great Demand for them, in preference to others, plainly evinces their superlative Degree of Merit"²³¹.

They also offered other improved musical instruments - for example piano fortes and grand piano fortes - for which they had filed patents and warned against "other artists" who sold "mere Copies of such Improvements, which tend not only to the Prejudice of the Patentees, but to deceive the unwary Purchasers"²³².

Keyed guittars remained in use at least until the turn of the century. Instrument maker George Astor sold them in 1799²³³ and music teachers both in Aberdeen and London still offered lessons at that time²³⁴. But soon afterwards they fell into obscurity.

3. Edward Light – Music Teacher And Inventor

It seems that the most important English expert for the guittar and related instruments during the latter part of the 18th century and the early 19th century was Edward Light (1747-1832), a mainstay of musical life in London for more than five decades. But he was not known an outstanding virtuoso or composer. Instead Mr. Light dedicated his business to the music making ladies of the higher classes,

231. Longman & Broderip, Catalogue 1792, p. 2.

232. Dto, p. 1.

233. Catalogue, p. 1.

234. See f. ex. The Aberdeen Journal, July 21, 1800, GDN BA3205611073 (BNCN) & E. Johnson's British Gazette and Sunday Monitor, October 3, 1802, GDN Z2000094685 (BBCN).

supplied them with instruments and printed music and gave them lessons. He first appeared on the scene early in 1774 when he opened a music shop in Mount Street in London:

"Edward Light begs leave to acquaint the Publick in general, that he has opened a Repository for all kind of Musical instruments &c. [...] where Ladies and Gentlemen may be supplied with all kinds of Instruments, new or second-hand, by the very best Makers and as cheap as at any Warehouse in London [...] Also Musick properly adapted for any instrument"²³⁵ Daily Advertiser, January 1, 1774, GDN Z2000155261 (BBCN)

Not until 55 years later he announced that because of "his great age and infirmities he intends very shortly to retire from business"²³⁶. In the intervening years Mr. Light - who could play half a dozen instruments, the guittar only one of them - was tirelessly active as music seller, instrument maker, composer and songwriter, music teacher, author and publisher of music books and performer. Since 1800 he also made himself a name as an inventor of new stringed instruments, for example the harp-guitar, the harp-lute, the harp-lyre and the dital harp.

His career started with a great misfortune: on May 3, 1774, shortly before his wedding, his shop - at that time already in King Street, Covent Garden - was destroyed by a fire and he lost nearly everything:

"The Rapidity of the flames at the Fire which happened at Mr. Light's Repository of Musical Instruments [...] was so great, that [...] he was unable to save any of his Property, (the whole of which was not insured) except one Forte Piano and two Guitars. His Case claims the Attention of the Humane - a worthy young Man, who next Week was to have entered into the Bands of Hymen, has lost his all"²³⁷.

Thankfully his friends from show-business - among them the legendary Ann Catley - organized at short notice a benefit for him: a "Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music" with the "most Capital Performers" at the *Theatre Royal* in the Haymarket that took place on June 7. Miss Catley sang Arne's "Nymphs and Shepherds and "Soldier Tir'd Of War's Alarms", Charles Bannister performed the "favourite Song, 'Oh! what a charming Thing's a Battle, &c.'" and the instrumentalists played "Solos and Concertos on a variety of Instruments". This was a fine gesture of solidarity, not uncommon at that time and it shows that Light must have had already at that time good connections in the London music scene.

There were also additional fund-raisers for Light and the other victims of the fire but unfortunately they proved "greatly inadequate"²³⁸. Of course the wedding had to be postponed but in August Mr. Light could marry Miss Hawkins²³⁹. It didn't take long until he was back in business. In March 1775 he

235. Daily Advertiser, January 1, 1774, GDN Z2000155261 (BBCN).

236. The Morning Chronicle, Wednesday, April 1, 1829, GDN BC3207310322 (BNCN).

237. Public Advertiser, May 9, 1774, GDN Z2001148890, p. 2 (BBCN).

238. Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, June 25, 1774, GDN Z2000833091 (BBCN).

239. Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, June 25, 1774, GDN Z2000833091 (BBCN).

opened a new music shop in New Bond Street where he offered "the very best and most curious Musical Instruments of all kinds"²⁴⁰.

He also tried to make himself a name as a composer and songwriter. At least two of his songs were already available at around that time, both published by Straight & Skillern: *Low in a Vale young Willy sat. A Favourite Scotch Song. The Words by a young Gentl.*²⁴¹ and *To please me the more. A favorite song*²⁴². 1776 saw the publication of his first song collection:

- Six English Songs for the Harpsichord and Voice, with an Accompaniment for One or Two Violins, Also Transposed for the Guittar, Set to Music by Edward Light, Opera Prima. To which are added Six Favourite Italian and French Songs, Selected from the best Authors, Printed for the Author and Sold at his House No.97 New Bond Street, London, ca. 1774-6²⁴³

Two years later, on May 15, 1778 he hold a subscription concert at the Buffalo Tavern, Bloomsbury Square: "The Performance will consist of Solos and Concertos on various Instruments. Mr. Light will play a Solo and other pieces on the Guittar; will also sing his favourite Hunting, and other Songs of his own composition". It seems that by that time he was already busy as a music teacher and had developed some new teaching methods: "N. B. Those who intend to be taught Mr.Light's expeditious method, will, by this performance, have an opportunity to judge his abilities"²⁴⁴. The same year he also published his first music books for guittar players, a six-part series called *The Ladies Amusement with "a Collection of Songs, Airs, and Lessons, properly adapted"* for that instrument²⁴⁵.

By the end of the year Light was running two so-called "Evening Academies" for "Music and Dancing"²⁴⁶ and in subsequent adverts he set forth his intentions and principles:

240. Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, March 16, 1775, GDN Z2000927380 (BBCN).

241. See [Copac](#), BUCEM II, p. 619.

242. See [Copac](#), BUCEM II, p. 620.

243. Bibliographical data from McCleave, *Catalogue of Published Music in the Mackworth Collection*, 1996, p. 310; in BUCEM (II, p. 620) this is dated as from 1780 but that is much too late. According to McCleave's Catalog the copy of this booklet in the Mackworth Collection has an inscription on the title page: "H. Mackworth May 11, 1774" and another one on the inner front cover: "H. Mackworth/ 1776". The first date could be a typing error. In 1774 Light had shops in Mount Street and King Street and May 11 as date of purchase is highly unlikely because a week earlier the latter had just burned down. As already mentioned Mr. Light opened his new shop at New Bond Street only in March 1775 so 1776 is more likely as the year of publication.

244. Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, May 14, 1778, GDN Z2000938265 (BBCN).

245. See Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, October 6, 1778, GDN Z2000939350 for No.4 and January 19, 1779, GDN Z2000940070, for No.6 (BBCN).

246. Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, December 23, 1778, GDN Z2000939893 (BBCN).

"The accomplishments of music and dancing being a necessary part of polite education, Mr. Light has made it his study to form a system by which means these agreeable arts are acquired in a short time and at little expence, and has opened two genteel evening academies [...]"²⁴⁷ .

"Mr. Light, Music Master [...] teaches music by a new easy method: he will engage to teach singing, and to play well on the guittar in three month, and on the harpsichord, piano forte, &c. in six months, provided his directions are strictly attended to, which are neither difficult, nor do they require near the time to practise that the common tedious method of teaching that art do"²⁴⁸ .

For the next fifty years Mr. Light taught music theory, singing and all kinds of popular instruments, like the harpsichord, the guittar, the German flute, the violin, later also the harp and of course all his own inventions. He always stressed his "new, easy, and expeditious Method of Teaching Music"²⁴⁹ and that was exactly what his clientèle was looking for. They surely didn't want to invest too much time in learning. Easy, fast and also inexpensive, that were his basic principles in all his business activities.

Of course all other music teachers also offered quick success in a short time with only little effort for little money. But it seems that he was really successful otherwise his business wouldn't have survived for so long in such a highly competitive market. Moreover he was not lacking in self-confidence and was a kind of promotional genius. What he wrote in his adverts sounds often very convincing and though he always promised much he never indulged in self-congratulatory bombast like Christian Clauss. Judging from what he offered there he really did a lot for his pupils. For example he organized regular concerts for them where they could practice their abilities²⁵⁰. One reviewer was very impressed by what he saw:

"On Tuesday evening Mr. Light, Music Professor, gave his friends an entertainment (or rather a first course) of vocal and instrumental music [...] a principal part of the music was performed by about ten young ladies of distinction (Mr. Light's scholars) from the age of five to twelve. The pieces for the night were selected from Moller, Sterkell, Nicholai, Theodore, Smith, Schroeter, and Eidleman, accompanied by Mr. Light and a select band; and executed with justice to he several composers, and in a manner that reflected great honour and credit to the master; in short, 'tis only wished this gentleman for his own interest, would make his next entertainment more publicly known, as thereby he must receive no small honour, and would stamp immortal fame on himself as a teacher on the piano forte, singing, &c. Several favourite glees were sung by the first vocal performers, and a Mr. Bird, the leader of the band, played a solo with peculiar taste, expression, and neatness. The company, which chiefly consisted of the families and attendants of the young ladies, was very brilliant"²⁵¹ .

247. Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, January 4, 1779, GDN Z2000939968 (BBCN).

248. Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, February 2, 1779, GDN Z2000940154 (BBCN).

249. Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, December 4, 1780, GDN Z2000904866 (BBCN).

250. For example; "A genteel, private, select Concert, Chiefly designed for the improvement of young practitioners in Vocal and instrumental Music", Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, October 18, 1783, GDN Z2000948344, or "weekly concert for improvement", Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, January 21, 1784, GDN Z2000869592 (BBCN).

251. Morning Herald, May 11, 1786, GDN Z2000886960 (BBCN).

Besides that he also wrote instruction books, at first one for keyboard instruments that initial had been "designed for the use of the [...] Academy only, but being found of extraordinary utility" he decided to publish it²⁵². It seems that this work became rather popular:

"Mr. Light acquaints those that wish to learn Music, that he has just published, a Second Edition of his Musical Grammar, or Book of Instructions for the Harpsichord, &c. The great utility and rapid sale of this, has induced him to write instructions of a similar nature for the Guittar, Violin, and German Flute, which are forwarding, and will soon be published. These books will contain the most delightful Music that ever was composed [...]"²⁵³ Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, March 19, 1781, GDN Z2000857665 (BBCN).

In fact a short time later his new tutor for the guittar came out:

- Art of Playing the Guittar, to which is added a Collection of favourite Lessons, Songs, Duettos, &c., Printed and Sold by John Preston, London 1781²⁵⁴

In 1783 he published another series called *The Ladies Favourite* including "concise Instructions for the Guittar, with easy Lessons, Songs, and Duets"²⁵⁵. Mr. Light's business clearly flourished during these years and he had a very busy schedule. He was teaching at his "academies" and also visited his pupils at home, both in London and the surrounding villages. But he still found time for other activities, especially for songwriting and composing. The advert for the first number of the *Ladies Favourite* also announced "a Collection of Sonnets adapted to the Harpsichord, Guittar, Violin and Flute" with the title *The Linnet*.

Another collection of "Six Ballads [...] in six different stiles, viz. English, French, Italian, Scotch, Irish, and Welch" called *Fragments* was advertised in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* on January 10, 1792²⁵⁶ and four years later he brought out "an admired Song of his composition. The Silent Hour, and Cupid and Chloe, a Duet"²⁵⁷. But to my knowledge there are no extant copies of all these works and this strongly suggests that they were not particularly successful.

Interestingly in 1785 he introduced the "Celestine Guittar, a soft pleasing instrument, of new invention, and which may easily be learnt in three months time". This may have been his first attempt at an improved guittar but I have no idea what kind of instrument that was. Possibly he also tried his

252. London Courant and Westminster Chronicle, May 6, 1780, GDN Z2000611961 (BBCN).

253. Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, March 19, 1781, GDN Z2000857665 (BBCN).

254. See Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, April 16, 1781, GDN Z2000906211 & November 1, 1781, GDN Z2000907715, BBCN; see also [Copac](#).

255. "The first Number": Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, April 7, 1783, GDN Z2000912732 (BBCN).

256. GDN Z2000964667 (BBCN).

257. Morning Post and Fashionable World, January 16, 1796, GDN Z2000971204 (BBCN).

hand at a keyed guittar because they were so popular at that time. He even wrote a book of *Instructions*. But this model was no success and to my knowledge it was never heard of again²⁵⁸.

According to Doane's *Musical Directory* (1794, p. 41) Edward Light was amongst the musicians who played at the Grand Music Festivals at Westminster Abbey, of course not on the guittar, but most likely on the violin. It should also be noted that for some time he was organist at Trinity Chapel, Hanover Square²⁵⁹ and also published a collection of sacred music:

- The psalms, hymns &c, used at Trinity Chapel, Conduit Street, St. George's, Hanover Square : to which is added divine songs, & voluntaries; with an introduction to, & some practical lessons in thorough bass / selected, adapted & composed, by Edwd. Light., London 1796²⁶⁰

The 1790s saw some interesting changes in Mr.Light's business and it seems that he concentrated more and more on teaching. In an advert in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, January 10, 1792²⁶¹ he announced even more advanced didactic methods:

"[...] he has begun his newly adopted method of instruction with the New Year; he now teaches on the Piano Forte, &c. in half the time as before, with the greatest ease, correctness, expression, and elegance; he gives Lessons also on the Violin, Guitar, and Harp, with Singing".

