THE GUITAR IN ENGLAND 1800 - 1924

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Music
of the University of Surrey in Candidacy
SUMMARY

This thesis is in four principal sections. Section one covers the period from 1800 to 1823 and begins with a study of the establishment of the six-stringed guitar in England, together with observations on two early English guitarist-composers, Thomas Bolton and Felice Chabran. Chapters two and three concentrate on four foreign musicians, Verini, Sola, Anelli, and Sor, giving biographical details, as well as commenting on the importance of their concerts. This section concludes with a discussion on the relative merits of three tutors of the period.

Section two covers the years 1824 to 1850 and shows how English guitarists were dominated by foreign musicians. It also highlights the importance of child prodigies, the gradual increase of solo guitar music, and the emergence of the first guitar periodical, The Giulianiad.

The third section observes the contributions made by English guitarists during the period 1851 to 1924. Chapters one and two conclude the lives of Regondi and Pratten, and appraises the work of Ernest Shand. It also shows how some guitarists, through self-patronisation, failed to keep abreast of developments in Europe.

The final section considers guitar construction in England and begins with an assessment of the Panormo family, before concluding with a survey of improvements to the guitar.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to record my gratitude to Professor Reginald Smith Brindle for his assistance and support in the preparation of this thesis. I am also grateful to the following individuals who kindly supplied important information: Miss Irene Bone, Kay and Wilfred Appleby, Thelma Clarke and Rev. Canon Coulthard of New Zealand, Professor Michael Tilmouth and Calvin Elliker.

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PREFAE

The central theme of this thesis attempts to identify and evaluate the efforts of musicians whose individual creative ability led to the development of the guitar in England. It also assesses existing evidence and ideas.

Although many of the guitarist-composers under discussion are well-known by name to musicologists today, I have been amazed at the lack of information recorded about them during their lifetimes. Moreover, it soon became apparent that some of the lesser-known players, like Anelli, have been unjustly neglected, and it is for this reason that accurate historical information became an important feature of this work.

An investigation of this nature can never be complete and should musicologists uncover further historical facts about the guitar in England, then the author would be very interested to learn of these discoveries.

Stewart W. Button,
Milborne Port,
Sherborne,
Dorset
SECTION ONE:  THE EARLY YEARS 1800 - 1823.

Introduction.

Chapter One:  The Importance of Bolton and Chabran.

Chapter Two:  The Italian Influence.

Chapter Three:  The Significance of Fernando Sor.

Chapter Four:  Instruction for Amateurs.

Conclusion.
INTRODUCTION

It has generally been accepted that the cultivation of the guitar in England did not begin until the appearance of Fernando Sor in 1816, but new evidence now suggests that he was preceded by several other musicians. Felice Chabran, P. Rosquellas and Charles Sola had all published tutors by 1820, and along with Giuseppe Anelli, Angelo Ventura and Filippo Verini, had established themselves in London as guitarist-composers, long before Sor arrived. Nevertheless, Sor did make a significant contribution, as noted by The Quarterly Music Magazine and Review of 1824: 'Such considerations will help to account for the disrepute into which the guitar had fallen amongst us till of late, when it has been brought into notice by Mr. Sor's extraordinary performance and Mr. Sola's publications.'

Equally, Sola's part was very important, but initial interest was first created by two English composers, Thomas Bolton and Felice Chabran.

Chapter One.


II. A Connecting Link: Felice Chabran.


The music of Thomas Bolton (1760-1820) is important because it indicates that the six-stringed guitar was already established very early on in the nineteenth century. In 1806, he first published his Collection of Airs, Marches, Dances, Pollacas and Quick Steps, together with the Grand Hymn of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, the favourite songs of poor Mariette and her unfortunate lover: 'The whole adapted for the pianoforte with accompaniment and direction ad libitum for the following fashionable instruments, Lyre or Lute, Spanish Guitar, Harp, Tambourine, Castanets, Flute, Violin and Flageolet.' Four of these accompaniments are without doubt for the six-stringed guitar, and Bolton's phrase, 'for the following fashionable instruments', suggests considerable interest in the guitar by 1806.

1. This chord is the only evidence that this accompaniment is for a six-stringed guitar.
He appears to have lived in London all his life, firstly at 10, Dorset Street, Manchester Square, and afterwards at 26, Buckingham Place. To what extent he taught or played the guitar is unknown, but judging from the scope of his compositions, it is highly unlikely that he was a professional player.

II. A Connecting Link: Felice Chabran.

Introduction.
A. Origins.
B. Chabran and The Royal Society of Musicians.
C. Teaching.
D. Concerts.
E. A Connecting Link.

Introduction.

The enduring fascination of Felice Chabran is that he forms in England a unique point of contact between the five- and six-stringed guitar. He is also important in that he remained completely uninfluenced by the approach to guitar composition of European Schools, and although his music is generally amateurish, it does afford the opportunity of analysing guitar music in England before foreign guitarists appeared.

A. Origins

Francesco Chabran was descended from a musical family from Piedmont, Italy, and was born on March 6th, 1756, but his parentage is uncertain. Charles Chabran, a violinist, appeared in London in
1752 and shortly after, in 1755, the violoncellist Gaetano Chabran arrived. Charles and Gaetano were most probably brothers, and one of them the father of Francesco. However, Edmund Van Der Straeten claims that Francesco was their brother, but this is highly unlikely.

The family used three different spellings of its surname, Chiabrano, Ciabrano and Chabran, and it was Francesco who finally adopted the latter. Moreover, he also dispensed with his foreign Christian name and from 1782 referred to himself as Felice or Felix.

B. Chabran and The Royal Society of Musicians.

On January 6th, 1782, William Shield recommended Chabran to the Royal Society of Musicians. He was described as being a single man of about 25 years of age, who had studied and practised music for the apprenticeship of seven years, as a performer on the violin and tenor. His address is given as 16, Wardour Street.

Chabran was accepted by the Society, and soon found it necessary to solicit them for assistance. On 5th January, 1794, he informed the Society that he had fractured his thumb in a fall, and being unable to perform requested relief. They responded immediately with a £20 grant, and by 1798 had appointed him to the position of Governor.

3. i.e. Viola.
Late in 1819, he was again ill and requested further relief. On 5th March 1820, the Governors granted him £4. 3s. 6d. per month, but on July 1st 1821, he petitioned for further support, arguing that he had received nothing from the opera\(^1\) in 1820-21 and only £12. 9s. 6d. in 1819-20. Again the Governors responded with £5.5s. per month and £9 for further medical aid, but his health continued to deteriorate until his death on 1st March 1829. Chabran's wife solicited the Society for funeral expenses and was granted £12, but when Mrs. Chabran died in late 1829 or early 1830 her niece applied on February 7th for a funeral allowance. She was refused on the grounds that she had already received all the effects, including the lease of the deceased. She reapplied on March 7th and was granted £8 to defray expenses for Mrs. Chabran's funeral, in consequence of the 'embarrassed circumstances' of the deceased\(^2\).

C. Teaching.

Although there are few details, Chabran's health and 'constant embarrassed' circumstances probably encouraged him to broaden the scope of his teaching. In 1795, he advertised himself on the copy of his *Six Favourite Songs and Rondos*, as teacher of the violin, pianoforte, Lyre and Spanish Guitar, of 15, Standgate Street, Lambeth.

D. Concerts.

Chabran's concert career comprises of periods of seasonal employment and occasional isolated performances. It also shows how his poor health affected his aspirations.

---

1. King's Theatre.
At the time of his recommendation to the Royal Society in 1782 he was described as belonging to the band of the opera at the Pantheon, where he remained until 1792, becoming in 1790 first violinist and in 1791 Leader of the Dance. Whilst at the Pantheon he appeared in only one other known concert for the benefit of the Clergy at St. Paul's in May 1785.

From 1793 until 1795, he was employed at the King's Theatre as Leader of the Dance with a yearly salary of £80 but in 1818 - 1819 he is only registered as a second violinist. This regression is also reflected in his standard of living; for by 1817 he had moved to a much smaller house, at 21, Oxenden Street, in the Haymarket.1

E. A Connecting Link

Chabran first published guitar music as early as 1798, but this, together with his Complete Instructions For The Spanish Guitar of 1795, was for the five-stringed guitar. It was not until 1813 that he wrote what amounts to the first six-stringed guitar method to be produced in England: A New Tutor For The Harp and Spanish Guitar. It was published by Goulding, D'Almaïne, Potter and Co. Shortly afterwards, in 1816, Chabran compiled: A Complete Set of Instructions For The Spanish Guitar, the earliest tutor to be published in England exclusively for the guitar with six-single strings. It was printed by Preston, and shows that the reputation of both Chabran and the guitar must have been well established for publishers to have taken the financial risk.

These tutors represent Chabran's most important legacy and show him as a pivotal figure in the early cultivation of the guitar in England.

1. Triennial Directory of London 1817 – 1824
Chapter Two.

The Italian Influence.

Introduction.

I. Filippo Verini: The Initial Years.

II. Charles Sola.

III. Giuseppe Anelli: The Early Years in England 1815–1824.

Introduction.

The three guitarist-composers considered in this chapter were also singers and consequently chose to exploit the medium of voice and guitar, despite its popularity as a solo instrument in their native Italy. The effect was to reduce the guitar's role to that of accompaniment. However, these Italians did arrive in England at a time when the taste of the British public was more in favour of vocal rather than instrumental music.

Verini, Sola, and Anelli were under considerable pressure to succumb to this trend which held back the development of the guitar as a solo instrument. Moreover, they were heavily patronized and felt the need to please both patrons and audiences alike. Nevertheless, they all made significant contributions.

I. Filippo Verini: The Initial Years.

a. Verini and Sor.

B. Verini and Friends.
Filippo Verini is an important figure in that he was the first foreign guitarist to arrive in England and was well established as a guitar teacher before Sor arrived. He appeared in London about 1809, or even before, and apparently soon gave 'successful concerts'.

a. Verini and Sor.

Both Frank Mott Harrison and Wilfred Appleby have drawn links between Verini and Sor, and even suggest that they arrived in London together. There have been several claims that Sor did make an exploratory visit in 1809 and although these have never been substantiated there is evidence to suggest that he did become acquainted with Verini.

Verini owned a collection of guitar music which he bequeathed to his son Giorgio Francisco. Giorgio taught and played the guitar, but he was not a professional musician. He lived at Saltburn, and on his death a neighbour bought both the music and Filippo's guitar and sold them in 1944 to Appleby. Volume 3 contains Verini's programme of a Mr. Baillot's concert of May 28th, 1816, at which Sor performed. It also contains Verini's First Rudiments for the Spanish Guitar, respectfully dedicated to Sor.

In Volume 4 are two autographed copies by Sor of his first two sets of Divertimenti Op. 1 and Op. 2. The latest dates of publication are 1815 for Op. 1 and 1819 for Op. 2. Thus the Op. 1 suggests that Verini may well have known Sor before his 1816 visit.

2. Cf. Ch. 3. Section 1.
3. Appleby Collection, Guildhall School of Music and Drama.
b. Verini and Friends.

Verini soon met several artistic and influential people. Bryan Walter Proctor, the writer and poet, referred to him as: 'A most accomplished and very modest man, one of the most tasteful composers who have ever been in this country.' It was Proctor that first encouraged Verini to employ English words for his songs and supplied him with verses for his first English setting of *Tis Best to Part.*

Verini also collaborated with the artist, John Hayter, and the writer and politician, General Thomas Perronet Thompson. Hayter produced an etching of a figure showing the manner of holding the guitar, for Verini's *First Rudiments for the Guitar.* It shows a lady in voluminous robes, with her right foot on a stool, resting the guitar on her left thigh. For Thompson, Verini wrote the studies and exercises for his book, *Instructions to my Daughter on Playing the Enharmonic Guitar.*

Verini also knew Charles Dickens and taught his wife Dora the guitar. Appleby also states that he befriended Thomas Moore, the Irish poet, but there are no details.

II. Charles Michael Alexis Sola.

a. Introduction.

b. Instruction For The Guitar.

c. Sola and the Biographer John Sainsbury.

d. Concerts.

1. More commonly known as Barry Cornwall.


3. Cf. Ch.2 Section 4.
a. Introduction.

Charles Sola played a crucial part in the cultivation of the guitar in early nineteenth century England. He was a contemporary of Sor, but unlike him is virtually unknown.

It was through the solicitations of Lady Charlotte Campbell that Sola was finally induced to come to England in 1816. He was principally a flutist and singer, but had recognised quite early on the possibilities of the guitar and from 1816 there followed many compositions for the instrument. By 1824 his reputation as a composer surpassed that of Sor, and he had judged the amateur market well, and wrote music that required very little effort and musical knowledge. He also recognised the enthusiasm being shown by the lady amateur, and the part the guitar could play in the sphere of domestic music.

b. Instructions For The Guitar.

In 1819, Sola produced his Instructions for the Spanish Guitar, which was the first of its kind to be published in England by a foreign composer. It was exceptionally popular and was favourably compared with that of Sor: "We have not Mr. Sor's Instruction book before us at this moment, but if we recollect right it gives the learner the means of overcoming the difficulties Mr. Sor has himself overleaped rather than the useful processes leading to the end pointed at by the French.

1. John Sainsbury claims it was 1817.
2. Not 1820 as suggested by Paul Cox.
3. This is an interesting statement for it was thought that the first reference to Sor's method did not appear until 1828.
The only reference to a concert by Sola appears in The Morning Post for June 4th, 1818. It states that he is to perform on June 5th at a subscription concert given by Miss Gauterat at the Residence of Mr. Collins, 46, Montagu Square. It is not clear what he played.

1. These useful processes were a knowledge of chord inversions, arpeggios and the employment of the lower register for accompaniment.
2. The Spanish Guitar. loc. cit. p.547.
III. Giuseppe Anelli: The Early Years in England 1815 - 1824.

a. Italy and France.
b. London and The South West.
c. Teaching.
d. New Method for the Guitar.
e. Inventions for the Guitar.

a. Italy and France.

A consideration of the years prior to Anelli's visit to England is very important in that it illustrates two points: his popularity with the aristocracy, and his reputation as a singer, guitarist, and composer.

In Turin he was regarded as the most fashionable guitarist¹, and his grand concert at the Teatre Suterra in 1809 received an enthusiastic review in the Moniteur des Alpes: 'Anelli's success yesterday evening was most complete: everyone was delighted by his astonishing performance on the guitar, and by his peculiar manner of singing. He sings with great taste and expression; and his voice coupled with the affecting sounds of his guitar produced an uncommon sensation through a crowded house which encored him several times. But his performance on the guitar was still more surprising; of the powers of this instrument no one had formed an idea until Signor Anelli evidently proved it to be one which possesses the capability of producing the greatest effects. He really plays the guitar in a style never heard before, and his concert on it, of his own compositions, which was accompanied by a grand orchestra has excited

¹. The Hermit In Italy, Or Observations on Manners and Customs In Italy. (London, 1824), p.25.
general admiration and was received with enthusiasm. We have heard
since that in consequence of his brilliant success, Signor Anelli has
been engaged to remain with her Royal Highness the Princess Paoline
Borghese who was delighted at the signor's performance. The programme
is interesting:

'Grand Overtura a Chitarra esequita da Giuseppe Anelli.'
'Scena, ed Aria, Concertata a chitarra cantata dal Sudetta.'
'Concerto a Chitarra accompagnato a grand orchestra.'
'Arietta concertato a chitarra intitolata, il, paragone
della Cetra Colle Signore Donne.'

This is the earliest known reference to a performance of a
concerto for a guitar with six strings, but the date of composition is
unknown. Moreover, for the Turin performance, Anelli probably played
from the manuscript, as it did not appear in print until about 1838,
when it emerged, along with a second concerto, in a list of Anelli's
compositions published by Chappell. These were the first concerti
to be published for the guitar in England. Furthermore, Anelli is
frequently referred to in advertisements as a player of guitar concertos,
but there are no references to performances in England. Indeed, he never
gave a concert in England where the content compared with his Turin
programme. In fact he succumbed to the taste of the English preference
for vocal music and in doing so compromised his own career.

Anelli did accept the patronage of Princess Paoline Borghese and went to live in Lucca, but he soon moved to Paris, about 1813-15.

1. Secondary Source, Deh Con Te, from Bellini’s Opera, Norma.
2. Regretfully the present company have been unable to locate any
evidence of publication, ms, or published edition.
3. Napoleon’s sister, married Prince Borghese.
Sor was there, and both guitarists were the subject of a comparative criticism on the different styles of guitar playing by Fétis in The Courier: "We regretted that the sounds Sor drew from the guitar were not sufficiently cultivated: it appeared to us that he had neglected to study this essential part of an instrument, in its nature not very harmonious. Joseph Anelli, on the contrary has felt that the great charm of the guitar principally consists in producing good sounds, and we must confess the tones he draws from his instrument surpass in quality all that we have heard. They are at once clear, sonorous, mellow, and at the same time so powerful, that one would think the tone of a harp were added to the sympathetic sounds of the guitar. It appears that having been accustomed to play concerts accompanied by a grand orchestra Signor Anelli has acquired that powerful quality of sound in which he has been so eminently successful. In his brilliant execution he seems quite easy; the position and holding of the instrument is very elegant, and he executes with great precision the most difficult passages without any apparent exertion, which prove him to have studied upon a plan the parts of which act together in perfect uniformity with the system, without distracting or contradicting its operations. His hands are also evidently well disposed upon the guitar, particularly his right hand which assumes a position entirely different from other professors, which induces us to believe that it has the greatest influence upon the quality of sounds he draws from his instrument."

Fétis was not the only critic to have recognised Anelli's ability: "As a guitar player he is still more distinguished – he stands alone – it may be said that there is no other in this country at least –

he had a rival in Fernando Sor when he was in England but those who have
heard the one can form but little notion of the other.\textsuperscript{1}

This clearly substantiates the view that Sor was not the first
and only great guitarist to arrive in England at that time, and it does
appear that Anelli's approach to tone production and technique equalled
if not surpassed that of Sor.

b. London and The South West.

Anelli must have arrived in London before Sor. In an
advertisement in 1845 he claimed he had been: 'more than 29 years
in England, 18 at Clifton\textsuperscript{2}, and he appears to have met with immediate
success: 'Signor Anelli's reception in town among the higher classes
of society was most flattering.'\textsuperscript{3} How long he remained in London is
unknown, but he had certainly left by 1820.

What induced this revered guitarist, the talk of Turin, Paris,
and London to move and reside in Clifton? The only possible explana-
tion of which there is some evidence, was the attraction of patronage.
In 1825 Anelli advertised a course of lectures on vocal science, to
which a reader responded: 'My avowed object is to serve Anelli, not
by a 'puff' under the patronage of the mighty 'We', but by making known
some real circumstances relative to him and his pretensions which may
not be known to your readers ........... I have heard him sing repeatedly,
and have made myself in some degree acquainted with the fascinating little

\textsuperscript{1} Letter to the editor of Felix Farley's Bristol Journal, 1825.
\textsuperscript{2} Cheltenham Advertiser, (Cheltenham, 1845), p.8.
\textsuperscript{3} Singing Academy, loc. cit. p.18.
instrument of which he is so perfect a master .... I have a bill of
a musical entertainment at the Teatra Suterra .... which exhibits
the guitar in Anelli's hands in such a situation as was never seen or
dreamt in this country, sustaining the principal part of a musical
entertainment, and in the midst of one of the finest orchestras in
the world.\(^1\) The correspondent signs himself E.V.R., and had
obviously experienced Anelli's Turin concert.

The only two English people Anelli claimed to know whilst in
Italy were the Earl of Westmorland and Lord Burghesh.\(^2\) After hearing
Anelli play, the latter wrote: 'I always feel with the guitar, and I
consider it to be of all instruments the one most allied to the
affections. While in Italy I was so fond of it that I always had
the first rate performers on it at my palace. I was particularly
acquainted with Giuliani, but I have never before heard so finer quality
of sound.\(^3\)' Lord Burghesh visited Anelli every day during his
residence in Clifton, and along with his father continued to support
him financially.

Bristol directories give the first evidence of Anelli's
residence in the South West. From 1823-1827 he is listed as an
Italian Language Teacher and Professor of Italian Singing and the
Spanish Guitar, of Marlborough Hill, Kingsdown. From 1828-1839\(^4\)
he lived at York Buildings, Clifton, where he had opened a singing
academy, but on two days he commuted to Bath, where he gave guitar and
singing tuition.

1. Letter to the editor; In Felix Farley's Bristol Journal, 1825.
2. Earl of Westmorland's son.
c. **Teaching.**

Except for occasional concerts, teaching occupied Anelli for most of his time and was his principal source of income. His main clientele was the aristocracy. He was guitar tutor to Princess Augusta, the Earl of Westmorland, Lord Burghesh and the Marchioness Cavor. But like Shand many years later, he was prepared to teach all levels of society and in one advertisement announced: Signor Anelli attends residences, schools, and receives pupils at his house. Moreover, his terms for guitar lessons in 1823 are interesting:

**At the Singing Academy:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lesson Type</th>
<th>Fee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single lesson each pupil</td>
<td>£0.7.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By the Quarter each pupil</td>
<td>£6.0.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By the Quarter 2 pupils, together, each</td>
<td>£4.4.0.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**At the residence of the pupils:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lesson Type</th>
<th>Fee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single lesson each pupil</td>
<td>£0.10.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By the Quarter each pupil</td>
<td>£8.8.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By the Quarter 2 pupils, together, each</td>
<td>£5.5.0.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By "the quarter," Anelli meant twenty four lessons at the rate of two lessons per week. Once the course had started attendance was obligatory, and this had to be accepted by the pupil as part of the agreement. He later began teaching classes of up to four pupils and charged them three pounds each.

This system of group teaching was innovatory. and no other known early nineteenth century guitarist taught in this manner. Here we begin to see Anelli's interesting and more original approach.
Equally innovatory was his New Method For The Guitar, but regretfully there are no extant copies. There is, however, a review of this work, which does reveal some of Anelli's ideas.

He felt that the sound produced was the essential aspect of guitar playing, and it could only be achieved by proper preparations, dispositions, forms, degrees of pressure of the active parts of the arm, hands, and fingers on the instrument. He was indeed indignant about other contemporary methods: 'The acquisition of this very essential and important requisite has been neglected or imperfectly demonstrated, in all methods of books of instruction for which reason the guitar is indifferently played even by professors, who have attempted execution before having previously formed good sounds; they have made the principal action a subservient one."

Moreover, and again innovatory, Anelli tried to draw a balance between sound, technique and musical expression. He placed great and equal emphasis on the bending and bearing of the left arm and hand, also on the position and adaptations of the right arm, hand, and fingers, and their resistances and pressures over the strings, as well as bringing the action of both hands and fingers to act together in their contrary motions, without disturbing and disrupting their separate operations. This was all contrary to advice given in other early nineteenth century guitar methods: 'Left hand technique received either fairly thorough treatment or little more than a description relative to support. It was a less controversial subject than right hand technique. The stronger debate revolved around the production of sound rather than the formation of the melodies and harmonies which were the musical source of that sound.'

1. Deh Con Te loc. cit.
The fundamental reason for any lack of attention to the left hand was that the music was technically quite simple for the most part.

Music may well have been technically simpler, but Anelli did not see this as an excuse to neglect technique. He tried to integrate sound and musical expression with technical proficiency, rather than cultivate a few particular aspects. In this respect he was more forward-looking than any of his contemporaries and enabled the English amateur to develop musicianship, and gave those with more ability the opportunity to study more advanced guitar music.

e. Inventions for the Guitar.

Anelli had no illusions as to the limitations of the guitar, and, rather than try to develop a new instrument, he attempted to improve existing ideas. For Anelli, one of the cardinal problems were the pegs, subjected to contraction and expansion at every change of temperature and consequently apt to draw back suddenly, making the instrument very difficult to tune.

From about 1800 wooden pegs were being replaced by metal ones, which were adjusted by gears. And although these were very successful, Anelli felt there were two problems: they frequently broke and were very heavy. Therefore, he preferred to retain the original primitive characteristics of the guitar and developed a conical screw peg: 'Possessing the prompt motion of the primitive peg it can be regulated at pleasure, with the left hand without distracting the right.' These pegs were also very durable and as 'light as wooden ones,' but Anelli does not state what material he used.

2. Singing Academy op. cit. p.22.
He also claimed that he invented the Capo Tasto, but perhaps what he really meant is that he improved on the existing device or was the first to apply a capo to the six-stringed guitar. It differed from previous ideas in two respects. It could remain attached to the head of the guitar, and could be adjusted in an instant to any part of the fingerboard: 'So as to adjust at once the diapason of the guitar.'

In addition, Anelli developed a machine for tuning the guitar, which produced the six sounds of the open strings a semi-tone below that of normal pitch, thus making the guitar more effective when accompanying the voice. This is one of many early nineteenth century tuning devices.

As none of Anelli's inventions survive it is difficult to assess their usefulness. Interest in them was most probably local and there is no evidence of patents being granted.

Chapter Three

The Significance of Fernando Sor.

I. Claims and Counter-Claims.

II. Concerts.

III. Voice and Guitar.

Introduction.

It has been claimed that Fernando Sor (Plate 1) was the most influential guitarist-composer to appear in England and that it was he who first established the tradition of the guitar during his residence in London. Whilst it is true that Sor did make a significant contribution, his importance is at times over-emphasized. In composition he had a rival in Charles Sola and although the latter's works were inferior to Sor's and do not now appear in concert programmes they were, because of their simplicity, extremely popular during the period 1816 to 1825. Moreover, it has been shown that Sor's technical ability was equalled, if not surpassed, by that of Anelli and although he was a great guitarist Sor was certainly not the only one in London at that time.

Sor had also been preceded by Bolton, Chabran, Verini, and Ventura, who had established themselves as guitar teachers before Sor arrived. Furthermore, in concerts, Sor's emphasis was on song accompaniment and it is a significant fact that whilst in England he published more music for voice and piano than for any other medium.
I. Claims and Counter-Claims.

There is conflicting evidence concerning Sor's first arrival in London. Frank Mott Harrison claimed that Sor fled to England during the Napoleonic Wars in 1809, and established himself as a guitar teacher and performer, a view similarly held by Ernest Shand, but the source of this theory is unknown. Appleby speculates on the possibility of Sor arriving with Verini, and it has been shown that these two were possibly acquainted before 1815. Moreover in 1810 Sor's Hino de la Victoria and Defensores de la Patria appeared, but Brian Jeffrey claims that these were published by anonymous Spanish Patriots, and it was in this political context that his music first became known in England.

However, James Ballard states that Sor was still in Paris in 1812, but Sasser has shown that he did not cross the French border from Spain until 1813, and it must be remembered that in 1815 he was the subject of a comparative criticism. Sasser also argues that Sor did not arrive in London until 1815; Sor's inability to achieve a secure position in Paris prompted him to try his luck elsewhere. He soon moved to London, where his reception was even more enthusiastic than it had been in Paris. This view is also shared by Jeffrey, as in January 1816, Sor's name appeared in a list of Associates of the Philharmonic Society.

1. Harrison F.M. Method For The Spanish Guitar by F. Sor. (1897).
2. Shand, E. Fernando Sor: In The 'Jo (Bournemouth, 1895), ii, no.16.
7. cf Chp. 2. p. 1\w.
II. Concerts.

Sor did not waste any time in bringing his name to the attention of the London public. As soon as the concert season had begun he announced: 'Mr. Sor respectfully acquaints the nobility, gentry, and his friends, that his benefit is for Wednesday April 24th 1816 at the Argyll Rooms, when a choice selection of vocal and instrumental music will be executed; the following eminent performers will lend their assistance on this occasion, Mr. Salmon, Mrs. Sala, Messrs. Naldi and Gra'am, leader Mr. Vaccari. At the pianoforte Mr. Perez. In the course of the evening the celebrated Mr. Muller will perform a solo on the clarinet, Mr. Rosquellas a Concerto on the violin and Mr. Sor a Fantasia Concertante for the guitar, violin, viola and violoncello, and a theme with variations. To begin at 8 o'clock, tickets 10s. 6d.¹'

This is the earliest known concert given by Sor in England, and it illustrates several points. He had learnt quickly about the English idea of benefit concerts and for the need to include a well balanced choice of both vocal and instrumental music. Moreover, in just a short time he had acquainted himself with several of the most noted musicians in London.

Sor's next concert was on May 28th 1816. He appeared with the French violinist Pierre Baillot, who gave his benefit concert at the house of Lady Saltoun. Sor is mentioned in the programme, but it does not specify what he performed².

The Sor Scholar, Brian Jeffrey, records two interesting concerts at which Sor imitated the style of Crescentini. On July 20th 1816,

2. Cf. volume four of Verini's collection of guitar music in the Appleby collection, at The Guildhall School of Music and Drama.
Sor appeared in Mrs. Billington's concert at her Fulham Villa: 'Signor Sor, besides giving a solo on the Spanish guitar, indulged the company with a specimen of the style of Crescimanti, a singer of the highest repute on the continent.' Then on the following evening, at an entertainment given by the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, Sor repeated the imitation, and: 'Delighted the company with his wonderful performance on the guitar.'

In his second season, Sor began by playing with the 'cellist Robert Lindley at a concert on March 10th 1817 when he played his Concertante for Spanish guitar and string trio. Shortly after he appeared in what Jeffrey has termed his most celebrated performance. On March 24th he played at the third concert of the Philharmonic Society at the Argyll Rooms and again played his Concertante: 'He astonished the audience by his unrivalled execution.' Regretfully this work has not survived.

May was Sor's busiest month. On the 7th he played a Pot Pourri for guitar at L. Drovet's concert at the Argyll Rooms, where: 'He was deservedly applauded.' Then on the following day, and again at the Argyll Rooms, he performed pieces for solo guitar and accompanied Miss L. Frith in the Aria Nel Silenzio. He then announced: 'Under the patronage of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex Mr. Sor most respectfully informs the Nobility, Gentry and his friends that his annual benefit concert is fixed (Argyll Rooms) for Monday 19th May 1817. Principal vocal performers, Mrs. Bianchi Lacy, Miss L. Frith, Madame Saint-Brie, Mr. Naldi, Mr. Gra' am, Mr. Begrez and Mr. Lacy. Leader

2. Straeten, op. cit. p.325.
of the band Mr. Spagnoletti. Mr. Sor will play a new Fantasia on the Spanish guitar. Amongst the places where tickets were available is Sor's own address of 26, Great Pulteney Street. This is the first of only two known London addresses, and whether or not he had lived here from when he first arrived is unknown, but by February 1822 he had moved to 26, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square. Moreover, it is most likely that he only rented rooms, because his name does not appear in any of the street directories of the period.

Curiously, there are no references for 1818 and only one for 1819. On June 30th he appeared in a benefit concert given by Mr. and Mrs. Ashe at the Argyll Rooms.

III. Voice and Guitar.

Evidence suggests that Sor experienced more success in cultivating the medium of voice and guitar, and his concerts illustrate a balance between vocal and instrumental music.

Sor had been trained as a singer at Montserrat, and his voice was appreciated by London audiences: 'The delicacy of the instrument for which this professor is chiefly celebrated makes him less known to the public than his merit deserves; for as a player he is spirited and refined; as a singer and composer, polished, various, and full of fire and feeling.' Moreover, he published more compositions for voice whilst in London than for any other medium, and they were always well received: 'Mr. Sor's vocal compositions have gained such favour among the higher order of musical dilettanti, that a new set of ariettas from

his pen causes almost as much sensation as the publication of a new novel by the author of Waverley.

Like his contemporaries, Sor found writing for voice more lucrative than any other medium, but it did not prevent him from leaving for France: 'Mr. Sor who so long delighted and surprised lovers of music in London is now in Paris.'

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2. The Harmonicon. (London March 1823), i. no. 111, p. 42.
Fernando Sor

Author's Collection.
Chapter Four.

Instruction for Amateurs

I. Introduction
II. Holding the Guitar.
III. The Left Hand.
IV. Right Hand Technique.
V. Idiomatic Resources.

I. Introduction.

The guitar tutors discussed in this chapter are not necessarily works of notable scholarship, but represent for the most part an attempt by the authors to introduce the amateur to the first principles of guitar playing and knowledge of music. They are all very elementary, but their very publication attests to the fact that in the early part of the nineteenth century there was a large number of people interested in the guitar.

Felice Chabran, Charles Sola, and P. Rosquellas are the only known guitarists to have written tutors during this period. Chabran compiled three: Complete Instructions For The Spanish Guitar (1795); A New Tutor For The Harp and Spanish Guitar (1813); and A Complete Set of Instructions For The Spanish Guitar (1816). Although Chabran's 1795 method is for the five-stringed instrument, it is occasionally referred to here as it does give some details on Chabran's approach to technique. Moreover, the 1813 and 1816 publications are also important in that they afford an opportunity to study the approach to guitar composition and technique before the influence of foreign methods.
The prefaces in Chabran's first two tutors are very similar, and indicate his primary objective: 'The tone of the Spanish guitar is much like the harp, very harmonious, and esteemed the most complete accompaniment to the female voice and is capable of producing all the different beauties of harmony.'  

This view is also shared by Sola, who in his *Instructions For The Spanish Guitar* (1819), notes: 'The art of playing upon the guitar which is now so much cultivated, and esteemed, is nevertheless in general superficially understood; and there are many professors as well as amateurs who do not consider the Instrument of sufficient importance to require a treatise upon the subject. Several of the natives both of Spain and Italy, possess a natural talent for this instrument, and can sing solos, Duets, Trios, and accompany their voices with the guitar, without any instruction whatever; but this facility is a gift of, and is, in fact prejudicial to the scientific part of Music for such persons cannot accompany the most simple Air without committing many errors either in the harmony of the composition, the fingering, or the method of placing the hands upon the instrument.'

Rosquellas' method, *A Complete Tutor For The Spanish Guitar* containing in addition to the fingered lessons and exercises, Spanish, Italian and English songs, with several National Airs Dedicated with the greatest respect to Her Royal Highness The Princess Charlotte of Wales, was published in 1820 by Clementi and Company, 26 Cheapside, and cost 8 shillings.

Rosquellas worked in London, and like Chabran and Sola, saw the guitar's principal role as one of accompaniment: "The distinguishing characteristic of this charming Instrument is the great facility it affords of exercising the chords in all the combinations of harmonies; this circumstance added to the peculiar sweetness of its tone gives the Spanish Guitar a decided superiority over every other Instrument as an Accompaniment to the Voice."

The other important point that emerges from the Introduction of these tutors, is that the chief clientele were female amateurs who simply sought tuition to be able to accompany their own voice. Moreover, the existence of these tutors refutes the idea that the guitar was not established in England until the 1820's: "That there are no six-stringed guitars and no method books for that instrument produced in England until the 1820's points to a lack of cultivation of the guitar there in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The rise to favour of the guitar in England began with the tenure in London from 1815 to 1823 of Fernando Sor. During this period he worked closely with Louis Panormo who established himself as a maker of high quality guitars. These two events were primarily responsible for popularizing the guitar in England."

II. Holding the Guitar.

Although in the early part of the nineteenth century there was no standardized procedure for holding the guitar, authors were agreed

1. Rosquellas, P. A Complete Tutor For the Spanish Guitar (London 1820), i.
that the players should feel as comfortable as possible. Moreover, the type of music being composed at that time may have also had a bearing on the sitting position.

Chabran's instructions are simple: 'Place it across the body with the neck inclined upwards ..... the best way to hold it in this position is to fling it over the shoulder with a riband fixed to both ends of the instrument, so that the hands may be free to move up and down without interruption.' Then in 1813 Chabran refers the reader to an illustration at the beginning of the book which shows a female resting an instrument on her left thigh, and supporting it with her left hand.

The title page of Sola's tutor (Plate 2) also shows a female holding a guitar supported by a riband, but he does not refer to it in the text. Moreover, he believed in the principle of the left hand acting as a support for the guitar: 'The guitar is to be held in a reclining position towards the left elbow, and fixed upon the right thigh, when the guitar is properly and elegantly held; the left hand must be placed a little beneath the first fret (or division) that the first finger may be able to support the instrument upon the third joint.'

Rosquellas' approach is similar, and shows a small improvement on Chabran: 'The Instrument is held in a very graceful position, resting lightly upon the right thigh, with the front inclining outwards; the neck elevated, and resting between the thumb and first finger of the left hand.' However, Rosquellas does not support his text with an illustration.

Title Page from Sola's Tutor.

Courtesy of the British Library.
By placing too much emphasis on appearance, and at the same time
trying to give as much freedom to both left and right hands, Chabran,
Rosquellas, and Sola restricted their holding position. Even by 1820 there
were moves, particularly by Franz X. Kniz towards supporting the guitar
across the left leg, but opinions continued to differ. It was not until
the time of Francisco Tarrega (1852-1909) that supporting the guitar over
the left leg was established as the standard practice. Nevertheless, the
approach of Chabran, Sola, and Rosquellas suited the needs of the amateur at
that time.

III. The Left Hand.

As the emphasis was on simple accompaniment and directed at the
amateur, composers found it unnecessary to dwell too much on left hand
technique, especially as amateurs would only play in the lower positions
anyway. Chabran, Sola, and Rosquellas were not exempt from this rule.

Chabran believed: 'The business is to apply to the frets so
as to produce a good tone, and this is best done by pressing the finger
on the string, a little above the fret, from which the tone is received,
each of these frets is in reality a bridge, which if the string is made to
rest firmly must undoubtedly give a sound little inferior to the open notes.'
He was even more precise in his 1795 tutor: '..... holding the neck
between the ball of the thumb and root of the forefinger, inclining the
heel of your hand up close to the neck.' Chabran's message was clear.
The function of the left hand was to facilitate a good tone, a view also

1. Cox, loc. cit. p.82.
2. Chabran, 1813, op. cit. p.2.
shared by Sola, whose advice, despite his experience abroad and knowledge of the approach of guitarists like Sor, Carulli, and Molino, is surprisingly basic: 'The Left Hand must be placed a little beneath the first fret that the first finger may be able to support the instrument upon the third joint, with the thumb behind the first fret; and the four fingers must surround the top of the instrument a little above the strings, the fingers must be pressed upon the strings above the frets, and each fret and each finger must correspond; the strings must likewise be pressed with the points of the fingers in order to produce a good sound.' Sola also advocated the use of the left hand thumb to stop notes on the sixth string.

