GRADUS AD PARNASSUM:

The Pianoforte in London, 1770 – 1820

DOROTHY JEAN DE VAL

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The piano of late 18th- and early 19th-century London was also the piano of the market-place. More than anywhere else, the thriving metropolis was able to spawn successful piano manufacture and a large publishing industry. A study of the businesses of Broadwood and Clementi shows that they achieved their success through technical innovation and ambitious marketing, eventually establishing the dominance of the English piano over its Viennese counterpart, a lighter, more fragile instrument, and the product of a distinguished but smaller, less developed industry. An examination of the publishing industry reveals that the London public was provided with a panoply of domestic and foreign music, but was little concerned with the distinctions between the Viennese and English piano repertories which preoccupy us today. Haigh was as accessible as Haydn, and Clementi as Mozart.

The London repertory reflected contemporary commercial reality and the tastes of the consumer, usually an amateur, who sought easy, 'familiar' music, arrangements of orchestral or chamber works and the like. Composers such as Clementi and Cramer, themselves pioneers of the piano, began to explore new avenues in their didactic studies and sonatas, artistic works in their own right which spanned the gulf between amateur and professional musicians. The repertory - as shown both in publishers' catalogues and in concert programmes - reflects the inherent conflicts between ancient and modern music and between vocal and instrumental genres. The piano was expected to imitate the voice, the orchestra and the older keyboard music of composers such as Bach, Handel and Scarlatti. Paradoxically it was through such emulation that the piano was able to develop its true voice. The music of the London composers represents an important transitional stage in which the piano was more imitator than innovator but, fostered by a healthy commercialism and zealous composers, it prepared the way for the fully idiomatic works of a later generation.
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Notes on Presentation

Notes to the material in volume I are in the second volume, where they are cited first in their full form, then abbreviated; the abbreviations used are listed at the beginning of volume 2. References to journals such as the *Monthly Magazine* where no page numbers are given indicate that the pagination of the volume is faulty; in these cases I have given the month as well as year of publication in order to make location easier.

In quoting from original sources I have retained the original orthography and syntax. In both the Broadwood and Clementi letters I have preserved as far as possible the original underlining, spacing and spelling. Dashes are retained, while a series of three dots (....) indicates a cut.

Composers' names are spelt according to contemporary usage, thus Vanhal (not Vanhall), Kozeluch (not Kozeluh), Kotzwara (not Koczwara), Dussek, Woelfl, Schroeter, Hoberecht etc.

I have used the customary abbreviations of K. (Köchel), H. (Hoboken) and Kp. (Kirkpatrick) to identify works of Mozart, Haydn and Scarlatti respectively, both in the text and in the notes. Repertory found in Nicholas Temperley's series, *The London Pianoforte School*, is identified as such in parentheses, with the abbreviation *LPS* and the appropriate volume number. Where appropriate I have used RISM sigla to identify certain sources.

Names of notes are given in the following form:
Acknowledgments

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My interest in the English piano began at the Royal College of Music Museum of Instruments, where as assistant curator I was given the opportunity to perform on their fine English pianos and harpsichords. I am grateful to Elizabeth Wells, curator of the collection, for her continuing support and interest. David Winston, formerly curator of the Colt Collection, and now running the Period Piano Company, Cranbrook, Kent, was especially helpful in explaining technical details, and generously allowed me to try out several pieces on his square pianos of 1790, 1808 and 1817. Richard Burnett of Finchcocks also allowed me to play on some of his instruments and William Dow provided technical information. Many friends and colleagues have at various times offered assistance. A full list here would seem more pretentious than practical, but there are several people who must not go unmentioned: Richard Shaw provided a wealth of information at the outset and suggested guidelines for my work; Professor Denis O'Brien and his colleague Anne Woodhead of the University of Durham kindly advised on 19th-century accounting practice, while Alan Tyson, Thomas Milligan, Jamie Croy Kassler, Zaide Pixley, Simon McVeigh, Dorothea Link and others offered much-needed guidance, information and advice. Any errors that remain are of course my own.

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The 'early piano' or 'fortepiano' has recently come into its own. Performances either on authentic instruments or on copies, both in concert and on recordings, are becoming more and more common, though it seems hardly likely that the early piano will ever supplant the modern instrument for the performance of the Classical masters. Articles and books have appeared on how to play 'the Classical piano' and in London at least the early piano is a notable feature of concert and broadcasting life.

Much of the attention seems to be centred on the Viennese piano, partly because the standard Classical repertory, much of it now canon - comprises the works of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. The names of these composers are synonymous with 'Classicism' in music, and therefore the pianos associated with the Viennese composers - the Steins, the Walters, the Streichers, the Grafs and so on - are the pianos which we hear most of today. With the exception of a few intrepid souls, it is rare to find pianists today venturing into the terra incognita of the early English piano of Broadwood and Clementi, not to mention the repertory of such composers as Clementi, Cramer and Dussek.

However, to restrict one's view to the Viennese tradition is to miss out entirely on the exciting musical activity which dominated London in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The present craze for Viennese pianos obscures the fact that the English piano making industry of the same period produced far more pianos than their continental counterparts, exporting pianos far
and wide outside the confines of the mother country, including those countries where Viennese pianos were available. The differences between the two types were significant, with the lighter Viennese pianos producing a much softer tone than the English ones, which gave more volume of sound at the expense of a heavier action. London became the centre for dozens of piano makers, who made important developments in action, tone, compass and other aspects of the piano, leading to the eventual hegemony of the English piano and the waning of the Viennese construction by the mid 19th century.

As well as being the focus for a large and prosperous piano industry at the hands of firms such as Broadwood and Clementi, London was also a thriving centre for publishing. Music publishing had been an important concern well before the advent of the piano, but with the rise of the middle classes and the surging popularity of the new instruments the publishers, like the piano manufacturers, were faced with a huge new market to exploit and develop. Many of the piano makers in London had arrived from the Continent; likewise much of the music published here was by foreign composers who had made their home in the city. Important composers such as Clementi and Cramer had been brought to England as children; Field and Cogan arrived from Ireland, and others such as Dussek and Steibelt travelled freely, spending significant amounts of time in London and exerting considerable influence.

The large population of the city (922,000 by 1801) and the growing middle classes afforded an active concert life, the promise of success (often illusory) in the profession and opportunities for
publication. Amateurs perhaps had more to gain from the piano-forte, not least from the many arrangements of orchestral works which became available to them. They were free to purchase and play music which was either educative or merely diverting; tutors, treatises and studies for the piano proliferated, promising to teach dexterity of finger and other skills. These ranged from simple books for juveniles to the magisterial didactic works of Clementi and Cramer. The links between composer, piano maker and publisher were strong: the composer Clementi was paradigmatic in his involvement in all three professions. It was Clementi who earned the epithet 'father of the pianoforte' and who spawned a whole school of composition which Nicholas Temperley has made more widely known as the 'London Pianoforte School'.

Musical life of the time was truly international, especially in London, whose resident foreign composers far outnumbered her native sons and daughters. The paradox which concerns us is this: while the English-made pianos dominated musical life here and to a certain extent abroad, London-based composers and performers were nonetheless exposed to music from the Continent, not least that of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, all made widely available, thanks to the developed publishing industry which was quick to take advantage of inadequate copyright protection and to create a fashion for 'foreign music'. The performance of Haydn's symphonies in Salomon's concerts and the popularity of that composer in London led to a demand for his sonatas and for piano arrangements of various instrumental and vocal works. Given the paradox of having Viennese music on sale in a country where only heavier
English pianos were played, is it possible to distinguish a truly 'English' style from the prevailing musical lingua franca?

The underlying ethos of the times is reflected in many contemporary writings on music and in the repertory itself. A musical canon can be established by examining concert programmes, musical libraries and collections, publishers' catalogues and anthologies. The varied concert life of the late 18th century is a great source of information on current taste, reflecting issues such as the relative merits of instrumental, vocal, ancient and modern music, the role of Handel, the debate over musical imitation and expression, the role of music in relation to the other arts, and the beautiful versus the novel, all of which preoccupied writers on music throughout the 18th century. Although many of these theories were couched in abstruse philosophical terms by writers who were not directly involved in music, much of the discussion filtered through to musicians such as Avison, Burney and Crotch, not to mention the many contributors to journals such as The Monthly Magazine.

'Ancient' music in keyboard terms meant music for harpsichord, (especially by Domenico Scarlatti): this instrument and its repertory exerted a profound influence on the development of piano writing. It is a commonplace of the transitional period between the harpsichord era and the advent of the piano that music could be and was played on either instrument. Later of course the old publisher's standby 'for harpsichord or pianoforte' was largely academic, the newer instrument having replaced the older one in
practice, though not without appropriating some of its compositional idiom and technique.

The music written by composers of the London Pianoforte School thus drew on many factors. We shall see to what extent it was influenced by elements such as the harpsichord tradition, the development of the English piano, the changing attitudes towards music generally, as well as by vocal and symphonic music from home and abroad. In London at least, the piano began as an imitator - of the voice, the violin, the flute, the symphony and occasionally even of the harpsichord. What needs to be explored is whether such imitation was able to lead to the development of an idiomatic style (and if so, how) as well as whether the achievements of the school were significant within the arena of piano composition internationally. The developments in English piano making were far-reaching; does the same apply to the music written in the same milieu?

I have relied on the work of several authors who have already written on aspects of this topic. Rosamond Harding's *The Pianoforte* (1933, 2/1978) has been an invaluable source on the early history of the piano, and David Wainwright's *Broadwood by Appointment* (1982) provided a complete history of the firm, covering the early period in some detail. Plantinga's monograph on Clementi has provided much useful information on this composer and his milieu, while the life and works of his contemporary J. L. Dussek have been covered in some detail by Howard Craw in his dissertation *A Biography and Thematic Catalog of the Works of J. L. Dussek* (U. of Southern California, 1964; Ann Arbor, 1980). Alan
Tyson's thematic catalogue of the works of Clementi, Craw's on Dussek and Thomas Milligan's forthcoming thematic catalogue of the works of J. B. Cramer have all been of great help in dealing with such a large repertory. Simon McVeigh's study of concert life in London between 1783-1793 ('The Professional Concert and Rival Subscription Series in London, 1783-1793', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 22 (1989), 1-135) was particularly useful in dealing with the place of pianists in concert life.

William Newman's book on the sonata in the classic era (1972) provided much valuable background information on the repertory for this study, while Nicholas Temperley's impressive coverage of the music of the London Pianoforte School in his 20-volume series of the same name provided easy access to much of the repertory and valuable commentary on it. Some of the repertory, notably the concerto, has been treated in some detail in Zaide Pixley's *The Keyboard Concerto in London Society, 1760-1790* (dissertation, University of Michigan, 1986) and in Thomas Milligan's *The Concerto and London's Musical Culture in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1983).

The thesis is in two parts. The first deals with the social and economic background of the period, with particular reference to the piano manufacturing and publishing industries, as well as the role of the piano in concert life. The second part deals with the music itself, but I have not attempted a self-sufficient analysis, since the vast repertory of the so-called London school defies such an approach. Instead I have classified the repertory by reference to the consumers of it (as discussed in part 1), and my
analysis of its attempts to place it in its social and musical milieu, as well as to discuss its intrinsic musical merits.

This study will exclude detailed examination of the concerto, which has been fully covered in the studies of Milligan and Pixley. Also excluded is the vast chamber music repertory featuring the piano and more than two accompanying instruments, though the accompanied sonata (involving the piano and one or two other instruments, usually violin or flute and cello) is discussed. Inclusion of the complete chamber repertory would have been far beyond the scope of this thesis; the piano writing of this genre is not radically different from that found elsewhere and thus does not alter the conclusion reached.

The 'Gradus ad Parnassum' of the title is taken from Clementi's *magnum opus* for the piano—a series of studies exploring the technical and compositional possibilities of the instrument. In many ways Clementi's *Gradus* makes a fitting focus for this study, which will attempt to place both this work and those of its composer and his contemporaries in a historical and musical context. The repertory of this period is as yet little known, despite some efforts to publicize it. Perhaps with greater understanding of and sympathy for both the period and its music this situation will finally be reversed, though ultimately many of the works discussed should speak for themselves.
Part 1

The Piano in the Market-Place
In his book, *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes*, the composer and critic Thomas Busby made a special entry entitled 'Increase at Landau music-sellers' in which he observed that their number had grown from a mere dozen in 1750 to an astonishing 150 in 1824, the date of his book. 'Music sellers' dealt not only in published music, but also in musical instruments and their accessories. Catalogues of printed music often included a puff for musical instruments which could be bought or hired. The metropolis also boasted a fair number of instrument makers, though not nearly as many as the music publishers and sellers. Even in the early years of piano making - the 1770s - London was known for its German craftsmen, including such famous names as Backers, Beck, Beyer, Buntebart, Ganer, Pohlmann and Zumpe as well as Stodart, Merlin, Pether and Broadwood. Others such as Schoene (the successor to Zumpe), Rolfe, Davis, Goulding, D'Almaine and Potter (who published music and dealt in other instruments as well) arrived in the 1780s, making a total of 23 piano makers working in London by 1788. By the 1790s Corri, Culliford and Astor had set up business; Culliford in fact supplied pianos to the publishing house of Longman and Broderip, and John Crang Hancock (est. 1779) supplied Charles Dibdin's Sans Souci warehouse in the Strand. Sébastien Erard opened a factory in London in 1792. In 1815 there were over 40 makers in London and by 1824, the date of Busby's survey, the number was almost 50.
By the late 18th century Britain was known for the business acumen and wealth of many of her merchants. The German writer and traveller J. W. von Archenholtz noted that

the name of merchant is a very respectable one in England; it is honoured and considered as the source of all the wealth of the state. A merchant may become a Sheriff of the county, a member of parliament and indeed anything if his abilities are answerable to his ambition. A great difference however is made between a merchant who trades to foreign countries, and the shopkeeper who sells in retail. These last are called tradesmen...and cannot aspire to any office or dignity. Many of these tradesmen are very opulent and possess immense warehouses.6

Of the many piano manufacturers based in London in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, two 'merchants' are notable. The huge production of John Broadwood and Sons, and the fine and elegant instruments of the firm of Clementi and Co. were well known both in their home country and abroad. Both firms lasted beyond the deaths of their founders, well into this century. It is to the records of these two major firms that we shall turn for evidence of how the piano industry flourished in its early days.6

Broadwood and Clementi followed in the wake of successful ventures in other fields by astute and entrepreneurial businessmen. The best known of these was Josiah Wedgwood, who opened his London warehouse in 1765. A comment by Neil McKendrick on Wedgwood's success is worth quoting here as it is relevant to the piano makers as well:
The impact of the Industrial Revolution called for new methods of salesmanship and new centres for display. To succeed the potter needed merchant partners, foreign agents, salerooms, warehouses, travelling salesmen, catalogues and trained linguists to deal with the increasingly technical problems of foreign trade. He also needed improved transport and more favourable commercial agreements.\textsuperscript{7}

While Broadwood remained primarily a family business, Clementi relied on various partners throughout his career, most notably the Collards. After the break-up of the partnership with John Longman, Clementi joined with four partners to form the famous 'Clementi and Co.' in 1801. One of the partners, F. A. Hyde, retired in 1810, taking £3,000 as a gift from the firm, making way for William Frederick Collard, brother of Frederick William, already a partner in the firm and very much responsible for the actual manufacture of the instruments. A balance sheet of 1811 (Table 1, pp. 51-2) shows the amount of capital contributed by each partner.\textsuperscript{9}

Both firms had premises in central London. Broadwood's showroom and factory in Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square, were in the heart of musical instrument-making territory; by 1791 he had bought several adjoining houses and the mews behind.\textsuperscript{9} Clementi had taken over Longman and Broderip's premises at 26 Cheapside in 1801 and acquired additional space at 195 Tottenham Court Road in 1806.\textsuperscript{10} The balance sheet drawn up in 1811 shows that Clementi kept instrument and printing stock at both locations. Presumably each shop must have been of a substantial size to accommodate nearly £11,000 worth of stock at Cheapside and over
£18,000 at Tottenham Court Road, the figures which appear on the balance sheet.

However, sales were not limited to the home market, and agents and warehousing were needed abroad. Broadwood adopted agents early on; Clementi was a valuable contact, especially during his travels around the Continent in the 1780s. There were also agents in Edinburgh and France; by the turn of the century Broadwood had established a network of dealers and agents. By definition, dealers simply sold the instruments through their retail outlets; agents had rather more responsibility and in fact acted on Broadwood's behalf, not only in selling instruments, but in ordering materials from suppliers abroad. At one point, Broadwood's prestige was such that merchants abroad asked for agency. A 'Klaviersteller' in Rotterdam named Vetter had evidently written to Broadwood about this possibility. Broadwood replied:

You ask us to permit you to be our agent in Holland to receive any sum that may be payable to us. This from the high opinion we have of your house and punctuality we would do with pleasure had we any trade with Holland.

Whether Vetter became an 'official' agent is not clear; although there was not much business to be had in Holland, Broadwood certainly had further dealings with the Rotterdam merchant. Vetter was already stocking Broadwood's pianos, though evidently not retaining their name. In all likelihood Vetter was stencilling over the original name with his own, though the reason for this is not made clear: perhaps the Broadwood name was not yet well known enough in Rotterdam to sell pianos on its own merits. In any case Broadwood appeared not to mind:
In answer to your question whether we cannot put dampers up to the top notes of the PF we ans' not very well and if we did so the tone would not be so good — we understand your wish to omit our name on the PFs.\(^1\)

Other agents wished to have exclusive rights to Broadwood's pianos, a practice with which the English firm did not agree. The firm seemed determined (not surprisingly) to keep all avenues open, though the following letter of June 1806 to a firm in Moscow reveals how pianos found their way to many different outlets, often without the maker's knowledge or sanction:

We rec' your favour of the 30th April in the which you wish us to refuse executing any orders that may be sent us from Moscow from others than you. If we were to comply with your wishes, we are certain your purposes would not be answer'd, because when we receive orders from abroad it is almost always thro' Merchants here whom we should not be able to refuse and who but seldom state for where or who require the Goods. - So that you would still have opponents as a proof I can prove that a Music Shop in Edinbro' which we some years ago refused to supply on any terms have continued in spite of our vigilance, and have always a good stock of our Goods in the Shop. These considerations will probably make you careless to hear that we cannot consistently with former declarations agree to your request. We shall still hope to hear from you with your order, to which every attention shall be paid and every preference given you in the selection in our favour.\(^2\)

However, Broadwood was not against exclusivity on principle, especially if it meant easier access to a new market. In a letter to a dealer in Jamaica, Broadwood was clearly anxious to gain a foothold in the southern American market by excluding competition:

Should you remit us a good Bill for these [goods] within 9 Mo. of the Delivery, we will allow a deduction of 15 pr Ct and if you can in future give us Prompt we will
allow a further deduction of 10 pr ct.  
This we do to make it worth y' while to  
deal largely with us, which we think you may  
do now that Peace with Spain will permit a  
free intercourse with Spanish America to which  
we have hitherto sent many PFs via the Americans.¹⁴

Meanwhile, Clementi was travelling all over the Continent on  
behalf of his own firm in a very personal attempt to publicize his  
pianos and to attract new agents and customers. There appeared  
already to be an agent in St Petersburg who had a warehouse,  
though not dealing exclusively in Clementi's instruments. This was  
a Mr Faveryear, whom the composer described as 'a good, plain,  
honest fellow'. Faveryear appeared to be knowledgeable about  
pianos, and had important advice on the instruments themselves:

Pray attend to what he says in regard to  
the instruments you send to Russia -  
He talks a deal of nonsense but some  
sense may be squeezed out of it. --  
Above all, the keys are apt to stick together  
by the dozen, the wood being too green to stand  
the vicissitudes of great dampness, drought,  
heat; in short of all alternate extremes.¹⁵

Worst of all, Faveryear appeared to favour instruments made  
by George Buttery, a London maker who had begun manufacturing in  
St Martin-in-the-Fields in 1792. Indeed Clementi was to find that  
other English makers such as Broadwood and Tomkison were already  
established - and preferred - in Russia and Germany. The letters  
to Collard are full of exhortations to send only the very best  
instruments, 'which will be the only means to produce a general  
call for them'. However, Faveryear must have found some  
satisfaction in Clementi's pianos, as in 1805 he ordered 56 square  
pianos and three grands, which suggests that he had both the
warehouse space to accommodate the instruments and a substantial clientele to buy them.¹⁶

Eager to establish a foothold in Russia, Clementi solicited the services of a merchant in Moscow named Charles Hœcke (Clementi’s spelling), though not without first checking his financial credentials:

I have given the list of lowest prices to Charles Hœcke, a merchant residing in Moscow, well known to Baron Rall, who is become my friend — I mean Rall — and who is banker to the Emperor and all the court of Petersb. I cultivated his friendship first for his good qualities and then because he may become very useful to our house. Hœcke is in Moscow what Faverryar is in Petersburg and I believe by what he said he may become a very considerable correspondent and the banker shall answer for him.¹⁷

Clearly Moscow wanted English pianos: the merchant agreed to send 'for a small quantity first, but afterward by the dozen; for in Moscow they want instruments extremely and the people in general are much richer than in the capital'.

Moving from Russia to Germany, Clementi made the acquaintance of Charles Louis Steibelt, 'an honest brother to the black-guard you know' (i.e. Daniel Steibelt) in Berlin. Steibelt was eager to sell English pianos, having already tried his hand at making instruments along English lines, but aware that the genuine article would sell better:

He has imitated tolerably the English gr. P-F, but he knows that the people of his town are not so easily satisfied he intends therefore to open a Magazin of English Instruments and I told him the prices were so low for ready money, to which he consented.¹⁸
Steibelt remained a firm client. In 1804 Clementi asked Collard to send the agent a good upright grand piano: 'I told him he should pay 60 guineas for it (ready money) which is the price to those who sell again the 85 gn. upright'. The upright grand pianos were the most prestigious pianos at the time, costing even more than horizontal grands. Clementi had reason to enlist Steibelt's friendship; a letter of 1805 states that 'he sets the price on English instruments at the custom-house here'. Clementi had checked Steibelt's solvency, as he had done in the case of Höecke: 'Mr. Cohen (a very solid man) le Cadet, Münzstraße No. 20 Berlin, answers for him'.

Unfortunately Berlin did not have the richness of the Moscow market: Clementi instructed his partner not to send upright pianos, 'there being but little chance to sell it in this poor country'. But there was at least some demand for square pianos: 'the 6 small ones you are to send, they will dispose of with all convenient speed, and remit you the money'.

Like Clementi, Broadwood was anxious to encourage certain customers, especially dealers. He sent a list of London prices for various pianos to a Mr Aspinall of Birmingham and outlined his wholesale terms: 'Merchants ordering one or two (pianos) 10 per cent for ready money. If the order is large...we must consider you as a Wholesale Dealer, (and) allow discount at 25 per cent'.

Clearly 'ready money' was a great asset: in 1802 Broadwood wrote pleadingly to the Glasgow dealers Gow and Shepherd for prompt payment of orders so that the firm could keep up with the constant demand 'at a time when for want of instruments we are
daily losing good customers'. In 1803 Broadwood wrote ebulliently to his agent Corri in Edinburgh that as he could not fulfill the demand he would have to recommend pianos of other makers - 'Clementi's for town as well as country...& Mr Tomkison's grand ones like Leakes famous pills for Town or Country for Sea or Land'.

Broadwood also offered a 5% discount for ready money to music shops ordering small quantities of instruments:

In answer to your favour of this morning 
we send above the terms in which we serve 
music shops from which our profits will 
not allow further abasement except for 
ready money when we will allow a discount 
of 5 pcent.

This music seller might well have already been receiving a 10% discount on instruments, and the 5% was an additional inducement to buy with ready money.

Broadwood's policy of giving a year's credit for English dealers at least was not always practical. It certainly was not offered to customers abroad. Many of the letters in Broadwood's book deal with bad debts, one of the disadvantages of dealing with such a fashionable trade. Even if aristocrats failed to pay their bills, their patronage gave a highly valued prestige to the piano business.

The urgent need for 'ready money' arises in many of the letters, as do references to a supply which could not keep up with demand. This state of affairs reflects very much on methods of production of the time: neither Broadwood nor Clementi was mass-producing pianos, though both were using division of labour to some extent. A great variety of wood was available from all over the
world and specialist makers could supply items such as soundboards, wire, hinges and metalwork. Broadwood was in a particularly difficult position as methods of production had not become streamlined or modern enough to keep up with the sudden increased demand. Ehrlich notes that surprisingly Broadwood was not using machinery, when woodworking machines such as planes and circular saws had been adopted by the navy and were available.  

Although there was some standardization of production, there were still no economies of scale, i.e. the methods of instrument production were still in many ways too labour-intensive and costly in relation to the number of pianos which had to be produced. The problem could be alleviated by buying in materials, which both Clementi and Broadwood did, and by improving techniques of production. There was also the problem of gestation of investment, as materials such as soundboards took years to prepare and required space and additional equipment for seasoning and steaming. We shall see that Broadwood was buying in soundboards from the Continent at this time, no doubt to obviate the high cost - in time, money and space - of producing his own. Overheads were high enough in any case, especially taking into account the cost of maintaining a smart London showroom, a factory, a warehouse plus over 100 employees.  

Also, perhaps as a hangover from the earlier craftsmen-produced harpsichords, pianos maintained a sort of individuality at this time. It was still possible to buy a 'custom-made' piano - usually a grand - though in Broadwood's case the majority of pianos (usually squares) were produced to a particular
specification. Clementi's letters reveal that the grand pianos at least were considered to be individual. Broadwood often seemed to make pianos according to the customer's demand, offering in one instance an upright grand piano in February 1803 in a case of 'satinwood or black rosewood, which ever would best match the Gentleman's Furniture'. Another grand piano was made with the unusual compass of six octaves 'from D in the Bass to D in the treble' (i.e. from DD to d4), presumably because of the symmetrical appearance. Such special attention of course cost money: the customer, the 'Rt. Hon. M.P. for Gt. Amshill, Surrey', paid £99 15s for this 'additionally ornamented' instrument. However, it must be noted that this sort of piano production was not the norm. Additional options to the basic 'model' - usually in the form of decoration - could be requested, but major alterations to the basic design were the exception rather than the rule.

At this time Broadwood's contacts were wide. A look at the wholesale ledger covering the years 1808 to 1812 (ledger 5) reveals an interesting array of clientele. At home there were major dealers in Manchester, Liverpool, Taunton, Salisbury, Southampton, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Canterbury, Bristol and Birmingham as well as less substantial trade with 'music masters' and small music warehouses elsewhere in the country. There was also trade with Ireland, with agents in Drogheda, Dublin and Cork. The extensive London trade included many musicians such as Hoberecht, Bemetzrieder, Knvyett, Dr Burney, Attwood, Ayrton (for the opera house) and Mazzinghi, among others. There were overseas agents in Philadelphia and in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia.
Varre & Co.). All in all there were over 120 wholesale customers placing orders of reasonable size at this time and also a fair number of those with small orders. By 1813 foreign trade had expanded to include dealers in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Bergen, Buenos Aires, Martinique, Gibraltar and Antigua.

It is significant that already by the early 19th century English pianos were sought after in Germany, Russia and - to a certain extent - America as well, though piano manufacture was already established in Philadelphia and Boston. Clementi mentions English competitors, but not French or Viennese, though according to von Schönfeld (1796), Viennese pianos were being exported to Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Germany and Turkey. France was not much of a competitor at this time, owing to the ravages of the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, so much so that John Cleaver Banks, a friend of Clementi, reported in the *Monthly Magazine* of 1801 that

the pianoforte is an instrument very imperfectly understood at Paris. The manufacture of that instrument is very much in arrear. Mr. Pleyel told me that he could easily sell a good instrument of Clementi's or Broadwood's manufacture for more than 100 Louis.

However, Banks's letter is unduly pessimistic. Although France was certainly behind in her piano production, she nevertheless could boast such exemplary makers as Erard and Pleyel, who were helping to resuscitate a failing industry. The fortepiano was known in France as early as 1771, when the *Avant-Coureur* (25 February) made the following lyrical announcement:
Il est donc vrai qu'enfin je te possède,
Mon cher ami, mon cher piano-forté,
Au plaisir de te voir, tout autre plaisir cède,
Ah! que tu vas être fêté
Ah! comme tu seras goûté.

Such enthusiasm was not shared by all, notably Voltaire, who denounced the piano as 'un instrument de chaudronnier'. By the 1780s Paris, like London, had a number of foreign makers working in the city, including the distinguished Sébastien Erard. Erard was granted special protection by Louis XVI in 1785 in order to enable him to perfect the construction of 'l'instrument nommé fortepiano' and to sell English pianofortes in Paris. At first the Parisians had preferred the 'English' squares made by Zumpe, but Erard soon made his own pianos popular by improving Zumpe's 'second action', thereby facilitating repetition and preventing blocking. There can be no doubt that the Revolution effectively halted piano production, but by the winter of 1802-03, the composer and critic J. F. Reichardt was able to report on the size of Erard's production, stating that though the grands were even more expensive than those of the English, there was still demand for them. Grands apparently cost between 100 and 200 louis (about 2,400 fr.), depending on their decoration. Ignace Pleyel, already established as an important music publisher, founded his piano firm in 1807 and was joined by Jean Henri Pape from 1811 to 1815, thus building up the industry.

English pianos were known for their quality. As early as 1786 F. A. Wendeborn, a German visitor to England, wrote

England is famous for fine musical instruments, and the best of them in regard to harpsichords, piano-fortes, guitars and organs, are made by Germans. The reasons why they execute work here
in a much superior manner to what they do in their own country are partly because, being better paid than anywhere else, they can bestow more time and more pains upon what they have in hand; partly because they work with the best tools, and on the best materials.\textsuperscript{37}

In 1799 the \textit{Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung} reported on London makers such as Schoene, Broadwood and Stodart, quoting prices (for grands) of 60-70 guineas, which was thought to be extremely costly.\textsuperscript{38} In December 1802 the same journal reported on Clementi's pianos, describing them as being the finest in the world, but also among the most expensive.\textsuperscript{39} Clementi's offer of lower prices for ready money might well have been an important inducement to enable dealers such as Steibelt to buy. After Clementi's visit in 1803, the Leipzig publishers and instrument dealers Breitkopf and Härtel wrote to the composer's firm in 1804 for a price list of grand, upright and square pianos, offering ready money for these instruments, which were evidently more expensive than their German counterparts.\textsuperscript{40}

Breitkopf and Härtel were important dealers in pianos on the Continent, though their reputation lay then as now principally in their publishing activities: the firm printed the 'complete works' of Mozart, Haydn, Clementi and Dussek. They began making and dealing in pianos in 1802, acting as an outlet for the sale of Streicher's instruments. From correspondence between Streicher and the firm it is interesting to note that already there was some concern about tone; in 1804 it was evident that there was a preference for the stronger tone associated with the English pianos among the Russians and North Germans, perhaps due to Clementi's
recent travels in those very areas. It was pointed out that more volume was needed for concerts and stronger accompaniments. Streicher argued that the 'Liebhaber' would object to the heavier action.41

Härtel also had dealings with Broadwood. In 1806 Broadwood replied to a letter of Härtel's in a somewhat complacent way, saying that 'we know that the PFs of Vienna & Paris are cheaper at first but we know that they are vastly inferior in quantity and quality of tone and durability'. The letter went on to offer the firm two Viennese pianos, a 5½-octave one by Nanette Streicher at 30 guineas and a 5-octave instrument for 20 guineas. A new English grand piano cost £75, though second-hand instruments could be had for under £30.42

Much has been written about the differences between Viennese and English pianos, so that only a brief summary is necessary here.43 Aspects of their construction differed in several important respects. The Viennese pianos were of a light construction, with a flat soundboard, bichord stringing and a 'Prelimechanik' action which afforded a light touch, escapement and efficient damping. Conversely, the English pianos were built with convex soundboards and had a much heavier action (which only gradually became more sophisticated in terms of escapement), heavier hammers and very light (and therefore not very adequate) damping. For the practical purpose of performance the English piano provided more sound but at the cost of a heavier action and a certain unevenness of tone across the keyboard; the Viennese piano was easier to play but was much softer, damped effectively
and was more even in sound. The Viennese piano which Mozart played was perfect in itself, while the English piano, with all its imperfections, had the potential for further improvement and development.

Although English pianos were available on the Continent, the same did not apply to Viennese or German pianos in London. The correspondence about pianos between Broadwood and Härteľ appears to be one of the few instances of Broadwood's having Viennese pianos in stock; the retail ledger for 1808 lists the sale of a grand piano by Nanette Stein at £26 5s to an English customer. However, his 'seconds' were usually either his own or - more frequently - older pianos by other makers such as Stodart, Buttery, Ganer and Ball. There were even two small pianos by Pohlmann available in 1808, which were offered at prices of £5 and £3 10s.

It is interesting to note that only eight months after the letter to Breitkopf and Härteľ, Broadwood was offering six grand pianos, all by English makers, to Gow and Shepherd of Edinburgh. It is possible and indeed probable that Broadwood had sold the Viennese instruments in the intervening months, but nonetheless it is worth noting that such instruments were never mentioned in communications to agents in England or Scotland.

It seems that the English taste was definitely for the louder, more durable instruments of their own country, and the inducements of a lower price and lighter action were not enough to make them change over to the Viennese instruments. Although much Viennese music was available in England, notably works by Mozart, Haydn and Kozeluch among other composers, the buying and performing public
were evidently content to play this music on the heavier English pianos. There might also have been the more practical concern of space: few of those in the 'square' market would have had room to accommodate a grand piano, though the slender Viennese instrument would have taken up less space than an English grand.

A possible reason for the English success abroad and for the relative dearth of Viennese pianos in London was the sheer quantity of instruments the English were capable of making: Broadwood was producing an average of 1,000 pianos annually between 1808 and 1813, while the famous Streicher firm in Vienna had an output of a mere 45 pianos per year.4 The English makers also held true to the 'Wedgwood formula' in their refusal to reduce quality - and prices - in order to attract a wider market, though we shall see that Broadwood in particular tried to cater to the lower end of the market by producing various types of square piano. The sale of second-hand pianos by other makers at vastly reduced prices was also significant. It was important to both Broadwood and Clementi that their reputation for making high quality instruments should remain intact; in the entire period of this study there is no evidence of any change of policy in this regard.

The success of the piano in the early 19th century coincided with a time of political upheaval in both Europe and America. However, political manoeuvres such as Napoleon's Continental System had advantages as well as disadvantages for trade. While the blockade certainly hampered British trade with Europe, it also effectively kept foreign rivals at bay as far as the home market was concerned. Risks and therefore insurance costs were high, but
at the same time smuggling was easy. This was a time when the British Navy ruled supreme, and world trade was in British hands. With the increase in shipbuilding, wood from all markets was available. The Baltic became open for shipping after the taking of Copenhagen and the confiscation of the Danish fleet by Napoleon in 1807, and the Peninsular War of 1808, in which Wellington eventually wore down the French forces, opened the colonial empires of Spain and Portugal to Britain.

It says much for the tenacity of both Broadwood and Clementi that their firms remained so prosperous during the first decades after 1800. Both relied heavily on continental agents and dealers for supplies. It appears that there was only one man capable of making acceptable steel and brass piano wire, one Johann Dietz of Berlin. Large consignments of wire were ordered from Dietz by both firms (and presumably by others too) despite its availability from other makers both in this country and abroad. A letter from Clementi dated July 1805 shows an order for 400 lbs. of steel strings and 95 lbs. of brass strings totalling $545 or £85 5s, slightly more than the retail price of a grand piano. A letter of the following month exhorted Collard to 'send for more, since you find the strings good, for the tone of instruments depends much on that article; and stinginess in such cases is the highest folly'. Broadwood ordered 450 lbs. of steel wire from Dietz in April 1806, asking specifically that it be very 'tough and hard', but complained through their agent in Copenhagen that it had been too soft: 'did he know it was for us?' Napoleon's blockade had impeded trade with the Continent: it is significant that in spite
of this difficulty neither maker was prepared to buy inferior wire produced locally and thus sacrifice quality for expedience.

Many important materials had to be imported. As we have seen, soundboards were bought in by Broadwood from agents on the Continent, presumably because it must have been ultimately cheaper to import them:

Mr. J. D. Hose having shewn us an invoice of sounding boards in your possession, we are willing to take them at the Price offered - at which we understand you are to deliver them, free of all expenses at Hambro' [Hamburg]. We beg you will forward them as soon as Convenient to your correspondant at Hambro' and desire him to ship them on board some vessel for London and convey [sic] them to us. We hope he will procure the freight as soon as possible. For the payment you will please to draw on us as usual.

Six years later, in June 1808, Broadwood wrote to the Rotterdam agent Vetter, with whom he had corresponded two years previously about a possible agency in Holland, this time addressing him as an 'organ builder'. Vetter was clearly an instrument maker as well as a retailer:

If you have any more sounding boards such as you sent us last please deliver them to Mr. Gibson, Merchant, Rotterdam. We hope you can send us some hundred boards - the more the better.

With production of pianos running at about 1,000 per year in 1808, it is not surprising that Broadwood's letters ordering materials should carry a note of urgency about them. The soundboard of course was about the most important item in the manufacture of pianos. Mozart's comments on Stein's procedure for seasoning wood are well known; although the procedure had become
slightly less laborious by the turn of the century, it was still one that took time. Makers who chose to season their own boards needed a yard in which to keep the wood, and time in which to do it. Given this sort of overhead, it is not surprising that Broadwood at this time chose to buy in his boards. However, it is interesting to note that by the middle of the 19th century Broadwood was no longer buying in boards but making his own. In 1843 the journalist George Dodd described the open sheds for the storage of all kinds of wood - mahogany, deal, beech, sycamore and lime - and the 'hot room' for seasoning wood. There was also a steam tank for bending wood.

Broadwood was having difficulties in his trade with America by the end of the first decade of the 19th century. Having built up useful contacts in New York, Philadelphia and Charleston, the implementation of the Embargo Act in 1807 - designed, like the Continental System, to damage Britain’s trade - meant that dealings with American agents became virtually impossible. By February 1809 Broadwood was having to collect money owed by his American agents through his brother-in-law Daniel Stewart. Stewart also wrote to him that Clementi had sold a good many instruments in the USA 'but they do not stand the Climate like yours'.

Not only did the embargo cut Broadwood off from America, it limited his trade with South America and the Caribbean as well. The letters of this period are rife with political comment but not unduly pessimistic about the state of affairs:

We ascribe y' silence of late to the embargo which we suppose has prevented you getting good bills without which you guessed we shall not choose to
send you goods in the unsettled state of affairs between the two countries. We think now - from the late turn of affairs in Spain (where the patriots are gloriously struggling & are successful against the French) and the consequent peace betwixt us and Spain, that Mr. Jefferson will repeal the embargo except he means to allow the British Merchants to get all the Trade of So. America. 

Broadwood had to wait until 1813 to 'get all the trade of So. America'. The difficulties between Britain and the USA led to outright war in 1812 and it was not until after then that normal, unrestricted trade resumed between England and the Americas. However, we have seen that by 1813 Broadwood had significant concerns in Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Buenos Aires, Valparaiso, Antigua and Martinique. The dealers in these places bore English names, and trade generally between Britain and these countries was well established at this time. The names of customers (as opposed to agents) when they do appear are mostly English as well, though it seems fair to speculate that pianos were also being sold to the Spanish gentry.

Agents often suggested improvements to instruments not adapted to the extremes of climate found in such countries as America and Russia. For example, Clementi's agent Favoryear had pointed out the susceptibility of too green wood to damp, drought and heat; likewise one of Broadwood's American agents, a Mr Hammond of Philadelphia, also made a suggestion concerning wood. Broadwood replied, describing an instrument which he had sent:

The Bottoms are all secured with Battens across but we intend to prepare your Bottoms made according to the Plan you mention you were quite right respecting the shrinking of the Bottoms, everything depends on their dryness and good workmanship.
Problems of adapting instruments to climate had persisted for years, without any sound solution. However, Broadwood did all he could to assure customers that their pianos could and would withstand the rigours of a tropical climate:

Mr. Attwood has applied [sic] to us for a GPF suited to the West India climate to be forwarded to you...which we will take care shall be played on and seasoned before the next opportunity of shipping it.6°

Even as early as 1792 Longman and Broderip, important dealers and predecessors to Clementi, advertised in their catalogue their patent action, in which 'movements will neither rattle, stick, nor be the least affected by Change of Weather in any Climate'. Clearly their solution was not perfect, as exactly the same problems were plaguing Clementi over ten years later.

The climate of East India posed similar problems, as witnessed by Thomas Williamson, an army officer whose East India Vade-Mecum (1810) gives some idea of the problems encountered:

Music, it might be thought, would prove a great source of gratification in a country where ennui is so much to be dreaded; but the climate is unfavorable to instruments of every kind, especially to pianos, and offers a most formidable bar to the indulgence of a musical ear. No persons can be more liberal in their purchases of instruments, or of select music, than the ladies of India, they often giving two hundred pounds for a good grand-piano; but the incessant apprehension of warps, and cracks, is a tremendous drawback on the interest they feel in the possession of even the best of its kind.6°

Indeed it was in India that Broadwood encountered the problem of piracy, so much so that in May 1803 they notified customers that 'very imperfect instruments' were being sold under their name.
The outward appearance of the pianos must have been quite convincing even if the inner workings were inferior:

They beg to declare that none of the pianofortes that have mahogany fronts or nameboard that have any painted ornaments or that have brass clamps on the Corners are of their manufacture with the exception of two Grand pianofortes with brass clamps sent out nine years ago and one small one sent out in 1800.\(^2\)

To judge by the notice, 'numerous pianofortes' had been introduced into the country 'by Officers of the Indiamen' in the previous six years for sale to the gentry there. Although Broadwood's trade with India in the early years of the 19th century was not substantial, he had agents in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras by 1813.\(^2\)

Useful though the agents were, pianists were of equal importance. 'Professors' of music were given a special discount: the famous pianist Franz Lauska of Berlin was given a large discount on the grand piano he ordered from Clementi.\(^4\) 'Professors' received a third off the usual retail price; Lauska and others like him paid only £50 for a piano normally costing £75, thus paying less than the wholesale price. Pianists and composers also acted on behalf of customers: in 1800 Dussek wrote to the (then) firm of Longman, Clementi and Co. asking them to send two grand pianos for two Gentlemen whom I have persuaded to purchase them after they heard my own...[they] are very impatient about it and I am afraid if I do not receive a decided Answer from you about it...they will be induced to buy some of their German instruments as they are pretty well
influenced by the Capel Master of this
Town, who is [...] an ill natured anglomane.**

A good pianist's performance on a piano was an advertisement
in itself; Clementi asked for the very best instruments to be sent
to his pupils Berger and Klengel, who naturally paid the special
reduced price. John Field, Clementi's best-known pupil, spent his
eyears demonstrating his master's pianos abroad and was later
installed as a teacher in aristocratic households.*** Field had on
occasion chosen pianos for customers of Broadwood, and the firm
was no doubt delighted to be able to mention the name of this
reputed pianist to a recalcitrant customer in a letter of December
1802:

We also beg to state that the instrument
you are going to return was chosen by
Mr. Field at the desire of Mr. Lawrell
and Mr. Salomon who had chosen one pre-
viously to Mr. Field's making choice on
whose acknowledged abilities they chose
ultimately to depend.**

Well-known pianists were often asked by potential customers
to choose pianos for them, though sometimes this went awry, as on
one occasion when a purchase and a hire were confused:

When Mr. Cipolla chose the grand Piano
Forte we sent to you, he told us it was
to purchase, else we should not have
sent so valuable an Inst. on hire, as it
is you may keep it till the time you
mention and on hearing from you when you
have done wt [with it] we shall send for
it away.**

Hiring out instruments was an important part of Broadwood's
trade, though presumably the best instruments were kept for sale.
Some instruments were hired out for concerts; in 1796 the firm
charged 15 shillings per night for a grand piano, and 10s 6d for a
square, perhaps for use at a private party at home. The royal princesses had a grand pianoforte on hire for almost a year in 1796 for £12 4s 6d. Tuning and repairs were important features in the early days of the firm, and the early records give the names of the tuners. Most of the work was carried out in London. However, by 1802, presumably because of their expansion, the firm was showing some reluctance to travel far (in this case to Twickenham) to undertake such work:

In respecting to tuning your Piano Forte we are loth to undertake it on any terms as we are certain it would not be in our power to attend to it in a way to give satisfaction.

Broadwood's wholesale and retail sales did not become fully differentiated by using different ledgers for each until as late as 1808, though before then it was obvious that such differences obtained. In 1801, the date of the first letters in the Letter Book, Broadwood wrote to a prospective customer that 'if the Order was for four Instruments we should then consider you as a wholesale dealer'. It was owing to the expansion of the business, both through the appointment of dealers (who were given special rates) and the increase of 'professors' and 'music masters' as clients, that such a division became more apparent. In the earlier ledgers, 'chance trade' was an important aspect of the business: like Wedgwood, Broadwood recognized the selling potential of a smart London showroom.