From the same ad his customers also learned that he had just opened - together with one J. Mathison - a new "Repository for New and Second-Hand Musical Instruments". But this partnership didn't last long. Three years later Mr.Light, jun. was in charge of this music shop²⁶²). That was his son Richard who had just joined the business. He also was busy as a teacher and it seems that he at least for some time managed a branch office of his father's academy²⁶³ . Besides that he also wrote a "much-admired, entertaining and instructive Selection of Music for the Pianoforte" in several parts called *Salmagundi*²⁶⁴. Later, between 1806 and 1830, Richard Light would publish more pieces for this instrument as well as a number of songs²⁶⁵. In 1798 the Lights sold all the stock of this *Repository* and closed it down:

"Mr. Light likewise informs the Lovers of Music, that his rooms will be immediately opened as a Musical Academy for teaching the Piano Forte, Guitar, Violin, &c. on a new, improved, and more easy, expeditious and cheap plan [...]"²⁶⁶.

258. See Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, March 3, 1785, GDN Z2000919316 & Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, March 30, 1785, GDN Z2000952383 (BBCN).

259. See NG 14, p. 696.

260. See [Copac](#), but first announced in Oracle and Public Advertiser, January 13, 1796, GDN Z2001028030 (BBCN).

261. GDN Z2000964667 (BBCN).

262. See Morning Chronicle, May 6, 1795, GDN Z2000805465 (BBCN).

263. See for example Morning Chronicle, May 9, 1797, GDN Z2000813012; Morning Herald, April 6, 1798, GDN Z2000897829; Observer, March 3, 1799, GDN Z2001396480 (BBCN).

264. Morning Chronicle, December 25, 1797, GDN Z2000815073 (BBCN).

265. See [Copac](#).

266. True Briton, May 19, 1798, GDN Z2001572733 (BBCN).

But they also opened an *Agency for Buying, Selling and Exchanging Instruments, &c.*²⁶⁷ I presume the trade with used musical instruments had become a very profitable business, especially for a music teacher who knew perfectly well what his pupils needed.

During the '90s the guittar, according to one advert "now very much in fashion from its strong resemblance of the Harp, and its cheap and easy acquirement, and very pleasing accompaniment to the voice", was still taught by Mr. Light "with flattering success" and he also published some numbers of a monthly periodical called *The Musette*, with suitable pleasing Lessons for Beginners" as well as "Songs and Tunes"²⁶⁸. But it seems that at some point he had become a little dissatisfied with this instrument and started to work on improvements to make it sound better and to expand its musical possibilities while at the same time retaining the advantages of the original guittar.

Already in 1796 he announced a "guitar improved" as a "good substitute for the harp[...] the improvement of the Guitar is in bringing it to suit the voice, to extend the compass, give richness of tone, and keep longer in tune, and play easier"²⁶⁹. But it is not known what exactly he had done to achieve this purpose. Three years later Light announced a guitar "strung and tuned like a harp": he had replaced the "jingling wire strings" with harp strings²⁷⁰. But obviously this wasn't completely satisfying and some months later he came up with a new instrument with eight strings called the "harp-guitar":

"Ladies are by this informed, the Harp Guitar is now completed, and they are ready for sale at his Musical Academy [...] The merits of this charming little instrument can be best known by seeing and hearing it; suffice here to say, it is fashioned like a harp, has the same sweet quality of tone for playing airs, and as an accompaniment in song none excels; it is very light and portable, easily learnt, and cheap in purchase. A book of instruction, and first, easy, and pleasing lessons is also just published [...]"²⁷¹.

Mr. Light started a veritable marketing campaign for his invention and regularly placed ads in the newspapers. A year later he even claimed that "that his much admired Harp-guitars are now in the highest perfection possible"²⁷² and also felt it necessary to warn against counterfeit instruments²⁷³. But the harp-guitar wasn't his last word. From then he regularly introduced new instruments and it is a little bit difficult to keep track of all his inventions:

267. Morning Chronicle, July 21, 1798, GDN Z2000816802 (BBCN).

268. Morning Chronicle, March 4, 1796, GDN Z2000809565, Oracle and Public Advertiser, January 13, 1796, GDN Z2001028030, True Briton, January 16, 1796, GDN Z2001557151 (BBCN).

269. Morning Chronicle, March 18, 1796, GDN Z2000809662, BBCN.

270. See Morning Herald, November 5, 1799, GDN Z2000901887 & December 27, 1799, GDN Z2000902258 (BBCN).

271. Morning Post and Gazetteer, May 8, 1800, GDN Z2000982834 (BBCN), see also Armstrong 1908, [p. 25](#) and image after p. 24; on March 22, 1800 in the Morning Post and Gazetteer (GDN Z2000982456, BBCN) he had announced a "Harpanized Guitar, a most pleasant little instrument [...] the entire invention of Mr. Light" but I presume this was the same.

272. Morning Post, May 23, 1801, p. 1 (BNA).

273. Morning Post, July 3, 1801, p. 1 (BNA).

- the first was "The new Lute and Harp Guitar [...], a fashionable, sweet-toned, portable little instrument, lately invented by Mr. Light [...] the price only from Four to Six Guineas" but it seems this was a one-off²⁷⁴;
- In the *Morning Post* on February 27, 1802²⁷⁵ he announced that he had "invented an Instrument called the Diplo-Kithara, being a kind of Harp in new form and principle [...] it is very light and portable, keeps well in tune and, like the Harp Guitar, is very easy to learn". This was a "small double harp", an instrument that "only require(s) to be seen and heard to be at once admired". Later he advertised them as "cheap Travelling Harps"²⁷⁶;
- the "Harp-Lute", a beautiful looking instrument with at first eleven strings was first announced in the *Morning Post* on July 19, 1802²⁷⁷ and Mr. Light noted that it was "small, elegant, very light and portable, of the fascinating harp-like sound [...] a charming accompaniment to the voice, &c. and so easy to play on, as to require very little instruction";
- the next one was the "Harp-Lute Guitar", the "first in fashion and most admired" of all "small portable instruments"²⁷⁸;
- since 1803 he also regularly introduced different kinds of lyres: "new invented", the "improved ten-stringed Lyre", "new Lyre-Harps" that differed from the lute-harps "only in the shape of the body, which is flat in the back" and the "Apollo Lyre"²⁷⁹.

The harp-lute became his most popular instrument and for more than a decade he praised it in his adverts in the most glowing terms:

"Mr.Light most respectfully informs the Nobility, Gentry,&c. he has now some Harp Lutes just finished, of exquisite fine tone, equal to the real Harp. These elegant little instruments are so easy to play on as to require very little time, trouble, or expence in learning them. They accompany the voice, &c. most charmingly; and independent of their convenience for travelling with, &c the great demand for them evince their superiority and preference to every other instrument of the kind [...]"²⁸⁰.

"The Newly-invented Patent Harp-Lute, as so portable an Instrument, its equal never known in this kingdom. The Harp-Lute possesses the pleasing sound of the real Harp, accompanies the voice, &c. equally well, and the learning to play upon them very easy and soon required. Mr. Light, Inventor and sole Proprietor of the above, respectfully informs his numerous accomplished Pupils, that his first number of Scottish and Irish Melodies, with Accompaniments, expressly composed for the Harp-Lute and Apollo Lyre, is just published, and ready to be delivered, at his Cabinet de Musiqua Unique [...]"²⁸¹ (*Morning Post*, November 2, 1811, p.1 (BNA))

274. *Morning Post and Gazetteer*, July 24, 1800, GDN Z2000983491 (BBCN).

275. P. 1, BNA.

276. *The Morning Chronicle*, July 8, 1802, GDN BB3207087537, BNCN; *Morning Post*, 08 April 8, 1803, p.1 (BNA).

277. P. 2, BNA; see Armstrong, [pp. 67-96](#).

278. *The Morning Chronicle*, September 10, 1803, GDN BB3207090744 & November 3, 1804, GDN BB3207093915 (BNCN); see Armstrong, [pp. 53-66](#).

279. *The Morning Chronicle*, January 14, 1803, GDN BB3207088986 (BNCN); *Morning Post*, December 09, 1803, p.1 (BNA); *Morning Post*, November 29, 1805, p.1 (BNA), Busby, [p.276](#); *Morning Post*, December 23, 1807, p.1 (BNA).

280. *The Morning Chronicle*, May 31, 1803, GDN BB3207090010 (BNCN).

281. *Morning Post*, November 2, 1811, p.1 (BNA).

And the ladies obviously bought his instruments and played on them. The Princess of Wales was amongst his pupils and according to one ad from 1814 he could count "more than 500 persons of dignity and first musical taste" as his customers²⁸². The success of the lute-harp can also be seen from the amount of music published by Light²⁸³. His tutor, the *Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Harp-lute & Apollo-lyre* (c1810) was even reviewed in the *Repository Of Arts, Literature, Commerce*²⁸⁴ and the author was surprised that the sound of the instrument "approaches the harp [...] its tone is much stronger than we could have expected from an instrument of so portable a size". He only had some doubts whether it could also be played effectively in the sharp keys. Otherwise the "directions contained in the little book [...] are given with clearness and precision; sufficient, we think, to enable an amateur to instruct himself in a moderate space of time; and the elegance of the instrument itself, as well as the position in which it is played, adds to its recommendation".

During these years a second son, Thomas, joined the business. In 1805 the company was called "Edward Light And Sons". But it seems that he later moved to Bath where he was a "Harp Master" in 1810 but also sold his father's instruments²⁸⁵. In 1814 he even published *A Selection of Favorite Airs with Varns Rondos, Waltzes, Marches &c. Composed & adapted for the Harp-Lute, to which is added a Divertimento, as a Duetto, for Two Harp-Lutes*²⁸⁶. But that is the last known of him and I haven't been able to find out what he did for the rest of his life.

In 1815/16 some competitors arrived on the scene. Angelo Ventura, "Professor of the Spanish Guitar and the Lyre" and also music teacher of the Princess of Wales introduced the "Imperial Harp Lute" which he claimed was much better than the "Common Harp-Lute"²⁸⁷. A year later a Mr. Levi announced an "improved harp guitar" that - at least according to his ad - "far surpasses all others in elegance, effect, or harmony, facility of performance, and ease of acquirement"²⁸⁸. But that didn't matter that much because Edward Light had at that time already the next invention in store.

In June 1816 he filed a patent for "Improvements on the instrument known by the name of the harp lute [...]": so-called "ditals or thumb keys" to raise the strings half a tone²⁸⁹. This instrument was at first introduced in 1817 as the "British Harp-Lute" with 17 or 18 strings²⁹⁰ and then two years later as the

282. See Morning Chronicle, October 24 1810, p. 1: "patronized by her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales"; Morning Post, September 3, 1814, p. 1 (BNA).

283. See [Copac](#); Armstrong, p. 80b.

284. Vol. VI, July 1811, [p.35](#).

285. See The Morning Chronicle, September 23, 1805, GDN BB3207096248 (BNCN); Morning Post, October 23, 1810, p.1 & December 24, 1810, p. 2 (BNA).

286. See [Copac](#).

287. The Morning Chronicle, March 28, 1815, GDN BA3207125407 (BNCN).

288. The Morning Chronicle, May 22, 1816, BA3207129402 (BNCN).

289. See Patents of Invention, [p. 79](#), No. 4041.

290. See The Morning Chronicle, February 17, 1817, GDN BA3207132239 (BNCN).

"Dital Harp" with 19 strings²⁹¹. As usual Mr. Light - who obviously saw this as his masterpiece - was able to describe his new product in the best promotional prose:

"Light's new invented portable Patent Dital Harp, constructed upon quite a new principle of action, and which produces all the richness of tone and entire effect of the Pedal Harp, although not one-third as big; they are a charming accompaniment to the voice, as also to the Piano-forte, &c., and the art of playing on them very soon acquired; the peculiar advantage which the Dital Harp possesses above all other instruments of the smaller class, is that of its comprising so much, and so perfectly complete within such a small compass, and comparatively small a price, viz. only from 16 to 20 guineas, with handsome case included; besides all which, they are most elegant and graceful, together with other considerable advantages in the learning of them, &c. They are now to be seen and heard (in beautiful variety), ready for the inspection and choice of the Nobility and polite Musical world, at Mr. Light's, the Inventor and Patentee, 8, Foley-place, Cavendish-square, where only they can be had. - N.B. Ladies are also completely instructed on the Dital harp, and on the Piano-forte; in Singing in the English and Italian style; also the Theory of Music, as thorough bass [...]"²⁹².