This scanty information on the use of the left hand is typical of most other European tutors of the time. Rosquellas also appears to have kept in line with contemporary trends: 'The neck elevated, and resting between the thumb and first finger of the left hand; the arm being raised and gracefully turned so that the fingers remain at full liberty commanding the whole breadth of the fingerboard, pressing each string a little above the frets.' Despite this emphasis on the function of the left hand as a support, rather than for tone production, Rosquellas did agree with Chabran and Sola on the importance of pressing the string just behind the fret bar, a twentieth century technical practice.

IV. Right Hand Technique.

In the early part of the nineteenth century more emphasis was placed on right hand technique than left, but there was no consensus of opinion as to the correct use of the right hand, and methods differed from tutor to tutor. Chabran states: 'Then apply your right hand near

the bridge so that your first, second and third fingers may hang over
the 3, 2, 1 strings. Hold up the wrist so that it may together with the
fingers, form a roundness, then straighten the forefinger and draw it
across the strings, beginning with the smallest. In the like manner,
return the thumb from the thickest, by which the position of the fingers
will be discovered." Similar advice appears in his 1813 tutor, but
he avoids all discussion on the matter in his 1816 method. Furthermore,
he does not comment on the function of the little finger, but the con-
clusion from his instructions is that he did not advocate resting it on
the soundboard.

On this latter point Sola was perfectly clear: 'The Right
Hand must form a half circle with the little finger upon the sounding
board, between the circular opening of the instrument called the Rosette
and the bridge, the little finger must support the right hand, and give
a free motion to the other four fingers, the first, second and third
strings must be struck with the thumb, the fourth with the first finger,
the fifth with the second, and the sixth with the third, the right arm as
well as the little finger must be in a fixed position, the head held
upright and the body graceful.'

Whether or not to rest the little finger on the soundboard
was one of the major controversies of the early nineteenth century and
many of the leading guitarists practised this method. Cox claims that
this idea was carried through the earliest five course guitar treatises,
to the late baroque treatises for both lute and guitar. The final step
in the transition is seen in the six-course guitar method of the late
eighteenth century and in some five-course methods that were amended to

include the six-string guitar.\footnote{1}{This is certainly true of Chabran's 1813 tutor, which was obviously an updated version of the 1795 edition, but there is no mention of the precise placing of the little finger.}

Unamended tutors, like that of Rosquellas for the six-stringed guitar, also reflect this point: "The right arm is thrown over the lower part of the instrument, the little finger resting upon the front, not far from the first string and rather nearer the bridge than the soundhole."\footnote{2}{The controversy continued well into the nineteenth century until it was finally recognised that complete freedom of the right hand was more important than the little finger support.}

Rosquellas' concluding advice on the right hand did not introduce anything new: "The thumb and the first three fingers then remain freely bent over the strings, at liberty to be used as found most convenient according to the nature of the passage, or as occasionally directed by figures."

V. Idiomatic Resources.

Introduction.
A. Chords.
B. Arpeggios.
C. The Slur.
D. The Barre.
E. Harmonics.
F. Conclusion.

Introduction.

All three guitarists were obviously aware of the different kinds of idiomatic resources available on the guitar, but may have felt that such techniques were only of real use to those players that preferred solo work, and therefore refrained from teaching them. However, there could have been an underlying reason. After the publication of Ferdinand Felzer's Instructions For The Guitar, a reviewer in The Giulianiad of 1833 wrote: 'In the rules here laid down the well-taught professor will perceive many of those secrets which have been ridiculously with-held from the public, and until this work made it's appearance, the means of acquiring them were entirely unknown in England.'

A. Chords.

Chords, arpeggios and scalar passages were the staple part of the three tutors under discussion, and although the teaching of chords provides a useful approach to the teaching of harmony, this was certainly not the intention of Chabran, whose instructions were simple: 'The fingers must be pressed equally on the string, then drawn in towards the body, the thumb the reverse, and at the same time view the strings on the fingerboard to discover if their vibration are equal, which if otherwise it is a sign they are not equally pressed.'

This emphasis on sight rather than touch was a poor teaching point, and in his 1813 tutor, Chabran modified his advice: 'This lesson is devised to exercise the fingers for double, triple and quadruple notes.' The same exercise appeared in both methods.

Later, in 1816, he did expand his musical examples and gives: 'Exercises in chords, scales and preludes in the keys that are most practiced.'

Sola first approaches the problem of chords with a harmonic description; and then gives a series of arpeggio passages in different keys, which all conclude with the tonic chord:

As a footnote to these exercises, Sola adds: 'In general the three silver strings are struck with the thumb of the right hand and the others with the three following fingers.' He does not discuss the left hand position.

Rosquellas was more comprehensive: 'A chord consists of several notes struck at the same time. It would carry this work beyond reasonable limits, to explain all the chords that may be used, or to enter into the Science of Thoro' Bass: it may however be useful to set down a method of knowing the different notes of a chord, chiefly
with reference to the Common Chord, which consists of the key note, the third and the octave.

If a chord comprises not more than four notes it may be struck by the thumb and three first fingers of the Right Hand; but when it consists of more notes, it must be struck by the thumb being drawn across the whole. This is a more specific explanation and, unlike Chabran and Sola, Rosquellas is the only guitarist to tackle the problem of how to play the six-string chord.