Both firms did a certain amount of business selling pianos not of their own manufacture and other instruments and accessories. Like many others, Clementi's firm dealt not only in pianos but in
most other musical instruments as well. Naturally the firm did not make all these instruments themselves but stocked the wares of other makers. Thus we see Clementi's promising a Mr Davidoff both a grand pianoforte and a harp, and a lyre guitar to 'his Excell. Mons. de Correa'. It appears that music was often included to fill up orders and one order included 'a very small, neat C-tuning-fork, concert pitch'. Similarly, between 1794 and 1796 the firm of Corri, Dussek & Co. in Edinburgh ordered violin and harp strings, a piano by Schoene and various volumes of music from Broadwood.

In 1813 an order sent to the Liverpool dealer Banks included not just the customary pianos, but also '4 lbs. Best German Steel 9.10.11.12. at 18/' (presumably strings) and 'a bedscrew wrench'. Although Broadwood did not sell music himself, it seemed to be a common practice to make up small amounts of money in music. He wrote to his agent in Charleston in 1802 that 'the small balance due you we should have sent in Music'.

'Second' pianofortes, presumably older ones that had been traded in, were also an important source of income: Clementi offered a second-hand grand 'for about 40 pounds or guineas at the most' to the proconsul at Naples: this would have been about half the price of a new grand piano. Broadwood too had a steady turnover of 'seconds', though they were not always instruments he was willing to recommend:

We have 2 SPF [squares] one by Beck the other by Longman & Broderip which are indiffert instrum.n [sic]. We co'd put them in order and let you have for 7. 7 [£7 7s] each. Understand we don't wish to recommend them to you.
Such instruments were acquired in part-exchange. Broadwood seemed never to be short of them and even as late as July 1806 he was still trying to get rid of a harpsichord, by now long out of fashion, absent-mindedly calling it a piano:

The value of the old PF made in 1787 may be 8 Guineas. At that price we will take it in exchange for either of the following PFs - a new pianoforte add. [at]
30 guineas or a Shudi & Broadwood double Harpsichord with Venetian swell in mahogany case 20 guineas.

It seemed unlikely that any customer would buy a harpsichord at this late date: Broadwood had long ago stopped taking them as trade-ins, their sale being 'heavy and uncertain' already by 1802. Broadwood, unlike Clementi, did not sell other instruments but was willing to act as a go-between or at least to advise on the purchase of them:

We will allow you 35 guineas for your Gd. Pianoforte in exchange for a new one wt add.1 keys which we sell at 75 Gu...A Lady has a harp to sell made by Erat...for which she asks 35 Gu...Erard is the most fashionable maker - but we know of no secondhand instrument of his at present. Mr Stumph [Stumpff] we think makes the best Harp - his price is 75 G. If you chose to have one of his, we think we can persuade [sic] him to throw off to you the music masters premium which is 12 G.

In another letter Broadwood passed on an enquiry regarding bassoons to Preston as they did not deal 'in any other article than Pianofortes'.

The interest in harps shown by both Broadwood's and Clementi's customers shows clearly the popularity of that instrument, which in the early 1800s was a serious rival to the
piano. However, it is significant that a harp cost as much as a grand piano: at a third of the price the square piano was able to corner much of the market previously dominated by the harp.²²

Both businesses expanded in different ways. The impatience with which Clementi wrote for instruments and the delay that seemed to attend their delivery suggest that, as in the case of Broadwood, demand often outstripped supply. Of course the two firms differed substantially in their trade. Clementi was from the beginning a music publisher and like other publishers he stocked a wide range of musical instruments. He differed from them in manufacturing his own pianos, and not simply acting as a dealer for other makers. A 'Grand Catalogue' of 1823, numbering some 200 pages, carries the revealing subtitle: 'Manufacturers of Grand, Cabinet and Square Piano-Forbes, Harps, Organs, Clarinets, Flutes, Violins, Violoncellos, Guitars, Harp lutes, Military and every other description of Musical Instruments and Music Sellers to His Majesty, The Royal Family and the Hon. East India Company'. Quite simply, in addition to pianos, Clementi & Co. could supply any instrument from a flageolet to a self-acting barrel organ as well as music by hundreds of composers. The mention of royalty was no accident: Wedgwood had exploited the enormous cachet of royal and aristocratic patronage long before this, and from 1800 Broadwood styled themselves 'Manufacturers to his Majesty and The Princesses'.

Both Clementi and Broadwood produced catalogues to advertise their wares: Clementi in fact mentions a 'grand catalogue' in a letter of 1805 where he instructs Collard to send one to Count
Many of the letters copied in Broadwood's Letter Book were accompanied by price lists and descriptions of pianos. Newspapers were also used for advertising, and Broadwood even advised agents elsewhere on how they might word an advertisement:

In the advertisement you talk of putting into the papers we think you may wt propriety call them Broadwoods improv'd & durable Pianofortes for even our opponets [sic] acknowledge their superiority in standing in tune longer.  

In contrast to Clementi, Broadwood made pianos his sole business interest. The sheer volume of sales even by the first decade of the 19th century must have far outrun all competitors; indeed he boasted in a letter of December 1809 that 'we believe we make more Pianofortes than any four houses in London'. As we have seen, the business worked by importing some materials ready-made and by dividing labour among specialists. Wainwright states that by the end of the first decade of the 19th century Broadwood was employing 100 men. The growth of the business was such that Streicher in 1851 reported that the firm was employing between 300 and 400 men at the factory in Horseferry Road, which itself took up about half a mile of space. Some 40 men were employed as tuners out of a total of over 500 at the two factories. Curiously, wages were paid per piano: four shillings for a square and five shillings for a grand. Weekly wages paid out by the firm averaged £1,000.

The expansion of the two businesses was not without difficulties. Strict attention had to be paid to quality: a recurring complaint in Clementi's letters involves the piano sold
to Lauska; its touch was 'a lousy one' and the tone 'as dry as my purse'. Similarly, the Prince of Magdeburg, by this time (1803) the employer of Dussek, was not altogether impressed with Clementi's instruments:

The prince was lately here, and immediately paid me the first visit, which I (politely) soon returned. He played a couple of hours to me, for which I gave him only 3 dishes of tea. He said he had 3 gr. Pfortes of ours, the first of which was much the best; concluding our manufacture to have considerably suffered by my absence; and as the devil would have it, he had some plea to confirm his assertion, as poor Lauska's instrument happened to be in my house...whose tone and touch --- but, no more on that sore subject --- we will not renovare dolorem. He ran riot in praising Tomkison's, two of which he possesses (as well as one of Broadwood's). But I made him confess Tomkison's to be less powerful than ours; ...besides I had a right to doubt whether the 2 he disapproved of were really of our manufacture; and if they were, the chooser might have been unlucky; for who can pretend to succeed equally in every production, especially in as vast and numerous undertaking as ours is?13

Such comments again reflect on the individuality of the grand pianos in particular, and the need for regular checks on quality, either at the home factory or by agents abroad who could tune and regulate instruments when they arrived at the port.

Clearly the 'lines, channels and connections' of the European nobility were important, just as they had been for Wedgwood in the previous century.14 Clementi also hints at the piracy problem which was a constant threat, for it was an easy matter to make a piano and simply stencil on the name of a more famous maker.

Another problem was that of transport. It is astonishing that so many instruments found their way to countries far from
their place of origin. As cross-country travel was damaging and costly, pianos were usually shipped to their destination. Instruments had to be packed carefully. Clementi instructed Collard to make 'the packing case proof against water, inside lined with linen or baize...in the outside, oil-cloth; and over all matting'. Often instruments could be sent only at certain times of the year, especially to the Continent: 'Send it before the ice shuts up the navigation'. Clementi was careful to have agents in the important ports of Stettin (for his trade in Berlin) and Riga.

The very fact that both businesses survived such adverse circumstances points to the strength of the Wedgwood legacy. The making of keyboard instruments, hitherto nothing more than a small, localized industry, became international business, with their owners earning enough income to place them in the upper echelons of society. By 1811 Clementi's firm was worth £111,922 and made a profit of over £5,000, of which Clementi took over £1,500, the remainder being divided among the remaining four partners (see Table 1). Broadwood was even more profitable: Wainwright states that at about the same time John Broadwood received about £5,000 a year from the firm, and his son James Shudi Broadwood between £3,500 and £6,000 annually.

Broadwood and Clementi had exploited Wedgwood's business methods with success. However, no business could be successful without a marketable product. The piano, with its meteoric success from humble beginnings, was a remarkable product indeed. We shall see that the piano makers exploited their newly found middle class market to the full and provided enough different types of piano to
suit a varied clientele. It is to the piano consumers and their relationship to the piano makers that we must now turn.
Table 1: Clementi Partnership Accounts, 24 June 1811

Creditors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amounts due to sundries</th>
<th>A&amp;B ledgers</th>
<th>£</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7,361</td>
<td>3/3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muzio Clementi his Capital</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advance, Profit to 1 Sept 1810 and Interest to this Day</td>
<td>£42,664</td>
<td>7/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less 6/18 of £1,511 15/6 and one year's interest on £30,235 balances due from old p'ship</td>
<td>(503 18/6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josiah Banger, his Capital</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advance &amp; Profit to 1/9/10</td>
<td>26,106</td>
<td>8/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less 4/18 of £1,511 15/6</td>
<td>(335 19/-)</td>
<td>26,770</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fredk. Wm. Collard his Cptl.</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advance &amp; Profits...</td>
<td>7,561</td>
<td>17/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less 4/18 etc</td>
<td>(335 19/-)</td>
<td>7,225</td>
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<tr>
<td>David Davis his Cptl.</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advance &amp; Profits</td>
<td>3,921</td>
<td>8/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less 4/18 etc</td>
<td>(335 19/-)</td>
<td>3,585</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wm. Fredk. Collard his Cptl.</td>
<td>1,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amount due to F. A. Hyde</td>
<td>9,187</td>
<td>10/-</td>
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Profit Share from 1/9/10 - 24/6/11:

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<tr>
<th>Muzio Clementi</th>
<th>6/20</th>
<th>1,689</th>
<th>6/5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Josiah Banger</td>
<td>4/20</td>
<td>1,126</td>
<td>4/3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fredk. Wm. Collard</td>
<td>4/20</td>
<td>1,126</td>
<td>4/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Davis</td>
<td>4/20</td>
<td>1,126</td>
<td>4/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. Fredk. Collard</td>
<td>2/20</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>2/2</td>
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111,922 0/8
Due from Old P'shp 30,235 10/-

Debtors Ledger A 4,490 14/9
  B 11,453 4/2
  J 1,005 10/-
  F 3,657 5/1
  P 605 15/-

Stock

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<tr>
<td>Instruments</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music plates &amp; engraving</td>
<td>3,129 11/-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Copyright</td>
<td>4,015 9/6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Furniture (val'n) Cheapside</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fixtures at Cheapside (val'n)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuf, &amp; unmanuf, stock at T.Ct.Rd.</td>
<td>18,152 15/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act, of Printed Music</td>
<td>406 9/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faverey's Interest</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest due on India Bonds</td>
<td>25  --</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Wine</td>
<td>140  --</td>
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Amount pd to F.A.Hyde for retiring (liquidated by instalments) 3,000  --

Sundry works, finished but not taken in stock 129  --

Drawings

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Amount</th>
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<td>Muzio Clementi</td>
<td>1,221 7/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josiah Banger</td>
<td>1,895 2/10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fredk. Wa. Collard</td>
<td>714 15/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Davis</td>
<td>599 13/4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wa. Fredk. Collard</td>
<td>147 11/-</td>
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</table>

Cash & Bills in hand 10,778 1/7

111,922 0/8
Pianos and Consumers

In 1776 Adam Smith wrote in *The Wealth of Nations* that 'consumption is the sole end and purpose of all production; and the interest of the producer ought to be attended to only so far as it may be necessary for promoting that of the consumer'. This well-worn quotation serves well to launch a discussion of the consumer society as it affected the pianoforte. We have seen how both Broadwood and Clementi marketed their wares to a changing and expanding clientele. However, the direct relationship between consumer and maker must also be seen in the light of the product itself and it is in this respect that the Broadwood ledgers and letters are a useful barometer of changing fashions and predilections. Smith's statement, though, cannot be taken purely as read in the case of Broadwood. We shall see that on occasion Broadwood did not always respond to consumer demand; at other times he failed to anticipate it. Fashion was indeed a fickle mistress, not always to be manipulated by entrepreneur and merchant alike. Consumer reaction was not always predictable and was often influenced by outside factors.

First, who were these consumers? The early records of Broadwood's firm show a largely aristocratic clientele, but by the end of the century this had changed and the firm was dealing with a broader swathe of society. It is tempting to ally the rise in piano sales to a widening market made up of the new 'middle classes', but the term itself needs careful definition. It has
often been used to define the amorphous group of people who were neither aristocracy nor artisans; but as William Weber has pointed out, such a classification raises more problems than it solves. Quoting Robert Forster, he suggests a provisional definition of the 18th-century middle classes, namely 'those occupational groups who do not work with their hands, who live in urban centers above 2,000 inhabitants, and who are not part of an hereditary titled nobility'. Forster suggests that these groups included 'merchants, manufacturers, tax farmers, lawyers, office-holders, civil servants, clergymen, physicians and intellectuals', echoing to some extent William Beckford, who in 1761 spoke of the 'middling people of England' as 'the manufacturer, the yeoman, the merchant [and] the country gentleman'. Both Weber and Forster point out that these people did not think of themselves as members of a monolithic middle class, but rather as part of the professions or 'orders'. Weber also suggests that the activities of the nobility and the middle classes to some extent overlapped, with aristocrats becoming involved in business enterprises and bourgeois businessmen aspiring to own land in order to further the 'dynastic conception of the family' that they shared with the aristocracy. Porter suggests further that, far from thinking of their society as turning upon struggle between three classes (i.e. aristocracy, bourgeoisie and proletariat), citizens tended to separate into groups according to interests – 'wealth, occupation, region, religion, family, political loyalty and connexion'.

Twentieth-century comment on the class order is complemented by some contemporary documentation: Colquhoun's Treatise on the
Wealth of the British Empire (1814), based on the population censuses of 1801 and 1811, provides a valuable (though flawed) commentary on the period, especially with regard to social strata. Colquhoun delineates seven social groups ranging from royalty down to 'vagrants, gipsies and rogues'. Entry to the first two classes was by birth, but both earned income and status were deciding factors in determining who belonged to groups 3 and 4. Group 3 included 'dignified clergy, state employees, elevated lawyers, physicians, considerable merchants, manufacturers and bankers of the first order'. Their numbers were relatively few - only 61,000 in the UK. Group 4 was much larger, incorporating people such as clergymen, lawyers, doctors, teachers, 'second class merchants and manufacturers', shopowners plus tradesmen on moderate incomes. They numbered 1,168,250 - probably an inaccurate figure, but of some use as a proportion of Colquhoun's total population figure of over 16 million. Colquhoun goes on to describe the lower middle class in group 5, whose numbers were approximately double that of group 4, saving the largest population for group 6, who formed over half the population as a whole. Colquhoun's survey suggests that the middle classes formed only about ten percent of the population. It is significant that Colquhoun groups the manufacture of musical instruments with 'cork, toys and miscellaneous articles' - hardly in a class with the major industries of the day.  

The records of the Broadwood firm reveal much about the type of customer who bought pianos. John Broadwood's Journal, covering the years from 1771-1785, is an early document. In the early years there is a significant scattering of aristocratic names:
Lady Caroline Sym was a regular customer for tuning, as were Lord Cathcart and Lord Spencer. Others give the impression of gentility, if not aristocratic birth: Miss Kerr of 41 Mortimer Street hired a single harpsichord 'by order of Clementi', and instruments were sold to Mr Trevor, Mr Booth, Mr Atkinson and Miss Pitt. A Dr Lee was sold two pianofortes for £31 10s in 1783.

Musicians were also customers, or acted for others: Dr Burney ordered an instrument for Lady Cope at £21 and 'Mr Giardini' (the violinist Felice Giardini) ordered two pianofortes for 'Le Marquis de Champunitz' in Grosvenor Square for £42. Wainwright mentions the earliest recorded Broadwood square being sent to 'Miss Pelham at Brixton' on 9 August 1770 and the names of customers with addresses in fashionable towns such as Brighton and Bath as well as in the better parts of London throughout the 18th century suggest a prosperous clientele. Broadwood's later development of trade with provincial organists, music masters (discussed above, p.27) and music sellers such as Aspinall in Birmingham, H. & V. Mudge of Truro and Boyton of Bristol points to a growing network of customers who were able to buy their instruments locally. Pupils of the music masters were probably the daughters of local people who occupied the social strata between artisans and aristocracy. The names and addresses of customers appearing in the Letter Book and the ledgers reveal a cross-section of clientele where, as Weber suggests, aristocratic interests overlapped with those of lesser born folk. For example in 1802-3 there were dealings with Mr Green, music seller of Doncaster (in a complicated transaction that involved a Dr Miller - possibly the Doncaster
organist Edward Miller, and B. Frank Esq.), the Misses Fletcher and Dutton of Twickenham, Mrs Marsh of Montpellier Row, Blackheath, Mr Pitman, music seller, of Kingsmead Street, Bath, Mr P. Burgess of the library, Ramsgate, Mr. Smith of Camberwell Grove, Surrey, Miss M. Greatorex, organist of Leicester, the Rt. Hon. Charlotte Campbell of Edinburgh, Mr. W. Fletcher, music master, Birmingham, Miss E. Costerson of Ipswich, and a number of customers in Oxford, viz Mr Allright, Mr Wickins and Mr Thomas Chambers of Worcester College. Other genteel customers included the Reverend C. Hayward of Haverhill, Suffolk, Mrs Lawrell of Hatchlands, Mr V. Whalley of Foster Hall, Derby, Miss Boone of Lewisham, Miss Wilkinson of Grove Hill House, Watford, Miss R. Crawford of Castle Montrose, Mrs Hyde of Lexham Hall, Rongham, Norfolk and other similarly genteel-sounding customers in towns such as Bath, Hertford, Maidstone and Ramsgate. The polite (and sometimes sycophantic) tone of Broadwood's letters to his customers also suggests that he was not dealing with artisans but with people of some education who had enough money and leisure time to spend on pianos. The conclusion to be drawn from the evidence above appears to be that while the aristocracy remained a part of Broadwood's clientele, an increasing number of his customers was drawn from the genteel classes 3 and 4 described by Colquhoun.

Musical taste in London was predominantly biased towards foreign works; the taste for Italian opera, for example, had been long established and much of the music published was by foreign composers. The London piano makers were fortunate that the prevalent English taste for foreign music and artists did not
extend to the pianos themselves. The reasons for this were partly practical: music could be imported cheaply, but pianos could not, owing not least to transport problems. The Viennese piano was never a serious competitor to the dominant English square; there were never as many of them, they were not in demand in the London market and transport over land would have been unfeasible, both raising costs and damaging delicate instruments. We have seen that Broadwood's supply of 'second' Viennese pianos was small and that in fact the English square piano met the space and cost demands of most of the market. Although not as sophisticated in action and touch as the grand piano, and with far less volume, the square underwent continuing improvement over the four decades after its introduction.

It is also important to take into account the transitional period between the era of the harpsichord and the advent of the piano. London had been the base for a fair number of good harpsichord makers such as Jacob Kirkman and Burkat Shudi. It was Shudi who took on the young John Broadwood as an apprentice harpsichord maker, forming a partnership with him in 1770. John Broadwood took over the firm after Shudi's death in 1773, and in 1795 took his eldest son James into partnership. Another son, Thomas, became a partner in 1808 and the firm took the name 'John Broadwood and Sons'. John Broadwood himself died in 1812 and his two sons continued the business. It was over these years that the piano supplanted the harpsichord in popularity, so much so that a firm known for its fine harpsichords in 1770 emerged as the premier piano manufacturer by 1800.
John Broadwood's Journal, mentioned above, shows a developing pattern of sales, hires and tunings which remained the firm's main activities later on. However, at this time the firm was small, producing only 15 harpsichords in 1772. Shudi had patented the Venetian swell in 1769; consequently many of the instruments, both single and double manual, were sold with this device. Throughout the 1770s the sales of harpsichords remained reasonably strong, though by 1776 there was already a significant number of entries dealing with pianos. By the 1780s the pianoforte was showing itself to be a serious competitor to the harpsichord. It is difficult to be exact about figures for this time, but the records for 1783 show piano sales to be roughly double those of harpsichords and in 1784 Wainwright reckons that 133 pianos and only 38 harpsichords were sold. The hiring aspect of the business was also important, and some of the entries show customers gradually changing over from the harpsichord to the piano. For instance, in May 1783 a pianoforte was sent to the Royal Circus 'till the Harp be repaired'. Broadwood was dealing in second-hand pianos by other makers as well: in November 1783 a Pohlmann piano was sent to Ostend. However, some entries show a confusion between harpsichord and piano, as in the two pianos 'with Harp stops & Pedals' sent to Mr Obert of Boulogne in 1785. Some square pianos were also made with a 'nag's head' swell which raised part of the lid. This otiose hangover from the end of the harpsichord era soon became used less for its expressive effect than for rather more mundane effects; indeed, Kenneth Nobbs has suggested that shutting the swell with a
crash is the 'nearest equivalent to Turkish music that this...can achieve.' One can speculate that such a device might have been useful in re-creating cannon effects in programmatic battle music. The practice of adding swells to pianos went on rather longer than one would expect. In 1799 Broadwood tried to dissuade a customer from having a Venetian swell fitted, 'being convinced they deaden the tone to appearance, and being exceedingly tiresome to make', but even this did not mark the end of the practice: Mobbs has described a Broadwood piano of 1808 which is fitted with a Venetian swell.

Broadwood was also selling materials associated with making instruments, such as quills and jacks, a feature which continued into the piano trade of later years. These sales remained limited, though, and did not form an important part of the business. Trade was also expanding beyond England: pianos were sent to Lisbon and Jamaica, and Broadwood already had agents in Oporto and Boulogne as well as in Ireland and Scotland.

There has been much confusion in the past over this significant time in keyboard history, much of it over the links between repertory and instruments. It is important to realize that although keyboard music was undoubtedly undergoing stylistic change, much of the music written in the 1770s was equally playable on either the harpsichord or the piano. Pianos were still feeble in tone and unreliable in action; the harpsichord had a much bigger sound and was already fully developed, though the late English instruments were rather complicated and apt to give trouble. It must be remembered that concert life in London was
active; although a square piano was played publicly as early as 1767, there can be no doubt that it was as yet hardly fit for the concert hall. Plantinga has demonstrated that Clementi's op. 2, a work of the early 1770s and often designated as being intrinsically for the piano, was probably publicly performed on a rich-sounding English harpsichord.24

However, there is no doubt that harpsichord sales did indeed fall off dramatically in the 1780s. Broadwood, having ceased production in 1793, managed to sell 17 harpsichords the next year, and these now obsolete instruments became the bane of the firm's existence in the next two decades. Although no longer making harpsichords themselves, the firm continued to wheedle prospective customers into purchasing whatever stock was left, usually Kirkmans. A Mr Bluvitt was offered 'a very fine toned Kirkman Harpsichord in walnut tree case with double keys' for 15 guineas as well as another two-manual instrument and two single manual harpsichords.25 The situation became so desperate by the end of 1802 that Broadwood offered a discount of 15 guineas on a grand piano purely 'in consideration of your not troubling us with your harpsichord'.26

By the time he stopped making harpsichords, Broadwood was busy selling grand and square pianos, and improving the latter's volume and action. In producing both types Broadwood managed to cater to all types of customer: grands were suitable for concerts and also appealed to the luxury end of the market while the square met the needs of the growing numbers of performers wishing to entertain themselves at home. The popularity of the square was
such that Broadwood eventually offered several models, classifying them in the ledgers according to compass, frame (meaning stand), elegance, size and action. As keys were added to the upper range of the piano, the squares were sold either with the old or 'common compass' or with the coveted 'additional keys'. This aspect was perhaps the most obvious feature of pianos at this time, and fashions changed rapidly. However, compass on the squares tended to lag somewhat behind the grands, as this letter of 1802 demonstrates:

The pianoforte you have seen has not 6 octaves, we never having made any square pianoforte with that number of keys - you find it has but 5½ octaves. The Grand Pianoforte with either 5½ or 6 octaves we send great numbers of to Petersburgh and Mosco but have sent none to your town [Copenhagen].

Even by 1809 Broadwood was still clinging defensively to the 5½-octave square and was unusually reluctant to consider adding keys, partly for technical reasons, but perhaps also because sales of these instruments were good and there seemed to be little demand for six octaves in the amateur music market.

You ordered three Piano Fortes with 6 Octaves - we have never made any Square Piano forte with more than 5½ Octaves - the Square Pianoforte not admitting from its size a string of sufficient length to give additional Bass notes and additional keys to FF in the Treble, not being in use here not called for inasmuch that altho' it is now near 20 years since we introduced the additional keys in the treble up to C and that soon after some makers made a few up to FF. We have never been, but once before asked to make one up to that tone and yet we believe we make more Pianofortes than any four houses in London...
Broadwood had indeed been asked to add a further half-octave to the top of the piano range, from f² to c⁴ by the composer Dussek, who introduced the 'extra keys' in his sonata op. 24 of 1793; however, here Broadwood is referring to a piano made in 1796 for Manuel de Godoy, then premier of Spain. Wainwright cites the invoice which describes the instrument as 'a Grand Pianoforte 6 octaves C to C' (i.e. CC - c⁴) at the astronomical price of £223 13s, on account of its ornate decoration of 'water gilt mouldings' and 'Wedgwood's and Tassie's medallions'. However, Godoy's instrument was unique both in compass and in decoration. There would surely have been no point in marketing a 6-octave instrument at this early date as most works of the period remain resolutely within the 5-octave range until about the turn of the century, when the 5½-octave range became more common. Broadwood was evidently selling squares with the 5½-octave range from 1794 but 73% of the squares sold at this time had the older 'common compass'. Significantly the opposite situation applied to sales of grand pianos, where two thirds of the pianos sold had the 5½-octave compass. Clearly the grand piano was capable of sustaining the additional pressure caused by the extra half octave by virtue of its more stable triangular shape, and in this aspect was ahead of the square in its technical development. There was also a different clientele for the grand - there were those who bought mainly for the prestige attached to owning a grand piano and also those who intended to perform repertory (such as the concerto) suited to the greater volume and compass provided by the larger piano. Many of the customers wanting grand pianos in 1794 were
musicians such as Bertini, Hullmandel and George Smart, some of whom acted as agents. Smart's pianos for instance were sent to different addresses and he also hired a grand piano for four months.3

The professionals may well have preferred grand pianos on which to perform their concertos, but these were often played on squares at home: many scores give alternative 5- and 5½-octave versions. The 5½-octave version appeared in large type with the 5-octave alternative given in small type above. Ultimately the 5-octave versions disappeared altogether.32 In 1807, the date of Clementi's momentous visit to Beethoven, the wily piano maker and publisher negotiated for the violin concerto, which Beethoven agreed to adapt 'for the pianoforte with and without additional keys'.33

Certainly by the turn of the century 5½-octave squares had become more popular and more repertory was being written for them. By 1802 Broadwood was recommending 'those with additional keys as being far more fashionable and better' at a price of 28 guineas.34 An ordinary 5-octave square cost £25.35 Even by 1812 Cramer wrote in his Instructions for the Pianoforte that the pianofortes most in use were those 'with additional keys', though he also stated that there were still some available with only the 5-octave compass from FF to f3. A footnote gives the additional information that 'some pianofortes with 6 octaves from F to F have been lately made, but they are not yet universally introduced'.36 Not everyone was enthusiastic about the constant addition of keys; the theorist and editor A. F. C. Kollmann warned that 'though any rational extension
of the compass of the scale, is an improvement in an instrument, the modern rage for additional keys *without end*, seems to carry the art of invention too far in that respect'.

It was in Broadwood's interests to promote the fashion for 5½-octave instruments and by 1802 he was actively urging buyers to choose squares with the 'additional keys', despite the continuing availability of those with the 'common compass':

> We can furnish you with a Piano Forte such as we now sell new for Twenty Four Guineas, for Twenty Pounds ready Money -- we however would wish to recommend those with additional Keys as being far more fashionable and better - these new we sell at 28 Guineas.

However, Broadwood's opportunism was such that he could not resist trying to offload some old stock on his American agents. It is possible that fashions in America trailed somewhat behind the British trade:

> We have several second-hand grand Piano-fortes of good makers without additional keys which we would furnish at from £15 to £20 each -- would you sell them at New York? - here nothing sells but with additional keys!

Broadwood had also tried to persuade his Philadelphia agent to take some old grand pianos in lieu of squares, the implication being that the better tone would compensate for the shorter compass:

> We would...recommend you to allow us to send you some second hand grand pianofortes com. [common compass = 5 octaves] which we do of our or Stodart's make in good order for £25... in quality and quantity of tone they would be superior to any SPF [square pianoforte] we could make you...

Broadwood introduced the 6-octave grand piano early in the century. The additional keys were now both in the treble and the
bass, as described in a letter of 1802: 'The Grand Piano Forte with 6 Octaves with the additional keys in Treble and Bass we sell at Eighty Gs'. A more exact idea of the range appeared in 1809: 'The 6-octave GPF extends from CC in the Treble to cc in the Bass' (i.e. CC – c⁴). In fact the new notes were in the bass, a trend adopted only in England and not taken up by the Viennese makers at this time.

Broadwood's sales of the new larger grand piano did not take off immediately: a letter of 1804 states that the extra keys were 'but little used and of little use' and even by 1809 a letter to an American agent states that they were still 'not in use here nor called for'. It was clearly mistaken of Broadwood to have introduced six octaves on the grand when the square was firmly established as a 5½-octave instrument. There was almost no music written for the new 6-octave range, which is not surprising as the market for grands was still relatively small. Clearly the rapid change of fashion which had led to the change from 5-octave to 5½-octave compass was not to recur in the subsequent increase from 5½ to 6 octaves; indeed, to judge by the Broadwood ledgers it was not until 1825 that the 6-octave grand had established itself, by which time the 6-octave square was also well established and an additional half octave was available on the grand.

Many of Broadwood's customers came to expect the same 6-octave compass on the square after it had been introduced on the grand. Perhaps because of his sobering experience with the grands, Broadwood resisted all requests for extra keys, claiming that not only was the extension of compass on the square technically
impossible, but there was no music written for the extra keys anyway:

The Square Pianoforte is not made here by reputable makers with more than 5½ octaves – their length not admitting a string sufficient to produce extra notes in the Bass and additional keys beyond the additional key'd C in the Treble, not being required by any music yet published.\(^{44}\)

It is typical of the competition and invention in the piano industry that Broadwood was making and selling 6-octave squares by 1813, though sales of the 5½-octave instrument remained high until as late as 1825.

Clementi also brought out the new range at about the same time: the title page of Cramer's Grand Concerto op. 48 says it is for 'the Pianoforte as newly constructed by Clementi & Co. with Additional Keys up to F and also arranged for the Pianoforte up to C'. In this case the new instrument must have been a square piano with a range of six octaves from FF to f\(^4\). Although concertos were played publicly on grand pianos, the printed editions were directed at the much more lucrative amateur market and their square pianos.

The reasons for making the new square piano compass different from the grand (i.e. without the extra bass notes) might have been technical, for the additional pressure caused by the extra bass strings may well have been too much for the square frame; alternatively, the makers may have learned from their experience on the grands that customers on the whole preferred extra notes in the treble rather than in the bass.
The issue of varying compasses provides a good example of the need for the manufacturing and publishing trades to collaborate, and Clementi was in an ideal position to do this. Virtually none of the music in print for amateurs to play at this time required a 6-octave compass. Composers wrote for the majority: there was little point in writing music for six octaves if the buying public had only 5½-octave instruments. It was up to composers to take the lead and makers to follow: Dussek had taken the first step in 1794, writing music for 5½ octaves when the 5-octave range was dominant, but others had to follow suit if the makers were to profit from making 6-octave instruments. Cramer's collaboration with Clementi in producing the concerto mentioned above for a 6-octave instrument is a good example of such co-operation, but it is significant that a 5½-octave version was also supplied: both composer and publisher were aiming at the widest possible market while still trying to induce a fashion for a larger instrument. It is also significant that in his later concertos, op. 51 (c1813) and op. 56 (c1815) Cramer reverted to the 5½-octave range. The entrepreneurs manipulated fashion in the hope of making more money by selling new instruments, but they had to do so with caution.

In addition to using extra notes, composers began to include pedal markings after the turn of the century. The early squares were made without a damper pedal; even by 1800 Broadwood's ledgers differentiate between square pianos on French frames with or without a damper pedal. However, it was not long before a pedal became a necessary accoutrement. On the whole, the London composers were conservative in their use of the pedal. It was
Daniel Steibelt, newly arrived from Paris, who began to use pedal markings to denote the use of both the damper and 'piano' pedals. In an introduction which appeared in several publications of the late 1790s, Steibelt explained his use of the pedals as a means of creating 'more variety on the pianoforte', but required performers to use the facility 'with utmost care'.\(^{45}\) Cramer described the pedals in common use in his *Instructions*, commenting that squares had but one damper pedal, and grands two, the damper pedal often being used for 'open pedal' effects (i.e. holding the damper pedal down over several bars) in slow movements.\(^{46}\)

A damper pedal could of course be added on to an older instrument. In a letter of January 1804 to a Mr Whalley, Broadwood offered to repair a piano of 1795, charging two guineas to add a pedal.\(^{47}\) A piano could become obsolete within only a decade at this time, so quickly did fashions change. In 1804 Broadwood wrote to his agent Villers in Charleston that 'in fact the Damper Pedal is so generally used that we seldom make a pianoforte without now'.\(^{45}\) Certainly the ledgers bear this out: from about 1803 onwards most squares were sold 'ad D.P.' - with a damper pedal.

Broadwood was also introducing extra pedals on to the grand piano, though the fashion for janissary and bassoon stops remained a Viennese characteristic and never really became popular in England. A letter of December 1805 deals with an order for a grand piano with four pedals, a feature which Broadwood had just introduced with success, as he wrote that 'having so many of that sort of Instrument bespoke we are afraid it will not be in our
power to supply you till the middle of next month'. A letter of March 1806 explained the use of a third pedal, apparently not uncommon, which would 'give the effect of a sostenuto bass and [illegible] treble'. This might refer to two damper pedals, one to control the treble, the other the bass (a hangover from the old hand-stop system) plus the una corda pedal. Within three years or so the two damper pedals were incorporated into one split pedal, a feature which lasted into the early 1820s.

A letter to Breitkopf and Härtel in March 1806 goes further to explain the extra pedals, perhaps hoping that they would be competitive with the Viennese pianos sold on the Continent:

Till within three months we have never manufactured any P.F. with more than 2 Pedals, one making a Piano the other a sostenuto. The pedal called soudine we have just begun to add - it makes a very soft douce tone.

Broadwood had patented the soudine, also known as the sordin or mute, as long ago as 1783, in which a pedal would lift off or on to the strings a piece of wood curved to lie along the bridge and lined with 'soft leather, hair or silk shagg'. Leather produced a sound much like the German Lautenzug or lute stop, while hair or silk shagg resembled the Harfenzug, not to be confused with the harp stop. The soudine was in fact the fourth pedal, after the two damper pedals and the una corda.

Often customers requested particular pedals: in 1804 Broadwood described a rather inappropriate stop as a last resort to a dissatisfied buyer:

In respect to putting a soft pedal other than what it at present possesses no mode has as yet been discovered...we can put a soft stop as used in Germany - the tones
like a flute or rather sticcado at we dare say about three Guineas should you desire it.\textsuperscript{83}

This stop might have been something like the German \textit{Pianozug}, where strips of cloth or leather were placed between the hammers and strings. A similar device was patented in 1788 by Bury.\textsuperscript{84}

Clearly tone was a preoccupation of customers and makers alike. Early letters show that some customers actually wanted a tone rather like a harpsichord; as we have already seen, Broadwood had to dissuade a customer from having an unseemly swell device fitted to his piano. But as the expressive qualities of the piano became apparent, some confusion reigned over quality of tone. It was clearly something which concerned Clementi, whose letters to Collard show great concern about the quality of grand pianoforte being sent, and are full of the names of an aristocratic clientele, or as Clementi put it, 'people of the first consequence'.\textsuperscript{88}

With the grand piano the main preoccupation was tone, and it seems that at this level customers could make their own specifications in this regard, as shown in one of Clementi's letters:

\begin{quote}
Mr Davidoff wants a grand P-F. with additional keys above, plain neat case; the tone excellent but not what is called clear, sharp or silver, but \textit{thick and sweet}...Remember once for all that the Russians in general possess good ears for \textit{sound}, tho' they have none for \textit{sense and style}.\textsuperscript{86}
\end{quote}

Broadwood's letters speak of soft and brilliant tones and on occasion asked customers to state their preference:

\begin{quote}
You will please to mention if you prefer a soft or a more brilliant quality of tone should you determine on writing to us for a new instrument...\textsuperscript{87}
\end{quote}
The term 'soft' is especially misleading, to judge from Broadwood's own comment that even a 'soft' grand piano would be heard in a concert hall:

The GPF is of that sweet tone which is most admired here & such as we should select for our large concert rooms - should you not approve of its tone and touch, pray state how you would wish us to differ from it in future. We could send you a more brilliant tone, but we find the soft tone is best heard in a large room.**

At times Broadwood became exasperated with customers who demanded unsuitable alterations:

We have no doubt that we shall be able to make the tone of your grand pianoforte both soft and as clear as you would wish - at the same time must remark that all soft tones on the pianoforte must be accompanied with a noise which you describe as woody...it has never been thought necessary [to add another soft pedal], as the beauty of the instrument and which has caused it to supercede [sic] both the Organ and the Harpsichord, has been thought to consist in the means it affords the player of modulating its tones from piano to forte by the delicacy of touch which is to be acquired by a little practise [sic].**

Such a customer would have perhaps been better pleased with a softer Viennese grand piano or a small square.

Broadwood was meanwhile trying to improve the tone and quality of the popular square piano, which after all had a much wider market than the grand. The most popular type of square from about 1808 to 1825 was called 'Best': Broadwood described it in a letter as being of 'larger size and of a superior quality and quantity of tone'.** It seems likely that the instrument ordered for Miss Fairfax in Jane Austen's Emma was this type, for it was 'a very elegant looking instrument; not a grand, but a large-sized
square pianoforte'. In 1808 the 'Best' pianos proved to be a serious rival to the smaller type, with sales of over 400, though the small squares were achieving high sales of over 600. By 1813 over 600 'Best' pianos were sold at £38 17s retail, presumably with the 5½-octave compass, as separate entries are made in the ledgers for 6-octave squares. The 'Best' piano remained the biggest seller until 1820, when it was overtaken by the double action piano which had been introduced with some doubts by Broadwood a few years previously. Sales and prices of the 'Best' piano in relation to the other models available are given below in Table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type of Piano</th>
<th>Total sales</th>
<th>W/S price</th>
<th>Rtl price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1808:</td>
<td>Small pf (square)</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>£23 2s</td>
<td>£31 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Best' square</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>27 6s</td>
<td>37 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grand pf</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>61 17s</td>
<td>78 15s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upright grand</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>68 5s</td>
<td>94 10s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The graph on the following page shows the number of square, grand, upright (and cabinet) pianos sold between 1794 and 1818.
Figure 1: Broadwood's Piano Sales, 1794-1818
Again, Colquhoun's survey can give us some indication as to how these prices compared with average incomes of the day. Most of the people in ordinary professions in his group 4 were earning between £200 and £600 per annum, surely enough to be able to afford one of the square pianos. This group comprised 'lesser clergymen', teachers, manufacturers, lawyers and doctors (in ascending scale). 'Lesser merchants' earning over £800 per year might well have wanted to own a grand piano for the status it brought; 'eminent merchants' were inordinately wealthy and, with annual incomes of over £2,500, were potential buyers of grands, though their numbers must have been few.

Broadwood continued to cater to this market, introducing new classifications of square piano. This time the designation was more technical, with both 'single' and 'double' actions being offered: the difference was merely in the provision of a simple escapement in the 'double' action. Many of Broadwood's pianos must have had the double action by 1808 without its being named as such. In 1806 customers were being given a choice of 'mechanisms', as a letter to Vetter of Rotterdam reveals:

>You will observe two sorts of mechanism to the Pianofortes - one is called double action, the other the old [single] action. When you favour us with further orders please say of which action you choose.

The double action appeared to have the disadvantage of being harder to maintain than the simpler single action. The single action pianos appear in the books up until 1825, though their popularity dwindled significantly after 1813. There was only a small difference in price between the two types; presumably
Broadwood felt that ease of maintenance was perhaps more important than the sophistication of the action:

You express surprise that the Pianoforte with single action were charged the same as those with double action; this has been our practice for years having when we first adopted the double action charged them the price of the single action.66

In a letter to Villers in Charleston, Broadwood clearly found it difficult to comprehend the agent's preference for the double action piano:

We are surprised rather that you should prefer the patent or double action, as from their being more liable to go out of order than the single action either with brass or upright dampers. We do not now recommend them for abroad, but we suppose you find they stay at Charleston as well in order as the other sort.67

This matter was clearly preoccupying Broadwood, as he wrote in another letter the same day, again to a customer in Charleston, to 'state in your next if the double action stands as well as the other sort of PF'.68 Kollmann considered the double action to be one of the 'real improvements of the piano forte'; in addition he commented on the different varieties of dampers, implying that there was still room for improvement.69 Clementi meanwhile was aware of the importance of a good action, capable of repetition: 'Remember, a light, well repeating touch is a grand article in Germany'.70

On the whole, the emphasis in the market for square pianos at least seemed to shift from a preoccupation with tone to one with action. Once improvements had been made to the quality of sound,
particularly in the 'Best' piano, attention turned to improving and publicizing the action.

The square piano continued to outsell the grand for obvious reasons, reaching sales of well over a thousand per year by 1813. Sales of grand pianos rose less meteorically. Figures and prices for 1813 and 1818 are given below (Table 3):

Table 3: Sales and Prices of Broadwood Pianos, 1813 & 1818

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Piano</th>
<th>1813 Sales</th>
<th>1818</th>
<th>W/S price 1818</th>
<th>Rtl price 1818</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Square- 6 oct.</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>£32 11s</td>
<td>£38 17s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Best' square</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>28 7s</td>
<td>34 13s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double action</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>23 2s</td>
<td>33 12s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single action</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>32 15s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand pf</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>58 16s</td>
<td>81 5s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-oct gpf</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>67 4s</td>
<td>94 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-oct gpf</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upright gpf</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>74 11s</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet pf</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>49 7s</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB: These prices are to be taken as an approximate guide; many are simply those which appear most frequently. Additional charges were made for decoration or other special features. In the case of the retail price of the cabinet piano, no reliable figure was available for the year 1818, so the figure is in fact an average of 1813 and 1825 prices.

By the end of the first decade of the 19th century Broadwood was able to offer customers some half a dozen different types of piano. The 'upright grand' was the most expensive of these, priced
about £20 more than a horizontal grand piano. Upright grands were essentially grand pianos made vertically at a 90° angle with the keyboard. Patented by John Landreth in 1787, the upright design was further developed by William Stodart, who in 1795 built an 'upright grand in the form of a bookcase'77. At first Broadwood did not himself manufacture upright grands: Wainwright states that between 1805 and 1813 they were made by James Black.72 It is not surprising, given their high price, awkward height and poor mechanism (the sticker action) that sales of uprights remained low: only 17 were sold in 1808 and sales never really rose much above that number in the years to come. Even so, it is worth noting that in a letter of September 1809 Broadwood evidently thought there was some hope for the upright grand, indicating to one of his American agents that 'the upright Pianofortes are getting here into much repute'.73 Kollmann noted in 1811 that upright grand pianos were 'very useful for saving room'. In tone they were superior to square pianos, but he did not 'consider them as equal to horizontal grand piano fortés'.74 Clementi also suffered with his uprights: although in a letter from Berlin in 1804 he ordered a grand upright for Steibelt, a year later he reported that there was no longer any market for them in Germany, because of their high price.75

In 1798 the Irish maker William Southwell (by this time based in London) patented an 'upright square' piano, but came up with the more successful 'cabinet' piano in 1807.76 Southwell described the new instrument as 'a tall upright pianoforte with sticker action and strings going down to the ground'.77 The 'strings going down
to the ground' meant that the cabinet piano was not as high as the unwieldy upright grand; and also the action was placed outside the soundboard so that the soundboard did not need to be cut through to allow the hammers or dampers to strike the strings. Evidently Broadwood began making cabinet pianos in 1812, continuing their production until 1856. The table above shows that by 1813 cabinets were selling reasonably well – certainly outpacing the slow sales of the grand uprights. They were priced lower than both the upright and horizontal grand pianos and were usually made with the 6-octave compass.

Priced between the square and the grand, the new cabinet piano might have been expected to fill in the gap between sales of squares and grands. The square piano remained the best seller, with sales of over a thousand up to the 1820s, and nearly 1,800 by 1825. Sales of the cabinet piano were well below this figure, and did not approach the sales of even grand pianos until 1825. Sales of grands rose gradually from around 200 in 1813 to double that figure in 1825, by which time sales of cabinets had caught up.