The author of a review of Mr. Light's *New and Complete directory to the Art of Playing on the Patent British Lute Harp* in the *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, &c.*²⁹³ was certainly impressed and noted that this new mechanism was "a very great improvement on the harp-lute, and probably the utmost approach to perfection attainable in the instrument, the fullness of whose tone, together with its portability, comparative cheapness, practical facility, and exterior elegance, are likely to recommend it to many fair amateurs". At this time Edward Light was over 70 years old but he kept on selling and inventing instruments and teaching music to the ladies for ten more years. And it seems that he never lost his self-confidence and his knack for self-promotion:

"Extraordinary, never anything equal to the present New-Constructed Lutes, &c. - Their extraordinary properties are - First, they produce the finest tone of any thing of the kind ever heard. - Secondly, they are played in all keys. - Thirdly, they are easily learnt (in one week), and besides all which, the prices of them are (comparatively) small; they are, by the Inventor, of the very popular, Harp Lutes, and the recent new invented Dital Harps, so well known in higher circles. - The Inventor challenges all Europe to produce such desirable Instruments, of the smaller class, adapted for the Ladies [...]"²⁹⁴.

He slowed down a little bit in 1827 when he announced that "in consequence of his advanced age and infirmities he is obliged to decline business" and started to sell his stock of instruments²⁹⁵ but only in 1829 he closed his "private Cabinet" and retired²⁹⁶. Edward Light died three years later, in 1832 and afterwards his instruments were soon forgotten. I found only very few references to them in the

291. The Morning Chronicle, [September 8, 1819, GDN BC3207283537 \(BNCN\)](#); see [Armstrong, pp. 97-128, Kinsky 1912, pp. 30-34](#).

292. The Morning Chronicle, February 11, 1820, GDN BC3207284964 (BNCN).

293. 2nd Series, Vol. VII, No. XL, April 1, 1819, [pp. 224 – 226](#).

294. Morning Post, December 23 1823, p. 1 (BNA).

295. Morning Post, 1872, January 29, p. 1 (BNA).

296. See The Morning Chronicle, March 16, 1829, GDN BC3207310156, April 1, 1829, GDN BC3207310322 (BNCN).

newspapers. He had no-one to follow in his footsteps and I don't know what had happened to his sons. Nonetheless one can't help being impressed by his life and his achievements. Neither his music nor his instruments ever made it to the stage instead he supplied the amateur musicians with everything they needed, an ever-growing market at that time.

4. The Guittar's Demise In The Early 19th Century

In 1796 Edward Light had called the guittar "the now most fashionable Instrument" but when he started to promote his own inventions he more or less spelled the end of its popularity. Around the turn of the century it was still quite common and teachers were easily available. Most interesting among them was one J.A. Stevenson, "Professor of the Guitar and Singing" who regularly offered his services in adverts between 1795 and 1800. He taught the guittar "in a style hitherto unknown in this Country" and claimed that he could show "Ladies, unacquainted with Music [...] in Three Months to Sing by Accompaniment, in a manner that must agreeably surprise their Friends". Stevenson also published some music for the instrument and - in 1798 - announced that he had made some improvements on the guitar that "rendered [it] equal to the harp [...] powerful and beautifully brilliant in its effects"²⁹⁷.

In 1800 music teacher John Byrne from Aberdeen noted that the guittar was "not much in vogue at present"²⁹⁸. Music for guittar-players was still published²⁹⁹ but clearly much less than was common during the previous decades. Music seller George Astor listed in his catalogue in 1799 only a tutor but nothing more.

In the early years of the 19th century the new six-stringed Spanish guitar was introduced in England and "composers such as Felice Chabran and Thomas Bolton soon began to write music for it"³⁰⁰. This new instrument slowly but surely took over the role of the old-fashioned English guittar and was at first also mostly used to accompany the the voice.

"The guittar gradually declined in popularity during the first quarter of the 19th century"³⁰¹. A look at the adverts in the newspapers during the years 1816/17 confirms this trend. There was little mention of this instrument. I only found one ad by teacher who offered lessons for both the English and Spanish

297. Morning Post and Fashionable World, March 3, 1795, GDN Z2000966765; Telegraph, February 16, 1797, GDN Z2001481286; True Briton, February 28, 1797, GDN Z2001565099; Times, October 12, 1797, GDN Z2001486516; Morning Post and Gazetteer, March 1, 1798, Z2000976119; Morning Herald, May 6, 1799, GDN Z2000900529 & April 12, 1800, GDN Z2000902643 (all BBCN).

298. The Aberdeen Journal, July 21, 1800, GDN BA3205611073 (BBCN).

299. See Morning Herald, December 21, 1799, GDN Z2000902217; Star, May 28, 1800, GDN Z2001457292 (BBCN).

300. See Button, [Teaching of the Guitar](#).

301. Coggin, p. 209.

guitar³⁰² while at the same time Edward Light's harp-lutes were advertised regularly. But 1815 was also the year that Fernando Sor, "the most celebrated Performer in Europe on the Spanish Guitar"³⁰³, came to England and he left a lasting impression:

"Mr. Sor [...] had a most fashionable and crowded assembly at the Argyll Rooms on Wednesday evening, where he gave a splendid Concert. His talent on this instrument, which has been so limited, till he enlarged its powers, was truly exquisite, and he showed how admirably adapted it is to a lady's voice, by the effect of a delicate aria, finely sung by Madame Sala, with his guitar accompaniment. It was universally applauded"³⁰⁴.

The English guittar soon vanished from the scene completely and by 1833 it "had acquired a reputation as a relic of the recent past"³⁰⁵. In fact I found no references to this instrument in the newspaper adverts from the 1830s. After nearly 80 years this interesting chapter was over.

The introduction of the guittar in the 1750s and its long-running popularity showed the emancipation of the market for domestic music making. The ladies enjoyed this new instrument immensely no matter how imperfect it was. It didn't matter what the professionals said. They simply had to accept it - often grudgingly I presume - and to offer their services as teachers and as composers.

But on the other hand the guittar created excellent opportunities for music teachers and instrument makers. For example both Frederick Hintz and Edward Light owed their success nearly exclusively to the guittar-playing ladies. They - like many others - simply took their chance and supplied them with instruments, lessons and music.

III. Music For The Guittar Published In Britain

1756 – 1763: A Bibliography

This is an attempt at a bibliography of all books containing music for the "guittar" that were published in England and Scotland between 1756 - when Thomas Call brought out the very first tutor for this instrument - and 1763. Of course it is not complete and I am pretty sure I have missed some publications.

This bibliography is first and foremost based on adverts for "New Musick" in the newspapers of that era. I have used both the [*17th & 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers*](#) (BBCN) and the [*British Newspaper Archive*](#) (BNA). The latter includes mostly local newspapers and is helpful for publications

302. The Morning Chronicle, April 25, 1816, BA3207129188 (BNCN).

303. The Morning Chronicle, April 11, 1815, GDN BA3207125531, (BNCN).

304. The Morning Chronicle, June 17, 1815, GDN BA3207126099; see also July 23, 1816, GDN BA3207129981 (BNCN).

305. Coggin, p. 209.

issued outside of London. As far as possible I have given the date of the first known advert for a book. This was very often the exact date of publication.

Not all music books were announced in the newspapers. A considerable number of publications were found with the help of the [Copac National, Academic, and Specialist Library Catalogue](#) that gives access to the merged online catalogues of nearly all British libraries. I have also used bibliographies like the *British Union Catalogue Of Early Music Printed Before The Year 1801* (BUCEM) and the *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (RISM). Other works were also very helpful, especially the *Bibliography Of The Musical Works Published By The Firm Of John Walsh during the years 1721 - 1766* by Smith & Humphries, the last edition of the *New Grove* as well as the two standard works about British music publishers by Kidson and Humphries/Smith. Please see also the complete list of Databases and Literature used for this work.

There are no extant copies of a lot of the books listed here. But those that have survived the centuries can easily be located with the help of the links to COPAC.

I have tried to give some biographical information about all the composers listed here. For five of them - Lapis, Marella, Pasqualino, Real and Ghillini di Asuni - I found it necessary to write little biographical sketches that can be found in Part III of this work.

1749 ["Pandola"]

- Nicolas Cloes, *One Hundred French Songs Set for a Voice, German Flute, Harpsichord and Pandola. Dedicated to Their Royal Highness The Prince and Princess of Wales, Printed for John Walsh, London 1749 (reprinted ca.1752)*

Smith/Humphries, Walsh, p. 85-6, Nos. 382 & 383, see also [Copac](#); the first advert: General Advertiser, January 4, 1749 (GDN Z2000419104, BBCN): "One hundred French Songs for a Voice, Harpsichord, German Flute, or Violin gilt and bound in One Volume", so possibly parts of this collection had been published earlier. Since then this book was advertised regularly during the next years although strangely neither Mr. Cloes nor the "pandola" were mentioned in any of these adverts. As late as 1758 it was still offered by Walsh (see Public Advertiser, December 8, 1758; GDN Z200107613, BBCN). This was the only book ever published for the "pandola", the mysterious instrument played by the equally mysterious Nicolas Cloes who claimed to have taught it to the Princess of Wales. But there are no special arrangements, in fact the music only "consists of just a treble clef vocal line and a figured bass for the harpsichord. The other instruments are alternatives to the voice" (Tyler/Sparks, p. 30). I have included this collection here because Walsh later recycled it as the first book of a series of "Canzonets" for "Voices, German Flutes or Guittars". Books II and III were published in the late '50s (see Smith/Humphries, Walsh, p. 71, No. 314 - but 1755 seems to me a little bit too early - and p. 350, No. 812).

1756

- Thomas Call, "A Book of Airs and Songs, principally adapted for" the Guittar, Printed for the Author, London 1756

Public Advertiser, November 5, 1756, GDN Z2001072556 (BBCN); the correct title is not known and it seems there are no extant copies of this book; it was first offered for subscription in the Public Advertiser, August 26, 1756 (GDN Z2001072239, BBCN) as "a Set of Airs for the use of the Guittar only, which will be very helpful for the true Exercise of the Fingers".

no date [between 1755/6 and 1761/2]

- The Ladies' Pocket Guide or The Compleat Tutor for the Guittar, containing Easy Rules for Learners with a choice Collection of the most famous Airs, Printed for David Rutherford [sic!], London [ca. 1756]

Dating from Kidson, *British Music Publishers*, [p.113](#); see also the catalogue of the *British Library* (via [Copac](#)) where it is dated as from "1750?" but that is much too early; see also Coggin, p. 210.

- The Compleat Tutor for the Guittar, containing the Best Instructions for Learners To which are Added a choice Collection of Italian, English & Scotch Tunes, etc, Printed for John Johnson, London [ca. 1755 – 1762]

See the catalogue of the British Library via [Copac](#); the exact date of publication is not known, it could have been any time between 1755/6 and 1761, the year of Johnson's death (see the advert in the *Public Advertiser*, May 29, 1761, GDN Z2001081887, BBCN). But even a later date is possible. His widow continued the business. She advertised under her late husband's name and also used the old imprint for a while.

1757

- "Instructions for playing on the Cittern or Guitar", London 1757

London Evening Post, March 8, 1757 - March 10, 1757 (GDN Z2000660255, BBCN): "This Day was publish'd, Price 5s., Instructions for playing on the Cittern or Guitar, a Scale of the Notes, and the Finger Board of the Instrument are prefix'd, whereon the Stops and Frets are so pointed out, that any Person may, without other Assistance, be capable, in a very few Days, to play on this instrument. To be had only of Mr. Meackham, Hosier and Glover, in the Inner Temple Lane".

- James Oswald, *Eighteen Divertimenti or Duetts, properly adapted for the Guittar, or Mandolin*, Printed for I. Oswald, London 1757

He also offered in his shop the "best Guittars [...] carefully fitted, by an eminent Master": *London Chronicle*, June 21, 1757 - June 23, 1757 (GDN Z2001662974, BBCN), see also McKillop 2001, p. 135.

- *Forty select Duets, Ariettas and Minuets for two Guitars, Mandelins or Cittars, by the best Masters*, Printed for J. Walsh, London 1757

See the catalogue record of the BL (via [Copac](#)): "[...] N.B. These airs are also proper for two German flutes or French horns"; the first advert: *Public Advertiser*, June 22, 1757, GDN Z2001073710, BBCN; see also Humphries/Smith, Walsh, p. 131, No. 531: "Forty select Duets, Ariettas and Minuets for two Guittars or Mandavines".

- *Santo Lapis, Il Passa tempo della Guitarra: in twelve [sic! later: "Little"] Italian Airs for the Voice, accompanied by the Guittar or Harpsichord*, Printed for R. Liessem, London 1757

Public Advertiser, October 6, 1757 (GDN Z2001074179, BBCN); it seems that the only extant copy of this publication can be found in the library of Monte Cassino, see the [catalogue record](#) of the Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale; see Part III for a biographical sketch of Santo Lapis.

- Joseph Real, *Twenty-four Duets for two French Horns, two Guittars, or two German Flutes*, Printed for Thompson And Son, London 1757

Public Advertiser, October 27, 1757 (GDN Z2001074278, BBCN): "composed in a pleasing taste"; see RISM VII, p. 114, No. R490. This was first announced ("speedily will be published") as "Twenty-four entire new Duets for two French Horns or German Flutes, composed by Josiah [sic!] Real" in the *Public Advertiser*, September 15, 1757 (GDN Z2001074085); see Part III for a biographical sketch of Joseph Real.

1758

- James Oswald, *Forty Airs for two Violins, German Flutes, or Guittars, consisting of Tattoos, Night Pieces, and Marches, as they are perform'd in the Hessian and Prussian Armies*, Printed for J.Oswald, London 1758

Public Advertiser, February 13, 1758 (GDN Z2001074778, BBCN), see also [Copac](#).