Rosquellas follows his explanation with a series of scales, concluding with chords based on the tonic note. He then gives exercises in different keys and positions:

```
\begin{music}
\france clef\def\fingertip{100000000}
\begin{music}
\france clef\def\fingertip{100000000}
\end{music}
\end{music}
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**E. Arpeggios.**

Arpeggios were an important technique which early nineteenth century guitarists studied. They were a natural progression from chords and afforded every amateur enough rhythmic variety to accompany songs. Furthermore, they are indispensable in the development of right hand agility.\(^2\)

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1. Rosquellas, op. cit. p.10.
2. Cox, op. cit. p.149.
In his 1795 tutor, Chabran only mentions arpeggios in passing: 'The notes marked thus \( \text{\textsuperscript{\textdollar}} \), are to be struck after each other\(^1\), but by 1816 he had recognised their importance for accompaniment, and under the form of preludes he included exercises in all practical keys. Sola also uses the same symbol, and states: 'Exercises generally used on the guitar for the accompaniment of the voice.'\(^2\) Rosquellas' directions are just as terse: 'The following exercises will show the different methods of accompanying the same melody; the upper line is intended for the voice and may be sung to each of the succeeding variations.'\(^3\) Rosquellas then gives twelve examples.

C. The Slur.

The slur is one of the nicest effects obtainable on the guitar, and essential to interpretation. Thomas Heck describes it thus: 'This is a means of going from one note to the next, normally on the same string and involves plucking just the first of the two notes. The second tone is obtained by the rapid use of a finger of the left hand. The meaning of the slur musically is that of a smooth legato motion from one note to the next.'\(^4\)

Although Chabran gives musical exercises that include the slur, he does not refer to the technique in the text. His use of it is simple, and only in the descending form:

1. Chabran, 1795, p.4.
Sola, however, uses both ascending and descending forms, and introduces an additional nomenclature to assist the pupil. Furthermore, he gives directions of how it should be played: 'The notes marked thus are to be struck with the right hand, and the following notes are to be slurred with the left hand, by using the fingers in rapid succession.'¹ This new symbol was one of Sola's own inventions and not in general use:

In Rosquellas' tutor there is no mention of the slur, but he must have been aware of this technique.

¹. Sola, op. cit. p.12.
D. The Barre.

Cox argues that this technique cannot be separated from position studies, and to a large extent this is true. There are two types, the **Petit Barre**, covering two or three strings, and the **Grand Barre**, covering four to six strings. Only the former is employed in the tutors under discussion.

Chabran does not refer to the barre in his text, but it does appear in some of his musical examples, so he possibly taught it by rote. Sola follows the traditional pattern of introducing it with positional playing, but he does not refer to the technique by name:

> "Those (notes) marked thus :——: are to be held down with the first finger of the left hand, or any other of the same hand as may be marked."¹

Sola also used this symbol as an indication to keep a finger depressed whenever possible. Rosquellas avoids all discussion on this technique.

E. Harmonics.

Sola is the only writer to allude to harmonics, and even then it only appears in a musical passage without explanation.

![Fanfarro](image)

¹ Sola, loc. cit. p.13.
Rosquellas and Chabran ignored harmonics completely and probably felt that it was not an effect which could easily be employed as part of an accompaniment to a song.

Conclusion.

It is now evident that the six-stringed guitar was firmly established much earlier in the nineteenth century than had previously been thought, and the theory that Sor introduced it into this country has now been dismissed. As early as 1806 Thomas Bolton was composing for the guitar and, along with Felice Chabran first helped to cultivate a serious interest in the instrument.

These two English musicians were soon followed by several foreign players, particularly Ventura, Verini, Sola, Anelli, and of course Sor. However, despite the fact that these guitarists came from countries where the guitar was firmly established as a solo instrument, they found it necessary to succumb to the fashion of the period and thus concentrated more on the instruments accompanying role.

It is true that Sor did much to popularise the guitar whilst in London, but he was not, as has been claimed, the only great guitarist to visit England during this period. His rival was the Italian Anelli whose tone, it has been suggested, surpassed that of the Spanish master.

Both Anelli and Sor tried to improve teaching methods, but the first tutors written in England were by Chabran, Rosquellas and Sola. As their chief readers were female amateurs, they concentrated on elegance and accompaniment, and despite their limited nature, these tutors helped to sustain interest in the instrument up to 1820.
By 1823 the six-stringed guitar was firmly established in England, but the players that had first helped to cultivate an interest generally failed to keep abreast of the changes taking place, and in doing so compromised their own careers. Nevertheless, they provided a firm foundation for later guitarists to build upon.
SECTION TWO: THE YEARS OF DEVELOPMENT AND THE SUMMIT OF POPULARITY 1824 - 1850

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE: Foreign Dominance.

CHAPTER TWO: English Guitarists.

CHAPTER THREE: The Giulianiad.

CONCLUSION
Introduction.

From 1824 there began a steady influx of foreign guitarist-composers into London, and the height of this increase coincided with the publication of The Giulianiad in 1833. There ensued a settling-down period followed by a gradual decline until about 1850, when the appearance of these foreign musicians reached a minimum.

English guitarists of the period were few, but those that did emerge made concerted efforts to improve the popularity of the instrument despite foreign influence.

Possibly the most important contributive factor to the popularity of the guitar at this time was the composition, and subsequent publication, of more solo guitar music, which brought an unprecedented independence for the instrument. However, not all composers made this transition, and continued to compose for voice and guitar. Moreover, a new medium had presented itself. Composers were transcribing for the guitar passages and, in some instances, whole acts from popular operas of the period, and whilst they were interesting to contemporary audiences they are of little value today.

Guitar makers too played an important part. Inventions were numerous, by both English and foreign luthiers alike, but, while these developments were interesting in themselves, they only undermined the stability of the main-stream instrument. But perhaps the greatest interest was created by Regondi, Catherine (daughter of Ferdinand) Pelzer, Schulz, and Sagrini. They were all child prodigies, and English audiences warmed to these young players, but as they matured so interest waned. The exception was Regondi, but even he had to cultivate a new novelty – the concertina!
CHAPTER ONE.

Foreign Dominance.

I. Italy.

II. Spain.

III. Germany.

IV. Poland.

V. An Austrian.

I. Italy.

Introduction.

A. Filippo Verini: The Later Years.


C. Luigi Sagrini.

Introduction.

The importance of the Italians, particularly Anelli and Verini, is that they provided a continuing link between the early development of the guitar and its years of popularity, and although their careers did not develop as they might, they did have the opportunity to consolidate what they had begun.

A. Filippo Verini: The Later Years.

a) Obscurity, or Semi-Retirement.

b) Concerts.
a) Between 1824 and 1827 Verini appeared to have gone into semi-retirement. Indeed, his situation was one of almost total neglect:

There is at present living in London a composer of consummate taste, whose reputation is far inferior to his merits. His name is Verini a teacher of the Spanish Guitar by profession and the author of some of the most exquisite melodies that have been published lately. With far more talent than pretention and cultivating music more than his interest with the great, it is little wonder that he should have lived hitherto in comparative retirement while the names of less deserving musicians have been bruited about in every corner of the compass.1 However, Verini may well have been a victim of his own personality. He was very diffident, and left it to others to advertise his abilities. Moreover, he was still experiencing difficulties with the English language:

Hitherto Verini has confined his accompaniment to Italian words, but he has just published an English song, the words of which are by Barry Cornwall. This song is set to a most touching melody, and is a considerable triumph on the part of an absolute foreigner over the usual stubborn nature of the English language.2

The reviewer also claims that this lack of interest being shown in Verini was on account of his being a professor on an instrument yet comparatively strange in this country.3

Nevertheless, the review created more interest and Verini responded by publishing more pieces for solo guitar. This flood of compositions culminated in the singular privilege amongst guitarists of

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the publication in The Harmonicon of 1831,\(^1\) of his Buona Notte, for one or two voices, with guitar accompaniment, from his third set of Six Italian Ariettes.

b. Concerts.

Only two concerts by Verini have been located. The first was as late as 1836, when he played at the Willis Rooms in July. The critics were scathing, and referred to his playing as: 'punching and painstaking'.\(^2\) He performed his Fantasia, based on airs from Bellini's Puritani; sono vergine vizzosa and Suona la tromba, which may well have delighted those superficially interested in the instrument, but it did not satisfy the more discerning public.

Verini's second concert was at the Hanover Square Rooms in July 1840, but there are no details.


Introduction.

a) Concerts at Clifton.
b) Cheltenham.
c) Cheltenham Concerts.

Introduction.

Although Anelli's first concerts at Clifton were warmly received, he never really equalled the success that he had experienced on the continent. He spent too much time, particularly during the later years,

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in proving the capabilities of the guitar as an accompaniment to the
voice, and in doing so, ruined his reputation as a performer and dis-
credited himself amongst the more intellectual music amateurs. He
did, however, establish the guitar outside London and paved the way
for many later guitarists.

a) Concerts at Clifton.

In December 1825, Anelli first advertised his intention to
give a course of lectures on 'Vocal Science' in January 1826. In
order to make these lectures more interesting, he stated he would sing
several favourite songs, and to illustrate the capabilities of the
guitar he would play overtures, symphonies and sonatas. Response
to his advertisement is interesting: 'I have no doubt sir, from what
I know of Anelli, that his three lectures will be found instructive and
exceedingly entertaining. To lecture in a language but lately acquired,
must of course subject him to great difficulties; but, I doubt not, from
what I have had the pleasure of seeing of him that he will acquit him-
self of the task he has on solid ground undertaken to the satisfaction
and improvement of his hearers, in that elegant science which he has
so exclusively cultivated both as to its vocal and instrumental powers.'

For some unknown reason, Anelli postponed these lectures until
February 15th, 17th and 21st 1826. They were an immediate success. The
rooms were full, chiefly with ladies who were apparently instructed,
gratified, and amused at the same time.

A more enlightening view appeared in the Bristol Mercury:
'The composition of the lecture, on the whole, does Signor Anelli great

2. Letter to the editor of the F.F.B.J. December 1825.
3. F.F.B.J. (Bristol Feb. 1826).
credit, and must have cost him immense pain and labour. In addition to several fine Italian songs and sonatas on the guitar, two beautiful duets for the guitar and violin - the composition of Thomas Howell\(^1\) were played by him and Signor Anelli, in a very excellent style. Several instrumental pieces were very delicately and gracefully executed and all the songs were sung with exquisite taste\(^2\). The versatility and balance of this concert surpassed many of those of Anelli's contemporaries, but despite their popularity his appearances were so infrequent.

The duets for violin and guitar were published in June 1828, and in a review it was claimed that they were the first works by an English composer for this medium.

Anelli's most celebrated concert, 'The Citharodian', took place on 27th November 1837, at the Royal Gloucester Rooms, Clifton. Citharodian is an ancient Greek expression used to denote the art of accompanying the voice with the cithara or guitar. To be able to sing with the guitar was to be master of the citharodia. It was Anelli's intention to prove the guitar capable of great harmony, and an instrument admirably adapted to accompany the voice with regularity and, particular fine and touching effects belonging to no other instrument whatsoever.\(^3\)

To prove his point, Anelli transcribed for guitar the overture and the first and second Acts of Rossini's *The Barber of Seville*\(^4\), and a set of variations on a theme by Bellini, *Deh Con Te* from the opera *Norma*.

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1. Thomas Howell (1783-1851) was born in Bristol. He was a violinist and music proprietor.
3. *Deh Con Te* op. cit.
4. This transcription was probably a revised form of the whole opera and not just the overture and first two Acts.
The concert was previewed and referred to as one of the most extraordinary events in the musical world, and judging from later accounts, Anelli not only achieved his aim, but was exceptionally successful. 'The effect produced by the powerful vibrations and full tones of so small an instrument as the guitar in one of the largest Provincial Music Rooms has surpassed the expectations of everyone. From the commencement of the overture until the close of the performance everyone was struck by Signor Anelli's skill and power of execution, combined with his exquisite taste and graceful manner of accompaniment, which convinced all present of his capabilities as a singer and performer.'

The Musical World was equally flattering: 'The Barber of Seville and several other operas have been lately arranged for three voices, with the guitar accompaniment by Anelli, and performed by himself from the overture, through the recitatives and through all the vocal parts with uncommon success, comparatively producing the effect of an orchestra preserving the same harmony and melody of the compositions.'

The music from this concert, which also included Grand Introduction and Theme, Dal tuo stellato soglio by Rossini, was immediately published by Chappell.

The effect of the concert was two-fold. Firstly, Anelli had illustrated quite clearly the possibilities of the guitar in an accompanying role; secondly, and without his anticipation, it had a great effect on his reputation. He became known as the singer of Italian songs to the accompaniment of the guitar, rather than a serious soloist. This is clearly illustrated in his Cheltenham concerts where, although he did perform solo music, the emphasis was on voice and guitar. Moreover,

1. Deh Con Te op cit.
he cannot have been aware of the trend in London towards solo music, and he was perhaps now beginning to pay the price of trying to earn a living in a provincial town. Had he lived in the Capital, there would have been more concerts, competition, and the opportunity to keep up with the general trend.

b. Cheltenham.

Despite the acclaim Anelli received for his 'Citharodian Concert', there are no further references until his name appears in a Cheltenham Street directory, where he is listed as living at 13, Rodney Terrace in 1843-44, and from 1845-48 at Number 10. He advertised himself as being from Clifton, and available for giving instructions in singing, by the Italian method, and lessons on the graceful Spanish guitar, upon an original plan. He was obviously successful, for in September 1845 he opened a second Academy at a Miss Hasell's, Royal Old Wells, Cheltenham.

c. Cheltenham Concerts.

His concerts were again infrequent. On July 19th 1845 he announced a morning Matinée Musicale of vocal and instrumental entertainment, for Wednesdays 23rd and 30th July, and the 6th and 13th August, to take place at his Salon de Musique (10 Rodney Terrace). The advertisement illustrates the continued versatility of his programmes. He sang Italian songs and duets, performed solos, duos, trios, and quartets, for the violin, tenor, violoncello, pianoforte, and guitar.

1. He later referred to it as the Romantic Spanish Guitar.
The string players were Mr. Butt and an F. Cox\(^1\), and the pianist was his son Fredric. The review was favourable: 'The select party that attended it was afforded an opportunity of hearing a selection of highly classical music, executed in a style of much excellence, and calculated especially to please those who delight in a class of composition such as rarely obtains a fair hearing in our large public concerts.'\(^2\)

Two years later, on the 6th and 9th of March, Anelli organised a concert at the Assembly Rooms in aid of the famine in Ireland and Scotland: 'It is hoped that so benevolent a project will meet with all the encouragement it merits. Signor Anelli, in any case deserves the best thanks of all classes for his amiable exertions and his liberal offers.'\(^3\) Unlike all other nineteenth century guitarists, Anelli always managed to get his concerts previewed, but unlike The Musical World, The Looker-On was very sceptical: 'Two concerts, the profits of which, if any, are to be appropriated to the relief of the distressed poor ... This speculation has been generously undertaken by Signor Anelli, who runs all risks, and incurs the liability.'\(^4\) This scepticism was realised. The concerts were thinly attended, and Anelli made a loss. He also found his audiences were dwindling. Had the general public become wise to the sensationalism of his previews and advertisements or were they becoming dissatisfied with the content of his programme? Whatever the reason, Anelli developed a new approach, which was so banal that it brought him discredit.

In June 1847 he first referred to his intentions with a typical piece of advertising. He was going to perform at the Cheltenham

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1. Both unidentified.
Montpellier Rotunda, on 25th and 28th of September, and the 2nd, 5th, 9th and 12th of October, his transcription of *The Barber of Seville*, but this time, to give a full effect to the representation, a semi-theatre had been made in which it will be seen, represented by artistic figures in their full theatrical costumes. On September 4th he published his programme, and noted that his artistic figures would be: Malibran, Rubini, Lablache, Alboni, Tamburini and Jenny Lind. It caused a sensation: "The announcement of Signor Anelli's "Scientific Representations" of popular operas, .... have been productive of no small amusement from the ingenuity displayed in the introduction of the names of Lind, Alboni and other popular singers, many persons supposing, from a hasty glance at the bills, that these distinguished performers were to appear in propria personae." The message was clear, but Anelli took no notice. The critics were scathing: 'The attendance upon the first occasion was remarkably good; but the audience were evidently much disappointed, with the kind of performance introduced, which created the most vehement laughter: a number of painted paste-board figures about 18 inches high, said to be resemblances of Jenny Lind, Lablache, Mario, and other celebrated vocalists forming the dramatis personae of a little theatre; in the opening of which, and in front of scenes copied from originals, they were introduced. While these paper representations occupied the stage, Signor Anelli, concealed behind the proscenium, executed the song, assigned them, accompanying himself on the guitar .... Such were the materials of which the entertainment consisted, and it will not, therefore, seem surprising that disappointment should be felt by those who having read the grand names in the bills came there expecting some more rational amusement. Even such criticisms

did not prevent Anelli continuing with his venture. All he did in the remaining five performances was to move from behind the proscenium to take up a position in the front of the stage. But whatever he did, he could not redeem his reputation. What had started out as a promising career was now in ruins.

Anelli may even have felt the need to move out of the South West, for the last reference to him is at a concert in the Hopetown Rooms, Edinburgh. It echoed earlier enterprises: 'Signor Anelli delivered a lecture on vocal music and that the power to sing may be attained by all.' The lecture was charmingly illustrated by performances on the guitar .... The duets that were played\(^1\) had a fine orchestra effect, and the audience were delighted with the entertainment.\(^2\) Whether he appeared in Edinburgh as part of a concert tour is unknown; but there can be no doubt as to Anelli's valuable contribution to the development of the guitar, particularly in his approach to teaching. Moreover, he was obviously a great player, and the first to encourage serious interest in the instrument outside London.

C. Luigi Sagrini.

a. Introduction.

b. Concerts.

c. Introduction.

It was as a young musician that Luigi Sagrini first became popular with English audiences, but in later life he did not fulfil the promise of his youth.

1. For piano and guitar, with his son Fredric.
3. He is not listed in Edinburgh Street Directories of the period.
Before coming to London he had toured Europe, and his arrival was preceded by a typical review in *The Harmonicon*: 'At thirteen he gave a concert in the hall of Mons Pfeiffer rue Montmartre. The extraordinary and precocious talent of this young artist has been attended by the most brilliant success. At the court of Turin he astonished and charmed the most distinguished connoisseurs and the same effect was reproduced in Paris.'¹ Readers were disappointed as he did not appear until 1830, and by then attentions were in the direction of the youthful Catherine Pelzer, Regondi, and by 1836, Sagrini's own brother, Italo.

b. Concerts.

Sagrini, like Anelli, did not repeat in England his continental success. His concerts were very infrequent and rarely reviewed. He first performed at The Willis Rooms on Monday May 6th, 1833, but he is only mentioned by name.

Four weeks later, on June 3rd, Sir John De Beauvoir invited him to his residence in Connaught Place, to perform with Signor Giubilei: 'Sagrini's performance is an excellent specimen of guitar playing - uniting a good happy tone with much feeling, and brilliant execution. Nothing can be more dextrous than his fingering - it is clean, clear, and unerringly exact. We were greatly pleased with this gentleman's performance, the more so as he perseveres, and knows that there is something beyond his present playing worthy of acquirement ..... his brother (who is only ten years of age) displayed much precocious talent for this instrument.'² Clearly, with his youthfulness almost gone, his musical talent had been exposed, and he was never to acquire the ability or popularity of another prodigy - Giulio Regondi.

Sagrini's last concert of the season was in August, and for the benefit of Miss Miles: 'Mr. Sagrini played a Fantasia on the guitar with exquisite taste and expression: this was one of the delights of the evening.'

For 1834 there is only one known performance. In May he appeared in Madame Cellini's benefit concert, and performed variations on the guitar. According to Bone, Sagrini was still living in London in 1840, but, apart from the publication of his arrangement of Robin Adair in 1837, he had been completely disregarded.

What had started as a promising career never really reached fruition, but he did break from the Italian tradition in England of voice and guitar, and along with Huerta and Schulz continued to establish the guitar as a solo instrument. In this respect he played a minor but important part.

II. Spain.

A. Trinity Francis Huerta-y-Caturla: A Break from Tradition.
B. José Marie de Ciebra and R.A. de Ciebra.

Introduction.

Huerta and José and R.A. Ciebra played a crucial part in the development of the guitar in England. Huerta, despite his flamboyancy, cultivated the guitar as a solo instrument, and along with Schulz helped to break the tradition of voice and guitar.

The Ciebras arrived in England at a time when interest in the guitar had begun to diminish, and for a short while they were able to restore some of its popularity. But the content of their programmes, and José's technique, undermined their popularity. Moreover, they spent a lot of time in trying to develop a new type of guitar, and in doing so only undermined the main stream instrument.

A. Trinity Francis Huerta-y-Caturla: A Break From Tradition.

a. Arrival in London and Immediate Rebuff.

b. Concerts.

c. Huerta's Second Visit to London.

a. Arrival in London and Immediate Rebuff.

Huerta, self styled, 'The Paganini of the Guitar' was a flamboyant figure. He probably arrived in London sometime before March 1827, and met the publisher Mori, with whom he later gave concerts. Mori first introduced Huerta by publishing his Three Waltzes in March 1827, but the review was totally unfavourable: 'They are not we conceive, what he means to rest his fame on, but rather fugitive trifles intended to answer a temporary purpose.' Indeed, Huerta was repeatedly criticised. He would shout out whilst playing, 'Je suis le Paganini de la guitare,' and critics did not like this conceit: 'There is one fault however for which I must blame him. Because he hears the numerous and various chords of a whole orchestra sounding in his own head; because he feels all the echoes of his soul vibrating through his being in every tone, he fancies he can convey all this volcano of internal harmony upon the five strings (sic) of the guitar.'

But he is the only person deceived on this point. The ear of the dilettante hears only one voice, which modulates harmoniously, it is true, but which cannot be the interpreter of the thousand voices the artist hears in his head.\(^1\) Nevertheless, he remained undeterred, and set about popularising the guitar as a solo instrument.

b. Concerts

Huerta's first concert was with Mori and Moscheles at Almack's Rooms on May 18th 1827, and although he is mentioned by name only it does indicate how soon he had become acquainted with other popular musicians of the period.

Reviews of his concerts are rare, and even then he is only referred to in passing. His second concert is typical of this. At the Argyll Rooms, on 22nd June, he performed under the Patronage of the Duchess of Gloucester, and is referred to as 'assisting'.\(^2\) Similarly, in his last concert of the season, given by a Signor Torris at the Mansions of the Duke of St. Albans, Huerta contributed the only instrumental item, a sonata for the guitar.\(^3\)

For 1828 there is only one concert. On June 6th he performed with Pio Cianchettini at the Argyll Rooms, but there are no other details.

c. Huerta's Second Visit to London.

After a world tour, Huerta returned to London in 1838 and gave a concert on 26th June at the Willis rooms. He had lost none

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1. **Huerta The Guitarist** loc. cit. p.703.
2. **Concerts**: In *The Harmonicon* (London, July 1827), v, p.149.
of his extrovertism: 'This gentleman, the Paganini of the guitar, attracted a large audience, when he gave his friends and patrons an excellent programme and performed several fantasias on his instrument in the most admirable manner.'

In the following week he again played Fantasias at the Queens Concert Rooms on 2nd July. His programmes appeared to be limited in content, and quite brief judging from his last known concert at the Rotunda in Dublin: 'He played himself four pieces on the guitar with extraordinary brilliance.'

Huerta had really abused the hospitality of the English audience. Their reserved nature could not tolerate the sensationalism of some of his activities, and for this reason he met with more success on the continent than in England, but he had broken away from the tradition of voice and guitar.

B. José Marie de Ciebra and R.A. de Ciebra.

Introduction.

a. Technique.
b. Relationship.
c. Concerts 1839-1840.
d. Concerts 1844-1850.

Introduction.

José and R.A. made two visits to England, 1839-40, and 1844 to about 1850, and Bone states that José was still living in London as late as 1850, but there is no mention of R.A.

They appeared in London at a time when interest in the guitar began to diminish, and helped for a short time to rejuvenate its popularity, but this new lease of life was short lived. Audiences became tired of their limited programmes despite frequent appearances by Regondi, and they also began, after the novelty had worn off, to dislike the sound that José produced.

a. Technique.

José grew his right hand finger nails exceptionally long, and he held his right hand at an oblique position whilst playing. He would then press the nail on to the string and let it slip off on to the fingerboard. Using this technique he was able to produce an excellent vibrato. Makaroff argued that this only applied to slow movements, for in quick passages he had to strike the string which produced a disagreeable metallic sound. Thus the novelty soon wore off.

b. Relationship.

There is some doubt as to the relationship between José and R.A. In a review of an 1840 concert, they are referred to as father and son, but on arrival in England for their second visit, R.A. is reported as being the nephew of José. In all subsequent references they are regarded as brothers.

c. Concerts 1839-1840.

From their first visit there are three known concerts. On June 11th, 1839 they played at a Miss S. Myer's concert at the Hanover Square Rooms, but there are no details of this or their next concert in

1. Makaroff, In Guitar Review i, No. 4. p.4.
April 1840, except that José played Variations on a Theme.¹

Their third concert, at the Hanover Square Rooms on June 10th was more revealing: 'This Gentleman's concert last evening was well attended. Don Ciebra performed in the first part a Fantasia upon a Spanish song and a Grand Duett for two guitars from Semiramis.²

d. Concerts 1844 - 1850.

They arrived back in England during the middle of the 1844 concert season, and immediately advertised: 'José Ciebra begs leave to announce to his friends and public that he will give at the Queens Concert Rooms, his first evening concert on Friday July 12th after an absence of four years'.³ The content of this concert set a pattern for all later performances, both in style and type. They performed a duet from the Cavalina of Robert de Diable, a Fantasia for two guitars, Potpourri on Bellini's themes, and several Spanish Airs. They also played several compositions by José.

José, like many other nineteenth century guitarists in England, made the mistake of trying to demonstrate the capabilities of the guitar, and at the same time pandered to the needs of the audience by performing popular arrangements from operas of the period. This may well have satisfied those only superficially interested in the instrument, but it did not satiate the hard core of sincere enthusiasts. Moreover, his own compositions, which were generally inferior, only added to the latters' disappointment. Nevertheless, the concert was an obvious success: 'Don Ciebra performed two solos of his own composition

2. The Times, 11th June 1840, p.5. Col. 5.
with great execution and as much expression as the instrument is capable of. He also executed with his brother three duets and with the assistance of Regondi a trio for three guitars, which was received with great favour — that in the first part an *Air* from 'Robert de Diable' was encored.\(^1\)

The appearance of Regondi can only have been to the Ciebra's advantage, for his reputation was now complete. Furthermore, José always tried to employ, and perform with in his concerts, a popular and if possible young musician of the period.

For his concert at the Elagrove Rooms, Mortimer Street, on October 7th 1844, he invited the young violinist Silberberg and again met with obvious success: 'The guitars of the beneficiaires were in constant requisition and were used to admirable purpose. The gem of the programme was a duet for violin and guitar by young Silberberg. This was played to perfection and unanimously encored.'\(^2\)

In the following May they gave their annual concert in typical style at the Hanover Square Rooms. The hall was crowded: 'They performed various solos in first rate style receiving several encorees during the evening. In reviewing the relative merits of these guitarists, we should give the preference in style to Don J., and in mechanism to Don R. Ciebra, both however are performers of high pretention.'\(^3\) A Miss Messent also appeared in this concert, and sang a *Recitative* and *Romanza* from José's opera *Maravilla* or the Jealous Spectre. This Spanish Lyric opera claims Bone, was first performed at the Italian Theatre, Paris, on June 4th 1853. But on

the title page of the copy in the British Library, it states it was first rehearsed on 21st August 1851 at the Hanover Square Rooms.

They only appeared once in the 1845 season at a concert given by Emily Badge at the Princess Theatre, and they are not referred to again until a concert in 1847, by which time the critics had started to expose José's playing: 'Signor R. de Ciebra accomplishes the greatest apparent difficulties with a facility that is really wonderful. His cantabile passages are given with an expression of feeling that would do honour to a vocalist. Don José performed the Overture to William Tell with the utmost precision and was loudly applauded... likewise (José) performed in a duet for guitar and pianoforte... We recommend him, the next time he performs in public, not to forget that there are certain shades of intensity in music called piano and forte which, albeit they may be incumbrances, have the prestige of fashion, it is well therefore, to fall in the general use.' José ignored his critics and his concerts became more infrequent.

In 1848 they gave their annual morning concert at the Princess Concert Room. Silberberg appeared and the format and contents of the programme reflected earlier concerts. They also appeared at the Whittington Club and the Metropolitan Atheneum in 1848, but are mentioned by name only.

Interest continued to decline. They performed in Madame Lemaire's Soirée Musicale, on Monday 6th June 1850, at Coulson's Rooms, Great Marlborough Street and shortly after appeared in their own benefit concert with Regondi, but again are referred to by name only. By September 1850 they had left London and gave their last

two known concerts at the Bath Assembly Rooms in the same month: 'The audiences were but scanty ... the two Dons made a very favourable impression.'

It is important to bear in mind that the fall from popularity of the Ciebras coincided with a general decline of interest in the guitar. Nevertheless, the Ciebras like other nineteenth century guitarists, spent too much time in trying to promote their own compositions and arrangements, rather than performing better guitar pieces by other composers.

III. Germany.

Introduction.
A. George Henry Derwort.
B. Carl Eulenstein.
C. J. A. Nuske.
D. Wilhelm Neuland.
E. Ferdinand Pelzer.

Introduction.

This is a very mixed group of musicians. Derwort and Eulenstein were only amateur players, and claim recognition through composition and teaching. Moreover, as their chief clientele were female amateurs, it is not surprising to see that the majority of their music is for voice and guitar, and dedicated to titled ladies. In this respect they helped to cement the patronage of the aristocracy, but as fashions changed, and it became less desirable for young

ladies to play the guitar, so Derwort and Eulenstein were disregarded.

Nuske and Neuland were primarily keyboard players who turned their attention to the guitar when it was at its height in popularity. They befriended Pelzer who frequently reviewed their music in The Giulianiad, and gave public performances of their works. However, once interest in the guitar began to diminish, they turned their attentions to other pursuits.

Pelzer is the most important of this group, and he played a leading role in the development of the guitar in England. His motives were honourable. He wanted to raise the popularity of the instrument, and the standard of playing, by trying to introduce the guitar to the maximum number of people.

Although he performed and composed some interesting pieces, his real forte was teaching. He developed his own system and set out on a tour of the country to explain his ideas. Furthermore, he was editor of The Giulianiad, the first guitar periodical to be published in England.

A. George Henry Derwort.

a. Arrival in London.

b. Concert.

c. Arrival in London.

Philip Bone states that George Derwort came to England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but the earliest reference

1. Bone, op. cit. p.95.
is not until June 1824, when a review of his *Twelve Easy Pieces* for the Spanish Guitar appeared in *The Harmonicon*. However, it is possible that he arrived by 1820, for in 1814 Charles Wheatstone published Derwort's *Twelve Popular National Airs*, and in 1819-1821 Wessell and Stodat produced his 'Philomel'. Then, in 1823, Richard and William Davis published Derwort's *Collection of Italian, French and English Songs*.

Derwort was without doubt an astute man. Although he did compose some simple, original music, he principally concentrated on arranging popular songs and National European Airs. They were intended for the beginner and in particular, the female amateur who simply wanted to accompany her own voice. Moreover, he was able to make the music agreeable, and to give the listener the impression that it was difficult to play.

By 1826 he had become one of the leading figures in popularising the guitar in London: 'It (Spanish Guitar) has lately however been brought into more notice and that in some measure by the excursions of Mr. Derwort, who has composed and arranged for it much and successfully.'

b. Concert

Despite Derwort's popularity, only one concert has been located. It was at the Hanover Square Rooms in May 1836: 'A Mr. Derwort, of whom the town never heard before, ventured last night on the novel and somewhat bold experiment of a concert sustained entirely

1. Watermark dating.
by music of his own compositions. Mr. Derwort's genius takes as wide a range as that of the strolling players described by Polonius from the grand symphony for an overture for two guitars ... But Mr. Derwort unfortunately has no musical ideas of his own, and cannot even contrive to string together in a consistent manner the ideas of other people.'¹

The Musical World was even more critical: 'The simple and unobtrusive manners also of Mr. Derwort assisted in beguiling them (audience) in this age of flare, puff and pretension .... The least effective performance was an overture for two guitars, by Derwort and Mr. Ernst. In the first place the composition itself was a misnomer, being merely an uninteresting air with two or three variations, and in the next place the piece was not well played: the principal performer who had been anxiously conducting his music all the evening, was flurried: his hand therefore was unsteady.'² It was concerts like this that did irreversible harm to the reputation of the guitar, and it is not surprising that the English public lost patience with guitarists like Derwort.

However, unlike the Ciebras and other players, he did note the criticisms, and rarely performed in public again. Moreover, except for reviews of his music in The Musical World for May 1837 and June 1838, he was completely ignored.

Had he been able to change his style of composition and produce more interesting solo pieces, he may have been able to redeem some of his reputation. Moreover, he was originally a Horn player who recognised the possibilities of the guitar and used it for his own interests. In doing so, he contributed to the depressed state of the

² Concerts: In The Musical World (London, 1836), iii, p.188-89.
guitar at the middle of the nineteenth century.

**E. Carl Eulenstein.**

**Introduction.**


c. Cheltenham.

d. Bath.

**Introduction.**

In 1825 Carl Eulenstein (Plate 3) was invited to perform before the Queen of Württemberg, who applauded his ability and suggested he went to Paris and London, and gave him letters of introduction to her sister, the Princess Augusta. Instead of going to the French and British capitals, he travelled through Switzerland and stayed at Lausanne for five months. At Lausanne he studied French, Music, violin, and guitar, but he must have begun the study of these instruments sometime before; 'which instruments he had not had much opportunity of practising during his travelling expeditions.'

From Lausanne he went to Lyons and then Paris, where he was patronised by M. Stockhaussen and Sir Sidney Smith. The latter urged him to go to London and gave him letters of introduction.


Two pieces of evidence suggest that Eulenstein arrived in London during 1826, and not 1827 as recorded by Bone: Mr. Eulenstein.

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1. For a detailed account of these expeditions see: *A Sketch of the Life of C. Eulenstein*, 1840.

whose remarkable performance on the Jews Harp we noticed some weeks ago has we learn had the honour of playing before His Majesty and also to many persons of high rank. ¹ Then in August 1826 an article appeared in The Harmonicon, describing his brilliance on the Jews Harp, and records his address as 300 Oxford Street, London.

London confounded him. He could not speak English, and he found the city noisy and expensive, but he still presented his letters to the Princess Augusta. She heard him play, and introduced him to the Marchioness of Salisbury, who suggested he took part in a rout. He found this too noisy, went unheard, and left the house disappointed. It was then that the Duke of Gordon intervened. The Duke introduced Eulenstein to George IV, arranged parties for him of suitable dimensions, and bound over the noisy fashionables to keep the peace, and as he became better known, curiosity obtained him silence even at routs. ²

Eulenstein's popularity grew, and he was invited to perform at a lecture given by Faraday at The Royal Institution on Charles Wheatstone's 'Doctrine of Acoustics'. This concert alone did much to raise the character of his music in public estimation. Nevertheless, he was confronted with a problem. The number of pupils wishing to study the Jews Harp was limited, and although he was heavily patronised he was concerned that he was being viewed as a novelty, and without patronization and the support of teaching, his existence would be difficult. Moreover, he was probably suffering from a complaint which eventually forced him to discard, except for occasional concerts, the

¹ The Literary Gazette (London, June 1826), No. 491, p.397.
² A sketch, op. cit. p.49.
Jews Harp. The iron of the Harp was gradually affecting his teeth, and produced a general decay. Despondent, he left for Heilbroun to see his mother and sister in September 1826.


Whilst in Heilbroun, Eulenstein apparently: 'practised the guitar with unwearied perseverance'. He had recognised the popularity of the instrument, and saw it as his future source of income. He prepared himself for his return in May 1827, but he was to be disappointed: 'Mr. Eulenstein encouraged by his reception amongst us has now we understand, returned to settle in London as a professor of the Spanish Guitar. Mr. Eulenstein's performances are well calculated to delight the taste as well as to gratify curiosity, and we recommend him cordially to the attention of all music lovers.' He found himself forgotten, the Duke of Gordon was in Italy, and many of his other friends had left. Moreover, his return coincided with the appearance of several other noted guitarists, whose reputation had preceded them. In an effort to secure pupils, he reduced his fees to a minimum: 'By the aid of one engagement and two guitar pupils he with great difficulty maintained himself for some months ... but by the end of the season he had no one to teach.'

By the end of the year he was penniless, ill and deeply depressed: 'Had I not been possessed of religion and entertained the strongest devotion and trust in providence, I should have been in danger of putting an end to my miserable existence.' He moved to

1. A Sketch, op. cit. p.50.
2. The Literary Gazette (London, May 1827), No. 538, p.300.
cheaper lodgings so that he could survive until the next season and he again began to study the guitar: 'In the execution of one piece acquired such perfection that his hope and spirits revived.' Despite this improvement, he was unable during the next season, to support himself by performance.

To improve his financial position, he reverted to composition, and attempted a rather novel approach. In May 1828 Ewer and Johanning published *A New Method Of Instruction For The Spanish Guitar;* the lessons original and selected, but principally by Carulli, Giuliani and Meissonnier. This anonymous work was very cheap at four shillings, but a reviewer noted: 'Much novelty can scarcely be expected from an anonymous elementary work so moderate in price ... and the author of this little treatise is Mr. Eulenstein the virtuoso on the Jews Harp.' The tutor was quite popular, and helped him secure more guitar pupils.

However, his toothache became constant and his general health remained poor. On the advice of his medical attendant he went to Cheltenham.

c. Cheltenham

Bone states that Eulenstein visited Scotland in 1828, but this was probably a later visit because during the period 13th-15th August 1828 he gave a concert at Cheltenham: 'A celebrated Mr. Eulenberg (sic) came to Cheltenham and had the pleasure of performing before the Duke of Wellington who was pleased to express his high admiration of the captivating and enchanting powers of the Jews Harp.'

1. A Sketch, op. cit. p.54.
d. Bath.

From Cheltenham Eulenstein moved to Bath and probably arrived late in 1828 or early 1829, but Grove states that he did not appear until 1834. Moreover, Bath Directories do not list him until 1837, when he is described as a Teacher of the Guitar and German Language, of 24, Charles Street. In 1841 he moved to 2, Henrietta Street, and finally settled in 1846 at 3, Lansdown Terrace.

From Bath Eulenstein made two visits to Scotland and then London. His Scottish visit was made at the request of the Duke of Gordon, who had invited him to visit his Castle. The Duke gave him introductory letters to the Duchess of Buccleugh, but there are no other details. He also visited Aberdeen and Edinburgh, where he was received enthusiastically.¹

From Edinburgh he returned to Bath, and then travelled to London. There is only one reference: 'Mr. Eulenstein on Tuesday gave a performance on the Jews Harp ... The Ellen-a-room was exquisite and the variations on Scottish airs so extraordinary that it was not possible to refrain from those expressions of admiration which obscured some of the delicate passages.'²

When he returned to Bath is unknown, but in 1841 he was noted as being a virtuoso on the Spanish Guitar.³ This does indicate that he met with some success, but after 1841 there are no other references except those in the Bath Directories.

Eulenstein, like Derwort, only saw the guitar as a means to an end. He had not considered the future of the instrument or the fact

that his banal compositions did nothing to enhance its reputation.

C. J. A. Nuske.

Except for reviews of his music, there are only two pieces of evidence concerning his stay in London. In 1825 The Harmonicon noted: 'Nuske is, we believe, a native of St. Petersburg' and well known in private society as an excellent performer on the Spanish Guitar.' It is possible, however, that he had arrived much earlier, as in 1815 he published his Andante for Violin, and in 1821 his Waltz for Piano.

The second piece of evidence is a letter Nuske wrote to the editor of The Giulianiad on 26th April, 1833: 'Nothing I assure you will give me greater pleasure than to see the Giulianiad successful—a work that must eventually as well as beneficially be in the hands of every guitarist.' His address is given as 54, William Street, Regent's Park.

It seems likely that he was only an amateur guitarist, and it was his compositions that brought him to the attention of the public.

D. Wilhelm Neuland.

a. London.

b. Concerts.

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1. Bone claimed he was German.
Carl Eulenstein

Author's Collection.
a. London

The date of Neuland's arrival in England is unknown, but he was certainly established by 1833. 'It is true, he has not been a long time in this country, but the impression he has made to every musician with whom we are acquainted, is that his genius is applicable to the composition of any kind of music.' He appears to have been a versatile musician, composing, conducting, and performing on the piano, organ, and guitar.

b. Concerts.

Neuland worked in close association with Ferdinand Pelzer, and helped him to launch the careers of Pratten and Elizabeth Mounsey by appearing with them and composing music for their concerts. The programme for Dressler and Pelzer's concert at the King's Theatre on May 15th 1835 is typical of this:

Rondo, Guitar Catherine Pelzer
Duetta, 2 Guitars, Mr. Pelzer & Neuland
Trio, Three Guitars, Mr. Pelzer, Neuland & Mounsey - Neuland
Arietta 'My Treasured Lute' Mr. Wilson accompanied on the guitar by Neuland and Flute by Dressler

A review of this concert concentrates on the artists rather than on Neuland's compositions except for: 'The Rondo for guitar by Neuland was what a Rondo ought to be, spirited and playful.'

The only other Neuland concert was at the Willis Rooms on June 28th 1838, when he appeared for the benefit of a Miss F. Healy. He played a trio with Pelzer and Mounsey.

Except for the publication of his *Original Air with Variations* in February 1837, there are no other details, but he was apparently still living in London as late as 1840. Like Nuske, his interest in the guitar was brief and superficial. He saw the instrument as a medium for bringing his own, somewhat inferior, compositions to the attention of the public, and thus he only added to a repertoire already saturated with mediocre music. Once interest in the guitar began to diminish, Neuland, like Nuske and Pelzer, turned his attention elsewhere.

E. Ferdinand Pelzer.

a. London.

b. Concerts.

c. Exeter.

d. Teaching.

a. London.

In 1820 Ferdinand Pelzer and his wife Marie were on their way to London, and were befriended by a Captain George Phillips. Phillips persuaded Pelzer to cancel his arrangements and offered him his house in Grosvenor Square. Pelzer accepted, and prolonged his visit. He was apparently in great demand as a teacher, and played at concerts and evening parties.

In 1821 the couple visited Marie's parents at Mulheim-am-Rhein, and during their stay Catherine Josepha was born. The date of their return to London is unknown, but by 1829, and at the expense of Phillips, they had taken a house in Albany Street, Regent's Park.


3. Pelzer, Giulia, *Memoirs of Madame Giulia Pelzer*, p.3. The origin of this document is unknown and must be treated with caution.
b. Concerts.

Pelzer, with the exception of one concert, always appeared with the flutist Dresser. They first performed together on May 9th, 1832 at the King's Theatre, but there are no other details. Then on May 15th in the following year they gave their annual benefit concert, again at the King's Theatre. It was widely reviewed: 'Of Mr. Pelzer's public performance we shall merely say that we like his ideas better than his execution. He has a fine tone and a just idea of expression ... but his nervousness in a large room renders those qualities ineffective. In private — in a small room — he is distinguished for his good taste, and his complete mastery over the instrument.'¹

The Philharmonicon was equally complimentary: 'Mr. Pelzer stands in the first rank as a guitar player and his enthusiasm for this ... the most romantic and beautiful of instruments, is not, we believe, exceeded by any living player. He certainly performs in an elegant style — emulating the tone and neatness rather than the execution of that prince of all players, Giuliani.'²

In this concert he only performed compositions by Neuland, and this patronization of one composer of limited merit did not encourage a more discerning audience to visit the concert rooms or develop wider interest in the guitar.

For the 1834 season there is only one known concert. In June he appeared with Moscheles at a soirée given by a Miss Bruce.

In 1836 Pelzer moved to 39, Great Portland Street, and both Giulia³ and Bone claim that his concerts continued to be supported,

3. Pelzer's daughter.
particularly those in which he performed with Moscheles. The lack of reviews of these supposed concerts and the fact that Giulia Pelzer was not born until 10th December 1837 does give rise to some doubt to these claims. Moreover, if Pelzer was so successful, what made him move to Exeter, which was then a very small town?

**c. Exeter.**

Giulia claims that Pelzer needed a change from town life, but he may well have been short of money. Income from The Giulieniad had now ceased; there is doubt about the number of concerts in which he was able to take part, and he now supported five children. Furthermore, Pelzer's musical interests were beginning to change.

Appleby states that the family moved to Northernhay, near Exeter, in 1842. Contemporary maps clearly show that Northernhay was actually a district of Exeter, close to the city centre, and adjacent to where the Pelzers lived. Furthermore, the earliest reference to Ferdinand does not appear until 1847, when he is listed in an Exeter Street Directory as a Professor of Singing, of 6, Longbrook Street. The house is now demolished.

Giulia also claims that they stayed for about seven years, but in actual fact Pelzer had moved to 47, Poland Street, London in 1849. He left Catherine behind in Exeter to support herself.

Frank Mott Harrison, Appleby, and Giulia claim that Pelzer's stay in Exeter was a success, but local archives do not support this

theory. Pelzer spent a large proportion of his time travelling around the country lecturing on his *Universal System of Instructions in Music* and can only have spent short periods of time in Exeter.

d. Teaching.

In the early 1830's the increased interest in the guitar encouraged Pelzer to develop his pedagogical ideas, and to spend more time on teaching. Having reviewed the principles governing musical training and education, he firstly began to teach the elements of music to people at all levels of society and secondly he produced his *Instructions for the Guitar*. Although it soon dated, it did meet with some success: 'In the rules here laid down the well-taught professor will perceive many of those secrets which have been ridiculously withheld from the public, and, until this work made its appearance, the means of acquiring them were entirely unknown in England: the merit of first divulging them must, therefore, be awarded to the author.

It has been, as the writer observes, usual with masters in writing instructions for the guitar to teach it according to their own style of playing, or, in other words, in that style which their own continual practice had rendered most easy to themselves. We agree with him also that this, as in painting, produces a mannerism which cannot fail to be tiresome.

The principal object which the author had in view, and which, we admit, he has fully realised in his pages, he briefly announces thus: 'My object is, after leading the beginner by the most simple and easy progress to the fingerboard of the instrument, to teach him every position
of the fingers of the left hand, and every mode of striking the
strings with those of the right, which can be required in the execution
of any composition for the guitar, whether by Giuliani, Carulli, Sor,
Aguado, Legnani, or any other master. By thus combining all the
different modes of fingering, that distinction between them which ought
never to have existed, will be done away with, and the pupil will
acquire a more thorough knowledge of the instrument, and a greater
facility in executing whatever music may be set before him.

This Instruction Book on the whole displays an intimate
acquaintance with all the best masters; unfolds what the instrument
is really meant for; and exhibits a soundness and ripeness of judgment
which will act as an antidote against the nostrums of charlatans. In
a word, they are sound, practical instructions, based on a legitimate
experience of many years, and calculated to effect much good amongst
amateurs in this country.

Pelzer was disappointed. His real intention had been to
teach music through the guitar, and the point had been missed. He
wanted to reach more people, so instead of revising his tutor he
experimented, and in 1842 wrote a paper on Music For The People,
based on his universal system of instruction in music. It was
innovatory, both in its purpose and approach: "Music for the People
has been written upon the principle that everyone shall be enabled
to perform his part with ease and credit to himself, and satisfaction
to others; for whatever be our ability, if what we do is well done,
our efforts are meritorious, and the individual who thus contributes his
share to the general fund of recreation is fulfilling a pleasant duty,

which ought to be the object of every society, and is entitled to praise and consideration of every friend to humanity. *Music for the People* has been written on Universal Principles — meaning that it is so constructed that Music may be understood — and practised — enjoyed and appreciated by all without distinction — by individuals of every rank, condition, taste, and capacity; step by step leading them through each successive rule, and making the mastery of one rule a stepping stone to the next. The lessons by which this is effected being explained in a simple, definite and attractive manner, the pupil will encounter no strange and discouraging terms or technicalities of art, no puzzling theory, difficult of comprehension, and though occupying much time and attention, yet producing no practical result. Plurality of clefs is dispensed with, and in short, all unnecessary barriers to his progress have been removed, and something will be constantly gained either in the shape of a useful exercise, or a pleasing melody.¹