The cabinet pianoforte therefore was a better seller than the upright but never a serious competitor to the square, which remained solidly entrenched in the English piano world until the 1860s. After all, the cabinet was priced about £25 more than the square and did not offer commensurate advantages in terms of design or technology. Sales figures show that the original division between square and grand markets remained strong and that the cabinet piano did not detract appreciably from either sector.
Much of the music published for the amateur domestic market was for accompanied voice. Broadwood evidently spotted a need in this market when he began marketing transposing pianos, specialty items within a larger market. Naturally many amateur performers were not able to transpose music themselves, and the transposing piano - basically a square with a special mechanism fitted into it - filled this need. Like the other ordinary squares, it was available in both plain and 'Best' types. The first patent for the transposing instrument was obtained by Edward Ryley in 1801; Broadwood apparently purchased the right to use this invention in the same year. However, not many were made: only eight were sold in 1808. A letter of 1809 to his agent in Philadelphia describes the mechanism:

The transposing Pianoforte...consists of a set of moveable keys which, [when] moved half a note to the right hand makes the key G strike G#; if moved 2½ tones of course the key G will produce the tone A and so on; if moved half a tone to the left then G will strike the F#; if moved 2, 3 or 4½ tones then the key G will produce the tones of F, E or Eb & so that the instrument will instantly accommodate any song to any voice,™

Broadwood reserved a more fulsome description for his retail customers:

We have already selected [for] you a fine-toned P.F. of the large Sort which we intend to forward in 8 or 10 Days except we hear from you to the contrary, as perhaps we may on y™ hearing we have taken out or rather got a New Patent whereby it is in the power of any lady immediately to transpose any Song, &c from the key in which it is written either 1, 2, or 3 Notes higher or Sharper in Pitch, or as many or more notes or ½tones flatter -- still playing it in the key (for instance D###) it is written, & yet if only transposed ½ a Note flatter striking the Strings & producing the tones of C#####, by this a lady may
set every Song to suit the best notes in her voice - for the composer Sir generally writes his Song if for Braham for his best Notes or for Grassini hers while Miss Hague's best tones may lie in a quite different part of the Scale & consequently tho' if equally a good singer as either, cannot possibly produce as good an effect. The Price is 47 Os - & it is a simple contrivance &c."

Put simply, the 'simple contrivance' allowed the keyboard to be moved down laterally as far as a sixth. A detailed explanation and photograph are given in Harding. By 1811 it appears that its popularity had waned, as Kollmann reported that he had 'not heard of these instruments lately'.

The development of the transposing piano, while not commercially significant, nevertheless reflects the nature of the market. Both Broadwood's high sales figures for squares and his introduction of various different models point clearly to the dominance of the amateur music-making market. While sales of squares rose rapidly, those of grands proceeded at a much more sedate pace. The introduction of other domestic instruments such as the cabinet piano, and its subsequent sales, indicates the power of this market. Indeed, the cabinet piano created a niche for itself in the market without detracting noticeably from sales of either grands or squares. Both the sales figures and Broadwood's letters show how the firm was seeking to exploit this huge market both at home and abroad.

Despite the popularity of the square piano, it can be argued that the grand piano was in fact the pace-setter, the instrument which manufacturers chose to improve first. Dussek persuaded the firm to add another half-octave to the top of his grand piano, and
the 6-octave compass on the Godoy piano is an even more dramatic example of how the technology was able to run ahead of current popular demand. Broadwood's sobering experience with the 6-octave grand in the early 19th century and his subsequent reluctance to introduce six octaves on the square show two sides to Adam Smith's statement quoted at the beginning of this chapter. The all-important consumer could be manipulated up to a point, but to do so required the co-operation of makers, composers and publishers.

Publishers did indeed work with the piano makers and composers: they had to, as the piano-consuming classes needed music to play on their instruments. So strong were these links that composer-pianists such as Clementi, Dussek and Cramer all turned to publishing and pianos; Clementi distinguished himself both as a performer and a manufacturer of superb instruments. The manufacture of pianos cannot be looked at in isolation: the strength of its links to the publishing industry of the time as well as to the development and cultivation of popular taste in general means that other aspects of 'the piano industry' must be examined as well. Busby remarked on the myriads of music publishers working in London by 1824; although Clementi has provided us with an extraordinary example of a man who was composer, maker and publisher all in one, he was only a part of a large and competitive industry, which like the manufacturers sought to exploit the large amateur market for the piano. It is appropriate now to see what music was available for amateurs and professionals alike, and to assess how the music publishers dealt with the same market as did the piano manufacturers.
Music publishers in London have never been in short supply. Even during the early days of music publishing there were several established names, and by the late 18th century their number had increased. Although not all of them were successful, the number of those who managed to run profitable businesses for some years in both the 18th and 19th centuries reflects the general prosperity of the industry.

The model of such success can be found in the Walsh family, whose business acumen set an example early in the 18th century for the lively trade which was to ensue, characterized by its tangled web of mergers and takeovers usually associated more with today's City dealers than with publishers of two centuries ago. John Pendred's *London and Country Printers, Booksellers and Stationers Vade Mecum* (1785) listed one music printer and ten music sellers (though in fact there were more); by 1802 Holden's *Triennial Directory* listed 23 music sellers, three music printers, two music engravers and one music circulating library. The division of function which appears in the directories reflects the nature of the trade; to speak merely of music publishers is to overlook the many layers of activity which led to publication. A music publisher needed the services of several people: a music engraver, a copper-plate engraver to set the title page, and a printer. Distribution was also varied: here the nomenclature can be as varied as it is misleading. There was some differentiation between
a printer, a publisher (or bookseller, in contemporary usage), a wholesale bookseller and the retailers of books with shop premises.⁴ Music publishers tended to be retailers as well, many with shop premises, though some such as Joseph Dale began selling from their homes. It was also possible for a composer to skirt the formal procedures of the publisher/bookseller and simply have his music printed independently.⁴

Busby's total of 'only 12' music sellers in the capital by the middle of the 18th century needs to be seen in this context; it is likely that he was including both music publishers and those who sold music.⁵ In any case, twelve was not a risible total, even given the ambiguous nature of the term. By the later part of the 18th century London had a strong core of music publishers, many of them specializing in a particular repertory, often for popular instruments such as the flute, harpsichord or pianoforte, or for specific genres such as vocal or sacred music.⁶ However, as specialization depended upon the extent of the market, it is not surprising to find a fair number of publishers offering musical instruments for sale as well in order to cater to the broadest possible market.

By the 1770s there were several firms dealing in piano music. Those of Robert Bremner, Peter and Mary Welcker, John Welcker (their son) and Samuel Babb were all taken over later in the century; Peter Welcker by Bremner in 1779, then Bremner by Preston in 1789; Babb's library material by Joseph Dale in 1786 and John Welcker by Blundell in 1780. Welcker's stock in particular passed through various hands, including Longman and Broderip and Joseph
Dale. However, in the 1770s all appeared to be running profitable concerns, with catalogues appearing throughout the decade. The terms of Robert Bremner's will are now well known as evidence of his wealth; he left premises in Battersea Rise and Brighton as well as other assets. Like a few other publishers he was able to run businesses outside London and had a shop in Edinburgh as well.

The choice of music offered by the publishers was often quite wide, though we shall see that there were reasons for this. Their available stock was set out in catalogues, usually ranging in length from a single sheet to some eight or so pages, sold either separately, or - in the case of single sheet catalogues - as the back cover of a published item. In a letter to Collard from Berlin in 1805 Clementi wrote of a 'leaf' and a 'grand' catalogue to be sent to a Count Gallenberg; the grand catalogue was evidently big enough to merit being brought 'by traveller' rather than sent as a letter. Certainly by 1823 the 'grand' catalogue was an immense affair totalling nearly 200 pages.

Most catalogues followed a similar format, offering a selection of instrumental and vocal music. A catalogue published by Longman and Broderip in 1781 furnishes a good example, offering overtures and symphonies 'in 8 parts for concerts', opera overtures, violin concertos, quartets, trios, duets and solos for violin, music for cello, bassoon, German flute, guitar; concertos for harpsichord or pianoforte, piano quartets and quintets, sonatas and lessons for keyboard, duets, overtures, 'favourite Airs with Variations', organ voluntaries and fugues, music for pedal harp, vocal selections from operas and entertainments, 'divine music', dances plus the
obligatory treatises for harpsichord, voice and flute.' Sonatas for the pianoforte were usually published in sets of at least three accompanied or solo types, or a mixture of the two. This practice gave way later to the publication of single, usually more difficult, sonatas.

Longman and Broderip was an important firm, not only for its well-stocked music catalogue, but also for its selection of pianos and other instruments. Like many other firms, Longman and Broderip went through a complicated chain of partnerships, ultimately losing the name completely to Clementi and his partners in 1801. James Longman, who had founded the firm, having served his apprenticeship with the publisher John Johnson, had faced bankruptcy (with debts of £70,000) and spent his last days in Fleet prison where, 'borne down by the severe pressure of "a wounded spirit"', he died in 1803.'1 Clementi retained the old premises at 26 Cheapside and much of the stock as well.

The firm had begun in 1767 as James Longman and Co., undergoing several changes of partnership until the final one of Longman and Broderip emerged in 1776.'2 It had premises at 26 Cheapside and also at 13 Haymarket in 1782 and continued until 1798, when it was taken over by John Longman with his partner Muzio Clementi, while Francis Broderip formed a new partnership with Wilkinson. The firm was taken over by Clementi and his partners in 1801, with John Longman setting up another business independently. In 1775 the firm advertised itself as music sellers, with a catalogue of 'near five Thousand songs, cantatas, medleys, &c.' as well as concertos and solos for harpsichord or
pianoforte. As instrument sellers they stocked and sold 'Wholesale, Retail [sic] and for Exportation' almost every instrument, including organs, stringed and wind instruments, harps and bagpipes, not to mention accessories such as desks, mouthpieces, hammers, quills, tuning forks and paper. By 1786 pianos were being offered 'organised; in commodes, sideboards and dressing tables, for convenience of small rooms'. Again with space-saving as an objective, the firm offered a new smaller type of grand piano as well with 'a new Improvement reduced in size and price considerably under the original Grand Piano Forte and universally admired for their peculiar brilliancy of tone'.

Longman and Broderip were not unusual in their instrument dealership; many other publishers did the same, albeit on a smaller scale. In addition to advertising a wide selection of music John Fentum of 78 Strand offered the opportunity to hire an instrument 'by the month or year, and with music by the Week or Day'. He went on to guarantee that 'every instrument will be warranted Genuine, and sold conditionally, if not approved on three months trial, to be exchanged, or the full money returned, deducting the hire'. A catalogue of John Welcker dating from about the mid-1770s advertised the manufacture and sale of a similar range of instruments to that sold by Longman and Broderip. It seems unlikely that either publisher actually manufactured all of these instruments himself; rather, they served as dealers for the various instrument makers based in London. For example, in 1808 Wilkinson and Company (formerly Broderip and Wilkinson) advertised their 'new patent cabinet Grand Piano Forte', praising its musical and
aesthetic aspects and giving its dimensions. As a guarantee of the piano's 'standing in tune over all others' the company offered a year's free tuning and repair for London customers. The firm was in fact acting as an agent for William Southwell (who had taken out the patent), stating that the pianos were 'finished under the immediate inspection of the Inventor W'll Southwell'.'

The shops also stocked various instrumental accessories, including wire for keyboard instruments and guitars.' Later the selection of instruments began to reflect the relentless march of fashion: in c.1804 Wheatstone advertised a newly invented flageolet, 'constructed nearly on the Flute Scale, an excellent accompaniment for ye Piano Forte', available also in walking stick form. A certain exotic element was introduced with the sale of castanets, pan pipes 'properly tuned', 'Turkish instruments fitted up' (to pianos?) plus the popular harp guitar and Spanish guitar (no doubt ideal for castanet accompaniment).' The publisher Joseph Dale advertised 'patent tambourines' in the late 1790s.'

Some publishers were themselves musicians, though not usually of first rank. Robert Bremner produced a *Rudiments of Music* in 1757 and Joseph Dale wrote a compendious piano tutor and much light music. The high incidence in this period of composers' setting up as publishers may be symptomatic of a situation generally disadvantageous to composers, which could be altered only by being on 'the other side'. Clementi is an obvious and significant example; not only did he involve himself in publishing from an early stage, but he recognized the potential of piano manufacture as well. Dussek and Cramer are other famous examples,
but even Joseph Dale, a composer of dubious merit, set up a successful publishing enterprise from his home in Chancery Lane in 1783. Two years later he bought plates, copyright and copies from the music seller William Napier for £540 and the same, 'once the property of John Welcker', for £682 from Charles Bennett.21 He later established both a music shop and a circulating library in Oxford Street. The ease with which men such as Dale entered the trade implies that it was not difficult to set up as a publisher (or 'music seller'): ready-made plates could be acquired fairly easily and cheaply, and engraving and printing of new works were simply contracted out while the 'music seller' (i.e. publisher) maintained shop premises from which he sold his publications.

The buying up of others' plates was common among publishers, who then used them to back up their existing stock. Inevitably the availability of plates usually depended on the death or bankruptcy of other publishers. Bremner in 1782 advertised in an 'additional catalogue' plates and copies formerly belonging to 'Mrs. Johnson of Cheapside' (the widow of publisher John Johnson) and 'Mrs. Welcker of Gerrard Street Soho' (the widow of Peter Welcker). Bremner's stock was later sold to Preston on the former's death in 1789.22 Preston then produced an 'additional catalogue' in 1790, which comprised most of Bremner's stock.23 Preston produced another such catalogue in 1803, shortly after buying up the stock of Thomas Skillern: here older music by Avison, Abel, Schroeter and others rubs shoulders with more modern compositions by Clementi, Dussek and Cramer.24 Another 'additional catalogue' listing much old stock appeared in 1805, perhaps the result of another sale.
The fate of this music can be followed on to 1849, when Preston's stock was sold: the sale catalogue, comprising '20,000 engraved music plates, copyrights, etc.', lists a great variety of music by Beethoven and his contemporaries in addition to some earlier music, which was probably out of print by this time as the catalogue warns that 'in many cases no printed copies remain'. Indeed, sale catalogues are a valuable resource in evaluating publishers' stock. Not all publishers elected to keep older music, as in the case of Longman and Broderip, who sold some of Peter Velcker's stock in 1775.

The practice of buying old plates meant that publishers always had substantial backlists and produced catalogues in which quantities of older music vied with the new for public attention. There was no doubt that the works of established favourites such as Scarlatti, Handel and Geminiani were competition for new music by living composers and had already become 'canon'. It is easy to assume, from such a proliferation of publishers and music published, not to mention the constant changes being made in pianos and other musical instruments, that there was an insatiable appetite at this time for novelty and that fashions were apt to change quickly. While this view is certainly true in some respects, the publishers' catalogues reflect another trend, namely the enduring popularity of the older composers. Even in the era of the pianoforte the music of these composers continued to be popular, the public's seeming not to care about the suitability of instrument, be it harpsichord or pianoforte. Handel's music in particular remained extremely popular, perhaps because it was
constantly heard in concerts and was made widely available in piano arrangements.

It was partly owing to the endurance of older music, not to mention publishers' unscrupulous sales tactics such as price-cutting, pirating and dedicated distribution systems, that the people who suffered most at the hands of the publishers were the composers. Evidence of hard feelings is not difficult to find; the famous complaint from 'Appolo' [sic] (possibly Charles Dibdin), published in the *Morning Herald* in 1781, unfortunately did not seem to result in a change in publishing practices. According to the disconsolate writer, composers were expected to pay for engraving, printing and paper in addition to other incidental expenses. Although speaking much later, the publisher Edwin Ashdown (1826-1912) quoted the mid-19th-century terms of publication, i.e. that the composer had to 'purchase the required 60 copies at one third [of the cost]'. It appears that it was standard practice for the composer to pay the cost of the engraving, as Ashdown reports:

> I do not, of course, defend the old practice of publishing anything that was offered [just] because the expense of the engraving was to be paid [by the composer]. In 99 cases out of 100, the publisher never heard of the composer again, and he cannot afford to take up failures, or the music trade would not take first copies at low rates.

Publishers also tried to control the market through competitive pricing: it was understood that the price on the copy was not necessarily the price that the customer would pay. As in the piano business, publishers offered discounts to 'professors of music': a musician named John Harris testified in a court hearing that he paid three shillings for a piece of music priced at four
shillings and that he was accustomed to receiving such a discount. Certainly such trade with professional musicians must have been lucrative for the music sellers; the meticulously kept accounts of the musician William Ayrton show numerous entries for music bought from various firms, which he then sold to his many pupils.

The publisher John Bland even went so far as to undercut the usual prices by some 30%, though it is not entirely clear how he was able to do this:

J. Bland, respectfully informs the Public,
that from his extensive Connexions with the first Composers and Publishers of Music
abroad, he is enabled to procure the very best Compositions, and those most esteemed here; he proposes Publishing at least 30 l. [sic] per cent under the usual prices, which shall be neatly engraved, carefully corrected and printed on the best Paper.

This implies that mark-ups were high, perhaps to offset the many copies which were sold at a discount to music professors and others. However, the easiest way to undercut prices was to pirate. Bland's 'connexions' might simply have involved copying from a foreign edition without paying for the copyright. Although Bland did apparently negotiate contracts with continental composers, not all publishers followed his example and there can be no doubt that piracy was rife. Reviewing 'A Favourite Concerto for Harpsichord or Pianoforte', published by Longman and Broderip, a writer for The European Magazine in 1784 pointed out with some sarcasm that very few instances can be adduced of charging the public more than 15s for a set of six concertos, with the instrumental parts included; and many instances can be brought, with the names of eminent Composers, where only half a guinea is charged for a set. In the present instance, the
publishers of this single concerto have the modesty to demand at the rate of one pound ten shillings for six concertos, when at the same time it is very probable no purchase money was paid for the copyright, as it is presumed the above was taken from a foreign edition.  

Bland did indeed have 'connexions' with composers on the Continent. He travelled to Vienna in 1789 to negotiate with composers such as Haydn, Hoffmeister and Kozeluch. 'Foreign' music was a coveted item in most catalogues and the Bohemian composer Leopold Kozeluch was especially favoured. A composer with publishing links himself, Kozeluch evidently had a business arrangement with Bland for publication of his works in England. A letter from the composer to Bland in March 1795 shows that he was being paid £30 per set of three sonatas. Such a price might explain how Bland was able to sell music so cheaply; a dissatisfied Kozeluch subsequently wrote asking for an additional £5 for each work. It is interesting to note that, only slightly later (in 1801) Bland paid Francis Tatton Latour, a London composer, the sum of £31 10s for a single, light work entitled Le Retour de Windsor. It seems possible - and plausible given the rapacious nature of the trade - that London publishers attempted to get away with paying foreign composers rather less than their more commercially minded English counterparts.  

Evidently Bland was also supplying Kozeluch with themes for variations and sonatas. Similarly the publisher George Thomson contracted Kozeluch among others to arrange music for his Scottish collection. The composer Ignace Pleyel was also popular; he too was invited by Thomson to arrange music for the Scottish
collections, though the project did not work out.\textsuperscript{39} Clementi was also keen to engage the services of this composer in 1802, asking him if he would provide a set of three piano sonatas as well as 'six sonates pour le piano avec des airs écossais pour adagios, andantes ou rondeaux'. Clementi offered to pay either in money or in instruments and asked for 'la préférence pour Londres'.\textsuperscript{39}

A letter from Dussek to Birchall, dated 1805, offers three string quartets composed 'neither in the stile of Mozart, or Haydn, nor that of Pleyel, they are in the stile of Dussek', stating that 'the price for Propriety of them in Britain is 60 Guineas', which the composer thought was a moderate price.\textsuperscript{40} Dussek's contract with Clementi and Co. was evidently coming to an end and, to judge from Clementi's letters of this time, their relationship had not been entirely trouble-free.\textsuperscript{\textdegree} Dussek thus entreats Birchall to accept the works and stipulates the time of their publication as well as their dedication to his employer, Prince Louis of Prussia. Dussek had had to flee London in 1800 after the collapse of his own publishing enterprise, but evidently wanted to keep up his publishing connections there.

Clementi, in his letters written from the Continent between 1803 and 1807, refers to various composers whose works he considered publishing. Although the most significant of these was Beethoven, Clementi was also involved with other composers and publishing houses, notably Breitkopf and Härtel, with whom he sought to publish Duport's violoncello method:

\begin{verbatim}
Duport expects 200 Louis (Prussian money) for
his school for the violoncello. I shall talk
to Härtel about it; and if he will go halves
for Germany and France I think we should accept.\textsuperscript{42}
\end{verbatim}
Clementi clearly expected to sell music in countries outside England, as he also negotiated terms with the composer Righini for his treatise on singing: 'We should have it for England and France for 50 guineas and 50 copies, the money paid when the M.S. is received'.

Another link was suggested, but not necessarily acted upon, with Count Gallenberg, whom the composer met in Naples. The terms of the deal were to be that 'if you [Collard] take his printing on your account 50 per cent will be your profit. If you will sell it on his account 25 per c. as before which you'll keep back from the total sum, an account of which he expects every 3 or 4 months'.

However, the most important negotiations were with Beethoven in 1807, when Clementi agreed to buy (in manuscript) three quartets, a symphony, an overture, a piano concerto and a violin concerto with an additional adaptation for the piano alone. For this Beethoven would receive £200. Clementi also engaged the composer to compose two sonatas and a fantasia for the pianoforte 'which he is to deliver to our house for sixty pounds sterling'. Clementi adds his typically parsimonious touch in a parenthesis asking his partners to note that he has 'treated for pounds, not guineas'. Clementi asked for four months time between the sending of the manuscripts and actual publication, evidently a longer period of time than necessary, owing to 'the impediments by war'. In the event, the arrangement turned out to be a less than happy one for Beethoven, who had to wait two years for payment, much to Clementi's embarrassment.
In 1816 an employee of Clementi and Co., one John Green, was able to state that the firm had paid 'as much as fifty guineas for a musical composition without words, and more than one hundred for one with words', an interesting statement which reveals as much about musical preferences of the time as it does about finances.  

We have little evidence to tell us the size of the average print run at this time. Subscription lists suggest that it was probably not large: Newman estimates that it could have been anywhere between 150 and 600 copies. A full list of subscribers, many of whom ordered multiple copies, would guarantee a printing, and in any case we have seen that publishers were reluctant to take risks, asking the composer to pay the cost of the engraving. Subscribers were important not just for their financial support but also for the status they could confer upon a composer. By recruiting a distinguished list of subscribers an enterprising publisher gained credit both for himself and for his composer. A reviewer in The Analytical Review in 1789 noted the number of subscribers (150) for a work by Richard Eastcott and congratulated the publisher of a work by Pleyel 'on the number and respectability of his subscribers' (my italics). Royal patronage was especially sought after: for her set of six sonatas op. 1 (1783), Jane Mary Guest had an impressive list of subscribers which included the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal and various other royal persons. Also present on most lists were a number of 'publishers' or music sellers, many of whom ordered multiple copies. The Guest list shows that the publishers Babb, Bland and Longman & Broderip each ordered a dozen sets, while Bremner, Birchall and
Dale each ordered six. Even Ganer, who was primarily a piano maker, ordered two sets, suggesting that he perhaps also sold music from his piano shop. Similarly Napier's set of 'Original Scots Songs', harmonized by Haydn, featured an equally distinguished set of royal patrons as well as several composers, numbering 376. The important publication of the first twelve preludes and fugues from J. S. Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* attracted over 150 subscribers, who were asked to pay nine shillings for the volume, which was priced at twelve shillings for non-subscribers.

Copyright law underwent changes during this period, with obvious implications for composers and publishers alike. The Act of Anne (8 Anne c.19) of 1709 gave authors the sole right of printing for 14 years from the first publication, and 21 years for authors who had not transferred their rights and for booksellers, printers and others who had purchased or acquired copyrights. Nine copies of the book had to be delivered to Stationers' Hall, where the title would be registered and a copy kept. The other copies were then deposited in various copyright libraries. Penalties for infringement of copyright could be imposed if the book had been duly registered at Stationers' Hall. Important though the Act of Anne was, it did not become fully applicable to music until 1777, though under common law the composer supposedly had a perpetual copyright. The deciding case in whether music was liable to copyright was brought by the composer J. C. Bach against the publishers Longman and Lukey in 1776 and concluded in 1777, when the Court of King's Bench ruled that music was protected by the Copyright Act. Before the Bach case, composers had had to rely
either on royal privilege or on common law. The royal privilege was dubious at best, and the decision in the case of Donaldson v Beckett (1774) had overturned a previous decision in 1769 which had given common law protection.\textsuperscript{51}

Most music was not registered at Stationers' Hall until after the Bach case, in order to take advantage of the protection given to music, especially popular pieces which would have otherwise been fair game to pirates. There was always a problem of piracy, both in this country and abroad. Occasionally, however, pirates were taken to task in print. In his introduction to a set of sonatas by Pleyel, the publisher George Thomson warned the public against 'several Books of Sonatas, in imitation of these (by Pleyel), being published in Pleyel's name, by J. Dale, London; which are altogether spurious'.\textsuperscript{52} This was evidently a chronic problem for Thomson, as he published another warning in a succeeding volume of airs arranged by Haydn, and stated that the genuine Thomson copies were actually signed by the publisher.\textsuperscript{52}

Sometimes publishing malpractice was left to be uncovered by the reviewer. Evidently a work of Giordani (a set of three accompanied sonatas for piano, op. 32, published by Birchall) had been formerly published under Schobert's name. The reviewer wrote disapprovingly of the practice, declaring that it 'must in the end be injurious to the trade, as it must naturally make the public suspect genuine works; and such a custom seems particularly culpable in such authors as Giordani, 'who has already considerable reputation with the public'.\textsuperscript{54} Giordani in particular seemed to suffer from having his works misattributed; a review in the
European Magazine in 1784 noted that some sonatas composed by Giordani had been published under the name of Boccherini. The reviewer laid bare the corruption of such publishers, revealing that Giordani had in fact been employed as a composer by the publishers in question. However, often the problem could lie with the 'composer' who offered a work to a publisher. The vigilant Dr Busby, in the course of his regular reviewing for the Monthly Magazine, noted that a piano sonata, allegedly composed 'by an Amateur', was in fact by J. C. Bach. In this case it appeared that the work had been offered to the publisher, who apparently did not recognize the work as being by J. C. Bach: Busby warned publishers to be 'circumspect as to the originality of what is offered them for the press, or the propriety of the titles and names they adopt'.

The Act of Anne was followed by a later statute under George III (41 Geo. III), passed in 1801, which allowed for an extension of the first 14-year term. After the first 14 years the right of printing and selling copies reverted to the author, who could then decide whether he would keep the right to himself or assign it again. The statute made it clear that music was included in the general definition of 'book' by using the word 'composed'; it also clarified that the assigned publisher had exclusive rights to publication for the first 14 years and that it was illegal for any other printer to publish or sell the works in question without the permission of the original publisher.

This point was especially relevant in a case brought by the composer Francis Latour against the publishers Bland and Weller in
1818. The piece in question, *Le Retour de Windsor*, was originally published in 1801; Latour brought the case to court when the work was re-engraved and published without his consent in 1816. Although the defendants claimed that Latour had assigned the copyright to them, they could not produce the necessary document as evidence, and in any case the signature had not been witnessed as required by law. Latour in the end was awarded damages of £100.77

Such cases reveal that although both the Act of Anne and the Statute of George afforded legal protection against piracy, the practice was still rife. Indeed, in a case tried in Dublin the judge remarked that actions of this type were 'rare in this country, but frequent in England'.78 The Dublin publisher Hime illegally published and sold a work by the composer John Whitaker without permission and without purchase of the copyright. Moreover Hime also exported the work to England where it apparently had sold well, but without profit to the composer. Hime's pirated copies were priced 6d cheaper than Whitaker's original prints, and were duly bought by music sellers in London to be sold in their shops. Naturally Hime was able to charge less because he had not paid for the copyright, and materials in any case were cheaper in Ireland. It was shown that Hime had indeed pirated Whitaker's music and damages of £50 were awarded to the composer.79

Further problems arose when English publishers chose to publish foreign works at home, having duly purchased the right to do so from the composer. George Thomson, the Edinburgh publisher, had realized this around the turn of the century and frequent
reference is made to the problem in various letters to composers such as Kozeluch, who was resident in Vienna. Thomson in fact drafted a contract which he sent to Kozeluch, which stipulated that the composer should not publish the sonatas in Vienna until after they had been published in London 'as in no way to injure or affect the said George Thomson's absolute and exclusive right to the property of the work in Great Britain'. Kozeluch was also not to publish any altered version of the original. In a later letter Thomson referred to another publisher, Preston, spelling out the reasons for the practice he had mentioned in the contract:

Mr Preston writes me...that he will not on any account give a Licence for the works being published abroad, after they appear in London. He has no objection to acquaint you when each work does appear in London, by which means you will be enabled to publish in Vienna before any other, but he says giving his permission for the works being published abroad, would sanction the sale of foreign copies in England, thus endanger his right of property there.

The problem continued to plague publishers, and inevitably cases turned up in the courts. An action against John Longman was brought by Robert Birchall in December 1818. Birchall had evidently bought a sonata of Beethoven in 1816 and then published it in England. Longman then published the same work without Birchall's consent, making some minor alterations. Exclusive rights for publication in England were given only if the work in question had been paid for before its publication in Vienna. Prior publication on the Continent in effect destroyed the property right in England and thus anyone could publish the music.
Clementi was involved in a similar suit against another publisher (Walker) in 1824, though the events in question had occurred years earlier. In this case both Pleyel and Clementi had published a work of Kalkbrenner in Paris and London respectively, the composer having agreed with both as to the conditions of sale. However, the agreement with Clementi was only a verbal one and when another edition identical to Clementi's appeared in London in 1818 Clementi sued its publisher, only to find that he did not have protection. Kalkbrenner did not execute an assignment of copyright (on the terms of the 1814 sale) until 1822 with Clementi. The mere publication of the work by Clementi did not give the privilege either to him or to Kalkbrenner. In this case the judge ruled that printing and publishing a work abroad made the work publici juris if the author did not promptly publish the work here. It was important for the British people to have access to continental works and if a foreign work were not published immediately here (under whatever agreement), then any publisher was free to publish it.

A less litigious side to the publishing business can be found in the many circulating libraries which sprang up during this period. One of the earliest was begun by Samuel Babb in the 1770s and the idea was quickly taken up by others such as Robert Birchall, Joseph Dale, Lewis Lavenu and Charles Wheatstone. Circulating libraries had been started by booksellers in the 1720s and were often to be found in seaside and spa towns. Gradually a subscription system was developed, usually operating on a yearly or half-yearly basis. The same system was adopted by music sellers
who charged subscriptions on either a yearly or part-yearly basis, for which members in return could have on loan a certain number of music books for a specified period. As a perk to subscribers (to publications, as described above) the publisher William Napier allowed access to 'a circulating stock of music' for the fee of £10. This system later changed so that the subscription to the library was a separate thing and not dependent on subscriptions to publications. The firm of Lavenu and Mitchell set out its terms in 1806, charging £2 2s for a year's subscription, £1 1s 6d for a half and £1 1s for the quarter. The competitive nature of the industry can be seen in Wheatstone's terms of the same year, with an annual subscription costing only £1 1s 6d (the same as Lavenu's half-year subscription) and proportionately lower rates for half and quarter-years. Unfortunately neither publisher gives any indication of the size of his collection, though - if publishers are ever to be believed - many similar ones appeared to be quite large, with Babb boasting over 20,000 volumes in 1778 and Dale, who had purchased Babb's stock in 1786, a total of over 100,000. Lavenu's library, like Dale's, had generous opening hours, from 8am till 8pm; subscribers were allowed to have two books or sets of books at a time, which could be kept for as long as liked, provided it was within the time subscribed for. New publications were the exception and were allowed out for only three days. Subscribers living in the country were allowed more generous terms (twelve books at a time) and were allowed to change books once a month provided they paid 'all expences attending the carriage on the return of each parcel'. No English songs or
marches were allowed out on subscription, perhaps because they were short enough to be simply copied out and not bought; also, they might have been the most popular items in the catalogue, in which case the publisher might have wished to keep all copies available for sale. There were also terms for non-subscribers.

The establishment of music circulating libraries was but one way of attracting trade. Another was to publish arrangements of popular orchestral music for the piano or piano with accompaniments. Although arrangements were simply another genre to attract trade, they eventually became important enough for publishers to hire an in-house composer for regular work of this kind. At first it appears that composers were contracted for this work, much as engravers and printers were, but the larger firms must have found it more cost-effective to make arrangements themselves. Such a practice was not surprising, especially as many of the bigger firms were run by composers.

The firm of Chappell and Co. provides a good example of this. The partnership agreement, dated 3 December 1810, was drawn up among Samuel Chappell, Francis Tatton Latour and John Baptist Cramer, who agreed "to become copartners in the Trade and Business of Composers of Music and Music and Musical Instrument Sellers' for a term of eight and a quarter years from 25 December 1810. Another clause allowed for a re-evaluation of the partnership after three years."66

The business was started in New Bond Street in premises demised to Chappell and Latour by the publishers Goulding, D'Almaíne and Potter. Evidently there had been some agreement
between these parties in the previous month, which perhaps explains why Cramer's name is not included in the clause dealing with this arrangement. The rent, taxes, rates and assessments on the property were to be shared by all three partners. Evidently Samuel Chappell was given the use of the apartments upstairs: 'viz., all the rooms on the second floor, the front garret, the back Kitchen and a cellar in the front Area'. The partners were also to share payment 'of all servants, assistants...employed in the said Copartnership' and to agree on who was to be hired.

The partners brought capital - in the form of joint stock - of £2,000 to the partnership; Cramer had the largest proportion with half the total at £1,000, Latour with 3/8 at £750 and Chappell with 1/8 at £250. At the end of the second year partners were able to draw out the interest on their capital, so that Cramer was entitled to £100, Latour to £75 and Chappell to £25. In addition, each partner at the end of the second year could draw out £200 from the joint stock, and after each succeeding year could draw out interest money (calculated at 5% p.a.) over and above the £200. If further capital were advanced the partner was entitled to receive legal interest on that amount. All profits were to be shared in equal parts.

Although the document is probably fairly standard in financial terms, it offers some unique information with regard to the musical duties of the partners. Under the terms of the agreement Latour and Cramer were contracted to compose six original pieces of music each year, to judge the merits of any music offered for sale to the partnership, to correct proofs and to
scientifically arrange and adapt all such pieces or compositions of music as any or either of the said Parties shall in their or his judgment deem proper subjects of publication and likely to be profitable to the concern'. As we have seen, many publishers often contracted composers to arrange music on their behalf, usually anonymously. However, once this practice became a major part of the publisher's business firms such as Chappell obviously elected to have an 'in-house' arranger. Joseph Mazzinghi, a prolific composer of much light music and an adept arranger, became an 'arranging partner' in the firm of Goulding, D'Almaine and Potter. As early as 1782 the composer J. F. Reichardt had taken exception to composers who arranged music for publishers, whether the composer was 'in-house' or not, claiming that it corrupted both the composer and the music:

This slavery of working for music sellers and rogues is worst of all; it is pedantry, and it drains the last drop of living blood. The blind, raving fury with which our present artists have plunged into this shameful wooing has ravished the best composers, otherwise most excellent, even original. Men who, to the point of affectation, have dreaded resembling their best co-artists and even secondary matters of form now give us almost nothing but rondos and adagios with drumming basses.

Samuel Chappell - evidently a non-musical partner, though he had had publishing experience through working for Robert Birchall - was contracted to 'devote his time to the superintendence, conduct and management of the whole business' except in the areas designated to Cramer and Latour.

Although the partners were prohibited under the agreement from trading outside the partnership, Latour and Cramer were
allowed to carry on their profession of teaching music. However, they were not allowed to 'purchase and resell any musical Instrument not part of the joint Stock'. If profit was derived from such a transaction through 'agency or commission' then all profit would be carried to 'the Joint Account or Stock of the Copartnership and divided equally in three parts'.

From the wording of the agreement it seems possible that the partnership was originally designed to be between Latour and Chappell only; certainly these two men possessed between them the musical and technical knowledge needed to run a publishing concern. It is evident, though, that Cramer had more capital than the others and may have expressed a desire to join after Latour and Chappell made the original arrangements regarding premises. Alternatively he might have been invited to join, especially if Latour and Chappell between them did not have enough capital (in the form of joint stock) to start the business. Allowance was made in the original document for a partner to leave after three years of the unexpired eight; this right was exercised by Cramer in a codicil of August 1813, in which he was allowed to leave the partnership after giving six months notice (a condition also stipulated in the original agreement).

Detailed information on the operation of publishing firms at this time is scant, but for the purposes of comparison here we can turn again to the balance sheet of Clementi's firm, dating from about the same time (June 1811; see Table 1, pp. 51-2). Clementi's firm was larger than Chappell's but, like Chappell, it dealt in both instruments and music. The nature of business which was
undertaken by Clementi was different from that of Chappell in that Clementi did not appear to be as interested in arrangement and the production of light music. Instead, as we have seen, Clementi travelled to the Continent in search of music to publish and established important links with both publishers and composers abroad. Clementi's partners were chiefly involved in the making of pianos and in the technical side of publication. Both Hyde and Davis (and possibly Banger) were involved more on the publishing side, while the Collards were important contributors to the development of the piano.72

The joint capital in Clementi's partnership was rather more than that of Chappell's: it totalled some £10,000, with Clementi providing £3,000; Josiah Banger, David Davis and Frederick William Collard £2,000 each and the new partner, William Frederick Collard (brother of the latter) £1,000. The profits were shared, not equally as in the case of Chappell, but in varying proportions, viz. Clementi at 6/20; Banger, Davis and F. W. Collard at 4/20 and the younger Collard at 2/20.

The amount of profit over ten months was £5,631 1s 4d, an impressive total even in the economic climate of 1811, when prices were high. The amount due to each partner is shown in the proportions listed above. Cash flow, with cash and bills (of exchange) in hand of £10,778, was also extremely healthy. We also get some idea of the value of the stock: clearly the instruments were worth more than the publishing stock, but just the same the value of music plates, printed music and copyright was worth over £11,450. The importance of plates and copyright for publishers
such as Clementi is reflected in their high value (over £4,000) in relation to the total.

Clementi's business remained a profitable concern until his death in 1832, when the Collards took over the partnership. Certainly the 'grand catalogue' of 1823 reflects the enormous amount of stock owned by the company, both in instruments and in printed music, and in many ways the figures revealed by the balance sheet of 1811 presage a successful future for the firm. Clementi himself must have had much to do with the success of the firm generally, combining the dogged determination shown in the letters with a firm insistence on high quality in both his pianos and his printed material. Busby, in his article on London music sellers, not surprisingly placed Clementi & Co. at the head of his list of 'most distinguished' publishers in 1824, and included many of those we have discussed: Preston, Goulding, Dale, Chappell, Birchall, Wheatstone, Cramer and others, all of whom published significant amounts of piano music.²³

The fact that London could boast of some 150 publishers by 1824 is testament both to the success of the industry and to the environment in which it was allowed to flourish. However, in light of such apparent success it is easy to overlook the failures and to ignore the less savoury side of the industry. Certainly this period saw its share of casualties in the form of bankruptcies, failed initiatives, unscrupulous practices and lawsuits, with their implications for composers and public alike. But what of the purely musical side of the industry? We shall next consider whether such a large and lucrative trade was able to manipulate
public taste and to what extent the publishers actually influenced the development of the contemporary piano repertory.
Publishers and the Manipulation of Taste

On 1 May 1797 the firm of Harrison and Co. announced the forthcoming publication of their *Piano-Forte Magazine*. Like many other serial publications of the day, it was to appear on a regular basis (in this case, weekly), offering a selection of 'favourable and fashionable Musick' appealing to the amateur, who could then entertain himself and his friends at home for a fraction of the price he would have had to pay if he had bought the music separately. The selections were advertised in the *Monthly Magazine* as 'striking in their novelty...and comprehensive in their view and utility'. Obviously an attempt to lure subscribers to the scheme, the review hailed Harrison and Co. as a 'popular and multifarious publisher', not only for producing such an anthology (which was by this time a fairly common publishers' ploy), but for making the striking offer of a pianoforte on which to play the contents of his publications. Harrison advertised as follows:

> When the high price of a good PIANO-FORTE is considered, and that the extravagant Hire of the most mean and indifferent Instrument is always at least Half a Guinea or Twelve Shillings a Month, to say nothing of the prodigious and continual Ex pense of Music Books, whether borrowed or bought it is presumed that Half a Crown a Week can never be thought a serious sum for the Advantage of becoming Owner of an elegant and excellent new Piano-Forte, as well as a more select and compleat Library of such sterling, favourite and fashionable Musick, as will always be esteemed valuable, than can be easily purchased at any price.
There was no doubt that such 'periodical publication' had the
advantage of being cheaper. The publisher Rolfe offered his
*Elegant Selections* in 1799, with works for pianoforte or harp by
Haydn, Pleyel, Mozart and Paisiello, at half the cost of the music
bought separately.\(^2\) However, Harrison's offer of a free pianoforte
went much further than this and as such was perhaps the most
remarkable of publishers' inducements of the time. Pianos not-
withstanding, the collection is important for what it reveals about
contemporary taste. Along with publishers' catalogues, other
anthologies, musical examples in tutors and specialty pieces which
'imitated' or parodied favourite composers, they give us some idea
of what the public wanted.

Piano music lent itself well to publication in anthologies and
in series because the instrument itself was suited both to
accompaniment and to solo playing. Most anthologies were either
entirely vocal in scope or combined accompanied pieces with fairly
easy solos. Harrison's publication had several important ante-
cedents. In 1787 Stephen Storace brought out his *Collection of
Original Harpsichord Music*, publishing two volumes between 1787
and 1789.\(^3\) The selection of music was largely Viennese, with works
by Kozeluch, Vanhal, Mozart, Haydn, Clementi, Hoffmeister and
others, and had been brought over to England in manuscript by
Storace himself. In the earlier part of the 1790s the music seller,
instrument dealer and publisher John Bland (c1750-c1840) produced
a 'collection of sonatas, lessons, overtures, capricios [sic],
divertimento[s] &c &c...by the most eminent composers' for piano or
harpsichord: the selections were available both for piano alone or
with the accompanying parts where necessary. A few years later Longman and Broderip published *A Collection of Original Music for the Grand and Small Piano Forte* (c1795).

The *Feast of Apollo*, published by Goulding in 1788, combined vocal and keyboard music by 21 'celebrated composers'. The majority of works were vocal, but keyboard works by J. C. Bach, M. Vento and J. B. Vanhal were also included. A reviewer for the *Analytical Review* opined that not all the composers selected were indeed 'celebrated' and proceeded to approve some at the expense of other lesser-known musicians. Those to suffer his scorn were for the most part the English-born contributors of slight songs. He drew on the by now familiar canon of favoured and foreign composers: Paisiello, Vento, Vanhal, Sarti, Tenducci and J. C. Bach, while disparaging the harmless compositions by native composers such as Moulds, Relfe and a host of others.4

The publishers and composers Pleyel, Corri and Dussek brought out their *Musical Journal* in January 1797, offering a selection of music for voice, harp and pianoforte in separate and joint editions. The collection was geared to amateurs, offering 'simple, melodious and brilliant music, all new and original excluding those difficulties called Musical Pretensions, which are only intended to promote Emulation in Execution and not in Taste'. The *Journal* was to appear frequently - every ten days - and included three pieces, one of each sort. Unfortunately it did not survive long enough to give a representative picture of what was 'unpretentious' and popular in music of the day. Rather, it seemed to be intended primarily to launch works by Dussek and his circle. In a picture
of Mount Parnassus on the cover of the first issue, various 'moderns' fly off the solid rock on which Palestrina, Handel, Bach, Scarlatti and Purcell reside: the 'moderns' (i.e. those composers included in the selections) such as Haydn and Mozart are appropriate in such company; those of Cramer, Dussek, Naumann and Pleyel are to be expected, while Mechtler and Fonbrunne are simply perplexing in their obscurity.

In 1808 Dussek's sister, Veronica Cianchettini, began a series bearing the alluring title of *Le delizie delle dame filarmoniche*, published by the family firm of Cianchettini and Sperati. Like Storace, Madame Cianchettini in her travels on the Continent had sought out and purchased new compositions in order to publish them in London. The first issue included works by Meyer, Haydn, Dussek and Nadermann arranged for voice, piano and cello.