- Giovanni Battista Marella, *Sixty-six Lessons for the Cetra or Guittar*, in every key, both flat and sharp, Printed for the Author, London 1758

Public Advertiser, February 18, 1758 (GDN Z2001074802, BBCN): "to be had at Mr. Johnson's Music-Shop [...] and at the Author", see [Copac](#); see Coggin, p. 216-7; see Part III for a biographical sketch of G. B.Marella.

- *Guittar in Fashion*, containing twelve double Sonatas for all Sorts of Guittars, with Minuets, and six Duettos and [sic!] two Guittars, and an Italian song compos'd by Santo Lapis, Printed for the Author, London 1758

Public Advertiser, April 8, 1758 (GDN Z2001075024, BBCN): "Sold by R.Liessem [...], Mr. Walsh's, [...], Mr. Johnson's [...], Mr. Thompson's [...], Mr. Oswald's".

- Pasqualino Demarzi [sic!], *Six Sonatas, for the Cetra or Kitara, with a Thorough Bass*, [John Johnson, for the Author], London 1758

London Chronicle, April 27, 1758 - April 29, 1758 (GDN Z2001665304, BBCN), in a "List of New Books in 1758"; two years later this book was announced again in the Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer, May 13, 1760 - May 15, 1760 (GDN Z2001657934, BBCN): "Six Sonatas or Lessons for the Guitar, with a Thorough Bass. Dedicated to the Right Hon. the Countess of Pembroke. By Sig. Pasqualini Demarzi", Printed for John Johnson, London 1760; see BUCEM II, p. 764 and [Copac](#) but 1740 resp. 1750 are of course much too early; see also one of this sonatas performed by Doc Rossi & Andrea Damiani on [YouTube](#); see Part III for a biographical sketch of Mr.Pasqualino.

- James Oswald, *Twelve Divertimentis for the Guittar*, Printed for the Author, London 1758

Public Advertiser, May 17, 1758 (GDNZ2001075207, BBCN); see McKillop 2001, p. 135-6; see also his [website](#) for his recordings of Oswald's *Divertimentis* and a pdf-copy of this book; see also *Divertimento No. 4* played by Rob McKillop on [YouTube](#).

- *Air Nove Da Battelo; or, Twelve Venetian Ballads for the Harpsichord or Guittar, with a thorough Bass*, Sold by B. Sherwoods, London 1758

Public Advertiser, June 9, 1758 (GDNZ2001075310, BBCN).

- Ten Favourite Songs, Sung by Miss Formantel at Ranelagh, Set to Music by James Oswald, Printed for the Author , London 1758

"N. B.: The Songs are all transposed for the Guittar", London Chronicle (Semi-Annual), July 15, 1758 - July 18, 1758 (GDNZ2001666158, BBCN); see also [Copac](#); Catherine Fourmantel was a popular singer (see BDA 5, pp. 376-7).

- Warlike Musick. Being a Choice Collection of Marches & Trumpet Tunes for a German Flute, Violin or Harpsicord [sic!]. By Mr Handel, Sr Martini and the most eminent Masters, 4 Books, Printed for J. Walsh, London 1758

See Smith & Humphries, Walsh, p. 342, No.1535, also p. 341, No. 1534, see also [Copac](#); first advertised in Public Advertiser, September 20, 1758 (GDNZ2001075807, BBCN); all the adverts say that this "Collection of all the favourite Marches performed in the Regiments both here and abroad" is " for the Harpsichord, German Flute, or Guittar", while the list of instruments on the title-page doesn't include the "guittar".

- The Compleat Tutor for the Guittar or Cittern, Printed for Thompson and Son, London 1758

Public Advertiser, September 23, 1758 (Gale Document Number: Z2001075819, BBCN): "just published".

- Joseph Real, Duets for two Guitars or French Horns, Printed for Thompson and Son, London 1758

"Also just published": Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer, October 17, 1758 - October 19, 1758 (GDN Z2001656117, BBCN).

- Robert Bremner, Instructions For The Guitar; With A Collection Of Airs, Songs And Duets, fitted for that Instrument, Printed and Sold at his Music-Shop, Edinburgh 1758

Caledonian Mercury, November 16, 1758, BNA ("lately published"); a second edition was published in Edinburgh in 1760 (see [Copac](#)). Bremner moved to London and opened up a shop there (see Caledonian Mercury, December 4, 1762, BNA). The *Instructions* are listed - besides other books for the guittar - in one of his first adverts there (Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, November 27, 1762; GDN Z2000341324, BBCN). The book was published again in London in the 1760s (see BUCEM I, p. 133); see also Coggin 1887, pp. 209 - 212 and McKillop 2001, p. 129 - 133; a pdf-copy of this book is available on [Rob McKillop's site](#); see also [Scotmus.com](#) for midis and an excellent introduction); for more about Robert Bremner, one of the most important British music publishers of the 18th century, see Farmer, pp. 293-4, David Johnson in NG 4, p. 314 (he claims that the Instructions were "probably written by his son

Robert who had been sent to London to study the guitar with Geminiani"), Kidson, British Music Publishers, pp. [15 - 18](#), [178 – 180](#).

1759

- Miss Mayer. A new Guittar Book in 4 Parts, viz. Italian, French, English Airs, and Duets for the Voice accompanied with the Guittar and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord. Composed by Santo Lapis, Opera XVI, Sold by Mr.Liessem, for the Author, London 1759

See [Copac](#), BUCEM II, p. 595, RISM V, p. 226, No. L667, Humphries/Smith 1970, p. 212.

- Charles Barbandt, Yearly Subscription Of New Music, containing twelve different Pieces during the whole Year, to be delivered monthly, beginning on Saturday, March 10, and to be continued till the year is expired, London 1759/60

First announced in the Public Advertiser on December 9, 1758 (GDN Z2001076140, BBCN), see also Public Advertiser, March 3, 1759 (GDN Z2001076502, BBCN) for a complete list of the music included in this series: "[...] for June: [...], two Lessons for the Cittern or Guittar [...] for December [...], two Lessons for Cittern or Guittar"; see also [Copac](#).

Charles Barbandt (1716 - c1775, see NG , BD 1, pp. 279 -280) from Hannover played the organ as well as a couple of woodwind instruments like the clarinet, the oboe and the flute. He came to England in the early 1750s. In January 1752 he had his first benefit at *Hicksford's Great Room* (see General Advertiser, January 11, 1752, GDN Z2000423895, BBCN) . His first compositions, *Six Sonatas for Two Violins, two German Flutes or two Hautboys, with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsicord [...] Opera 1me* were published by John Walsh in February 1752 (see Smith/Humphries, No. 138, p. 34). They were dedicated to the Princess of Wales. On the title page he called himself "Musician to His Majesty at Hanover". In 1755 he wrote music for Alexander Pope's *Universal Prayer* "in the Manner of an Oratorio". This piece as well as some more oratorios were performed at Haymarket and Barbandt was always supported by excellent musicians like Marella (see for example Public Advertiser, February 12, 1755, GDN Z2001069240, BBCN).

These "Lessons for the Cittern or Guittar" were his only works for this instrument, instead he preferred to compose for example some symphonies as well as a sonata for the harpsichord ("dedicated to his present majesty", 1764). He also published a book with *Short and easy Rules for the Thorough Bass* (c. 1760) and a collection of hymns (1766, see the list at [Copac](#)).

- Thomas Frye, jun., Twelve easy Minuets, six for two German Flutes and six for two Guittars, Printed for John Cox, London 1759

Public Advertiser, March 31, 1759 (GDN Z2001076626, BBCN). Nothing is known about this composer, perhaps he was a son of Anglo-Irish painter Thomas Frye (c.1710 - 1762).

- Duets or Canzonets for two Voices or two German Flutes and a Bass compos'd by Sigr Jomelli, Hasse, and the most eminent Italian Masters, Books V & VI, Printed for J. Walsh, London 1759

Smith/Humphries, Walsh, p. 182-3, Nos. 810/1, Public Advertiser, April 18, 1759 (Gale DocNr.Z2001076701): "A Fifth and Sixth Book of Duets or Canzonets for two Voices, two Guittars, or German Flutes: By Sig. Hasse, Jomelli, &c." These volumes were parts of a longer series with songs by popular opera composers Hasse and Jomelli that had started in 1748. The first four volumes were only for voices and "two German Flutes". Since Vol. 5 the "guittar" was added in the adverts as another instrument for playing the melody. In the Public Advertiser, April 27, 1759 (Gale Document Number: Z200107674, BBCN) is an advert for "Jomelli's & Hasse's Canzonets for two Guittars, Voices or German Flutes; in six Books". No.VIII was published in 1761 and Nos. IX & X followed in 1762 (Smith/Humphries, Walsh, p. 183, No. 813 – 15) and here the "guittar" was also added on the title-page.

- All the Tunes in the Beggar's Opera, transposed into easy and proper Keys for the Guittar, Printed for C.Jones, London 1759

Public Advertiser, April 27, 1759 (GDN Z2001076741, BBCN).

- John Frederick Zuckert, Six Sonatas or Solos for the Guittar, Sold only by the Author, London 1759

Public Advertiser, May 24, 1759 (GDN Z2001076858, BBCN); see also BUCEM II, p. 1103. John Frederick Zuckert was a musician of German origin who played the double bass. He lived in England at least since the early 1740s and joined the *Society of Musicians* in 1742 (Matthews, p. 163). In 1758 his *Six Sonatas for two German Flutes and a Bass* were published by John Walsh (see Smith/Humphries, Walsh, p. 348, No. 1564; Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer, October 10 - 12, 1758, GDN Z2001656093).

Mr. Zuckert obviously had the best connections to the Royal Family. His next work, *Eight Sonatas for two Violins, or two German Flutes and a Violoncello, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord*, was published in 1765 and "Dedicated by Permission to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester" (see BUCEM II, p. 1103; Public Advertiser, April 29, 1765, GDN Z2001103612). Since 1762 he was a member of "Her Majesty's Household" (see the *Court And City Kalendar*, 1763, p.94). He played in the "Queen's Band of Music" at least until 1787. That year he was still listed in the *London Calendar, Or Court And City Register For England, Scotland, Ireland, and America* (p. 83).

- French Horn Tunes, For two German Flutes or Guittars, Printed for J. Walsh, London 1759

Public Advertiser July 21, 1759 (GDN Z2001077113, BBCN).

- Joseph Real, *Twenty four favourite Airs for one or two Guitars*, Printed for Thompson and Son, London 1759

Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer, September 4, 1759 - September 6, 1759 (GDN Z2001657173, BBCN).

- *A Pocket Companion for the Guittar containing XL of the newest and most favourite Minuets, Country-Dances, Jiggs Airs &c All carefully transposed and properly adapted to that Instrument, to which is added the Prussian March in two parts and the favorite Hymn for Easter*, Printed for T. Hapgood, London [c1759]

From the catalogue of the *British Library* via [Copac](#).

- George Rush, *XII Favourite Lessons or Airs for two Guittars*, Opera 2d, Printed for J. Oswald, London ca. 1759/60

Listed as "Twelve Lessons by Mr. Rush" on the title page of Oswald's *Compleat Tutor for the Guittar*, see McKillop, p. 136; complete title taken from [Copac](#), but "c. 1755" is much too early.

It seems that George Rush spent some years in Italy to study music and returned to England "towards the end of the 1750s" (see Roscoe, p. 297).

His first published work, *Six Easy Lessons for the Harpsichord, calculated for the Improvement of young Practicioners* (see [Copac](#)) came out in 1759 and his second opus were these *Lessons or Airs for two Guittars .. A First Set of Sonatas for the Guittar, with an Accompanymt for another Guittar or Violin* followed some years later (see [Copac](#) and the advert by publisher Peter Welcker in the *Public Advertiser* on April 30, 1764, GDN Z2001096581, BBCN). These sonatas were dedicated to Lady Stanhope who probably was one of his "aristocratic pupils" (Roscoe, p. 298). I don't know if the the second set was ever published but it seems that these were his only works for the guittar. Otherwise he preferred to compose for the theatre, for example the music for *The Royal Shepherd* (1763) and *The Capriciuous Lover* (1764) or sonatas and concertos for the harpsichord (see NG 21, p. 896, Fiske, pp. 311-2, see also BUCEM II, p. 907 and [Copac](#)).

1760

- *The Songs in the Gentle Shepherd, Adapted for the Guitar by Robert Bremner*, Sold at his Music Shop, Edinburgh 1760

Caledonian Mercury, January 9, 1760, BNA ("[...] in the press, and speedily will be published"); see BUCEM I, p. 133, [Copac](#); see also McKillop, p. 130.

- Santo Lapis, *A Libro Aperto. Light Airs with Minuets for the Harpsichord and for all sorts of Guittars*; containing 36 easy Lessons, Printed for the Author, London 1760

See [Copac](#), BUCEM II, p. 595, RISM V, p. 226, No. L668 and Humphries/Smith 1970, p. 212; first announced as "Light Airs for the Harpsichord and Guittar" in: *Public Ledger or The Daily Register of Commerce and Intelligence*, January 25, 1760 (GDN Z2001234534, BBCN).