For a guitarist who had only taught his instrument to the aristocracy it was an important step, but too late to save the interests of the instrument.

*Music For The People* became a crusade and Pelzer did two things to cultivate his ideas. In 1842 he started to circulate at his own expense *The Musical Herald: A Journal for the Diffusion of Vocal and Instrumental Music among the People*, and through this journal tried to establish a society for the diffusion of musical knowledge. To what extent he was successful is unknown, but the radical nature of his Journal may well have deterred rather than attracted members of the profession: 'Anxious to promote the general

interests of the music art, the pages of this Journal will be freely open to discussion on any subject connected with it which may appear likely to lead to a favourable result. The interest of the Art being identical with that of its professors, we invite them to contribute (through the medium of literary correspondence) the aid of their talents and experience, to that desirable end; at the same time earnestly requesting that their attention may be directed only to such measures as may be made practically useful, accompanied, if possible, by some suggestion as to the most ready means for their accomplishment.¹

Also in 1842 he began to tour Great Britain with his daughters Jane, a pianist, and Cunigunda, a guitarist, and through the medium of voice, guitar, and piano, he demonstrated the principles of his approach to music. It was the first time that the guitar had been used in this manner.

Pelzer was very successful: 'Music For The People - in the cheapest and most practical form, has been afforded by Mr. Pelzer ... in the course of two lessons at the two principal rooms in Portsea this week; and the rapid progress made by the audience, including a large portion previously uninstructed, sufficiently evinced the superiority of Mr. Pelzer's system.'²

As Pelzer's system became more popular, the emphasis of his lessons changed: 'On Tuesday last, a choral class meeting was held at the Globe Hotel under the instruction of Mr. Pelzer. The pupils numbered upwards of 150 and the meeting was very well attended.

². Hampshire Standard (Portsmouth, Nov. 14th 1842).
It is needless to say that without the great perseverance and talent displayed by Mr. Pelzer ... they could not have attained such perfection in their parts.¹ By late 1844 the theme of his crusade had changed completely to Choral and Congregational singing, as is clear from the following letter to Pelzer:

Rockbeare Vicarage
3rd Dec. 1844.

You will be glad to hear that the young persons who have been profiting by your instructions acquitted themselves greatly, nay, entirely to the satisfaction of myself and the congregation on Sunday; so that now, if we continue as it will be our interest and our duty to do, to drill and train them regularly for some time, I have not the least doubt that we shall succeed in our views, wishes and hopes, to the fullest extent. I rejoice in all this; for I now indulge the hope of soon seeing a system of psalmody established in my congregation which the members of it can truly unite in singing.

H. Nicholls.

Pelzer's tours of Great Britain continued. His reputation prospered, and his system became the most popular: 'On Monday last at the school-room in the Barton Mr. Pelzer gave a public examination of the children whom he had had under his tuition for about a week. The readiness with which they answered questions on the theory of music, and the accuracy with which they sang several chants and a sound fully proved the superiority of Mr. Pelzer's system over those of Hullah and Mainzer as a mode of imparting the elements of Music.'²

1. The Western Times (Exeter, June 1st, 1844).
2. Felix Farley's Bristol Journal (Bristol, Aug. 2nd, 1845).
For the rest of his life Felzer continued his musical crusade, but even though his methods were equal to that of Curwen, Bullah and Mainzer, he never received the recognition that was rightly his.

IV. Poland.

Introduction.

A. Felix Horetzky.

B. Stanislaus Sczepanowski.

Introduction.

Despite numerous claims as to the ability of Horetzky and Sczepanowski, it is surprising to find that there is so little information about them. Moreover, that which is available is often misleading and contradictory. However, it does appear that both guitarists met with some degree of success.

Horetzky played, taught, and composed in a similar manner to that of Giuliani, and in this respect his contributions were limited. Furthermore, like Anelli, he left London to go and live in Edinburgh, and although the Scottish capital was musically quite active it did not afford the opportunities of London.

Sczepanowski, like the Ciebras, arrived in London when interest in the guitar began to diminish, and he was only able to revive its popularity for a short while.

1. Felix Farley's Bristol Journal (Bristol, Aug. 2nd, 1845).
A. Felix Horetzky.

a. London.

b. Edinburgh.
c. Death Certificate.

a. London.

Bone states that Horetzky came to London from Vienna just before 1820, but it is more likely that he did not appear until 1827: 'The arrival of Mr. Horetzky in this country adds one more to the list of first rate professors.' From 1827 there followed in various periodicals reviews of his compositions, and from these it is possible to discern what Horetzky felt was the most important aspect of guitar playing: 'The real art of guitar playing consists in drawing from the instrument its peculiarly pleasing and effective tone.' Horetzky referred to it as a 'nice touch', and maintained that it had been previously neglected. He was obviously not familiar with the work of Anelli.

One other piece of evidence which supports his ability as a guitarist appeared in The Court Journal: 'We may perhaps be induced to believe that the best foreign guitar players at present in London are Leonard Schulz, Horetzky and the younger Sgrini.

Perhaps Horetzky has the best musical taste in guitar playing in consequence of his extensive acquaintance with every style at present.


in use and his thorough knowledge of the capabilities of the instrument.¹ Yet despite this popularity, he decided to leave London and spend the majority of his life in Edinburgh.

b. Edinburgh.

The evidence concerning Horetzky's arrival in Edinburgh is conflicting. Bone states that by 1833 Horetzky was giving instructions in Edinburgh to Sczepanowski, but he is not listed in Post Office Directories until 1839. Moreover, Bone also claims that Horetzky moved to London to live in about 1840, but again Edinburgh Post Office Directories confirm that from 1839 until 1863 he was living at 7, Scotland Street.

c. Death Certificate.

The discovery of Horetzky's death certificate confirms that he died on October 6th 1870 at 12, Clarence Street, and not in 1871 as recorded by other musicologists. It also confirms that he had married a Sophia Daheston, but there are no other details.

B. Stanislaus Sczepanowski.

a. Early life in Great Britain.

b. Concerts.

a. Early Life in Great Britain.

Archives do not support Bone's theory that Sczepanowski (Plate 4) was living in Edinburgh about 1820, and an assessment of

his early life in Great Britain without this evidence, can only be
guesswork. Not until the 1840's is there any substantial information.

b. Concerts.

What is interesting about Szepanowski is that he chose to
be in England at a time when interest in the guitar was at a low ebb,
and he was only able to sustain himself by performing on the 'cello
and guitar.

After a tour of France, Szepanowski returned to England in
June 1839: 'This gentleman who is a Polish guitar player gave a
concert yesterday morning at the Hanover Square Rooms. He has not
much tone, but plays with a great deal of execution and gives difficult
rapid passages with facility.'

His reputation grew, and by 1845 he was giving his own
matinée musicales. On Monday June 30th he performed at the Princess
Concert Rooms: 'In addition to his admirable performance on the
guitar ... the concert giver made his first appearance as a violoncellist,
in which character he acquitted himself to perfection, developing talent
of the highest order.' How he managed to cope with the different
techniques of these instruments within one concert must raise serious
doubts as to the level of ability he had actually reached.

Not until 1847 is there any indication of what pieces he
played in concerts: 'Of Szepanowski's guitar playing there can only
be one opinion. His Grand Fantasia, his Strauss Waltzes, and his

Duo Comique in which he gave imitations of the voice of a young girl and an old woman agreeably evinced his powers of execution and lively fancy.'¹ This approach of only playing his own inferior compositions and transcriptions became a feature of Szepanowski's concerts. For thirty years guitarists had survived with this type of programme, and only occasionally are there references to a more balanced content. Such an approach did not help the instrument to survive and frequently brought inferior guitar music to public attention.

In February 1848 Szepanowski travelled to Edinburgh, and gave a concert in the Music Hall: 'The guitar playing of Szepanowski was exceedingly fine, and met with very warm applause.'² Despite other claims, this is the only positive evidence of Szepanowski in Scotland.

After two years abroad he returned to England in 1850 and gave his last known London concert in April at the Beethoven Rooms, Harley Street, which was apparently fashionably attended: 'The beneficiaire, who visited this country some few years since ... has attained considerable reputation on the continent for his performance on the guitar, which is such as to make us forget, in the effects he produces, the very limited capacity of this instrument. He played on this occasion Three Morceaux of his own composition and two by Sor.'³

V. An Austrian: Leonard Schulz.

Introduction.

a. Concerts.

b. Decline and Markoff's Impressions.

Stanislaus Szczepanowski.
Introduction.

There can be no doubt as to the importance played by the Austrian Schulz in the development of the guitar in England, but what began as a brilliant career later ended in ruin. It was as a child prodigy that he first came to London, and in this context he was adopted by English audiences.

Boris Perrott and Bone both claim he arrived in 1826, and gave his first performance at the Kirkman Rooms on April 24th. New evidence, however, suggests that he actually appeared with his father and brother two years earlier, for The Harmonicon of 1825 mentions the fact that Leonard and his brother attracted many people to their concerts last season. However, they had certainly arrived by April 1825: 'These preliminary remarks seemed necessary for a proper introduction to the British public of two extraordinary youths, Edward and Leonard Schulz, of eleven and nine years of age, who have just arrived with their father from Vienna. The eldest boy professes the piano and the other the guitar.'¹ Leonard's age is interesting because Josef Powrozniak² states that he was born in 1814, but a review of a concert of April 20th 1823 mentions he is only eight years old.

a. Concerts.

There are two interesting points concerning Schulz's performances. Firstly, references to concerts only cover his early life; secondly, he mostly appeared with his father and brother.

1. The Literary Gazette (London, April 16th 1825), No. 430. p.252.
After their April concert of 1825 they performed in May at the Annual Dinner of the New Musical Fund: 'Three German performers were introduced, one of whom played on a new instrument called the Physharmonicon¹ and the two others on the Spanish guitar.'² There is no evidence to suggest that at this stage they had actually settled in England, but by 1826 they were living at 5, Portland Place, Clifton, where they gave a concert on March 14th. They performed guitar duets and pieces for piano, guitar and physharmonica, at the Clifton Hotel.³

Shortly after, they moved to Great Portland Street, London, and gave their concert at the Kirkman Rooms on April 24th. They were an immediate success, and became the most sought after trio: 'Among the many concerts of the season there are few so interesting as those given every week by these useful artists. On Wednesday we had the pleasure of hearing them execute among other pieces a Pot-pourri for two guitars and a German instrument of recent invention called the physharmonica. In the second part of the entertainment was introduced a second new instrument called the aeolodicon ... We learn that his Majesty has twice sent for these young artists and their father to Windsor, where they had the honour of exhibiting these new inventions.'⁴

Late in 1826 they returned to Europe, and did not appear in London again until April 1828. On arrival, the king sent for them to perform at St. James' Palace, and the Royal Philharmonic Society invited them to play at their fifth season of concerts on

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1. A precursor of the piano accordion, invented by Anton Hackl in 1818.
3. Felix Farley's Bristol Journal (Bristol, March 11, 1826).
April 28th. It was a distinctive honour, and they played Schulz's
Concertante for Aeol-harmonica and two guitars.¹

In June they made another appearance under the auspices of
the Prince and Princess of Esterhazy and performed: 'A Duo Brillante
for two guitars, which was beautiful as well as extraordinary and the
Aeol-harmonica concertante again.'² Even with the introduction of
these new and novel instruments, their concerts were still viewed as
serious representations of music.

After 1828 the family appear to have toured abroad and did
not return until 1833, when the popularity of the guitar was at its
height in London. Moreover, Leonard had now lost his youthfulness,
and audiences went to a concert to listen to his guitar playing rather
than out of curiosity for his age. The critics also reviewed him
more discerningly, and on May 17th wrote: 'These young professors
of the piano and guitar gave their first concert at the Hanover Square
Rooms under the patronage of the Duke of Devonshire. His brother's
guitar playing is, as far as execution goes, more wonderful than that
produced by any player in London, but it wants repose and judgement.
Whether proceeding from nervousness or not we cannot tell, but every
time we have heard this gentleman he accelerates his time so much and
appears in so great a hurry that a great portion of the effect is there­
by entirely destroyed.'³

Between 1833-1840 Leonard made frequent visits to Paris,
but there are few references. In January 1835 he appeared with
Edward at a musical soirée given by Mr. Eliason at Madame Cellini's

1. Philharmonic Society Programme 5th Concert, April 28th, 1828.
rooms, in Manchester Street and played a Ms concertante for guitar and piano.\textsuperscript{1} Shortly after, on the 24th February, he again played at a soirée given by Mr. Eliason, and performed: 'A Fantasia on the guitar the execution of which was admirable.'\textsuperscript{2}

His last known English concert was on February 25th 1841, at the Easterman Institution, but he is mentioned by name only.

Leonard's dramatic fall from popularity is disappointing, but he may well have become a victim of his own circumstance. Moreover, now that he had left the security of performing with his father and brother he found concert life very difficult to organise and cope with.

\textbf{b. Decline and Makaroff's Impressions.}

There can be little doubt as to why Schulz fell from popularity and met with a premature death. On April 27th 1860, Edward said of Leonard: 'Why I have not seen him for the last three years. He has the greatest talent but is the worst drunkard in London.'\textsuperscript{3} Moreover, Leonard was heavily in debt, and found it necessary to hide from his creditors.

Makaroff, a Russian guitarist who came especially to London to see Schulz, finally caught up with him about 1850. He later recorded the meeting: 'He was a tall, well built man about 36 years old, handsome and of excellent manners. In his fashionable and expensive attire he looked more like an Englishman than a German.

His playing embodied all that I could ever hope for - an

\textsuperscript{1} The Court Journal (London, Jan. 1835), No. 301, p.78.
extraordinary rapidity, clearness, forcefulness, taste, suavity of
touch, brilliance, expression as well as surprising effects that were
quite new. I noticed moreover, a decided self-assurance during the
performance. 1 It seems in fact that playing the instrument was but
a light diversion for him, for he showed himself heedless of the
tremendous difficulties in which his own compositions abound. 2

Makaroff's description is hardly that of the down and out
drunk described by Edward, but it remains a fact that in his later
life he did fall from popularity, even though guitarists like Regondi
continued to prosper.

1. A private performance for the benefit of Makaroff.
CHAPTER TWO

English Guitarists.

Introduction.
I. Elizabeth Mounsey.
II. English by Choice.

Introduction

English guitarists of the period were few, and those that did emerge found it difficult to compete with their foreign counterparts. They not only lacked technique and compositional skills, but were very poorly paid and found it difficult to support themselves.

Too much competition and little finance encouraged many to spend time on developing kindred instruments, and although some of these met with some success they did not replace the guitar.

The most important players were Giulio Regondi and Madame Sidney Pratten. Both had adopted England as their home, and even when all the foreign guitarists had left these two were able to continue to develop interest in the guitar.

I. Elizabeth Mounsey.

a. An Influence.

b. London Concerts.
a. An Influence.

References indicate that Mounsey's guitar career was very brief. She came under the direct influence of Ferdinand Pelzer, who taught, arranged concerts, and used The Giulianiad to publicise her abilities. But when Pelzer moved to Exeter, Mounsey turned her attention to other musical interests.

She first studied organ and piano, and it was on the former that she became most respected. In 1834, when only fourteen, she competed for, and was subsequently appointed to, the post of organist at St. Peter's Church, Cornhill, London. Samuel Wesley wrote her testimonial: 'I have heard Miss E. Mounsey play on the organ and consider her fully competent to perform parochial duties.' Moreover, her playing was equally admired by Mendelssohn: 'Present my compliments to Miss E. Mounsey whose organ playing I always recollect with so much pleasure.' She held the post at St. Peter's until deafness forced her to resign in 1882.

b. London Concerts.

Mounsey's guitar concerts only cover the period 1833-1834, and they all took place in conjunction with Pelzer.

She made her debut at the City of London Tavern on 11th April, 1833: 'There was a duett for two guitars, admirably composed by Neuland, performed by Pelzer and his pupil (Mounsey). Of the playing of this duett we shall merely say that it gave general satis-

faction to the audience as well as the composer. Miss Mounsey is already a good performer, and it may be mentioned that she is the first female that has yet been brought before the public.¹

Mounsey then appeared in the Pelzer and Dressler concert at the Kings theatre, on May 15th, 1833. Pelzer's motives were clear: 'Mr. Pelzer, a second time brought forward his clever pupil Miss E. Mounsey, and another in the person of his daughter, a child of some eight years of age ..... Miss E. Mounsey again improved upon her former efforts; her tone was rich and happy and her style elegant and expressive.'²

Pelzer was beginning to succeed. Mounsey began teaching and her composition began to appear in The Giulianiad, but there are only two other known concerts, and in both these she appeared with Pelzer.

On Monday 17th June 1833 she played at Fanny Woodham's benefit concert, at the residence of The Marchioness of Salisbury, Allington Street: 'Miss E. Mounsey again exhibited her talent on the guitar, in a duett with her master.'³ Then shortly after, on 28th June, she took part in another benefit concert of a Miss F. Healy at the Willis Rooms: 'The guitar trio by Miss E. Mounsey and Messrs. Pelzer and Neuland was a good composition.'⁴

2. The Giulianiad. op. cit. p.50.
3. The Giulianiad. op. cit. p.50.
II. English by Choice.

A. Giulio Regondi: The Boy Guitarist.

B. Catherine Josepha Pratten (née Pelzer)

A. Giulio Regondi: The Boy Guitarist.

a. Place and Date of Birth.

b. Parentage.


d. Early London Concerts.

e. Dublin and Mrs. Hemans.

f. Return to London.

g. Concerts: 1838-1850.

The place and date of Regondi's birth has never been established and, in the absence of a birth certificate, research can only be based on conflicting secondary sources.

Philip Bone, Appleby and later biographers, claim he was born in Lyon in 1822, but Ernest Shand, *Grove Dictionary* and *The Dictionary of National Biography* record Geneva. Moreover, *The Athenaeum* and *The Musical World* claim that in 1831 he was only eight years old.

Wellington Guernsey, a good friend of Regondi's, supports the 1823 birth date, for he claimed that when Giulio was in Dublin in 1834 he was eleven years old.
Regondi's own earliest recollections refer to Lyon, but this does not necessarily mean it was his place of birth. Indeed, both Lyon and Geneva may be incorrect, for the supposed elder Regondi was working at the Gymnasium in Milan in 1822 and 1823.

b. Parentage.

Again the information is conflicting. His mother, a German, died during childbirth, but there is considerable doubt about his father. It is unclear whether or not the man who toured Europe with Giulio was really his father. Again, Regondi's own recollections refer to living with a man in Lyon who called himself his father, a theory supported by the pianist Richard Hoffman: 'My father knew him first when, as a child in Manchester, he was travelling about with a man who called himself his father, but whose subsequent conduct belied any such claim.' Apparently, Regondi's supposed father gave Giulio a five pound note, and sent him to Brighton to prepare for the next season. The father then absconded with all Giulio's money, leaving him to fend for himself. But much later the older Regondi wrote to Giulio, saying he was dying and required money. Giulio responded, and had him brought to England, where he spent the last three years of his life. Furthermore, Giulio employed the physician Ashley Cooper to look after him.

It is possible, however, that there is some justification in Giulio's action. In a letter to The Musical World, Wellington Guernsey

describes how he was living in Dublin with his 'adopted father', and adopted or foster father is perhaps nearer the truth.


George Young, an English physician, was living in Lyon and took Italian lessons from the elder Regondi. Young was also a guitar player, and Regondi constantly expatiated on the talents of his son. Young was charmed and astonished at Giulio's playing, and advised Regondi to take the boy to London.

They arrived in June 1831, and Giulio's abilities were immediately recognised: 'Among the musical wonders of the day is Giulio Regondi, the child whose performances on the Spanish guitar are not only calculated to surprise but to please even connoisseurs. This most interesting prodigy, for such he may be termed, who has only reached his eighth year, was born in Lyon .... To say that he plays with accuracy and neatness what is difficult is only doing him scanty justice; to correctness in both time and tune he adds a power of expression and a depth of feeling which would be admired in an adult.'

Even Paganini, in London for the season, expressed an opinion: 'We have conversed on this subject with Paganini himself who has expressed to us his unqualified astonishment and delight at young Regondi's performances.' But it was the novelty and personal appearance of Giulio that many people went to see: 'A well-proportioned remarkably fair child, with an animated countenance, whose long, flaxen locks curl gracefully over his neck and shoulders, and whose every

attitude and action seem elegant by nature, not art, immediately interests the beholder.'

It was this disposition that was to later earn him the title of 'The Prince'.

So successful was he in his first season that his supposed father announced in *The Athenaeum* that he was to be educated in England, and it was his wish that Giulio should become a resident of this country.

d. Early London Concerts.

Reviews of Regondi's concerts give more information about his social life, friends, and the music he played, than those of any other nineteenth century guitarist resident in England. Moreover, in a letter to his friend, Richard Hoffman, Regondi expressed his own attitude and ideas about concert organisation: 'Chopin still played a few concerts now and then, and on Sundays at his own residence to a select circle of friends, you might follow this plan and thus preserve a motive for keeping your playing without having to lower your talent to the vulgar level of large and mixed audiences..... I think you ought to form a quartett party with other artistes and give every Winter a series of Chamber classical concerts in a moderately sized room and only by subscription and each member share alike expenses and profits. Such an enterprise might become eventually the nucleus of a most fashionable and aristocratic union.'

Several points arise. Regondi saw the guitar as an aristocratic instrument, and never attempted to cultivate it amongst all levels of society. Moreover, he himself adopted the

idea of playing very frequently with other artists, and the remuneration was a paramount factor despite contrary claims by Fauche: 'He spent but little on his own person.'

His first known concert was on June 22nd, 1831, but it is highly likely that he had performed before this. Nevertheless, it was very important: 'The charming child little Regondi so captivated the Queen on Tuesday evening when he had the honour of performing before their Majesties, that Her Majesty personally requested that he play a third time.'

In the following week, June 29th, he played in a Signor Liverati's benefit concert at the house of Lady Beechey's, in Harley Street, but he is mentioned by name only. Similarly, he appeared in Miss Fanny Woodham's morning concert in early July when he played a Fantasia for the guitar.

His next three concerts begin to illustrate how soon he had become established with other notable contemporary musicians. On Wednesday July 20th at the Opera Concert Room, he appeared with Torre, Riba, Spagnoletti, Costa and: 'Exhibited his extraordinary talents.' Then at the mansion of the Countess of Tankerville, Grosvenor Square, on Friday July 22nd, he played with Moscheles, Pasta, Parry, Sir George Smart and again: 'Performed to the delight and astonishment of all present: so much did this interesting child please that he was a second time placed on the piano-forte and again elicited the applause of the whole room.'

1. The Court Journal (London, June 25th 1831), no. 113, p.449
3. Benefit Concerts, op. cit. p.203
4. Benefit Concerts, op. cit. p.203
To complete what had been a rewarding week, he appeared in his own concert at the King's Theatre on the 23rd. 'It is singular that his childish fancy should have led him to select the guitar, whose limited compass and want of power render it of extreme difficulty as a solo instrument, besides requiring the full strength of an adult to overcome its mechanical difficulties. Giulio Regondi has removed obstacles which might have been supposed far beyond the physical powers of a child: and if his future progress bears any proportion to what he has already achieved, he will, in all probability, raise the guitar to a rank it has never yet attained.' To a large extent he did achieve this latter prediction, and was able throughout his life to continue to fill the concert halls. Moreover, unlike other contemporary guitarists in London, he did not revert to simple composition, but he did champion the cause of the concertina and to a large extent this helped him to survive as a guitarist where others failed.

Throughout the 1831 season, he was the resident guitarist at the Adelphi Theatre with the English Opera Company: 'Guitar - players alone can form a just estimate of the immense difficulties which Giulio Regondi has overcome on this instrument, and all are surprised at the power and almost miraculous beauty of his tone - sweet, silvery, and clear as a bell. The Adelphi is certainly not calculated for an advantageous display of his powers - he might almost as well play in a tub; but if he can produce such effect at this house what might he not achieve at one of our larger and better constructed theatres?'

For the 1832 and 1833 seasons there are no references, but a review of an 1834 London concert supports the idea that Regondi had

been out of town: 'We have little space to notice our old young
friend Giulio Regondi whose concert on Thursday morning we attended.
The room was quite full, and Giulio playing his best. He has gained
both firmness of tone, brilliancy of execution and much passion of
expression since last we heard him, and well deserved all the applause
his performance received.'

e. Dublin and Mrs. Hemans.

The Dictionary of National Biography claims that whilst in
Dublin he befriended the Poetess Felicia Hemans, but this is incorrect,
for in the previous year she had taken a great delight in his musical
genius, and wrote in 1833:

TO GIULIO REGONDI
THE BOY GUITARIST.

BLESSING and love be round thee still, fair boy!
Never may suffering wake a deeper tone,
Than genius now, in its first fearless joy,
Calls forth exulting from the chords which own
Thy fairy touch! Oh! mayst thou ne'er be taught
The power whose fountain is in troubled thought!

For in the light of those confiding eyes,
And on the ingenuous calm of that clear brow,
A dower, more precious e'en than genius lies,
A pure mind's worth, a warm heart's vernal glow!
God, who hath graced thee thus, oh, gentle child,
Keep 'midst the world thy brightness undefiled!

It is more likely that Regondi went to Dublin at Hemans' invitation, and it would appear that there was a particular bond between

Giulio and the Poetess. He may have even seen her as a mother figure:
'The lines she had addressed to him in the preceding year flowed from that well-spring of maternal kindliness which was ever gushing within her bosom, and which made every child—still more ever loving and motherless child—an object towards which her heart yearned with tender sympathy.'

Hemans lived at 20, Dawson Street, and when Giulio arrived she was dying. He showed the greatest anxiety during her illness and was constant in his spontaneous enquiries. In fact he was one of the few visitors allowed into her room: 'I may mention that one of her last casual visitors introduced into her sick chamber at her own express request was Giulio Regondi, the boy guitarist—in whom she had been more than usually interested—not merely by the extraordinary musical genius and acquirement, which place him so far above the common range of youthful prodigies—but by the simplicity and cheerfulness of nature which rarely remain unspoiled in those like him, perilously exposed to the flattery and caresses of the world at an early age.'

Hemans died in May 1835 and Regondi returned to London. It is highly probable that Giulio gave concerts whilst in Dublin, but records of such have not survived.

2. Chorley, H. F. Memorials Of Mrs. Hemans With Illustrations Of Her Literary Character From Her Private Correspondence. (1837), ii. p.348.
f. Return to London.

The date of their return to London is unknown, but they were certainly back by May 1837, and between their departure from Dublin and March 1839, the incident concerning Giulio's father occurred.

Two people have claimed to have come to Regondi's aid when his father absconded: a Madame Fauche, who frequently appeared in Regondi's concerts, and Richard Hoffman's father. Fauche wrote:

'After waiting until his pecuniary resources were exhausted (five pounds) and without receiving any reply to many letters he had addressed to his father, the poor boy drooped and would have died from starvation but for the care and thoughtfulness of his hostess. He was roused by her to the necessity of learning how to live.'

Similarly, Richard Hoffman notes: 'My father befriended him at this time and his gentle and winning disposition endeared him to all my family.' Fauche lived in Brighton and Hoffman in Manchester, and local records in both places do not confirm these claims. Moreover, by March 1839 Regondi had established himself in London. 'Giulio Regondi begs leave to acquaint his friends and pupils that he is now in town and that he will resume lessons on the Spanish guitar and patent concertina as well as his professional engagements and musical reunions.' He gives his address as 40, Great Castle Street, but by May 9th he had moved to 26, Great Portland Street, very close to where Pelzer lived.

This story concerning the disappearance of Giulio's father is difficult to believe. Why did the supposed father abscond with

£2,000, when he could have stayed with Giulio and lived a better life both financially and socially? It was enigmatic stories like this that added to the mysterious personality of Giulio.

\( g. \) Concerts: 1837–1850.

After Giulio returned from Dublin he performed at the Hanover Square rooms in May 1837. Then in June he played with Thalberg at the Kings Concert Rooms. The only other known concert of the season was again at King's in July\(^1\), but in these three concerts he is mentioned by name only.

For the season of 1838 there is only one known concert. In June he played at St. James's Theatre in a concert given by a Madame Eckerlin and Signor Curioni: 'Regondi displays so much mind and enthusiasm for his art that it is to be regretted he does not attempt some other instrument besides the little one he succeeds to such an extent.'\(^2\) For many years, Regondi was solicited by his friends to study a "real" instrument, rather than the guitar and concertina, but he always resisted this pressure.

At the end of this season he went to prepare at Brighton for the following year, and it appears he gave concerts whilst he was there: 'Master Regondi's concert at Brighton on Friday morning was very numerously attended. His performances on the guitar and concertina were very loudly applauded.'\(^3\) This is the earliest reference to Regondi's use of the concertina.

Although he announced in March 1839 that he was back in town and available for teaching and concerts, there are no other references until his return from a concert tour of Germany with the 'cellist Lidell. They appeared several times together in London. In early June they gave a benefit concert at The Hanover Square Rooms: 'The sequel of that child’s exquisite and artistic performances upon the guitar by no means satisfies us: Regondi's present instrument, the concertina, being to us little more acceptable, however clearly it be treated, than the solo stop on an organ. The same skill displayed upon the violin or harp would have led Regondi to a more permanent and solid reputation than any he is likely to gain: his performances are now wonderful, but they tire.' The Musical World, however, noted: 'He uses an instrument larger than the ordinary dimensions, with more than the usual number of strings, he in some measure conquers the ennui which to us appears inseparable from a guitar perpetration.' This larger guitar had nine strings. In the same week on June 11th, they appeared in a Mr. Stretton's benefit concert at the Lyceum Theatre, but are mentioned by name only.

During the early part of the 1843 season Regondi went on tour. On March 8th he played at Cambridge and on the 18th at Wolverhampton, but by May he was back in London, as he gave a concert with a Mr. Horncastle at the Hanover Square Rooms on the 26th.

There then followed a series of concerts at the Hanover Square Rooms in June. On the 1st he played with Hausmann and Roeckels. Then on the 6th he appeared in a Grand Soirée Musical, followed by an

appearance in John Parry’s concert on the 10th. In late June, he again played with Henrietta Roeckel and: ‘Delighted the audience on his instrument.’ He concluded the season with a concert at Gravesend in August, and performed a Fantasia and a Waltz by Strauss.

In 1844 Regondi appears to have stayed in London except for a visit to Croydon. On Friday 28th June he played with a Signor Brizzi at His Majesty’s Theatre, and in early June at a Fete in Regents Park. At the end of July he appeared in a Mr. Gear’s concert, but there are no other details.

By March 1845 he had moved to 52, George Street, Portman Square and his concerts continued as normal. He played with Vieuxtemps, Corelli, Parry and Meyer in aid of the Italian Gratuitous School, and followed this with a performance in the Sophie Dulcken concert, at the Princess Concert Rooms on Thursday, 22nd May: 'This gentleman has certainly no rival on the instrument.' It was at this concert that Regondi first established a musical relationship with Dulcokens, which resulted in their 1846 tour of Germany.

From early 1846 references to him had begun to change: ‘Regondi, the celebrated concertinist, has been lately performing with eminent success at concerts in Shrewsbury and other Provincial towns.’

He was without doubt the leading concertina player in England, and to some extent the guitar took second place, although he continued to style himself as Professor of the guitar and concertina. Shand claims that the inventor, Charles Wheatstone, approached Giulio’s father and asked him to bring it before the public. Regondi declined, but suggested that Giulio studied it. There can be little truth in this story.

Why would Wheatstone solicit a non-musician, unless his real ambition was for Giulio to publicise it?

Nevertheless, Regondi's adoption of the instrument did bring him some criticism: 'We must pass by the concert of Regondi and Mr. Case with an expression of regret that one so richly gifted as the former should step from the poverty of the guitar to the yet greater poverty of the concertina.' He was a man of novelty and to a large extent novelty helped him to survive.

The date of his return from his German tour is unknown, but he was certainly back in England by November 1847, for he gave a series of concerts in Liverpool. They are important in the sense that they give the first real indication of the music he performed. On Tuesday 16th he played both the guitar and concertina at a concert given by a Miss Keale in the Concert Hall, Lord Nelson Street: 'Over both instruments he exercises perfect mastery, the concertina more especially, discourses in his hands most exquisite melody.' He performed Fantasia on Airs from Don Giovanni, by Thalberg, and his Solo la Chasse. He played the same music in his next two concerts on the 14th and 30th December. He was apt to restrict his programme to a few well chosen pieces, and continued this approach for the rest of his concert career.

In January 1848 he returned to London, and announced he was back for the season and would be living at 70, George Street, but by April he had moved to 32, Bond Street. This nomadic life was idio-syncratic, and not until he became ill did he settle.

2. Liverpool Chronicle (Nov. 20th, 1847).
For 1848 there are only two concerts. In May he performed with a Georgina Plummer and a Mr. Stocking at the Princess Concert Rooms, and in June at a concert given by Julian Adams at the Willis Rooms. He is mentioned by name only.

B. Catherine Josepha Pratten (nee Pelzer)

a. Date of Birth.


c. Exeter.

a. Date of Birth.

Like Regondi there is general confusion about the date of Pratten's birth. It has been accepted that she was born at Mulheim-on-the-Rhine, but the date 1821 is questionable! In reviewing her concert at the Hanover Square Rooms in May 1835 the writer noted:

'Josephine Pelzer who is a native of London (sic) is now only nine years old.' Moreover, Appleby claims that when Pratten first met Lady John Somerset in 1838 she was only 17, a theory also supported by Frank Mott Harrison. Furthermore, when Pratten died, Harrison made the funeral arrangements, and noted the inscription on her coffin:

'Died October 10th, 1895 Aged 74 years', but her marble headstone reads: 'Died 10th October 1895, Aged 71 years'.

In the absence of a birth certificate it is impossible to come to a conclusion, but it is very clear that her father, like Regondi's, kept her as young as possible, and there may well have been some competition between the parents of these two prodigies.

Early Concert Life in London.

Pratten (Plate 5) first performed to a London audience in 1830 when she gave a concert at the then King's Theatre, but this and possibly other concerts were not reviewed. She did, however, appear with her father, Moundsey, and Dressler at a concert given on May 15th, 1833, but she is only mentioned in passing.

Not until 1835 do the reviews begin. On February 25th she gave a concert at the Hanover Square Rooms: 'Miss Pelzer's first concert attracted a numerous auditory who were enchanted by this little musical prodigy, who is only ten years of age.' Shortly after Pelzer announced her next three concerts, the first and only one of which a review survives, was in late March: 'A morning concert took place at the Hanover Square Rooms, the first of three announced for the season by Miss Pelzer, daughter of the guitarist, which was numerously and fashionably attended .... Miss Pelzer herself contributed in a high degree to the gratification of the audience and was cordially and deservedly applauded for her exertions.'

During the following season she again announced three concerts at the Hanover Square Rooms: Tuesday 24th February, Saturday May 7th, and Tuesday May 31st. Tickets were available from Mr. Pelzer price five shillings. The reviews were encouraging: 'The interesting little beneficiaire astonished her hearers by her wonderful performance on the guitar ..... this young lady produced effects from the instrument of which we had no previous conception it was capable ......

3. The second concert took place on the 2nd April, but there is no reference to the third.
she played three brilliant pieces accompanied by her father, to the
general admiration of the company assembled. Her touch is powerful,
and her execution wonderful: we were surprised how such tiny fingers
could draw such perfect sounds from an instrument requiring some
strength to make it discourse eloquent music.¹

Pratten played a terz guitar, which was much smaller in
size, and sounded a tone and a half above the normal instrument.
It was on this guitar that she played the Giuliani third concerto
during a concert tour of Europe in 1837, but there is no record of
a performance in England until 1871.

c. Exeter.

The date of Pratten's return from Europe is unknown, and
there is no further evidence of her until 1847, when her name appears
in the Exeter Directory, where she is described as a teacher of music.
She lived with her father at 6, Longbrook Street, a fashionable part
of the city.

When Ferdinand left for London in 1849, Pratten stayed behind
teaching and performing. Appleby claims that she was very successful,
but local archives do not support this theory.

She was, however, befriended by Lady John Somerset, who
encouraged her to return to London and who introduced her to society.
Nevertheless, Frank Mott Harrison was quick to point out: 'Although
this exceptional start in life gave impetus to future success, it must
not be assumed that Madame Pratten used no personal effort to reach the.

¹. Harrison, F. An Eminent Guitariste: In The Gentlewoman (London
August 22nd, 1891).
Catherine Josepha Pratten

Author's Collection.
summit of fame. Neither would I allow it to be thought that fame alone
prompted her in her efforts. Art was her object in life; and to aid
its advancement was her aim.'

This patronage by Lady Somerset is interesting. Did she
befriend Pratten before they moved to Exeter, and was it Lady Somerset
who actually encouraged the Pelzer family to visit the South West out
of season? If not, why was it necessary to introduce Pratten to
London Society, when this had already happened before she left for
Exeter. Moreover, it is thought that Lady Somerset supplied rooms
for Pratten in her own residence, but on her return Pratten took a
house at 7, Upper Hamilton Terrace, St. John's Wood, and just before
her marriage in 1854, she was living at 10, Robert Street, Hampstead
Road.

The publication of *The Giulianiad* coincided with the height of popularity of the guitar in England, and was the first guitar periodical of its kind. The first issue appeared in January 1833, and was published by Sherwood for the Proprietor. It was well received: 'The Giulianiad contains in addition to some very sweet music for the guitar many able essays, especially that on the capabilities of this delightful instrument.'\(^1\) Similarly, it contained: 'Some very pretty guitar music with able instructive, and pleasant information.'\(^2\) A more biased approach came from Thomas Perronet Thompson: 'The authors of *The Giulianiad* have proved that they understand the thing. They are the first or nearly so that have shown they comprehend the bounty of Providence in the guitar.'

Nevertheless, despite initial enthusiasm its life was relatively brief and its closure in 1835 represented the first evidence of a lack of interest in the guitar.

II. Editorship: Claims and Counter Claims.

Thompson's reference to 'The Authors' raises an interesting point. Bone and Appleby have both claimed that the editor was Ferdinand Pelzer, but Harvey Turnbull argues that there is no evidence of this. However, new evidence now suggests that Bone and Appleby were perhaps right. The copies in the British Library which are frequently mentioned have not retained their original covers. These covers were green, and on the front appeared the following: 'Published for the proprietor by S. Chappell, Duff and Co., 65 Oxford Street, Ewer, Bow Church Yard, Cheapside, Metzeler and Co., 105 Wardour Street, and may be had of Mr. Pelzer, 55 Great Marlborough Street. Furthermore, on the inside of the cover Pelzer advertises tuition on the guitar, and in Volume 2, number 10, the title page states: 'Copies are obtainable and may be had of the proprietor at 39, Great Portland Street', which was, of course, Pelzer's address.

III. Cessation of Publication.

The reasons for termination of publication are very intriguing, as the periodical appears to have disappeared without any prior warning. William Sasser states that the last issue was published in December 1833, while Appleby suggests it was much later. The Musical Magazine of March 1835 noted: 'This little work continues to be well edited and the selections judiciously made. This music is admirably arranged for the guitar. We hope that it will meet that encouragement it so richly deserves, and which is due to the skill and perseverance of

1. Copies of The Giulianiad in the library of The Guildhall School of Music and Drama.
Moreover, when The Giulianiad was first published, it appeared every two months, but in volume 2, number 10, the editor announced: 'This work will now be published quarterly, 1st January, 1st April, 1st July and 1st October'. A similar statement appeared in volume 2, number 12. Therefore, as the last known copy is volume 3, number 3, then July 1835 would possibly be the last date of issue. However, there is nothing to show that it did not continue after this date, but if so, copies have not survived.

IV. Objectives.

The objectives were simple. The editor wanted to bring to the notice of the amateur and English professors the music of Giuliani, Carulli, Sor, and other distinguished masters. In effect, he wanted to increase the number of indigenous guitarists, as is clear from a review of a Fantasia by a Mr. S. Pratten: 'It is with no small degree of pleasure that we find an Englishman's name attached to these excellent arrangements: it is at once a proof of his zeal in studying, and good taste in the style of treating his subject. It shows also that some able heads exist, exclusive of foreign masters, capable of displaying this instrument to advantage.'

Although some music by Sor, Giuliani and Carulli did appear, this simple objective was never fully realized, as too much space was given over to the patronization of music of lesser known composers, like Mounsey, Neuland and Nuske.

2. Possibly a relative of the flutist Robert Sidney Pratten.
A second objective attempted to discuss the relative merits of new music. These reviews were frequently inadequate, unscholarly, and invariably biased in favour of the composer.

Furthermore, the music that did emerge, irrespective of the composer, could have been better chosen. Why, for example, particularly in view of its banality, did music by Elizabeth Mounsey appear?

Was it again the patronization of particular pupils and friends, or does it simply illustrate the lack of compositional skills at that time?

Conclusion.

After Sor's return to Europe there was an influx of foreign guitarists to England, which continued until about 1850. They were patronised by the aristocracy at the expense of English players who rarely found support.

Of the early group of these foreign musicians only Anelli and Verini remained. They were able to consolidate the work they had begun, but they did not keep abreast of more modern developments. However, they did influence guitarists like Eulenstein and Derwort, who continued to compose a lot of inferior music for voice and guitar, but their work, too, was soon undermined with the appearance of Huerta
and Schulz. These two guitarists showed the true capabilities of the guitar as a solo instrument, and they remain paramount figures in the development of the guitar in England.

Schulz was particularly important, and along with the other child prodigies, Regondi, Pratten and Sagrini, became the talk of the English aristocracy, who patronised them and supported their early careers. It was regarded fashionable to attend a 'prodigy' concert, but as these guitarists matured, so interest disappeared.

Pratten's father, Ferdinand Pelzer, did much to create interest in the guitar. In 1833 he edited The Giulianiad and tried to improve the approach to guitar pedagogy. Furthermore, along with guitarists like Anelli, Ciebra, Schulz and Huerta, he cultivated interest in the guitar in the Provinces.

English guitarists of the period were few. Elizabeth Mounsey was one of the first female players, but her career was brief. There were others like Taylor and May, but the most important were Regondi and Pratten, who had adopted England as their home. They taught, composed and performed, and it was as the latter that Regondi made his most important contribution. Even when general interest in the instrument had gone, he was still able to command large audiences.

Despite the trend towards more solo guitar music, repertoires remained restricted. Indeed, guitarists often played only one piece in a public concert, repeating it in successive performances. Moreover, guitarist-composers invariably played their own music or that of lesser known artists, which only brought inferior guitar music to the notice of the public. Much of this appeared in The Giulianiad, whose original
intention had been to cultivate interest in better compositions. Nevertheless, this periodical represented the climax of popularity of the guitar in England and with its termination in about 1835 there began a gradual decline in interest – so much – that by 1850 most of the foreign guitarists had left, and there began a new period of the history of the guitar in this country.
SECTION THREE: THE ENGLISH PERIOD 1850 – 1924.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE: Giulio Regondi and Madame Sidney Pratten: The Later Years.

CHAPTER TWO: Three Important Teachers.

CHAPTER THREE: Ernest Shand.

CHAPTER FOUR: The Pupils of Madame Sidney Pratten and Ernest Shand.

CHAPTER FIVE: Guitar Programmes.

CONCLUSION.
Introduction.

Since the reign of Charles II, the guitar in England had chiefly been dominated by foreign musicians, but from around 1850 the influence of these guitarists began to cease, and a new generation of English players emerged. However, with the exception of a few, and for the following reasons, these new guitarists were unable to raise the status of the guitar to its former level.

There had never been in England a guitarist-composer tradition, and the only practising players left from the first half of the century were Regondi and Pratten. Furthermore, good guitar music was in short supply, and there were no luthiers, like Panormo, to keep abreast of modern constructional developments — thus there was a shortage of good guitars.

There had also been a rise in the popularity of Banjo, Mandoline and Guitar Orchestras, which many fretted instrument players joined, and although at the end of the century, guitarists were as numerous as in the 1830's, their general standard of competence was much lower.

It was also a time of self-patronization. A large number of guitarist-composers produced a lot of poor music, which they used for teaching purposes, rather than compositions by better musicians. The outcome was to limit the guitar repertoire and propagate inferior music.

Nevertheless, not all guitarists succumbed to these changes. Besides the continued efforts of Regondi and Pratten, Ernest Shani worked
to popularise the guitar on a serious level. He refused to 'write down' to the majority of guitarists, and tried to raise the general standard of playing. Ellis, Pelzer, and Marchisio also helped to improve technique, but these, and guitarists like Cramer, Froane, and Harrison, were never able to raise the guitar to its status of the 1830's. All they could do was cultivate a serious interest in the instrument.

Chapter One: Giulio Regondi and Madame Sidney Pratten: The Later Years.

I. Giulio Regondi.

II. Madame Sidney Pratten.

I. Giulio Regondi.

A. Later Concerts 1850 - 1868.

B. Death.

A. Later Concerts 1850 - 1868.

Regondi (Plate 6) was the last of the great guitarists of his generation, and despite dwindling interest in the guitar, he was still able to survive as a concert artist.

In May 1850, he performed his guitar Fantasia at Anne Pelzer's Matinée Musicale at the Willis rooms. In the following month, on Friday 7th, he played the concertina in his own Matinée Musicale, but there are no references to the guitar. Similarly, in his next three concerts, in July 1850, at the Music Hall, Store Street, The Beethoven Rooms, and again at Mr. Stocking's concert in Harley Street, on Friday
11th August 1851, he appears to have played only the concertina.

Not until May 1852, when Regondi announced two Matinée Musicales, is there a reference to the guitar. The first was at The New Beethoven Rooms on the 22nd, but the concertina still played an important part: 'Signor Regondi's performance of Spohr's Concerto Dramatique, arranged for concertina, was in the most finished style; his depth and feeling and extreme sensitivity were communicated to the instrument.' He also gave the first performance on the concertina of Airs from Les Huguenots: 'It contained so many fresh beauties that the audience were completely delighted. Signor Regondi's solo on the guitar on an Air from I Capulet e i Montecchi displayed astonishing execution and expression and gave unqualified delight.'

The second Matinée Musicale was at the New Beethoven Rooms on 19th June, and took the same form as the previous one, except that Regondi played his own arrangement of an Aria from Thalberg's Don Giovanni on the guitar, but not without incident: 'He played in his most finished manner and received the uppermost amount of applause although much apprehension was felt by the fair sex just before the conclusion, for a heavy thunderstorm occurred at the time and one of the strings of the guitar broke.'

Two interesting points arise from these Matinée Musicales. Firstly, only the 'fashionable' attended, and secondly, the rooms were 'overcrowded' with people waiting outside the door. Like Chopin, Regondi had that natural disposition and aristocratic air which endeared him to everyone.

By the end of 1852 he had moved again to 59, Albany Street, Regents Park. What led Regondi into this nomadic life is unknown, but since his arrival in London he had constantly changed his address.

There are no reports for 1853, but in early 1854 he gave an important concert at the Queen's Rooms. It was especially arranged so that he could perform Molique's new Concerto in C for concertina, and demonstrate that the instrument was capable of becoming an integral part of the orchestra. The Musical World noted: 'We are glad, moreover, to find that Signor Regondi is now attempting to introduce the instrument, which may be called his own into the orchestra.'

Despite The Musical World's support of Regondi, The Atheneum felt he was neglected, and noted after a concert with Obethur in May: 'but the player mentioned is hardly appreciated as he deserves, since in musical style, taste and expression, he is exceeded by few, if any, among his contemporaries.'

In June the following year, he gave an annual concert at the Willis Rooms, and played on the guitar L'amò, L'amò: 'As a guitarist Regondi is no less eminent; he has carried it to its extreme limits and in his hands it is always pleasing: the ease with which he executes the most elaborate and difficult passages is quite astounding. The solo L'amò L'amò was a tissue of marvels in execution and delicate expression and was encored.' Regondi also played duets with the harpist Boleyne Reeves, and on the concertina he performed Spohr's Dramatique Concerto and three other unnamed pieces still in manuscript.

The concerts of 1856 are interesting. The first was at the Hanover Square Rooms on Saturday 7th April, and the second at The Queen's Concert Rooms in May. On both occasions he accompanied Madame Viardot Garcia on the guitar, who sang two Spanish Songs. It was very rare for Regondi to accompany, and this is the only record of him accepting a subordinate role. He did, however, play Schutz's Fantasia at both concerts.

By 1857 his concerts were becoming more infrequent, and he was only giving performances at the most important rooms in London. In June he appeared at the Willis Rooms, but he only played the Air from I Capuletto i Montecchi. His repertoire was obviously limited. He did, however, perform on the concertina a Sonata in $E_b$ by Molique, Spohr's Concerto and duets with Lidel, based on Polish Airs.