There can be no doubt that in the commercial climate of London many journals were produced solely in the publishers' own interests, but it is also true that many did not last long. Others, organized by individuals such as Thomas Busby, fell prey to the precarious economic and political situation; Busby's *Monthly Musical Journal*, published by Phillips, first appeared on 31 January 1801, but had to cease publication in June of the same year, with the following announcement:

We are sorry to learn that Dr. Busby has found it necessary to postpone for the present the regular continuance of his *Monthly Musical Journal*, on account of the late interrupted intercourse with Germany, the difficult intercourse with France, and the distracted state of, as well as the total impracticability of, intercourse with Italy.
We understand, however, that this valuable work will be resumed after a Peace, or whenever the state of literary intercourse between the various European nations shall be re-established.6

Being limited in scope, Busby's Journal did not survive in a competitive market. Other more substantial publications lasted even through the political and economic difficulties around the turn of the century, and many of them can give us valuable indications of contemporary taste. Bland's 'Periodical Works' were published over four years from 1790 to 1793 and provided a selection of music both old and new, no doubt drawn from the publisher's own extensive stock, though Bland made a point in his introduction that he had specially bought foreign music for publication in the collection:

This [collection] shall consist of ten pages, of the most Esteem'd Compositions, selected from works already published in Books of High Price or from M.S. by Haydn, Kozeluch, Hoffmeister, Mozart, Vanhall &c. &c. having personally settled a Connection with those Composers; the whole to be well & correctly Engrav'd & Printed on the best Paper.7

Bland indexed his collection thematically, an early and unusual example of such a practice. The first volume (for 1790) included sonatas by Garth, Bachman, Haydn, Nicolai and Mrs Billington; 'German Hymns' by Vanhal and Pleyel; the ever popular Battle of Prague by Kotzwaru, concertos by Rush and Schroeter, preludes and sonatinas by Nicolai, a grand overture by Edelman and a rondo by Pleyel among other smaller works. The succeeding volumes followed a similar pattern of blending old with new and English with continental music, particularly that of the Viennese school. German symphonists such as Stamitz and Ditters are also
represented. Other foreign works by popular composers such as Pleyel, Edelman and Eichner (associated with Paris) are included. It is also significant that Bland restricted his selections to solo and accompanied music for the piano or harpsichord; there is no vocal music in the collection. In his succeeding volumes, Bland offered current 'foreign' music by Stamitz, Ditters, Hoffmeister and Vanhal, but introduced modern 'home' composers such as Clementi and Field as well. Within its limitation of genre, Bland's collection is fairly typical of publishers' offerings at this time in its attempt to combine old favourites (such as the Battle of Prague) with new music from Vienna and elsewhere. The collection was also typical in its inclusion of works primarily for harpsichord by older composers such as Scarlatti and Schroeter, whose works became part of the pianistic canon and had a significant influence on the development of idiomatic piano writing. A full list of the contents is given in Table 4 (pp. 134-5).

Longman and Broderip's Collection, in ten issues dating from the 1790s, reflects the diversity of music publishing in London, including compositions by a variety of composers. Aimed at pianists, the series featured solo and accompanied sonatas, but no vocal music. Works of Haydn and Mozart were included with those of Clementi, Dussek and Steibelt; other composers such as Edelman, Gyrowetz, Smith and Hoberecht made the collection a fairly typical pot-pourri of current music.

Harrison's publication, almost contemporary with Longman and Broderip's, received good reviews, and the series had a relatively
healthy lifespan lasting until 1802." Because of its length and scope, Harrison's publication gives us at least some indication of musical taste at the turn of the century, even though the selection might have had more to do with Harrison's available stock than with any philanthropic motives towards his subscribers.

Like Bland and Longman and Broderip, Harrison chose a popular formula and extended it to include vocal works as well as pieces for keyboard alone. In the introduction to the series the publishers promised to give not only 'the best works that have already been published' but also 'such new and capital Musick as may yet appear'. For some reason - either perceived public preference or old plates - they also included 'some choice posthumous works of the late Dr. Arne, as well as of his celebrated son, Mr. Michael Arne'. Dr Arne (d. 1778) was certainly a popular composer who had been featured before in other anthologies, in particular one titled Musical Miscellanies, begun in 1784 and featuring both music and letter press. This collection of vocal music was adorned with a portrait of Arne, whose works were featured alongside those of Handel, Pasquali, J. C. Bach, Battishill and others. Although the first volume of Harrison's series contained no works by the Arnes, the second included songs by Michael, and Artaxerxes by his father. Almost every volume included an operatic piece, usually offered with its overture and numerous arias; recitatives were not included. Table 5 (p. 136) shows the operas included: in all cases the work dated from one or two decades previously (or more in the case of Arne) but was still playing (in some arrangement or other) in the main London
theatres. Similarly much of the keyboard music reflected general trends shown through publishers' catalogues, including slightly older but still popular music by Abel, J. C. Bach, Schroeter, Schobert and others. Popular Viennese composers such as Sterkel, Vanhal and Gelinek were included along with Mozart and Haydn.

Harrison's collection also shows a variety of genre. Unlike Bland, Harrison chose to include vocal music, an important reflection of musical taste and preference, but like Bland he chose several types of keyboard music itself. There is a selection of concertos (with the piano score printed separately from the instrumental parts), accompanied and solo sonatas, lessons, themes and variations, arrangements of symphonies and the like. The eclectic English musical scene is reflected in the arrangements of works by German symphonic composers such as Graun, Stamitz and Richter, and Italian overtures by Paisiello, Guglielmi, Martini, Cimarosa and Salieri, not to mention full-scale adaptations of Haydn symphonies, no doubt familiar to the public through the composer's appearance in the Salomon concerts. However, the works of native English composers and foreign musicians who had made London their home were included as well. Vocal music by Carter and Jackson appeared frequently and new keyboard works by Clementi, Hook and Busby were included.

Both Bland's and Harrison's collections reveal an important feature of late 18th-century British music. Far from being slaves to fashion, demanding new, trivial music at every opportunity, the London public appeared to enjoy music both ancient and modern. The famous Concerts of Ancient Music were not unusual in their
devotion to older music — namely music of the previous generation — particularly that of Handel. However, many entertainments remained popular for some time after their first performances. The comic operas and afterpieces included in Harrison's collection had long and productive runs and, although written some time before Harrison published them, were still current favourites in the London theatres. Popular works such as Arnold's Agreeable Surprise, Arne's Comus and Shield's Rosina were given over 200 performances. Slightly less popular, but nonetheless running over a span of at least twenty years, Linley's Richard and Arnold's The Spanish Barber were given 123 and 142 performances respectively.

Although some of the composers included in both Bland's and Harrison's collections were flourishing at the time of publication, the idea of publishing older works persisted throughout the volumes; Arne and Arnold (1740-1802) were two older composers frequently honoured with inclusion. Many comic operas of the time were the work of more than one composer, for example Love in a Village which had 'Musick by Handel, Boyce, Arne, Howard, Galuppi', among others and The Golden Pippin, called 'an English Burletta', which was set to music by Francesco, Giordani, Arne, Fischetti and Bates. For the most part, none of the dramatic works included in Harrison's collection was current; they were all between ten and twenty years old. Accordingly it is not surprising that a number of Handel's works found a place in the collection, notably Judas Maccabaeus and L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato.

Like the dramatic works, many of the solo sonatas had been published before, in many cases by such firms as Longman and
Broderip, Napier, S., A. & P. Thompson and John Welcker, all of whom had ceased trading before Harrison began publishing the series.\(^2\) The publishing history of the sonatas in the collection is shown in Table 6 (pp. 137-8). It is possible that Harrison had bought up the stock of these publishers, though he may have obtained copyrights and printed copies rather than the plates themselves. The quarto format of Harrison's editions precluded the use of most of the old folio-sized plates. It seems likely that Harrison made his own editions through copying old plates or prints and modernizing them in the process. Tell-tale signs of this practice can be found in Harrison's version of Schobert's *Two Sonatas*, op. 1 (in vol v). Robert Bremner had published this work in c1770 and had used a peculiar method of depicting turns vertically (rather like a backwards 'S') with the accidental beside it. Whatever the fashion might have been in 1770, that for vertically placed turns did not last, and certainly the horizontal type (i.e. an 'S' on its side) became current soon afterwards. However, Harrison's engraver curiously adopts the archaic form in the first movement of the first sonata but later changes it to the new horizontal position, while retaining the accidental to the right of the figure.

Although much of the music chosen by Harrison had indeed appeared before, and a number of years previously at that, there are some cases of seemingly new music which appeared in Harrison's volumes for the first time (perhaps just in this country), such as sets of sonatas by Hook, Giordani and even Clementi.\(^3\) Concertos appeared here in solo piano form, as did many accompanied sonatas.
In many ways Harrison's collection was a conservative one, concentrating on well-known works and familiar genres. Works by 'new' composers were few and far between. There is nothing by Dussek or Cramer and little by Clementi, perhaps because all three had agreements with other publishers or were indeed in the publishing business themselves: both Dussek and Clementi had their own firms at this time. There was heavy reliance on 'foreign' music, particularly symphonies and concertos which could be adapted for piano alone.

From the anthologies we can deduce that the public taste was for a catholic selection of old and new music written in a variety of styles and genres. But do the publishers' catalogues themselves bear out the thesis that the taste was not so much for novelty, but for a more varied selection of music both old and new? As the catalogues were more plentiful than the serial publications and cover a broader timespan, it is primarily through them that we can chart the changes in musical taste from the 1770s through to the 1810s.

During this period the main publishing firms underwent significant changes in partnership, and plates and old stock were bought up and resold. Robert Bremner (c1713-1789) and John Welcker (fl 1775-c1785) were significant publishers of harpsichord and early piano music in the 1770s; both had sizeable stocks which remained in the trade even after their firms had become defunct. The practice of retaining older music is most evident in a catalogue of 1776 produced by Elizabeth Randall, whose husband William died in the same year, having established himself as 'the
successor to the late John Walsh', no doubt taking over most of his predecessor's stock. This catalogue contains more than a fair share of antique music by Handel, Greene (1695-1755), Bononcini (1670-1747), Alberti (1710-1740) and Roseingrave (1690-1766). However, keeping on such a quantity of older music was not typical of the 1770s; other publishers such as Bremner and Welcker stocked a far more modern selection. Certainly they had older music as well, but by more established composers such as Handel and Scarlatti, many of whose works remained in the catalogues for some time. In addition to works by native composers such as Avison (1709-1770), Boyce, Burney and Rush (fl 1760-1780) the catalogues contained a significant amount of Italian music by composers such as Guglielmi (1727-1804), Alberti (1710-1740), Pellegrino (c1715-c1766) and Sandoni (1685-1748) as well as works by Haydn and Mozart. Welcker's catalogue also had music by contemporary native and resident English composers such as Matthew Camidge, Antonia Kammell and Muzio Clementi.

One composer whose works appeared in the 1770s and remained popular until almost the end of the century was Johann Schobert (1720-1767), a Silesian composer who had been based in Paris. Several of Schobert's works appeared in Bremner's catalogue in 1773; Welcker advertised his complete works in his catalogue of two years later. The endurance of Schobert's works in the catalogues alongside those of Scarlatti and other harpsichord composers is a testament to the tenacity of the harpsichord repertory long after the piano was in the ascendancy. Burney claimed to have been the first to bring Schobert's works to England from Paris, declaring
that 'the spirit and fire of his pieces require not only a strong hand but a *harpsichord*, to give them all their force and effect'. He went on to say that these pieces were not suitable for pianos or clavichords, as they were 'too rapid, and have too many notes'. Burney's comment is an early instance of a writer clearly differentiating between harpsichord and piano style. Much of the repertory could be played on either instrument, but perhaps the relatively primitive piano technology was not enough to cope with sophisticated passagework. Schobert evidently wrote in what Burney terms 'the symphonic, or modern overture style...imitating the effects of an orchestra'. Burney believed that Schobert's works had declined in popularity because of their unsuitability for the pianoforte. Even if this were so, the appearance of his compositions in catalogues of the succeeding two decades points either to a continuing but perhaps small public demand, or otherwise a publisher's desire to maintain a corpus of established older music alongside more modern pieces. Even Harrison included sonatas by Schobert in the fifth and thirteenth volumes of his series but we can only guess at the motive: did it reflect popular taste or was it simply convenient material to fill up space?

The passion for 'Scots music', which was to dominate the pianoforte repertory in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, found its place in catalogues of the 1770s, continuing a tradition which went back more than a century. Bremner's catalogue of 1770 has a special section devoted to this music which includes two volumes of his own collection of songs, another collection arranged for violin and German flute with bass by McGibbon, and
Craig's collection for the harpsichord. This music was advertised over twenty years later by Preston (who had bought Bremner's stock in 1789) in his catalogue of 1794, though by this time he was able to enrich his selection with collections by Campbell, Oswald, Peacock and Wilson as well.

The firm of Longman and Broderip dominated music publishing in the 1780s, building up a lucrative instrument trade as well as selling printed music. Their catalogue of 1781, discussed in the preceding chapter, reveals a wide variety of keyboard and instrumental music. Following in the tradition of the previous decade, we not surprisingly find older music - this time by the likes of Weldon and Smethergell - in addition to the more usual Handel, Hasse and Pergolesi. In the light of the discussion of Harrison's collection above, it is interesting to note that Longman and Broderip published the music to 'favourite operas' including many of those later chosen by Harrison, such as Love in a Village, The Padlock, Lionel and Clarissa, Cymon, The Golden Pippin and even the Beggar's Opera: it is possible, of course, that Harrison bought these editions when Longman and Broderip went bankrupt and subsequently used them in his series. In any case they would have had to be re-engraved, as Harrison's format was smaller than his predecessor's.

The selection of music in catalogues began to change towards the end of the 1780s. Although catalogues were rarely dated, it is interesting to compare two of 1786 - one of Longman and Broderip dated August, and the other of Samuel, Ann and Peter Thompson, dated October. The two catalogues are almost identical in much
of their offerings, with the exception of a section in Thompson's catalogue headed 'A New Edition of Harpsichord Music'. The remainder of the catalogue, however, bears a striking similarity to that produced by their competitors only two months before. It seems likely that Thompson was acting both as a publisher and a music-seller in this case, stocking music published by other firms as well as his own. The careful separation of their own editions from that of the others bears out this speculation; surely a more careful attempt would have been made to conceal outright piracy.

The selection of music is startlingly different from the 1770s, even from Longman and Broderip's 1781 catalogue. Already the flowering of a new English school is evident, made up of both native composers and continental musicians who had chosen to take up residence in London. In addition to the familiar works of J. C. Bach and Abel, there are offerings by Clementi, the young Cramer (op. 1), Mazzinghi, Hook, Hoberecht, Stevens and Rauzzini, the last two in Thompson's 'New Editions' section. Longman and Broderip offered music by popular newcomers such as Kozeluch and Mozart, Clementi, Dussek, Cramer and 'Miss Reynolds', one of the few women composers mentioned here. The German school remained a feature, but not for long; the names of Schulthesius and Zink vanished forever shortly afterwards.22

Comparisons between catalogues produced by different publishers at roughly the same time reveal vast differences in the selection of music offered. The nature of the trade was such that there was no room for sluggishness, and it was always the more enterprising publishers who succeeded. Although Longman and Broderip
was by the 1780s a well-established firm, it is interesting to compare their catalogue of 1786 with one of the same year produced by John Bland. Bland had started his business in 1784, and as a newcomer produced a catalogue more wide-ranging than any of his competitors in its judicious selection of old and new music. It was in this catalogue that Bland offered the 30% reduction on prices as well as advertising his 'extensive connexions with the first Composers and Publishers of Music abroad'. Bland was obviously careful in his choice of older music and advertised Schobert's complete works, which were by this time largely absent from the other catalogues. Certainly no one else was offering a 'complete works' package available at an attractive price. Bland also included works by the perennially popular Scarlatti as well as piano arrangements of Handel overtures. New Viennese works by Haydn, Mozart, Kozeluch and Vanhal were a special feature. Clementi appears to have had an agreement with Longman and Broderip alone as none of his works appears in Bland's catalogue; however, both publishers feature different works by the young Cramer, whose op. 1 was published by Longman and Broderip and his second concerto by Bland.

The striking feature of these more 'progressive' catalogues of the 1780s is their gradual inclusion of music by Vienna-based composers such as Vanhal, Kozeluch, Haydn and Mozart. Much of the older music by the German and Italian mid-century symphonists - so popular in the 1770s and early 1780s - had given way to the newer Viennese instrumental music, and the effects of all three styles can be found in the music of native and resident British composers.
such as Clementi, Cramer, Mazzinghi and Cogan. However, at the same time many of these catalogues are cluttered with music by obscure composers; a vast Longman and Broderip catalogue of c1785 appears to offer a great variety of music, but in reality much of it is old-fashioned and probably as of little interest to us today as it would have been to a contemporary buyer. It is padded out with out-dated Italian music by Pugnani (1731-1798), Pellegrini and Pergolesi; there is nothing of much interest by English composers (and those listed are very minor indeed), and the offerings from Vienna are restricted to Haydn. Presumably anyone who might have been interested in this music would have already acquired it. Indeed, a reviewer for the Monthly Magazine in 1796 disparaged a publication titled Musical Remains because it included compositions of Handel, Bach, Abel, Giuliani and others, which were 'well known, and in the possession of every amateur in music'.

A sale in 1816 of 'Mr. J. B. Cramer's select, valuable and entire collection of MS [sic] and printed vocal and instrumental music of both modern and ancient authors' included works of the Bach family, Handel, Gluck, Rameau, Frescobaldi, Froberger, Geminiani, Scarlatti, Durante, Leo, Steffani and Pergolesi as well as Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven among countless others. The extraordinary breadth of Cramer's collection could not possibly be typical of private music libraries of the time, but sales of smaller collections by lesser composers show a similar mingling of old and new music.

The 1790s saw a consolidation of trends which had begun to take root in the preceding decade. Bland continued to be an important publisher in this period along with Robert Birchall and the
firm of Preston & Son. Bland continued to solicit music from Viennese composers, and by 1794 he was able to offer a panoply of Viennese piano music, adding Hoffmeister (1754-1812) to the roster of established composers. Preston went even further and offered variations and sonatas by the young Hummel and sonatas by Storace, who himself was partly responsible for the growing recognition of Viennese music. Burney recognized its popularity in his *History of 1789*. He comments on the trios and symphonies of the composer Schwindl (d 1786) 'which were thought so pleasing and excellent, before the Vienna school was known' and goes on to describe the 'spirited, natural, and unaffected symphonies' of Vanhal, whom Burney saw as a predecessor to Haydn.29

That Haydn's music had a profound effect on the English musical scene is indisputable. His sonatas and concertos had appeared in catalogues of the 1780s; his popularity was further boosted by his London concerts of the 1790s. Arrangements of his symphonies began to appear; Giordani arranged an 'overture' (i.e. a symphony) which appeared in Thompson's catalogue of 1786. He was the representative of 'modern music'; he brought colour to the orchestra and science to the art of composition.

Burney was an early champion of the composer: in a review of William Jackson's *Observations on the Present State of Music in London* (1791) he expressed the view that any doubts about Haydn arose simply because 'we are not certain that our present musical doctors and graduates are quite up to Haydn yet'.3o Similarly the composer John Marsh saw Haydn as the saviour of modern music, praising 'his wonderful contrivance, variety and eccentricity of
modulation, judicious dispersion of light and shade, blending simple and intelligible air with abstruse and complicated harmony'. Such musings from Haydn supporters came partly in reaction to avid Handelians, the supporters of so-called 'ancient music'.

Pleyel was very much a rising star in the music of the 1790s: his many arrangements of his own instrumental works (especially the Concertante) provided pianoforte fodder for years to come. Post-revolutionary Paris had begun to re-establish itself as a musical centre, though as always London was a powerful attraction for composers and performers. The pianist Daniel Steibelt arrived in London from Paris in 1797 and promptly began to compose and perform concertos and sonatas. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, given his dubious reputation today, Steibelt's music won for the most part good reviews from the hardened critic of the Monthly Magazine, the redoubtable Thomas Busby. Busby wrote of the sonatas op. 48 that he knew of 'no publication better calculated to improve the pianoforte practitioner' and mentioned that his publisher, Preston, would have no cause to regret his choice of composer. Steibelt also introduced pedalling technique to English pianists, as in Busby's words, he wished 'to make more variety on the pianoforte'. However, as Steibelt became more extravagant in his virtuosity, even the stalwart Busby balked at the excesses of the Chasse concerto:

His eagerness for novelty seems to have led him too much amongst the eccentricities and extravagances of the day...some bars are much more outré than beautiful.
Stelbelt's music continued to be popular for some time. He was published by Preston and his name also appears in an 1806 catalogue of Lewis Lavenu. Like Pleyel, he was more prolific than profound; nonetheless both composers were important and influential figures in London at the turn of the century.

Preston's catalogue of 1794 reflects the eclectic nature of contemporary musical life in London: not only did it feature the latest Viennese music from the young Hummel as well as old favourites from Haydn, Kozeluch and Vanhal; it also gave London composers some scope. It included music by such composers as Attwood, Hook, Clementi and the lesser Camidge, Coyle and Hullmandel. Unlike Longman and Broderip's catalogue of the mid-1780s it is relatively unclogged with older works, but has a representative few by Scarlatti and even some by Schroeter (d 1788), a contemporary of J. C. Bach praised by Burney for his skill in writing for the piano. Like Schobert before him his works remained in the pianistic canon for many years after his death.

As the turn of the century approached, piano composition flourished, particularly with so many pianists active in the capital. Clementi of course started his own publishing company at about this time and included music by Cramer, Dussek and the Irish composer Cogan. In addition there was music by the violinists Gyrowetz, Yaniewicz and Viotti, much of it originally for the violin but arranged for piano.

Clementi was a dominant publisher of the early 19th century, along with Robert Birchall and Lewis Lavenu. As we have seen, both
Birchall and Lavenu ran circulating libraries. Birchall had run a publishing firm with Hugh Andrews from 1783 before working alone from 1789 until his death in 1819. He did at one time employ Samuel Chappell. Lavenu started in 1796 and took on Mitchell as a partner from 1802 to 1808. It is interesting to compare catalogues from the two firms dating from 1806. The enterprising Birchall was already publishing some sonatas of Beethoven while Clementi was negotiating for more works. Lavenu did not include Beethoven on his list but featured the usual mixture of works by resident London composers, some Viennese music and compositions by Steibelt and Pleyel. Both publishers featured a substantial amount of music by the English composers Thomas Haigh and Samuel Wesley.

Defining the 'English' style is an elusive if not impossible task. Reviewers were reticent to characterize the 'English' mode of composition as anything other than that which was 'familiar', pleasing and reasonably easy to play. Reviewers of music for journals such as the Analytical Review and the Monthly Magazine laid considerable stress on the suitability of certain music for 'the juvenile practitioner' and, although the contemporary enthusiasm for 'national airs' can be seen as an attempt to forge a distinctive insular style, such practices can not be divorced from pedagogical intent. Such music was above all 'familiar to the ear' and would thus be easily learnt and heard with pleasure.

There can be no doubt that the commercial climate of London allowed publishers to expand. A large, increasing population meant that the market was constantly changing and growing, offering op-
opportunities for publishers to market new music, a variety of genre (such as solo and accompanied sonatas, arrangements of symphonies etc.) and weekly or monthly publications to attract new customers. Given the entrepreneurial cast and continental connections of such publishers as John Bland and Muzio Clementi, it can be said that on the whole it was the publishers who manipulated public taste, and not the other way around. The influence first of the German and Italian schools and later of the great Viennese composers had a tremendous effect on the progress of keyboard writing in London. With such a selection available to performers and composers alike, it seems fair to say that the publishers ultimately had more influence on the course of keyboard writing than did the great piano makers such as Broadwood. True, the English pianos differed significantly from the Viennese, but it seems unlikely that any contemporary pianist would have been deterred from playing a sonata of Kozeluch or Haydn on a pianoforte manufactured by Broadwood.

This is not to underestimate the influence of English pianos on Viennese composers; Haydn's 'English' sonatas written for the pianist Therese Jansen, no doubt with a Broadwood in mind, are a case in point. Various writers have also pointed to the influence of 'English' composers and pianos on composers such as Beethoven. Although it is possible to see the effects of some features of the heavier English pianos on the music of native composers, particularly in terms of range and sonority, the development of an 'English' style, if such it can be called, in fact owed as much to the influence of continental music published here
as to any intrinsic features of the instruments themselves. So, while influences worked both ways in an international climate, it seems clear that London piano writing could not help but be influenced by the sophisticated, modern writing emanating from the Continent. The voracious London publishing industry was far larger and more established than any of its continental counterparts, particularly Vienna, and was eager to serve up the latest foreign offerings to a large and demanding public. Without a substantial amount of quality native British music to satisfy demand, the long-established reliance on continental music simply continued to grow, aided and abetted by seasoned publishers and a burgeoning home market.
Table 4: Bland’s Harpsichord Collection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790:</td>
<td>Garth</td>
<td>Sonata (6)</td>
<td>Hirsch M. 1408</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bachman</td>
<td>Sonata (C)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Vanhal</td>
<td>German Hymn</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kotzwara</td>
<td>Battle of Prague</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Haydn</td>
<td>Third Sonata (C)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kozeluch</td>
<td>Rondo in C</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Rosetti</td>
<td>Romance</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Lison Dormoit'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Nicolai</td>
<td>Sonata from op. 3 (C)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pleyel</td>
<td>German Hymn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Haydn</td>
<td>Sonata (D)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs Billington</td>
<td>3rd Sonata</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Pring</td>
<td>Overture (D)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>The Conquest of Oczakow</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Nicolai</td>
<td>Fifth Sonata from op. 3 (6)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rush</td>
<td>Concerto (F)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Schroeter</td>
<td>Concerto (G)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Haydn</td>
<td>Sonata from op. 17</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Pleyel</td>
<td>Rondo (C)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rosetti</td>
<td>Sinfonie</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Nicolai</td>
<td>Six Sonatinas</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fifteen Preludes</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Edelmann</td>
<td>Grand Overture (D)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pleyel</td>
<td>Second Rondo</td>
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<td>1791:</td>
<td>Nicolai</td>
<td>Sonata op. 3/2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rosetti</td>
<td>Divertimento (Bb)</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Ditters</td>
<td>Grand Overture</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Giordani</td>
<td>Medley Overture (G)</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Pleyel</td>
<td>Concertante</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Haydn</td>
<td>Favorite Sonata (C)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lewie Gordon</td>
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17. Shuster's Air with Variations
   Stamitz: Overture (Eb)

18. Haydn's Easy Sonata (C)
   Davaux: Sonata (D)

19. Davaux: Sonata (A)
   Dupuis: Lady Coventry's Minuet and Variations

20. Edelman: Sonata op. 1
    Vento: Sonata

21. Lochiel's March and 23 others

22. Edelman: Sonata op. 16 [no. 1]
    ------: Overture Bastile [sic]
    ------: 2d Sonata op. 16

23. Haydn: La Reine [symph arr pf]

24. Kotzwara: The Agreeable Surprise
    Pleyel: First Sonatina

1792

25. Freystaedtler's Morning, Noon, etc.


27. Staes: Idées de Campagne

28. Pleyel: Cottage Maid
    Edelman: Sonata op. 8/3

29. Edelman: Sonata op. 16
    Martini: Overture Henry IV

30. Linley: Overture
    Overture to Blaise et Babet

Le Tout Ensemble with accompaniments:

Chamber works by Mozart, Hoffmeister, Pleyel, Kozeluch, Haydn, Sterkel and Forster
Table 5: Harrison's *Pianoforte Magazine*

Arrangements of Operas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Librettist</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Vol</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arne</td>
<td>tr. Metastasio</td>
<td>Artaxerxes</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>1762</td>
<td>ii</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cymon</td>
<td>DR</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>iii</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Dalton,</td>
<td>Comus</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1738</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>after Milton</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colman</td>
<td>The Fairy Prince</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arnold</td>
<td>O'Keeffe</td>
<td>Agreeable Surprise</td>
<td>afp</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Peeping Tom</td>
<td>CO</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>i</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Son in Law</td>
<td>MF</td>
<td>1779</td>
<td>vi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colman</td>
<td>The Spanish Barber</td>
<td>CO</td>
<td>1776</td>
<td>vii</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Castle of Andalusia</td>
<td>CO</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dibdin</td>
<td>Bickerstaffe</td>
<td>The Padlock</td>
<td>afp</td>
<td>1766</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maid of the Mill</td>
<td>CO</td>
<td>1765</td>
<td>vi</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lionel &amp; Clarissa</td>
<td>CO</td>
<td>1768</td>
<td>vi</td>
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<td>Monsigny</td>
<td>The Deserter</td>
<td>MF</td>
<td>1773</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>J. Hook</td>
<td>H. H. Hook</td>
<td>The Double Disguise</td>
<td>CO</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>v</td>
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<tr>
<td>Linley</td>
<td>Sheridan</td>
<td>The Duenna</td>
<td>CO</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>v</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Camp</td>
<td>ME</td>
<td>1778</td>
<td>ix</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tickell</td>
<td>Gentle Shepherd</td>
<td>CO</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>after Ramsay</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Burgoyne</td>
<td>Richard Coeur de Lion</td>
<td>afp</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>xiv</td>
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<tr>
<td>Piccinni</td>
<td>Goldoni</td>
<td>La Buona Figliuola</td>
<td>CO</td>
<td>1766</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shield</td>
<td>Goldsmith</td>
<td>The Hermit</td>
<td>?CO</td>
<td>1787/8</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O'Keeffe</td>
<td>The Poor Soldier</td>
<td>CO</td>
<td>1783</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F. Brooke</td>
<td>Rosina</td>
<td>afp</td>
<td>1782</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6: Sonatas from Harrison’s *Pianoforte Magazine*

(Volume in series, composer, title and publishing history)

i. Abel: Six sonatas acc vn [op. 18, Thompson, 1784]

iii. Kotzwara: The Agreeable Surprise, a favorite sonata for pf [Dublin, n.d.; Bland’s Hpd Coll., ii (1791)]

iv. Schobert: Two sonatas [op.3, Bremner, 1770; Longman & Broderip, 1780]

  V. Nicolai: Six Sonatas [op. 3, Welcker 1775, then Dale, Longman & Broderip et al., n.d.]

Hook: Six familiar sonatas [no evidence of prev. pubn in London]

v. Giordani: Six sonatas op. 24 [also pubd by Longman & Broderip, n.d.]

  [G.] F. Giuliani: (b c1760) Six Sonatas op. 6 [accs for vn & vc, pubd by Forster c1790]

  Giordani: Six sonatas [op. 10] First published in the *Pianoforte Magazine*

  Schobert: Two sonatas [op. 1, Bremner, c1770, orig. Paris]


  Schroeter: Sonatas op. 2 [Napier, 1777]

vii. Schroeter: Six sonatas [op. 4; Napier, 1772]

  Busby: Six sonatas [op. 1; Longman & Broderip, 1785]

  Six sonatas for Pf by Bach, Benda, Graun, Wagenseil, Hasse, Kernberger

viii. Giordani: Six Favorite Sonatas [op. 27; Preston, c1781]


  Rauzzini: Six Favorite Sonatas [5 Quartettos op. 5; Welcker, c1780]

  ix. Edelmann: Four sonatas op. 11 [no prev edn pubd in London; poss, Paris]

  Vanhal: Six Favorite Sonatas [first published in the *Pianoforte Magazine*]

x. Clementi: Six Sonatas op. 4 [pubd 1780] with accompaniments

xi. Pleyel: 12 Easy Sonatinas for pf [Corri, Dussek & Co., 1796/8]

viid. Three Sonatas, ded. King of Prussia

xii. J Chalon: Six Sonatinas op. 3 [Hummel, London, 1765]
Haydn: Three Sonatas op. 40 [Trios, Hob.xv/2, Forster, 1785, Longman & Broderip, c.1790]

xiii, J. C. Bach: Six Sonatas [op. 20; 1783]

Schobert: Two Sonatas op. 8 [Bremer, c.1770]

xiv, Pleyel: Three Sonatas [arrangements of quartets]

xv, [G. F.] Tenducci: Four Sonatas [from Coll. of Lessons for Hpd/Pf c.1768]

Paisiello: Favorite Sonata (D minor) [First pubd in the Pianoforte Magazine]

Stamitz: Sonata for hpd(pf) [Thompson, c.1770]

Clementi: Two Sonatas [op. 5/1,2, - orig 3 + 3 fugues; accomp., 1780-81]

--- Three Sonatas [op. 7, 1782 Vienna, in London 1790-5]

Kozeluch: Favorite Sonata for pf/hpd [arranged concerto]

xvi, M. Vento: Six Sonatas accomp fl/vln [10th set; Weicker, 1776]

A. Kammell: Six Sonatas pf/hpd op. 9 [Hummel 1775; Weicker, 1775]
The role of the piano in professional music making was significant, if not quite so financially rewarding as for those involved in manufacturing and publishing for an extensive market dominated by amateur interests. Grand pianos were made primarily with performing pianists and composers in mind, while the ubiquitous square piano served the interests of the amateur musician at home. Publishers also catered to both markets, with a similar stress on the amateur side, but with due acknowledgment to the sophisticated compositions for the professional (or aspiring professional) to play. The general ethos of the time preferred the light and simple to the scientific and abstruse, and vocal music to instrumental pieces, but even so there was music to cater to every taste and the piano could fit into almost any category, as a solo or accompanying instrument.

The advent of such a popular new instrument in a widening market gave it a far different role from that of its predecessor the harpsichord. With some perspective on events, William Gardiner remarked in 1838 that 'the most striking era in the history of music was the invention of the pianoforte; before its introduction it might be said that there was no domestic music, certainly no singing [as] the harpsichord was ill adapted to support the voice'. The marked proliferation of instruments in middle class homes afforded opportunities of learning more music, Gardiner also
commented on the piano’s contribution to ‘the general spread of a musical taste in all ranks of society’.

Opportunities for teaching arose and were quickly taken up. Teachers could then publish simple didactic works, such as piano tutors or lessons, which would be bought by their pupils and also serve as publicity for their services. They also gave concerts to which they invited existing pupils, and no doubt hoped to attract new ones. The London concert scene, always active, was an important factor in the piano’s developing popularity, for while the full-blown solo piano recital was not to come into its own until much later, the instrument was featured in different kinds of concerts and afforded a platform for composers to play and therefore to publicize their own works.

Perhaps more than any other instrument, the piano was able to cross the boundaries between amateur and professional. It is true that other instruments such as the flute, guitar and harp were also popular, but the piano dominated in its sheer quantity of repertory and in its vast number of players, albeit of varying abilities. The piano also had an advantage in its ability to accompany the voice, an important quality in a world which on the whole preferred vocal to instrumental music. Moreover, the piano transcended boundaries of gender: although it was thought of primarily as a woman’s instrument from the point of view of amateur music making, it is notable that its primary professional exponents were men. Other instruments appeared to have more rigidly defined gender associations: violin, cello and flute for men; harp and guitar for women. Occasionally, however, these gender barriers were broken,
particularly in the case of Madame Gautherot, the French violinist, who made her first appearance in England playing a Viotti concerto in 1789. The oboist William Parke, in his *Musical Memoirs* commented on her 'great ability', but went on to recall that 'the ear, however, was more gratified than the eye by this lady’s masculine effort'.

Women of course made up a good proportion of the piano-related market, be it for instruments or for music. Even by the end of the 18th century many women were competent keyboard players; an anonymous writer in the *European Magazine* declared that 'what were once called difficulties...are now subdued at every boarding-school by young ladies hardly in their teens'. Music was already an entrenched feature of aristocratic life: the German writer F. A. Wendeborn noted during his visit to England in the 1780s that music was considered to be an important aspect of a lady’s education, though he had reservations about its ultimate worth:

> It seems at present to be part of female education, to have girls instructed in music, if the parents think they can afford it. Few, however, acquire sufficient skill to play well; and the little which they have learnt, they generally forget again, as soon as they are provided with husbands.

Women were also the main performers in Vienna and Prague; von Schönfeld listed several competent female fortepianists in his list of 1796 alongside luminaries such as Beethoven and Kozeluch; most of them were aristocrats. The most famous among them was the blind Maria Theresia von Paradis, who performed in London (probably on the harpsichord) in the 1780s. It is interesting to
compare von Schönfeld's directory of musicians with one published by John Doane in London in 1794. Here Doane lists relatively few women pianists; those mentioned are invariably singers as well. Whether the directories accurately reflect the musical (and pianistic) scenes in Vienna and London (or perhaps just the proclivities of the authors) is open to speculation; however, it is interesting to note that Doane's emphasis is far more on commercial aspects such as music selling, engraving and composing rather than on female accomplishment at the piano. Schönfeld on the other hand gives meticulous detail on many women pianists and harpsichordists.

By the 1780s there were a few women who participated in public concerts in London, though when they did so the instrument was more likely to be a harpsichord than a pianoforte. Some women were also active professionally as composers and performers, many of them exhibiting distinct entrepreneurial tendencies in publishing and performing. Jane Mary Guest (c1765-c1830), later Mrs Miles and tutor to the royal family, published her op. 1 accompanied sonatas in 1783 and was a regular performer in the Hanover Square Grand Concert of 1783, albeit on the harpsichord. Evidence of her stature as a pianist is given by Burney, who mentions her alongside Clementi, Cramer, Hüllmandel and the Wesleys as being the top performers on the instrument. In 1784 she organized her own subscription concerts, though unfortunately we have no record of the pieces played or the performers taking part. Another enterprising pianist and composer of the same time was Maria Hester Parke, daughter of the oboist John Parke (and niece of
William T. Parke). Like Guest, Parke was both composer and pianist and took part in the Professional Concert in the late 1780s and early 1790s, performing sonatas and concertos. Confusingly, there is also a Miss W. F. Parke, possibly a sister of Maria Hester, who published two sets of 'Grand Sonatas' around 1800.11

Another female composer and performer was Maria Hester Reynolds, who played in the same series as Jane Guest in 1783, also on the harpsichord rather than on the piano.12 Reynolds also published six two-movement sonatas (op. 1) and three solo sonatas (op. 2) in about 1785. Many pianists were young; the child prodigy Elizabeth Weichsell appeared in the 1783 series of concerts, but later made her name as the singer Mrs Billington. Madame Kara, another famous and successful singer, was also a concert organizer and ran her own series at the Pantheon in 1788.13 The performer Jane Savage (fl 1780-1790) composed a number of popular works, including vocal music, keyboard lessons, rondos and duets, and a Margaret Essex published three accompanied sonatas op. 1 and some songs in the 1790s.14 Disability also had an attraction, if only for curiosity's sake: the blind 'Miss Morell' was featured in the 1801 season, playing a concerto by Dussek.15 However, she soon disappeared from the concert scene and does not appear to have been a composer.

The piano continued to dominate feminine society; by 1808 the writer J. P. Malcolm described a leisurely life in which 'the ladies read, work with their needle, or play on the Piano'.16 Elizabeth Appleton's Private Education; or a Practical Plan for the Studies of Young Ladies (1816) included a chapter on music, in which young
women were encouraged to learn a full repertory of piano sonatas, concertos, airs, overtures and duets by a wide range of composers, including Handel, Arne, Sterkel, Kozeluch, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, in addition to the main London composers. These were listed in detail, and give some idea of the breadth of repertory available at this time. The clergyman Allatson Burgh adopted an avuncular and sometimes condescending tone in his *Anecdotes of Music* (1814) written in the form of letters to a young lady. By this time ability on the pianoforte was an accomplishment no young lady could afford to be without, no matter from what echelon of society she sprang:

In the modern system of Female Education, this fascinating accomplishment is very generally considered as an indispensable requisite and the Daughters of Mechanics, even in humble stations, would fancy themselves extremely ill-treated, were they debarred the indulgence of a piano-forte.

Music was also good for the morality of women who would otherwise spend their time reading novels, 'thereby sapping the foundations of every moral and religious principle'. Not only was pianism entrenched in the education of women, but many had excelled at their art and 'as practical musicians, the British Female Dilettanti are universally acknowledged, not only to have rivalled, but to have surpassed in their exquisite execution upon keyboard instruments, all their Continental competitors'.

Burgh's views were typical, and the moral value was applied by some other writers not just to women, but to young men as well. G. J. Cheese, in his tutor for the pianoforte and organ, declared that 'music might be applied to with very great advantage by young
gentlemen designed for the learned professions or mercantile pursuits' as it provided 'agreeable employment for those hours which might otherwise be spent in taverns'.

Views on the suitability of the piano for men differed, however. In 1816 a writer in the Gentleman's Magazine commented on the continuing rage for 'musick', where 'all young ladies must now learn the pianoforte, or the more expensive harp'. However, for men, learning the instrument was just not worth the effort, the implication being that it was not a profession which would yield prosperity: 'the respect and the profit it obtains seldom bear any proportion to the difficulties to be surmounted'. The last word, however, must go to W. T. Parke, the oboist and chronicler of London concert life from 1784 to 1830, though here he speaks of music generally and not just the piano:

It may be asked, how is society benefited by music? I reply, that by its forming a pre-dominant feature in the education of the female sex, it engages their attention, and delights their minds by its fascination, till the judgment is sufficiently matured to enable them to fix their destinies in life with a fair prospect of happiness. With the youth of our sex also, the advantages are no less important, for by mixing in polite assemblies, and listening to the charms of music, which soothes pain, and keeps vice at a distance, young men may be estranged from the gaming table and other demoralising scenes, which seldom fail to entail fatal consequences on their votaries. Nor should it be forgotten that by the attractions which music creates, trade itself feels the benefit of its stimulating power through all its ramifications.

Some women benefited from their association with male composers while maintaining their independence from them. The composer J. L. Dussek had a gifted sister Veronica (1779-1833), who
married the publisher Francesco Cianchettini, composing and performing her own works under her married name. She also performed her brother's concertos. In 1808, in conjunction with the family publishing firm of Cianchettini and Sperati, she published a set of new compositions collected during her travels on the Continent (see above, p.114). Dussek married the harpist and singer Sophia Corri (1775-1847), daughter of the publisher Domenico Corri, in 1792; prior to the break-up of their marriage when Dussek left England, 'Mme Dussek' was a well-known and frequent performer of her husband's works for the harp and composed several works for harp, voice and pianoforte. She continued to perform and compose after her husband's departure, publishing in addition to her own sonata of c1805 a number of arrangements of popular works for harp or piano.

Cecilia Barthélemon (b c1770; later Mrs Henslowe) was the daughter of well-known musicians. Her mother (Maria, née Young, b1749) was a singer and harpsichordist who published six accompanied sonatas in 1776; her father was the leading violinist and composer François Barthélemon (1741-1808). Cecilia studied piano with the celebrated Schroeter and published four sets of sonatas and a battle piece called The Capture of the Cape of Good Hope in the 1790s. Like many of her female contemporaries she was a versatile musician; she is listed in Doane's directory of 1794 as a soprano, harpist and pianist. Upon marriage she evidently allowed her career to subside.23

It is significant that many of the subscribers to works by Guest, Reynolds and Barthélemon were either aristocratic or
otherwise distinguished: Guest's sonatas op. 1 were dedicated to the queen and included many royal subscribers; Reynolds's sonatas of c1785 were also published privately and included a good number of commercial patrons (i.e. publishers and music sellers) who would be able to distribute her work. Most impressive, however, are Cecilia Barthélemon's sonatas op. 1 (c1791), which boasted a list of 328 patrons, including not just titled persons but also all the leading musicians of the day, among them 'Sig. J. Haydn' and 'Mr Mozart, Vienna'.

Compositions by women were occasionally reviewed, not always without condescension; Busby praised a work of Veronica Cianchettini, whom he described as a 'sprightly and ingenious composer', for its 'skill and scientific information rarely found in female composers'. The same tone pervaded a review of an Introduction, March and Rondo by Caroline Kerby, where Busby declared that 'it is always with a pleasure, which we are proud to acknowledge, that we discover in female productions claims upon our commendation'. In most cases Busby's expectations of lady composers were not high; of a work of a Miss Lawely (or possibly Lazenby - the name varies within the review) he expected no more than 'a pleasing ease of conception and facile flow of familiar passages' rather than 'science, well-digested ideas, learned transitions and methodical arrangement'. 'Science' was thought to be a male preserve evidently, as the reviewer in the Repository of Arts (possibly also Busby) appeared surprised to find it in a work of Mrs Miles, the former Miss Guest, 'instructress in Music to HRH'. However, Busby was not always so indulgent. Women who
had become successful musicians in their own right were open to
censure, as was Miss Parke in her variations on 'O dolce concerto',
which apparently yielded to the 'idle, false, frivolous and vitiated
style, so prevalent in the present age'.29 Similarly Mme
Cianchettini's *La Chasse Russe* could not measure up to other
'chasses' by Haydn and Clementi, though it was admittedly still an
'agreeable and excellent exercise for the piano forte'.20

Not surprisingly, women composers tended to follow the same
pattern as their male contemporaries. Most published some vocal
music (usually arrangements of popular tunes) and keyboard sonatas,
both solo and accompanied. Some, like Cecilia Barthélemon, ventur-
ed to write programmatic pieces; a Miss Emily Metcalf published
*The Siege of Alexandria* in c1801, following all the usual battle
conventions. None of these works is particularly outstanding,
though much is competently written. Women wrote mainly for the
domestic amateur market and on the whole did not perform extens-
ively, with the notable exception of Maria Hester Parke, who wrote
concertos for her own concert performances and for anyone compet-
ent enough to play them.