- Thomas Call, *The Tunes as sung at Magdalen Chapel, properly set for the Organ, Harpsichord, and Guittar*, Printed for and sold by the Author, London 1760

"These Tunes may be had of Mr.Call": *Public Advertiser*, March 27, 1760 (GDN Z2001078501, BBCN); a new edition "with an adition of new Tunes never before published; also all the hymns that are there made use of, bound together with the tunes" was first announced in the *Public Advertiser*, November 5, 1760 (GDN Z2001080245,BBCN), see also [Copac](#); at this time "Thomas Call, Organist" was still teaching the "guittar [...] in the most easy and compleatest Maner possible").

- Antonio Pereya da Costa, *Twelve Serenatas, for The Guittar*, Printed for J. Oswald, London 1760

Daily Advertiser, March 28, 1760 (GDN Z2000152035, BBCN); see [Copac](#) and BUCEM II, p. 770; according to McKillop, pp. 134-5 this was a pseudonym of James Oswald.

- Friedrich Theodor Schuman(n), *A Second Set of Lessons for one or two Guitars*, Printed for John Johnson, London 1760

Whitehall Evening Post or *London Intelligencer*, May 13, 1760 - May 15, 1760, (GDN Z2001657934,BBCN) see BUCEM II, p. 935, also [Copac](#), but 1765 is of course much too late; Robert Bremner, who later acquired some of Johnson's plates, still listed "Schuman's Lessons, Op.2" in his catalogue from March 1782 (p. 4). I couldn't find an advert for a first set; in an advert in the *Public Advertiser*, January 9, 1761 (GDN Z2001080759, BBCN) Johnson offered "A Collection of Lessons for the Guittar, by Mr. Schuman". I don't know if this was the second set only or maybe both volumes bound together; in 1763 Schuman's *Thirty Eight Lessons, with an addition of Six French & Italian Songs, for the Guittar ... Opera 1st.* were published by Rauche (see [Copac](#), BUCEM II, p. 935 and *Public Advertiser*, January 17, 1763, GDN Z2001088026). This surely was a reprint of the otherwise lost first set of lessons. A new edition of this collection was later published in 1776 by M. Welcker (see *Morning Chronicle* and *London Advertiser*, November 9, 1776, GDN Z2000843506).

It is not known when Friedrich Theodor Schumann came to England. A Mr. Schuman first appeared at two benefit concerts in December 1755 and in January 1757 where he played a "Concerto on the German

Flute" (see Public Advertiser, December 16, 1755 , GDN Z2001071096 & January 5, 1757, GDN Z2001072827, BBCN). He may have also been the Mr. Schuman who composed a cantata for two "Medley Concerts" at Haymarket on August 31 and September 12, 1757 (see Public Advertiser , August 31, 1757, GDN Z2001074009, BBCN & London Stage 4.2, p. 612). He also played in Norwich in September 1760 together with other musicians "from the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, London" (Fawcett, p. 24-5).

From 1761 to 1763 Schuman also held a series of successful concerts where he played the musical glasses, another fashionable exotic instrument that was popular at that time. In some of the the adverts he offered to teach "the Harpsichord, German Flute, and Guittar" (see f. ex. Public Advertiser, July 30, 1761, GDN Z2001082346, BBCN). Thereafter he rarely appeared on stage. I only found an announcement for a performance of Händel's *Messiah* in Oxford where Mr. Schuman played the French horn (London Chronicle, June 30 - July 2, 1763, GDN Z2001679534, BBCN). It seems that from then on he concentrated on composing (see the list in BUCEM II, p. 935 and [Copac](#)).

Some collections of songs adapted for the guittar were published in 1762/3 respectively 1768 and a set of *Six Solos for the Guittar* in 1770 (see Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, March 5, 1770, GDN Z2000366395, BBCN). Otherwise he mostly wrote music for the harpsichord (see NG 22, pp. 758-9). His last publication were the *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, or Piano-Forte* in 1782 ((Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, April 24, 1782, GDN Z2000909688, BBCN). I don't know what he did afterwards but according to Boyle's *Fashionable Court and Country Guide* (p. 74) a Fred. T. Schuman was still living in London in 1800.

- No. VII. Canzonets for a Voice, German Flute or Guittar. Being a Collection of the most favourite French Songs, Book III, Printed for J. Walsh, London 1760

Smith/Humphries, Walsh, p. 350, No. 812; [Copac](#); Public Advertiser, July 3, 1760 (GDN Z2001079301, BBCN): "Number VII: Twenty French and Italian Canzonets for a Guittar, German Flute, Voice et Harpsichord". Book II was published earlier (see Smith/Humphries, Walsh, p. 71, No. 314) and Nicolas Cloes' *One Hundred French Sons*, 1749 was regarded as the first volume. On the other hand this series was mixed up somehow - therefore the "Number VII"- with another series consisting of "Duets and Canzonets" by Hasse, Jomelli & Co (see Smith/Humphries, Walsh, p. 808-9, Nos. 808 - 811). In the Public Advertiser, August 1, 1760 (GDN Z2001079524, BBCN) is an advert for "Italian and French Canzonets, for German Flute, Guittars, Voice, or Harpsichord, in 7 Books").

- The Airs in the Jovial Crew or Merry Beggars: for the Violin, German flute, or Guittar. As perform'd at the Theatre in Covent Garden, Printed for Thompson And Son, London 1760

See [Copac](#); advertised in the London Chronicle, September 2, 1760 - September 4, 1760 (GDN Z2001672920, BBCN) as "The Airs in the Jovial Crew, for German Flute or Violin".

- Francesco Geminiani, The Art of Playing the Guittar or Cittra, containing several Compositions, with a Bass, for the Violoncello or Harpsichord, Printed for the Author, Edinburgh 1760

Caledonian Mercury, 26.11.1760, BNA ("just published"): "sold at Robert Bremner's music-shops; see [Copac](#) and BUCEM I, p. 366; see also Coggin 1987, p. 212 - 215; first advertised in London by John Johnson in the Public Advertiser, January 9, 1761 (GDN Z2001080759, BBCN). For more about composer and violinist Francesco Geminiani (1687 - 1762) see the NG , p. and the short overview at [baroquemusic.org](#).

- Charles Clagget, *Forty Lessons and Twelve Songs for the Citra or Guittar [sic]. With a Treatise on the Performance and Explanation of the most difficult passages &c*, Printed for the Author, Edinburgh [c. 1760]

See [Copac](#), according to the catalogue record (from the *Royal Academy of Music*) this is a box of 54 cards; the "treatise on the performance [...] is missing". 1760 could be the correct date of publication. Claggett was in Edinburgh that year (see Holman 2010, p. 165). The *Six Duets for two Violins [...] by Messrs. Clagget* (i. e. Charles and his brother Walter) were also published in 1760 by Robert Bremner in Edinburgh (see BUCEM I, p. 193 and Caledonian Mercury, January 14, 1761, BNA).

Rauche in London offered "A Set of Lessons and Songs for the Guittar, composed by Charles Claget" in adverts in the *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, January 6, 1763 (GDN Z2000341655) and *Public Advertiser*, January 17, 1763 (GDN Z2001088026, BBCN). This was most likely the same work, possibly a reprint or a new edition. In the same advert Rauche also offered a new collection "Six Songs for Guittar and Voices, by Mr.Claget". But this was his last work for the guittar.

Charles Clagget (1740 - c1796) from Ireland was a versatile musician who played and taught the violin, the violoncello and the guittar. But he was also known as a gifted inventor who - according to a concert program from 1790 - has "dedicated upwards of fourteen years, and a very large sum of money, to the improvement of different musical instruments" (title at [Copac](#); see also NG 5, pp. 888-9, BDA 3, pp. 290-1, Holman 2010, p. 165 - 168, BUCEM I, p. 193, [Copac](#)).

- *Twelve Scots Songs for a Voice or Guitar with a Thorough Bass*, adapted for that instrument by Robert Bremner, Printed and Sold at his Music Shop, Edinburgh, ca.1760

BUCEM I, p. 134, [Copac](#); see also McKillop, pp. 132-3.

- *A Compleat Tutor for the Guittar. With two Scales shewing the method of Playing in the keys of C & G. To which is Added Eighteen favourite songs adapted for That instrument, Book 1st*, Printed for I.Oswald, London, c. 1760

This was the first volume of his *Pocket Companion for the Guittar* : "Books Books II-VI have the title: "The pocket companion for the guittar containing a favourite collection of the best Italian[,] French[,] English and Scots songs adapted for that instrument and the voice", see [Copac](#) and BUCEM II, p. 1025; see also McKillopp, p. 136 – 139.

- Twelve of the most celebrated English Songs which are now in vogue, neatly adapted for the Guittar and Voice, Printed for David Rutherford, London c.1760

From the catalogue of *Bodleian Library*, Oxford via [Copac](#).

- A curious collection of the most celebrated country dances & airs which are now in vogue, to which are added four favourite Italian songs neatly fitted for the Guittar. Printed for David Rutherford, London c.1760

From the catalogue of *Bodleian Library*, Oxford via [Copac](#).

1761

- Felice Giardini, *Six Trios for the Guitar, Violin, and Violoncello*, Printed for the Author, London 1761

Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer, January 1, 1761 - January 3, 1761 (GDN Z2001658617, BBCN): "to be had at his house [...] and at the Music-Shops"; see [Copac](#) and McVeigh 1989, p. 314.

Felice Giardini (1716 -1796) from Turin was a prolific composer and an outstanding violin virtuoso. He arrived in London 1750 and made a deep impression on his English audiences. Charles Burney in his *History of Music* (II, [p. 1012](#)) notes that his great hand, taste, and style of playing. were so universally admired, that her had soon not only a great number of scholars on the violin, but taught many ladies of the first rank to sing". He was a mainstay of the London music scene for the next several decades as an instrumentalist, composer, impresario and teacher (see McVeigh 1983 & 1989, NG 9, pp. 827-8; see also BUCEM I, pp. 373-5 and [Copac](#)).

The *Six Trios for the Guitar, Violin, and Violoncello* were dedicated to one Dorothy Penton. Perhaps she was one of his pupils. These compositions were his only pieces for this instrument at that time but they remained available for a long time. Robert Bremner later stocked them (see his Catalogue 1782, p. 4) and they are also listed in the *Additional Catalogue Of Instrumental and Vocal Music* by Preston & Son (1790, p. 10) who had bought Bremner's stock after his death. In 1775 Giardini wrote another set of *Six Trios for the Guittar, Violin, and Piano Forte, or Harp, Violin and Violincello* that were published by William Napier (see Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, May 8, 1775, GDN Z2000836937; McVeigh 1989, p. 315).

- William Bates, *Twelve Sets of Lessons for the Guittar*, Printed for John Johnson, London 1761

First announced by publisher John Johnson in the Public Advertiser, January 9, 1761 (GDN Z2001080759, BBCN). William Bates was a popular composer who wrote mostly for the stage (see NG 2, p. 903, Fiske, pp. 314, 397, BUCEM I, pp. 90-1).

- John Parry, A Collection of Welsh, English and Scotch Airs with new Variations : also Four new Lessons for the Harp or Harpsichord composed by John Parry. To which are added twelve Airs for the Guittar, Printed for and sold by the author [...] and by John Johnson, London 1761

See [Copac](#) and BUCEM II, p. 763; first announced in the Public Advertiser, February 9, 1761 (GDN Z2001080991, BBCN), as "A Choice Collection of Airs with new Variations [...]"; see also the "Proposals for Publishing by Subscription" for this book in the Public Advertiser, May 29, 1760 (GDN Z2001079025, BBCN). John Parry (c.1710 - 1782) was a blind Welsh harp player, the "most distinguished harper of his generation in Great Britain" (NG).

- Ann Ford, Fifteen English and Italian Airs and Lessons for the Guitar, with Variations to three favourite Tunes, and full Instructions to attain Playing in true Taste [...], To be had of the Author; of R. Davies [...]; Mr. Walsh [...] and Mr. Hamell, London 1761

London Chronicle March 7, 1761 - March 10, 1761 (GDN Z2001674596, BBCN), Smith/Humphries, No.633,p. 142; later the lessons - "Miss Ford's Instructions for the Guitar" - were offered separately for half the price, at first in an advert in the Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer , April 16, 1761 - April 18, 1761 (Gale Document Number: Z2001658922, BBCN). But it seems that the whole book was also sold - possibly as a reprint with the new title - as "Lessons and Instructions for playing the Guitar", see the advert in the Ipswich Journal May 16, 1761 (at BNA) where a book with that title by Miss Ford was announced ("This Day is Published"); see also the advert in the Public Advertiser, May 6, 1763 (GDN Z2001089547, BBCN) by Michael Rauche, who sold her book in London. For more about Ann Ford see Peter Holman in *Eighteenth-Century Music* (2004) and in his *Life After Death* (2010, pp. 235 - 243); see also the interesting text at [The Glass Harmonica](#); about the *Instructions*: Coggin, p. 215-6.

- The comic Tunes to this Year's Opera Dances, for the Harpsichord, German Flute, Violin, or Guittar, Printed for J. Walsh, London 1761

Public Advertiser, May 26, 1761, GDN Z2001081862, BBCN; see Smith/Humphries, Walsh, p. 179, No. 793 for the correct title: "Hasse's Comic Tunes To The Opera and Theatre Dances. Vol.VIII"; No. 793a is the second part.