Not until 1861 is there another reference to a concert, when Regondi announced a Matinée Musicale for Monday, 1st July, at the Hanover Square Rooms. Although there is no reference to an absence from performing, it is probable that he had been giving concerts during the previous three years. The 1861 concert was a resounding success: 'The Matinée Musicale had so many points of excellence to recommend it, that it was no wonder that the Hanover Square Rooms were filled in every part. One of the most interesting and masterly achievements at this concert was the performance of the overture to Semiramide on the guitar! Nay, reader, do not smile. At least believe it was achieved. Rossini himself would have been delighted and surprised to hear his brilliant orchestral prelude, transcribed for six strings, and two hands, and played to such perfection.'

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from the manuscript, which has never been located. He also played two other solos on the guitar, but their titles were not recorded. In the same concert, he performed with his usual panache another concerto in D for the Concertina, by Molique.

In 1862 Regondi renewed his partnership with Lidel, and they performed together at the Hanover Square Rooms on 14th May:

'An artist must be possessed with exceptional powers to be enabled to produce much effect with such inadequate means as the concertina and guitar but Signor Regondi's performance is really something marvellous; and one hardly knew which to admire most, his truly wonderful execution of Molique's admirable and ingenious Concerto in D, or his own Air Varie for the guitar, the latter eliciting an enthusiastic and deserved recall.'

Between 1863 and 1867 there are no references, but in May 1868 he performed at the Hanover Square Rooms, and he was as popular as ever: 'Neither on the concertina nor on the guitar is there a more consummate proficient artist than this gentleman. His execution is perfect and his taste as irreproachable. But not only as an executant does he shine. Signor Regondi is a composer of more than ordinary skill. His original compositions are marked with thought and worked out in a finished and artistic manner; while his fantasias on popular melodies are brilliant, effective, elegant and instinct with finesse.' On the occasion under notice, Signor Regondi played his Air Varie, for solo guitar, a work upon which the individuality of the author is strongly imprinted; his transcription of Rossini's Quis est homo for baritone concertina; his solo on airs from Le Prophete; and his arrangement for

harp and piano of airs from Oberon. Signor Regondi also introduced the admirable *Concerto in G* for concertina, expressly written for him by Molique; and Beethoven's *Sonata for violin and piano No. 1* Op.12, the violin part arranged for concertina. He also played an obligato accompaniment to Mozart's *Non piu di ferri*. After the transcription of *Quis est homo*, Signor Regondi being unanimously called back, gave another transcription in every way as effective as that of *Robert, toi que j'aime*, which revealed equal ability on the part of the performer and elicited equally warm and justified applause from the audience.¹

This is an interesting account of Regondi's ability as a composer, and demonstrates how popular his music was: 'The pieces he writes for his favourite instrument have the genuine ring on them. They are not merely successions of notes ad libitum, but are real music, the offspring of a truly elegant and cultured mind.'² It is regretted that many of his manuscripts are lost.

On August 31st 1868, Regondi gave his last known concert with Oberthur at the Sussex Hotel, Tunbridge Wells. The programme clearly illustrates that he only played the concertina.

B. Death.

Regondi died at 12 p.m. on Monday, 6th May, 1872, at a small house near Hyde Park. Fauche claims that he had been ill for some time and to relieve his pain Hoffman had sent him some of the American Condurango plant, which at that time was thought to be a cure for cancer.

GIULIO REGONDI

Giulio Regondi

Bone Collection.
Fauche also claims that during his illness he was constantly cared for and attended to by his friends, but Hoffman argued that he died alone.

Regondi was soon forgotten. His fame was too closely allied to his personality to endure after him, except in the hearts of those who knew him best.  

II. Madame Sidney Pratten.

A. Marriage.

B. Concerts.

C. Pratten and Jevan Brandon Thomas.

A. Marriage.

On September 24th, 1854, Catherine Pelzer married the flutist Robert Sidney Pratten, and it appears to have been a successful partnership: "The married life of these gifted artists was one of unusual happiness and prosperity. At the summit of their respective branches of musical art; thoroughly appreciated by the public and the profession; admired and courted by all who had the good fortune to know them, and devotedly attached to each other, their lot was certainly an enviable one." 2

They lived at 131E, Oxford Street.

Catherine, like her father Ferdinand Pelzer, was frequently overcome by nervousness. To help her, Robert would sit in the front row of the audience and would give her confidence by gently marking the

2. Rockstro, R.S. A Treatise on the construction the History, and the Practice of the Flute (London 1890), p.655
rhythm as she played. They also played duets for guitar and flute, which again helped her to overcome her problem.

In May 1857, they gave a concert for the benefit of their pupils at their home, but there are no other details. Then on Thursday June 21st, 1860, they gave a Matinée Musicale at Callards New Concert Room. They played solos and duets, but were reviewed individually: 'Madame Pratten, one of the most accomplished guitar players in the country - having sprained her left hand a few days previously could only introduce one piece in consequence, and that with so much distress as to make it painful to look at the fair artist playing. In her performance, nevertheless, of a Serenade and Lord Raglan's March, both her own compositions, she exhibited those admirable qualities of execution and style, which place her in the very foremost rank of legitimate guitarists.'

They continued to prosper, and moved to the more fashionable area of Cavendish Square, and announced a Matinée Musicale for June 13th 1861, at 38, Welbeck Street. The concert was patronized by The Duchess of Hamilton, The Duchess of Wellington, Lady John Somerset, and Lady Hobart. Unlike Regondi and Shand, Pratten was never able to relinquish the support of the aristocracy.

When Robert died on February 18th 1868, Catherine was grief-stricken, and for a brief period relinquished her career: 'I thought I would never write another note.' She constantly wore black, and had her guitar cases painted the same colour.

B. Concerts.

Despite her grief, Pratten still had to support herself, and announced in April 1868 that she was obliged to begin teaching. She remained for a while at 38, Welbeck Street, and gave her first concert after her husband's demise at 18, Carlton Terrace, in July 1868:

"Madame Pratten whose proficiency as a guitarist must be known to everybody played her own arrangement of Matbrook, an Andante and The Duke Of Cambridge's March by her late lamented husband with such spirit and effect, that she might have accepted the applause which followed as requesting an encore. Pratten next gave two arrangements of Home Sweet Home and Lord Raglan's March this time being compelled to return and bow her acknowledgements.'¹ This is not really a true representation of her concert programmes at this time. She did frequently include pieces by other notable guitarists, as is evident from her next concert at The Beethoven Rooms, in early May 1871: "Madame Pratten played solos by Sor, Leonard Schulz and compositions by herself, together with duets for two guitars by Giuliani, in conjunction with Dr. Caisford, fully sustaining her great reputation."² Shortly after, on May 17th, she played the first movement of Giuliani's third concerto, and was accompanied by Giuliani's niece Lucei-Severs. She continued with another concert of music by Giuliani and Neuland, on June 19th 1873. She was joined by Dr. Caisford,³ so they obviously played duets. It was the most enterprising period of her concert career.

3. Dr. Caisford was an amateur guitarist and at one time Regondi's physician.
In July 1875 she again appeared at The Beethoven Rooms, and her programme content was clearly noticed: 'Madame Pratten's share in the programme was by no means the least interesting. The pieces she played which especially deserve notice were some compositions by Schulz, for guitar alone, a Duo-Concertante for guitar and flute with Herr Svendsen, a duet for guitar and pianoforte with Signor Romano and two marches by herself. All these were given in capital style.'

However, by the time of her next concert on Tuesday June 15th, 1880, the style and content had begun to change. She appeared at Steinway Hall with Brandon Thomas, who gave several recitations. Then on June 28th 1883 she announced that Lady Charlotte Legge and Mr. Charles Bulpit would play the guitar, and Jenny Douste the pianoforte. Mr. Grossmith gave a musical sketch and Mr. William Pinney acted as accompanist.

In December 1884 she was in Brighton: 'Madame Sidney Pratten, whose handling of the guitar now that the unrivalled master of it, poor Giulio Regondi, is no more, may be considered unique. In her most effective style she gave in the first part, Moonlight, followed by Lord Raglan's March, and in the second she introduced a curious, novel, and most successful little instrument, made of wood and straw, called the gigelira. On this she played delightfully, producing a clear and liquid sound which excited at once the curiosity and admiration of the audience.' Pratten made the Gigelira her own instrument, but it did not meet with a great deal of success.

2. The Brighton Guardian (Brighton, Dec. 17th 1884)
Despite her continued popularity, Pratten's concerts became more infrequent. In September 1866, she went to stay with a Mr. and Mrs. Allan Mackenzie, at Brackley, near Ballater, and played before the Duchess of Albany, but there are no other details. Similarly, there is only one concert for June 1887. The Court Journal, a long supporter of Pratten noted: 'An entertainment was given at Downshire House, Belgrave Square, which was in every respect most successful. The guitar solo of Madame Sidney Pratten was highly appreciated, it being a unique, talented and pleasing performance.'

Pratten's last known concert was at Belgrave Square, on Thursday, 23rd June 1892. The artists were Edith Tulloch, William Nicholl, vocalist, Hallman, 'cellist, and Brandon Thomas recited. The Meister Singers contributed glee; Wilhelm Ganz conducted, and Pratten played twenty of her own compositions. She wrote: 'My concert was a great success. Hallman played like an angel. The glee was beyond all things superlative. Nicholl sang Adilaidi divinely, and Edith Tulloch was enchored. I played my best and had great compliments from all, especially the king of violoncellists Hallman! How grandly he does play. And Brandon Thomas delighted all with his recitations of Little Jacob Strauss. And Ganz was all there - taking the care off my shoulders in attending to the 'go' of the concert.' Pratten's letter gives the impression that this was the first concert for some time, and she was worried about its success. Moreover, she was still suffering from the nervousness which had plagued her all through her career. The venue of this concert also reflects her fondness for performing in rooms of only moderate size.

3. A guitarist and pupil of Pratten.
C. Pratten and Javan Brandon Thomas.

On 23rd June 1879, Pratten met Brandon Thomas for the first time at an 'At Home' evening, given by a Mrs. Warren Williams de la Rue, of York Terrace.

Brandon had always thought of the guitar as an instrument for accompanying the voice, but hearing Pratten play was a revelation to him: 'In Madame Pratten's hand it became a solo instrument of exquisite tone with a depth of feeling that he had not thought possible. She was even then a stout middle-aged woman moving with difficulty. She had large but beautifully formed hands, an enthusiastic way of speaking, and a queer little trick of emphasizing her words by shaking her fore-finger at her listener.'

After the concert she was struggling down the staircase with her instrument, when Thomas came to the rescue, carried her guitar for her, and saw her safely into a fourwheeler. Pratten shook her finger at him: 'You are a gentleman. You like my guitar? Would you like to learn it? Come and see me there and she handed him a card.'

This was the beginning of a much valued friendship. He did take lessons with her and was able to play simple accompaniments, but more often than not she would play to him.

Pratten respected Brandon's talents, and did much to increase his reputation. When an offer of an engagement came to her, she would say in her enthusiastic way: 'Yes, I'll come, but you must have a reciter. I know a young man - a genius, Brandon Thomas. You must engage him too.'

2. Saunders, loc. cit. p.56.
Brandon in turn wrote verse and songs for her guitar.

Moreover, Pratten owned a large music collection, which Brandon offered to catalogue. Pratten insisted on paying him, but when he objected, she replied: 'Do not argue with me, perhaps someday when you are a rich man and I am a poor old woman I may ask for it back.' Regretfully, this collection of music is lost. Moreover, when Pratten died in October 1895, it was a great comfort to Brandon to have been able to return all the many kindnesses he had received at her hands. He gave her a helping hand when a long illness and poverty had assailed her, and honoured her with a burial worthy of her great artistry.

CHAPTER TWO

Three Important Teachers.

I. Herbert J. Ellis.
II. Giulia Petzer.
III. English by Choice: George B. Marchisio.

I. Herbert J. Ellis.

A. Introduction.
B. Banjoist, Mandolinist and Guitarist.
C. Concerts.
D. Teaching.
E. Death.

A. Introduction

Herbert Ellis (Plate 7) is an important figure on three accounts. Firstly, he wrote an excellent tutor which was exceptionally easy to understand. Secondly, he believed that the future of the guitar rested with the very young, and to support his belief he toured London schools, demonstrating and giving free lessons on the guitar. Moreover, in conjunction with these tours, he gave guitar lessons to teachers at reduced fees. Herbert's third contribution was to try and establish some balance in the guitar repertoire, and in co-ordination with his publishers, he edited a series of publications of compositions by all the famous guitarist-composers.
Ellis was born at Dulwich, London, on July 4th 1865, but it was not until he was at school that he first became interested in music: 'The boys were to give a minstrel entertainment and the part of banjoist fell to me. I was enamoured with the idea, having heard it at Christy's, so I went out with my remaining pocket money and bought a banjo for eight shillings.'

**E. Banjoist, Mandolinist and Guitarist.**

Ellis was the leading banjo player of his time, and has been credited with the distinction of raising the popularity of the instrument, through his *Five String Thorough School For The Banjo*. Moreover, in January 1896, he formed what was then the famous Ellis trio, with Sophie Davies, mandoline, and S. Morelli, another well known mandolinist of the period. Regretfully, there are few recorded concerts.

It was not until about 1888 that he began to study the mandoline and guitar, but he was never really a good mandolinist. As a guitarist his ability equalled that of his banjo playing, and during his later years he paid more attention to the guitar. On all three instruments he was self taught, and the only formal music education he had consisted of harmony lessons from his mother.

**C. Concerts.**

Ellis was a very diffident person, and Philip Bone, who knew him well, claims he lacked the force of character and will, to rise above his daily environment. It was very difficult to get him to perform, and he only ever felt reasonably happy when he was playing with other artists.

This diffidence is reflected in a letter to the editor of *The Troubadour*: 'It has been announced in one of the journals devoted to the banjo that I have entered into partnership with a well known publisher. As this is entirely without foundation, I trust you will find room for this correction in *The Troubadour*." Furthermore, his diffidence again becomes apparent in an advertisement for a concert: 'Herbert J. Ellis is giving a concert at St. Martin's Town Hall, Charing Cross on March 30th 1898. We wish him every success.' There is no review of this concert or any record that it ever took place.

**D. Teaching.**

Although Ellis published a large quantity of music for banjo, mandoline and guitar, his teaching and his *Practical School For The Guitar* were his finest achievements. It was written so that it could be understood and followed by young people, and those school teachers with a limited amount of experience. In this respect it was very successful. Its publication increased his popularity as a teacher, and in 1899 he opened a second studio at 60, Moorgate Street, London. Bone claims that Ellis enjoyed the most enviable position as a teacher.

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1. Correspondence: In *The Troubadour* (Bournemouth, May 1898), v, No. 46, p.29.
E. Death.

By the time the second edition of his tutor was published in late 1898, Ellis was ill. He was taken to St. Thomas’s Hospital, London, where he lingered on for another five years. He died on October 13th, 1903.

II. Giulia Pelzer.

A. Introduction.
B. Concerts.
C. Teaching.

A. Introduction.

Giulia Pelzer (Plate 8) was born in London on December 11th, 1837, at 39, Great Portland Street, and was the seventh child of the guitarist-composer Ferdinand Pelzer. Like her brothers and sisters, she was expected to become a musician, and although her environment fostered this, it was not until much later in life that she came better known. Even then, she did not possess the ability of her late father or sister, Madame Sidney Pratten.

Ferdinand first taught Giulia piano and guitar, and she received a general education at a preparatory school in Exeter.

When Giulia returned to London she continued her studies, and in 1853 she was sent to a Benedictine Convent at Hammersmith, where her father taught singing, harmony, guitar, and piano. From Hammersmith she travelled to the Convent of Notre Dame, a few miles from Malines, where she taught English and guitar.
On the death of her father in 1861, Giulia returned to London, and established herself as a teacher of guitar, but in 1867 retired from public life, when she married a Mr. King-Church on December 10th. Not until fifteen years later did she return to her profession.

B. Concerts.

When Giulia was fourteen, she appeared in the only known concert of her early career, at 45, Dover Street, Piccadilly. Other performers were the violinist, Ernst, and the cellist, Pratti. Giulia's sister, Annie, played the piano and concertina. Giulia played several pieces by Regondi and some duets with her sister, but there are no other details.

It was only after Madame Pratten's death that she became more prominent: 'The pupils of Giulia Pelzer gave a very successful guitar and mandoline recital in the practice room of the Guildhall School of Music on Thursday afternoon, March 24th 1898.'

This reference to the mandoline is interesting. It appears she was taught by Cristophero², but details are obscure.

In the following year, her pupils gave another concert at the Guildhall on February 28th: 'The programme is the most high class we have seen for sometime (referring to the mandoline) and the guitar is equally represented. Madame Pelzer is to be congratulated on her success in bringing those two instruments so prominently to the front.'³ Giulia

1. Jottings: In The Troubadour (Bournemouth, April 1898), v. no. 45, p. 58.
3. Guildhall School of Music: In The Troubadour (Bournemouth, March 1899), vi. no. 56, p. 46.
was obviously exploiting the popularity of the mandoline, then at its height, but the concert pieces for the guitar were banal and chiefly by her sister. None of the better known composers were represented.

The next concert was announced for June 6th at Steinway Hall but it was no better, and although Giulia lived until September 17th 1938, there are no other biographical details.

C. Teaching.

Giulia's principal source of income was teaching, and occupied most of her time. She had taught guitar at the Convent at Notre Dame and in London when she returned in 1861. In 1887 she was appointed professor of guitar at The Guildhall School of Music, but what really brought her more notice was her inheritance of her sister's music business and clientele. She advocated her sister's ideas and immediately published a descriptive catalogue of Pratten's compositions, which were only available through her, at 2, Southampton Street, Bloomsbury Square. Moreover, in her sister's memory, Giulia organised a competition, and announced in The Troubadour: 'Among the list of prizes to be competed for and awarded in July is the 'Pelzer Prize', a concert guitar, presented by M. Giulia Pelzer for guitar students of either sex in memory of and formerly played upon by Madame Sidney Pratten, her late sister.'¹ The winner was a Miss Lily Wolton.

Giulia's attitude and approach to teaching reflects that of Pratten: 'The guitar, says the eminent lady, is the instrument for

¹ Reviews: In The Troubadour (Bournemouth, Aug. 1898), v.no.49, p.137
Giulia Palzer

Courtesy of the British Library.
the wealthy — it is the instrument for luxurious surroundings.* Thus, she taught guitar to people from the "right" circles, and only exposed them to her own, or her sister's music. Furthermore, her terms were quite expensive — three to six guineas for 12 lessons, depending on the number of pupils in each group.

When Pratten died, Giulia inherited her music and collection of guitars. The instruments were sold by Sotheby's¹, but the music has never been located.

III. English by Choice: George B. Marchisio.

A. Introduction.
B. Teaching.
C. Concerts.

A. Introduction.

G. B. Marchisio was an Italian guitarist and mandolinist who chose to reside in London. He was born in Turin in 1865, but was sent to study in London by his father, a notable pianist of the period.

Marchisio first studied piano and violin, but whilst in England became interested in the guitar and mandoline, and by 1892 had been appointed professor of the guitar at The Guildhall School Of Music and Trinity College. Moreover, in the same year, he opened his first studio at 281, Regent Street.

1. See Appendix 1.
B. Teaching.

Marchisio's approach to teaching is interesting, and his attitude towards it is completely different from that of his contemporaries: 'The study of the mandoline and guitar in a musical manner is progressing so rapidly that there is now a clear distinction between the pastime player and the serious scholar. Signor Marchisio teaches the latter kind of student in preference to the former and coaches advanced performers in the rendering of high-class works either for scholastic or concert performances.'¹ This was a direct attack on those pupils who only sought enough skill to be able to play in a Banjo, Mandoline and Guitar Orchestra, and on those teachers that were prepared to teach them. Marchisio was uncompromising, and frequently spoke out against those teachers who he felt were undermining the reputation of the instrument.

Lessons, or single interviews as he called them, were an hour in length. He would teach beginners, but only on the condition that they followed a course of music theory, as well as the right system of playing the instrument, and he would only take them on an individual basis. If he taught a group, he expected them to have an equal degree of musical knowledge, and he stipulated that they had to be able to read up to the third position. Marchisio was never short of pupils, and he was constantly being praised: 'I have much pleasure in adding my experience to the general opinion of the musical world on the sterling qualities of that gentleman as composer, performer and teacher. In the latter capacity I have been present at his work with members of my own family and have never seen more painstaking and thorough a method in imparting execution and as far as can be done - taste, to beginners as well as advanced pupils under his charge.'²

C. Concerts.

His concert career appears to have been quite successful, and reflects two factors. Firstly, that interest in the guitar extended beyond London and the provinces, and this is perhaps the most notable contribution of the English group of guitarists, in comparison with the occasional tours of earlier performers; and secondly, the imbalance in his programme, despite his claim to high-class music.

In 1893 he performed at Chislehurst: 'Marchisio gave some brilliant performances on the mandoline and guitar. He was very much appreciated as an executant as well as a composer.' In the following year, he appeared at Ladbroke Hall, London, and The Stage noted: 'Signor Marchisio is proving himself a clever guitarist.'

Outside London he was very successful. On April 12th 1894, he played at Stow-on-the-Wold, but he played few solo items, and although he continued to give recitals he began to appear more frequently with other artists, a common practice amongst guitarists of the period.

His reputation continued to grow, and he travelled north to the Art Gallery at Newcastle: 'And as to Signor Marchisio, guitarist, it need only be said that he was in combination and alone, splendid.' Once more in London, the Morning Post stated: 'Signor Marchisio received a like compliment for his mandoline solos which were beautifully played.'

It is possible that by the end of 1894 Marchisio was more appreciated as a mandolinist than a guitarist. The mandoline, like

1. Chislehurst Local. (Chislehurst, June 24th 1893).
2. The Stage (London, April 10th 1894).
Regondi's concertina a few years earlier, was very fashionable, and Marchisio was probably one of the best players of the period. 'Marchisio, the celebrated Italian mandolinist, gave several high class pieces, grave and gay, including his own composition *Les Mandolines* a la revue and a selection from Bizet's Carmen.'

There continues a series of mandoline concerts without reference to the guitar, and he had also turned his attention to conducting. On June 13th 1898, at Trinity College of Music, he gave an Historical Lecture Recital on The Mandoline and kindred Instruments, and afterwards conducted his newly formed Plettro Orchestra, consisting of Mandolines, Mandolas, Guitars, Lutes, Violoncello, Double Bass, and Pianoforte.

CHAPTER THREE

Ernest Shand

Introduction.

I. Early Life.
II. Shand and Madame Sidney Pratten.
III. Marriage.
IV. 1895.
V. Improved Method for the Guitar Op. 100.
VI. Premier Concerto pour Guitares.
VII. London 1896-1897.
VIII. Australia.
IX. Shand's Guitars.
X. The Later Years.
XI. Untimely End.

Introduction.

As a guitarist-composer, Ernest Shand (Plate 9) is a pivotal figure in the history of the guitar, particularly in England. He was able, at a time when the popularity of the guitar had declined, to sustain its growth even against the rise in interest in related instruments. His approach to technique and composition gave the instrument a new lease of life and created widespread interest.
Shand's excellence as a performer allowed him to demonstrate the capabilities of the guitar, and inspired amateurs to reach a new level of musical sensitivity. He attempted to disprove the accepted belief that the guitar was unsuitable for the concert hall, and that its tone did not combine well with other instruments. All this did much to propagate the serious study of the guitar.

As a founder member of The English Guild of Mandolinists and Guitarists, he played an active part in its organization. This Society provided a platform for the performance of guitar music, particularly by young players and composers, and furnished guitarists with facilities that Shand had lacked in his early career.

Shand's main aim grew out of a desire to surmount the primary limitations of the instrument — its lack of sustaining power. He refused to write down to the majority of guitarists, and encouraged them to reach a higher level of technical efficiency. In 1896 he published his Improved Method For The Guitar, which not only contained a new source of contemporary music, but demonstrated a technical approach which was to revive interest in the instrument and bring some uniformity to guitar technique.

Evidence of Shand's lack of formal musical education is apparent, and he can perhaps best be described as a composer of uneven talent: 'His compositions bear witness to his good control of the instrument and a good knowledge of music.' ¹ Nevertheless, many of his guitar compositions compare quite favourably with those of his predecessors who wrote for similar media, and — more important — they

formed a bridge to the modern approach to guitar composition.

It is regretted that he had to retire early, for in both technique and composition he foreshadowed many of the developments which we have since seen in the twentieth century.

1. Early Life.

Ernest William Watson was born on the 31st January 1868, at 14, John Street, West Sculcoates, Hull, and registered on February 28th. For professional purposes he later adopted the name Shand, which after his death became the official family name.\

He was the second son of Jane and William Tindill Watson. Jane's maiden name was Coverdale, and it has been suggested that both parents were descendants of important reformers: 'Ernest Shand the celebrated guitarist-composer is a direct descendant on his mother's side of Miles Coverdale and on his father's of William Tyndall.'

Unfortunately, genealogical research does not support this interesting theory. Although Coverdale (1488-1568) was born in the West Riding of Yorkshire, he only lived there for a brief period, but about 1540, he did marry Elizabeth Macheson, but there is no evidence of an offspring.

Shand's father was employed as an Assistant Magistrate's Clerk until 1874, when he established his own photographic business in Anlaby Road, Hull. He was a keen amateur musician, having studied the violin and guitar. Similarly, Shand's mother had a musical background. In

1. It is unknown why he chose the name Shand. Phyllis, his daughter, believed there was a distant relative with this name, but this has never been confirmed.
2. Sinclair, D. Jottings In The Troubadour (Bournemouth, July 1896), iii, p.140.
White's Directory of Hull she is described as a Professor of Music, and later as a piano teacher.\(^1\) Her father was a dealer in music and pianofortes, at 30½ Prospect Street, Hull. Both were well known in local musical circles.

Shand had one elder brother, who for professional purposes adopted the pseudonym of Sidney Stirling. In 1902 Stirling emigrated to Australia, where he made his name as an actor. He died in 1930, and little else is known of him.

Shand's musical education began very early. His father taught him the violin, his mother the piano, and as a chorister, at Holy Trinity Church, he received singing lessons. He was soon promoted to principal choirboy, and frequently sang solos.\(^2\) Moreover, he won a music scholarship to Hull Grammar School, and although the records of this establishment go back to 1873, Shand is not mentioned, except in a list of noteworthy Old Boys: 'Ernest Shand, the artist whose death was recorded a few weeks ago, was an old boy of this school.'\(^3\) His education continued at Derby College, where he apparently performed in several school concerts, but this school has not been located. It is presumed closed, and the Local Education Authority have not inherited any records. It is also believed that Shand studied composition at a London Conservatoire,\(^4\) but his name does not appear in the archives of any of the London Colleges. It would, therefore, seem more probable that his formal education ceased when he left Derby College.

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3. The Hullensian (Dec. 1924).
Ernest Shand

Author's Collection.
more, by 1886 he was engaged as an actor, and made his debut in a serious drama at the Lecture Hall, Baker Street, Hull. It was here that he first employed the name Shand.

In 1886, he also began the study of the guitar: 'Besides the violin I wanted something more original, hence my adoption of the guitar.' He immediately experienced difficulty in securing music: 'I was always on the look out for guitar music, which until recently has been difficult to obtain, and one day I considered myself very fortunate in discovering a music shop (in Hull) which stocked this commodity.' The composition that Shand discovered was Dionisio Aguado's (1784-1849) Rondo Op. 1. Shand's father helped him to master this piece to his own "satisfaction". It was hardly a beginner's piece.

II. Shand and Madame Sidney Pratten.

About 1888, Shand met Madame Sidney Pratten. He had heard of her greatness, and after constantly soliciting his father, he got permission to go and study with her. Later, he recalled their first meeting, when Pratten asked him how many hours he practised a day. "Two", he replied, to which she added, "make it twenty two". He then performed one of his compositions for her. She was so moved that she wrote: 'Of course I will teach you, but I cannot teach you anything. You are too great a genius ...... my compositions fade into the Shade after your's.' Regretfully, the last two words of this passage

are obscured, and so is a sentence which Shand had added to Pratten's quotation. It was cut off when Shand had the music bound. Nevertheless, she did consent to give him lessons, which appear to have been mainly advice on a closer study of tone and expression. It was the beginning of a very close relationship.

Pratten was also a music publisher, and in December 1894 accepted one of Shand's first compositions for publication, his Premier Air Varié, Op. 31. She also assisted him in securing guitar music: 'When I know you are next down I will lend you a copy of one of Giuliani's 3 concertos ...... I beg your acceptance of the music in this parcel.' Pratten wrote this on the title page of her composition, Farewell To The Old Year (1885-1886) Impromptu No. 97. It is signed and dated November 11th 1892. The concerto was Giuliani's first, Op. 30, which Shand eventually received as a gift in 1893.¹

Pratten also wrote a note to Shand on the title page of this work, stating what had inspired her to compose it, and it illustrates how deep their relationship had become: 'All alone on the last night of the year, I was sad and lonely. I opened my window at midnight to listen to the different parish church bells ringing out the old year and the new one in. I offered up a prayer to Our God for past mercies and a prayer for future blessings. I closed the window. I take up my guitar and out of my fingers came the following suggesting the bells.'

¹. This Concerto and Farewell To The Old Year are also in the Bone Collection.
Shand continued his lessons with Pratten until her death on October 18th 1895. In her memory, he composed his *Funeral March* Op. 88, which he first performed at a concert in Portsmouth in December 1895: 'He also played with wonderful expression the beautiful *Funeral March* and in this his whole soul seemed centred on his theme and instrument alike in touching heart-felt tones of his deep respect and love of his revered tutor and friend.' Then later, in 1899, he was one of the principal sponsors of Frank Mott Harrison's *The Reminiscences of Madame Sidney Pratten*.

The family photographic business rapidly expanded, bringing new affluence. Consequently, William Watson moved his family to 42, Freehold Street, and it was here that Shand first met Louisa Nellie Smith (b. 1872), whom he married on December 15th, 1890, at Sculcoates Parish Church.

Louisa's parents were Stafford and Mary (nee Parker) Smith, who were both actors. Stafford was employed by the Wilson Barrett Company with whom he toured the world. His last appearance was in Jane Welch's *When Knights Were Bold*, at the Kensington Theatre. He died in retirement at Chichester.

Louisa was introduced to the stage at the age of five, in a performance at the Amphitheatre, Liverpool. At first she trained as a ballet dancer, but eventually chose acting as a career. Later, she adopted the pseudonym Louie Stafford, and toured with Shand for the Howard and Wyndham Company.

Between 1891 and 1893 they performed in Glasgow, Newcastle and Folkestone: 'Shand is a consummate artist on the guitar. Since the days of Regondi few have done such wonders with that difficult yet delicious instrument as achieved by Shand.'

In late 1894, the touring ceased, for on December 6th at Hull their first child Phyllis Catharina was born. Destined for the stage, she made her first appearance in 1919 with the Birmingham Repertory Theatre. By 1924 she had moved to the West End, where she appeared in *The Farmer's Wife*. She was so successful that she was

1. Newcastle Evening Chronicle. 3rd March 1893.
2. Named after Pratten.
invited to perform in eight of the Malvern Festivals. Her performances were outstanding. 'You know that I have always maintained that as an actress you are one of our greatest treasures in Malvern.' It was at Malvern that Phyllis first met George Bernard Shaw, and she remembers one morning when Shaw leapt up from the breakfast table, and announced that he would make a short film. Equipment was brought and roles cast. It was eventually screened as a part of Pathe newsreel.

Phyllis also recalls that when she was suffering from scarlet fever, Shaw relaxed his strict life-long rule never to autograph anything for anybody. At her request he signed one of his books for her doctor, adding to his signature: 'On condition that you cure Phyllis.' After her last festival in 1939, Phyllis gave up her career to care for her mother. She never returned to the stage.

There were three other children. John was born at 'The Heathers', Poynders Road, Clapham Common on 30th January 1901. He became a journalist and essayist, and from 1925, he was the drama critic of the Sporting Times, and sub-editor and reporter, on the London staff of the Manchester Guardian. He was also the dramatic critic of the Sunday Referee from 1933 - 1936, and published essays on literature, drama and London. They appeared frequently in The Criterion, Nineteenth Century, Atlantic Monthly and the English Review.

John's brother Kenneth was also born in December 1901, but nothing is known of his career. Shand's second daughter Eileen was born on 5th December, 1910, but again there are no details.

IV. 1895.

After Phyllis was born Shand devoted more time to performing and composing, and 1895 was perhaps the busiest period of his career. As a performer his popularity grew, and after a concert at The Royal Society of Artists, Birmingham, a reviewer wrote: 'But the greatest feature of the programme was the guitar playing of Ernest Shand, a stranger to us. This artist exhibited remarkable skill in his solos and was encored with the greatest enthusiasm.' After Birmingham he visited Southport where he gave afternoon and evening recitals at the Winter Gardens, between 15th and 21st August 1895: 'The attractiveness of the afternoon concerts this week is enhanced by the guitar solos of Ernest Shand, who contributes in a most artistic fashion to the programme. Yesterday he performed Fantasia on Irish Airs op. 59, and the ability he displayed was recognised fully by an appreciative audience. He was the recipient of double and treble encores.' As the week progressed Shand's success continued: 'So much appreciated have these afternoons and evening concerts become that Mr. Shand is re-engaged for next week.'

September 1895 was an important month. He was appointed to the Board of Examiners of the Guild of Violinists, London. This body was responsible for arranging examinations similar to those currently organised by the Associated Board. It is not surprising that many of Shand's compositions were accepted as examination pieces. In January 1896 he was appointed to the Guild's Senate.

1. The Birmingham Post (May 27th 1895).
2. The Southport Visitor (16th-18th June 1895), p.5. col. 3.
September 1895 also saw the first of many articles for various periodicals. He began with biographies of famous players, followed by general papers on the history of the guitar, and advice on performing and technique. These contributions continued until his death in 1924. They were important for the survival of the guitar, for such publications as: The Jo, The Troubadour, Banjo World, Dallas Monthly, Strings and B.M.G. had little time for the instrument. Indeed, the guitar was often not mentioned except in the name of the journal. Shand, however, by the very fact that these articles were accepted, paved the way for many later authors: the breakaway from banjoism, and the later emergence of the Philharmonic Society of Guitarists, International Classic Guitar Association and Guitar News.

V. Improved Method for the Guitar Op. 100.

In the same busy month, September 1895, Shand began work on his Improved Method For The Guitar Op. 100: "Mr. Shand is now writing a method for guitar on entirely new lines for beginners, which he believes will be of very great help in removing those obstacles so formidable to the young student." However, it was not completed until the following year, and the publishers announced that it would be available on 1st October 1896, and would cost 3/6d. It eventually appeared in November, the delay being to the advantage of the publishers, who: 'Acting on the suggestion of a number of patrons are resolved to include a number of Mr. Shand's favourite solos for the guitar and to increase the price, 5/- nett.'

Furthermore, they had little doubt about its importance: 'For completeness of instruction it will stand unrivalled, and there will be a welcome lack of the useless solos which invariably go to swell the size of those tutors already published, and which might with advantage be exchanged for pages of useful exercises.' It was well received: 'Such a collection of useful study has I venture to believe, never before been offered to the public.' Indeed, it represented a considerable advance on the English tutors which preceded it, and supported many amateurs through an unstable period in the guitar's history.

The chief criticism was that the preliminary exercises were too difficult for the beginner. In the second edition (1898), Shand resolved this problem by writing twenty-three new progressive exercises. The fact that this method reached two editions during Shand's lifetime illustrates its popularity: 'That the method under notice is efficient as a guide to teachers as well as to pupils is evinced by the fact that it has already reached a second edition, a remarkable circumstance considering the limited extent to which the guitar is practised.'

The second edition also coincided with the publication of Arthur Froane's book: *The Guitar And How To Study It*, which was especially written to assist the student with Shand's method. It covered all aspects of technique, and Shand made many of the suggestions which it contained.

VI. Premier Concerto Pour Guitare.

A concert at the Glasgow Art Club on February 7th, 1896 eventually led to the publication of Shand's *Premier Concerto pour Guitare et Quatuor ou Guitare et Piano* op. 48. Shand was rehearsing Giuliani's *Second Concerto* op 36, in the presence of Allan Macbeth, Principal of the Athenaeum School of Music. When he had finished, he was persuaded to play his own concerto and was most sincerely congratulated after the performance. Macbeth was so interested in the work that he asked Shand and the quartet to perform it at the Arts Club, so that he might invite some leading musicians of the city to hear it. Unfortunately, the 'cellist was taken ill, and Macbeth had to play the piano accompaniment. The concert was a success, and Macbeth urged Shand to publish the concerto. This proved rather difficult as publishers were not prepared to take the financial risk, because of the lack of enthusiasm for the instrument. However, Schotts eventually released thirty subscription copies, price 10/6d. in December 1896.

Shand was possibly the only guitarist at that time capable of giving a respectable performance of the concerto. Later, Julian Bream included it in his repertoire. He performed it on 17th July 1947, at the Alliance Hall, Palmer Street, London, and again in May 1948 at a concert organised by Coys (Hampton) Ltd. Social and Athletic Club: 'The audience were held spell-bound by this music - probably the greatest ever composed by a British born composer for the guitar.' Bream also played the concerto when he was a student at the Royal College of Music. Critical opinion was unfavourable. It was felt that Shand had

1. Now the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama.
drawn too heavily on the popular idiom of his time. The first complete American performance was given by Vahdah Bickford, guitar, and Zarah M. Bickford, piano, at Los Angeles on 9th February 1947.¹

Shand's concerto represents the first known composition in this genre by a British composer.² Furthermore, since it was composed about 1895, it constituted an important transitionary stage in guitar concertos.

Although composed in two versions, only the piano edition survives, and the original manuscript is missing. The publishers who once owned it believe that the upheaval and destruction of two World Wars account for this.

As a whole op. 48 shows resource and originality, yet it is not without monotony or weakness. Harmonic and melodic structures are based upon romantic principles. Shand was also influenced by the popular music of his day, and found it easier to introduce new thematic material rather than develop existing ideas. Form is ambiguous. He clearly intended sonata form, but he rarely meets the requirements of this structure, while the second and third movements are simply a series of themes strung together. The scoring is devised to enhance the tonal qualities and individuality of the instrument, thus allowing the soloist to devote himself to the problem of interpretation. It is technically quite difficult and Shand tries to forge a fresh technique out of a traditional idiom, and to a large extent succeeds.

¹ Bulletin of the Philharmonic Society of Guitarists (March/April 1947), no. 11.
² The second did not appear until Reginald Smith Brindle published his Concertino for Guitar and small orchestra in 1951.
Evidence does exist to suggest that Shand probably composed a second concerto. Supporting evidence is the discovery of two fragments of manuscript by Shand, which suggest that he was working on a third concerto. Regrettably, these sketches are undated, but one of the fragments appears on the same manuscript as Shand's transcription of Benjamin Godard's Mazurka in B♭, and Shand first performed this Mazurka at the Winter Gardens, Southport, in July 1895.

The second manuscript, only two pages, is simply headed '3rd Concerto'. It is a passage for guitar solo without any reference to instrumentation. Because of its fragmentary nature, it is difficult to establish any definite conclusions, but there are two obvious features. A robust theme dominates the first division, while the ensuing section is centred around a rhythmic motif.

VII. London 1896 – 1897

Shand's reputation continued to grow. As a performer, he was being compared with Regondi, and as a composer: 'He is without doubt the greatest writer for guitar that has ever been.' He was now so confident that he decided to settle in London. After a great deal of advertising, and preparation, he established himself at 23, Bryanstone Street, Portman Square, in May 1896. He was to be bitterly disappointed, for he only appeared in four concerts in the capital. At the London College of Music on Monday March 30th, he performed Meditation op.62. No.2, Mazurka op.29 and his transcription of William Wallace's (1812-1865) overture to Maritana. Then on October 24th he performed Gipsy Dance op.66,

1. These Mss. were discovered in the Philip J. Bone Collection, Luton.
2. Sinclair, D. Jottings: In The 'Jo (Bournemouth, Jan. 1896), iii.p.5
at the London Conservatoire. The last two concerts were in association with Alfred Cramer. They played together on Wednesday 2nd December, at St. James's Hall in the Essex and Cammeyer's Grand Banjo, Mandoline and Guitar Festival. They were very successful, and invited to perform at the Lyric Club in January 1897: 'It is a pleasure one rarely experiences - even in London - to hear two such genuine artistes together and the fact that Shand having composed some special music further adds to the interest.' The composition was Les Deux Amis op. 119, dedicated to Cramer.

Between May 1896 and 1897, Shand was solicited by his publishers for new compositions. He responded with twenty-five, and hoped that these works and his performances would have sustained him financially. Unfortunately, he found it necessary to rely on teaching, and this too, with a family to support, proved an inadequate source of income.

Shand's venture in London had failed, and his financial position forced him to abandon the venture. Frustrated, he returned to his dual life of musician-actor. By May 1897, he had signed a new contract, and set sail for Australia.

VIII. Australia

There is very little information about his visit to Australia, except for an account of a recital in Sidney. Shand was invited by W. J. Stent to perform on a Saturday afternoon in July, at the Hunter Street Chambers: 'He played a score of pieces, including some of his own which were characterised by feeling and melodic refinement. The artist used a Lacote guitar, particularly mellow in tone. Ernest

Shand's method largely owed its charm to his power of sustaining the tone in a way by which he avoids the monotonous effect of the average guitar player. His legato touch by which he occasionally bridges a long interval with a glissando of ethereal delicacy, is particularly skilful, and he is in every respect one of the most pleasing guitarists ever heard here.¹

IX. Shand's Guitars.

Shand owned two guitars, which he referred to as his practice and concert instruments. After his death they were bought by a Major Temple of Sandgate, who later sold them to Philip J. Bone, a dealer in fine and rare musical instruments.

The concert guitar is an attractive instrument, dating from the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It bears the engraved trade plate label of Joseph Gerard from Paris, Manufacturers of Guitars, Violins and Tenors,² 50, King Street, Soho Square, London. Another manuscript label states that this was a favourite instrument of the celebrated guitar virtuoso, Ernest Shand, guaranteed by Bone and Co., Luton, dated 1926.

It is made of dark rosewood. The spruce table has eleven strands of ebony, and an ivory purfling surround. The sound hole has a broad circlet surround showing musical instruments, and floral designs in a fine lace pattern. Neck and open head back are veneered in ebony, while the open head front has mother-of-pearl tuners and ivory rollers.

1. Sidney Herald (July 24th 1897).
2. i.e. Violas.
The machine heads are of brass engraved, with V.R. initials and a crown. They are also stamped J. Gerard.

This instrument was auctioned by Phillips of London on Thursday, 20th November 1975. It was purchased by a Japanese gentleman for £210.

Shand's practice guitar (Plate 10) is now in the possession of Sarah Flory, Harpenden, and is similar to the concert instrument. It bears the same trade plate, plus another hand written label which states: 'This guitar belonged to the greatest English guitarist, Ernest Shand. He died in Birmingham on November 29th 1924.'

X. The Later Years.

Shand returned from Australia in November 1897. After a short rest, he travelled to Bristol, where he stayed until March 1898. Little is known of this period, except for the publication of his Hungarian Dance op. 96 in January, and his transcription of Home Sweet Home in April 1898.

On the stage his most successful year was 1899. On June 5th he made his London debut at the Metropolitan Theatre. He was an immediate success, and was invited to appear at all the leading London theatres. The financial rewards of these successes were very important. Besides his immediate family, several relatives were now dependent on him. He was very liberal with money, and it was necessary for Louisa to manage his finances. Not unnaturally, Shand exploited his London

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1. In actual fact Shand died on the 28th.
Shand's Guitar

Author's Collection.
success. The only known concerts were one in Bradford in November, where he performed to great acclaim⁠¹, and planned a concert in Aberdeen, which had to be cancelled because his father was seriously ill.

Because of Shand's popularity in London, he was solicited to employ the guitar in the theatre, in the hope of rekindling interest. He had resisted all pressure until a further attack in October 1901. He replied: 'No one has the interests of the guitar more at heart than myself. I gather from your editorial note that you suggest that I should play the guitar on the stage, and so to help it regain its popularity. I am afraid it would be in vain. The scenery, the height above the proscenium and the general noise would tend to destroy the effect of the instrument. I am anxious to do all I can for the guitar, but in the proper place.'² The critics were silenced.

However, a note of pessimism crept in, which shows how disillusioned he had become after the failure of his London venture: 'I have come to the conclusion that the guitar will only be appreciated by the few.'³ Nevertheless, Shand was still busy composing. In 1903, Schott's published Phyllis Gavotte op.200, dedicated to his daughter, Legende op. 201, Au coin du Feu op. 202, Mazurka op.204, and La Danse des Nymphes op.205.⁴

After the birth of his second daughter, Eileen, on 5th December 1910, Shand moved to 104, Lansdowne Road, Stockwell, where he

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¹ Sinclair, D. Concerts: In The Troubadour (Bournemouth, Nov. 1899) vi, p.222.
³ Shand, loc. cit. p.260.
⁴ See Appendix 2.
continued to compose. Schotts published his *Petites Pieces pour Le Piano* in September, and his *Six Solos for Guitar*; "Guitarists owe a debt of gratitude to Shand. Few writers understand so well that dignified and satisfying effects can be obtained from the guitar by pure legitimate and "classic" methods."¹ Schotts also published R. Goss-Custard's organ arrangement of Shand's *Meditation* op. 69, No. 2.

In October 1911, Barnes and Mullins published Shand's last known composition, *Introduction et Chanson* op. 220, which he dedicated to his mother. However, Shand continued to compose until his death. Phyllis recalls playing his latest compositions on the piano for him, and remembers seeing many manuscripts in his music room. What happened to them is unknown, but Phyllis believes that they were probably lost when Shand's belongings were put in store, when the family moved after his death.

XI. Untimely End.

During the war Shand visited Nottingham, and before a concert he sang a patriotic song to which a Russian in the audience took offence. The following Monday morning the Russian attacked Shand in his dressing-room. When Louisa arrived she found Shand on the floor. She despatched Phyllis for a Dr. Percy Edgar Tressider, of 12, Shakespeare Street, who gave immediate attention. Shand was seriously ill for several months, and was never to recover fully from the attack. The Russian continued

to send threatening letters which deeply disturbed Shand, and although he was awarded damages, the Russian was never caught.

Shand's career, except for composing, was virtually ruined. He found it necessary to retire, and in 1918 moved to 140, Salisbury Road, Moseley, Birmingham. Here he died of heart failure on November 28th 1924.

Thus died the leading English guitarist of his time — a position he held until the appearance of Julian Bream, twenty one years after his death.
CHAPTER FOUR

The Pupils of Ernest Shand and Madame Sidney Pratten.

I. Introduction.

II. Frank Mott Harrison.

III. Arthur Froane.

IV. Albert F. Cramer.

I. Introduction.

When Ernest Shand moved to London in 1895, he had hoped that his recitals and compositions would have sustained him financially. Unfortunately, he found it necessary to rely heavily on teaching, but this too proved an inadequate source of income. A. P. Sharpe claimed that the lack of interest in the guitar accounted for this\(^1\), but Ashton Jeffree argued that although Shand was a brilliant performer, he found it difficult to teach students of only modest attainments\(^2\).

Like Pratten, Shand failed to keep abreast of new foreign guitar music, and his transient life made it difficult for his pupils to have lessons with him, for protracted periods of time. Moreover, although his Method For Guitar reflects the fruits of years of observation and experience, and his well-prepared instructions illustrate his analytical and thorough approach to technique, Shand obviously lacked the pedagogical skills to impart his ideas.

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2. There is probably a lot of truth in this as he wrote very few pieces for the beginner, except those that appeared in his method.
to send threatening letters which deeply disturbed Shand, and although he was awarded damages, the Russian was never caught.

Shand's career, except for composing, was virtually ruined. He found it necessary to retire, and in 1918 moved to 140, Salisbury Road, Moseley, Birmingham. Here he died of heart failure on November 28th 1924.

Thus died the leading English guitarist of his time - a position he held until the appearance of Julian Bream, twenty one years after his death.
Richard, preferred to retain the Motte without the 'e', as part of his family name.

B. Publications.

There is very little information about Frank's early life, and his relationship with the guitar only lasted for a short period until 1917. He was a pupil of Madame Sidney Pratten, and it was on account of her death that he was first brought to the attention of the public. Barnes and Mullins invited Harrison to write a series of articles for The Troubadour on the life of Pratten. He responded immediately, and the serialisation appeared monthly from June 1897 until July 1898.

Despite their superficial nature, they were an immediate success; 'I have received so many kind expressions of appreciation from devotees of the guitar that it has encouraged me to agree with a recent proposal from Barnes and Mullins to republish the subject matter in the more compact form of a book.'\(^1\) It was to be a Memorial Subscription edition, and Barnes and Mullins offered to bear the responsibility of its undertaking, providing there were sufficient subscribers. The response was overwhelming, and illustrated how well the series of articles had been received; 'I shall be very glad to secure a copy of Frank Mott Harrison's most interesting and instructive book.'\(^2\)