For the professional musician, male or female, opportunities
existed for teaching and playing the piano. Career teaching at
this time appeared to be a male preserve, in contrast to the later
female dominance in this field. This suggests that in the early
part of the century money could be made in teaching, and that the
professional teacher was not without some status. Mrs Papendiek,
who wrote on court life under George III, recorded in her journal
that by about 1784 Clementi was already receiving a guinea per
lesson, and was teaching for 16 hours a day. However, Clementi was unique in this regard and other famous but perhaps less enterprising composers such as Schroeter apparently received only half a guinea.31 In 1782 the French theorist Anton Bemetzrieder (1743 or 1748-c1817) advertised in his Principles and Method of Music that he charged half a guinea per lesson and asked 'no entrance'. A few years later Wendeborn reported that many others with less exalted reputations had difficulties earning a living:

Those who are musicians by profession, and who earn part of their livelihood by teaching, have seen formerly, as it is said, better times than at present. I have heard of some receiving a guinea, or half a guinea for a lesson, who now, perhaps, must be content with five shillings. Nay, those that had acquired a kind of celebrity, kept their carriages to wait on their scholars, as is the case, in these days, with some hairdressers, who are in high vogue.32

Nevertheless advertisements in the newspapers continued unabated, with teachers offering not just piano tuition, but singing and other skills as well. Most advertisers were male, though a notice of 1802 offers the services of a 'Miss Cooney - for parents who prefer a female teacher for their children'.33 Lady teachers were often versatile enough to teach typical ladies' instruments such as the harp; witness an advertisement for 'the Pedal Harp, Piano Forte and New Lyre, taught by a LADY: also to accompany the above Instruments elegantly with the voice'.34 No mention is made of fees, and no doubt even by 1801 they were not particularly high. The situation was to get worse: Samuel Wesley wrote nostalgically in c1836 of what he thought were the golden days of the music profession:
Instruction in Music was much better remunerated in those days than it is at present. The inferior masters were used to receive two guineas for eight lessons and two guineas entrance also. Three guineas for eight lessons was a very usual price with masters of the higher order and four for those of the highest.** Wesley recalled wistfully that he himself had received a guinea per lesson, 'and from some pupils as much as twenty five shillings', though times had changed, owing to 'the great influx of foreigners...[and] the cheap importation of German and Italian musical publications'.** What Wesley described in the 1830s was a glut which had in fact started much earlier; even in the early part of the century the supply of teachers outstripped the demand for lessons and fees had to be lowered accordingly.

Newspaper advertisements of the 1790s bear out Wesley's observations. In 1798 a teacher offered piano and singing lessons at one guinea for four or five lessons. This particular advertiser must have placed some strain on his readers' credibility by claiming to have studied singing in Italy and to have been a pupil of Giordani, Barthélemon, Michael Arne, Charles Burney, Schroeter, Mozart and Clementi. Like others he was willing to travel to pupils' homes; the advertisement states that he would also 'accompany on the violin for time sake'.** In 1802 Betzrieder again advertised his services as a piano teacher, this time in his 12 Lessons for the Piano Forte, stating that he also taught 'the Vocal Solfa without playing the Notes; Singing with the Scholar's own Accompaniment; and the Science of Harmony for the Pedal Harp'.

The competitiveness of the market-place is revealed not only in such varied qualifications and experience, but also in the
frequency of such advertisements. Almost a month later another notice appeared in the same newspaper mentioned above, offering the same services at 'two lessons for two guineas abroad, or Twelve lessons for two guineas at his house'. Although advertisements were generally unsigned or just initialled, a Mr M. R. Light announced on 17 April 1798 that he had opened an Academy of music 'on an improved plan of instruction, where Ladies and Gentlemen may be taught the pianoforte, also the guitar and violin, upon school terms at any hour of the day appointed, and where children may attend between and after school hours'. Like most teachers Mr Light appeared to be dealing in instruments as well; in January 1802 he advertised in a different paper, offering a 'fine-toned square' for sale in addition to piano lessons, though there is no more mention of the academy.

The idea of an academy or school of music was not new. In 1793 a 'J. Mathison' advertised his academy, 'where Ladies and Gentlemen, inclined to learn Music and to play on either the Piano Forte, Harpsichord, Violin, or Guitar (improved), with singing thorough Bass, etc. may be privately taught at any hour of the Day appointed, or in the Evening'. The gimmick here was that no lesson was to last longer than 15 minutes, the advertiser claiming to be able to teach more in that time 'than is generally taught in fifteen hours'.

John Trusler, in his London Adviser and Guide, saw fit to include a list of 'Ladies' Teachers, the most capital in London' in 1790, which had not appeared in the earlier edition of 1786. Significantly all the teachers were men, with the exception of a
Miss Legoux, and some (such as Dr Arnold, Mr Storace, Mr Corre (sic) and Mr Mazzanti), taught singing as well, the latter in 'the Italian style'. Other prominent teachers included Clementi, Hook and a 'M. Frikes'. Trusler does not give any idea of fees, but might well have been marking the very short heyday of career teaching; certainly Clementi was soon to opt out altogether for a career in publishing and manufacturing.

Much teaching was done at ladies' boarding schools; the musician William Ayrton (1777-1858) spent the early part of the 19th century teaching at two such establishments before going on to a more illustrious career as opera house manager and editor of the Harmonicon. Ayrton kept records of his income and expenditure. He never states exactly what he was teaching, but the entries suggest that it was probably the piano. For the most part it is impossible to work out how much he received per lesson, and in many cases the amounts seem to be erratic, depending on whether the pupil was a 'public or private scholar' or a family friend. A note in 1804 states that he is to receive 30 guineas of Mr Cahusac 'for giving his son 108 lessons in music'. A Miss Price was charged £9 19s 6d for 19 lessons, or half a guinea per lesson, while a Miss Ballenger was charged £5 19s for 17. These figures alone show that Ayrton was charging between 5s 10d and 10s 6d per lesson, depending on the pupil or nature of the engagement. Ayrton received a total of £178 15s 4d from his music teaching in 1804.

Concert life was also important. Teachers and composers could most easily publicize their services or their compositions through the benefit concert, to which they invited pupils and other
supporters. Concerts at the turn of the century were usually miscellaneous affairs, including both vocal and instrumental music with the piano usually playing a relatively minor role. There were no solo piano recitals at this time; not only was there a dearth of suitable repertory to make up a programme, but there were few artists who could perform an entire evening's worth of music. The idea was not financially feasible for either performer or audience, as concert-goers would not have been attracted to a programme which did not include vocal and chamber music as well as solo items.

The piano made its English concert début in 1767, when Charles Dibdin accompanied a Miss Brickler on 'a new instrument call'd the pianoforte'. A year later J. C. Bach played a solo on the instrument, probably using his newly purchased Zumpe square. Mrs Papendiek reported that during Schroeter's time at the court the square piano 'was still used for the accompaniment of vocal music in a concert room, as the harpsichord was at theatres' but the grand piano was used for solos. Like her contemporaries Mrs Papendiek waxed rapturous over Schroeter's playing: he was 'the planet...fascinating, fawning and suave, a teacher for the belles, company for the mode, a public performer, or a private player' - in short, a man who made the most of his opportunities as a pianist, setting an example for future musicians such as Clementi to follow. Mrs Papendiek's assertion that the harpsichord was used at the theatres suggests that this instrument continued to be used in larger rooms because of its greater volume; even by 1783 the
instrument listed in programmes was often the harpsichord, although allowance must be made for confusion in nomenclature.

The season of 1783 included keyboard concertos and sonatas performed by Miss Guest, Miss Reynolds, Miss Weichsell, J. B. Cramer and William Dance. Both Dance and Cramer remained popular performers in the 1780s, though they did not necessarily play their own works: we know that Cramer played a Clementi work in 1785. Dance held a regular post with the Professional Concert, the important series of concerts which lasted from 1783 to 1793, and played solo as well as concerted works. The nephew of Dr Burney, Charles Rousseau Burney, played sonatas, though perhaps not his own, in the Pantheon series of 1790. Clementi himself was a regular performer until 1790, giving his last performance at a benefit concert on 31 May of that year. Clementi had a reputation for virtuoso piano playing; a review of a concerto performance at one of the oratorio concerts in February 1790 marvelled at the 'brilliancy of finger, and wonderful execution'. Foreigners such as Georg Josef (the Abbé) Vogler and Maria Theresia von Paradis were invited to play; Vogler played a concerto, perhaps his own composition, in a Hanover Square Grand Concert of 1783, and Paradis played in the 1785 season of the Professional Concert.

Dussek played a piano concerto, probably his own, in the Professional Concert of 1789, and continued to dominate the London concert scene in the 1790s, particularly with his 'Military' concerto, which met with mixed reception but on the whole appeared to be a popular piece. Concertos with programmatic features remained popular: Daniel Steibelt's 'Storm' concerto was performed
and published to great acclaim in 1798. Dussek was a regular participant in Salomon's concerts, beginning in 1791. In the opening concert he played a concertante with the celebrated harpist, Mme Krumpholtz, and was a performer in most of the rest of the series, performing an accompanied sonata (15 April), a piano concerto (6 May), a solo sonata – probably his own – (20 May) and another concerto, his third, for the last concert of the series on 3 June.1

A full description of London concert life over the period of this study would run well beyond the confines of this chapter, and in any case special studies have already been made.2 For the purpose of acknowledging the relationship between concert life and the piano a brief summary should suffice here. The topic of concerts is particularly confusing not only because there were many different types, attracting different audiences, but the various series changed from year to year. London concert life was particularly rich in the last two decades of the 18th century; after 1800 there was less excitement, but still much that was worthy of note.3

The dominant type of concert of the 1780s and '90s was undoubtedly the subscription type, which generally attracted a genteel and prosperous audience. These were usually performed in a series of 12 concerts, performed weekly beginning in February. The first important series was organized by J. C. Bach and his partner C. F. Abel in 1765, and ran until the former's death in 1782. The series was continued first as the Hanover Square Grand Concert and then as the Professional Concert until 1793. An announcement in
the *Morning Post* of 1785 gave a list of the 'eminent Professors of Music' who were involved in setting up the concerts; these included most prominent figures such as Cramer, Abel, Shield, Dance and several others. A committee was chosen to choose 'eminent Performers who are or may arrive in England', and 'the best modern and ancient compositions' were to be performed.54

Other subscription concerts included the Opera Concerts, held at the King's Theatre Haymarket (1795-8); the Professional Concerts of 1799 (a resumption of the earlier series); the Pantheon concerts (1790), Salomon's famous series of 1791-4, and the Vocal Concerts (1792-5). Subscription concerts were intrinsically more organized and high-powered than any other type; Salomon's engagement of Haydn for the seasons of 1791-2 and 1794-5 had gratifying results. The competitiveness of the box office was such that the Professional Concert engaged the popular Pleyel as a rival attraction to Salomon's Haydn, but the venture was not successful.55 Piano music, usually sonatas or concerted music, formed a relatively small part of these programmes, which were otherwise devoted to a miscellaneous selection of orchestral and vocal music.

Somewhat more conservative were the 'Concert' and the 'Academy' of Ancient Music. The Academy began early in the 18th century and had its first venue at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. It transferred to the Freemason's Hall in 1784, returning to the tavern in 1796.56 The Concert of Ancient Music, or the King's Concert, broke away from the Academy in 1776 and was patronized by George III from 1785. Here music no less than twenty years old was to be performed and the emphasis tended to be on Handel, a
favourite composer of the king. These concerts were performed in various venues until their cessation in 1848. Owing to their emphasis on older music neither of these series featured piano music, but their significant place in the London concert scene remains a testament to contemporary popular taste, and to the continuing importance of 'ancient' music during a time when the piano was ascendant.

Oratorios remained popular and were performed regularly during Lent in the opera theatres. Those held at Covent Garden were conducted by John Ashley and featured concerto performances sandwiched between oratorios, or sections of oratorios. For example, a concert of 2 March 1798 featured a performance of *Acis and Galatea* and two concertos, including one for piano by Dussek at the end of part II. A rival series (called the Professional Oratorios) was held at the King’s Theatre, Haymarket, conducted by Dr Arnold and Thomas Linley. Like Ashley’s series it also featured concertos (usually for piano or violin) interspersed between oratorios, which were usually performed in excerpts.

So-called benefit concerts were generally given between Easter and early June; these were performances by several musicians for the ‘benefit’ of one particular performer. They were the least formal of the concerts and provided an opportunity for a teacher-performer to gather his or her existing pupils and friends together and possibly to attract new custom. Benefit concerts remained an important part of the concert scene throughout the period and were given by most prominent London instrumentalists and singers.
It is also important to note that concerts of whatever sort provided a vehicle for composers to perform their own works. Today's separation of composer and performer is a relatively recent phenomenon. Composers such as Dussek, Cramer and Clementi were all adept performers on the pianoforte and used the concert platform to publicize their own works. Younger performers and non-composing ladies might perform works of other composers (often their teachers), but it would be unusual for an established musician not to play a work of his or her own composition.

Much music was, however, performed on a more informal - and unrecorded - basis. In his Memoirs the garrulous William Parke wrote of 'bread and butter parties' in connection with the impresario and violinist Salomon. He expressed surprise that Salomon's concerts of 1807 were not well attended, as the impresario's connections were extensive, largely through his attendance at such parties, defined by Parke as 'those to which professors of talent are invited to dinner...where a little music is given in a friendly way in the evening'. According to Parke these parties were the predecessors of benefit concerts, simply because the musicians invited 'could not satisfy their own butchers and bakers by such engagements, [and so] hit on the expedient of taking annual benefits, to afford their exalted friends an opportunity of returning the favour by taking tickets'. Wendeborn, a more reliable source, presents a different picture, separating the traditions of 'bread and butter parties' and the benefit concert:

Musicians of note are frequently called to private concerts of the rich, where they receive four or more guineas for a few hours' playing; I, however, have reason to think,
that this kind of liberality is at present somewhat lessening. The most eminent in their profession, as musicians or singers, have besides a custom to give concerts at Freemason's Hall, or at the Rooms in Hanover Square, or in the Little Theatre in the Hay-market, or in some other place, where the admission tickets are half a guinea each. The emoluments arising from such performances are their own. These kinds of charitable contributions, under which the public is laid, are called benefits, and produce sometimes pretty handsome sums of money to those who partake of them. They amount, deducting all the expenses, perhaps, to an hundred and more guineas."

Despite this encouraging picture Wendeborn comes to the dampening conclusion that most musicians could never earn a sufficient income to live on, and in fact many died in penury.

Concerts continued to be held at private homes throughout the period, though Wendeborn is the only writer to give us some idea of how much the musicians might have earned. Occasionally these concerts were reported in the newspapers; in April 1801 the Morning Post reported the 'Dowager Marchioness of Donegal's Music' which attracted an audience of about a hundred at her home. A rather grander affair was reported in the 'Mirror of Fashion' column in the Morning Chronicle of April 1802; a Mr Andrewes, an MP, 'gave a concert and supper at his house in Cleveland Row, to the most numerous party of the season' which included over seven hundred 'people of fashion'.

London also benefited from the visits of touring pianists from the Continent. The same year (1802) saw the arrival of 'Mr Hummell', who performed in April 1802 in Salomon's series. A puff in the 'Mirror of Fashion' column praised Hummell's 'exquisite art of
sentiment and pathos' as well as his powers of execution, declaring him the 'lineal heir of Schroeter on his instrument'.

After the stellar seasons of the 1790s, London concert life after 1800 became noticeably lacklustre. Ashley continued his oratorio concerts, featuring John Field in a concert of 4 March, 1801, as did Salomon in his series of six concerts of the same year. All the major artists were to be heard in numerous benefit concerts; many of them were pianists. Young pianists were also given opportunities at this time; the young Charles Neate performed a piano concerto in an Oratorio Concert on 13 March 1801. Dussek and Clementi, prominent in concert life before the turn of the century, were no longer active performers in London; Dussek had left the country and Clementi was pursuing other interests. Cramer continued to perform, often in duo with the singer and harpist Sophia Dussek (who had remained in London after her husband's departure). Cramer remained a star on the London platform for some time; an encomium in the Harmonicon of 1823 praised his 'taste, expression, feeling [and] the power that he possesses of almost making the instrument speak a language' in addition to his brilliant executive powers. Maria Hester Parke's benefit concert of 11 May 1801 gave her an opportunity to show her skills as a pianist and a singer in the company of such prominent artists as Field, Lindley, Pinto, Salomon and Ashley in addition to her own family of distinguished musicians. Similarly Veronica Cianchettini joined with the violinist Alday only four days later to perform her own piano concerto, 'composed by her for the
occasion'. The programme also featured an aria sung by Sophia Dussek and a violin concerto played by Alday.68

Foreign artists continued to be drawn to London. Parke's 'masculine' violinist, the formidable Mme Gautherot, showed a more feminine side to her character when she re-appeared in 1805 with two daughters who played the harp and pianoforte. They appeared first in April in the concert room of the King's Theatre, and a month later in a series of 'Ladies' Concerts', where it was reported that they (the Mles Gautherot) 'evinced much scientific knowledge on the Harp and Piano Forte'.69 This was evidently a very fashionable concert; it was held at the Marchioness of Hertford's home in Manchester Square, beginning at 10 pm and finishing some three hours later. The review reported that there was an audience of about 200, including nobility and 'leaders of fashion'.70 The celebrated pianist Woelfl arrived in the same year and performed a concerto at a benefit concert on 27 May.71

The Vocal Concerts were the main subscription series after the turn of the century. Having begun in 1792, they ceased three years later and resumed in 1801 under the directors Harrison, Knyvett, Bartleman and Greatorex. In their resurrected form, the Vocal Concerts were to bely their title; an announcement in the Morning Post stated that 'though this concert is intended to be chiefly vocal, an Instrumental Band, selected from the opera, and other Musical Institutions, complete in every department, is engaged'. The 'band' was to be led by François Cramer and Greatorex was the resident pianist. Concertos were also to be introduced, for harp, piano, violin and cello.72 This series
continued until Harrison's death in 1812, whereupon it amalgamated with the vocal subscription concerts and continued until 1822.

The success of the vocal concerts, and the presence of vocal music in most concerts, suggests a public preference for this sort of music. However, the success of Salomon's concerts featuring Haydn, and the evident public desire to hear virtuoso instrumentalists in concert, point to a developing conflict. Vocal music, thought to be more immediately understandable because of its text, had ultimately to give way to instrumental music, made more accessible by the advent of the piano, which allowed the public to become more familiar with symphonies through arrangements. An article in the Harmonicon (1825) provides an interesting commentary on this change in public preference. Claiming that in 1801 'vocal music was highly popular, while instrumental was comparatively little relished', and that Beethoven's symphonies 'would certainly have called forth the reiterated yawns of an audience', the author went on to state that the tide eventually did turn 'in favour of instrumental music' long before 1821.7

An important reason for the success of the London concert scene was the high quality of its performers. Parke claimed that even by 1784 'instrumental music had...arrived at a high degree of perfection', being graced with the 'shining talents' of such violinists as Giardini, Cramer, Salomon and Barthélémon, the cellists Crosdill and Cervetto, and the pianists Clementi, Schroeter and Dance, among a host of other instrumental players.7 The Professional Concert alone boasted a roster of highly capable orchestral players in addition to its regular keyboard players. A
review of an opera in the Morning Chronicle's 'Mirror of Fashion' column in 1802 reported rapturously on the quality of the performers, though sadly not mentioning any names. The author also had a chauvinistic axe to grind:

The united world could not display such a body of talent as was combined in the King's Theatre last night; and it was almost all English. The first woman was an Englishwoman, the leader of the band was an Englishman. An Englishman was at the harpsichord. The bassoons (the best in the world) were English. The French horns (also the first in the world) were English. The violoncello, an Englishman, and the principal clarinets, English. It shewed that if the people of fashion would resolve to give their united protection to the Opera, and not divert their patronage to triflings, that can only serve to reduce London to the contemptible state of a mere colony, instead of being a metropolitan seat of the arts, there is no splendour to which we might not bring this as a national theatre."

The standard of performance shown by foreign musicians resident in London was equally high and no doubt the influence worked both ways. London pianists were joined by travelling virtuosos to make up a formidable constellation. Pianists such as Steibelt and Woelfl impressed audiences for a time with their keyboard wizardry; both also published books of studies for aspiring performers.

The Picture of London for 1802 listed Clementi, Cramer, Horn, King, Field and others being the top performers and composers for the pianoforte; by 1808 it reported that Clementi, though no longer a public performer, was 'one of the most masterly performers that ever lived'. John Cramer stood 'at the head of all our public performers' on the pianoforte, playing with 'exquisite stile and refined taste'. The virtuoso Woelfl played 'with the hand of a
master, but he wants feeling'. The author bemoaned the loss of Field to St Petersburg, claiming that he touched the instrument 'with the fire of genius'. Other performers mentioned were the young Neate, Lanza, Haigh and Dance. In addition to this supply of home-grown talent foreign musicians resident in London had much to offer as well.76

The most important event of early 19th-century concert life was the setting up of the Philharmonic Concerts in 1813; in fact it is this event that has led some to believe that there was a hiatus in concert life before that time. However, these concerts, important as they were, did not affect the performance of piano music in any appreciable way, as they were primarily orchestral in content. In fact, the solo piano recital did not become a feature of concert life until much later, mostly owing to Parisian influence.77 With its many different types of concerts and numerous venues London nonetheless provided an exciting forum for pianists and solo and accompanied piano music. Unfortunately many aspects of professional pianism, be it in teaching or performing or both, appeared to be less than profitable, except for its 'stars'; the real bread-and-butter of the industry lay in its amateur side. In this respect it is not surprising to find women playing such an important role, as they could function as both amateurs and professionals and tended not to have such a high financial stake in the profession as did their male counterparts. Amateur music-making was an important and even dominant part of the industry, but musically if not financially there can be no doubt that the piano had an important professional role as well.
Part 2

The London Piano Repertory
To impose order on the vast bulk of 'English' piano music written in the late 18th and early 19th centuries presents a daunting task to the musicologist. The work of Tyson on Clementi, Craw on Dussek and most recently Milligan on Cramer are valuable contributions, but nonetheless the works of many lesser but no less prolific remain uncatalogued and indeed unnoticed.

Nicholas Temperley's *London Pianoforte School* series devotes over half its 20 volumes to works of the earlier part of the period up to 1820. This series, however, is extremely selective and by necessity has had to omit genres such as lessons and tutors, the accompanied sonata and the piano arrangement, all of which formed a significant part of the period's repertory. Arrangements by their very nature are derivative and are therefore understandably omitted by Temperley; nevertheless they did influence the course of piano writing in certain ways. The accompanied sonatas, which we now think of as trios, were of varying types and difficulty. Although often of doubtful quality, especially as they were written particularly for amateurs, they too must be considered, as they formed a large part of the repertory, especially in the earlier part of the period. As the piano developed and its tone became stronger, there was less of a need for the accompanying instruments. Temperley also does not include the concerto or
chamber music, and this music will not form a part of the present study. The concerto has been covered in other studies, hence its exclusion here, and the chamber repertory (aside from the accompanied sonata) is simply too vast to be included in this study.

London, then as now, was far from being an exclusively 'English' city. The metropolis was full of foreign musicians fleeing first from troubles in Germany (the Seven Years' War, 1756-63) and later from the ravages of the French Revolution. Some composers, such as Clementi and Cramer, were born abroad and brought to England as children, remaining in London for most of their working lives. Publishers were quick to exploit the public's predilection for 'foreign' music and bought (or pirated) popular works by continental composers such as Sterkel, Vanhal and Kozeluch, among others. London's bustling concert life also attracted numerous foreign musicians eager for a platform and commercial success. Haydn's visits in the 1790s exerted enormous influence, resulting in countless arrangements for piano of his symphonies, quartets and also of the oratorios, The Creation and The Seasons.

The London Pianoforte School, therefore, could hardly be called 'English': its main composers were foreign. Who, then, were the native English composers? Temperley includes Burton, Pinto, Wesley, Haigh, Crotch and others for the earlier part of the period. One could also add Butler, Attwood, Essex, Dance, Camidge, Hook and
King, to name but a few. They were a beleaguered set, pitted against a public which often preferred the music of foreigners, and was aided in this belief by wily publishers. They faced stiff competition from both resident and non-resident composers. However, they remained an identifiable group, many falling back on teaching and the publication of didactic works in order to make a living. Others, such as Dr Burney and Thomas Busby, wrote extensively on music in the form of reviews, articles and books.

English pianists had access to a great variety of music - and instruments - sold at affordable prices by an extremely competitive industry. Because of the great diversity of the publishing industry, music by foreign composers not resident in Britain was readily available. Bohemian and Viennese composers were especially popular: Vanhal, Kozeluch and Hoffmeister were all published in London in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. To include all of this music in addition to the London repertory creates a rather unwieldy study; however, as they were important composers we cannot exclude their music entirely. The fact, for example, that Clementi chose to imitate or parody the works of Vanhal, Kozeluch and the German composer, Sterkel, in his Musical Characteristics op. 19 reveals that these were well-known composers in London; indeed, we cannot fully appreciate a work such as this without some familiarity with their music. The influence from Vienna was important, and not just through Mozart and Haydn. However, while
taking this into account, we will concentrate on music composed by composers actually resident in London.

For the purposes of our classification, the London repertory can be grouped into three main categories: 1) popular amateur music, including rondonos and variations, often based on popular tunes; programmatic music, accompanied sonatas and arrangements; 2) didactic sources, including tutors, lessons and studies; and 3) 'serious' music for skilled performers, usually written as sonatas. As each of these categories encompasses a considerable quantity of music, a separate chapter will be devoted to each.

Not surprisingly, it was to the domestic market that the piano manufacturers and publishers increasingly turned. Both Broadwood's sales of squares and the publishers' bulging catalogues are a testament to the rise of amateur music making, with its emphasis on popular songs with keyboard accompaniment and sonatas with optional accompaniments for violin or flute and cello. Periodical reviews, with their bias towards more popular music, were also an indication of the prevalent taste, though trenchant opinions expressed by various readers on the virtues of ancient as compared with modern music show that issues of taste were far from settled.

It was this popular aspect of music-making which had the most far-reaching implications for piano composition in London in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The term 'popular music' as such needs to be defined, for it included not just well-known
theatre tunes but also 'national' or traditional songs, often of real or imagined Scottish origin, and familiar music by established and favourite composers such as Handel, Corelli and Haydn. In fact, the music of Handel's oratorios spawned a vast number of arrangements, notably by Joseph Mazzinghi, who began a series of overture arrangements for piano with accompaniments in 1800. In his version of the Messiah for piano and voice Mazzinghi pointed out the need for such productions:

It should be considered, that at least nine-tenths of piano-forte amateurs are precluded the satisfaction of performing this truly sublime music. To remedy such inconvenience and at the request of several distinguished amateurs, this work is presented to the public.²

The subjects for arrangement reflect the versatility of the pianoforte and its ability to cope with both vocal and instrumental genres: arrangers found plenty of material in oratorios, operas, symphonies, chamber music, concertos and sonatas.

Mazzinghi arranged a host of Handel overtures (to oratorios) in accompanied versions, but also occasionally for piano duet. Handel's oratorios were still regularly performed in London during Lent. Many of the arrangements were by no means all that easy to play, especially in the contrapuntal sections. Example 1 shows Mazzinghi's arrangement of the overture to Saul, with its nimble fugato. Both here and in the thick opening chords Mazzinghi sought to recreate an orchestral effect on the piano. Similarly, the arrangement of the Dead March has chordal textures which appear to
be thick but which can be clearly articulated on contemporary pianos (ex. 2).

Mazzinghi on the whole was able to write playable versions of the overtures. However, an anonymous arrangement of the overture to Boyce's Solomon, which appeared in the *Pianoforte Magazine*, xiii, is not quite so felicitous, especially in the way it is laid out: the left hand enters with a line well above the one being played with the right; later, at bars 11-12, there are awkward leaps in the left hand as it struggles to re-create more than one part (ex. 3).

From about 1810 William Crotch arranged both overtures and choruses from Handel's best known oratorios, including *Acis and Galatea, Alexander's Feast, Israel in Egypt* and several others. Most were designated as being for either organ or pianoforte. Crotch also arranged the *Concerti Grossi* op. 3 and the *Ode to St Cecilia.*

Mazzinghi, essentially a theatre composer, adapted many dramatic works, and in a career spanning three decades he arranged airs from operas by Martín y Soler (*Una cosa rara*, 1789), Storace, Arne and Mozart (*La clemenza di Tito*, 1817; *Don Giovanni*, duet and solo versions from 1815; and *Figaro*, 1816) as well as works by Paisiello and Rossini. The arrangements of the Mozart operas comprised the overture, arias and duets, unlike other arrangements which involved either a popular air or the overture only. These were usually written for piano with accompaniments.
Mozart's music formed the basis for countless arrangements of excerpts from the operas and the concertos. Crotch arranged the overture and arias from *Don Giovanni*, but not until about 1820. Cramer, noted for his affinity with Mozart, arranged various arias from about 1819, but more important were his arrangements of the concertos K.459, K.450, K.467, K.482, K.466 and K.491 between 1825 and 1835. Some Mozart concertos (K.466, K.503 and K.595) had been available earlier in special arrangements by Cimaroso, where the accompaniments were 'adapted for German flute, 2 violins, 2 tenors, bass and double bass'. These and other works were published by Monzani from about 1803. The English composer Matthew Peter King (c1773-1823) arranged arias from *Figaro* and *Don Giovanni* for piano duet in the 1820s. Airs from operas also provided themes for variations, such as 'Ein Mädelchen oder Weibchen' from *Die Zauberflöte* in 1817. Clementi also arranged some of Mozart's works, most notably the overture to *Don Giovanni* (1815) and the *Requiem* (1805). The practice of marketing opera 'highlights' on a large scale did not emerge until later, when the works were more generally known.

Cramer's arrangements of the concertos provide interesting evidence of the changes in piano writing which had occurred between Mozart's time and the 1820s, when the piano was quite a different instrument from the 18th-century Viennese type. No major structural changes were made within movements, but in his arrangement of K.459 Cramer substituted the andantino of K.449 for
the original allegretto. In the first movement of K.459 Mozart's translucent textures are filled out, there is some change of harmony and much use is made of the new extra treble keys. Triplets often become groups of four semiquavers, and octaves are added where single notes had served before. All this adds a certain dash and bravado typical of the period to the essential simplicity of the original piano part, and although such action now seems heretical it must have seemed a natural and inevitable change to make in Cramer's day.

It is interesting to note that arrangements of Mozart's symphonies did not appear until long after those of the operas and vocal works. Clementi arranged some of the symphonies after 1825 as did Cramer, who also dealt with some of the quartets and quintets. Crotch also arranged one of the quintets (K.593), but not until 1831. Mozart's works did not become well known in this country until some time after his death: certainly the operas were not performed professionally until the early 19th century. Haydn fared somewhat better, as his visits to London provided a catalyst for publication both of the originals and of countless arrangements. As early as 1784 Preston published Three Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte, also arranged as 'quartettos for harpsichord, violin, tenor and bass'. These were in fact arrangements of some early Haydn works, viz an early divertimento, some quartets from op. 1 (H. III/1, 4 and 6), op. 9/6 and op. 17/3. The symphonies won instant popularity through the Salomon concerts,
and appeared in a piano trio edition published by Corri, Dussek and Co. in 1796–7. Even more popular were choral works such as the oratorios, The Creation and The Seasons, arranged by Clementi in a piano-vocal score (1800). Cramer later produced a selection of airs and choruses from both oratorios, characteristically arranged as piano divertimentos. Although Clementi's detailed articulation and dynamic markings of the opening of The Creation reveal a certain frustration with the expressive limitations of the instrument, both composers always wrote pianistically. The left-hand figuration at bar 27 is a good example of idiomatic writing (ex. 4).

Haydn's pupil Thomas Haigh arranged several of the symphonies starting with no. 81 in 1795, and continuing into the next century; Dussek provided accompanied arrangements of no. 92 in 1791 and no. 91 in 1795. Much later, Cramer arranged no. 44 in E minor (1819) and Crotch arranged several with accompaniments in c1825. The string quartets also lent themselves to piano arrangement, though here also some versions were more congenial than others. The violinist Barthélemon's arrangement of Haydn's quartet op. 33/2 tries to achieve a pianistic result by substituting a clattering Alberti bass for Haydn's more dignified figuration but thereby loses the whole character of the piece (ex. 5). Barthélemon's arrangement of the op. 33 quartets gives the first movements only; the remainder are replaced by 'favorite Scotch airs and reels for the adagios and last movements', again—disappointingly—an
indication of popular taste. These were published by Clementi & Co.; Clementi himself arranged the adagio of op. 76/3 in 1801. Before that he had arranged quartets by his old friend Pleyel; some of these appeared in 1789 and 1790. Pleyel's famous Concertante in E flat major was published in a piano version by Cramer in 1790 and was a popular subject for many arrangers thereafter.

Haigh (mentioned above) was also a prolific arranger but not, it seems, for any particular publisher. His choice of composers was eclectic, ranging from Corelli and Handel to his contemporaries Haydn, Mozart, Salieri, Pleyel, Rossini and Weber. The selection no doubt reflects contemporary taste: many of the works are vocal in origin, with the exception of Pleyel's quintet, op. 22/3. In addition to the Haydn symphonies, Haigh also arranged trios for piano solo (an interesting reversal of the usual trend) as well as the canzonets as rondos.

Arrangements usually appeared some time after the original - at least long enough to be assured of the work's popularity. Beethoven's first quartets, for example, were not arranged for the piano until long after their composition and publication: Cramer's version of op. 18/4 did not appear until c1845. Nevertheless, there was public interest in the works of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, and even if they could not play the works on their pianos they could hear the works in concert. The firm of Cianchettini and Sperati published the Complete Collection of Haydn's, Mozart's and Beethoven's Symphonies in Score in 1807, a precursor to the 20th-
century miniature score. In his review of the work Busby praised its portability, making it convenient to take to concerts."

Concertos for instruments other than the piano lent themselves to keyboard arrangement. The best-known example is Beethoven's own arrangement of his violin concerto for the piano, which he did as part of his contract with Clementi. Violin concertos of Giornovichi and Yaniewicz were arranged in the 1790s by both Cramer and Dussek; the latter also arranged three concertos by Viotti. Viotti's concerto no. 23 was perhaps the most popular of these. Here the arranger was faced with the additional problem of filling out the solo violin part to suit the piano. Example 6 shows how a seemingly bare violin part was decorated by Dussek to create a plausible piano piece, though some of the ornamentation might also reflect contemporary violin performance practice. Dussek was also able to reproduce certain orchestral effects by having the left hand cross the right, creating bass and treble echo effects over a repeated violin figure in the right hand (ex. 7). Also, Dussek was limited by the piano range, which the violin could exceed. Writing at a time when 'additional keys' were a new feature, he had to provide versions for both the 5-octave and the 5½-octave keyboard. In addition, figuration which was technically impressive on the violin was simply fussy on the piano and had to be adapted accordingly (ex. 8). Other passages were modified slightly, as shown in example 9.
Many arrangers plundered the works of their fellow composers for material. Cramer arranged Dussek's harp sonata op. 37 for piano with violin and cello accompaniments in about 1810, and then again for piano solo in 1817. Dussek had left England around 1800 and therefore was not able to offer arrangements of his own music so easily. Dussek, a fine pianist himself, was equally familiar with the harp, and adapted a concerto by Krumpholtz (no. 6, op. 9) for piano in 1790 and Clementi followed suit in 1795 with an arrangement of the same work. A piano version of the Vicomte de Marin's duet for harp and violin appeared in 1801. Indeed, to produce a work for harp which could not be conveniently played on the piano as well was folly, as a reviewer remarked of some harp pieces by J. B. Mayer, stating that 'we are sorry that Mr. Mayer did not enlarge the demand for his work, by adapting it to the accommodation of piano-forte performers', as the 'general affinity of the harp and piano-forte [would] render such a plan perfectly practicable'.

The piano duet, often used in arrangements, also became an attractive prospect for original works, not least because of its social possibilities. The first published piano duets were by Charles Burney, who provided various reasons for their composition in the now famous preface to his Four Sonatas or Duets for Two Performers on one Piano Forte or Harpsichord (1777). First, it was more convenient than playing on two separate instruments; second, in addition to the amusement they provided, they were also
improving in that each performer had to pay extra attention to
time. Also, mistakes would be sooner discovered. Warming to his
subject, Burney also recounts how melody and accompaniment are to
be distinguished, and concludes hopefully that 'something analogous
to Perspective, Transparency, and Contrast in painting, will be
generally adopted in music, and be thought of nearly as much im-
portance, and make as great a progress among its students, as they
have lately done in the other art'. In wishing to discourage the
primo player from taking over, Burney gives the secondo some solos,
but accompanying passages in the primo part are rare.

Burney's 'improving' theme was adopted by a reviewer for the
European Magazine seven years later, who recalled Mozart's
performances with his sister:

The first instance of two persons performing
at the same time on one instrument in this king-
dom, was exhibited in the year 1765, by little
Mozart and his sister, and the first musick of
this nature printed as duettos was composed by
the ingenious Dr. Burney, through whose medi-
in the study of this species of musick many per-
sons have not only been taught to perform strictly
in time, but to play in concert much earlier
than they were known to do before these kind [sic]
of duettos appeared in print."

Duets were also written by J. C. Bach, Clementi, Dussek, Webbe Jr.,
Field and Crotch. Webbe's duet was dedicated to Cramer and
praised for its 'novel modulation' and 'masterly bass'.
Clementi's op. 14 was his first work to comprise duets only (there
are three) and they are fine examples of the type. In three
movements, they are compositionally rich and satisfying to play
today. Dussek wrote a *Grand Overture*, reminiscent of an orchestral arrangement; probably meant to be a concert piece, it is more technical than musical. Other composers chose the perennial popular song as a basis for duets; Thomas Haigh also arranged the 'Hallelujah Chorus' for piano duet.

Mazzinghi arranged the overture for *Don Giovanni* for piano duet and adapted solo sonatas for the same medium. He also wrote some original duets as well as arranging other people's duos for piano and accompaniments. Pieces originally written for piano and harp, such as Dussek's op. 26 (1794; reproduced in Temperley's *LPS, xx*) and Voelfl's *Grand Duett for Harp and Piano* op. 37 (1806) were also suitable for two pianos, but on the whole this medium was not a popular one. Voelfl, in fact, made an alternative piano arrangement, making some changes to the original harp part. According to the title page the work was performed 'at Mr. Salomon's and other concerts by the author and Mr. Dizi'. A second such work appeared in 1810, this time with one of the versatile Miles Gautherot as soloist. Piano duos were almost certainly intended for concert performance, usually as virtuoso pieces for their composers to perform in public. Cramer evidently performed his *Grand Duet* with Dussek in the opera concerts. It is notable that most piano duos were by composers who were themselves proficient performers, beginning with J. C. Bach and including Clementi, Dussek, Steibelt and Cramer.
Kotzwara's famous piece, *The Battle of Prague*, originally for piano and accompaniments, was arranged as a piano duet by de Krift shortly after its original publication and was reviewed as being 'an excellent example for the improvement of their [the performers'] time as well as their execution'. Several lesser-known London composers wrote duets, most likely as tuition pieces; Theodore Smith's sixth set of duets (1788) were described as 'calculated to please and to improve'. Sometimes duets were written for piano and accompanying instruments, such as Timothy Essex's *Grand Duett for Two Performers on one Piano Forte* which has accompaniments for two flutes. Dedicated to various members of the Winn family and the 'Rt. Hon. Lord Headley' the piece was clearly meant for domestic consumption. Full use is made of the increased compass of the newer pianofortes, but alternatives for older 5-octave instruments are given as well.

The role of the ubiquitous 'accompaniments' was an important one. The full sound of the piano duet did not usually require accompaniments, except perhaps for purely social and convivial reasons, but arrangements and sonatas often made use of an accompanying violin or flute with cello. Perhaps more than any other genre, the accompanied keyboard sonata shows various foreign influences on English music. Accompanied sonatas were staple items in publishers' catalogues in the late 18th century, reflecting no doubt their popularity with amateur music makers. However, their performance was not limited to the drawing room: they made
popular concert pieces as well. Clementi in fact occasionally performed accompanied or solo sonatas rather than concertos in public concerts.\^\textsuperscript{14}

The main feature of the English accompanied keyboard sonata in the late 18th and early 19th centuries was its predominant keyboard part, usually designated as being for either the harpsichord or the pianoforte. The accompanying part - usually for the violin or German (transverse) flute - was often so subordinate as to be dispensable altogether, and the cello part almost invariably followed the bass of the keyboard part and had no independence from it. The accompanied keyboard sonata therefore offered several options: i.e. violin or flute, harpsichord or pianoforte and inclusion or omission of the accompanying part.

Much conflicting information has been offered on the origins of the accompanied sonata. Newman saw it as a stage between the old continuo sonatas and the later concertante or duo sonata.\^\textsuperscript{18} David Fuller saw its roots in the French and Italian trio sonatas, German trios and concertos.\^\textsuperscript{16} Without going into detail here over their discussions, it seems clear that the genre was a hybrid one, incorporating French, Italian and German elements. Influences can be traced back to Mondonville, Giardini and Schobert, whose prolific output provided models for later composers. It merely conforms to the 'English pattern' of both publishing works of and playing host to foreigners that a genre which became popular in England should borrow so much from foreign types.
The main point to be made about the accompanied keyboard sonata is that it was a genre flexible enough to suit a wide market. Indeed, complaints were made about the quality of some of these works, so quickly were they produced:

It is a fault too frequent in modern musical productions, even those of the first degree of genius, that they are crude and slight, and too hastily brought before the public.17

Of Cramer's sonatas, published in 1797, the reviewer noted 'sufficient indications of talents and of musical science, but, at the same time, evident marks of extempore and hasty composition'.18

The combination of instruments was also ideal for the arrangement of large works, such as concertos. It seems ironic that Giornovichi's arrangement of his own first violin concerto as an accompanied keyboard sonata should relegate the former solo instrument to a mere accompanying one (ex. 10).

In some works the piano part could stand alone, and the violin or flute merely doubles or punctuates it, as in Cramer's op. 31/2 (1805) (ex. 11). In some cases, however, the instrumental part was rather more independent of the piano than usual, i.e. the genre began to approach the duo or concertante style. Yet another option emerged in the adaptation of the violin part so that it could be played by a 'third hand' if a violinist were not available, as in Ferrari's first sonata of a set of three published in c1800. The title page states that 'these sonatas are so arranged that a third hand may play the Flute part on the Piano Forte in Absence
of a flute or violin player'. As such, the flute/violin part has a much more soloistic character, and the piano is relegated to an accompanying role (ex. 12).

A. F. C. Kollmann provides a useful commentary on contemporary practice, stating that 'accompaniments .... may be set to a piece in two different manners, viz: first so that the principal part and the accompaniment take the chief melody by turns, and form a sort of concertante; secondly, so that the accompaniment serves only as a bass or other filling part, to support the principal ones.'

The 'optional' character of the accompanied keyboard sonata is reflected in the way it appeared in published form. Publications in parts or in score reflected the very nature of the genre: publication in parts only may have implied that the keyboard part could stand alone, while the publication of a score may have meant that parts could be played informally while looking over the pianist's shoulder, or as in the Ferrari work, by a 'third hand'.

It seems likely that the accompanied keyboard sonata developed not so much from the old continuo sonata, where the harpsichord played a subservient role, but more from concerted music, which also featured 'accompanying' instruments. A link therefore can be found between this popular amateur genre and the concerto. The concerto began humbly enough as a type of chamber music, but later acquired a more exalted status. The very existence of the two genres illustrates the amateur/professional
dichotomy in the market, with professional performers using the concerto as a vehicle to demonstrate their technical prowess in public concerts. The concerto could also be played as a solo piano piece, and indeed some sonatas began life as concertos.\textsuperscript{21}

Kollmann defined the concerto as 'a grand instrumental Piece, chiefly calculated to shew the abilities of a Player on a certain principal Instrument. It consists of Tuttis, in which it resembles a Symphony, and of Solos that are like the principal passages of a grand Sonata; and consequently may be considered as a Compound of Symphony and Sonata'.\textsuperscript{22} The piano concerto came under criticism as early as 1791 for the vapid virtuosity which was already its hallmark:

The Quartet and Trio are in a much more respectable style, as are concertos for particular Instruments: those for the Piano-forte excepted; which, of late, seem to have abandoned that style of Melody so peculiarly the property of the Instrument, and exchanged the easy flow of execution, which it has cost so many years to establish, for staggering Octaves. The Cadences are invariably the same, and the worst that could be invented by an imagination perverted in the extreme! The Performer no doubt, ought to be able to run from the bottom to the top of the keys, in semitones; but let him be satisfied with having the power, without exerting it, for the effect of the passage is to the last degree detestable!\textsuperscript{23}

Concertos were written for a variety of instruments, the most popular of which were the violin, pianoforte and harp. Those not originally for the piano were often later arranged for it if the piece had been popular in the concerts. They were usually played
by their composers in subscription or benefit concerts, or between the acts of oratorios. In ordinary concerts one or two concertos might be performed along with a mixture of instrumental and vocal music.

Not surprisingly, the London composer-performers wrote many concertos: Dussek produced fifteen for the piano, of which ten were composed or published in London; Cramer published nine. Other composers of concertos included Thomas Attwood, whose works in this genre no longer survive, and Maria Hester Parke, who composed one piano concerto. The virtuoso Daniel Steibelt performed his famous 'Storm' Concerto in London in 1798. This work was one of the few programmatic pieces written in the genre.