- Joseph Real, Twenty-four Duets for two Guittars, Printed by John Johnson, London 1761

Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle, August 26, 1761 - August 28, 1761, GDN Z2000551716, BBCN). Publisher John Johnson had died in earlier that year (see the advert in the Public Advertiser, May 29, 1761, GDN Z2001081887, BBCN) but his widow continued the business and used his name and imprint from then on for some years.

1762

- Friedrich Theodor Schuman(n), "A new Collection of English, French and Italian Songs, adapted for the Guittar", [Printed for the Author?], London 1762

Public Advertiser, April 21, 1762, GDN Z2001084583: "This Week will be published [...]"). In January 1763 publisher Michael Rauche announced "A Collection of the most celebrated Songs set by several Authors, adapted for the Guittar by F. Schuman" (see also BUCEM II, p. 935 and [Copac](#)). Perhaps this was the same book.

- The Opera Dances for the Year 1762, Part First, for the Harpsicord, German Flute, Guittar, Printed for J. Walsh, London 1762

Public Advertiser, May 4, 1762 (GDN Z2001084744, BBCN); see Smith/Humphries, Walsh, p. 180, No. 794.

- Giovanni Battista Marella, Compositions for the Cetra or Guittar, with an Accompaniment, consisting of a Variety of Pieces in every Stile of Music, Book II, Opera IV, Printed for the Author, London 1762

Public Advertiser, Monday, May 13, 1762, GDN Z2001084852, BBCN): "Sold by the Author [...] and at Mr. Hintz's [sic! i. e. Hintz]"; see also [Copac](#) and BUCEM II, p. 650.

- A Second Set of Opera Dances for the Year 1762, with the favourite Minuet for the Harpsicord, German Flute, or Guittar, Printed for J. Walsh, London 1762

Public Advertiser, Wednesday, May 26, 1762 (GDN Z2001085005, BBCN); see Smith/Humphries, Walsh, p. 180, No. 795.

- William Yates, A Collection of Moral Songs or Hymns for a Voice, Harpsichord and Guittar, Printed for Thompson and Son, London 1762

"Just published": London Chronicle, September 2, 1762 - September 4, 1762 (GDN Z2001677704, BBCN); see also [Copac](#) and BUCEM II, p. 1093). According to Mortimer's *Universal Director* (1763, p. 38) he was "Organist, and Teacher on the Harpsichord. At Spring-gardens, Vauxhall".

- William Bates, *Six Suites of Lessons for the Guittar*, Printed for J. Johnson, London

1762 Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle, September 6, 1762 - September 8, 1762 (GDN Z2000553667, BBCN); I have no idea if this is related to the "Twelve Sets of Lessons for the Guittar" advertised by Johnson in January 1761; there are no extant copies of these books and they are not listed in BUCEM, RISM or any library catalogue.

- Giovanni Battista Noferi, *Six Solos for the Guittar, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord, Dedicated to Miss Anne Hester Abdy, Opera Terza*, Printed for John Johnson, London 1762

Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle, September 6 - 8, 1762 (Gale DocNr.Z2000553667, BBCN); see also [Copac](#) and BUCEM II, p. 732.

Violinist Giovanni Battista Noferi (c. 1740 - 1782) was a pupil of Felice Giardini (see NG 18, pp. 15-6, BDA 11, p. 39, McVeigh 2010, p. 170). It is not known when he came to London but his first compositions, *Eight solos for a violin with a bass for the harpsichord or violoncello*, were published by John Cox in 1757 (see [Copac](#) and Public Advertiser, Saturday, November 12, 1757, GDN Z2001074352, BBCN). This collection of *Six Solos for the Guittar* was his third publication and they were followed by a set of *Six Duets for two Guittars* in May 1763. Circa 1775 a collection of *Six Sonatas or Lessons for the Guitar. Opera 12* was published by Longman, Lukey & Co. (see [Copac](#)) but otherwise he preferred to write music for the violin (see the list at [Copac](#)).

In 1778 Noferi even played the guittar on stage. After the last act of the opera *La Vera Costanza* "a new Grand Ballet Espagnol, called La Serenade Interrompue" was performed "With a Pas de Deux du Masque, by Mons. Simonet and Madmoiselle Baccelli, accompanied un de Guittare by Signor Noferi" (see Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, February 23, 1778, GDN Z2000384533, BBCN). This piece became a great hit and was played regularly on stage for the next three years. It was also published by Welcker in *The Opera Dances for 1778* ("including the favourite Spanish Dance, as performed by Monsieur Simonet and Madmoiselle Baccelli, composed and adapted for the Harp, Guittar German Flute and Piano Forte by G. B. Noferi", see Morning Post and Daily Advertiser, August 31, 1778, GDN Z2000939039, BBCN and [Copac](#)).

In 1782 he was "the leader of the ballets at the Opera House" but he died on February 26 that year "in consequence of a fit of apoplexy, with which he was struck in the orchestra, during a rehearsal of the new grand dance" (Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser, February 28, 1782, GDN Z2000908638, BBCN).

- "The Lady's Amusement, being an intire [sic!] new Collection of Favourite French & Italian Songs, Airs, Minuets & Marches, none ever before Publish'd, Compos'd and Adapted for the Guittar by Sigr Ghillini Di Asuni, Printed for P. Welcker, London 1762

First announced in the Public Advertiser, November 2, 1762 (GDN Z2001086973, BBCN) as "The Lady's Amusement. Being a Collection of favourite Italian and French Songs, Minuets, Airs, &c., none ever before printed, being collected and adapted for the Guittar by the most eminent Masters". Complete title

from the catalogue of the *British Library* via [Copac](#) and BUCEM I, p. 373. Peter Welcker, "music seller, engraver, printer and publisher" - in the advert his name is spelt "Weleker" - was busy between 1762 and 1775. This was one of his first publications (Humphries/Smith, p. 327). His earliest advert can be found in the *Public Advertiser*, July 31, 1762 (GDN Z2001085762, BBCN). There he offered for example *Minuets for a German Flute and a Bass* by the same Ghillini di Assuni as well as works by Noferi and Bates. It seems that Welcker had at first worked as a professional musician. The *Daily Advertiser* on October 11, 1743 (Gale DocNr.Z2000148756, BBCN) announced - "For the Benefit of Mr.Peter Welcker" - a "Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music" where he was supposed to play a "Solo on the Violin" ; see Part III for a short biographical sketch of Mr. Ghillini di Asuni.

- The Airs in the Opera of Artaxerxes, set for the German Flute, Violin, and Guittar, Printed for Thorowgood And Horne, London 1762

Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, December 1, 1762 (Gale Doc Nr. Z2000341351, BBCN); see also [Copac](#).

- Luigi Senzanome, Ten two-part Songs, in a familiar Stile, for Guitars and Voices, which may also be played as Duets, or Single, on the Violin or Hautboy, in their natural Key, and on the German Flute, as transposed at the End of the Book, Printed for the Author, [London?] 1762

Ipswich Journal, December 4, 1762, p. 3 (BNA): "Sold by Mr.Rauche [...] London;and Mr. Samuel Gibbs, Stationer,at Witham, Essex; also announced by Rauche in his adverts in the *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, January 6, 1763 (GDN Z2000341655) & *Public Advertiser*, January 17, 1763 (GDN Z2001088026, both BBCN): "Ten Two-part Songs, properly adapted for Guittars and Voices, whereof four are entirely original and the other six new set. Also an original Song to the Tune of a favourite Scotch March". Nothing is known about this composer.

- A Collection of Favourite Italian and English songs from Galluppi, Handel etc, compiled and adapted for the Guittar by Miss Stevenson, Printed for the Author, London 1762

See [Copac](#); first advertised by publisher Johnson - in fact it was his widow - in the *Public Advertiser*, Thursday, December 16, 1762 (GDN Z2001087607, BBCN) as "Miss Stevenson's Songs" in a list of "new Pieces of Music" for the guittar together with "Bates's Duets" [nia] and "Real's Duets", "Schuman's Lessons" and "Noferi's Solos". Miss Stevenson was a popular singer who often performed at Vauxhall Gardens (see BDA 14, p.282).

- The Airs with all the Symphonies in the Opera of Artaxerxes, correctly transposed for the German flute, Violin, and Guittar, Printed for J. Johnson, London 1762

Public Advertiser, December 16, 1762 (GDN Z2001087607, BBCN); see also [Copac](#). Thomas Arne's *Artaxerxes* was the most popular opera that year (premiere: February 2, 1762).

- Benjamin Millgrove, *Forty Easy Lessons For One Or Two Guittars. To Which Is Added, For the Perusal of Scholars, Instructions to perform the same, Printed for Benjamin Millgrove and Comp., Bath 1762*

"In which is shewn, the true Method of using the Thumb and 3d Finger of the Right Hand": Pope's Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette, December 16, 1762 (BNA), London Chronicle, January 1, 1763 - June 30, 1763, GDN Z2001678431 (BBCN). Millgrove had a music shop in Bath, Thompson & Son sold it in London. This book was published again in 1772: "Forty Lessons for one and two Guittars; to which is added, for the Practice of Scholars, a Scale of the Notes as they stand on the five Lines; also a Scale of the Notes as they stand on the Fingerboard, and a practical Lesson as an Introduction to the whole" (C.& S. Thompson, Public Advertiser, June 23, 1772, GDN Z2001141578; Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, September 3, 1772, GDN Z2000824807, BBCN). It was still available from the Thompsons in the late '80s. They also sold in London the three collections of hymns brought out by Millgrove (or Milgrove) between 1768 and and 1781 (see [Copac](#); Catalogue Thompson 1787, pp. [19](#), [38](#)).

- Handel's favourite Minuets from his Operas and Oratorios, with those made for the Balls at Court, for the Harpsichord, German Flute, Violin or Guitar, in four Books, Printed for J.Walsh, London 1762

Public Advertiser, December 24, 1762 (GDN Z2001087733, BBCN); see also [Copac](#).

1763

- Roderigo Antonio de Menezes, *A Set of Divertimentis for the Guittar, Opera First, Printed for M. Rauche, London 1763*

Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, January 6, 1763 (GDN Z2000341655) & Public Advertiser, January 17, 1763 (GDN Z2001088026, BBCN). In 1760 a "Rodorigo" from Portugal was in London: "er spielte die spanische Guitar vortrefflich". He also showed 10 year old German Wunderkind Gertrude Schmeling how to play the English guittar (Selbstbiographie Mara, 1875, p. 516). One may assume that this was the same person. Otherwise nothing else is known about him except that Rodrigo Antonio de Menezes, "ein Portugiese" also gave an "Extra Conzerte auf der Guitarre" in Leipzig in Germany in 1766 (see Grenser 2005, p.18, Schering 1941, p. 414).

- Friedrich Theodor Schuman(n), *Thirty Eight Lessons, with an addition of Six French & Italian Songs, for the Guittar, Opera 1st, Printed for M. Rauche, London 1763*

Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, January 6, 1763 (GDN Z2000341655) & Public Advertiser,

January 17, 1763 (GDN Z2001088026); see also [Copac](#). This was a new edition or reprint of Schuman's first set of Lessons that had been published before the "Second Set" came out in May 1760. In 1776 this edition was reprinted by M. Welcker who obviously had acquired the rights to some of Rauche's publications (see Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, November 9, 1776, GDN Z2000843506, all BBCN)

- Friedrich Theodor Schuman(n), A Collection of the most celebrated Songs set by several Authors, adapted for the Guittar by F. Shuman [sic], Printed for M. Rauche, London 1763

Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, January 6, 1763 (GDN Z2000341655) & Public Advertiser, January 17, 1763 (GDN Z2001088026); see also see also BUCEM II, p. 935 and [COPAC](#). A new edition was published with the title *A Collection of the most favourite Songs* in 1776 by publisher M. Welcker (see Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, November 9, 1776, GDN Z2000843506,all BBCN).

- Rudolf Straube, Lessons for two Guittars, with a thorough Bass, Printed for M. Rauche, London 1763

Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, January 6, 1763 (GDN Z2000341655) & Public Advertiser, January 17, 1763 (GDN Z2001088026, BBCN), see [Copac](#).

Rudolf Straube (1717 - 1785) from Leipzig was a pupil of Johann Sebastian Bach. He played the harpsichord and the lute. His earliest compositions were *Dui Sonate a Liutu Solo*, published in Leipzig in 1746 (see BUCEM II, p. 985 and [Copac](#)). Straube moved to England in the late 1750s where he also learned to play the guittar. At a concert in Bath on January 1, 1759 he performed "several Lessons upon the Arch-Lute and Guittar in a Singular and Masterly Manner" (quoted in Holman 2010, p. 153). In 1768 Rauche also published Straube's second work for the guittar:

- Three Sonatas for the Guittar, with Accompanymts for the Harpsichord or Violoncello, With an Addition of two Sonatas for the Guittar, accompanyd with the Violin. Likewise a choice Collection of the most Favourite English, Scotch and Italian Songs for one, and two Guittars, of different Authors. Also Thirty two Solo Lessons by several Masters, Printed for M. Rauche, London 1768 (see Public Advertiser, March 29, 1768, GDN Z2001123227, BBCN; BUCEM II, p. 985 and [Copac](#)).