The Reminiscences of Madame Sidney Pratten finally appeared in November 1899, and was an immediate success amongst guitarists:

1. Harrison, F. Mott. The Late Madame Sidney Pratten: In The Troubadour (Bournemouth, April 1899), vi. no. 57. p. 68.

2. Correspondence: In The Troubadour, (Bournemouth, May 1899) vi, no. 58, p. 101.
This appreciation of a talented guitarist is written by a personal friend. The booklet consists of intimate details concerning her private and professional life which may be of interest to those who knew the lady but cannot be equally entertaining to the general reader."¹

Harrison's interest in musicology continued, and up to 1917, he produced a further series of articles on the guitar.

G. Teaching.

The success of the Pratten articles improved Harrison's reputation. In June 1897, he announced that he had been solicited so much by pupils to visit London to give instructions on the guitar, that he had now arranged to do so. His studio was at 60, Berners Street, and he attended every Friday from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.² Shortly after, in August 1897, he was appointed Professor of Guitar at Trinity College of Music, London, but he never stopped commuting from Brighton, where he had opened a music business with his brother Richard.

His approach to teaching resembled that of Sor, and in 1896 he revised Arnold Merrick's translation of Sor's Method For Guitar. It was published by R. Cocks and Co., but the copyright was later purchased by John Alvey Turner in April 1899. Although it created some interest amongst guitarists of the period, it is of little value today. Harrison also wrote and published A Guide To Artistic Guitar Playing, but this too is now out of date.

². The Troubadour (Bournemouth, June 1897), iv. no.55, p.89.
D. Concerts.

It is difficult to assess how good Harrison was as a performer, but it is obvious he was not outstanding. Moreover, he took it upon himself to organise and arrange concerts for other artists, especially in Brighton.

On the 10th and 11th December 1897, Frank organised a concert in aid of the Irish Industries Association at the Clarence Rooms, Brighton; 'The gathering was described as one of the most fashionable that has ever been held in Brighton of late years and the concerts were highly successful.' Harrison had experienced the fashionable and popular concerts of Pratten, and tries to emulate them against the growing popularity of the Banjo, Mandoline and Guitar Orchestras.

The second concert, which he again organized, was with his brother Richard, at Brighton Academy of Music, in November 1897. The hall was apparently full, but there are no details of the programme.

E. Later Years.

In 1917 Frank's brother Richard was killed in France. Harrison never recovered from the blow, and his interest in music waned: 'My guitar is now housed in my garage and never alas played upon ..... very reluctantly I gave away a lot of guitar music including many of Pratten's compositions.'

1. Provincial Notes: In The Troubadour (Bournemouth, Jan. 1897) iii, no. 30, p.248.
2. Provincial Notes: In The Troubadour (Bournemouth, Dec. 1897) iv, no. 41, p.209.
When Harrison died in 1945, Appleby wrote to his widow asking permission to write an appreciation in B.M.G.: 'Personally I should prefer not — for 30 years we have lived here in this house together and he has never touched a guitar and years before this he did not do so.'

Alice Harrison had known Frank for a long time before they married. She was the daughter of a Mr. Pegg, Madame Sidney Pratten's secretary.

Ironically, shortly after Frank's death, Alice replied to another letter from Appleby: 'His guitar has now been in the garage for 30 years — it must now be ruined for we had a burst pipe since my husband's home call which deluged the garage.' The instrument was a Lacote.

Harrison had also become interested in politics, and for years was a member of the Brighton Town Council and later Alderman. He was also a world authority on John Bunyan.

III. Arthur Froane.

A. Early Life.

B. Concerts.

C. The Guitar And How To Study It.

A. Early Life.

Arthur Froane's (plate 11) reputation rests upon his few

known concerts, and his now out of date The Guitar And How To Study
It. He was born at Huddersfield, on November 24th 1861, but by 1878
the Froane family had moved to Beach House, Westcliff Road, Southport.
Arthur finally settled at 11, Belmont Street, where he is described as
a teacher of music.

The Troubadour claims that he first studied piano and flute,
but gave the latter up because of poor health, and whilst convalescing
in America, in about 1891, he first began to study the guitar. There
are no other details of this visit.

B. Concerts.

Froane's concert life began in February 1898, when he
appeared at Southport, and played Ernest Shand's In Stately Measure.¹
Froane had always espoused Shand's ability, and frequently performed
his music in concert. He felt the future of the guitar rested with
Shand, and when the latter's venture in London failed, Froane too,
became bitterly disappointed.

In early 1899, he appeared at Crmskirk and Matlock, and on
both occasions he played Shand's Danse Antique, and apparently obtained
an enthusiastic recall on both occasions. Shortly after, in May,
Froane performed duets with the zither banjo player, A. D. Cammeyer;
'The performance was a treat, that few who were present will ever
forget.'²

From these concerts it is difficult to appreciate just how
good Froane was as a player, but The Troubadour was in no doubt:
'His purity and strength of tone, correctness of technique and clear

1. Provincial Notes; In The Troubadour (Bournemouth, March 1898), v. p.23.
2. London And Provincial Notes; In The Troubadour, (Bournemouth, May 1899)
   vi, no. 57, p.66.
execution, combined with good expression and perfect finish leave little short (sic) as complete an artist as one can wish to hear."¹ Moreover, the editors felt: 'It is a pity Mr. Froane's performances are not more numerous, and that he does not go further afield.'²

C. The Guitar And How To Study It.

Froane's book, The Guitar And How To Study It, was important in the sense that it affords an opportunity of studying the provincial approach to guitar technique, and illustrates how insular guitar teachers had become in England.

Barnes and Mullins first announced in August 1898: 'The Guitar And How To Study It is now in the press and will be ready in a few days - price one shilling.'³ It eventually appeared in September.

Froane's aim was to produce information for the amateur on technique, an aspect which contemporary tutors were frequently void. It was designed to be used alongside the second edition of Shand's Method For Guitar, also published in 1898: 'The object of this book is not to encroach on the domains of the instruction book, but rather on those of the teacher. That is to say, anybody attempting to teach himself the guitar from an instruction book would find it uphill work, and unless in cases of those especially talented, the results would not be great nor the progress rapid.'⁴

1. Arthur Froane: In The Troubadour (Bournemouth, May 1897).
2. The Troubadour (Bournemouth, Nov. 1899), vi. no. 64, p.223.
3. The Troubadour (Bournemouth, Aug. 1898), v. no. 49, p.126.
PLATE II

Arthur Froane.
Author's Collection.
It was Froane's approach to right hand technique that amateurs found most useful. He stressed the importance of the correct right hand position, and the individual development of each finger: 'There is quite a fair amount I could add especially as regards fingering of rapid passages. Alternate first and second fingering is generally speaking sufficient but where the thumb is not engaged, it could be used with advantage to gain ease and speed on any of the three top strings.' However, despite a change in attitude on the continent, Froane continued to support the technique of resting the fourth finger of the right hand on the soundboard, and when he was criticized in The Troubadour, the editors received a wealth of letters in support of his argument. Thus, this technique, which continued until the late 1940's and early 1950's, illustrates the inflexibility of guitar teaching in England, despite visits in the 1920's by guitarists like Pujol and Segovia.

Froane's book never reached a second edition and by 1943 it was unobtainable, but it appears it continued to be quite popular. Froane wrote to Appleby: 'I have a man here who has been just as keen as you to get hold of this book, but up to now he has been unsuccessful.'

Nevertheless, despite its shortcomings, the book had served its purpose. It sustained many an amateur through a difficult period in the guitar's history.

1. Ms. Letter about 1943 Froane to Appleby.
I. V. Albert F. Cramer.

A. London and Manchester.

B. Concerts.

C. Method for Guitar.

A. London And Manchester.

Albert F. Cramer (plate 12) was born in London in 1865, and was a nephew of the pianist-composer J. B. Cramer. His mother was a respected piano teacher and taught him harmony and composition.

In 1875, Albert's father retired to Manchester, and Albert was sent to Beverely House School at Barnes, and later Chiswick College. Finally, he returned to London to study with Pratten, who later introduced him to Shand. Cramer never forgot Pratten's help, and during her last few years assisted her in every possible way.

On completing his studies Cramer returned to Manchester, and opened a studio for teaching guitar, banjo and mandoline. He was an immediate success, and opened further studios at Southport, Liverpool and Preston, but despite his apparent popularity, there is very little evidence of it in local records.

B. Concerts.

Cramer probably gave concerts whilst living in the North, but the only ones that have come to light are those he gave in London. Furthermore, they suggest that he preferred to perform duets, quartets or to act as accompanist, rather than give recitals.
PLATE 12

Mr. A. F. CRAMER.

Albert F. Cramer.

Author's Collection.
In 1892, he accompanied Adeline Patti at the Royal Albert Hall, and encouraged by his success decided to settle in London, in August 1896. He immediately teamed up with Shand and they started to give concerts together. They played on Wednesday, 2nd December 1896, at St. James' Hall, in the Essex and Cammeyer, Grand Banjo, Mandoline and Guitar Festival. They were so successful that they were invited to appear at the Lyric Club in January 1897. These concerts came to an abrupt end when Shand sailed for Australia in May 1897.

Shortly after Shand's departure, Cramer formed a quartet with Wallie Montague, mandoline, Signor Obregon, bandurria, and W. J. Fletcher, mandola, but he found it difficult to earn a living, and turned to theatre work. In September 1898, he was appointed resident guitarist to the Gaiety Theatre, and although he performed several duets, the majority of work was accompaniment. Later, he was engaged at Covent Garden to play the obligato part, in F. H. Cowen's opera, Harold. He also filled a similar engagement at the Lyric Theatre in Little Christopher.

In 1909 he moved his studio to 123, Oxford Street, and judging from press reports his concerts decreased, and like other guitarists of the period, he had to rely more on teaching. His last known concert was at the Wigmore Hall in September 1925, where he performed with 'Babs' Randall, and played Shand's Les Deux Amis.

After a long illness he died in 1931.

CHAPTER FIVE: Guitar Programmes

I Introduction.

II Content of Programmes.

I Introduction.

To attempt anything like a complete account of guitar programmes is impossible, because of the limited number that appear to have survived. This is interesting because there is a wealth of extant programmes of almost every other instrument, but it would appear that those for guitar were just not preserved, suggesting that even the serious concert goer had not totally accepted the guitar or its players. Moreover, those that have survived are generally of a 'mixed nature': that is, programmes of concerts of vocal and instrumental music, in which the guitarist only played a small part.

However, when a concert was held at the residence of a patron or that of the performer, then the guitarist would have played a more important role. Indeed, many of these concerts would have been guitar recitals, but there are few extant programmes.

The decline of the guitar can be to some extent attributed to the content of these programmes. Guitarist-composers

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1. Despite extensive research only a few programmes have been located.
2. It is also possible that programmes for this type of concert were rarely printed.
invariably played their own music, much of which was of an inferior nature, rather than propagating music of better known musicians. Furthermore, guitarists spent too much time on transcribing and performing passages, and in some cases whole Acts, from popular operas of the period, and while the dilettante found these interesting, they did not help the general development of the instrument. However, the difficulty that guitarists found in earning a living may have influenced their judgement about the content of programmes.

Another factor is that in the early part of the nineteenth century, guitarists considered their instrument to be a good means of vocal accompaniment, but again, guitarists were only pandering to the fashion of the period. Thus, guitar programmes in the nineteenth century did not reflect the true capabilities of the instrument.

II. Content of Programmes.

The earliest programme at present located is that of a concert given by the French violinist Baillot, on Tuesday May 28th 1816, at which Sor played, but his share of the performance was small.

In the following year, on Monday 24th March, Sor again appeared in a concert given by the Philharmonic Society, but he only played his Concertante for Spanish Guitar, violin, viola and violoncello. (Plate 14). According to George Hogarth, Sor delighted the audience, even though he only played one item. Moreover, this was not the only time Sor had performed this piece. Indeed, it
was common amongst guitarists to play a very restricted repertoire, and if these concerts are compared with the one given by Anelli, at the Teatro Suterra in Turin, then they reflect a limited content. Thus, by the time Sor left for Paris, in about 1823, the guitar had not been justly represented as a solo instrument in England.

There was, however, a gradual increase of solo music, and some of this began to appear in the repertoire, but basically programmes remained the same. Leonard Schulz, for example, only played one piece at his Philharmonic concert on April 12th 1828 (Plate 15).

Therefore, if guitarists were to have a fairer proportion of the programme, then they would have to organize their own concerts. Anelli was an expert at this, but his programmes consisted of too many of his own compositions and arrangements. Similarly, Pelzer patronised music of relatively unknown composers.

Regondi was the most successful at arranging such concerts, and was capable of changing the whole nature of guitar programmes. However, his repertoire was limited, and he spent too much time playing operatic arrangements, pandering to fashionable needs, and championing the cause of the concertina.

Most of Regondi's concerts were of the mixed type. On June 9th 1841 (Plate 16) he appeared with the violoncellist Lidel, at the Hanover Square Rooms, and although only the title page of this programme survives, it does illustrate that the guitar cannot have

1. Cf Section 1 Chap. 2.
played a leading part, judging from the number of artists engaged. However, it would appear that those concerts compared very favourably with those in France at that time (Plate 17).

In Regondi's three Liverpool concerts, on 16th November and the 4th and 30th December 1847, he played the same pieces on the guitar, which did nothing to create a wider interest in the instrument or encourage entrepreneurs to invite guitarists to give recitals in public halls (Plates 18, 19 and 20).

Even Pratten, later in life, turned her attention from the music of better guitarists to that of her own (Plate 21), but she too, became dominated by concerts given by Banjo, Mandoline, and Guitar orchestras, whose programmes rarely included guitar solos (Plate 22).

Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century, English guitar programmes did not compare with those in other parts of the world, and it was not until the 1940's that any such parity was achieved.
MR. BAILLOT'S
CONCERT,
Tuesday, May 28, 1816.

Leader, Mr. SPAGNOLETTI.
At the Piano Forte, SIR GEORGE SMART.

ACT I.

SINFONIA.........................Haydn.
ARIA, Mr. BEGRI "Alma clementi Dei"......Mayer.
SOLO: Guitar, Mr. Sor........Sor.
CONCERTANTE, for two Violins, Obligati......Baillot,
Messieurs BAILLOT and FEMY.
Duetto, Milles. DE Lihu, "Al Campo andiamo".....Portogallo.
ANDANTE, with Variations for the PIANO FORTE,
Mr. KALKBRENNER........Kalkbrenner.

ACT II.

CONCERTO, Flute. Mr. DROUET .....Drouet.
ARIA, Mille. DE LIHU........Martini.
CONCERTO, and Variations for the Violin, Mr. BAILLOT...Baillot.
ARIA, Mr. LEVASSEUR, "Sei morelli"......Cimarosa.
DUETTINO, Milles. DE LIHU, "O Pescator dell' onda

C. Lonsdale, Printer, Newport Court, Drury Lane.

Courtesy of The Guildhall School of Music and Drama.
UNDER THE IMMEDIATE PATRONAGE OF
His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY.

Third Concert, Monday, 24th March, 1817.

ACT I.

Sinfonia, No. 2 ........................................ Haydn.
Quartetto, "Beneficium," Mrs. Lacy, Mr. Ter-
rail, Mr. Begrez, and Mr. Lacy ................. Mozart.
Quintetto, two Violins, two Violas, and Violon-
cello, Messrs. Spagnolletti, Watts, Lyon,
Challoner, and Lindley ......................... A. Romberg.
Scena, "Deh parlare," from Il Sacritio d' Abramo, Madame Camforse .... Cimarosa.
Overture .............................................. B. Romberg.

ACT II.

Sinfonia in C ....................................... Mozart.
Aria, "Sventurata in van," Mrs. Salmon, ac-
companied on the Flute by Mr. Nicholson ... Sacchini.
Concertante, Spanish Guitar, Violin, Viola, and
Violoncello, Messrs. Sor, Spagnolletti, Chal-
loner, and Lindley ............................... Sor.
Overture, Prometheus ............................ Beethoven.

Leader, Mr. Spagnolletti—at the Piano-forte, Mr. Attwood.

To commence at Eight o'clock precisely.

The Fourth Concert will be on Monday, April 14th.

The Subscribers are most earnestly entreated to observe, that the Tickets
are not transferable, and that any violation of this rule will incur a
total forfeiture of the subscription.

It is requested that the Coachmen may be directed to set down with the
horses' heads towards Marlborough-street, and take up in the opposite direction.

[Raynell, Printer, Piccadilly.]
FIFTH CONCERT, MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1828.

ACT I.

Sinfonia, Pastorale

Duetto, Madame CARADORI ALLAN and Signor ZUCHELLI

"Di Capricci," (Corradino)

Concertante, Zol-Harmonica, and two Guitars, Messrs. SCHOCH AND SCHULZ

Scena, Signora BRAMBILLA, "La Fletta" (Eduardo e Christina)

Overture, MS. (never performed)

ACT II.

Sinfonia in E flat

Duetto, Madame CARADORI ALLAN and Signora BRAMBILLA

"Lasciami" (Il Tancredi)

Fantasia Violin, Mr. DE BERIOT

Aria, Signor ZUCHELLI, "A me il Ciel" (Cenerentola)

Overture, Les Deux Journées

Leader, Mr. SPAGNOLETTI—Conductor, Mr. ATTWOOD

To commence at Eight o'clock precisely.

The Subscribers are most earnestly entreated to observe that the Tickets are not transferable, and that any violation of this rule will incur a total forfeiture of the subscription.

The next Concert will be on Monday, May 12th.

The door in Little Argyll Street will be open after the Concert, for the egress of the Company.

DUETTO (Corradino).—Rossini.
Madame CARADORI ALLAN and Signor ZUCHELLI

Matilda. Di capricci, di smorfette,
Di sospiri, di graziette,
Di silenzj eloquentissimi,
Di artifizj sublimissimi,
Quali Arмиla gl’invenj?
O un Poeta li sogno,
Io ne ho tanta quantitk!
Corradin si piegherá,
Al mio piace si prosterrá,

Piangere, sospirerá,
Schivo mio restar dovrá.
Alzando. Di minaccie, di fierezze,
Di fuorir, di sventranj,
Di decreti bizzarri-şimi,
Di terrori orribilissimi,
Quali un Orso gl’invenj,
O un Demonio li sogno,
Ei ne ha tanta quantitk!
Corradin resisterá,
A crollar ci penserá,
Frenzerá, s’infurierá,
E spavento vi fará.
MR. LIDEL
AND
MR. GIULIO REGONDI
Have the honour to announce that their
EVENING CONCERT
WILL TAKE PLACE
On WEDNESDAY, 9th of JUNE, 1841,
To commence at Eight o'clock precisely.

Vocal Performers.
Madame DORUS GRAS,
Miss BIRCH,
and Miss OSTERGAARD,
Miss MASSON.

Mr. BENNETT,
Mr. JOHN PARRY,
and Sig. FERRARI,
Sig. F. LABLACHE,
Signor TAMBURINI.

Instrumental Performers.
Piano-Forte,
Mr. SALAMAN.
Virtuoso and Concertina,
Mr. G. REGONDI.
Violin,
Mr. H. WOLFF.
Violoncello,
Mr. LIDEL.

IN THE COURSE OF THE CONCERT,
MENDELSSOHN'S NEW GRAND TRIO,
FOR PIANO-FORTE, VIOLIN, & VIOLONCELLO,
Will be performed by
Messrs. SALAMAN, H. WOLFF, and LIDEL.

A GRAND CONCERTANTE DUET,
For Concertina and Violoncello,
By Messrs. GIULIO REGONDI and LIDEL.

Conductor,
Mr. SALAMAN.

TICKETS, HALF-A-GUINEA EACH, to be had of Messrs. CRAMER and Co., 201, Regent Street; CHAPPELL, MILLS & MUSE, LAVENU, and Co., and CHARLES OLIVER, New Bond Street; and C. LONSDALE, 26, Old Bond Street; of Mr. LIDEL, 5, Osnaburgh Street, Regent's Park; and of Mr. G. REGONDI, 10, Great Castle Street, Regent Street.

Printed by T. BECKFALL, Rupert Street, Haymarket.

Courtesy of The British Library Cts. 45.
Premier Concert
DE SOUSCRIPTION
DONNÉ PAR LA SOCIÉTÉ PHILHARMONIQUE
AU BÉNÉFICE
DES PAUVRES DE LA VILLE DE BOULOGNE.
A la Salle des Concerts, rue St-Quentin.
LE VENDREDI 21 AVRIL 1848.

PROGRAMME.—1RE PARTIE:
1. Ouverture du Lac des Fées.
   AUBER.
2. Fantaisie pour le hautbois; avec orchestre, exécuté par M. E. Bouvet.
   DELABARRE.
3. Duo du Châtelet, chanté par MM. ***.
   ADAM.
4. Variations pour la guitare sur un air national italien, avec orchestre, exécutées par M. Siesta.
   GIULIANI.
5. Grandes variations pour piano, sur un thème original, avec accompagnement d'orchestre, exécutées par l'auteur, M. Schilling.

2E PARTIE.
   J. GÉRALDY.
8. Romances.
9. Ouverture de la Messe de Portici.
   AUBER.

Les portes seront ouvertes à 7 heures ½, et le concert commencera à 8 heures.


Boulogne.—Imprimerie de F. Birtel, 36, rue des Fêtes.

Courtesy of The British Library Programmes 72.
CONCERT HALL,
LORD NELSON STREET.

EVENING CONCERT.

MISS KEALE,
Respectfully announces to her Friends, the Public of Liverpool, and its vicinity, that her CONCERT will take place on the
EVENING OF TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1847,
When she will have the honor of introducing
A YOUNG LADY, HER PUPIL.

PRINCIPAL PERFORMERS.

MISS EMILY GRANT,
From the Theatre-Royal, Covent Garden, and the Nobility’s Concerts, London,

MR. G. WEISS,

SIGNOR GIULIO REGONDI,
(The celebrated Performer on the Guitar and Concertina,

AND

MISS KEALE.

Conductor...........................................

Mr. JOSEPH ROBINSON

Reserve seats, 3s. 6d.—Gallery, 2s.—Body of the Hall, 1s.

may be had at the Principal Music Shops and at Miss KEALE’s
Residence, 40, Falkner Street.

A part of the Reserve Seats will be at Mr. JAMES SMITH’S, Music Seller,
Lord Street, where places may be secured.

CONCERT TO COMMENCE AT EIGHT O’CLOCK.

K. Dyer, Printer, Liver Court, 16, South Caithness-street.

Programme.

Part I.

Duetto, “Cruel Fortune,” Miss EMILY GRANT and Mr. G. WEISS, (Nizza di Figaro)..........................Mozart.

Concerto, (M. S.) Concertino, Signor GIULIO REGONDI.

Aria, “Cieli che fui,” Mr. G. WEISS.................................Verdi.

Souvenir De Pesti, Piano Forte, Miss KEALE.............Thalberg.

Cavatina, “Una voce poco fa,” (Il Barbieto) Miss EMILY GRANT..........................................................Rossini.

Fantasia on Airs from Don Giovanni, Guitar, Signor GIULIO REGONDI....................................................Thalberg.

Romanza, “Tis the harp in the air,” Miss EMILY GRANT,
Concertino Obbligato, G. REGONDI, (Massenet)........Wallace.

Grand Duet, Two Piano Fortes, (Sorbon.) Miss KEALE and
A YOUNG LADY, her Pupil ..................................................Thalberg.

An Envoi of the Musicians.

Part II.

Duet, “Il piaiar,” Lucia di Lammermoor, Miss EMILY GRANT
and Mr. G. WEISS.........................................................Donizetti.

Solo La Chance, Guitar, Signor GIULIO REGONDI.

Air, “C’est un Caprice” (Capriccio,) Miss EMILY GRANT.

A. Adam.

Fantasia, Piano Forte, Miss KEALE, (by particular desire, Don
Forgeux) ..........................................................Beethoven.

Cavatina, “Va Poesia,” Lucia di Lammermoor, Mr. G. WEISS.

Scotch Song, “‘Tis the Fiddle,” Miss EMILY GRANT...........................................A. Lees.

Duet, Concertino on Airs from Guillaume Tell, Piano Forte and
Concertino, Miss KEALE and Signor G. REGONDI,
Oberon and De Berio.

Courtesy of Liverpool Public Library.
PLATE 19

GRAND CONCERT.

MR. RYALLS

Has much pleasure in announcing to his Friends and the Public that his

ANNUAL CONCERT

WILL TAKE PLACE

On TUESDAY, the 14th DECEMBER, 1847,

IN THE

CONCERT HALL, LORD NELSON STREET.

ARTISTES—VOCAL.

MRS. SUNDERLAND,
MISS SAUNDERS,
(Miss, from the York, Sheffield, and Leeds Concerts)
MISS CLEMÉNCE,
MR. RYALLS.

INSTRUMENTAL.

MISS ELEANOR WARD,
MR. RICHARDSON,
MR. GOODALL,
(Signor Giulio Regondi)

PROGRAMME.—PART I.

Quartet—"There is beauty on the Mountain,".....................................................(Rolle)
Song—"Come, Summer, come,"—Miss SAUNDERS............................................(Rolle)
Fantasia, Flute—"There's nae luck,"—Mr. RICHARDSON................................(Rolle)
Aria—"The Star of Life,"—Mr. RYALLS...............................................................(Rolle)
Concerto, Concertina—Signor GIULIO REGONDI—(MS).....................................(Rolle)
Song—"The Mocking Bird,"—Mrs. SUNDERLAND—(Flute obligato)—Mr. RICHARDSON...(Rolle)
Pianoforte—Brilliant Varriations on the Grand March from "Puritani"—Miss ELEANOR WARD...(Rolle)
Song—"Like the gloom of night,"—Miss CLEMÉNCE...........................................(Rolle)
Concerto, Viola—De Beriot's 1st—Mr. GOODALL...........................................(Rolle)

PART II.

Duet—"Take now this ring,"—Miss SAUNDERS and Mr. RYALLS...................(Rolle)
Solo, Flute—"Houseman's Dream,"—Mr. RICHARDSON....................................(Rolle)
Song—"The click clack of the Village Mill,"—Miss SAUNDERS..............................(Rolle)
Sono, Piano—Grand Brilliant Fantasia on Aria from "Giulietta,"—Miss ELEANOR WARD......(Rolle)
Hymn—"All is lost,"—Mr. RYALLS.................................................................(Rolle)
Fantasia, Violin—Signor GIULIO REGONDI...................................................(Rolle)
Song—"From mighty Kings,"—Mrs. SUNDERLAND—(by desire)...........................(Rolle)
Song—"Kitty Crouth,"—Mr. RYALLS.................................................................(Rolle)

Conductor..................................................Mr. GEORGE HOLDEN.

Body, 1s.; Gallery, 2s.; Reserved Seats, 3s. 6d.

Tickets to be had of Mr. RYALLS, 28, Gildart Street, Islington; and at the principal Music Shops.

BOOKS OF WORDS, SIXPENCE EACH.

Doors open at Seven; to commence at a Quarter before Eight o'clock.

Courtesy of Liverpool Public Library.
**Concert Hall, Lord Nelson Street.**

The Public of Liverpool and its Vicinity are informed that

**GRAND CONCERT**

**OF VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL Music** will be given in the

Concert Hall, Lord Nelson-st.

**On THURSDAY Evening, Dec. 30th, 1847.**

---

**MISS DOLBY,**
From the Philharmonic & Ancient Concerts, London.
and **MR. RYALLS.**

SOLIO INSTRUMENTALISTS.

**Violoncello, MR. HADDOCK.**

**Concertina,** Signor GIULIO REGONDI.

**Mr. H. F. ALDRIDGE.**

Will Preside at the Piano Forte.

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**PROGRAMME.**

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<th>Part I.</th>
<th>Part II.</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SONG</strong></td>
<td><strong>SONG</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Oh! the Lake of Killarney.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Oh! tell me, pretty lass.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. RYALLS</td>
<td>Miss DOLBY</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Oh! Airy-shot&quot; (Chesney) MISS DOLBY</td>
<td>&quot;Frank Meri.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weber.</td>
<td>MISS DOLBY.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fascino (On Air from Lucia di Lammermoor.) Concertina, Signor GIULIO REGONDI</td>
<td>G. Regandi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scarlatti.</td>
<td>Concerto by C. H. DOLBY.</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Low wayed-the summer woods.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Death of Nelson,&quot; Mr. RYALLS.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. RYALLS</td>
<td>Mr. RYALLS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fantasia. (On Air from Semiramis.)</td>
<td>Fantasia. (On Air from Semiramis.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violoncello, Mr. HADDOCK.</td>
<td>Violoncello, Mr. HADDOCK.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duet.</td>
<td>Duet.</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;The Sailor's Song,&quot; Mrs. DOLBY</td>
<td>&quot;The Sailor's Song,&quot; Mrs. DOLBY.</td>
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<tr>
<td>and Mr. RYALLS.</td>
<td>and Mr. RYALLS.</td>
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**Tickets.**—Body 6d., Side Gallery 1s., Reserved Seats 2s. 6d., to be had at the Concert Hall, and at Messrs. HIME and SON'S Music Warehouse, Church Street.

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Courtesy of Liverpool Public Library.
PART I

VOCAL WALTZ

"Fair and Bright,"

THE MEISTER GLEE SINGERS.

Arr.-Mr. William Sexton. Tune.-Mr. Geoffrey Hart.

SOLO—Guitar, ...

Madame Sidney Pratten.

SONG, ...

"Adelaide," ...

Beethoven

Mr. W. Nicholl.

SOLO—Guitar, ...

"Spanish Dance," "Enchant," "Woodland and Stream," ...

Madame Sidney Pratten.

SONG, ...

"The Jewel Song," (First) ...

Miss Edith Tulloch.

JAPANESE GLEE, ...

"Chick-a-bee," ...

Keola

THE MEISTER GLEE SINGERS.

SOLO—Violoncello...

Holloman

PLANTATION MELODY, "Moon's in de cold cold ground," ...

Foster—Parker

THE MEISTER GLEE SINGERS

SOLO—Guitar, ...

a. "Schonacht" and "Weary,"

b. "Dance Fantastique,"

c. "Dance of the Witches,"

d. ""

Madame Sidney Pratten.

SONG, ...

"My love and delight," ...

Ernest Leke

Mr. W. Nicholl.

SOLO—Guitar, ...

"Wandering Thoughts," "Moonlight," "Lord Regian's March," ...

Madame Sidney Pratten.

SONG, ...

"On the banks of Allan Water," ...

Miss Edith Tulloch.

SOLO—Violoncello...

a. "Simple ways," ...

b. "Manuela," ...

c. ""

Thomé

Holloman

Hollman.

CONDUCTOR ...

Mr. Wilhelm Ganz.

RECESSION by Mr. Brandon Thomas.

PIANOFORTE BY MESSRS. BROADWOOD.
## Programme

### The Band

**PLLETTO ORCHESTRA.**

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<th>Selection</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Conducted by Signor Marchisio. THE BAND.</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SONG</strong></td>
<td>“Dreams”</td>
<td>Stradelli. Miss SOPHIE MNELL (Pupil of Signor Marchisio.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LUTE SOLO</strong></td>
<td>Cavatina</td>
<td>Miss MARTIN. Miss MIGNON HOLSTER. (Pupil of Signor Marchisio.)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>MANDOLINE SOLO</strong></td>
<td>(a) “Value Op. 64”</td>
<td>Chopin. Miss MARTIN. Miss MIGNON HOLSTER.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DIET</strong></td>
<td>(b) Two Mandolines, (d) Guitar and Mandoline</td>
<td>G. B. Marchisio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SONG</strong></td>
<td>“Daumen”</td>
<td>Miss SOPHIE MNELL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>QUARTETT</strong></td>
<td>A Serenade Idyllica</td>
<td>Grisi-Marchisio. THE MUSES MARTIN. (Pupil of Signor Marchisio.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MANDOLINE SOLO</strong></td>
<td>Rhapsodie Hongroise</td>
<td>Miss M. MARTIN.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LECTURE ON THE MANDOLINE AND KINDRED INSTRUMENTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Miss E. EVANS (Exhibitor).</td>
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### The Band

**PLLETTO ORCHESTRA.**

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<tr>
<td><strong>MR. WALTER M. VAUGHAN.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>MR. PHILIP BONE.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SIGNOR CARPOCELLI.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>MR. W. L. BOW.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>MISS PLE, MARTIN.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>MISS A. NASH.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>MISS MIGNON HOLSTER.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>MISS MARY W. WATSON.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>MISS E. MARTIN.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>MR. W. L. BOW.</strong></td>
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**Keyboard Instruments**

| **Concerted Piece (M.S.)** | “Exiled!” | G. B. Marchisio. |

**THE BAND.**
CONCLUSION.

From around 1850 the influence of foreign guitarists began to cease, and a new generation of English players began to emerge, but they were never able to raise the guitar to its previous popularity. They were handicapped in the sense that in England there had never been a tradition of guitarist-composers. Music and guitars were in short supply, and there began a rise of interest in related instruments, particularly the banjo and mandoline.

Regondi and Pratten were the only practising guitarists left from the first half of the nineteenth century. Regondi was still a great player, and despite a fall in interest he was still able to survive as a concert artist. Similarly, Pratten continued to perform, and after Regondi's death in 1872 she emerged as the most important player and teacher.

Pratten's sister, Giulia, Herbert Ellis and George Marchisio were also important teachers. Ellis produced an excellent tutor, which was very easy to understand. Moreover, he tried to cultivate the guitar amongst young people, and attempted to establish some balance in the repertoire, by editing a series of publications.

Giulia Pelzer was appointed Professor of guitar at the Guildhall School of Music, where her pupils frequently gave concerts. She also continued the work of her sister, but she did not attempt to introduce the guitar to all levels of society.

Similarly, Marchisio was also a Professor at the Guildhall,
Ernest Shand was the only guitarist of the period who was prepared to teach the guitar to anyone interested, and he remains a pivotal figure in the history of the guitar in England. Unlike other composers, he refused to 'write down' to the majority of players, but rather encouraged them to reach a new technical efficiency.

In 1896 he published his *New Method For The Guitar*, which not only contained a new source of contemporary music, but was an attempt to bring some uniformity to guitar pedagogy. Moreover, in both composition and teaching, Shand foreshadowed many of the developments seen in the twentieth century.

However, none of Shand's or indeed Pratten's pupils became great guitarists, and they all found it difficult to make a living from their music. Even Frank Harrison, after the death of his brother, gave up the guitar, whilst Cramer found it necessary to play and teach other instruments.

Froane was a little more successful. He continued the work of Shand, and in 1989 published his book *The Guitar and How to Study It*, but this soon dated.

Thus, by 1924, there were very few good guitarists left in England. Music and good guitars were difficult to secure and Banjo, Mandoline and Guitar Orchestras were all the fashion. However,
with the appearance of foreign guitarists, like Segovia, Llobet, and Pujol, there began a new period of guitar history in England.
SECTION FOUR: GUITAR CONSTRUCTION IN ENGLAND

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER ONE: The Panormo Family.

CHAPTER TWO: A Survey of Improvements to The Guitar.

CONCLUSION.
INTRODUCTION.

Between 1789 and 1850, guitar construction in England centred around the Panormo Family, who dominated the market so much that other makers found it difficult to compete. When they arrived in 1789, interest in Spanish guitar construction was at a low ebb, for since the reign of Charles II the guitar in England had chiefly been dominated by foreign musicians. Moreover, from around 1750, the English guitar emerged as a serious rival to the Spanish instrument, and because of its popularity, many English luthiers turned their attention to this new fashion.

However, before the Panormos arrived, some instruments had been made. In the seventeenth century Ralph Agutter of London made guitars, but judging from an account of one he lost, they were probably four- or five-course instruments: 'Ralph Agutter, offers a reward for the return of a little guitar, wrought with ivory and ebony on the back, and on the sides checkers work of the same, in red leather case lined with sky coloured plush - lost in a Hackney Coach'.

Other luthiers, like Joseph Ruddiman (c. 1733-1810) of Aberdeen, and Michael Rauche of London, are also thought to have made Spanish guitars, but none of their instruments have been traced.

John Preston, however, was a noted eighteenth century musical instrument maker, who made English and Spanish guitars of high quality. A five-course Spanish guitar dating from about 1760 still

survives, but it has not been possible to locate any six-string instruments.

English luthiers, like Preston, found it difficult to compete with the guitars that were being imported from France and Italy. Moreover, even accessories came from abroad - much to the annoyance of William Lovelace. Lovelace, in 1772, patented his ideas on making gut strings, which he considered were: 'Equally perfect with those imported from Italy'. However, to market them successfully, he had to make them appear to have foreign origins, so he called them, 'Roman Strings'. Such was the fascination for anything foreign in England, and thus - there was no tradition of guitar construction until the arrival of the Panormos.

They were a restless family, who frequently moved around Europe, yet despite their genius never received the patronage afforded to lesser makers, and thus died in abject poverty.

This great family established guitar construction in England, and paved the way for the more modern guitar, yet they have never received full recognition for their work. The reasons are twofold. Firstly, the information available about their lives is minimal, and has frequently been recorded incorrectly. Secondly, interest in the other instruments they made, particularly violins, 'cellos and bows, overshadowed their guitars: 'Place a fine Panormo under the bow of a good soloist and a superb tonal quality will fill any concert room, the most fastidious ear will not detect the smallest speck of weakness. Its clarity and equality is

uncontroversial.¹

The Panormos also apprenticed A. Guiot and Anthony Brown, both of whom produced guitars similar to their teachers. Other makers, were D. and A. Roudhoff and Joseph Gerard. Both these luthiers made some very good instruments, but they did not change the direction of guitar construction. Similarly, Theodore Bates and Alfred Tilly, appear to have made some interesting instruments, but none of their guitars have been located so far.

The nineteenth and twentieth century was also a period of experimentation, and Harvey Turnbull accounts for it thus: 'The decline of the early nineteenth century guitar indicates that it failed to win a place amongst the instruments considered worthy of serious pursuit. This dissatisfaction with the instrument found one outlet in the production of a wide range of variant instruments.'²

One of these variant instruments was the idea of General Thompson, who attempted to resolve the question of Temperament, which resulted in his Enharmonic guitar. Similarly, Thomas Howell introduced an instrument, whose size, like that of the Panormos, brought the guitar to the verge of the modern instrument. Furthermore, Angelo Ventura developed his 'Venturini', 'Diatomic Head' and his 'Ponte Volante'.

Other luthiers worked on improving sound-production, and the construction of the neck and fingerboard. Moreover, there was a continued interest in guitars with extra strings.

Thus, from the emergence of the Panormos, guitar construction in England began to flourish, and although some of the ideas introduced never reached fruition — or indeed even caught on — they were important, because musical instrument makers in England, had at last turned their attention to guitar construction in a serious manner.
CHAPTER ONE: THE PANORMO FAMILY.

I. Origins.

II. Old Panormo.

III. Francis Panormo.

IV. Giuseppe (Joseph) Panormo.

V. George (Louis?) Panormo.

VI. Louis Panormo.

VII. A Second Generation of Panormos.

VIII. Panormo Associates.

IX. Panormo Guitars.
I. Origins.

Vincenzo Trusiano Panormo, frequently referred to as 'Old Panormo', to distinguish him from his sons, was born on 30th November 1734, at Monreale, a village a few miles from Palermo, Sicily. It is quite likely that his original surname was Trusiano, as Panormo was probably derived from the ancient name of Palermo, which was 'Panormus'.

II. Old Panormo.

When Vincenzo was sixteen he travelled to Naples and other Italian cities, before finally arriving at Cremona. It was here that he learnt his art, but reports are confused about to whom he was apprenticed. Piccolellis claims Vincenzo was a pupil of Bergonzi, but Alexander Bellow suggests otherwise: 'Bergonzi had considerable influence on the art of guitar making until his death in 1820. One of his contemporaries V. T. Panormo helped to bring the knowledge of that craft to Paris, Marseilles and London.'

Much later, Edward Panormo frequently spread the information that Vincenzo was a pupil of Stradivari, but this has long since been refuted.

Vincenzo had a restless temperament, an idiosyncratic feature inherited by his sons and grandchildren. He found it

difficult to stay in one place, and soon moved on to Turin. There followed a journey through the Tyrol, until he arrived in Paris, in 1753, aged nineteen. He remained there until 1772, except for two brief visits to his native land. In 1772 he went to London, but returned to Paris in 1773, and rented premises at 70, Rue de Chatres. Four years later he went back to London, but soon returned to France where he stayed until the revolution of 1789, which forced him to settle in England. He died in 1813.

Vincenzo copied the work of Stradivari, but he was often forced by circumstances to produce inferior work for the trade. George Hart, an admirer of Vincenzo, noted: 'Panormo furnishes us with another example of the certain appreciation, sooner or later, of exceptional talents. No matter how trifling the circumstances under which gifted men have laboured, sometime or other their genius is discovered, and acknowledged with due award, if not of fortune, at least of fame. The peculiar circumstances under which Panormo lived would have been sufficient in the case of most men to dwarf all efforts. Unable to obtain readily that patronage to which his abilities justly entitled him, he removed from city to city, hoping to discover a resting place in which favour might attend his art. No doubt this was a mistaken course, and one which robbed his work of the attention which a mind undisturbed by the care of existence can bestow: nevertheless his natural gifts had a vitality, that could not entirely be suppressed. He worked and toiled for his art and for bare sustenance alternately.'

Vincenzo's ambition had been to copy Stradivarian models, and his finest specimens are undoubtedly his replicas of the great master. His few guitars, however, were ornate, with mother-of-pearl inlays on the body, and the superiority of Vincenzo's instruments, perhaps, lies more in the thoroughly Italian character of the work, viewed as a whole, than in the handling of any particular feature. His instruments generally have an appearance of solidity, without any trace of heaviness. His varnish was either a rich yellow, clear rose, or deep red, with a most brilliant lustre, transparency and elasticity, comparing with any Stradivarius. Occasionally, he would break the varnish by rubbing down the corners to give an appearance of wear, and always preferred maple for his table.

Vincenzo's double basses are also interesting, because he removed the corners so that they resembled enormous guitars.

III. Francis Panormo.

Francis, the first of Vincenzo's four sons, was born in Rome, in 1763, but he showed little interest in the guitar. In Paris, he studied flute, and was appointed flutist to the Nichalet Theatre in 1780, but moved to London as a pianoforte teacher, with his father, in 1789.

During 1822 he was living in Churchlane, Dublin, and Francis Rimbault records that Panormo was the first person to suggest

increasing the diapason of the piano, but found great difficulty in persuading makers to listen to the proposition. However, he finally succeeded, and it was his son Ferdinand Charles, who first performed on this new type of piano by Broadwood, in 1822, at the Rotunda, Dublin.

Francis also had one other son Robert (1803 - 1873).

IV. Giuseppe (Joseph) Panormo.

Joseph was born in Naples in 1768, and settled in London with his father in 1789. Joseph lived in Church Street, Soho, but opened a workshop at 39, King Street in 1827, until 1829. He was also an amateur painter, and after 1829 relinquished his musical instrument business to study Art, but he only produced works of modest attainment. One of these included a self-portrait, which was in the collection of his nephew Edward Panormo. It is now lost.

In 1831, Joseph returned to the musical instrument trade, and opened another workshop at 4, New Compton Street where he remained until his death in 1834.

Joseph was faithful to the family trait, of producing instruments, which reflect the changing fortunes of his career. The finer violins and 'cellos, replicas of Stradivarius, are of very fine workmanship, with a magnificent tonal quality. The varnish, at which he excelled, was a shaded brownish red.
William Henley and Richard Harrison, refer to Joseph as being: 'The original maker of the subsequently incomparable Panormo guitars.' Apparently, Joseph befriended Sor and it is from the latter's stay in London (1816 - 1823) that Joseph began to produce his best guitars. Sor is thought to have suggested several improvements, and when he returned to France he left behind his guitar made by Jose Martinez, of Malaga, for Joseph to copy.

The enigma surrounding this story demonstrates how information about members of the Panormo family has been incorrectly recorded. Peter Sensier wrote: 'Why did Louis, an Italian born in Paris and working in London, make guitars which differed so much from the standard of his time? The answer may be found in his friendship with Sor, whom he may have met in Paris or London and whose Spanish built guitars he was able to examine.' Alexandra Bellow and Wilfred Appleby, however, claim that it was George who worked with Sor, but Richard Harrison, who knew Joseph's son, Edward, states that Louis designed, varnished and superintended the manufacture of guitars, while the actual artists were Joseph, George and Edward.

However, new evidence now suggests that the partnership was between Sor and Joseph: 'Experiment has proved it in London, where Mr. J. Panormo made some guitars under my direction.' It is difficult to appreciate, from these guitars made by Joseph,

1. Vincenzo's fourth son.
whether or not the improvements that Sor suggested, were all his
own ideas or based on those of Spanish makers, whose instruments
Sor preferred. However, the result of Joseph's work was a blend
of Spanish design and Italian craftsmanship, and these new guitars
became the model of the larger, deeper bodied instruments, made by
other members of the Panormo family.¹

Despite Joseph's brilliance, he died in extreme poverty,
and was buried in St. Ann's Churchyard, Soho, London.

V. George (Louis?) Panormo.

George was born in London in 1772². He never opened
his own workshop, but worked with his brother Louis, at 46 and
31, Highstreet, Bloomsbury. He was noted for his violins after
the Stradivarian pattern and his scroll cutting. His varnish was
a reddish yellow, which in texture and transparency, almost vies with
the Cremonese.

George rarely labelled his work, but his most important
violins date from the period 1802 - 1808, and have a particularly
sonorous and sympathetic tone, of good projection.

According to Harrison, George only helped his renowned
brother, Louis, in the construction of guitars, but Henley states,
he actually made over 2,000 by himself.³ Furthermore, A. P. Sharpe

2. Bellow claims it was 1774.
claims that after Louis emigrated, George adopted his name, and signed his guitars G. L. Panormo. However, as George died in 1845, these guitars can only have been made by his son, George Lewis.

George is also thought to have had another son, Charles, who spent some time at sea, and at one time helped Louis, but new evidence suggests that Charles was actually the son of Louis. Moreover, Bellow claims that George was the father-in-law of Huerta, but it was Louis' daughter Angiolina that married this famous guitarist.

VI. Louis Panormo.
A. London.
B. Later Life.

A. London.

Louis (Plate 23) the fourth son of Vincenzo, was born in Paris in 1784. In 1789, he moved to London with his father, and opened a workshop in 1819, at 26, High Street, Bloomsbury, and in 1830 he moved to number 46. Much later, in 1850, he established himself at number 31, and was joined by George's son, George Lewis, and his elder brother Joseph. Louis also had a workshop at 22, Compton Street.
A. P. Sharpe claims that Louis was a catalyst, and that when the demand for guitars became great, he encouraged his brothers to assist in their manufacture. Furthermore, the growing popularity of the instrument encouraged Louis to open a music shop at 6, Greek Street, Soho, in 1830, where he sold Panormo guitars and music of his own publication. He vacated these premises in 1840.¹

Louis styled himself, 'The only maker of guitars in the Spanish style'. He produced instruments for the English amateur that were equal to those made in other parts of the world. In this sense, his contribution to the development of the guitar in England was paramount. Moreover, his guitar design brought the instrument to the threshold of the appearance of the wide Torres model, the prototype of the wide Spanish guitar.²

B. Later Years.

What induced Louis Panormo, the most successful guitar maker in London, to emigrate to New Zealand, at the age of 75? Sharpe and other musicologists state that he went to Auckland in 1854 to join his son Louis William, who was established as a piano-forte maker, but new evidence does not confirm these claims.

Louis William and his brother Vincent, went to Australia in 1840, and for a number of years worked on the Victorian gold-fields. Reports suggest they did very well, but they returned to

1. Sharpe, op. cit. p.16.
Louis Panormo: Oil on canvas.

Courtesy of the Rev. Canon Coulthard and Thelma Clarke, New Zealand.
London, and tried to persuade their father and other members of his family to return with them. Louis agreed, and sold his business in 1856 to his nephew George Lewis.

Louis William and Vincent returned to Melbourne, and with them took their younger brother Charles, then only sixteen. This time, they were unsuccessful, and Louis William and Charles eventually went to New Zealand, whilst Vincent remained in Australia.

Their father had also changed his mind, and decided to go to New Zealand. On 2nd May 1859, Louis, his wife Sarah (Plate 24), daughters, Matilda, Eliza and son Theophilus, set sail from Gravesend in The Joseph Fletcher, a ship of 672 tons.\(^1\) The voyage out was uneventful, but there are entries in a family diary that suggest Louis was unwell: 'First on our left is a family of the name of Panormo, consisting of an imbecile superannuated old man, upwards of seventy who wanders up and down looking, at his hands, then at his feet, muttering to himself, looking anxious and seldom speaking to anyone, yet liking to be noticed, the very type of the wearilysomeness of old age. His wife and two daughters, a son and a friend of the name of Gouldstone, form the party. They are of Spanish (sic) origin as the name denotes. They are pleasant companions, and able sort of folks, going out fairly determined to work and if need be to rough it. The mother will take the land and the son and daughters will work it themselves.'\(^2\) A later entry, for May 24th,

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2. Entry for 2nd May 1859. This diary was kept by Jane Vickers Coulthard during the voyage to Auckland. After Jane died her husband, Thomas Coulthard, married Sara Matilda Panormo, in 1868.
suggests that Louis had turned to drink: 'Our neighbours still keep very agreeable. The old man wanders about. We often wonder he never makes a slip. He eats very little, but would drink as much brandy as they would give him. He threatens to throw himself overboard when they will not give him this. They have their troubles with him.'

If Louis was ill, then this may account for his decision to emigrate, for it was believed that New Zealand's weather was conducive to good health.

The Joseph Fletcher docked at Auckland on Thursday 16th August 1859, and the Panormos soon made preparations to take over three sections of land at Awhto – Sarah and Matilda had a section of 40 acres adjoining the beach at Orua Bay, while Louis and Theophilus had similar adjoining sections, which stretched inland. Thus, the Panormos owned 120 acres, but it was uncultivated and life must have been very hard for the ageing Louis.

Almost surrounding their farm was a Kauri forest, and the Panormos decided to exploit this. Matilda wrote to Louis William and Charles in Australia, and invited them to join their father to help. They arrived in 1860, and helped build and run a saw mill. They also helped Louis to build a house, which later became known as Aunt Mattie's 'Old House'.

1. Louis' daughter.
Sarah Panormo. Oil on canvas.

Courtesy of the Rev. Canon Coulthard and Thelma Clarke, New Zealand.
It was eventually destroyed in a storm during the 1920's.

On the 11th August 1862, aged 78, Louis died. He was buried near the Orua Bay School, but no records of his grave were kept, and today all trace of the site has been lost.\(^1\)

The Panormos decided to stay on for a while, and the brothers built the first Wharf at Orua Bay. However, in 1863, the Panormos were confronted with the Maori Wars. Mrs. Panormo, Louis William, Charles and Theophilus decided to leave, whilst her daughters stayed on. They went to New Caledonia, but eventually settled in Noumea, where Mrs. Panormo died. Charles and Theophilus became farmers, whilst Louis William worked in a boat-yard. Some time later, Theophilus died, so Charles and Louis William sold their farm, and went to Sydney. After a short while, they retired to Orua Bay, which had changed considerably during their 25 years absence. Just after their arrival Louis William became ill, and went to Auckland for treatment, but he died there on November 9th 1899, at Collingwood Street, Ponsonby, aged 72.\(^2\)

Charles remained at Orua Bay until 1908, when he went to live with his Niece, Mrs. Coulthard, at Onehunga. He moved again to Awhito, staying with other relatives on their farm, but died on 2nd August 1917, aged 83. He is buried in the old church grounds at Awhito Central.\(^3\)

Eliza Panormo, who had remained at Crua, had married Tom Oldbury, a worker in Louis' sawmill. When this mill closed they moved to Onehunga, and it is thought that they stayed there for the rest of their lives.

Before Louis had decided to emigrate, two of his daughters, Sophia and Cecelia, had sailed for Melbourne, from Plymouth, on April 21st 1850, in the *Borgue Tory*. Cecelia, was going to work as a governess, and on the voyage out met and subsequently married John Millet on 18th March 1852. After spending sometime in Australia, they were invited to join the Panormos in Crua.

In 1865, John died, and Cecelia married a Thomas Turner on 21st January 1869.

Cecelia's sister Sophia, had also married, and when Cecelia travelled to Crua, she too went with her husband.

Thus, the Panormos converged on Crua Bay, but sadly, none of Louis' children, or relatives, continued his art of guitar making.

**VII. A Second Generation of Panormos.**

A. Edward Panormo: Son of Joseph.

B. George Lewis Panormo: Son of George.

A. Edward Panormo: Son of Joseph.

Edward Ferdinand (Plate 25) was born in London on Christmas
Day 1811. He was a violin and guitar maker, but he first worked for his uncle Louis, fretting guitars. In 1839, he opened his own workshop at 37, Frith Street, Soho, but like his relatives he had inherited the Panormo characteristic of travelling, and there followed a series of moves, firstly, in London:

1843 - 1855: 12 Richmond Street, Soho.
1856: 91, Wardour Street.
1857 - 1858: 39, Princess Street, Leicester Square.
1859: 6, Marylebone Street, Golden Square.

In 1860, he moved to Brighton, and opened a musical instrument shop in New Road, close to the Theatre Royal, in whose orchestra he played the viola to support his income. His business failed, and he removed to London again, only to return to Brighton in 1866. This time he established himself as a guitar teacher and repairer of musical instruments. It is thought he was the only Panormo able to play the guitar well. However, he was again unable to make a living and returned to London in 1872, and spent time at Peckham and Croydon.

Finally, Edward returned to Brighton in 1888, and died in abject poverty on November 3rd 1891: 'Old age and illness brought him to poverty. A fund was promoted among musicians which enabled the old professor and his wife to exist. Latterly, he had been supported by a small weekly donation from one of the London liveries, and by friends. His widow, however, is quite destitute and Mr. Harrison of Queens Road or Mr. Sydney Harper of The Brighton School of Music
Edward Ferdinand Panormo

Author's collection.
will gladly receive subscriptions on her behalf.¹