John Field performed his first concerto in 1799 at the age of fifteen and established himself as a notable performer in London until his departure in 1802. However, Field's teacher Clementi was not so involved with the concerto, and only one survives; it was later transcribed as a sonata, op. 33/3, with a bravura opening, virtuoso passagework and a cadenza. Dussek wrote ten of his concertos during his eleven years in London; it is a testament to the harp's popularity in the late 18th century that his op. 30 was written for harp or pianoforte. The texture remains translucent throughout, and for the most part the writing works well for either instrument, though some adjustments were made for the piano. The accompaniments to the keyboard part of the concerto were written for varying combinations, from strings only in Dussek's op. 30 to a
full orchestra comprising strings, flute, first and second oboe, first and second bassoon, trumpets, horns and timpani required in Cramer's op. 48. The orchestral tuttis were reduced for the piano and in fact concertos could be played as sonatas. In this case the opening tutti was usually omitted in performance. As the piano compass became extended, versions for both old and new models were given.

For the aspiring pianist who was not proficient enough to play concertos or concerto-sonatas, and who wished to play some easier solo music, there was a vast quantity of rondos, variations and other short pieces to fill the need for entertainment without much effort. The popularity of these pieces is reflected in their frequent reviews in such journals as the *Monthly Magazine*, as well as their inclusion in publishers' catalogues of the time. Kollmann listed such music under sonatas, including suites, lessons, divertimentos, capriccios, fancies, inventions, rondos and so on. In the introduction to his capriccios for pianoforte or harpsichord C. F. Baumgarten described the capriccio as 'an unlimited performance, where the rules of Harmony...and every other regular established rule in Music is entirely [sic] set aside'.

One of the main features of such pieces and their sister rondos, variations, divertimentos, accompanied sonatas and the easier solo sonatas was the almost compulsory inclusion of familiar tunes. These ranged from operatic arias and popular theatre tunes to folk songs, sometimes of Scottish (or Celtic)
origin, but more often composed in the popular 'Scotch style'. Antoine-Laurent Baudron's 'Je suis Lindor', from Beaumarchais' _Le barbier de Seville_ (1775), was arranged with variations by Mozart, Clementi and Field. Mozart's version, K.354 (1778) is well known; Clementi's set forms the last movement of his sonata op. 12/1, composed in 1784. This version is rather more showy than Mozart's, with the inevitable double thirds and passages of broken octaves. It is doubtful whether such a piece could have been played by most amateur players of the time and it is likely that Clementi himself played this work in the Hanover Square concert season of 1784.28

English theatre tunes were also popular subjects for inclusion within a sonata or for variation. Shield's 'The Plough Boy' (from _The Farmer_)—still well known today through the Britten setting and its use as a BBC signature tune—was set by Clementi, Cogan and Hummel, while 'Fa la la la', identified as a 'Welch Air' from _The Cherokee_, formed the basis of an agreeable and elegant set of variations by Dussek (1795, _LPS, vi_) and Field (c1795, _LPS, xii_).

The importance of the vocal model is revealed by the inclusion of the song text with the opening theme in Dussek's version. However, the relative banality of the tune is offset by the imaginative figuration of both sets of variations.

The folk song, be it Welsh, Irish or Scottish, soon became the essential ingredient of most light music. Cramer for example wrote a vast amount of light music over his long compositional career.
Prominent among his output is a series of divertimentos, all with a similar format. An improvisatory prelude is followed by a loose series of movements incorporating either well-known tunes or dances. Similarly loose structures and devices were less appropriate in the sonatas; those of op. 41, for example, include no less than four 'favorite airs', including one intriguingly titled 'The De'ils awa' wi'th Exciseman'. To be fair, however, it must be acknowledged that Cramer reserved most of this activity for his accompanied sonatas, and we shall see that many of his 'grand' sonatas are serious works with a more formally controlled structure.

Dussek often made use of the traditional air, such as in his variations on Rosline Castle (LFS, vi), where he skilfully manages to combine both the sombre Scottish theme with the well-known 'Lass of Peatie's Mill', which is not dissimilar to Rosline and provides a beguiling major contrast (ex. 13). The set of just four variations ends with a stirring march.

Once again Kollmann provides a useful contemporary view on the use of popular tunes in keyboard music, seeing it as an effort on the part of the English to graft a national style onto a music which was otherwise dominated by foreigners:

Though I cannot say to have found a particular national style in England, where some of the greatest musicians of all nations reside, and where consequently all styles are much intermixed, as hardly to leave room for the original English style; yet the Scotch style is so much at home in England, that it may at present be considered as belonging nearly equal.
to both Nations; and this is to my feelings the most original, and a very energetic style, tho' in some collections of Scotch pieces which are rather ancient, we meet with modulations which are too hard and abrupt for modern musical ears.  

George Thomson's collections of Scottish airs, arranged by Pleyel, Kozeluch and Haydn (1803) differentiated between the traditional old airs (written before 1724), modern tunes written in the Scottish style and Irish airs. In many cases new words were written to old tunes by popular poets such as Peter Pindar and Robert Burns. The songs were arranged for voice and piano with optional accompaniments for violin and cello:

Instead of a Thorough-Bass denoted by figures, which few can play with any propriety, the harmony is plainly expressed in musical Notes, which every young Lady may execute correctly. Here, therefore, the Piano-Forte will alone be found a most satisfactory Accompaniment in Chamber singing. At the same time, when the Violin and Violoncello are joined to the Piano-Forte, they certainly enrich the effect highly.

A review in the *Monthly Magazine* of 1804 commended the prevalent use of popular tunes in modern music for purely practical reasons:

The insertion of popular tunes in instrumental exercises is become a fashion of which we by no means disapprove. The ear is naturally gratified by the air it recognizes; and the finger insensibly led to that practice by which alone it can acquire facility of execution.
The main attribute of this type of music, quite clearly intended for the amateur performer, was its easy and familiar style. One reviewer went so far to say that the 'English' style was simply an amalgam of the best foreign styles. Earlier on, the main intent was to keep things simple: a review of a set of Vanhal's accompanied sonatas praised the composer's 'ear to the English style, having less extraneous modulation than some other works of Vanhal, and constructed with more regularity, simplicity and connection'. The goal of such music was aptly described in a review in the same year of sonatas by Dale, 'composed in an easy familiar style, and seem designed as much for the improvement of young practitioners as for the amusement of their hearers'.

Programmatic music also became popular at this time. Often depicting battles, the most famous of these pieces was undoubtedly the Battle of Prague, written by the immigrant composer Franz Kotzwara, who was in London for only one year before his suicide in 1791. Composed in about 1790 for piano with accompaniments, Prague was soon arranged for piano duet, as we have seen. Not only did it go into several editions, it also became the model for a succession of 'battle' pieces of varying quality. Prague opens energetically, with an Alberti bass figure denoting the Imperialists in the left hand, against the solid-chord Prussians in the right (ex. 14). Rather disappointingly, given its fame, Prague abounds in banalities and repetitions, but its various sections depicting stages of the battle provided the groundplan for other such pieces.
Opening in medias res with the attack, the battle proceeds with a slow march preceding the 'word of command'. The action continues with the sounds of bugles and trumpets, all given in the treble over a thumping bass line. A contrasting section in the tonic minor depicts the cries of the wounded, again a necessary part of the action, but the gloomy atmosphere is dispersed with the sounding of the trumpet of victory and the obligatory rousing version of God Save the King. Prague concludes with a rollicking Turkish March and the rhythmic injunction, 'Go to bed Tom'.

The Battle of Prague is a prime example of a piece which remained famous not for its intrinsic value (which was nugatory) but rather for what it represented, viz the use of music to depict a particular event with enough histrionics so as to preclude the need for words. Left to its own resources, the piano could provide all sorts of effects demanded by the programme; it was not long before much of this sort of writing was transferred to other genres such as the sonata.

Other composers soon began contributing to this genre, adding different episodes as they did so. The best of these is Steibelt's Britannia (LFS, vi), and subtitled as an 'allegorical overture' depicting the battle between the English and the Dutch at Camperdown. Appealing greatly to nationalist sentiment, the piece includes such well-known tunes as Purcell's 'Britons Strike Home' and Arne's 'Rule Britannia', as well as depicting musically the 'exchange of small arms', cannon firing and cries of the wounded.
The piece is quite long, with a number of recurring themes which give it a loose but recognizable structure. True to form, it ends with a rousing version of 'God Save the King' which, to judge from the review, converted even the jaded critic who wrote:

> Considering how long these sanguinary scenes have been fashionable, and that the subject of human destruction has been almost exhausted, the composer has acquitted himself with a respectable degree of skill.33

Steibelt's work clearly influenced others; M. P. King wrote a piece commemorating the battle of Cape St Vincent (1797), making much of the fall of the enemy masts, a feature of numerous other battle pieces. Here we have several bars of ascending and descending passages, with falling broken diminished seventh chords representing the 'fall into disorder' (ex. 15). Like Steibelt, King uses the 'Wooden Walls' theme.34

Six years later the appeal of such pieces had worn thin. Reviewing a 'characteristic sonata' by Joseph Michel (sic), a critic complained of the piece's similarity to 'those musical battles and sieges in which, till we are informed in so many words, we do not know whether the general is beating a parley, or founding a charge, and in which every movement is obliged to be described before it can be understood'.35

Dussek also wrote a battle piece on the same subject as Steibelt, giving it the cumbersome title, The Naval Battle and Defeat of the Grand Dutch Fleet by Admiral Duncan. Like Steibelt, Dussek adopted a detailed programme, but he is much less
imaginative in his use of figuration and popular tunes.\textsuperscript{36} The prolific and opportunistic Joseph Dale also wrote a piece on the same subject, giving it an equally pompous title. Dale's work, which remains resolutely in D, with some episodes in the tonic minor, shows Steibelt in a very favourable light, for Britannia is a far more imaginative and witty piece. Dale's work generally pandered to the lowest common denominator of public taste: a sonata entitled Nelson and the Navy enticed would-be purchasers with the inclusion of 'the original Greek air as played and danced by the Turks and Arabs' in addition to the usual old favourites.

A rather more successful programmatic piece by Dussek concerns the French Revolution. The histrionic music of The Sufferings of the Queen of France (1793) might well provoke a smile today, but there can be no doubt that the work was sincerely meant. Dussek in fact had been in the queen's employment and had come to London because of the Revolution: this work might well be a purging of his own emotions over the tragic events which overtook his patrons. It consists of a number of short sections depicting the events leading from Marie Antoinette's imprisonment up to her execution and apotheosis. The emotive subject matter, of intense interest to the British public, allowed Dussek to exploit his talent for expressive pianistic writing, as illustrated in the opening episode (ex. 16) and in the queen's prayer, fatally interrupted by the guillotine (ex. 17). All ends happily, though,
with a final apotheosis in a joyful C major, the longest movement in the piece and a triumphant conclusion to it.

Dussek's work is one of the few such programmatic pieces worth reviving today. Presumably not just a commercial venture for the composer, but the reflection of sincerely felt emotion, it gave opportunities for expressive and dramatic writing which the composer was later to use in his sonatas. While it is easy to dismiss programmatic writing, it is worth remembering that the genre did have something to contribute to more serious composition. Its combination of both popular and serious writing epitomized piano music generally and although as a genre it soon exhausted its resources, the effects of such descriptive music influenced more serious contemporary work. Indeed, Dussek later composed a sonata as an elegy to his former employer Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia: this is a major work, 'replete with science', and is occasionally performed today.

It is easy to denigrate the lighter compositions of the period, with their heavy reliance on popular tunes and obvious courting of the amateur market. Titles such as Le Retour de Wandsworth (composed by von Esch for one of his lady pupils who resided there) seem fanciful in the extreme; indeed, an anonymous wag later published a 'characteristic rondo' with the improbable title of Bubo, Asinus et Taurus which he dedicated to 'Pallas'. This was intended as a burlesque 'on the many musical publications which are presented to us, with titles no way analagous to or
connected with the music to which they are superadded'.37 It must be taken into account, however, that it was this popular music which allowed composers the means to concentrate on more serious work. More importantly, the trend towards arrangement afforded the public a wider knowledge of music which they might hear only once in the concert hall, and the very act of arranging gave composers an idea of the piano's full capabilities.

The piano therefore became a vehicle for the transmission of both vocal and instrumental music. The many divertimentos, rondos and sets of variations placed vocal music in an instrumental, or pianistic, context, satisfying public demand for popular tunes and developing a pianistic idiom. Although of less interest to us today, this vast bulk of seemingly ephemeral music was valuable grist to the pianistic mill.

Fortunately Clementi, Dussek, Cramer and Field, as well as many of their contemporaries, need not be judged on their popular output alone. The serious sonatas of these composers are undoubtedly the works on which they should be judged, although in a climate where 'easy and familiar' music was the norm it must have been difficult to produce works which would be satisfying to amateur and connoisseur alike. Reviewing practice remained conservative, giving space to more popular works and disparaging any composer who did anything so daring as to write in a minor key. Reviewers for both the Analytical Review and the Monthly Magazine
took two erstwhile 'popular' composers, Boutmy and Mazzinghi, to task for using minor keys. The first review was early, in 1788:

These sonatas are all in minor keys, a circumstance not common, nor to be extolled, being incapable of that variety and contrast, which in music, as in every other art, produce the great charm and force of effect.

The composer, however, was praised for his 'inventive and scientific abilities'. Even much later, in 1805, a reviewer criticized the prolific composer Mazzinghi for choosing the key of B minor for his sonata, 'a key certainly little propitious to the pleasing style he has adopted.'

The sonatas of Beethoven often provoked a similar negative reaction tempered by a grudging recognition of the composer's genius. The following relatively harsh review of the op. 14 sonatas seems surprising today:

The general style is hard, extraneously chromatic, and better calculated to please the admirers of dry science, than to gratify those who delight in the pure and unsophisticated efforts of genius...However...it claims a superiority over most productions in the same style and exhibits a familiarity with the secrets of modulations, and a mastery in transitive combination, highly creditable to the composer's learning and sagacity.
It is precisely in these more adventurous works, however, that the development in pianistic writing can be traced. All the composers writing in London at this time were dominated by the somewhat philistine tastes of the public at large, but the profits gained by producing trifles for amateurs allowed for the composition of more interesting works, usually in the form of 'grand sonatas'. Although its popularity declined somewhat after the turn of the century, the sonata most readily shows the true abilities of its composers. 'Invention' and 'science' were the features sought after by contemporary critics, many - like Thomas Busby - composers themselves. As the most important genre for the piano, the sonata is of such significance that it requires separate treatment. It did not exist in isolation, however, and was much influenced by the more popular and ephemeral music which surrounded it.

It is significant that Clementi and Cramer became best known not for their sonatas and light music, but for their didactic works. The piano treatises of both these composers became an essential part of any aspiring pianist's library, as did their books of studies - Cramer's Studio and Clementi's Gradus ad Parnassum. While the piano tutors on the whole offer today's readers less in the way of repertory and more on performance practice (and even much of that is conflicting), the Studio and Gradus comprise an encyclopaedic array of keyboard writing old and new. These works, more than any others, give important insights
into contemporary keyboard writing in their mingling of old and new influences as well as in their solid commitment to the art of pianoforte playing. While the casual amateur turned to frothy divertimentos for amusement, the committed pianist toiled through the pages of studies in preparation for greater things.
Tutors and Studies

One of the most important legacies of the London Pianoforte School is the enormous quantity of didactic works, published in the form of tutors and studies. Although many of the tutors are merely basic expositions of music theory and piano rudiments, others—often by influential composers—are valuable guides to contemporary performance practice and taste. The study came into its own in the early 19th century, developing from the old 'lesson' of the piano tutors to a musical entity in its own right. Cramer's *Studio* and Clementi's *Gradus ad Parnassum* lent weight to the study as a genre and set a precedent for works to come.

The tutor was one genre which passed easily from the harpsichord era to that of the piano. There was always a ready market for tutors, and even older ones, such as Pasquali's *The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord*, originally published in 1760, was re-issued by Longman and Broderip as late as 1795. The Pasquali treatise also included a method of tuning, more relevant to harpsichord owners than to pianists, but, as its title suggests, concentrated mainly on patterns of fingering which remained applicable to pianists. Many tutors were aimed at a juvenile market, and even Pasquali mentions the desirability of providing smaller instruments for children.

The piano tutors which deluged the market from the 1770s onward followed a similar pattern. Almost without exception they included a theoretical section which outlined basic rudiments.
This section could be a model of either British brevity, as in Francis Sharp's *New Guida di Musica* (1797) which omits any mention of time, or of Teutonic thoroughness, as in A. F. C. Kollmann's weighty *First beginning on the Piano Forte according to an Improved Method for Teaching Beginners* (c. 1795), which has 14 folio-sized pages of introductory material divided into twelve chapters.\(^2\) The introduction was usually followed by a number of lessons or a combination of lessons and preludes. The art of improvising preludes was treated in tutors aimed more at the performer than at the beginner.

As the piano increased in popularity, the tutors grew in length. Hummel's massive *Klavierschule* (1828) is an example of how the tutor-lesson format could grow to an inordinate size. Stating that he considered the subject of fingering 'as one of the most important', Hummel then provided numerous examples to illustrate his points, listing no less than ten different categories of fingering to deal with all eventualities. Seemingly endless finger exercises are followed by 'lessons', many of which are exquisite musical gems. Although published in an English edition in 1829, this work is essentially of the Viennese school, especially in its emphasis on fingerwork.

For Hummel (and many of his contemporaries) fingering was a way of making performance easier. It was by observing rules of fingering that the pianist could deal with difficulties such as scale passages, sequences, extensions, skips, repeated notes, distribution of parts between the hands and so on. In general, the
study of fingering was thought of as something quite apart from
issues of articulation, except for the basic link with legato.

The history of fingering is an interesting one. Both
Couperin and Rameau wrote treatises which dealt exhaustively with
the topic; J. C. Heck's The Art of Fingering (London, c1766) had
been 'entirely regulated after the Rules and Method of the
celebrated C. P. E. Bach of Berlin'. Bach's Versuch über die wahre
Art das Clavier zu spielen, although not translated into English
during the 18th century, became a model for many writers of piano
tutors in the decades following its first publication in 1753. The
importance Bach attached to fingering is reflected in his dealing
with this issue in the first chapter. Türk's Klavierschule (Leipzig
and Halle, 1789/R Vienna, 1798, rev. 1802), also influenced by the
Versuch, was translated into English and made available in an
abridged edition in 1804.

Fingering preoccupied many writers and pianists, many of whom
wrote about it in some detail, usually in keyboard tutors. Dussek
was one of the first major composers to produce a tutor; the
Instructions on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte was published in
1796. Dussek divided his fingering into different categories
depending on whether it needed to be 'prepared', 'free', 'forced' or
'exceptional'. The review praised the assiduity with which the
author attended to fingering. Like Türk and C. P. E. Bach, Dussek
was keen on avoiding undue motion of the hand. Rules for passing
of the thumb were given to avoid thumping at the end of phrases.

By the early 19th century, many earnest musicians were pro-
ducing tutors for their own pupils as well as for general public
use by other teachers and pupils alike. Joseph Coggins's *The Governess's Musical Assistant* (c.1815) gives some idea of the intended market, and was dedicated to the author's own pupils. Griffith J. Cheese, a blind organist from Manchester, wrote a substantial treatise of some hundred pages, entitled *Practical Rules for Playing and Teaching the Pianoforte and Organ with general observations on the Accompaniment and Performance of Vocal Music* (1806). Not surprisingly, given the author's affliction, a subtitle informs us that the work is 'likewise useful to teachers and pupils born blind'. However, Cheese did not himself devise a system of notation for the blind and his remarks on the teaching of blind pupils are not extensive.

The Cheese tutor was designed for 'those at Boarding Schools and for private instruction' and extolled the virtues of a musical education, claiming it was not merely an elegant accomplishment but was 'also calculated to improve the moral character and to promote the happiness of the individual, as well as the domestic circle'. Far from restricting musical activity to young ladies, as many fustian contributors to the literary journals recommended, Cheese believed that music had a moral value for gentlemen as well. Unlike Pasquali, Cheese felt that children should be started off on a full-sized instrument; his comment on this issue suggests that it might have been controversial. The introductory material is quite thorough by the standards of the time, and lessons are provided from the works of P. D. Paradies (1707-1791) and Domenico Scarlatti (for hand crossing) as well as from more modern composers such as Schobert, Beethoven and Dussek.
Cheese is at his best when dealing with touch, which he treats in detail. The emphasis suggests that touch was superseding fingering — long the staple item of the tutor — as an area of interest. Clearly the title, which included the organ as well as the piano, was meant to appeal to a wide market. Cheese duly notes what everyone must have known by 1806, that organ playing is very different from that of the piano:

The style of the organ is totally different from other keyed instruments, so far as it relates to the Touch, and in many cases, the fingering. The genius of the Piano Forte, which we have hitherto treated of, is brilliant, rapid and sometimes staccato; that of the organ, grave, solemn and sostenuto.

Cheese lists some eight different 'touches', though many of them are actually figurations or ornaments. In addition to the usual legato and staccato, Cheese includes a 'staccatissimo', indicated by slurred dots, in which all notes are struck with the first finger, giving a violinistic 'spiccato' effect. The term 'staccatissimo' is perhaps a misnomer, as it denotes not an even sharper staccato, but rather a 'non-legato' effect. It is interesting that Cheese compares the touch to the string 'spiccato', indicating that in addition to imitating the long legato lines of the voice, the piano could also adopt the fleet virtuosity of the popular violin, which was enjoying its own halcyon days at the hands of Giardini, Viotti and others. Some confusion reigned over the marking of staccato: in his treatise of 1801, Clementi used the wedge to indicate a sharp staccato and a dot for a moderate one; slurred dots indicated a slight detachment, or mezzo-staccato.
Cheese's most curious touch is the 'edrucciolato', or slide, a sort of glissando in which the player slides the thumb over a descending scale. For ascending scales the nail of the first finger would be used. The glissando as such was not regularly called for, although it might well have been used as an expedient and flashy shortcut in passages of all white keys. Certainly the descent of the guillotine in Dussek's The Sufferings of the Queen of France might well have been performed this way (see ex. 17). It is also possible that Cheese was responding to the 'grotesque' style of playing introduced by Mazzinghi around this time. Here the player had to play all the notes with the thumb, and slides were often introduced. However, the 'grotesque airs' were not part of mainstream musical activity, and Mazzinghi was heavily criticized for introducing them.' Sliding from a black key to a white one was mentioned by Timothy Essex in his Eight Lessons and Four Sonatinas on a Peculiar Plan, intended to establish a proper method of fingering on the Piano Forte op. 6 (c1800); the 'peculiar plan' is nothing but a favouring of flat keys over the more commonly used sharp ones and giving fingerings for each.

Cheese's other touch classifications reflect contemporary compositional activity rather than the refinement of piano touch. His 'tremolato' refers merely to repeated notes to be played with different fingers. Its inclusion, however, points to the increasing sophistication of the piano in being able to deal with a repeated action of this sort. Cheese's 'tremando' is in fact our 'tremolando' and is a reflection of the new writing pioneered by the popular Parisian virtuoso, Daniel Steibelt. The 'arpagio' [sic] and
acciaccatura similarly point to contemporary changes in composition for the piano, with its over-reliance on effect rather than affect.

Cheese was not the only writer to adopt this confusing attitude to touch. P. A. Corri devoted a chapter to the subject in his *L'anima di musica* (c1810), including arpeggiated chords (called *appoggiando*) with legato, staccato and dynamic gradations. However, this is a useful chapter on contemporary performance practice, as is the chapter, 'On Preluding' with its hints on improvisatory styles in major and minor keys. Similarly, the chapter 'On Expression and Style' actually outlines the various styles of music, ranging from the reel, or country dance, through to marches and songs with their 'contrary style', plaintive and melodious. On the other hand overtures, concertos, sonatas and 'divertisements' exhibited a variety of styles, combining 'brilliance with feeling, energetic with pathetic' and so on. In fact, Corri attempted to systematize expression and style in the same way that earlier writers had systematized fingering. It is surprising, given the relatively late date of Corri's tutor, that he decided to include an elaborate and long-winded defence of the pianoforte over the harpsichord, though he may have done so merely to justify the tutor's emphasis on more 'pianistic' matters.12

With the swelling tide of tutors flooding the market from the late 18th century onwards, authors sought to provide more than just a guide to the rudiments. The idealism of James Hook, expressed in his *Guida di musica* (c1796), advising against giving beginners 'common, well-known Tunes, which they catch by their Ear to the total neglect of those Rules so necessary to be inculcated at a
very early period by those who wish to excel in Music', was soon drowned by the overwhelming demand for popular tunes, very often drawn from the theatre, Handel or traditional sources.\[^3\] In 1812 J. B. Cramer stated confidently in the preface to his Instructions for the Piano Forte that

experience proves that introducing popular airs arranged as Lessons for the practice of learners, greatly promotes their application and improvement: besides when desired to play they have the satisfaction to observe that they afford more Entertainment to their hearers by pieces of this kind than playing long and uninteresting Compositions. Therefore the Author has selected for his lessons many favorite airs which he has arranged in a familiar Style and in order. To preserve the necessary progressive gradation he has composed several of the Lessons.\[^4\]

Cramer's tutor departed from the usual plan by omitting a 'general account' at the beginning, choosing instead to 'intermix with the pieces whatever relates to graces, character and expression'. Cramer also mentions the new six-octave piano, recently on the market, but observes that 'they are not yet universally introduced'. Cramer's brevity on the subject of pedalling suggests that the pedal was still being used selectively for special effects, rather than as an integral part of piano performance.

Although Cramer's tutor went into several editions, including one in German, Clementi's Introduction to the Art of Playing the Pianoforte (1801) was undoubtedly the most famous. Proffering fifty fingered lessons in addition to a 19-page introduction illustrated by two crowded pages of exercises in a variety of keys, the Introduction covered many techniques such as playing repeated
notes in passages, passing of the thumb, broken chords, broken octaves and the inevitable double thirds and sixths, all for the right hand, in addition to common bass patterns for the left hand.

Clementi's selection of popular composers, however, is a significant indicator of contemporary taste as well as a reflection of his own erudition. Of the 'ancient school', Handel, Corelli and Scarlatti are all represented, with ten, eleven and four pieces respectively, as are Couperin, Paradies and Rameau with rather fewer examples. The under-representation of J. S. Bach with just one piece is surprising, but reflects the general ignorance of his work in London at this time. Modern composers include Mozart, Haydn, Pleyel, Dussek and Beethoven. There are also a number of well-known tunes, such as 'Fal la la' and 'Je suis Lindor'.

Clementi provided an Appendix to his original Introduction in 1811. The reviewer for the Monthly Magazine was particularly impressed by the fingering, which was described as being 'strikingly accurate, and it is but just to say that where it varies from the general mode, it is by its superiority'. The Appendix comprises short preludes and various technical studies in various keys. None is particularly musically interesting, though many are useful and agreeable studies in their own right. The influence of J. S. Bach is more apparent here (see further on Bach's influence pp.211ff). It is useful to note that neither Clementi's nor Cramer's tutors came close to approaching the present idea of a 'method', i.e. a work whose intention was to teach a particular mode of playing, usually associated with a reigning virtuoso. Tutors at this stage were still very much concerned with the development of
a basic technique, though the emphasis was shifting from mere fingerwork to an awareness of shade and nuance. Even the grandiosely named *Méthode des méthodes* (1837), a joint venture by Moscheles and Fétis, is more of a compendium of tutors rather than a method in the modern sense. The psychology of the time was simply not ready for idolatry, as revealed by George Hogarth in his *Musical History* (1835):

> When great composers or performers are spoken of as belonging to a certain school, it is not meant that they are imitators of any particular master, but that, either from education under that master, or from having been prompted by congeniality of mind, to a study of his works, they have insensibly acquired some of the chief characteristics of his style, modified by the peculiarities of their own genius.17

Clementi's *Appendix* was a preparation for his *magnum opus*, the *Gradus ad Parnassum* (*LPS*, v). Although not a 'method' in the conventional sense, the *Gradus* perhaps best illustrates all aspects of Clementi's compositional and pianistic style. Apart from the op. 36 sonatinas, the *Gradus* is probably Clementi's best known work today, perhaps more in name than in practice, owing to a later abridged version published by Carl Tausig in 1805, which prompted Debussy's famous satire, 'Dr Gradus ad Parnassum', in his *Children's Corner* suite. For all its 20th-century neglect, the *Gradus* nevertheless stands as a monument both to Clementi's compositional art and to the developments of the London school in piano writing generally. Similarly, Cramer's *Studio per il pianoforte* is little known today, but exerted enormous influence throughout the 19th century and is still a valuable compendium of pianistic technique.
The study came into its own during the 19th century and it is worth noting some of the early contributions of composers connected with the London school. Daniel Steibelt and Joseph Woelfl, both famous continental virtuosos who lived and published in London, wrote sets of studies based on the Cramer model: Steibelt's Etudes (c1809) were published by Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co., and Woelfl's Practical School for the Pianoforte (c1812) a collection of fifty 'exercises' (i.e. studies) was published by Clementi & Co. Clementi's pupil Ludwig Berger composed a set of twelve studies (op. 12) in 1816-17, using Cramer's Studio as a model. Moscheles wrote a set of 24 in 1825; the London pianist and composer Cipriani Potter published two books of studies, numbering 24 in all, in 1826. The model for all of these sets and indeed many others was Cramer's Studio (1804 and 1809), which exerted tremendous influence on the course of piano writing generally. Moving away from the typical 'lesson' composed solely to improve technique, Cramer sought to provide interesting music as well.

The set was successful both musically and pedagogically. It became a staple item in the 19th-century pianist's armoury: we know that Clara Schumann played these studies, and indeed her father Friedrich Wieck borrowed shamelessly from no. 1 in his own book of lessons for the piano. The similarity is so striking (and the study so well known) that it could be supposed that Wieck in fact meant the quotation to be taken as a tribute rather than as plagiarism (exx. 18a & b).
Cramer's prefatory remarks to a later and enlarged edition of the *Studio* in 1835 reveal something of his aims and influences. In a work which in effect heralded the emancipation of the pianoforte from the restrictions of the 'ancient style', Cramer avowed that its main objective was to prepare students for the study of J. S. Bach. Here was a composer who more than any other was associated with the old style, particularly in his use of fugue and counterpoint, devices often denounced in the later 18th century as being too learned and 'scientific' for popular taste. Popular piano music of the day was *galant* in style, borrowing tunes from opera and popular ballads, and setting them to simple accompaniments. What influence, then, could a cerebral composer such as Bach possibly have on the music for an instrument whose use was predominantly for entertainment and song?

Bach's music had had a chequered history in England. The prevailing taste was for Handel, who had the edge because of his long and successful residence in London. Even Dr Burney, while acknowledging Bach's greatness, believed that had he (like Handel) been employed to compose opera in the major centres he would have 'sacrificed all unmeaning art and contrivance...by writing in a style more popular, and generally intelligible and pleasing' and would thus have be come one of the greatest musicians of the century.19

Burney reflected general opinion to some extent. Although Bach's works, particularly the *Well-Tempered Clavier* (henceforth abbreviated to *WTC*), were becoming known by the time Cramer published the *Studio*, it had taken some time for them to percolate
into the English consciousness. It appears that even later Cramer himself might have acquired a copy of the *WTC* more by accident than by design: a 'memoir' published some years later in the *Harmonicon* reported that the composer while in Paris had met a young Russian who 'possessed in MS the works of the celebrated John Sebastian Bach, in consequence of his having been a pupil of Charles Philip Emanuel Bach'. We cannot be sure whether what the Russian had was actually a copy of the *WTC*, but he gave his copy to Cramer in lieu of money to pay his debts. Various continental editions of the *WTC* were reprinted in London around 1800 by Lavenu (Nägeli) and Broderip and Wilkinson (Simrock).

However, London musical life was very much dominated by Handel; his oratorios were heard regularly in concert, and many works were arranged for piano and organ. Paradoxically the same did not apply to the works of Bach, despite the presence in London of a triumvirate who could well have promoted his music. These were his son, Johann Christian, whose friend and business colleague, Carl Friedrich Abel, was the son of Bach's gamba soloist in Cöthen, and Charles Burney, who had received a manuscript copy of the *WTC* in 1772 from C. P. E. Bach. None of these made any attempt to introduce Bach's music to London: rather, its revival was due to the efforts of the Germans Carl Friedrich Horn and A. F. C. Kollmann, who had arrived in London in the 1780s.

The only native Englishman to proselytize for the music of the older Bach was Samuel Wesley, who published a complete critical edition of the *WTC* with C. F. Horn (1810-13). This edition provided analytical markings (for subjects, inversions, diminutions,
augmentations etc.) as well as suggesting a method of study, progressing from the easy to the more difficult pieces which were 'set in keys less in use in England than upon the Continent', and therefore required 'a constant and persevering Application'. The works of Bach invited analysis and explanation: Kollmann, a theorist and composer, provided an analysis of the F minor prelude and fugue from WTC II in his *Essay on Musical Harmony* (1796), and published even more of Bach's works in his *Essay on Practical Musical Composition* (1799). Despite the opinions of people like Burney that Bach's music was too learned for the masses, Wesley reported jubilantly that sales of his new edition were good: 'Chappell at Birchall's tells me that the People tease his Soul out for the Fugues; that the eternal question is "When does Mr Wesley intend to bring forward the Fugues in all 24 keys?"'

The preludes and fugues presented two distinct sides to keyboard writing, the one free and improvisatory and the other more strict and regulated. Put simply, it can be said that Cramer's set of studies was primarily influenced by Bach's prelude style while Clementi's *Gradus* and other compositions show a combination of both types, though Clementi, like Bach, had a predilection for fugue and counterpoint.

Piano writing was influenced by both the harpsichord and the clavichord. Implicit in any acknowledgment of debt to J. S. Bach was a recognition of the importance of the clavichord, an instrument dear to Bach, though never popular in England. Cramer in his introduction cited only four studies as being 'written
expressly after the manner of Sebastian Bach and Handel'; in fact there were many more.\textsuperscript{24} The first study ends with an exact quotation from Bach's first prelude of the \textit{WTC}. However, perhaps the most influential of Bach's preludes was the one in C minor from \textit{WTC I}, notable for its \textit{moto perpetuo} character and parallel figuration in both hands, aspects which dominate many of Cramer's studies. The most striking example of Cramer's adaptation of this prelude for the piano occurs in the final study of volume 1, where the right hand plays a complex two-part texture over a bass melodic line; the parts are later reversed (ex. 19). The resemblance to Bach's work is even more striking at the end of the piece where Cramer quotes almost directly (ex. 20). Cramer's use of key is often related to Bach's; the key of C minor, for example, seemed to trigger preludes in the style of that in the \textit{WTC I}, as shown in Cramer's II/17, though a similar type appears in the key of F# minor as well (II/19) (exx. 21, 22).

Bach's influence can also be found in Cramer's I/4, again in C minor. Once more the \textit{moto perpetuo} dominates and the aim is to achieve a pianistic legato within the context of angular writing reminiscent of Bach. Note that this study is carefully fingered in order to achieve a legato without the pedal (ex. 23).

Cramer's choice of key is also related to Bach; for example, the key of G major often suggested a light and flowing texture (\textit{WTC I}, 15) also found in Cramer's I/21 (ex. 24). Similarly the fleeting B flat major prelude of \textit{WTC I} is reflected in Cramer's I/31 and II/8 (exx. 25, 26). It is possible that this may have had something to do with temperament, still settling down at this
time. Cramer mentions I/31 (ex. 25) as an exercise in contrasting touches, where the left hand plays staccato against the right hand legato. He pairs it with I/5 which features the same device (ex. 27).

Cramer's preface is revealing in its elaboration of what he felt was important in the collection and the skills he deemed to be necessary for the pianist to acquire. Although borrowing heavily in stylistic terms from Bach, he nonetheless sought to emphasize expressive and articulative skills not associated with harpsichord music, and only to a limited extent with the clavichord, given its exceedingly quiet tone and gentle touch.

Cramer was known for his melodic writing, and placed great importance on the development of a smooth legato touch. Many of the studies are headed with an injunction to play 'sempre legato' and are phrased accordingly. Others feature an expressive melody in an inner part, where the rich tenor sound of the early piano's middle register came into its own; these pieces sound particularly effective when played on such an instrument (ex. 28). The weight of the thumb and index finger needed to bring out the melody was particularly suited to the middle register.

The exploitation of the piano's expressive capabilities and its potential for light and shade was also a preoccupation. Some studies lend themselves well to crescendos in ascending passages and diminuendos in the descending ones as in I/1 (cited above) and 13, though here Cramer is relatively sparing with dynamics. Elsewhere he is as meticulous with dynamics as he is with articulation.
Expressiveness was a major concern: the Studio is notable for its inclusion of expressive pieces in addition to the usual obstacles of staggering octaves and snarling passages of double thirds. The expressive pieces feature long-breathed legatissimo melodies, very much in imitation of the voice. In some cases Cramer was able to marry the best of Bach's expressive style with his own, as in the case of II/33 (ex. 29). Another betrays its vocal origins with the title of 'aria moderato' and shares much of the lyrical quality of Bach's E major prelude in WTC I (ex. 30).

Like the preludes of the WTC, Cramer's studies are remarkable for the exploitation of a single motive throughout, a technique which carried through to Chopin. Many of the technical skills which preoccupied later composers of the 19th century had their first proper musical airing in Cramer's collection. The usual double thirds and octaves are here in addition to various figurations for both hands. Some are decidedly pianistic in their conception, such as the roaming left-hand accompaniment in II/35 (ex. 31).

Thirds, octaves and sixths were nothing new; Clementi had achieved a reputation early on for exploiting such tactics, learning his skill on the harpsichord. It is in such purely technical studies that Cramer's reliance on Bach is less evident; the influence here is that of Domenico Scarlatti, whose works formed the basis of the virtuoso style, with its many racing passages of double thirds, sixths and octaves as well as its acrobatic hand crossings. Some of Scarlatti's work had been made known in London chiefly through the efforts of the composer Thomas
Roseingrave, who met the composer on a visit to Italy in 1709 and published an edition of the sonatas in 1739; between that date and 1800 over a hundred of Scarlatti's sonatas were published in England. In 1785 Ambrose Pitman published a selection of Scarlatti's sonatas, 'revised with a variety of improvements'. Despite the hint of bowdlerism in the title, Pitman in fact changed very little; instead he selected sonatas which he felt would be accessible to the average performer. Choosing 15 sonatas out of the old Roseingrave edition, he made only minor changes, such as eliminating the 'tenor clef', which had fallen into disuse.

Burney wrote of 'the Scarlatti sect', citing Keiway as a leading performer. He also reported manuscripts in private hands, notably John Worgan's. Whereas Worgan kept his collection 'locked up as Sybil's leaves', other composers were more ready to share their wealth: in 1791 Clementi published a collection of works ostensibly by Scarlatti, 'selected from an elegant collection of Manuscripts in his possession'. There were twelve sonatas in this edition: two are not actually Scarlatti's, and the E major sonata (Kp.380) is transposed into F. Dynamics were added.

Clearly Cramer did not set out to provide slavish imitations of Scarlatti, and very few of his pieces would actually sound well on a harpsichord. But there is evidence of the harpsichord style in studies such as the translucent I/33 and the broken chords and double dotted rhythms of II/34 (exx. 32, 33). Scarlatti's influence is strongest in studies such as II/18 with its many hand crossings (indicated explicitly in the notation) and scampering thirds and sixths (ex. 34). Similarly the double thirds in I/19 and 35 reveal
a preoccupation with this showy aspect of harpsichord technique (exx. 35, 36). One of the most effective examples, however, is reminiscent of Bach, the Gigue from whose first partita it resembles, though its mood is more urgent and anxious than its light-hearted predecessor (ex. 37).

Trills also fascinated, and once begun they tended to infiltrate all the other parts. Mercifully - for both player and listener - these studies are short. Given their continuous motion and frequent obsession with one particular technical device, the studies needed to be brief, and this is a virtue of the work as a whole. Each study is a succinct musical statement whose technical purpose is easily divined.

The most obviously pianistic pieces of the set are the bravura studies. Drawing in part from the harpsichord toccata, bravura pieces were also splendid vehicles for showing off the virtuoso capabilities of the piano. With their emphasis on rushing scales and arpeggios, they not surprisingly often appear in the facile key of C, which with its absence of black keys provided an open course for racing fingers. The opening studies of each of Cramer's volumes are of this type; Cipriani Potter also chose C major for his opening study and Chopin's famous op. 10/1 is a classic of the type, though here it can be argued that the choice of key is more of a hindrance than a help.29

Cramer's work is remarkable for its thorough exploration of piano technique, especially at such an early date in the piano's history. It is a valuable source of information regarding advances in technical writing for the piano and shows the instrument's many
imitative abilities as it sought to reproduce the legato and expressiveness of the voice and the violin and the velocity of the flute. While retaining the armoury of harpsichord pyrotechnics, Cramer sought at the same time to adapt them to the piano, thickening the texture where necessary and also adding expressive and musical interest. Virtually none of the studies is devoid of musicality; despite their persistent use of a chosen figuration, each study retains a musical coherence and is therefore satisfying to player and listener alike.

The Studio remained a popular work long after its initial publication. In 1835 Cramer published a new edition of the original work, adding 16 new studies to the already existing 84, thus bringing the total up to 100 studies in all, perhaps in order to match the number in Clementi's Gradus. The Studio is also well known because of its link with Beethoven, who admired it and whose annotations appear in a late 19th-century edition edited by John Shedlock from one originally owned by Schindler. Significantly, Beethoven appeared to be less interested in aspects of technique than in the clear enunciation of the harmonic rhythm, which he related to literary and poetic scansion. His concern was for the correct musical interpretation of the studies, with the underlying assumption that their technical execution would pose no particular problems. In an introduction to the edition Schindler noted this preoccupation, mentioning the need for study of German prosody and knowledge of 'iambic, trochaic, dactylic and spondaic measure, as those poetical forms which lie at the basis of all instrumental music'. However, Beethoven linked harmonic rhythm to legato
(Bindung), where certain notes were to be held for longer than their written value (by this time a convention in legato piano playing). The edition has only a selection of Cramer's original studies; Schindler gave the prevailing fashion for virtuosity as a reason:

Should the question arise, why I did not make practical use of all these Etudes, and in the interest of Beethoven's music publish them, let this serve as answer, that for the last thirty years the ruling tendency in piano-forte playing which is alone concerned with technique, would have taken no note of an entirely opposite method. Another generation must come which will endeavour to grasp the spiritual meaning of instrumental music of every kind...30

In 1815 Cramer published another set of six studies whose title, Dulce et utile, implied a sweetening of the technical pill (LFS, xi). As such the title is not misleading, for unlike the studies of the Studio these are pieces in their own right and carry the assumption of an accomplished technique. Each is fairly free in form, with a recurring main theme and episodes, usually in an A B A B' A + coda pattern, with some variation or curtailment of the repeated parts. There is some interesting use of key, with movement not only to the expected dominant, but also to more remote keys.

Most of the studies have opening subjects much like sonatas, reflecting Cramer's more mature style in their economy of melodic and rhythmic material. Others, such as the third and fifth in the set, have a folk-like character: the drone bass and lilting rhythm of no. 3 evoke a bucolic dance, while the sombre subject of no. 5 is reminiscent of a Scottish folksong (exx. 38, 39). The
seriousness of the latter, however, dissolves into a typically pianistic figuration, with an accompaniment shared between the hands while the little finger of the right hand takes the melody (ex. 40). Cramer's clever and imaginative use of variation is also most evident in this study, a technique which he often used to effect in the sonatas as well (ex. 41).

The set ends with a 'Toccatina', a genre borrowed from the harpsichord repertory, but which in this case is written very much for the piano. The use of two treble clefs in much of the piece gives a bell-like effect. This study is perhaps most like its predecessors in the Studio in its constant use of the opening motivic material. It is also notable for its repeated notes, impossible to play on the clumsy actions of the early pianos, but just about manageable on the more sophisticated ones of 1815, and requiring special fingering.

The second of the Dulce et utile studies in fact bears a striking resemblance to the theme of a duet by Clementi (op. 14/1, 1781). Two years later, when Clementi published the first volume of his Gradus ad Parnassum, he pointed to the similarity between Cramer's study and his own adaptation of the duet, which appeared as exercise 14 in the Gradus. The famous heading 'Tulit alter honores' was followed by an accusation of Cramer's plagiarism. Although it is true that the two versions begin alike, they nonetheless pursue different paths afterwards (exx. 42 a & b).

This was not the first occasion for Clementi to feel some annoyance towards his former pupil. He had been greatly vexed by the appearance of the Studio, especially as he had been planning a
similar work with the same title. However, Clementi need not have feared unfavourable comparison with Cramer's collection, for although both works are concerned with exploring and developing piano technique, they are vastly different from each other in format and in style. Cramer's studies are all of uniform length and each has a single purpose; Clementi's work is more diverse, featuring on the whole much longer pieces, many of them drawn from the composer's earlier unpublished works. Like the Studio, the Gradus was written over several years, with the first volume appearing in 1817, the second in 1819 and the third and final volume in 1826, six years before the composer's death. (The complete version is in LPS, v.)