In 1776 this work was reprinted by publisher Mary Welcker, (see Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, November 9, 1776, GDN Z2000843506, BBCN), the widow of Peter Welcker, who obviously had acquired the rights to some of Rauche's publications. Mrs. Welcker died in 1778. Robert Bremner bought up some of her stock (see Humphries/Smith, p. 327) and Straube's two books can also be found in Bremner's *Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music* from March 1782.

- An., Six Divertimentis or Lessons for the Guittar with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello, compos'd by a Gentleman for his own private Entertainment, not originally intended for the Press, Printed for M. Rauche, London 1763

Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, January 6, 1763 (GDN Z2000341655) & Public Advertiser, January 17, 1763 (GDN Z2001088026, BBCN), see [Copac](#).

- Charles Clagget, *Six Songs for a Guittar and Voice*, Printed for M. Rauche, London 1763

Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, January 6, 1763 (GDN Z2000341655) & Public Advertiser, January 17, 1763 (GDN Z2001088026, BBCN).

- The Comic Opera of *Love in a Village*, set for the Guittar, Printed for J. Walsh, London 1763

Public Advertiser, March 7, 1763 (GDN Z2001088565, BBCN).

- A Collection of the most favourite Oratorio Songs, composed by Mr. Handel, properly set and adapted for the Guittar and Voice by Signor Ghillini di Asuni, Printed for M. Rauche, London 1763

Public Advertiser, May 6, 1763 (GDN Z2001089547, BBCN).

- The favourite Songs in *Love In A Village*, properly set and adapted for the Guittar and Voice by Signor Ghillini di Asuni, Printed for M. Rauche, London 1763

Public Advertiser, May 6, 1763 (GDN Z2001089547, BBCN).

- Giovanni Battista Noferi, *Sei Duetti per due Cetre. Opera vi*, Printed for the Author, London 1763

Public Advertiser, May 11, 1763 (GDN Z2001089636, BBCN); this book was sold both by Welcker and Rauche; see also [Copac](#).

- *Select Aires for the Guittar Collected from Operas, and the most Favourite Songs, Minuets, &c. Perform'd at the Theatres. By the best Masters. N. B. These Aires may be play'd on ye French Horn*, Printed for J. Walsh, London 1763 [6 Books]

Public Advertiser, August 31, 1763, GDN Z2001091926, BBCN (as "Select Aires for the Guittar, 6 Books") and September 3, 1763, GDN Z2001092003, BBCN (as "Select Aires on Purpose for the Guittar, 6 Books"); complete title from Smith/Humphries, No. 14, p. 4-5; a second volume with 6 more books was published later.

- A Compleat Tutor for the Guitar, To which is added a choice collection of Italian, English, & Scotch Tunes, Printed for Thorowgood and Horne, London 1763

Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, December 12, 1763 (GDN Z2000343530, BBCN): "The Compleatest Tutor for the Guitar: Containing not only the best Instructions for that Instrument, but also a pleasing Variety of useful Airs for the Improvement of young Practioners, collected from the best Masters"; correct title from catalogue of the British Library via [Copac](#).

- The Favourite Airs from Love In A Village,with other Tunes for the Guitar, Printed for Thorowgood and Horne, London 1763

Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser, December 12, 1763 (GDN Z2000343530, BBCN).

- A Second Collection of the most celebrated English Songs, which are now in vogue, Neatly adapted for the Guittar and Voice, Printed for David Rutherford, London ca. 1763

From the catalogue of *Bodleian Library*, Oxford via [Copac](#) but 1762 is a little bit too early. This collection includes songs from *Love In A Village* and that opera's première was only in December that year. 1763 is more likely as the year of publication.

- The Airs with all the Symphonies in the Comic Opera of Love in a village, correctly transposed for the Guittar, Printed for J. Johnson, London c.1763

From the catalogue of *Bodleian Library*, Oxford via [Copac](#) (there dated as from "c.1762" but again 1763 is more reasonable.

IV. Some Biographical Sketches

1. Santo Lapis

One of the most industrious authors of music for the guittar during the years 1757 - 1761 was Santo Lapis, a composer, impresario and a teacher for harpsichord and singing³⁰⁶. He was most likely born in

306. See Armellini 2004, NG 14, p. 268, Rasch 2001, pp. 11-2, Rasch 2006, pp. 124 – 133.

Bologna shortly before 1700 and studied there at the conservatory .After some time in Italy as an organist and opera composer he joined the caravan northwards. It seems he spent some time in Klagenfurt and Praha in the late 30s and early 40s. His first collection of instrumental music, the *Sonate da camera a due, violino, e basso [...], Opera Prima* was published in Augsburg³⁰⁷. It seems that Lapis worked mostly as a music teacher. These pieces as well as most of his later compositions for cembalo, flutes, violin, violoncellos or bassoon were obviously intended for amateur musicians.

Since the early 1740s he lived in the Low Countries, at first in Den Haag "where he styled himself Maestro de Musica Italiana"³⁰⁸. Then he settled in Amsterdam where he organized and promoted concerts of Italian Opera between 1750 and 1754. Lapis moved to London in 1757 and announced his arrival in the Public Advertiser on Wednesday, May 11³⁰⁹:

"Santo Lapis, Composer of Italian Music, who is come to settle in London, gives Notice to Gentlemen and Ladies, Lovers of Italian Music, that they may be supplied by him with all Sorts of Pieces either for the Voice or Instruments, and that he teaches to sing and play on the Harpsichord. He may be directed to at his Lodgings at Mr.Max's, Peruke-maker, in Greek Street, Soho".

In October that year "Sig. Santo Lapis, M. D. of Italian Music" lived at the music shop of renowned guittar maker R.Liessem who also sold his very first book with music for the guittar:

- Il Passa tempo della Guitarra. Little Italian Airs for the Voice, accompanied by the Guittar or Harpsichord (see Public Advertiser, October 6, 1757, Gale DocNr.: Z2001074179).

Liessem later also stocked his other publications:

- the appropriately named *Guittar in Fashion* (1758) with "twelve double Sonatas for all Sorts of Guittars" as well as minuets, duets and "an Italian song compos'd by Santo Lapis";
- *Miss Mayer. A new Guittar Book in 4 Parts* (1759) with "Italian, French, English Airs, and Duets for the Voice accompanied with the Guittar and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord" ;
- *A Libro Aperto* (1760) with "Light Airs with Minuets for the Harpsichord and for all sorts of Guittars; containing 36 easy Lessons".

In between he also wrote *Six Sonatas for two German Flutes and a Bass*³¹⁰ and 10 Solos for the Violoncello³¹¹.

After Liessem's death early in 1760 no more guittar books were published by Lapis. There is good reason to believe that he had put them together for the guittar-maker who needed new music to sell

307. RISM V, p. 225, No. L656, date unknown.

308. Rasch 2006, p. 124.

309. GDN Z2001073506 (BBCN).

310. See the advert by J. Johnson in: Public Advertiser, December 30, 1757, GDN Z2001074567(BBCN).

311. Public Advertiser, May 22, 1758, GDN Z2001075226 (BBCN); see RISM 5, p. 225-6, No. L665.

with his instruments. Lapis left London in 1761 with his wife and in May that year he could be found in Bath where he organized a concert:

"Signor Santo Lapis, Master of Music, lately arived from London with Two Voices, gives Notice to the Ladies and Gentlemen, that on Wednesday, May 13, at Mr. Weltshire's Room, will be a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music. Where will be performed Several Choice Italian Airs, new English Songs, and Duetts. The Vocal parts by Signora Santo Lapis, and Miss Dunlap; And the Instrumental Parts by the best Performers [...]"³¹².

But a more than a year later, in August 1762 he appeared in Edinburgh and settled there, as can be seen from his adverts in the *Caledonian Mercury*, for example the first on August 14³¹³:

"Signor Santo Lapis, Maestro di Capella Italiano, having an intention to stay in this place, begs leave to offer his service to the ladies and gentlemen in this city, &c. to teach singing in the Italian manner, and to accompany on the harpsichord. [...] N.B. He composes all sorts of vocal and instrumental music. Cards may be left for him at Mr. Bremner's Music shop".

The same year in October music publisher Johnson in London offered a new book by Santo Lapis: "Symphonies. With several new pretty and easy Pieces of Music for any single instrument, or Sonatas, Dueta, &c."³¹⁴. Lapis himself announced new songs and a new book with lessons for the harpsichord in an advert in the *Caledonian Mercury* on January 22, 1763:

"Signor Santo Lapis, Master of Italian Musick, being settled here, and having the honour to teach several ladies singing in the Italian manner, and to accompany on the harpsichord: he has composed several easy songs and duets, Italian and English, such ladies as would chuse to be taught by him, that have never learned singing, he will engage in a few month, that they shall sing them very neatly [...] He composes all sorts of vocal and instrumental musick, and in a few weeks will be given out, new and easy lessons for the harpsichord [...]"

It's not clear what he did next but according to the article in the *New Grove*³¹⁵ he played with a visiting Italian Opera company in Edinburgh in June 1763 and maybe also later in York and Dublin. In December 1764 Johnson in London announced another work ("lately published for the Harpsichord") with the title *La Stravaganza*³¹⁶. But that was a reprint of a book first published in Amsterdam in 1757.

Santo Lapis most likely died in 1765³¹⁷ although it is not known where he happened to be at that time. In 1767³¹⁸ music publisher Peter Welcker from London again published and announced his *Ten*

312. The Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette, May 7, 1761, p. 4 (BNA).

313. See also Caledonian Mercury, October 9 and November 13, 1763 (BNA).

314. London Chronicle, October 30 - November 2, 1762, GDN Z2001678061 (BBCN).

315. Vol.14, p. 268.

316. Lloyd's Evening Post, December 3, 5, 1764, GDN: Z2000509151 (BBCN); see Rasch 2001, p. 12.

317. See Armellini.

318. Public Advertiser, March 13, GDN Z2001116690 (BBCN).

Solos for the Violoncello and Robert Bremner still sold a collection of his Italian songs - most likely the *Light Italian Airs* - in 1782. .

2. Giovanni Battista Marella

Giovanni Battista Marella played the violin as well as the viola d'amour. Nothing is known about his early life³¹⁹. In the late 1740s he was the first violinist at the *Concert Spirituel* in Paris and in 1750 "famous Sgr. Marella" moved to Dublin and worked there as the leader of the "band of musick at the New Gardens" in Dublin³²⁰. During the next four years he was very busy there as a conductor and instrumentalist. For example at a "Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick" on March 1, 1751, a benefit for himself he played with "the best hands in town"³²¹:

"Signor Marella will perform a solo on the Violin, with several new pieces; particularly a grand Concerto compos'd by himself, on a new invented Viola d'Amore, being the first time of his performing on it in this Kingdom. Signor Marella and Mr. Deboeck will play a Duet. The whole to conclude with the favourite Ellin-a-Roon, and the Kettle-Bender, both made into Concertos, with Variations, by Signor Marella".

His first published compositions were the *Six Sonatas for a Violin and bass [...] Opera Prima*³²². In September 1754 he married singer Eleonara Oldmixon with whom he had worked regularly on stage since his very first show in Dublin and in October the couple sailed to England. We first find "Sig.Marella, lately arrived in London" playing at a "Benefit of the Managers of the Italian Company" at the *Little Theatre* in the Haymarket on January 22, 1755³²³. As already noted he seems to have been the very first professional musician to play a guittar in a regular concert, in the *Oxford Music Room* on December 2, 1756³²⁴. There is no evidence that he had used the instrument in Dublin. He must have started to play and teach it shortly after he had arrived in England.

In February 1758 he published his *Sixty-six Lessons for the Cetra or Guittar, in every key, both flat and sharp*. This was a very ambitious work, "one of the most impressive collections of unaccompanied solos"³²⁵. Marella tuned his guittar not to C but to A major and in the advertisement³²⁶ he complained about the "total Ignorance of the Power of the Instrument":

319. See Boydell, DMC, pp. 142-202, 284; Boydell, Rotunda Music, pp. 30-37, 220; BDA 10, p. 92, McVeigh 1989,p.86, McVeigh 2001, p. 170.

320. Boydell, DMC, p. 142, Fitzgerald/Jellett, p. 212.

321. Boydell, DMC, pp. 149-5.

322. Dublin 1753, see RISM V, No. M490, p. 415.

323. Public Advertiser, January 11, 1755; GDN Z2001069039 (BBCN).

324. See Oxford Journal, November 27, 1756, p. 3 (BNA).

325. Coggin, p. 216.

326. Here quoted from Coggin, pp. 216-7.

"In order therefore to shew it in its full Extent, and from a Desire of facilitating as well as enlarging the common Rules of Instruction, the Author has been induced to publish the following Lessons in every Key, both flat and Sharp. He is aware that there are some who think it in their Interest to object to these Compositions as too difficult, if not impossible to be performed on the Cetra [...] he must inform them, that there are many Ladies (some of whom began this instrument without knowing the first Rudiments of Musick) who, with few Months Instruction, were able to execute the most difficult of them".