Richard Harrison, a life-long friend of Edward, recorded in an article how he was called to Panormo's house: 'In a top back room, or garret, on a straw mattress, beneath a coverlet lay the remains of old Panormo, the last link of the great Italian instrument makers. His wife weeping over a few embers. A Parish coffin — a Parish funeral, followed only by the secretary of the Royal School of Music and the writer.'²

Edward's violins were only mediocre, and it was at guitar construction that he excelled. He apparently made guitars for the composer Balfe, and was patronised by Queen Victoria and The Duke Of Cambridge. It is also reported that Edward made the first banjo in England.

B. George Lewis Panormo: Son of George.

George Lewis was born in London in 1815, and worked for his uncle Louis, at 46, and then 31, High Street, Bloomsbury, between 1848 and 1854. After Louis emigrated, George advertised: 'G. L. Panormo, successor to Louis Panormo, the original maker of guitars in the Spanish style and violin maker, 87, John Street, Tottenham Court Road.'³

In 1868 he moved to 37, Whitfield Street, where he died on February 6th 1877.

VIII. Panormo Associates.

These associates or apprentices are in most part known only by their names. Joseph employed an Anthony Brown who also worked with Edward. By 1853 Brown was advertising his own workshop, at 40, Upper Rosoman Street, where he remained until 1875.

According to Henley, Brown lost interest in the trade, and emigrated to Australia, sometime after 1875; 'His few instruments, suggestive of tuition under Joseph Panormo, show the common weaknesses which humiliate an aspiring nature.'

Louis Panormo appointed a William Ambry and George Middlewood, and Sharpe believes that these two luthiers ran the Compton Street workshop. Appleby, however, states that it was Joseph who employed Ambry and Middlewood, while Louis worked with Brown and another apprentice called Myers. Myers opened his own workshop in 1853, at 7A, Crown Road, Walworth.

Louis also apprenticed A. Guiot, who later advertised the fact on his guitars. He appears to have been quite successful, but his instruments suggest the influence of Panormo.

Guiot also afforded himself more decoration than many of his contemporaries. He used broad purfling, and mother-of-pearl diamonds and dots became a feature of his work.

IX. Panormo Guitars.

A. Sor and Joseph Panormo.
B. Fan Strutting.
C. The Neck.
D. The Bridge.

A. Sor and Joseph Panormo.

It is probably true to say that the Panormo guitar is a result of suggestions by Sor, an analysis of the Spanish style of guitar construction, and the genius of the Panormo family.

Sor believed that if the soundboard was to vibrate sufficiently, then it should be quite thin and made of a light wood. However, if it was too thin, then the bridge would compel it to give way and would be pressed inwards. Sor, therefore, suggested a different bridge construction: 'I think I can shew that a bridge of the form represented by figure 1 (Plate 26) constructed of a single piece, and an inside bracket, made as seen in profile by perpendicular section in figure 2, would answer the object desired.'

Sor also argued that: 'The prolongation of the bridge, D, E, F, figure 4, (Plate 27) coinciding with that of the bracket C, B, G, D, produces a line of support, E, B, much longer than in other designs, so that the line D, B, may be considered as the direction of resistance.

1. Sor, Method. op. cit. p. 7.
The angle M, D, B, being more obtuse ought to cause less pressure to become a straight line to which it more nearly approximates. The point F being more distant from the point E, besides comprising more glued surface, cannot occasion the part FB, of the sounding board to rise, being identified with the prolongation with the upper part of the bracket CB; and the part NE, having no resistance to oppose, may be as thin as will be suitable to the quality and continuation of the tone. ¹

Panormo did not adopt this kind of bridge construction, but chose a much smaller design. He did, however, shape his end blocks along the lines Sor suggested. Moreover, he tried to keep his soundboard as thin as possible, and used a complicated fan strutting system, and chose quarter sawn spruce or pine for his soundboards, because of their high frequency value and low specific gravity.

Sor also placed importance on the placement of the neck and strings. He preferred the nut to have the same relation with the height of the first fret, as the latter has with the second:

'For in proportion as the frets approach the lower end of the fingerboard, they should progressively diminish. By this means I find the same resistance everywhere, and consequently the same facility in pressing the strings as the covered or spun strings, in proportion as they increase in depth of sound, are more rarely employed in very quick passages.' Sor also recommended that the strings on the bass side should be a little higher than those on the treble: 'The elevation does not occasion any very considerable difference for the left hand;

¹. Sor, Method. loc. cit. p.8.
PLATE 26

Fig. 1.

Sor's Improvement to the bridge.

PLATE 27

Fig. 4.

Sor's prolongation of the bridge.

but it is very advantageous for the right, allowing me readily to produce stronger and more lengthened basses when required.\(^1\)

The curve of the neck also varied from luthier to luthier, and Sor suggested it should not exceed an arc of 18 degrees, and the fingerboard itself should be flat and not curved.

Panormo did adopt Sor's ideas on the neck-string relationship, and also produced guitars with a rounded neck. He did not however, always make his guitars with a flat fingerboard. Indeed, many of them were curved. This concept has now been abandoned by modern luthiers.

**B. Fan Strutting.**

In the nineteenth century, many luthiers experimented with different types of fan strutting, which suggests that it was a crucial factor in guitar construction. Panormo copied the fan bracing as used by Spanish makers, and it is perhaps his most important contribution to guitar construction in England.

Fan struts are a group of bars fanning out from the sound-hole towards the bridge. Their length, shape and positioning on the underneath side of the belly, greatly affect the sound produced through the proper control of soundboard movement: 'An unbraced soundboard is free to flap in an uncontrolled manner.'\(^2\)

Franz Jahnel has also shown that it is the fact that wood has the peculiar property of transmitting soundwaves in the direction of the grain

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1.8 - 2.8 times as fast as across the grain, which makes it very suitable for soundboards. However, as struts have to be glued traversely to the guitar table for reinforcement, the longitudinal vibrations of the table clash with those along the struts, when the table is emitting sound; at the same time, however, lateral vibrations in the table interfere with the longitudinal ones in the struts. Fan strutting helps to resolve this problem.¹

Before the 'Spanish Style' of fan strutting was introduced, the general approach was to use three transverse struts, one just above and a second below the soundhole, and a third near the bridge (Plate 28). The function of the latter was to stop the belly from warping against the pressure of the strings, but this meant that the table could flap about, which resulted in a loss of brilliance in the treble. However, if the belly was made thick enough to withstand the tension of the strings, then the tone of the instrument was hard and brilliant, and lacked body in the bass notes. Panormo most certainly copied the Spanish style of strutting from the guitar that Sor left behind, as the earliest Panormo guitars using this method date from about 1819. Panormo used Spruce for these bars, firstly because of its vibrating quality, and secondly it complemented his spruce and pine tables. In doing so, Panormo produced guitars which were not to be surpassed in nineteenth century England (Plate 28).

There were many variants of this technique, and Antonio Torres, the creator of the modern guitar, used it as the basis for his own

a. Eighteenth Century Strutting.

b. Spanish Style of Fan strutting.

c. Torres Fan Strutting.
system, which included additional bars, plus two semi-lateral ones at the tail piece, and others in the region of the soundhole (Plate 28).

C. The Neck.

a. Fitting the Neck to the Body.
b. Fingerboard.
c. Fretting.
d. The Head.

a. Fitting the Neck to the Body.

The joining of the neck to the body is a complicated matter, and the tone and durability of the instrument depends on the correctness of this aspect of construction. Its art mainly relies on the properties of the wood and the techniques employed.

Panormo preferred mahogany, but occasionally used other woods, particularly that of fruit trees. Mahogany is a hard wood, and therefore holds less water. The less water a wood holds the less likely that swelling and shrinking occurs, and mahogany does have a low shrinkage value. Thus, necks made out of mahogany are less susceptible to warping.

Methods of joining the neck to the body have changed in design over a long period of time. Panormo adopted the Spanish method of slipping the sides into grooves in the end block, with its slipper
foot. He did not, however, use the Spanish heel, but preferred one which sloped, similar to the French method (Plate 29).

b. Fingerboard.

The separate fingerboard was a result of an increase in the length of the guitar's neck, which was unable to withstand the tension of the strings. Warping, therefore, occurred, and it became necessary to stiffen the neck - thus a separate fingerboard was introduced.

The choice of wood is crucial, and Panormo used ebony. It is hard enough to stand wear, tough enough to be able to grip the frets, and has a low shrinkage value. Panormo fingerboards were raised above the belly, and extended to the soundhole. This is important, because it gives the neck and body joint additional strength. (Plate 30). The width of the fingerboard at the nut on Panormo guitars is usually 4.5cm, which is slightly less, in comparison, to his contemporaries Pages 5.0 cm, and Perfumo 4.9 cm.

c. Fretting.

Early frets were made of gut, but in the eighteenth century ivory and ebony were used. These were eventually replaced by metal ones. Panormo used brass rectangular frets, and set the twelfth level with the body. He also increased the number to eighteen, which gave a string length varying between 62.9cm and 64.0cm.
a. French heel.
b. Spanish heel.
A Guitar made by Louis for the guitarist Verini.

Courtesy of Wilfred Appleby.
The nut of his guitars was a rectangular piece of bone, which Panormo believed could combine both functions of holding the strings the required distance apart, and the correct height above the fret. He did not apply to any of his guitars an extra fret near the nut to keep the strings the required height.

d. The Head.

The problem with a mahogany neck and ebony fingerboard is that it makes the whole very heavy, and the heavier the neck the less efficient it is in transmitting vibrations. To resolve this problem, Panormo used maple for his heads. This very strong wood enabled him to cut away large pieces, to compensate for the weight of the neck and machine heads. He assembled this head to the neck by means of a large V joint, referred to as a Spanish pegbox joint.

During the eighteenth century wooden tuning pegs were gradually being replaced by metal ones, adjusted by gears, called machine heads. Panormo capitalised on this new development, and fitted brass machine heads, made either by G. Rance or William Baker. Baker appears to have made accessories for musical instrument makers as well as producing some of his own wind instruments. He lived at various London addresses:

1841 - 1843: 41, New Peter Street, Westminster.
1843 - 1845: 10, New Peter Street, Westminster.
1845 - 1861: 8, Dorset Place, Vauxhall.
1866 - 1867: Bridge Road, South West.
1867 - 1870: 13, Hugh Place, Vincent Street, Westminster.
The construction of the neck, head and fingerboard, on Panormo guitars, was far superior to the Spanish instrument that he copied. The neck rarely warped, the fingerboard had an easy action and withstood use, the head was a practical, but elegant shape, and the whole transmitted the vibrations of the instrument.

D. The Bridge.

The importance of the bridge must not be overlooked, as it has two primary functions; to withstand the tension of the strings, and transmit vibrations in a series of concentric rings to all parts of the table. In the eighteenth century, the typical bridge was heavily ornamented, a technique abandoned by later guitar makers.

Luthiers also experimented with different methods of securing the strings. Lacote favoured passing them over an ivory fillet into a hole, and secured by a pin. This type of pin bridge was also used by Panormo, but instead of using a fillet he let the strings pass over the front part of the bridge, and used this as his saddle.

Panormo preferred to use ebony, cut from quarter sawn timber for his bridges and developed two types — one with a concaved top and another with a rectangular cut-out (Plate 31).

Panormo did, however, allow himself some minor decoration. On either side of the bridge he placed ebony or inlaid mother-of-pearl Lozenge shapes, which highly characterised his instruments (Plate 32).
Panormo Bridge

a) Concaved.

b) Rectangular.

Bridge from the Verini guitar made by Panormo in 1840.
CHAPTER TWO: A Survey of Improvements To The Guitar.

I. General Thomas Perronet Thompson (1783 - 1869) and Temperament.

II. Thomas Howell: Improvements to the Spanish Guitar.

III. The Ventura Guitar.

IV. Bates, Tilly and Gerard.

V. Contributions to the Increase of Volume.

VI. Developments to the Neck and Fingerboard.

VII. Guitars with Extra Strings.

VIII. General Improvements.
I. General Thomas Perronet Thompson (1783-1869) and Temperament.

A. Temperament.

B. The Enharmonic Guitar.

A. Temperament.

General Thomas Thompson's (Plate 33) contribution to
guitar development emanates from his literary articles in The
Westminster Review, an influential and learned journal, and his
more important: Instructions To My Daughter For Playing On The
Enharmonic Guitar; being an attempt to effect the execution of
correct harmony, on principles analogous to those of the ancient
Enharmonic. This latter work displays Thompson's over-riding
interest in accuracy, measurement, and mathematics. The object
was to prove from the Greek writers on music that the enharmonic was
an unsuccessful attempt at obtaining correct harmony, under all
changes of the key. His own review began: 'This is a piece of
musical radicalism; it will succeed in the end if it is right.'

The first evidence of Thompson's interest in temperament
comes in early 1828, when he visited Cambridge and met his old friend
Professor Turton: 'I was talking about some of my maggots on musical
ratios to Turton who was a great speculator in musical mathematics
before he was a professor of divinity; and he counsels me if he
thinks I have discovered anything on the subject, by all means to go
on. I think I shall blow up temperament.'

1. Thompson, T.P. Enharmonic of the Ancients: In The Westminster Review
   (London, Jan/April 1832), xvi, p.429.
2. Johnson, L.G. General T. Perronet Thompson 1783-1869 (London 1957),
   pp.136 - 137.
However, Thompson's interest appears to have been mathematical: 'I feel rather disposed to rejoice that I am out of the way of your musical unwisdom. Nothing so utterly breaks me down as lots of concerts, even one is for most part a burthen. The truth is I have little or no music in me, for a zeal to be pottering about musical ratios etc., is algebra not music.'

But why did Thompson choose the guitar to develop his ideas? 'I rejoice to hear of Emily's (Thompson's sister) cultivating the guitar; because I meditate discoveries upon the cithara, to which I mean to apply myself when the corn laws are out of my head. It is our (who else) intention to recover the ancient enharmonic and beat Cornelius Scriblerus all to pieces. Between ourselves, it is just as clear, that all the ancients said about enharmonic meant neither more nor less than playing in tune - as it would be if the wheels of something like a watch had been found in Herculaneum, that it had been intended to procure a regular motion, and not an irregular one. And I wax perfectly wroth at the folly of Aristoenus, who laughed at Pythoras' ratios on the ground that harmony was the matter to be determined by the ear and not by mathematics.... Upon all which, I mean to write a book for the use of young ladies.'

The book finally appeared in 1829, and after publication Thompson replied to a favourable review of his work in *The Giulianiad*, and developed further his reasons for choosing the guitar: 'The

2. Johnson, op. cit. p.139.
Thomas P. Thompson

Courtesy Hull University.
Guitarists seem at length to be breaking out into a knowledge of the capabilities of their instrument, and to be in a fair way of establishing that as it was the first upon which musical theory was exercised, so it will end by being the schoolmaster to perhaps all the others in leading them to the practice of the long-sought correct harmony.  

Thompson, like so many other nineteenth century composers for the guitar, chose to disguise his theories in the form of an instruction book, which was far too difficult for the above-average amateur, let alone the "young lady". Moreover, its arduous nature probably accounts for its later fall from popularity, although initially it did experience some degree of success. 'Please do let us know if you can supply us with some copies of your most ingenious introduction book for the enharmonic guitar. We cannot get a single copy at D'Almaines.'

What is the last price (sic) you could let us have 2 of the instruments?

For the rest of his life, Thompson never ceased to be interested by the mathematical problems of music, and in later years had an enharmonic organ built to produce more accurate tuning, and therefore, more agreeable harmony. It was exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851, and can now be seen in the Science Museum, London.

2. A very respected nineteenth century publisher.  
Much later, Thompson admitted that the title of his book was perhaps a little misleading, but as to its importance he was in no doubt. In a letter to the trustees of the British Museum, dated 3rd March, 1853, he wrote: 'I have the honour to offer a copy of a work, published several years ago, which notwithstanding the apparently trivial title is in reality a work of considerable research on what may be denominated the mathematics of music.'

B. The Enharmonic Guitar.

Thompson referred to equal temperament as: 'A barbarous invention for saving trouble while playing out of tune; for playing in many keys, by playing in no key at all; for trying how much discordance the ear can be induced to bear, instead of how much harmony it can be accustomed to demand.'

While it is true that perfect tuning has always been a stumbling block for the instrument-maker since fixed frets were introduced, the fingerboard of Thompson's enharmonic guitar (Plate 34) created even more problems for Louis Panormo, who made the instruments at 10 guineas each.

To resolve the temperament problem, Thompson applied his theories on just intonation to the arranging of the frets on the

fingerboard. Instead of dividing the scale in the normal way, he split the octave into 53 sections, which corresponded with the 53 degrees of what he called 'The Approximate Scale'. Therefore, to be able to play in one key on the guitar, the positions of the intervals and frets are found along this new scale. This process is repeated for all other keys, and the resulting positions are noted. To be able to cover all the possibilities, Thompson found it necessary to divide the guitar into 59 divisions.

Each of these divisions was called a bar, drawn across the fingerboard, and each of these bars had 12 holes arranged in six pairs, to accommodate one fret for each string. These frets were of a hoop shape, and wide enough to serve one string (Plate 34, figure 3).

On the head of the guitar (Plate 35) is a plaque, where the required key is inscribed. Once this has been done, the fingerboard is fretted for the chosen key. These frets are of a 'blue temper', and Thompson suggested that 150 would be a reasonable number. Those blue temper frets are used for all notes except those that occur on adjacent bars, in which case, brass frets are employed in the position near the bridge. There are 20 of these brass frets, which are filed down so that when the string is depressed on the fret above it does not catch them.

When a new key is required, additional fret positions are used, as some of the notes of the new key do not correspond to those of the old. These additional frets are white. However, it is unnecessary to add frets for all the different notes of the new key;
The Fingerboard Of The Enharmonic Guitar.

Courtesy of the British Library.
only those that are required in the music should be provided for.¹

This fretboard can have only created enormous problems for Panormo, and he is the only luthier thought to have made Enharmonic guitars. Moreover, the dimensions for this instrument are different from his other guitars.²

Measurements:

Overall length ... 98 cm.
Body length ...... 48 cm.
Upper bout ....... 30 cm.
Lower bout ....... 36.5 cm.
Body Depth ....... 8.5 cm.

Materials:

Body: ............... Rosewood
Head: ............... Ornate carved maple head.
Bridge: ............. Ebony and ivory pin bridge.

While the shape of this pin bridge is different from those normally found on Panormo guitars, the design of the heel, and its attachment to the body, conforms with his other instruments. Moreover, the cost of an Enharmonic guitar at 10 guineas would appear reasonable, considering the difficulties of constructing the

¹. Turnbull, op. cit. p.76.
². Details taken from the Enharmonic guitar in The Karl Marx Museum.
The Enharmonic Guitar.

By courtesy of the British Library.
fingerboard, but Evans argues that the price would have been an added disincentive to prospective purchasers.¹

Thompson's treatise and Enharmonic guitar did meet with some success, but he was not without his critics: 'It will be well that improvement be made in the intonation of performers on the guitar but it is obvious that the ear must be the guide and that those who trust to marks for particular notes will ever be in error. If the player had the musical faculty and practised the instrument as violinists do theirs without any guide but the ear, there would be no occasion for the clever and amusing treatise we have just perused.'²

¹. Evans, T. and M.A. Guitars From The Renaissance To Rock (London 1977) p.50.
II. Thomas Howell: Improvements to the Spanish Guitar.

A. Introduction.

B. Certain Improvements In Musical Instruments.

A. Introduction.

Thomas Howell was born in Bristol on 1st September 1783. His father was a flutist, and apparently: 'The first person to open a regular establishment for the sale of instruments and music at Bristol.'

The addresses were as follows:

1784 - 1790: St. John's Street.
1790 - 1808: 12, Clare Street.

At the age of fourteen, Thomas was apprenticed to his father, but later had music lessons with Dr. Thomas Busby. There were other tutors, but in his letter to Sainsbury, he stated: 'I will pass over their names in silence; as I cannot speak in their praise I will not blight their reputation by censure.'

Howell's experience of poor tutors made him very critical of books of instruction on music, and he considered them 'too desultory a manner'. He therefore, in 1813, introduced his Musical

2. R.D. 84. Item 107. loc. cit. fol. 2.
Game, designed for use with children, who could scarcely read: 'By its use the notes will speedily become as familiar as the alphabet.'

There followed a series of similar compositions. Judging from Howell's trade card, (Plate 36) his principal instruments were piano and violin. There is no mention of the guitar, and it appears that his interest began when he first met Joseph Anelli around 1825. They performed duets for guitar and violin by Howell, at the Clifton Assembly Rooms, in February 1826, and in 1828 when these compositions were published, it was claimed that they were the first of their kind for this medium by an English composer.

After his father's death, Howell continued the music business at the following addresses:

12, Clare Street, 1808 - 1818
13, Clare Street, 1818 - 1839
55, Park Street, 1839 - 1859

B. Certain Improvements In Musical Instruments.

Howell's inventions relate to two different groups of instruments: The string family and the Spanish guitar. While it is true that Howell was a respectable performer on the violin, evidence does not suggest that he played the guitar. Moreover, the original ideas may not have been those of Howell, but of his close friend, Anelli. Anelli had always referred to the guitar as a

Howell's Trade Card.

Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Romantic instrument, and felt that the line of the guitar should evoke this feeling. Anelli outlined his own inventions in 1825, but these were never patented.

Howell, however, was granted six months licence for his patent, 'Certain Improvements In Musical Instruments', on 21st December 1835, but it is not recorded in the Chapel Rolls until 1836.

The first of Howell's ideas related to an increase in the length of the neck of the guitar. 'The object of such lengthening of the neck, from that part thereof which is glued or affixed to the body of the instrument, is to obtain greater facility to the player and greater command over the strings.'

This increase meant a total of nineteen frets, in comparison with the eighteen of Panormo, and established a string length of 64.5cm. In effect, the type of guitar that Howell was advocating, was generally larger than those by Panormo, and similar at times to those of Torres:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Panormo 1843</th>
<th>Howell 1835/6</th>
<th>Torres 1883</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall length</td>
<td>94cm</td>
<td>92.1cm</td>
<td>99cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>String length</td>
<td>62.9cm</td>
<td>64.5cm</td>
<td>65cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body length</td>
<td>44.8cm</td>
<td>38.7cm</td>
<td>48cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper bout</td>
<td>22.9cm</td>
<td>22.8cm</td>
<td>27.2cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waist</td>
<td>17.8cm</td>
<td>19.5cm</td>
<td>23.4cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower bout</td>
<td>28.9cm</td>
<td>29.7cm</td>
<td>36cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frets</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Patent Rolls C54/11440 No. 6964.
2. These measurements are taken from a guitar that Louis took out to New Zealand with him. It is now in the possession of his Great, Great Granddaughter, Thelma Clarke.
At the base of the guitar(s) Figure 3 (Plate 37), Howell constructed the end in a concaved manner, which he argued would: "Offer convenience of holding not found in guitars having the end convexed as is usually the case." But, it is unclear how this would improve the ease of holding the instrument. Moreover, like Ventura, Howell had not realised that changing the line of the guitar in this manner would seriously affect the overall tone, yet he was aware of how the internal construction affected the sound and volume. Figure 4 (Plate 38) which shows part of the section of a guitar, clearly illustrates this:

- **c** is part of the belly
- **d** the back
- **e** the hoop by which the belly and back are combined:
- **f** is the improved lining on which the belly and back are glued, the lining proceeding as usual round the body of the instrument.

'This lining is constructed by means of a series of layers of veneer glued together in a frame of the figure or shape of the Spanish guitar. These linings thus formed and applied, add considerable strength and renders the instrument more durable; and by this arrangement I am enabled to use three bars only to secure the belly of the instrument by which there will be obtained more vibration than on the old plan. I place a bar to rest on the blocks at each end of the instrument and the third bar near the soundhole.'

Other contemporary guitar makers used a single piece of willow or

PLATE 37

HOWELLS SPECIFICATION.

FIG. 3.

Thomas Howell's Spanish Guitar
Courtesy of the Science Library, London.
poplar, and modern luthiers cut slots in these linings called 'kerfing', to be able to bend them to the required shape.

Furthermore, by only using three bars, Howell was greatly reducing the transmission of vibrations, for the purpose of these bars was to support and give rigidity to the belly, and hold the ribs in position. Moreover, as these bars ran traversely to the length of the body, they tended to carry the vibrations to the side of the instrument, and not to the soundboard as a whole.

Howell also advocated applying a tailpiece to the guitar, similar to those used on violins, that is, having holes and slips instead of pegs, as was the practice. By pegs, Howell was referring to the pin bridge, and although an interesting idea, he had not decided on the most successful way of attaching this: 'But I would remark, that I do not claim the affixing such a tail piece to the belly of Spanish guitars by gouing the same thereto, as the ordinary tailpiece or bridge of Spanish guitars has therefore been so affixed.'

The lyre head that Howell recommended had no particular function other than to give the guitar a more elegant shape.

III. The Ventura Guitar.

Angelo Benedetto Ventura,² (d. 1856), inventory, composer, teacher, and concert artist, came to London sometime before 1815.

2. For an account of all Ventura's inventions of Bonner, S: Angelo Benedetto Ventura (Bois de Boulogne 1971).
The lining from Howell's guitar.

Courtesy of the Science Library, London.
Initially he was very successful, and became tutor to Princess Charlotte of Wales, but later in life he was neglected.

He was the inventor of numerous guitar-like instruments - the most important to this study being his **Ventura Guitar**.

Ventura first applied for a patent on February 21st 1828: 'A grant unto Angelo Benedetto Ventura of Cirencester Place, Fitzroy Square, in the County of Middlesex, Professor of Music, for his "Certain Improvements On The Harp Lute and Spanish Guitar", to hold for six months.'

Ventura made several modifications to the guitar (Plate 39). At the top of the body, on either side of the fingerboard, are two half circle cut-outs for the convenience of the performer when playing in the higher positions. Ventura, unlike Howell, was unconcerned about improving the appearance of the guitar. Moreover, he may not have realised that changing the shape of the instrument seriously affects the tone, which is perhaps more important than the accessibility of the higher frets.

Ventura also added a seventh string, and although other luthiers experimented with the same idea, his was different: 'The seventh string is a longer string than any of the others and is attached to a machine called the diatonic hereafter described, which machine is fixed at the right side of the neck of the instrument at the extremity of the top.' This diatonic machine is interesting when analysed:

27 •••••• is the trigger of the diatonic machine acting by a spring, which causes the diatonic by another spring to catch and hold the seventh or long string, thereby altering the tone from one note to another or flat or sharp.

28 •••••• is the spring to the trigger.

29 •••••• the diatonic spring

30 •••••• the diatonic

31 •••••• is 27, 28, 29 and 30 combined.

32 •••••• is a complete representation of the diatonic machine

(Plate 39)

The location of this diatonic machine meant that Ventura had to position the tuning machines of the other six strings on one side of the head, an idea which had already been developed by Johann Georg Staufer.

Unlike the Spanish guitar, the neck of Ventura's instrument was hollow, and made of metal or hard wood, to admit the necessary machinery called the Venturini, devised to: 'Alter the tone of six of the strings, the machine being fixed under the neck of the instrument so as to act upon the six strings above the frets or bars of the fingerboard.'¹ The Venturini is made of brass, steel or other metal, with three moving pillars, and a piece of metal or wood at the top, lined underneath with leather, with a hole in the middle to fix on the top of each pillar; the three pillars moving at the same time, by means of pressing a spring at the back of the neck with the thumb.

The figurations make this clearer:

¹ Patent, loc. cit. 054/10540 R.42.
20 ...... is a representation of the Venturini.

21 ...... is one of the pieces to fix onto the pillars.

22 ...... An outside pillar.

23 ...... the middle pillar, with a double crank to move the three pillars at the same time.

24 ...... A bar attached to the cranks of the three pillars, to make them turn on a swivel.

25 ...... is the back of the Venturini representing the nut which is pressed, and the quarter circle that regulates the moving of the pillars on the swivel.

26 ...... The spring to raise and lower the Venturini, by being pressed with the thumb (Plate 39).

A second set of figurations gives the impression that he was not entirely sure about the design of his Venturini:

33 ...... is the representation of the Venturini made in another way to act upon the six strings by a turning lever.

34 ...... is one of the turning levers:

35 ...... a representation of the neck of the instrument with the ends of the turning levers outside the neck.

Ventura's whole thesis centred around the improvement of sound, and figure 36 shows a rounded back, devised for just this purpose.

Moreover, he introduced a Ponte Volante or shifting bridge, fixed at the bottom of the instrument under which he placed a small machine,
The Ventura Guitar, Venturini, Diatonic machine and Ponte Volante.

touching the springs attached to the string bridge, which imitated the sound of the bassoon. Both these devices are represented by the letter L, and were also used on his improvements to the harp lute.¹ (Plate 39)

Ventura also made it clear; 'I do not confine myself altogether to the shape and make of my instruments, nor to the different machines herein described as my inventions, as the same will admit of various modifications.'²

IV. Bates, Tilly and Gerard.

A. Theodore Charles Bates.
B. Alfred Tilly.
C. Joseph Gerard.

A. Theodore Charles Bates.

Theodore Bates was a music dealer, engraver, publisher and maker of guitars, pianos and organs. He lived at various London addresses:

About 1812 .......... St. John Street, Smithfield;
1813 .......... 7, Jerusalem Passage, Smithfield;
1814-1824...... 20, St. John's Square, Smithfield;
1820-1824...... Additional premises: 18, Holywell Street, and 490, Oxford Street.

1. Ventura's harp lute became quite popular, but there is no real evidence to suggest that his guitar met with similar success.
2. Patents, loc. cit. 054/10540.
Between 1824 and 1833, he was a partner in the firm of Chappell, Longman and Bates, after which, he worked alone until 1847. Between 1847 and 1863 the firm was known as Bates and Son.

The only account of a guitar made by Bates appears in a letter to Wilfred Appleby, and even then it is impossible to comment on its construction: 'Sometime ago I picked up cheaply in a junk shop a guitar. I believe it is a fairly old instrument, Label, Manufactured by Theodore Bates, 6 Ludgate Hill - pin bridge, bone rollers, ornamented with roses round the soundhole and body. Shape of body similar to that of Lacote.'

E. Alfred Tilly.

There is very little information about Tilly, and like Bates, the only reference to a guitar appears in a letter to Appleby, but it does give some clear information. The label reads: 'Warranted Manufactured with all the latest improvements by Alfred Tilly, 1855. Above this legend appears a heraldic device consisting of a shield surmounted by a crown, the whole flanked by two lions.

The improvements appear to consist mainly of a grooved or scalloped fingerboard, apparently with the idea that this treatment would facilitate fingerling.

The machines are elaborately engraved with real ivory buttons and barrels. The edge of the soundboard is decorated with beautiful mother-of-pearl inlay in the form of circles and diamonds.

1. Ms. letter to Appleby from A. Munhall, April 5th 1949.
Back is in one piece, seemingly of maple or some other light coloured wood; sides and fingerboard are of rosewood; top is of spruce, bridge is of ebony with heads of pins (also of ebony) inlaid with mother-of-pearl.

Workmanship throughout is of the most exquisite. String length is 65.5 cm, and the tone is deep, clear and sonorous. The instrument is in a handmade sole-leather case lined with red-plush; the case opens at the end and the flap is secured with an ingenious nickel-plated clasp which looks like a key lock, but which opens at the touch of a fingernail in the right place.¹

This scalloped fingerboard was not a new invention, as it had been very popular in the 1840's. It is thought that Rene Lacote first developed the idea, but this has never been substantiated. The spaces between the frets are scooped out, and the crest of this scoop is flush with the fret bar.

Supporters of this kind of fingerboard believed that they were much easier to play upon, and facilitated the execution of the glissando and portamento. However, they did present problems of intonation if the finger pressed the string into the trough. Moreover, there was excessive wear on the bass strings, as they were constantly dragged over the crest of each scoop by the pressure of the fingers (Plate 40).

¹ Ms. letter to Wilfred Appleby from M. Linsley Jan. 18th 1955.
Scalloped Fingerboard
C. Joseph Gerard.

Joseph Gerard, like Guiot, was quite a successful guitar maker. His earliest extant guitar dates from about 1820. It was made for Ferdinand Pelzer, and was used by his daughter Josepha. The measurements suggest a small instrument:

Measurements:

Overall length ...... 88.4 cm
Width (Lower bout)... 31.4 cm
Depth .................. 8.4 cm
String length ....... 59.0 cm.

Materials:

Table:... Pine with eleven lines of ebony/ivory purfling on the edge and around soundhole.
Bridge... Ebony pin bridge:
Back and sides:..Rosewood:
Fingerboard:...Ebony
Frets: ...17 metal:
Head: ...Black with brass machines.
Mother of pearl cartouche at the top.

Another guitar by Gerard, in The Royal College of Music, dates from around 1840. (Plate 41)
Guitar by Joseph Gerard C 1840.

Courtesy of The Royal College of Music.
V. Contributions To The Increase Of Volume.

Introduction.

A. Resonance.

B. Soundboard Construction.

C. Internal Alterations and Additions to the Body.

Introduction.

The problem of sound production has occupied luthiers and undergone constant experimentation over many years. It is one of the most interesting aspects of guitar construction, and perhaps remains the most crucial factor to the would-be luthier.

There are many aspects affecting sound production, and these have been clearly defined by Mcleod and Welford: 'Shape and size of body; acoustic quality of woods used; the thinness or relative thinness of body members; detail and type of fan strutting; type and fit of the joints made – the kind of glue used; shape, thickness and length of the fingerboard; design of the bridge, bridge saddle and top nut; length and guage of strings and size of soundhole.' Many guitar makers in the first half of the nineteenth century were becoming aware of these factors, and in the second half, with the emergence of

the larger Torres guitar, a new period of guitar construction began.

Luthiers in England, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, also began to look at these, and other factors, in a completely new light, and perhaps some of their strange ideas reflect the frustration of makers in trying to improve sound production. Moreover, several of their ideas were universal, and could be applied to different kinds of stringed instruments.

A. Resonance

George Jaque, in 1856, tried to obtain: 'A resonance from the interior strings, by means of sympathy with the strings of the instrument as they are struck or touched.'¹ Jaque mounted on a box, 6 double strings, attached in such a way that they could be tuned by means of pegs and nuts in the ordinary manner. These strings were made of wire or other suitable material, and tuned in unison to their counterparts. This separate box was then inserted through a suitable opening in the guitar, which could be closed afterwards in the end or side of the instrument, and secured in place by means of grooves, catches and screws.

Much later, in 1902, a similar idea was introduced by R. F. Flemming, but it was more complicated. It consisted of strengthening-pieces for the frames, and a central longitudinal strut within the body of the guitar, having the neck attached to it, and internal wires, approximately parallel to the strut, so as to resonate

with the strings that are played.

An analysis of the figurations of Flemming's diagram makes his idea much clearer. (Plate 42)

Figure 2.

The back 1, sides 3, and front of the body, are secured together by glue and corner stay-strips. These are completely different from the normal linings of a guitar, in the sense that they run the whole depth of the body.

To these stay-strips are secured four arms 6, on the head-block 5, and four arms 8, on the foot-block 7. The grain of the wood is in the direction of these arms. In the body of the guitar are transverse bars 9, which Flemming called 'stiffeners'.

Figure 6.

The neck 10, carrying the usual head and fingerboard, has a circular hub 13, (normally called the heel) fitting into a hole in the head 5, and receives, and is secured to, the end of the central strut 40. The lower end of the fingerboard is supported clear of the lower end of the neck, and the upper end of the front of the body 2, while the neck carries a metal plate 15, pressing tightly on the front.
Figure 2.

To the reinforcing plates 19, are attached by means of studs 20, the internal strings, which pass over the bridges 22, 23, to tuning keys 24, on the arm 25.

Figure 12.

Each of these tuning keys consists of a stem 27, with a collar 26, a square head 28, and an upper threaded part 29, terminating in a smaller square head 30, by means of which the key is rotated, to tighten the strings, whose end passes through the hole 31a. There are two washers 32, which have circular holes passing freely over the square portion 28, and another 31, which fits that portion. The nut 33, is chambered out at its lower end, and has a milled head 34.¹

Figure 2.

Through bearings in the lugs 34, on the bridge 23, fixed to the stiffener 9, the rod 35 can be rotated or slid by means of an external button B. It is placed below the strings 21, and carries a picker arm 36, which is held in a recess 37, when not in use, but can be moved to pluck each of the internal strings and sound them for tuning purposes.

Flemming's ideas were certainly far in advance of Jaque's,
A Resonator by R. F. Flemming 1902

Courtesy of the Science Library, London.
particularly in the availability and ease of tuning the internal strings, but it appears that both men had not really understood or studied the principles of resonance as applied to the guitar. If a note is played, the intensity of the harmonics falls off rapidly in the higher orders, so that the ninth harmonic makes no effective contribution. Therefore, in the upper/middle portions of the guitar, there are fewer possibilities of resonance, and it is perhaps for this reason that Jaque added: 'Although one string will produce a certain amount of effect, a far better resonance will be obtained when the strings of the interior box embrace a poly-chord chromatic octave.'

Other types of resonators, other than strings, were also introduced. Henry Dixon and C. de Murrieta, were working on similar ideas. Dixon developed a resonating bowl, and patented his ideas on the 27th December 1890. His object was: 'To increase the volume of sound and render the tone soft and mellow.' He submitted two diagrams to support his patent (Plate 43).

Figure 1.

This shows the body of the guitar 10, constructed in the normal way. Near its lower end just beyond the soundhole 11, is located a vertical post 12, either square or round in cross-section, which is held in place by its own bearing or glue. Directly below the soundhole 11, is glued a circular foot piece 13, in which is a hole

designed to receive the extremity of a circular post 14, having a vertical socket 15, in its upper extremity in which is fitted the stem of a cup-shaped metal sound distributor 16.

In the opposing sides of the pose 12, 14, are formed aligning sockets, to receive the reduced extremities of a horizontal bar, which serves to transmit the vibrations of the metallic cup 16, to the post 12, and the body of the guitar.

Figure 2.

Figure 2 shows a modified construction of the resonator. The sound distributor 16, is substituted by a resonator, constructed of a metal spring in inverted spiral form, thus giving the resonator a cup-shaped appearance, like that of resonator 16, but presenting an increased surface for the impact of the sound waves.

Dixon believed that as the strings were vibrated, the sound waves would be caught and reflected by the cup-shape resonator, and distributed to the back and front of the instrument through the posts, foot piece, and connecting bar thus greatly increasing the volume of sound, and by such distribution, softening the tones to a marked and pleasing degree.

Murrieta's resonator of 1907 was much simpler. It consisted of a tube C, either made of metal, wood or glass, which was inserted through the soundhole and reached almost to the back of

Dixon's Resonating Bowl.

the guitar. This tube was secured either by fitting tightly into the soundhole or being fixed by means of a flange d, and adhesive material or by means of lugs and pins (Plate 44).

One other approach to increased resonance was developed by L. Lubbe, in January 1900. (Plate 45). Figure one shows the base of the neck and the adjacent block e, perforated as at a, and b, in which f, and g, represent the belly and back diagrammatically. However, as the top block in the guitar performs the added function of taking the joint of the neck, it is unclear from Lubbe's instructions whether or not the actual method of attachment would have to be changed. Moreover, these perforations raise serious doubts as to the durability of the instrument once it has been strung.

B. Soundboard Construction.

The two most important factors in soundboard construction are the use of straight grained softwood and the thickness of the table, usually 2 - 3mm. However, it would appear that both these factors were generally ignored in England, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century and, with the exception of John Schucht, belly improvements were in the direction of additional soundboards, and not the cultivation of existing ideas.

Schucht looked afresh at soundboard construction, and on 15th September 1868, he patented his ideas. It was an attempt to make the
C. de Murrieta's resonator.

L. Lubbe's resonator

Courtesy of the Science Library, London.
table of the guitar of alternate pieces of hard and soft wood.
Schucht recommended beech and poplar, and suggested that they
should be 3mm in thickness, depending on their position on the
soundboard, relative to the bass or treble side of the guitar.
He was obviously aware that the bass side of the instrument responds
much better if it is fractionally thicker than the treble. Moreover,
Schucht advocated that the strips of wood from the inner part of the
tree are to be used for the treble end of the soundboard, and those
from the outer end for the bass.

These strips of wood were glued in juxtaposition, the
softwood being twice the width of the hard, with the grain running
the length of the body. The table bars which Schucht referred to
as 'stiffening' bars, were also constructed in a similar manner.

Schucht had not understood that the higher the specific
gravity of the wood the poorer the resonance, and beech has a
specific gravity of 0.64. Moreover, by placing such small pieces
of wood of differing density, he seriously affected the transverse
vibrations of the soundboard.

George Hulskamp in 1862, also experimented with hardwoods
for the soundboard, but met with little success. Much later, in 1885,
I. Glazebrook inserted an extra belly into the guitar. It was the
same contour as the instrument and supported by soundposts.
C. Internal Alterations and Additions to the Body.

Henry Bell, in 1856, worked on similar ideas to those of Glazebrook, but used different materials. Bell preferred a rectangular piece of crystal or plate glass, carried transversely in the body of the instrument (Place 46).

The position of this plate is parallel to the back, and belly of the instrument, with its convex surface turned towards the back. This plate is supported by the blocks, which are cut to give support to one surface of it. These bearing surfaces are held between pieces of chamois leather, which are glued to the blocks. A second is then fitted to the opposite surface.

In violins, he suggested the plate should be perforated to accommodate the soundpost, but Bell does not state whether or not he cut a soundhole in the sheet, or added a soundpost to the guitar. However, he believed: 'The tone of the instrument is improved by the vibration of the plate or sheet.'

A more curious idea was introduced by N.C.I. de Laphateque in 1857. He suggested that the belly and the back of the guitar be connected by a small frame, in which are inserted one or more vanes or diaphragms, fixed to a spindle. The spindle could then be moved from the outside, to set the vanes at any required position so as to modify the sound of the instrument.

Bell's internal crystal soundboard.

Winder and Temple's tail piece.

Courtesy of the Science Library, London.
An external addition to the body was introduced by John G. Winder and William G. Temple in 1899. Their object was an improved tailpiece, combined with an arrangement to increase the volume of tone at will, by bringing pressure to bear on the strings between the tailpiece C, figure 2, and the bridge of the guitar (Plate 47).

Figure 2 also shows the strings tied round a grooved crossbar a, and the pressure was applied by a crossbar e, carried by arms f, pivoted in lugs b, by means of the screw i, and nut k.

Figure 3 illustrates how these strings were secured by studs C², and pass through grooves c³, in the tailpiece G¹; the pressure is applied by the crossbar e, carried by bell-crank levers f², f³ on turning the screw f⁶.

VI. Developments to the Neck and Fingerboard.

A. Keys and Keyboards.


A. Keys and Keyboards.

Several luthiers had experimented with the idea of attaching keys or keyboards to the fingerboard. In 1845, Robert Brooks worked on the principle of removing the frets, and replacing them with keys which would press down the strings to hold them in place, but he was unsuccessful. Later, in 1887, a similar idea was introduced by
G. Finniear. In figure 1 of his diagram (Plate 48) Finniear shows that the keys slide in holes in a flat board to the underside of which they are attached by springs. These keys are arranged in rows, so as to stop the strings at the proper places. The ends which touch the strings are flattened, and covered with leather or any suitable material. The keyboard is attached to the fingerboard by screws c, which screw into the nut near the head, and is supported at the other end by a metal plate as in figure 5.

S. F. Dalladay also developed a similar key device, but it was very clumsy. It was actually attached to the fingerboard. (Plate 49).

In 1890, W. W. Horn approached the keyboard question in a completely different manner. He developed a frame $c^1 - c^1$, and secured it to the neck by set screws $a, a$. This frame had a number of standards $D$, on which were pivoted spring levers $B$, operated by keys $A$. These levers had downward projecting forks $p^1$ which stopped various combinations of the strings, thus producing chords. The levers also had laterally projecting rods $B^1$, carrying forks for the same purpose. $H$ is a thumbpiece for steadying the hand (Plate 50).


Lindemann's aim was to make it easier to play the guitar,
Finniear's keyboard.

Dalladay's key device.

Horn's frame

Courtesy of the Science Library, London.
and in 1894 he patented his ideas. He developed a mechanical damping or stopping device, either on the neck or on the body of the instrument, by which any string or number of strings could be stopped, so that the remainder of the strings, when struck, produced a chord (Plate 51). Thus, stopping with the fingers was dispensed with.

These devices were actuated in a variety of ways. In figure 3 each stopping device a is pivoted at one end to a pillar secured to the body of the instrument, and is held away from the strings by a spring C, until pushed down by the finger.

In figure 6, the stop a is held off the strings by two springs C–C, and is pushed down by the hinged lever 2.

Figure 8 shows that stop a is below the strings and is pushed upwards against springs C–C by a rod 0, and levers 2.

Figure 11 shows an arrangement provided in the neck of an instrument. The stops may be disposed so that they require to be rotated to damp the strings or may be arranged to be moved endwise for a similar purpose.

To enable unskilled persons to perform on his instrument, Lindemann introduced suitably marked sheets placed under the strings as in figure 1, or over them as in figure 5. The sheet f, in figure 1, has marks or signs under the various strings, which show the sequence in which they are to be plucked. The sheet V, in figure 5, is placed over the strings, and is perforated at various parts to expose a string or strings.
The work of Lindemann

Courtesy of the Science Library.
VII. Guitars With Extra Strings.

A. Hermann Lindemann and Jaroslav Pribyl.

B. Harp Guitars.

A. Hermann Lindemann and Jaroslav Pribyl.

The idea of guitars with extra strings has fascinated luthiers for years. Rene Lacote, of Paris, developed a guitar with four extra bass strings during the 1820's, whilst Johann Staufer produced a similar instrument which Regondi used. J. G. Schirzer and Vissenaire also made guitars with extra strings, whilst others, like Levien of Paris, constructed harp-guitars.

In England, Barry and Edward Light developed harp-lute and harp-guitars, but these did not really reflect the main stream instrument. Furthermore, although Ventura made guitars with seven strings, this was not an uncommon number at that time.

The most important and interesting developments took place towards the end of the nineteenth century. Hermann Lindemann, in 1891, developed a guitar with eight strings, three of which traversed the underneath side of the fingerboard. His aim was to remove the difficulties found in fingering the strings over the fingerboard, and 'This invention not only provides for a more easy fingering but it also allows the strings to be stopped so that chords throughout all keys may be fingered and combined in a manner previously impossible on such instruments.'

Figure 1 (Plate 52) shows the arrangement of the strings s\textsuperscript{1} with frets b on the underside of the fingerboard, in addition to those strings s with their frets b located in the usual way above the fingerboard.

Figure 3 shows how broad the fingerboard needed to be at the nut, which is set at an angle as seen in the cross-section. The broadened part of the fingerboard is cut away or reduced near the body, so that the strings s\textsuperscript{1}, attached in the same way as the strings s, may pass freely under the fingerboard a and be stretched by the pegs d in the usual way. Three strings s\textsuperscript{1} are located in this manner and are intended to be stopped by the thumb on the back of the fingerboard.

Lindemann also believed that his improvements: 'Renders the instrument more suitable for solo playing, widens the range of harmony and also improves the volume and quality of tone.'\textsuperscript{1}

Jaroslav Pribyl applied for his patent on March 20th 1923, and it was finally accepted on September 13th. It is based on the same ideas as those of Lindemann. The invention as shown in figure 1, (Plate 53) consists of two sets of strings, of which one is carried underneath the fingerboard, so that it can be stopped by the thumb, while the other set is stopped by the fingers in the usual manner.

These two sets of strings are arranged so as to overlap at the head of the instrument, where they diverge towards two tail-

\textsuperscript{1} Patent 8918, 1891, loc. cit. p.1.
Lindemann's eight-string guitar.

Courtesy of the Science Library, London.
pieces arranged in juxtaposition on the belly. Pribyl believed that
this overlapping of strings made it more convenient for playing with
the thumb, and greatly enlarged the compass of the instrument.
Moreover, the nut of the lower strings is placed to increase the string
length by one semitone over the upper set.

In another sense, Pribyl's invention is a contraction of
guitars with two fingerboards, an idea which flourished during the
nineteenth century.

B. Harp Guitars.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, there had
been several efforts to produce a successful harp-guitar, but these
did not really reflect the main stream instrument. Much later in
the century, John Abelspies, Chris Knutsen, and Charles Tinsley
were working on similar ideas, and although they referred to their
inventions as 'Harp-Guitars, they were in effect bass instruments,
but took their name from their appearance.

John Abelspies lived at 234 Great Western Road, Glasgow,
and was a teacher, composer, and inventor. On August 14th 1892, he
first applied for a patent for his harp-guitar, which was granted
on 19th August 1893. Abelspies described it thus: 'This
invention relates to an improved musical instrument which may be
termed a harp-guitar, as it combines with a guitar of ordinary or
special construction, a number of strings strung after the manner
of a harp and plucked by the fingers as in that instrument.'

Pribyl's Guitar with extra strings.

The object of his invention was to provide an instrument such as the guitar with a greater and richer volume of sound, and to enable music played in any key to be produced with equal effect.

Abelspies applied to the guitar a metal frame, to which all the strings were attached. This frame did not rest on the belly, but was raised slightly above it, and secured by means of screws at the end and at each side to small blocks, fixed at suitable points inside the instrument at the edges. The bar to which the strings were attached contained holes for fastening, and extended across the instrument to allow for the increased number of strings. Abelspies believed that this would take the strain off the belly (Plate 54).

According to Abelspies' arrangements, the order and tuning of strings is as follows:

```
1 2 3 4 5
```

He claimed that all the major and minor keys could be played with ease on his instrument, and the flat and minor keys, which were very ineffective and difficult to play on the normal guitar, are brought out as clearly and with as good effect as the simplest major keys.
Harp-Guitar by John Abelspies.

Knutsen and Tinsley's Harp-Guitar.

Knutsen's guitar with extended soundbox.

Chris Knutsen and Charles Tinsley's harp-guitar, of 1897, bore more resemblance to a bass guitar than a harp. The body approximates in shape the usual guitar form, having the normal neck and fingerboard (Plate 55) but the illustration does not show fret bars. The extending arm is hollow, and was intended to increase the size of the sound-box. The normal soundhole is dispensed with, and replaced by heart, star, and moon shaped holes.

Knutsen also produced at the same time another guitar the same shape as this, but without the extra bass strings. The illustration of this does show frets, but Knutsen has changed the star-shaped soundhole (Plate 56).

VIII. General Improvements.

A. Machine Heads.
B. The Bridge.
C. Lucien Gelas.

A. Machine Heads.

In 1898, Charles Sucker patented his ideas for improvements to machine heads. He placed the pegs to which the strings were attached in such a way that they stood in one row diagonally across the head, thus preventing lateral friction of the strings at the nut. The worm gears were of normal construction. (Plate 57)
Charles Sucker’s machine head.
Courtesy of the Science Library, London.
B. The Bridge.

The only real constructive idea, other than the Panormo pin bridge, came from the work of W. Pain in 1867. He developed a bridge with a grooved roller, over which the strings passed.

C. Lucien Gelas.

Lucien Gelas believed that the normal method of constructing guitars, with the strings running parallel to the fingerboard and belly, actually restricted the vibrations. He argued in his invention of 1906 that by arranging the strings in an oblique position to the soundboard the sonority and richness of tone of the instrument would be increased. Therefore, his patent emphasised two points – the oblique nature of the strings, by altering the angle of the neck upwards, relative to the bridge taken as an axis and the independence of the soundboard, by raising the sides of the box along a portion of its height, on the edges of which is placed a second board, intended to be used as a support for the neck. (Plate 58).
Lucien Celas: Improvements In Guitars

Courtesy of the Patent Office.
Conclusion.

Before the arrival of the Panormo family, only a few English luthiers had made Spanish guitars. The most noted were Agutter, Ruddiman, Rauche and Preston, but they had only made a few instruments with four- or five strings. Thus, guitars and accessories continued to be imported from Italy and Spain.

However, with the appearance of the Panormos, all this changed. They established Spanish guitar construction in England, and brought the instrument to the verge of the modern guitar. Moreover, as the popularity of the guitar increased, they employed several apprentices to cope with the demand for new instruments. The most important were Anthony Brown and A. Guiot, but although these luthiers made some good guitars, they did not surpass those by Panormo.

The Panormos also inspired an increased interest in the instrument, and for the first time English makers took guitar construction seriously, and began to experiment with its design.

This experimentation took several forms. Thompson tried to resolve temperament, but only succeeded in making a guitar with a complicated fingerboard. Thus it was discarded.

Thompson's contemporary, Thomas Howell, worked on a larger bodied instrument, but this and guitars made by Tilly, Bates and Gerard did not change the direction of guitar construction.
Similarly, attempts were made to increase the guitar's volume, by introducing resonators, additional soundboards and other internal alterations, but none of these novel ideas caught on. Moreover, efforts to improve neck and fingerboard design were also unsuccessful, but some guitars with extra strings were made, and these were quite popular. Nevertheless, their popularity was short-lived, and despite other efforts to improve the guitar the general design remained the same.
## APPENDIX 1

**Sale of Musical Instruments Belonging to the Late Madame Sidney Pratten and Giulia Pelzer: Sotheby's, Thursday 15th December, 1938.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lot</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Purchaser</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>A guitar by Panormo, pine and rose-wood with slight mother-of-pearl inlay; another by Panormo, 1832, in pine and satinwood and another</td>
<td>£3. 10s.</td>
<td>C. Essex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>A guitar by Derazey, Paris, in rose maple and pinewood, inscribed on label: 'This Guitar belonged to my father F. Pelzer 1831'</td>
<td>£3. 00</td>
<td>E. Moore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>A guitar by Panormo, 1834, in rose and pinewood; another similar by Panormo: 1831, and a Mandola by Maurri, Florence, 1895.</td>
<td>£5. 5s.</td>
<td>C. Essex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>A guitar in rose and pinewood with mother-of-pearl inlay, marked very good in Madame Pelzer's hand, and a Mandoline</td>
<td>£6.00</td>
<td>C. Essex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lot</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Price</td>
<td>Purchaser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>A French guitar in rose and pine wood, ivory stringing; another by Panormo, 1847, with boxwood stringing</td>
<td>£5.5s.</td>
<td>E. Grimshaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>A Spanish guitar in fruitwood and pine by Rameriz, Malaga; another by Panormo in harewood and pine, another by Panormo, 1825, and a Mandoline</td>
<td>£6.10s.</td>
<td>Potter</td>
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<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>An Italian guitar in rose and pine-wood; another by Chappell, similar and a mandoline in rosewood, pinewood and tulipwood by Ramphone, Naples</td>
<td>£2.00</td>
<td>Moore</td>
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<td>198</td>
<td>An Italian guitar by Gennaro, Naples, 1829, in harewood and pine; another by Panormo in rose and pinewood, another similar, a concertina by Wheatstone, and a pair of zylophones</td>
<td>£3.5s.</td>
<td>Bennett</td>
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<td>199</td>
<td>An Italian guitar by Albertini, the peghead with three extra strings, in rose and pinewood and another Italian guitar similar</td>
<td><strong>Passed</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lot</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Price</td>
<td>Purchaser</td>
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<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>A French guitar in rose and pine wood, inlaid with mother-of-pearl and another by Panormo</td>
<td>£2. 00</td>
<td>I. Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>A Spanish guitar by Hermanos, Valencia, in pine and fruitwood; another Italian guitar, harewood and pine; another Italian guitar, similar and a mandoline inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl</td>
<td>£1.10s.</td>
<td>I. Smith</td>
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<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>A guitar in rosewood and pine, with mother-of-pearl inlay; a mandoline in tulip and rosewood, a guitar of unusual design by Vissenaire, Lyon, 1815, in maple and pinewood, another similar by Rondhoff. Three other miniature guitars, one by Campo, Madrid, and a pair of wood xylophones</td>
<td>£5.00s</td>
<td>I. Smith.</td>
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<td>203</td>
<td>A guitar in Rosewood and pine by Panormo, 1876, and a small guitar bearing the label Boulangier, London in maplewood and pine.</td>
<td>£5.00</td>
<td>E. Moore</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lot</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Price</td>
<td>Purchaser</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>An Italian guitar in harewood and pine and with mother-of-pearl inlay and another in pine with two extra strings by Rondhloff</td>
<td>£3.10s.</td>
<td>Potter</td>
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<td>205</td>
<td>A guitar by Rondhloff in rosewood and pine, and another similar by Panormo</td>
<td>£5.00</td>
<td>E. Moore</td>
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<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>A guitar in rosewood and pine, inscribed Madame Sidney Pratten's Terz guitar, 1873, and another similar by Rondhloff</td>
<td>£3.00</td>
<td>E. Moore</td>
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<td>207</td>
<td>A French Terz concert guitar in rosewood and pine, and a mandoline by Ramphone, inlaid on the border with mother-of-pearl</td>
<td>£1.15s.</td>
<td>E. Grimshaw</td>
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<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>Madame Sidney Pratten's concert guitar, in bird's eye maple and pinewood, her number two concert guitar, a water colour of her at the age of nine by George Brown and various photographs and engravings of guitarists</td>
<td>£8.10s.</td>
<td>E. Grimshaw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Clifford Essex, who bought lots 191, 193 and 194, was a
guitarist, music proprietor and at one time editor of B.M.G.

In 1939 he advertised: 'An exceptional opportunity to acquire a perfect finger-style guitar, the late property of Madame Sidney Pratten and Giulia Pelzer.¹ He sold four instruments:

The Panormo dated 1832, from lot 191 .....£8
The Panormo dated 1831, from lot 193 .....£10
The Panormo dated 1834, from lot 193 .....£10
The Panormo, marked 'very good' from
lot 194 ................................£10.

Emile Grimshaw, who bought lots 207, 208, 209 and 211, was also a guitarist, music proprietor and composer. Judging from an account written by Appleby, Grimshaw appears to have kept the guitars until the 1940's. 'Then I heard of a London instrument dealer who had some guitars for sale. There were several, including one which Napoleon had given to one of his generals, who in turn gave it to Ferdinand Pelzer (Lot 211) Then Mr. Grimshaw brought forth a funeral black case with brass plates (Lot 208). He unlocked, unlatched it, pressed a secret spring and opened the lid to reveal a sleeping 'beauty' of a guitar, nestling in a bed of bright crimson quilted satin, decorated with ribbon to match. There was hardly a scratch on its polished pine soundboard. Its purfling of alternating ebony and ivory, its head and neck of ebony veneer, its tuning machine plates of engraved brass with handles of carved mother-of-pearl, proclaimed this as no ordinary guitar.'²

Appleby bought the instrument and it is still in his collection.

Shand's Opus Numbers.

Shand's music, from op. 130 to op. 199 is missing, and cannot be accounted for. Two possible explanations have been suggested. Appleby believes that the manuscript pieces may have been destroyed in a fire at C. G. Rodgers, Ltd., London, who printed Shand's music for Barnes and Mullins. Phyllis Shand, however, believes that they were probably lost when Shand's belongings were put into store when the family moved house after his death.

It is rather coincidental, however, that the missing compositions are a consecutive group of opus numbers. Moreover, it is surprising that if they were destroyed in a fire, Shand could not recall any of them, as he would have surely committed some to memory. Furthermore, he was not in the habit of giving so many consecutive compositions to the same publishing house.

Composers have been known to destroy their works because of their inferiority. However, there is no evidence to suggest that Shand adopted this practice. In fact, he seemed to have been reluctant to destroy anything, judging from the number of scrap pieces of manuscript in the Bone Collection.

Another possibility is that Shand or a publisher, at a later date, changed the opus numbers or that these compositions are still in some library or private collection. Moreover, manuscripts of works after op. 220 are thought to exist, but these too remain unlocated.

APPENDIX 3

THE PANORMO FAMILY TREE

Vincenzo

Giuseppe (Joseph)

Francis

George (Louis?)

Edward

Ferdinand

Robert

Louis

Two daughters, names not known

See Appendix 4
APPENDIX 4

Louis Panormo's Family Tree

Louis
(1784 - 1862)

Sarah Sutton
(1801 - 1880)

Eliza
(1825-1898)
married Tom Oldbury

Sophia
(1829-1864)
married William Cole

? ? ? Alfred
Title page from the Inventory of the sale of Louis Panormo's house.

An Inventory

of the

Fixtures, Furniture, China, Glass

Linens - other effects

On the premises

No. 20 Chapel Street

James Groomer Esq.

the property of Mr. Panormo and sold

to J. J. J. Esq., Esq.

24th February 1859

F. M. Bunting

27 James's St.

Accadilly

Courtesy of the Rev. Canon Coulthard.
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<td>The Giulianiad Or Guitarists Jan-April 1834 xx. Magazine</td>
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