Like Cramer, Clementi was influenced by Bach and Scarlatti, though he used their styles in a different way from Cramer, who drew primarily on the preludes of the WTC, adapting their figurations and textures to the piano. Clementi had always been fascinated by counterpoint, incorporating it into many of his sonatas, so it is not surprising to find eleven fugues and eight canons among the exercises of the Gradus. Bach's fugal writing in the WTC was the primary influence in the Gradus; Temperley points to a resemblance of Clementi's ex. 90 to Bach's B major fugue in WTC I. Plantinga mentions a number of Clementi's fugues which show definite Bachian traits; one (no. 54) is an elaborate double fugue which features (and labels) retrograde and inverted versions of the subject. In many cases Clementi relied on the WTC formula of combining prelude and fugue, often within a 'suite' of several
pieces, though these sets hardly conform to the usual notion of a Baroque suite.

Temperley has devised a helpful classification of the Gradus pieces, dividing them into various categories. Out of the total of 100 pieces, Temperley has singled out 44 studies which were designed for a specific technical purpose. Like Cramer's studies, they start with a particular figuration and stick with it until the end of the piece, only in several cases these studies are rather longer than Cramer's. Clementi provided some of these exercises with a heading indicating the purpose, such as 'to render the fingers independent' (I/1) or 'changing fingers on repeated notes'. Some are straightforward finger exercises, such as I/16 and 17 (both in C, with numerous modulations) which give five-finger patterns and scales to the right and left hands respectively; a combination of the two is found in no. 2 which begins in a refreshing F major. Some of the exercises for 'independence of the fingers', are in fact quite awkward to play (ex. 43).

The most agreeable surprises to be found in the Gradus are those pieces which begin as conventional five-finger exercises but then turn out to be proper pieces in their own right. No. 6 starts out as a finger study in B flat, but metamorphoses into an altogether different type of piece by the end, combining lyrical imitative sonata-like passages with modulating passagework deftly woven into a coherent and musical whole. Studies featuring thirds and octaves are also included, but not in such quantity as Clementi's detractors would lead us to expect. No. 78 is the only
study devoted entirely to thirds, though others include them; broken octaves appear in no. 21 and solid ones in no. 65.

Even in the exercises concentrating on finger fluency, Clementi seemed concerned with developing piano technique in a more musical way. He had already exhausted the arid possibilities of thirds and octaves in his early works and was probably sated with such legerdemain in his maturity. It is significant that most of the 'technical' exercises offer a mixture of devices, as in no. 76 where octaves mingle with other pianistic figurations in both hands. Many of the pieces in the collection are in fact sonata movements: according to Temperley there are 14 of this type. These include sonata, binary, rondo and variation forms, some of which were drawn from earlier works. These by their very nature do not concentrate on any one particular technical feature. The pieces falling into the three categories of fugue, sonata and exercise all draw essentially on the past. Like Cramer, Clementi utilized aspects of harpsichord technique for his technical studies; Bach influenced the contrapuntal writing and the sonatas were all past works. It was in the pieces which fall into none of these categories that Clementi was able to experiment with the piano's potential and emancipate it from its ties to the past. Temperley groups these pieces under the heading of 'character pieces or studies in pianistic expression'. However, there are a few pieces that defy categorization, such as the beautiful F# minor study, which technically falls into the 'exercise' category because of its repeated figuration, but harmonically breaks so much new ground that it could well be termed a character piece as well (ex. 44).
Temperley's classification scheme reveals some of the differences between Cramer's and Clementi's collections. The *Gradus* is a much more mixed set, featuring pieces of different form and style, such as sonata and fugue, among exercises which conform to the conventional idea of 'study' as such. In this respect the *Studio* is a more orthodox work, with its straightforward presentation and clear setting out of pianistic technique. It is easier to isolate issues of articulation, dynamic, bravura, mechanics and so on from each other in the *Studio* than in the *Gradus*. Clementi's work does not carry the same emphasis: there are few pieces which demand primarily a legato (or staccato) touch, or a combination of the two as in Cramer; Clementi's work features far more overlap of various pianistic effects.

Clementi chose to preface his work with some 'preliminary observations on fingering'. Far from being comprehensive, the 'observations' take up only one page and consist of rules for scale fingering and for double thirds. We have seen that establishing a code of fingering had been the preoccupation of many of the early piano tutors; now it was assumed that the performer would be familiar with the basic 'rule of thumb' and could progress to more challenging material.

Both Cramer and Clementi followed very much in the tradition of fingering laid down by C. P. E. Bach, though they went beyond it in some ways. There are numerous examples where a suitable fingering is given for a difficult passage; in most cases no fingering is given, assuming that the performer would know 'the rules'. Clementi sometimes used fingering as an exercise in
itself, suggesting a special or 'peculiar fingering' different from
the conventional pattern and often fairly tortuous in its own right
(ex. 45).

Fingering was allied with articulation mainly in its use in
maintaining a smooth legato. It is significant that pedal markings
are rare, occurring once in the case of Cramer (II/18) and only
sporadically in the whole of the Gradus. Pedal markings appear
mainly just for a particular effect, such as blurring of harmonies,
even though the damper pedal was \textit{de rigueur} on all pianos,
including squares, by the date of the \textit{Studio}. We have noted the
conservatism of the English in relation to the pedal: this is
borne out by the \textit{Studio} and the \textit{Gradus}, both written by composers
who were closely associated with the piano in all respects. Given
the extremely poor damping of English pianos, it is arguable that a
damper pedal was not really very necessary. No doubt pianists
used the pedal sometimes to assist in achieving a smooth legato,
but no indications are given in the score and it was probably the
intention that a legato should be achievable by fingers alone.

Both composers thus had similar objectives in mind; their
main preoccupations were with 'finger technique', emphasizing
conventional devices such as independence of fingers, patterned
figuration, deft passagework, repeated notes and the like. However,
finger technique was also needed to achieve the \textit{non plus ultra} of
piano playing - legato - and it was here that a link between
fingering and articulation began to be established.\textsuperscript{36} Indeed, in
1855 the composer Charles Neate wrote that 'it may often be found
to finger otherwise than the mere execution of the notes would require'.

Both composers were also ambitious in their use of key. This might not seem surprising, given the influence of the WTC on both works, but unusual keys were not frequent in the repertory generally, aimed at a market who viewed minor keys with suspicion and who balked at the prospect of more than four sharps or flats in a key signature. According to James Broadwood, equal temperament was in general use by 1811, leaving composers free to utilize a full palette of keys. In the Studio Cramer used every key except C sharp major; Clementi in the Gradus was only slightly less adventurous, omitting C# major, C# minor and G# minor, an indication that it was possible to play in the more exotic keys. Clementi and Cramer are also similar in their frequent use of four parts, creating a full texture and keeping both hands fully occupied, usually with an added injunction to keep everything legato (ex. 46: Gradus III/52).

Clementi broke new ground in his more 'characteristic' pieces, particularly in Volume III of the Gradus. The 'adagio patetico' of no. 56 is reminiscent of Bach's B flat minor prelude in Book I of the WTC, and is indeed followed by a full-fledged fugue, but here it is a properly pianistic work, with its triplet accompaniment pitted against the semiquavers of the plaintive melody (ex. 47). He exploited rhythmic irregularity again in the rushing quintuplets of the aptly named 'Bizzaria' (ex. 48). However, in the finale of the B flat suite, Clementi was ready to unleash some humorous effects,
especially in the reversed hands opening and the subsequent onslaught of quavers (ex. 49).

Much has already been written about the Gradus by Plantinga, Rosenblum, Temperley and others, and I shall not attempt to reproduce it here. From their discussions and the observations above, it is clear that the Gradus is not merely three volumes of piano studies, but an anthology of Clementi's compositional output and a valuable testament to the advanced state of piano writing of the time. The transition from the Studio to later books of 'études' reflects the changing preoccupation from purely technical matters to real concern for the intrinsic musical value of a work. However, musical value could not be achieved without the assumption of technical ability to execute it. Presumably the lady dedicatees of the Dulce et utile studies and of the Gradus were not the only pianists capable of performing these works; their popularity suggests that many other amateurs had some competence as well. Cramer's Studio provided a valuable groundwork for the achievement of a piano technique based on earlier keyboard models and established the roots of an idiomatic piano style in its adaptation of these devices to the new instrument.

It is significant that the later studies of both Cramer and Clementi deviated from their earlier work, which was relatively straightforward in its purpose. The format had changed but the ideals were the same. The goals of technical dexterity, articulation and expression remained but were now couched in well-developed and lengthy pieces, many of which when heard on their own would not immediately be identified as studies. Technique had at last
been integrated into a musical whole and, rather than being purely self-serving, now helped to enhance the music itself.

This point becomes even clearer when these works are examined in context, as the virtuosos Steibelt and Voelfl, famous for their technical wizardry, wrote studies which are surprisingly musical in content. While presenting technical challenges, the studies do not allow virtuosity to overwhelm their intrinsic musicality. Many of them show similar preoccupations to Cramer and Clementi, and sometimes go even further in demonstrating the potential of the piano. Steibelt's studies nos. 6 and 24 of the Études pour le pianoforte op. 78 capture the excitement of traversing the ever-widening compass of the piano, with exhilarating arpeggios in either hand (exx. 50, 51). The obligatory bravura studies in C are also included: it appears that Cramer had set the tone for such studies, with their de rigueur opening passages in parallel sixths. Similarly the influence of Cramer is evident in studies nos. 11, 15 and 20, where Steibelt uses three typical figurations (exx. 52, 53, 54). Steibelt's virtuoso style comes to the fore in studies such as no. 22 in C minor, a stormy piece in octaves for both hands (ex. 55).

Voelfl, like Steibelt, wrote studies where technique served a musical end, though certain virtuoso tricks are evident. The fourth study of his Practical School for the Pianoforte features rapid hand crossings derived from earlier keyboard writing (ex. 56). There is a preoccupation with figurations in both left and right hands, as demonstrated in the meticulously fingered study no. 5 (ex. 57), and no. 6 features slightly irregular scales to be played
prestissimo in contrary motion (ex. 58). Paradoxically, Woelfl uses the classic virtuoso device - double thirds - not as a vehicle for technical display, but as an accompanying figure in an expressive andantino (ex. 59). This study can be seen as a paradigm for the whole, representing the transition from purely technical writing to composition in which musical expressiveness was the ultimate goal.

The absence of pedalling, in Steibelt's case particularly, is unusual, for this composer was noted for his pioneering efforts in this area. In the light of compositional practice of this period its omission points to a consistency in the works of the London composers. We have noted English conservatism with regard to pedalling; the evidence of the studies demonstrates that pedalling had not yet reached the level of being considered a technical device: one did not need pedalling 'exercises'. Rather, it was used more for coloristic effects (such as the blurring obtained by the 'open pedal'). The preoccupation of the study was execution: pedalling fell outside this particular goal.

The studies of the London composers cannot therefore be seen as the culmination of piano writing; they are more transitional than final in effect. Later composers resurrected the double thirds and the staggering octaves in order to impress their audiences when virtuosity again became fashionable. Cramer went on to produce a set of 25 New and Characteristic Diversions op. 71 (c1825), studies with fanciful titles such as 'Il Sdrucciolare', 'La Leggerezza', 'Il Grandioso' and 'Il Superbo', each concentrating on a particular difficulty and written very much in the bravura style.
Virtuosity was not usually an end in itself, though it was certainly effective. Sated with the virtuoso stock-in-trade, the study began to borrow more from the contemporary sonata than from Bach or Scarlatti. The English piano study, which began as a purely technical piece, actually changed enough within itself to become a vehicle for expressive and accomplished piano writing, and in so doing closely approached the sonata. Although smaller in scope and less adventurous compositionally than the sonata, it became a significant genre by the 1820s and laid important groundwork for performers and composers alike.
Of all the genres treated by the London composers of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the sonata was best calculated to bridge the gap between domestic and concert music; that is, between amateur and professional music-making. The sonata and the pianoforte were ideal partners in that each could encompass both popular and serious modes of writing: the sonata as a genre was flexible enough to accommodate anything from popular song to canon, while the piano was an instrument suitable for - and indeed was used for - virtually any type of writing.

The sonata was attractive to major composers of the day. The London composers also chose it as a form in which to write some of their most significant works. The solo sonata, usually weightier than the accompanied variety (at least in the London repertory) could be written to suit both the competent amateur and the aspiring or polished professional; the so-called grand sonata was usually as challenging as its name suggested.

A. F. C. Kollmann grouped the sonata with symphonies and concertos in terms of length and number of movements, while pointing out that the sonata was 'chiefly calculated for one performer to each part’. He also drew the analogy that the sonata was in instrumental music what the air was in vocal music. The definition continues:

Its characteristics therefore are: a finer sort of subjects [sic], and a higher, finished, or more delicate, and embellished Elaboration, than what would be proper for Symphonies or
Tuttis in Concertos. It ought to be melodious in every part, yet, as Emanuel Bach says, without confining its melodies to what the human voice can execute; and richly harmonious in the combination of its parts, without betraying an anxiety for strange, or learned modulation.'

Kollmann's definition is very much of its time both in its reference to vocal music and in its guarded attitude towards 'strange or learned modulation'. He goes on to include different types of sonatas in his definition, mentioning in particular those for solo instruments, with accompaniments or with two or more concerting instruments.

Temperley has selected many of the most important sonatas of the period in his London Pianoforte School, including works by lesser-known composers in addition to those mentioned above. As many of these works are significant in terms of the development of the sonata, some reference will be made to them here as well as to works not included by Temperley, but which are nevertheless notable.

Although Clementi is deservedly acclaimed as the 'father of the pianoforte', his earliest works of the 1770s were in fact preceded by piano sonatas by J. C. Bach and John Burton. Burton's ten sonatas op. 1 (1766-7) gave the piano as a third alternative after the harpsichord and organ, but even so the work is not unpianistic. The first sonata, the best known of the set at the time and reproduced by Temperley (LPS, vii), is boldly rhythmic and well suited to the harpsichord in its two-part texture and strongly dance-like outer movements. The dynamics are for the most part terraced, with ample opportunity for a harpsichordist to
change registers, though there is a pianistic crescendo marked towards the close of the first movement. Ornamentation, usually associated with harpsichord writing, is used sparingly in the first and second movements. The set as a whole reveals features symptomatic of the period; the overall movement structure was not yet established, and Burton's sonatas veer between two and three movements. Although the inclusion of dance movements is reminiscent of a Baroque suite, the writing is almost exclusively galant with some hints of Scarlatti in dextrous hand-crossings. There are several minuets, a giga and a gavotta. In some cases movements are headed with eccentric tempo markings such as 'andante allegro' or 'andante vivace'. Burton's writing is at times unpredictable and quirky - both terms which aptly describe early piano music generally. The set ends with an unusual Pastorale alla Napolitana which concludes with an extraordinary dominant pedal point verging on parody, which uses almost every conceivable device to keep going for over 35 bars before falling exhausted into a tonic cadence.

J. C. Bach achieved fame for his performance on the new pianoforte, perhaps more in our time than in his own. Although advertised as being for the piano or harpsichord, in that order, his op. 5 sonatas (1766, LPS, v) abound in harpsichord figurations and maintain a light Scarlattian two-part texture most of the time. Like Burton's work, these sonatas vary in their number of movements. The writing is for the most part in his usual galant style, but there is a tribute to the earlier style (and perhaps to J. S. Bach himself) in the final fugue in C minor.
Much early piano writing was influenced by the symphonic overtures of such composers as Paisiello, Graun and Wagenseil. These were available in piano arrangements, and the style quickly infiltrated the sonata. The hallmark of much of this work was a bass pedal note, usually given in repeated note or octave figuration (often called a 'murky' bass) which gave added tension and movement to the melody above. This style of writing was familiar to composers through the early symphonies, many of which appeared in piano arrangements in series such as Harrison's Pianoforte Magazine; example 60 shows a sinfonia by Paisiello arranged by the London-based composer, Boutmy.

Bach is at his most polished when writing in the light, sophisticated italianate overture style, such as in the second sonata of op. 5. Here a triumphant opening is followed by an orchestral-type transition full of insistent semiquavers over a sequential bass. The harpsichord idiom is never far away, though the compositional style was one which groped for the new capabilities of the piano; the fifth sonata abounds in examples of harpsichord writing which were to persist well into the piano era. The very opening with its emphasis on figuration rather than melody or motive is typical of earlier keyboard writing (ex. 61). Other harpsichord idioms added sparkle to the new, galant style of writing, but repetitive figurations such as repeated broken octaves and five-finger patterns deservedly assumed the mantle of 'exercise' in due course after serving time as filling-in material in many later works by various composers. Like Burton, Bach also indulged in chasse-type rondos, using a broken triad figuration...
which was to plague many rondos to come; even Beethoven was to use the same conceit, albeit with a slightly dissonant flavour, in his op. 31/3. Example 62 shows the figure as used in the last movement of op. 17/2.

Because of the piano's still feeble sound Bach had to rely (like Burton) on a certain amount of harpsichord-style ornamentation to maintain a cantabile line, but even so he did not hesitate to exploit the piano's expressive qualities. However, expressiveness could also be achieved without ornamentation, as in the pianistic writing which occurs in op. 5/6; it is worth noting the key of C minor used here, reinforcing the impression that composers tended to reserve their more expressive writing for minor keys (ex. 63).

Bach's contemporary and his successor at the court, where he had served as Master of the Queen's Music, was the Leipzig-born pianist Johann Samuel Schroeter (c1750-1788), who made his London début in 1772 and became famous as a performer and composer. Burney praised him for his expressive abilities at the piano and his sonatas remained in the publishers' catalogues after his death. Schroeter wrote more accompanied than solo sonatas, but a set of six solo sonatas dedicated to Count Brühl was published by Napier (c1775). Never venturing beyond two sharps or three flats, these sonatas are written in the translucent two-part texture typical of the time and sparkle with the sort of passagework which must have been Schroeter's hallmark. They rarely reach the dazzling heights of Clementi's virtuosity, but a set of variations in the fourth sonata allows for some octave exhibitionism. Like the sonatas we
have already discussed, the writing and structures are varied; the set ends unusually with a capriccio, which is typical of the time in its mixture of expressive (and therefore pianistic) writing over an Alberti bass followed by an outburst of free improvisatory composition more typical of the harpsichord.

In many respects the sonatas of J. C. Bach and Schroeter, both composers associated with the pianoforte, exemplify many of the compositional problems which had to be resolved by future composers. The long tradition of harpsichord writing with all its figurations and idioms now had to be reconciled both with a new instrument and a new style. J. C. Bach had begun to solve the problem by using the old figurations in a new, galant mode. It was left to later composers to develop and change the old keyboard technique to suit both the new instrument and the new musical style. The matter was further complicated by the fact that both instrument and style were undergoing rapid change themselves during this period.

The harpsichord idiom persisted well beyond J. C. Bach's time, with composers such as Thomas Busby producing sonatas of the Scarlatti type as late as 1785. It was Clementi who effectively broke this tradition with the publication of his op. 2 sonatas in 1779. Typically, the set contained six sonatas, of which three were to be accompanied by flute or violin. The remaining three solo sonatas were in two movements, and it was these which were to influence the course of piano writing to come.

The op. 2 sonatas are paradigmatic in that they show a composer's attempt to come to grips with the two basic ingredients
of piano writing - virtuosity and expressiveness - in a novel way. These sonatas, though compositionally imperfect, did not sound like Scarlatti, the sons of Bach or anyone else. They bore the mark of Clementi himself, who had achieved his remarkable technique on the harpsichord, but who now embraced the pianoforte as a new and exciting instrument to be exploited for its technical and expressive potential. A writer in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* in 1820 went so far as to declare that the op. 2 sonatas were 'the basis on which the whole fabric of modern sonatas for the pianoforte has been erected'. The second of the sonatas became the most famous and remained in publishers' catalogues as 'Clementi's Celebrated Octave Lesson' for decades. It evidently jolted contemporary English performers into an awareness of the sort of technical prowess that both the instrument and hours of practice could achieve (see example 64). The writer of the *QMMR* article referred to above goes on to describe (albeit some 40 years on) how this work was received by keyboard players:

The celebrated J. C. Bach spoke of it in the highest terms; but although one of the most able players of his time, he would not attempt its performance; and when Schroeter arrived in this country, and was asked if he could play the works of Clementi, he replied, 'that they could only be performed by the author himself and the devil'.

Such empty virtuosity soon fell into disrepute, and Clementi himself was plagued with this association throughout his life.

More important, but less showy and therefore less noticed, was the fourth sonata in A major, a key which Clementi often chose for expressive writing. Here a gracious, lightly decorated melodic line
soars over a sedate Alberti bass, and the later passagework—\textit{even that in double thirds}—is always graceful and unobtrusive (ex. 65).

Having achieved a certain notoriety for his technical wizardry, Clementi continued to compose sonatas throughout the succeeding decade. However, his outlook was broadened and his composition influenced by his journeys to the Continent between 1780 and 1785. He arrived in Vienna (via Paris) in 1781, where he composed his sonatas opp. 7-10. Published in both Vienna and London, these works stand in contrast to the earlier op. 2 in their lack of ostentatious technicality and their more careful and subtle compositional structure. Here the emphasis is less on sheer technicality than on compositional devices such as motivic development, texture, and the use of dissonance, though Clementi was still not quite able to resist indulging in his favourite double thirds and octaves; at least they are used with less monotonous effect than in the op. 2 sonatas. Both sonatas in G minor (opp. 7 and 8) have terse, memorable themes which lend themselves to interesting development and are almost Beethovenian in effect. Viennese grace and elegance are reflected in sonatas such as op. 10/1, with its Mozartian opening in A major (ex. 66).

Clementi's Viennese works reflect his absorption of a more sophisticated style. A writer in Cramer's \textit{Magazin der Musik} was quick to point this out, though Haydn, Mozart and Kozeluch mysteriously take on a sort of pan-German nationality:

\begin{quote}
Clementi, there is no doubt, learned a great deal during his stay in Vienna from many German composers, and especially from Haydn, Mozart and Kozeluch; for from that time
\end{quote}
on his newest works show evidence of a German style and of a more correct development of the middle parts. There is much genius in this man, but for his education he has to thank not his fellow country-men - who would rank him above all performers and composers today - but the Germans."

The Viennese influence arrived in London also through the sonatas of the Prague-born composer Leopold Kozeluch, published in the 1780s by Longman and Broderip and later on by John Bland. Kozeluch's op. 1 sonatas, published in London in about 1783, featured tuneful melodies, translucent textures and a typically graceful and elegant Viennese style (ex. 67). Unlike Clementi's works, Kozeluch's were remarkably free of octaves and thirds, though the transitions offered opportunities for somewhat more fiery writing, as in the third sonata of op. 1, where the subject matter contrasts with the rather more anodyne style of the composer's other works (ex. 68).

Kozeluch's sonatas were not altogether free of stereotyped figuration such as murky basses and 'drone' effects, popular because of their folk associations (ex. 69). Whether Kozeluch wrote deliberately to please the English market must remain speculative, but he dedicated his op. 35 sonatas (c1790) to Clementi and used various devices which Clementi had made popular in England. Op. 35/2 reverts to the overture-style murky bass, while its companion (no. 3) features a movement with slow introduction followed by a moto perpetuo 'allegro agitato'. This sonata emulated the more mature Clementi, and remained happily free from gratuitous passagework.
Clementi's sonatas dominated the piano compositions of the 1780s; the twelve sonatas comprising opp. 7-10 (four sets of three sonatas) were written in Vienna (1781-2), though published in London somewhat later. The seven sonatas of opp. 12 and 13 were composed in 1784 and 1785 after the composer's return to London in 1782. Opp. 20, 23 and 24 (five sonatas) appeared between 1787 and 1790; one of the sonatas from op. 24 was included in Storace's collection and was probably composed in Vienna.

These sonatas form a fairly motley collection, showing Clementi's frequent reliance on stereotyped figuration, but also revealing some masterly and original strokes of composition. Of the early Vienna sonatas, opp. 7/3 and 8/1, both in G minor, are perhaps the most interesting, not least because of their arresting subject matter in the first movements (exx. 70, 71). However, Clementi seemed unable to resist the temptation of octaves and thirds; the finale of op. 7/2 is a relentless moto perpetuo virtuoso exercise in octaves (ex. 72).

Clementi is at his most Viennese in the sonata op. 10/1, whose subject is quoted in example 66; the texture is translucent throughout and there are some particularly delightful contrapuntal moments, such as in the second subject, which could almost be mistaken for Mozart (ex. 73). On the whole these 'Viennese' sonatas reveal a more mature Clementi; although showy virtuoso tricks are still present, he had become far less reliant on them and he concentrated instead on developing more individual thematic material, using the more expressive capabilities of the piano to the full. Structurally these sonatas are more sophisticated than
their predecessors; Plantinga has discussed this aspect extensively in his monograph on the composer.

By way of contrast, the sonatas of opp. 12 and 13 are disappointing in their heavy use of old virtuoso devices, albeit in a brilliant way. These sonatas (or parts of them) might well have been performed by Clementi in public, which would explain their virtuoso nature. The stereotyped repeated pedal bass note is used in both first and last movements of op. 12/4. However, there is much more here in the way of articulation and dynamic markings, especially in the slow movements, many of which are studies in pianistic expressiveness, such as in the largo of op. 13/5. Clementi also experimented with richer textures here; the presto of the same sonata has a busy inner part, a technique later adopted by Cramer (ex. 74).

The sonata op. 13/6 in F minor, unlike most of Clementi's other sonatas, is strong in all its movements, with impressive use of innovative texture and a concise, integrated structure. The plangent motive which opens the slow movement builds up to a jarring dissonance in the fourth bar (ex. 75). This is a taut movement, economical with its material but still hauntingly expressive. The final movement opens with a translucent and flowing texture and an arresting use of contrasting registers, a feature which persists and is impressively used in the middle of the movement.

Clementi was by far the most prolific composer of serious piano music in London, and his experiences on the Continent were to influence not just his own work but also that of his contempor-
aries. It is in the earlier works that we see Clementi's grasp of more sophisticated piano writing and of the compositional process itself, involving the integration and development of themes within a larger structure as well as the controlled use of dissonance and modulation. Clementi's purely technical ability at the piano reflected in his op. 2 sonatas had now been absorbed into a larger, more mature framework.

The young Johann Baptist Cramer, a pupil of Schroeter and then briefly of Clementi at the age of twelve, produced his first set of sonatas in 1788, choosing for the first the key of G minor, in which his erstwhile teacher had written some of his best work. Cramer's op. 1 sonatas (1788) are not startlingly original, but show a reasonable command of pianistic writing. They are very much of their time, with simple subject material and none of the experimental quirkiness of his predecessors. All three sonatas have the usual three-movement structure, save the third, which has an *adagio* introduction to the first movement, an early example of this device. It became standard practice to exclude slow movements when first movements were given slow introductions. The first sonata in G minor is reminiscent of Clementi in its opening octave passages, but on the whole this set of sonatas avoids obtrusive virtuosity (see *LPS*, x).

Meanwhile native English composers were beginning to compose sonatas. Although pleasant and often accomplished, these pieces lack Clementi's flamboyance and they rarely break new ground. Busby's op. 1 sonatas (1785), for example, remain firmly rooted in the Scarlatti tradition (see *LPS*, vii). Wesley's op. 3 sonatas
are written in a translucent two-part texture and rarely move beyond the galant style associated with J. C. Bach. They are filled with early pianistic figuration such as broken chords in triplets in the left hand, in an attempt to create motion over a static right hand part (ex. 76). All three sonatas are of only medium difficulty, with little indulgence in virtuosity; Wesley's individuality stands out in his use of Baroque-sounding sequences and artless melodies. Other composers such as Camidge, Arnold and Storace wrote relatively easy pieces more akin to sonatinas than to sonatas. On the whole, English composers at this time tended to write sonatas with accompaniments, which assured them of a ready market.

More native English composers began writing towards the end of the century: William Crotch wrote three fairly easy sonatas dedicated to his pupils in 1792, but did not write prolifically in this genre. The first sonata of the set is an embarrassingly pale imitation of Clementi's op. 2/4, cited above; example 77 shows how insipid this sort of music could become, even when apparently inspired by the distinctive earlier work.

The composer Thomas Haigh began to write a number of sonatas in the 1790s, many of them incorporating popular tunes. His op. 6 sonatas (c1795) rather ghoulishly included the 'favorite march of Louis XVI, late King of France' and was noticed in the Monthly Magazine, whose critic thought the march 'dry and unmartial', and of 'little credit to the musical taste of Louis XVI'.

Acknowledgment of the popular Scottish and Irish styles was made in the op. 13 sonatas (c1796), which included a Strathspey and an
Irish air. Haigh's work is on the whole conventional and lacking in striking ideas, but he was fortunate to study composition with the visiting Haydn, and his sonatas dedicated to his teacher show more originality. Although still reliant on a number of stereotyped figures such as the murky bass and triadic accompaniment, these sonatas experiment with different figurations and textures, rhythm and more interesting thematic material; the opening is itself gestural and is followed by a sequence in which a pedal point 'd' in the left hand creates a forward-moving tension (ex. 78). These sonatas were reviewed favourably in the Monthly Magazine, where the 'natural character' of his music was described as being 'obviously English'.

By the 1790s publishers were offering a certain amount of music by English composers, much of it mediocre. In 1797 the reviewer for the Monthly Magazine lamented that a set of sonatas by Charles Griffes was 'one of those numerous productions with which the press continually teems'; and no doubt like many other works, it was 'not destined to enjoy the continued notice of the public'. Although Haigh was a prolific composer of solo sonatas around the turn of the century, his work was far outclassed in quality by his foreign contemporaries also resident in England. Clementi continued to compose but he was now joined by several others. Johann Baptist Cramer established a name for himself both as a composer and as a performer, and the famous Dussek arrived in London from Paris in 1789, no doubt wishing to continue his already burgeoning career as a pianist and a composer. Another of Clementi's pupils, the Irish-born John Field, composed in 1801 a
remarkable set of three sonatas which he dedicated to his teacher. The same year saw the publication of two sonatas op. 3 by George Frederick Pinto, whose early promise was tragically cut short by his premature death in 1806 at the age of twenty. Field soon disappeared from the London scene, making his home in Russia after travelling there with Clementi.

By the last decade of the 18th century the sonata began to occupy a different place in the piano repertory. In the early days of the piano both the solo and the accompanied sonata had been the staple diet of the amateur performer; it was not long before countless shorter pieces, especially airs and variations, came to dominate the amateur market. The use of popular, pseudo-Scottish airs became predominant in easy, amateur piano music as well as in some sonatas, where they were generally incorporated into the rondo movement. The true sonata became a serious genre in which composers sought to express sophisticated and advanced ideas. Evidently there were now enough proficient performers to play them: many sonatas were dedicated to lady pupils and accomplished performers such as Therese Jansen Bartolozzi, once a pupil of Clementi. He dedicated his op. 33 sonatas to her, as did Dussek his op. 43 and Haydn his 'English' sonatas, op. 78. However, some of the most taxing sonatas bear dedications to composers, for example Dussek's opp. 35 and 44 ('Farewell') and Cramer's op. 20 to Clementi, op. 22 to Haydn and his op. 29 to Dussek.

The piano sonata therefore had reached a second stage in its development. It now usually had three movements (sonata-allegro, adagio, rondo) and had a place in public concerts, performed either
by its composer or by accomplished pupils. The piano itself, and particularly the domestic square, had become more sophisticated, with better action and more keys. The works of the newly arrived Dussek plus those of the maturing J. B. Cramer and the already established Clementi formed a strong core of varying types of piano music, and a particularly strong representation of sonatas.

The sonatas of the 1790s show a development of piano writing growing from works of the two previous decades coupled with a more sophisticated compositional style which involved new structures, daring keys and modulations, striking themes and developments as well as the innovative use of counterpoint. Broadly these sonatas can be analysed by reference to three categories. The first is historical, involving older keyboard practices such as double thirds, murky basses, moto perpetuo and other harpsichord-derived idioms. However, many of these devices are deployed in a new way, which makes their appearance all the more interesting. Second, we find the development of intrinsically pianistic features, such as the exploitation of range, thicker textures, the use of dynamics, articulation marks and the pedal; and third, the whole process of composition itself becomes more striking and original, with varying movement structures, slow introductions (and their integration into the overall structure), more imaginative keys, modulations, dissonance treatment and thematic material.

It was inevitable that harpsichord idioms should persist into the era of the pianoforte, especially in England where the harpsichord and its music had been well established. Other devices, such as those used in the early symphonic repertory and
which were transferred to the keyboard, came to be used less mechanically and with more purposeful effect. For example, the opening subject of Cramer’s op. 25/3 relies briefly on a pedal-point bass, but the cessation of the bass line allows the rest of the subject to soar unencumbered (ex. 79): the humble but insistent bass figure becomes an important developmental feature later on, where Cramer converts it into octaves and then lets it subside while the other parts engage in subtle modulations.

Similarly Clementi uses the repeated bass note which opens his op. 37/2 sonata (ex. 80) as an enticing lead into the recapitulation, transposing the repeated note motif into the treble and enriching it with suspensions (ex. 81). Moreover, Clementi had the sense not to allow the repeated note motive to mar the return of the subject, and instead presents its recapitulation in contrapuntal form; when the pedal point eventually does return, Clementi places it on the dominant (still against the tonic subject), thus enhancing the already innate tension of the device (ex. 82).

The repetitive pedal bass line was not always used so creatively and is a remarkably persistent and somewhat irritating aspect of many piano sonatas. Clementi in fact used the device in all three of his op. 37 sonatas as late as 1798, and we also find it in Dussek’s op. 39/1 (1799). Perhaps significantly, none of these sonatas is technically very difficult and all have lady dedicatees, indicating that by the end of the 18th century hackneyed writing was often found in amateur works, while composers experimented more freely in their more difficult pieces.12
The *moto perpetuo* became a valuable and exciting tool for composers to use. It crept in everywhere, from Clementi's early sonatas and in the exercises of Cramer's *Studio*, through to full sonata movements. Cramer in fact used the device to great effect in his sonata op. 20 in D minor dedicated to Clementi, though the key and the style are more reminiscent of Mozart's fantasia in the same key than of Bach (ex. 83). Dussek coupled it with a running octave bass in the final movement of his op. 39/1 (G major) mentioned above to create a vigorous finale to a sonata with inauspicious beginnings. Unusually, the movement is in the tonic minor, which well matches the relentless and fiery mood set up by the constant motion and busy octave work (ex. 84). Clementi uses the *moto perpetuo* to great effect in the last movement of his sonata in F sharp minor, op. 25/5, where he is able to create an almost orchestral effect with accompanying double thirds, here used not primarily with virtuoso intent, but in order to thicken the texture (ex. 85).

Thirds and sixths, while still being used often purely for virtuoso effect, especially in sonatas adapted from concertos, such as Clementi's op. 25/1, had now also been emancipated from this old role and were now being used more imaginatively as inner parts, creating a rich texture well suited to the pianoforte. In Dussek's sonata op. 43 they are used in the transition, where a bass in octaves accompanies a right-hand part moving in parallel thirds and sixths (ex. 86). It is interesting to note here too the thick texture created by the full chords in the left hand part, perhaps in an attempt to imitate the orchestra. Such density of sound is
acceptable on a contemporary piano, but tends to sound muddy on a
modern instrument. Clementi uses the technique in a similar way in
his op. 25/4, also in A (1790); Cramer uses parallel sixths in
triplets in inner parts, op. 6/4, a technique which became his
hallmark (ex. 87).

The old technique of hand-crossing, familiar in the works of
Scarlatti, became a virtuoso feature of the new style in which com-
posers exploited the greater range of the pianoforte and created
truly orchestral effects. Dussek used this device with particular
skill in his sonata op. 35/3, where the use of the extended range
of the piano and the crossing of hands results in a full texture
(ex. 88). The same device lent itself to playful treatment as well,
as illustrated in the sonatas opp. 31/3 and 39/3 (exx. 89, 90).
Clementi uses hand crossings in his self-conscious cerebral way in
op. 37/3/11 ('allegretto vivace'), which requires as much diligence
on the part of the listener as on that of the player to keep track
of the imitation (ex. 91).

Already by the 1790s composers had begun to adapt old tech-
niques to the new instrument. However, to examine the late 18th-
century sonata solely in terms of past models, even while taking
into account the changes they had undergone, is to do it a real
disservice. The pianoforte afforded almost unlimited opportunities
for experimentation in dynamics, articulation and pedalling, not to
mention the dazzling possibilities of the extended range, especially
in the treble. Dussek's op. 24 sonata provides evidence of the
sort of exuberant writing this could produce, being an early
example of a work written for the 'additional keys' (up to c\textsuperscript{+})
before this practice became common. In fact the exploitation of the upper range of the piano is the most significant feature of this sonata which is otherwise somewhat repetitive. The passage-work sparkles in the upper reaches of the instrument and must have been highly effective in its day (ex. 92). Many composers continued to stay within the 5-octave range for some time, but Clementi in his op. 33/1 used the extra half octave and provided an alternative version for the shorter range.

The entire piano range, whether 5 or 5½ octaves, could be used with dramatic effect; composers indulged in arpeggios and long passages which spanned the entire keyboard. An example from Dussek's op. 39/1 hurtles from f⁰ down to the bass FF in a mere three bars. Such writing must have seemed fiery and dramatic in its time; for example, the opening of Dussek's op. 39/3 spans a range of 4½ octaves in just a few bars, a far cry from the more cautious openings of the previous decade (ex. 93). Later in the same sonata Dussek covers the entire keyboard range between FF and f⁰, though the limitations in the bass can clearly be seen at bar 28 (ex. 94)

Much of the writing of this period was marked 'con espressione', a blanket term which seemed to leave much to the performer. Although composers were using 'expressive' subjects, few apparently thought it necessary to clutter the score with superfluous expression marks. Clementi's op. 25/4 is a case in point: its opening ornate and expressive theme is simply marked 'espressivo' and no dynamics (save for the odd fz) are given (ex. 95). Articulation markings are limited to the odd slur and three
staccato dots. In a similar opening passage (to his sonata op. 19/3, 1799) Cramer added marginally more dynamics and meticulous articulation markings, while still enjoining the performer to play 'con espressione'. Cramer, however, was not consistent in his phrasing: the same material reappears twice with different markings (ex. 96 a, b, c). While a slurred wedge would be slightly less detached than a slurred dot, the difference must have been hardly discernible, at least on English pianos. It must also be taken into account that the differences in markings may be due to careless engraving.

Although they were relatively conservative in their use of pedal, the London composers occasionally experimented with pedal effects. Fairly basic pedal markings were used to indicate where the harmony might be blurred. Pedalling was certainly not considered as an aid to achieving a legato effect (at least not officially; the practice might have been different): the fingers were solely responsible for legato. Composers were fairly meticulous with their markings when they wanted to achieve a certain effect, as in Cramer's op. 27/2, where both pedal and articulation markings are clear (ex. 97).

In certain cases, of course, to follow pedalling instructions meant for early pianos would be disastrous on a modern instrument, such as in Cramer's scherzo from op. 34/3 (ex. 98). Likewise, the carillon effect in the rondo of Cramer's op. 25/3 would be impossible to achieve on a modern piano, where the sound would be far too blurred; on a contemporary instrument the effect is magical (ex. 99). Field uses the device equally effectively in the final
movement of his sonata op. 1/3. This use of the 'open pedal' became the main pedal effect of the English school; Haydn used it in his C major sonata op. 78 (1798), and we find even the conservative Clementi indicating it in the finale of his op. 37/3. Unfortunately it is used here in conjunction with one of Clementi's notorious 'bagpipe' melodies, where the pedal only exacerbates the monotonous drone effect (ex. 100). However, Clementi guards against the abuse of the device by indicating that certain passages are to be played 'without Pedal'.

The accretion of such pianistic features as articulation, dynamics and pedalling - all associated with expressiveness - went hand in hand with a developing new compositional style. Dussek became known for his daring modulations and unusual use of key, the culminating example being the op. 44 sonata (1800; LPS, vi), which has an introduction in E flat minor, moving to an allegro in the tonic major. The development begins in E major. The adagio is in a startling B major, with a brief modulation to B flat minor. A minuet in G sharp minor with its attendant trio in A flat major shows Dussek's penchant for enharmonic change, but the final rondo in the home key of E flat comes as a great relief after so many harmonic migrations away from the tonic. Haydn had experimented with a similar change of key in his E flat sonata, which has a slow movement in E, but had never become as daring as Dussek in his op. 44.

The 'science' of composition was a factor which figured prominently in musical criticism of the period. Applied mainly to serious composition such as the sonata, 'science', though hardly
ever specifically defined, usually included technical aspects of composition such as modulation and counterpoint. In many cases 'science' in composition was seen as an impediment to the enjoyment of an 'easy and familiar' style, but on the whole it was expected in serious compositions of major composers.

Modulation had become a powerful compositional tool. The richer textures of the new piano writing led in turn to a broader style of writing, with use of more thematic material in expositions and stronger developments. Dussek was perhaps more daring than Cramer and Clementi in this regard, but even so these two composers wrote freely in minor keys at a time when such a practice was unpopular among amateur players. Even Mazzinghi, a prolific composer of popular music, wrote a sonata in B minor, perhaps using this unusual key to demonstrate seriousness of intent. As we have seen (p.197), he was criticized for his daring by the critic of the *Monthly Magazine*, who found the key 'certainly little propitious to the pleasing style he has adopted'. Adding insult to injury, the reviewer accused Mazzinghi of not availing himself of the peculiar modulatory opportunities offered by such a key.13

The minor key was often a popular choice for a slow introduction to an allegro movement, and composers of the 1790s and later experimented with this idea. In some cases the conventional pattern of minor-major was reversed, such as in Cramer's op. 20 sonata dedicated to Clementi, which has a sombre introductory *largo* in D major, followed by a *moto perpetuo* movement in the tonic minor. Clementi's own sonata op. 34/2 comprises an introduction and succeeding allegro in the same key of G minor, but here he uses
with striking effect exactly the same thematic material, first imitatively, and later as an *agitato* subject (ex. 101). In other cases the introduction seems to detract from more interesting subject matter, such as in Clementi's later sonata in D, op. 40/3 (1802). Here the introductory material has no structural function, and is really too forbidding as a prelude for the decidedly pastoral subject, which is reminiscent of Beethoven's op. 28 (ex. 102).

While slow introductions often served to add grandeur, many sonatas were now given distinctive thematic openings, often rhythmically and melodically terse and, like Beethoven's themes, capable of development. The openings of Dussek's op. 35 nos. 2 and 3 are arresting, especially when compared to the pedestrian op. 39/1, which reverts to a much earlier style (exx. 103, 104, 105). The opening of op. 35/2 is used particularly dramatically in the transition, where it is pitted against semiquaver passages in the other part (ex. 106). Subjects did not always have to be bravura; in fact many of the more memorable ones were written in a more fragmented and questioning style, such as Dussek's opening to op. 43 and Cramer's op. 29/2 (exx. 107, 108). One of the most extraordinary sonatas in this regard is Field's op. 1/3 in C minor (1801; *LFS*, xii), written when he was just 18. As in the works of his teacher Clementi and his contemporaries, the minor key sparked off a turbulent, rich and well-developed sonata in which the distinctive subject material plays an important part.

Piano music was therefore more emphatic and gestural than before; it was becoming idiomatic. Although still in use, the old
chordal or overture-style openings clearly belonged to the past. Instead of being used on their own merits, such devices were often worked into a sonata purely for effect. A splendid example of the emancipation of the old murky bass occurs in the rondo of Clementi's op. 33/1, where it is used as a sort of refrain for the main theme of the movement and also as a modulatory device (ex. 109).

The use of humour in the London repertory marked its maturity. Gone were the staid old figurations and cautious use of key. In their place came a certain boldness coupled with a compositional confidence which allowed for humour and wit. These could be achieved in different ways. Obviously part of the problem for today's listener lies in differentiating between what was meant to be humorous and what was unintentionally so. Such things can never be proved conclusively, but with Haydn's example before us it seems likely that London composers, players and audiences were not immune to the attractions of sudden modulations and changes of dynamic, pregnant pauses and the use of stereotyped devices in novel and surprising ways. Indeed, we shall see that Clementi provided two imitations of Haydn in his early *Musical Characteristics* (1787), which are notable for their use of such devices.

Clementi's most humorous sonata movement is undoubtedly the presto of op. 33/1, where we noted the composer's innovative use of the old murky bass. Much of the humour rests in its subject matter, a winding theme treated contrapuntally. In the development, the theme is given as we heard it originally, but it goes on to
make a sudden fortissimo cadence in B minor. Another fragment veers towards A minor, and after a suspenseful pause of one bar the murky bass refrain returns in the unexpected key of F (ex. 110). The rest of the movement proceeds at breakneck speed with similar modulatory feints and episodes before the final appearance of the theme in a convoluted chromatic guise (ex. 111).

Cramer was able to use the simplest of devices to generate an entire movement in the final movement of his op. 25/2. Here a single note repeated three times punctuates the entire movement. The movement ends as it begins, only on a note several octaves lower (ex. 112).

All the London composers were quick to use surprise modulations with great effect, perhaps partly in emulation of Haydn. In his sonata op. 35/2 (LPS, vi), Dussek achieves a splendid and memorable effect after the triumphant return of his exuberant subject. Having offered the listener the relief of return to the home key of G, Dussek cuts everything short by a pause and then - incredibly - presents the second subject in the relatively distant key of B flat major. This is in fact prepared by extensive use of the dominant neapolitan in the development but even so the change of key comes as a surprise because of its placement so early in the recapitulation. All becomes normalized after a brief passage (aptly marked 'slento') slides back into the tonic key for a repeat of the second subject (ex. 113).