In 1762 he wrote a book of *Compositions for the Cetra or Guittar, with an Accompanyment, consisting of a Variety of Pieces in every Stile of Music* but this was his last published work.

Since the early '60s he is rarely mentioned in adverts for concerts. Evidently teaching was his main occupation at that time. According to an article in the *St. James Chronicle* in 1763³²⁷ Marella worked as a "Teacher of the Guittar and Viol d'Amour". Mortimer's *Universal Director* in 1763 listed among the "Masters and Professors of Music" a Mr. Morella who "teaches the Guitar"³²⁸.

But he occasionally returned to the stage. On September 22, 1761 he played the violin at the great concert during the coronation of George III. The band was led by Matthew Dubourg. Marella, together with Thomas Pinto and Felice Giardini "assisted at this grand Performance"³²⁹. On November 29, 1769 he again played the violin at a charity for a hospital. The orchestra was led by Felice Giardini and they performed Händel's *Messiah*³³⁰. His last documented performances were in 1778 when he played for Abel and J. C. Bach³³¹ (See McVeigh 2001, p. 170). Since then he dropped out of sight. It seems that he and his wife settled down in Surrey but nothing more is known about them. Their son became an officer in the British Army and was later knighted.

3. Joseph Real

Four collections with music for the guittar were published between 1757 and 1761 by one Joseph Real. Nothing is known about his background and early life. It is not clear if he was an immigrant, perhaps from Germany or France or if he was born in England. He used to play the French Horn as can be seen from an advert in *Read's Weekly Journal* on September 14, 1751³³² for a "Benefit of Mr. Real" at Maidstone in Kent. According to Betty Matthews³³³ he also performed "in Gosport September 1750 and Norwich 1760 when said to be from King's Theatre Haymarket" and joined the *Society of*

327. May 19 - 21, GDN Z2001257097 (BBCN).

328. P. 55.

329. London Evening Post, September 24 - 26, 1761, GDN Z200066597 (BBCN).

330. Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, November 20, 1769, GDN Z2000365535 (BBCN).

331. See McVeigh 2001, p. 170.

332. GDN Z2001246318, p. 3 (BBCN).

333. P. 120.

Musicians in December 1764. He also played the French Horn at concerts in Oxford, Colchester and Gloucester in 1763³³⁴.

His first book with *Twenty-four Duets for two French Horns, two Guittars, or two German Flutes* was published by Thompson & Son in October 1757. This had been first announced as "Twenty-four entire new Duets for two French Horns or German Flutes" so it seems that the guittar was added to the title in the last moment. A second collection of *Duets for two Guitars or French Horns* followed a year later. While in these two works the guittar was simply treated as another instrument for playing the melody his next publication in September 1759 - also published by Thompson & Son - was called *Twenty four favourite Airs for one or two Guitars* and seems to have been intended for this instrument only. Strangely a book with a very similar title - *Twenty-four Duets for two Guittars* - was announced by publisher John Johnson in August 1761. I have no idea if this was only a reprint of the same collection or a set of new compositions.

Mr. Real only wrote duets. In the following years he brought out for more volumes but it is easy to see that the instruments listed on the title page were all interchangeable:

- 24 Duets for two German Flutes and Violins, Op. 3, Printed for Thompson & Son, London 1760 ("just published": Public Advertiser, August 30, 1760, GDN Z2001079747, see also Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer, May 19 - 21, 1761, GDN Z2001659018)
- 24 Duets for two German Flutes or two Violins, Op.IV, Printed for Charles & Samuel Thompson, London 1763 (London Chronicle, March 15 - 17, 1763, GDN Z2001678865)
- 24 Duets for two French Horns, Clarinets, or Guittars, Op.V, Printed for Charles & Samuel Thompson, London 1764 (London Chronicle, October 6 - 9, 1764, GDN Z2001681837)
- 24 Duets for two German Flutes or two Violins, Book 6th, Printed for C. & S. Thompson, London 1772 (Public Advertiser, February 11, 1772, GDN Z2001140540, all BBCN)
- Twelve Duetts for two German Flutes, Printed for John Rutherford, London n. d. [ca.1770s](see RISM VII, p. 114, No. R491 and BUCEM II, p.877)

It seems that his works were quite popular. Robert Bremner still listed two volumes of "Real's 24 Duets" among his guitar books in his catalogue in 1782 (p.4) as did Preston & Son in 1790 (p. 10).

Not much is known about his later career. Between 1767 and 1774 a Mr.Real - I am not sure if this was the same person - was busy at *Theatre Royal* in Covent Garden, not as an instrumentalist but as an actor and singer. For example in December 1768 he played the part of the dragon in a "Burlesque Opera" called *The Dragon of Wantley* and in October 1769 took the role of the "Infernal Spirit" in the

334. See London Chronicle, June 30 - July 2, 1763, GDN Z2001679534 (BBCN), see also Oxford Journal, July 02, July 23, August 27, September 03, 1763; Ipswich Journal, July 23, 1763 (BNA).

pantomime *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*. The *Dragon of Wantley* was revived in 1774 and Mr.Real still played the same role³³⁵.

According to the records of the *Society of Musicians* Mr.Real was "'interely destitute' in July 1776"³³⁶ but from 1778 to 1785 "Messrs Barrow, Randal, and Real, from London" occasionally assisted the local choirs in concerts at the *Music Room* in Oxford³³⁷. It seems that at some point he had switched from playing the French horn to singing. In 1781 there was another "Benefit of Mr.Real [...] a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music" in London³³⁸ and the last we know of him is that he was a member of the *Society of Musicians* until 1789.

4. Pasqualino Di Marzi

Pasqualino de Marzi - or Peter Pasqualino - was a cellist³³⁹. It seems he came to England in the early 1730s. He may have been the Signor Pasquale who played at *Hickford's Music Room* in London in April and May 1732³⁴⁰. A year later Signor Pasqualino played solos on the violoncello at some concerts in London³⁴¹. On February 19, 1736 he took part in the première of Händel's *Alexander's Feast* and he was surely also the Signor Pasqualini who played the 1st Bass in Dublin, April 8 that year at the *First Benefit of Mercer's Hospital* where two sacred works by Handel were performed³⁴². It seems he spent most of the 1740s in Ireland. He played in Dublin between 1741 and 1746 and was hired by George Berkely as a music teacher for his children in Cloyne³⁴³.

He returned to London some time in the late '40s and became member of the *Society of Musicians* in 1748³⁴⁴. At that time he also wrote two volumes of *Six Solos for two Violoncellos, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord*. The first was published by John Walsh in 1748 and the second one by John Johnson in 1751³⁴⁵. Pasqualino was one of the most important cellists of that era. Burney in his *History of Music* noted that he had "infinitely more hand, and knowledge of the finger-board, as well as of

335. See *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, December 2, 1768, GDN Z2000362680; October 2, 1769, GDN Z2000365127; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, March 17, 1774, GDN Z2000831812 (BBCN), see also *London Stage* 4.2, p. 1248, 4.3, pp. 1370, 1424, 1426, 1432, 1799.

336. Matthews, p.120.

337. See *Oxford Journal*, March 21, 1778; March 20, 1779; June 3, 1780; March 22, 1783, March 12, 1785 (BNA).

338. See *Public Advertiser*, May 21, 1781, GDN Z2001172413 (BBCN).

339. See BDA 11, p.232, Lindgren 2000, p. 143.

340. *Daily Post*, April 20, 1732, GDN Z2000277625, May 3, 1732, GDN Z2000277672 (BBCN).

341. See *London Stage* 3.1, pp. 290, 293, 304.

342. See BDA 10, p.92, Boydell, DMC, pp. 60-1.

343. Dto., p. 287 and Fraser, *Life and Letters*, pp. 309-10.

344. Matthews, p. 98.

345. Smith/Humphries, p. 261, No. 1171, *London Evening Post*, January 14 -16, 1748, GDN Z2000651240; *General Advertiser*, April 16, 1751, GDN Z2000422373 (BBCN).

Music in general" than his colleague Andrea Caporale. But he also complained that his tone was "raw, crude, and uninteresting"³⁴⁶.

Nonetheless he played regularly on London stages, for example in a series of subscription concerts in the *Great Room* in Dean Street, Soho with other notable performers like Giardini and Pasquali³⁴⁷. In 1754 Händel's *Alexander's Feast* was performed again at a benefit for himself. "Between the acts" Signor Pasqualino played a "Solo on the Violoncello"³⁴⁸. His *Six Sonatas, for the Cetera or Kitara, with a Thorough Bass* were first published early in 1758³⁴⁹. They were dedicated to Elizabeth Herbert, Countess of Pembroke who possibly was at that time one of his aristocratic pupils. Like many other professional musicians he also was busy as a teacher. In Mortimer's *Universal Director* (1763) he is listed among the "Masters and Professors of Music"³⁵⁰.

This was his last published work. It seems he was in bad health during the early 1760s. On June 18, 1762 was a benefit for Sig. Pasqualino at *Ranelegh Garden*. To the adverts for this "Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music" with "a grand Firework" afterwards he added the note that he "hopes his Friends will excuse his not waiting on them in Person, as his long Indisposition renders him absolutely incapable". He died early in 1766 as can be seen from an advert for a "Benefit of the Widow of the late Mr. Pasqualino" on June 13 that year³⁵¹.

5. Michael Ghillini di Asuni

Another musician and composer of Italian origin was Michael Ghillini di Asuni. He compiled a "Collection of favourite Italian and French Songs, Minuets, Airs, &c." for the guitar called *The Ladies Amusement* for Peter Welcker in 1762. The following year he put together two books, one with Händel's "most favourite Oratorio songs" and the other "the favourite songs in Love in a Village", a popular comic opera, all "properly set and adapted for the Guittar and Voice" that were published by Michael Rauche. Ghillini's earliest documented public appearances were two benefit concerts for himself in Essex in May 1758 and January 1759³⁵². Peter Welcker also published his first compositions, a collection of *Minuets for a German Flute and a Bass*, in July 1762.

346. Vol.2, [p. 1012](#).

347. See for example General Advertiser, December 21, 1751, GDN Z2000423795 (BBCN).

348. Public Advertiser, January 21, 1754, GDN Z2001066890 (BBCN).

349. See [YouTube](#) for a recording of one of this sonatas by Doc Rossi & Andrea Damiani.

350. P. 55.

351. Public Advertiser, June 7, 1762, GDN Z2001085149; Public Advertiser, May 27, 1766, GDN Z2001111100 (BBCN), see also BDA 11, p. 232.

352. See Ipswich Journal, May 06, p. 3 and December 16, 1758, p. 4 (BNA).

His real name was Baron Don Michel Beguelin De Asuni³⁵³ and it seems he was at first much better off than other musicians. An advert in the *Public Advertiser* on July 15, 1766³⁵⁴ lists some of his precious belongings that were stolen from his house by burglars. In January the following year the *Lodge of the Immortality of the Order* of which he was a member granted him a benefit, perhaps to help him recover from this losses. Three times - in 1770, 1773 and 1779 - he later "petitioned [his Lodge's] Committee of Charity for relief" but received financial help only after his first application³⁵⁵.

Nonetheless he kept on composing and publishing music, mostly for the flute and the guittar³⁵⁶. His last two works were:

- A Select Collection for one, two and three Guitars of six favorite English Songs, six French Songs, six Italian Songs and six easy Lessons or Solos, Op.19, Printed for Longman & Broderip, London, n. d. [ca. 1785-6] (see [Copac](#))
- Twenty four of the most Elegant, and Favorite English Songs adapted for One, Two, and Three Guitars with an Accompaniment [...], Op. 20, Printed for Longman & Broderip, London, n. d [1786] (see *Morning Herald*, December 29, 1786, GDN Z2000887969: "Twenty-four new favourite Songs for the Guitar"; [Copac](#))

Both are listed in Longman & Boderip's catalogue from July 1788 (p. 7). But in 1789 King George III appointed him Consul of Cagliari³⁵⁷. This sounds like rather unusual occupation for a musician but according to the *Companion To The Almanack For The Year 1752* (p. 155) one "Jos. Ghillini" had also been consul there in the early 1750s. This may have been an older relative or even the father of our Mr. Ghillini. From then on had no time for more compositions and music books but instead had to take care for example of the salt trade with Sardinia³⁵⁸. Ghillini remained on this post at least until 1800. He was still listed as consul in the *Edinburgh Almanack and Scots Register* for that year (p. 142) as well as in the *New Jamaica Almanack [...] For The Year Of Our Lord 1801* (p. 35).

Databases & Literature

1. Images & Illustrations

Title-page: Lady with a guittar, "From Preston's edition of Bremner's tutor", reprinted in Armstrong 1908, p. 7; source: pdf-file downloaded from the [Internet Archive](#)

1. "The Cuckow", guittar arrangement from undated songsheet, ca. 1775; source: pdf-file downloaded from [IMSLP](#)

353. See *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 39, [p. 83-4](#).

354. GDN Z2001112023 (BBCN).

355. See *Public Advertiser*, January 24, 1767, GDN Z2001115806 (BBCN) and *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 39, [p. 84](#).

356. See BUCEM I, pp. 372-3 and [Copac](#).

357. See *Scots Magazine* LI, 1789, [p. 571](#).

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2. Databases, Dictionaries & Bibliographies

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