Cramer employs a similar device in the scherzo of his sonata op. 34/3 (c1804; LFS, x), a rondo which begins with a rambling moto perpetuo theme which wanders in and out of the tonic and dominant
keys until it is stopped short on a suspenseful dominant seventh. Like Dussek, Cramer adopts the surprise key of B flat for a statement of the second theme. Unlike Dussek he does nothing to prepare the listener for the surprise modulation, though harmonically it functions as a neapolitan sixth of the dominant of G, to which it modulates after a few bars. The theme is marked pianissimo, which increases its effect. A similar ruse is employed later on in the piece, where the 'surprise' key of A flat major is used after a pause on the dominant of the home key.

By 1810 the popularity of the sonata was on the decline, partly because of the increased demand for light, ephemeral music; but it was still a 'serious' genre. Composers could not help but be influenced by the more popular music around them, as demonstrated by the infiltration of 'national tunes' into many sonatas. Programme music, especially pieces which depicted battles, were also popular and afforded opportunities for histrionic writing. Cramer was not immune to this, and provided a coda to the op. 34/3 rondo which is highly reminiscent of programmatic composition. It is especially amusing because of its exaggerated effect, achieved through rushing ascending scale passages and trills, stock devices of the battle piece (ex. 114). Cramer heightens the effect by ending the rondo on a relatively subdued note, much more in keeping with the initial subject matter, but still in direct contrast to all the bravura which preceded it.

A discussion of humorous rondos cannot exclude the final movements of John Field's op. 1 sonatas. In the first sonata in B flat, the subject itself is humorous, with its prancing bass line
and lilting melody. However, its insouciance is belied by a modulation to the relative minor, where it takes on a menacing quality. The rondo of the third sonata is a veritable tour de force. As in the E flat sonata, no hint is given by the opening simple subject (in C) of the turbulence to come. Here Field uses the fermata increasingly and with great suspense. After introducing a minor colouring, he embarks on a dazzling array of unexpected keys carried in a tumult of rushing semiquaver passages before finally arriving at a climactic dominant seventh, made emphatic by octaves in the bass and the use of the 'open pedal'. Field uses the fermata to its greatest effect here, for while the listener is expecting a grand coda, all we get is a return of the placid opening theme, marked piano (ex. 115). We do not arrive at the coda until we hear the theme in the 'surprise' key of E flat, marked forte in this instance to give the effect of a true modulation. The coda provides an exhilarating finish to a movement which is eminently satisfying to both player and listener alike.

Thus the rondo had grown from being a relatively light-weight movement into one which afforded opportunities for wit, humour and virtuoso writing, all attractive features in a final movement. Although not all were of this type, the rondo was generally becoming broader and weightier than it had been previously, with composers often choosing to write a slower-paced movement to complete a sonata. Dussek's rondo to op. 35/2 is marked 'molto allegro' but also 'con espressione', and the 6/4 time signature suggests a rather more sedate motion than usual. Similarly the rondo to his op. 39/3 is marked 'andante sostenuto' and is written in a lilting
6/8 time with a folk-like melody. The 'Scottish' style was so entrenched in English composition that the London composers quite often concocted their own folk melodies in the appropriate style. The adoption of folk-music tendencies could be rather less satisfying, however, when the drone bass (imitating the bagpipe) was used. Dussek began his op. 35/3 rondo with this worn-out device and Clementi sometimes used it to excess (see page 253).

The rondo also gave serious opportunity for modulation, not always used for surprise effects as described above. Cramer's rondo to the sonata op. 29/2 has a theme similar to that of op. 34/3, but here it is a vehicle for inventive and harmonically satisfying modulations. At one point Cramer cleverly manages to move the theme enharmonically from A flat through to B and then to D, returning to the home key of A flat without the route sounding tortuous or contrived (ex. 116).

Adagio movements also underwent change and variation. In some cases they were endowed with elaborate ornamentation, such as in Clementi's op. 33/3, but in others the stile antico was used. The adagio of Clementi's op. 37/2 (LFS, iii) provides an example of a movement suited just as much to the organ as to the piano and is similar to the 'Grave' of Cramer's op. 27/2, which is also rather Baroque in style (ex. 117). The influence of J. S. Bach can be seen in Cramer's 'Choral' of op. 25/1 (LFS, x), another 'Baroque' movement, but in the unusual key of E flat minor, copiously marked with pedal and dynamic indications.

Theme and variations became a possibility for either slow or rondo movements and is another example of how popular types of
piano music came to influence the sonata. In Cramer's op. 20 (LPS, x) the 'aria con variationi' conflates the usual second and third movements in a sonata which has a substantial slow introduction to the first movement, thus obviating the need for a full-scale adagio movement. This is one of Cramer's most exquisite and poised movements, all the more striking because the 'aria' theme springs directly from the earlier introduction, but is this time presented in altogether lighter guise (ex. 118). The variations themselves offer a catalogue of pianistic figuration, including the elaboration of the theme in filigree passagework in the second and sixth variations, chunky dance-style chordal textures in the fourth; dense, legato inner parts in the fifth variation - very much Cramer's hallmark - through to the highly decorated adagio which forms the penultimate variation. The final statement of the theme is a march which begins boisterously enough, but fades away to a dying pianissimo at the end.

The works of the late 18th and early 19th centuries show clearly that the sonata had developed greatly, both in its overall structure and in its details. The three main London composers - Clementi, Dussek and Cramer - contributed much to its overall substance, composing sonatas rich in compositional detail and in forceful piano writing. Much has already been made of their influence on Beethoven, so comparisons need not be made here.14 Mention of the London composers is often made in studies of classical music, where they are seen as being outside the mainstream, though not without influence on major composers such as Beethoven. The sonata in the hands of Clementi, Cramer and Dussek
progressed from a largely derivative genre to one which began to express the individuality of the piano and its composer. It was not without reason that Beethoven extolled the virtues of Cramer and Clementi, as their achievement, along with the London school generally, laid the foundation for future pianoforte composition.
Parodies and imitations form a small but important part of the late 18th- and early 19th-century keyboard repertory. Parody - defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as 'a composition in which an author's characteristics are humorously imitated; feeble imitation, travesty' - is often not always of top quality but it leaves some impression because of its very imitation or caricature. Musical parody, like its literary model, relies on the imitation and satire of other's compositions to make its effect, without necessarily being of highest quality in itself. While not always being intrinsically 'good music', the parody has much to tell us about its contemporaries. Also, the subject of parody might be something which we would otherwise not notice: the parody draws it to our attention.

A composer's singling out of certain elements can give us valuable clues to period fashions; parodies can tell us a good deal about public perception and reception of works. The very existence of a parody presupposes a public awareness of the point to be made: the fact that parodies became increasingly popular towards the end of the 18th century and into the 19th suggests that the public was becoming more knowledgeable and aware. The piano contributed to this as it brought music into more and more homes.

In its earlier days musical parody was not always explicitly funny. It was often more likely to be an imitation rather than a
parody, borrowing perhaps from a theatrical tradition where actors staged 'imitations' of their contemporaries. Even considering that imitation is often flattering in intent, many imitations of great composers sadly fell far short of their mark.

The London and Vienna repertories boast several works of this type. A piece explicitly labelled as a parody, Cramer's Parody in the Form of a Sonata (c. 1811), based on Dussek's sonata op. 24, ignores the most obvious weaknesses of Dussek's work, so it is difficult to recognize the parody. Cramer also wrote a sonata 'in the style of Clementi', replete with octaves and double thirds. This work appeared in 1820, by which time Clementi had largely abandoned this style, though the reputation had stuck. Cramer's sonata appears to be based on Clementi's op. 33/3 (1794), also in C and dedicated to his former pupil and accomplished pianist, Therese Jansen.

Clementi published some imitations as early as 1787, calling them Musical Characteristics, op. 19, a series of preludes and cadenzas composed in the styles of various leading composers of the day. Much scholarly effort has been expended in trying to divine Clementi's motivation in writing these pieces: were they parodies or real imitations? The subtitle, 'A collection of preludes and cadences for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte composed in the style of Haydn, Kozeluch, Mozart, Sterkel, Vanhal and the Author' gives no hint of satirical intent on Clementi's part, but an examination of the work reveals elements of both imitation and apparent parody. The work parodies or imitates the six composers mentioned in the subtitle: Mozart and Haydn are obviously still
well known, while the others - Kozeluch, Sterkel and Vanhal - were famous in the late 18th century but are seldom heard or heard of today.

The Characteristics are set out in a series of preludes and cadenzas, both improvisatory forms of the 18th century, and can be seen as possible 'cribs' for aspiring performers who were still learning the art of improvisation.\textsuperscript{9} The pieces are short and fragmentary, and few can really stand on their own. Disappointing initially, they reveal interesting features on further examination. The preludes in the style of Sterkel, for example, are classic examples of vapid piano music. Sterkel himself, a German pianist and prolific composer, was widely published and his works were available in London. The 'Sterkel' preludes appear to be parodies of stock, late 18th-century keyboard formulae. Rushing scales, repeated broken octaves in the bass and simpering melodies are all samples of the stock-in-trade of many an 18th-century hack, many of them borrowed from the mid-century symphonic repertory of composers such as Wagenseil, Graun and Sammartini. The impact of the expressive possibilities of the new piano is evident in Clementi's addition of fussy dynamics and elaborate tempo and expressive markings, in one case for just four bars of music. Example 119 shows a passage which is notable only for its bombastic emptiness. However, although the Sterkel preludes seem to us to be outright parodies of the originals, contemporary reaction was different. Quashing any suspicion of satire that we might have today, a review of the Musical Characteristics singled out the Sterkel preludes not as parodies but as serious imitations,
stating that 'every bar gives his manner, and for the most part his best manner'. This comment might well have been ironic, as a review of some of Sterkel's later work (possibly by the same reviewer) recommended that the composer 'shorten his movements, as they appear to us to be considerably too long; this may be readily effected by not repeating the same passages so frequently'.

Although the Sterkel preludes with their fussy dynamics and empty virtuosity are at least vaguely pianistic, those in the style of Vanhal hark back to an older style based on the harpsichord. Both have extended broken chord passagework reminiscent of the earlier instrument, though bravura and expressive pianistic writing are also evident (exx. 120, 121, 122).

We have seen that Clementi himself used both bravura and expressive styles of composition in his op. 2 sonatas. The flashy writing of the 'Octave Lesson' was to become his hallmark, and in his preludes and cadenzas 'alla Clementi' the composer would not have disappointed his listeners or performers: all are full of thirds, octaves and passagework generally. The same review mentioned above (note 6) remarked on Clementi's inclusion of himself, saying 'it is no compliment to his modesty that he has chosen to place his own portrait with those of the first living authors'. However, the expressive possibilities of the piano were not ignored, as shown in one of the preludes devoted to Kozeluch (ex. 123 a & b).

The most convincing pieces of the set are those written in the style of Mozart and Haydn. Clementi was astute enough to catch Haydn's humour by using sudden changes in dynamic and
surprise modulations which would have been instantly recognizable
to a public familiar with this composer's works. Mozart was held
in some awe by Clementi and his contemporaries: the two
preludes 'alla Mozart' are a testament to Clementi's recognition of
his contemporary and former competitor as a great composer. These
are not parodies but creditable imitations (exx. 124, 125).

The importance of the Characteristics today lies not so much
in their curiosity value but rather in what they can tell us about
piano writing of the time. Coming from a composer who was later
called the 'father of the pianoforte', they cannot be overlooked.
Clementi in fact has given us a compendium of improvisational and
compositional technique of the late 18th century. Composers for
the piano were borrowing from the German and Italian symphony as
well as developing a technique derived from the harpsichord. The
octaves and double thirds so beloved by Clementi and his followers
were already familiar in the harpsichord works of Scarlatti; later
composers developed this potential and sowed the seeds for a truly
idiomatic virtuoso style. In the Musical Characteristics Clementi
isolated many aspects of early piano composition and although some
of the writing is extreme in its use of stock devices such as
octaves, scales and sequences, it does on the whole reflect
contemporary compositional practice.

It is notable that in the Characteristics Clementi chose to
imitate Viennese and German composers. This might have reflected
a temporary preoccupation, as he did visit Vienna at about this
time, but it is also true that the music of these composers was
well known in London. A similar contemporary Viennese work de-
votes its attention to the same composers plus a few others. Cast in the form of theme and variations for piano and violin, a combination which was to become popular later for this type of work, the *Thema del Sign. Salieri con Variazioni* by the Viennese composer Franz Jacob Freystaedtler (1768-1841) makes no mention of imitations in its title but presents variations in the styles of (J. S.) Bach, Sterkel, Kozeluch, Albrechtsberger, Vanhal, Haydn, Mozart, Clementi and Martini (i.e. Martín y Soler).* Bach, evidently a better known composer in Vienna than he was in London, possibly owing to the efforts of the stalwart Baron van Swieten and others, is the subject of the first variation, written in a toccata style (ex. 126). Unlike Clementi, Freystaedtler chose not to parody his composers, and the Sterkel variation is free of the sort of formulaic writing which pervades Clementi's example. The style of this and the other variations imitative of Kozeluch and Vanhal is typically Viennese, with tuneful melodies, translucent two-part textures and elegant passagework. Even the Clementi variation is written in his 'Viennese' style, and is remarkably free of octaves, thirds and virtuosity (ex. 127). The Haydn and Mozart variations are rather more sophisticated, though still quite different from Clementi's imitations. Both are rather like short studies, with a repeated figuration throughout; the Haydn variation gives some prominence to the violin, which opens with a florid passage in semiquaver triplets above accompanying thirds in the bass of the keyboard (ex. 128). The Mozart variation is the longest and most complex of the entire set, featuring a richer texture and more virtuoso writing generally (ex. 129).
Freystaedtler also imitated composers not dealt with by Clementi, including composers not associated with the piano, such as Albrechtsberger (1736-1809) and the Spanish-born Martín y Soler (1754-1806), the popular operatic composer who was based in Vienna but who worked in London in the 1790s. The Albrechtsberger variation is in a contrapuntal, 'learned' style - perhaps in recognition of his reputation as a teacher - and Martín's is typically operatic, with a light, dancing melody over a simple bass line.

The Freystaedtler work bears out both Clementi's involvement with the Viennese musical scene in the 1780s as well as the general popularity of these composers in the late 18th century. Their works were available in London and therefore the public would have been able to appreciate the offerings of the Characteristics. The Freystaedtler variations were probably less well known, owing to the vagaries of the Viennese music publishing industry, which was not as commercially developed as that of London.

Viennese composers were not the only ones worthy of imitation. A set of three sonatas in the styles of Nicolai, Schobert and Schroeter was published by Culliford, Rolfe and Barrow (c1795), composed by 'an Eminent Master'. All three composers were popular in London at the end of the 18th century: Valentino Nicolai (fl 1775-1798) - assuming this is the composer meant - was active in both London and Paris, like many other composers at the time. His compositions were published in London from 1776 and in Paris in the 1780s. His sonatas opp. 9 and 10 were published in London by 1789, though his opp. 3 and 11 became the most
popular of his output. The six accompanied sonatas of op. 3 were published by Welcker (c1775), but neither they nor the op. 11 sonatas is particularly striking. The most likely subject for the Nicolai imitation sonata was probably his op. 3/1, with its tell-tale opening Alberti bass; likewise the rondo's opening bars and middle minor section in octaves (exx. 130 a, b; 131 a, b; 132 a, b).

Schobert (c1720-176?) and Schroeter (c1752-1788) were both popular composers, the former for harpsichord and the latter for the piano. Schobert, a Silesian, was based in Paris and wrote in the early symphonic style, influencing Mozart's early keyboard works. His works were widely available in London and remained in the publishers' catalogues for some years after his death. Schroeter was based in London from about 1774, where he was organist at the German chapel; we have already noted that he succeeded J. C. Bach as music master to the royal family in 1782. His concertos opp. 3 and 5 achieved notable success, though there does not appear to be a direct link between these works and the imitations. The sonata in the style of this composer is very elegant and pianistic, with a graceful Mozartian opening (ex. 133), a minuet and a final rondo. The Schobert sonata also has three movements; an allegro maestoso in the style of an early symphonic overture (ex. 134 a, b), followed by a minuet (suitable for the harpsichord) and a short allegro finale, where the ubiquitous Alberti bass again makes an appearance.

Clementi revised the Musical Characteristics in 1808, probably for Breitkopf and Hartel's edition of his complete works. As these volumes were never completed, some of Clementi's
work for the edition remains in manuscript, now held by the Library of Congress. His revisions to the Characteristics show some aspects of the development of piano writing, though the changes are not especially dramatic. Clementi chose to retain the original composers even though by 1808 most were no longer fashionable. As a compromise, Clementi imbued the preludes and cadenzas with virtuoso flourishes in order to fit in with the contemporary demand for a more 'modern' sound.

Clementi's changes fall into several categories. Some, such as the use of the extended range, are directly connected with the changing pianoforte, which by 1808 had at least a 5½-octave compass rather than the restrictive five octaves of the earlier instrument. Thus Clementi had the benefit of extra notes in the treble, which he used to good effect. Other aspects - such as changed or added dynamics, tempo, articulation and pedal markings - had more to do with a changing compositional style and performance practice, though their link with the improved volume and action of the piano cannot be ignored. The occasional addition of ornaments was probably a reflection of existing practice rather than the heralding of a new mode of execution. Clementi's additions in fact underline the interdependence of piano construction, composition and performance practice.

The use of additional keys is the most noticeable feature of the revised Characteristics, but Clementi restricts it mainly to the cadenza-like portions of each prelude or to more improvisatory and free sections. Accordingly, the cadenza to the first prelude 'alla Haydn' makes the dizzyingly high \( \text{\textasciicircum} \) its most important note,
saving it until the cadenza, where it becomes the focus of hurtling passagework. The prelude culminates in a descent in triplets from B♯⁴ to B♭♭♭♭ in the bass. Similarly, Clementi goes up to c⁴ in the second prelude 'alla Haydn'. Here the relatively pedestrian 1787 version with its adumbration of the ⁷ chord in the right hand becomes transformed into something altogether more dramatic (exx. 135 a & b).

The use of the extended range is found in all the pieces of the set, not least in the preludes 'alla Clementi', though it is not the sole preoccupation of the revision. In the first Clementi merely takes the cadenza passage up an octave and goes on from there, but later adds some virtuoso touches, such as extending the bar of double thirds and adding a run of octaves at the end. Both of this and the second prelude provide bravura passages near the conclusion, but insist on ending on a subdued note. Clementi uses the full treble range up to c⁴ in his second prelude and also adds substantially to the conclusion, bringing in double trills for three bars before an ending which peters out to a piano closing (exx. 136 a & b).

Although not as prominent, Clementi's changes of tempo, dynamics and articulation markings as well as the addition of pedalling and ornamentation are equally important indications of change in performance practice. The trend towards virtuosity is evident in the changing from the simple presto to veloce and allegro brillante. Clementi's addition of ornaments is the least obtrusive of his markings. Usually turns or appoggiaturas, they are added judiciously, such as in the openings of the first Haydn
and Mozart preludes, and in the course of the second Haydn piece. In all cases the ornamentation is kept to a minimum and creates a characteristic effect, probably in keeping with current performance practice: the addition of a turn at the end of the opening phrase of the first 'Haydn' prelude is typical (exx. 137 a & b). Note also the discreet addition of pedalling in the opening bars.

In keeping with the still conservative use of the damper pedal in England, pedalling is kept to a minimum, though the 1787 version is of course devoid of any pedalling indications whatsoever. This might well reflect the state of English damping, always less efficient than that of the Viennese pianos, and in the late 18th century hardly in need of pedal assistance. In the two instances where Clementi does indicate that the pedal is to be used, the effect is not to enhance the legato but to prolong the harmony of a single chord, as in the preceding example.

Too numerous to cite here are the many dynamic and articulation markings. The first prelude 'alla Vanhall' illustrates how inconsistent slurring was even at this time, while increased use of dynamics served to illustrate exactly what effect was wanted. Clementi's phrasing in this prelude (ex. 138) varies somewhat from that of 1787 (cf ex. 122); in the revised version he abandons slurs altogether from bar 14 onwards, substituting crescendos and a *forte* in their stead. Note also the slight changes in the placement of ornamental turns at bars 10 and 12: the first is absent in the 1787 version and the second is placed after the note rather than on it (cf ex. 122). The major difference in these two versions is Clementi's meticulous markings at bars
34-5, where the alternating \( fz \) and \( p \) indications (later \( rinf \) and \( p \)) show a desire for a distinctive expressive effect which could not be shown by slurs alone.

Dynamics, articulation and other markings give some idea of how such improvisatory pieces might have been performed. We have mentioned that changes in performance practice and in the piano itself were inextricably linked to developments in compositional style, and Clementi's own works in other genres shows a growing maturity over this 20-year period.

In addition to these relatively cosmetic additions Clementi made some more significant structural changes. The two most striking examples are to be found in the preludes 'alla Mozart'. In the first (in F), Clementi omits bars 3 and 4 of the original and, with a Haydnesque touch, inserts them just before the final perfect cadence, rounding off the piece as a whole. In the second prelude (in A) he achieves the same 'rounding off' effect by recalling the opening motive at the end, and changes the old, more stereotyped figuration. The \textit{piano} conclusion suggests a Haydnesque humour.

All of these changes reflect a sensitivity to changing pianistic and compositional styles, grafting them on to music of an earlier period. The revisions to the \textit{Characteristics} were not dramatic, perhaps because the original pieces were so slight anyway. Nevertheless it would be useful to have these pieces in a printed edition to be compared with the originals, as in some cases the revised versions are more effective.

Although it is difficult today to determine where imitation became parody, especially in the case of Clementi's work, there was
at least one 18th-century instance where a critic found parody where there was in fact none. Haydn's six sonatas 'op. 13', (i.e. H. XVI: 21-6), were reviewed both in *Musical Miscellaneies* (1784) and the *Analytical Review* (1789), where it was claimed that the sonatas were intended 'to burlesque the manners' of some German composers who had been critical of Haydn's previous work:

This great composer, having been severely handled by some German masters, has thought proper to amuse himself with compositions in their several stiles, so as to exhibit them in some degree to ridicule, and the imitations of their oddities, he has provided a new species of entertainment for the musical world.'

The reviewer — quite likely Thomas Busby in both cases — concentrated particularly on Haydn's use of imitation and fugue, finding influence of 'Bach of Hamburgh' in the minuets of the fifth and sixth sonatas. The first is in canon, while the second is written 'al rovescio'. This minuet was in fact a transcription of the minuet from Symphony no. 47, a favourite of Prince Esterhâzy, Haydn's patron at the time. Busby's reference to Haydn's critics is more difficult to clarify, but Robbins Landon mentions a critical review in Hiller's *Wöchentliche Nachrichten* (1768) where the clavier was deemed 'not...to suit him as well as the other [instruments] which he uses in the most fiery and galant symphonies'.

Yet another aspect of imitation was that of national style. We have seen that A. F. C. Kollmann could find no intrinsically English style, except that which was obtained by the use of traditional music. However, Kollmann went on to identify and
describe the national styles of Italy, France and Germany. Italian music was melodious, but lacking in elaboration; German the opposite (i.e. elaborate, lacking in melody) while French music was 'foremost in lively imagination and brilliant', but often deficient in 'just harmony' and full of 'mere passage work'. Kollmann's definitions are general enough, but give some indication of contemporary views of national styles. The English style tended to be more international in scope, borrowing elements from each of the continental styles. An illustration of Kollmann's points can be found in Cramer's Les quatre nations (c1807), a divertimento for the piano with flute accompaniment. This is a set of pieces written to illustrate the four national styles. The first, 'À l'italienne', marked grazioso, is a florid and melodic piece, graceful and well-articulated (ex. 139). The melody, presented first in semiquavers, returns in elaborate demi-semiquavers, and there is a short cadenza. The second, 'À l'allem强力', is written in the symphonic overture style and is orchestral in conception. It also suggests the popular 'hunt' pieces of the time, with its lilting 6/8 metre and horn call motifs (ex. 140). 'À l'angloise' is given the subtitle of 'Aria', which reflects the importance of opera and its influence on English music generally. An adagio introduction is followed by a theme with a faint Scottish flavour, which is then varied and finished off with a full-blown vocally inspired style cadenza (ex. 141). The French rondo which closes the set is typically frothy, with a staccato melody over semiquaver accompaniment. The staccato touch is its most prominent feature, persisting even in the contrasting middle section. Dance-like
throughout, the piece incorporates trills and some pedalling (ex. 142).

In an age when the musical lingua franca was becoming increasingly prevalent, owing to widespread publishing practices and opportunities for travel, it is interesting to find some examples of discrete national styles. Cramer's pieces present four 'different' styles of music, though no doubt the composer himself would have admitted to the blurring of styles in all countries. In fact, his 'English' example is a succinct reminder of the confluence of operatic style and homespun traditional music. Extrapolating from Cramer's work, we can generalize by saying that the 'German' style is primarily symphonic, the French style dance-like and light, the Italian florid and tuneful and the English primarily vocal. Of course, no composer of any of these countries wrote strictly in the 'appropriate' style, but Cramer's musical observations are useful as a guide to contemporary thinking on the subject.

Cramer also wrote in the 'stile antico' on occasion. Used fairly frequently both in tutors and elsewhere, this style harked back to Baroque compositional practice in which dotted rhythms, grand chords and fugatos figure prominently. Cramer's *Divertimento nello stile antico* (1808; *LFS*, xi) includes melodies by Martini (i.e. Sammartini) and Avison and is written as a suite (French overture, prelude, air and variations, courante and rondo). Mozart produced a similar work in the unfinished *Suite*, K.399, written in the style of Handel. Clementi as we have seen was fond of fugal
and contrapuntal writing; the Gradus abounds with examples and the style occasionally penetrates the sonatas.

National and older styles were not the major influence on keyboard music, though their links with contemporary thought were quite strong. Both opera and symphony were well developed by this time and could not help but exert influence on each other and on keyboard music. Imitative pieces such as Clementi's Characteristics were relatively rare, but those that do exist can give us more insights into contemporary fashion and practice.

The mysterious Latour, of whom we know little, is called 'Jean' by Fétis (Biographie Universelle) but always appears on title pages with the enigmatic initial 'T'. It is possible that this composer is the same Latour who became a partner in Chappell's publishing company, though his initials were 'F. T.' and the names - Francis Tatton - were not obviously French. To add to the confusion, it has also been suggested that there were in fact two musicians named Latour. Whichever the case, it seems that the composer had gone to London about the time of the Revolution and wrote prolifically for the piano, mostly in a popular vein. The work which is significant for our purposes is his Imitations of Many of the Most Eminent Professors of Music (c1808). The other work which follows the imitative vein is by another composer of popular music, Louis Jansen, brother of the pianist Therese Jansen Bartolozzi: his variations on a theme of Mozart, O dolce concerto, appeared c1810.

The Latour work comprises 26 variations on a popular tune, in this case a 'gavot' from the opera Achille et Déidamie. Each
variation is in the style of a famous singer or instrumentalist, in contrast to Clementi's work which features composers only. Latour's variations are more substantial than Clementi's brief preludes and cadenzas, though many of them contain cadenzas. There had been inevitable changes in the musical pantheon. Despite George Thomson's choice of Kozeluch and Haydn to arrange his Scottish songs in 1803, these composers now had rivals. At the turn of the century Haydn and Kozeluch were still popular composers, durable but lacking in novelty. The aftermath of the French Revolution brought even more foreigners to London, including Latour himself. Whereas Clementi had had to look to Vienna for inspiration, now many composers travelled to the commercial and political haven of London to seek their fortunes. No longer was the scene totally dominated by foreign composers who had never or rarely set foot in the country; the famous were still foreign, but they did live and work in London. Latour had the pick of many foreign pianists who were resident or known in London: he successfully imitated the compositional and performing styles of the Austrian virtuoso Joseph Woelfl and the German Daniel Steibelt plus the established London coterie of Clementi, Cramer, Dussek and Wesley. But he did not choose to imitate only pianists. The flautists Saust, Monzani, Kramer and Ashe as well as the violinists Viotti, Salomon and the eclectic Pleyel are all represented. Even arrangers of popular tunes such as Mazzinghi, Mugnié and Masi managed to find their way into this select group. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of Latour's work is his allusion to singers. Six of the variations draw their inspiration from famous
singers whose names run like a roll of honour from the turn of the century: Billington, Grassini, Braham, Naldi and Catalani, who merits two variations— one in bravura, the other in buffa style.

Latour's inclusion of so many singers reflects the importance of vocal music and opera in England. Seen in this light, Latour's inclusion of vocal imitations is not unusual. It is also not unusual in a work for the pianoforte. With the increasing emphasis on the expressive and cantabile possibilities of the instrument, it is entirely fitting that the piano should seek to imitate a legato, flowing vocal line.

Latour's imitations of Grassini, Billington, Naldi and Catalani (bravura) all abound in elaborate fioritura; the imitation of the bass Naldi presents a highly ornamented line in the left hand with a discreet accompaniment in the right, a good example of the emancipation of the left hand (ex. 143). The variations of the soprano Mrs Billington and the contralto Grassini are, like the Naldi example, highly expressive and not merely showy, though the Billington variation bears out the King's criticism of her propensity to ornament excessively (ex. 144).20 The variation dedicated to the tenor John Braham is not so much concerned with acrobatics but is instead a bouncy polacca; similarly the coloratura Catalani is given dance-like music in her buffa variation. On the whole, though, the vocal variations do make use of the piano's ability to sustain a legato line and in so doing contrast with the instrumental variations. Such writing also shows the complete emancipation of the piano from the harpsichord, now truly a dinosaur in this new world of expressive vocal line.
Conversely, the 'instrumental' variations (i.e. those imitating the flute and violin) emphasize other aspects of the piano's capabilities. Several of these are in fact written for piano with flute accompaniment, as in the case of Saust (var. 5), Pleyel (var. 8), Monzani (var. 12), Ashe (var. 17) and Kramer (var. 24). The variations for flute and for violin (Salomon and Viotti) might be best singled out for their 'leggerezza' qualities. Both popular instruments, the flute and violin had important roles to play both in amateur music making and in the concert hall. Performers such as Ashe, Monzani and Viotti were all well known for their virtuosity and had done much to display the technical potential of their respective instruments. These variations abound in the sort of rapid passagework which must have dazzled contemporary audiences; they differ from the piano pieces in their lightness of style and touch and thus show the influence of these instruments on writing for the piano. Example 145 shows the variation in the style of Pleyel; the flute cues are written in with the piano part. The use of violin harmonics can be seen in the Viotti example, where the pedal is used to give extra effect (ex. 146).

The imitations of pianists reflect the individual styles of the artists concerned. Most obvious and predictable are those written in the bravura style, imitating the compositions of well-known performers such as Woelffl, Clementi and Latour himself. Woelffl's variation abounds in octave and staccato passages; Clementi's example is an outdated collection of double thirds and octaves. Latour reserves for himself a variation combining all these elements in a colourful display. Pedal indications are given
in the Steibelt variation, but even more noticeable here is the use of excessive tremolando, no doubt taken from the composer's popular 'Storm' concerto (ex. 147). More serious in intent were the variations in homage to well-established composers such as Cramer, Dussek and Wesley. These display a denser, harmonic style, perhaps what contemporaries such as Thomas Busby would have termed 'scientific'. Wesley's variation is particularly so, no doubt because of his championing of J. S. Bach. On the whole these pieces are of much more harmonic interest than the others, with the use of contrasting minor and major sections in the Dussek example and much denser figuration generally. The remaining pieces are in a popular vein: some are dances, such as a waltz for von Esch and a polacca for Mazzinghi. Here the style is light, very much in keeping with the popular amateur piano piece (ex. 148).

Latour's variations are paradigmatic of London piano music in the early 19th century. Both amateur and virtuoso styles are represented through the imitations of instrumental composers and numerous singers. The accompanied sonata is here along with the popular song, operatic air, dance tunes and virtuoso pieces. When compared with Clementi's Musical Characteristics of some twenty years earlier, Latour's work shows to what extent the piano had changed and developed. Piano music of the 1780s was essentially based on harpsichord and older symphonic music. The advent of the modern symphony, and in particular the visits of Haydn to London in Salomon's concerts, persuaded London composers to adopt a more innovative style, not least through their arrangements of such
works. The piano was thus able to take its place between the poles of instrumental and vocal music by imitating both.

Latour's work also gives us an idea of who was thought to be important (or at least worth imitating) at the time. Mozart and Haydn were both dead, so it is not surprising that they were omitted; what does give us pause is the exclusion of Beethoven, who was certainly known and published in London. However, a similar work - Louis Jansen's *O dolce concerto* (c1813) - includes Beethoven among a group of musicians very similar to Latour's, suggesting that they were indeed in the vanguard of London's musical life, though Jansen chose to imitate only one singer, Catalani. Jansen's subjects are Latour, von Esch, Cramer, Mazzinghi, Griffin, Beethoven, Steibelt, Clementi and Woelfl as well as the instrumentalists Salomon and Pleyel. The model for the Beethoven variation is not obvious, but the semiquaver figuration is similar to that found in the string quartet op. 18/1/iv (ex. 149 a, b). It is also laced with characteristic sturdy *sfurzandi* in the left hand. A review of Jansen's variations in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1813) compared them to Latour's work, but thought them less difficult and less successful. Identifying the sources of some of the material (but not that of Beethoven) the review concluded that the work had 'much less merit and difficulty than [an] original composition'.

Latour published yet another set of imitations in 1821, based on a theme of Rossini. Unlike the earlier set, the variations are devoted to composer-performers, including Kalkbrenner, Ries, Griffin, Potter and Burrows, the famous harpists Bochsa and Dizi
and the virtuoso guitarist Fernando Sor. This work already shows a veering away from the earlier type of imitation — of singers, flautists, violinists and so on — and a foretaste of the preoccupation with virtuosity which was to come. The journey from the Musical Characteristics to the Imitations is one which shows the development of a new way of writing through imitation, which in turn led to the development of a truly pianistic idiom. The novelty of the piano offered exciting possibilities for the forging of an idiomatic style, developed first from existing music and then exploring new possibilities made evident through symphony and opera. Latour’s work in particular offers us a catalogue of these different styles, which are also found in much of the serious music of the time. The work of a Steibelt, a Voelfl or a Clementi, while not always memorable in itself, nonetheless contributed to the development of pianism. The fact that piano music of later decades dispensed with imitation in favour of a truly idiomatic style owes not a little to the efforts of its earliest composers.
London dominated British life in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, exerting great influence through her multifarious commercial activities and thriving artistic life. It is a commonplace that the Industrial Revolution caused irreversible changes in British society, evident not least in the rise of the middle class, a group which arose out of a changing demography and way of life brought about by new industries, a burgeoning population and rapidly changing social patterns.

London, as England’s capital and largest city, was a focus for this heightened industrial and social change, but was not always seen in a positive light. Cobbett’s reference to it as ‘the great wen’ is a graphic metaphor which ably conveys the size and sprawl of the metropolis, a tumour which threatened to overwhelm rural England. Yet the growth was benign, benefiting those strong enough to withstand the vigour and harshness of the new urban life. Entrepreneurs like Wedgwood set an example of ambition and acumen which in turn influenced the manufacturers and merchants who flocked to the metropolis to make their fortunes.

The piano industry formed a small part of this great commercial wave which engulfed late 18th-century Britain. The size and commercial activity of London inevitably drew a plethora of outsiders: refugees seeking a haven from war-torn Europe, manufacturers and workers attracted by the facilities and market that London could provide. It is significant that neither of the
most famous London piano manufacturers was a Londoner: Broadwood was a Scot and had been apprenticed to the Swiss Shudi; Clementi arrived as a child from Italy and learned his keyboard skills in rural Dorset before escaping to the city. Piano manufacturers were indeed fortunate that the time was ripe for the marketing of a new instrument to a class which had both the income and the time to spare for the entertainment the piano could bring. Such people also provided a ready market for those who wished to earn a living by performing, teaching or composing, though such an existence was often financially perilous. It was a world in which both men and women could succeed: the fact that 'young ladies' learned the piano meant that some women were able to emerge as competent composers and performers.

The London piano industry differed from that of the Viennese both in its size and in the types of pianos it produced. It grew far more rapidly than its continental counterpart, both at home and in its trade abroad, owing to easy access to foreign markets by sea. The marketing of the square piano, at once cheaper and smaller than the awkwardly shaped grand piano, was a significant influence on the commercial and musical development of the piano well into the 19th century. Although the square pianos were the first to succeed, the more sophisticated grand piano remained the pace-setting instrument. It was the first to boast of 'additional keys' and a damper pedal; the squares followed suit later. The introduction of the upright and cabinet pianos reflected the inventiveness of certain piano makers and indeed their receptivity to the needs of the public.
However, the piano manufacturers did not and could not work in isolation; aspiring pianists needed music to play on their new instruments, and an established publishing industry which far outstripped any foreign rivals in the quantity of music they produced was able to provide it. The London music publishers were an even more dynamic group than the piano manufacturers, exploiting public demand for easy, 'familiar' music for the drawing room, and for arrangements of symphonic and choral music which could be played at home on a small square piano. The late 18th century saw many changes in the publishing industry, but underlying these was a foundation of stock in the form of plates which lasted well into the 19th century. The sheer quantity of light, ephemeral music such as rondos, variations and accompanied sonatas which dominated the publishers' catalogues gives an initial impression that the British music-buying public had an insatiable appetite for mere novelty and entertainment. While to a certain extent that demand existed, the practice of maintaining stocks of earlier music and the seemingly enduring popularity of some of the older composers indicate that many musical amateurs were prepared to play anything from Handel to Haydn, provided it was not too difficult. Serial publications such as Harrison's *Pianoforte Magazine* give some indication of the eclecticism of public taste and the wide range of available, accessible music. More enterprising repertory was left to competent amateurs and composer-pianists who had access to the concert platform.

The piano manufacturing and publishing industries were symbiotic. There was little point in adding new keys to
instruments if there was no music which included them. The public accepted the change from a 5-octave to a 5½-octave keyboard but resisted the leap to six octaves. Publishers were able to appease both the public and the manufacturers by providing versions for both the old and new instruments in the same score. Composers such as Cramer and Dussek badgered the piano makers for more keys, but the 6-octave range was restricted to the concerto repertory for some time before gaining general acceptance.

The English piano's Viennese counterpart was a lighter, more fragile instrument with efficient damping, shallow touch and a soft, silvery tone. Those familiar with these instruments complained of the heavier English pianos, but there is little evidence of Londoners playing Viennese instruments. The Viennese piano industry operated on a much smaller scale than did that of London; their international trade was far less developed and in any case geographical and political problems made trade with England difficult.

Today's renascence of the early piano and concern about linking music to specific instruments contrast significantly with late 18th-century practice: contemporary performers did not ipso facto distinguish between repertories. The London publishers offered domestic and foreign music, often promoting the latter at the expense of the former. Limited copyright protection for foreign works made it easy for London publishers to make continental music available; the more enterprising London publishers such as John Bland and Robert Birchall had business contacts with foreign composers. The music of London-based
composers such as Clementi, Cramer and Dussek was widely available abroad: though conceived on English pianos it was also played on continental instruments. While Haydn's 'English' sonatas, composed on one of the composer's visits to London, do indeed sound well on an English piano, their greatness depends more on Haydn's genius than on the instrument for which they were composed; these works do not sound incongruous on a Viennese instrument. Conversely, it is notable that Clementi's 'Viennese' sonatas are not substantially different from his English output in any way except for their relative stylistic sophistication, no doubt acquired more through exposure to the Viennese compositional school rather than to the pianos of Stein or Walter. The international scope of the publishing industry meant that the musical language itself transcended national boundaries, and such homogeneity overrode any differences that existed between instruments.

Such observations bring us to the London repertory itself. Publishing practices make this difficult to define clearly, as virtually all music was made available. Another problem lies in identifying the real 'London' composers, as few were native born. Some, like Clementi and Cramer, were foreigners who settled permanently in the city and others, such as Steibelt and Woelfl, were travelling composer-performers who stayed for only brief intervals but nonetheless became well known through their performances and publications. In addition, there were composers (such as Leopold Kozeluch) who were well known in London, but who never actually performed in or visited the city.
These difficulties, in addition to the international character of the publishing industry, make it impracticable to assess the London repertory on the basis of nationality of composer. The commercial climate in which this music was composed suggests instead a classification based on the market for which it was intended. A 'classification by consumer' results in the 'amateur', 'professional' and 'didactic' categories, which cover a vast repertory of music ranging from children's tutors to the virtuoso concertos and sonatas of major composers. Amateurs clamoured for easy, familiar music - preferably playable in groups - for home entertainment. The 'accompanied sonata', with its added instrumental parts, met this need early on, though its popularity waned after the turn of the century. The piano could also be programmatic and parasitic: battle pieces depicting current events enjoyed a brief vogue, and some of their histrionic style found its way into more serious repertory. Arrangements of symphonies, concertos and choral works made it possible for the public to familiarize itself with works heard only in the concert hall. Profit-conscious publishers did not hesitate to purloin the work of others in order to present it in alternative guise. It appears that by 1828 the situation had truly got out of hand, as shown in the following outburst from a correspondent of the Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review:

Open the catalogues of our first houses - of Clementi, Goulding, and Chappell, for example - and what will you find there? Original works? Nonsense! The drudgery of invention we have left to the "old ones". They toiled and sweated for our advantage; and it is with the capital which they have left us, that we now cut such a figure.
Thus A takes the fashionable melody, or an air composed some sixty or an hundred years ago, which he arranges for the harp and pianoforte; C [sic] puts a flute accompaniment to A's arrangement, D confers the same favour on B [sic]—substituting the violoncello, or horn, for the flute—then comes E who re-arranges the whole for "two performers" and E is followed by F who deranges it for the use of "one". In this way we might go through the whole alphabet—what an admirable system it is! All are gratified—names find their way to title pages, which could not have got there by any other method, and the public pays for all.¹

The early piano sonata was by definition a piece for amateurs, as technique for the instrument was as yet embryonic and derived mainly from the harpsichord. The sound of the early square pianos was too feeble to make them concert-worthy, though they were used occasionally to accompany singers. The sonatas of J. C. Bach and John Burton are transitional in their musical style and in their use of keyboard idioms: glimmers of pianistic expressiveness are almost lost in a welter of stock harpsichord figurations. As piano technique developed and the gap between amateur and professional widened, the sonata became the preserve of those who wished to write 'serious' music, while money could be made writing simple sonatas, rondos, capriccios and variations, often basing them on popular tunes. Even so, the 'serious' sonata was not immune to influence from the popular sector, and in some cases even benefited from it.

The core of the London repertory, however, is the music which spans the gulf between amateur and professional. Cramer's Studio set the first real standard for pianistic achievement, with pieces covering almost every technical difficulty and musical style.
Concise, pleasant and within the grasp of most competent performers, the Studio gave amateurs challenging material to practise and professionals a useful compendium of current technique. Clementi's Gradus and Cramer's Dulce et utile studies elevated the form from its utilitarian origins to a fully-developed musical work in its own right, setting a precedent for later works by Potter and Moseheles, and ultimately Chopin and Liszt.

Contemporary parodies and imitations provide useful insights into public taste and attitudes, assuming that the parody itself implied public understanding or at least awareness of the subject in question. Clementi's Musical Characteristics and the anonymously composed imitations of Nicolai, Schobert and Schroeter give some indication of the most popular composers of the 1780s; by the turn of the century taste and piano writing had changed dramatically. Latour's variations of 1808 are cast in a different mould from Clementi's preludes and cadenzas; here the imitation extends to singers, flautists, and violinists as well as pianists, composers and arrangers, all of whom were permanently or temporarily resident in London. Latour's work celebrates the piano's ability to sing, to imitate the flute and violin, and to dazzle with elaborate passagework: in short, everything except to express its own voice.

Latour's work does not cover all the issues concerning the developing pianoforte, but nevertheless it provides a good example of the piano's ability to adopt both vocal and instrumental styles. Audiences who enjoyed the exceptionally rich concert life of the late 18th century revelled in the latest symphonic works of the
incomparable modernist, Haydn, while still extolling the virtues of vocal music and opera, where words and drama were thought to express the 'true' sentiment of the music. Concert life also reflected the contemporary preoccupation with ancient and modern music; the influence of Handel was undoubtedly great, but was seen as pernicious by living composers resentful of the late master's continuing hold on an adoring public. Music for the piano reflected a similar tension between old and new, with an inevitable reliance on older keyboard music, especially that of J. S. Bach, as a model. The erudite Clementi found counterpoint irresistible, unlike many of his contemporaries, who found it arcane and too 'scientific'.

A. F. C. Kollmann, a valuable commentator on this period and himself a 'scientific' musician, remarked on the lack of distinctiveness in English music, noting the use of Scottish music as an attempt to infuse some sort of national character into it. Scottish tunes had the advantage of already being well known in the theatre and of being readily imitable. Such music was invested with mystique owing to its innate simplicity and modality, which conferred on it a valued 'ancient' character. Any archaic modality could be easily expunged to suit the taste of a tonally minded public: the mystique still remained. The rise in popularity of Scottish and other traditional music was associated with a general resurgence of interest in the Celts and a preoccupation with the idea of the 'sublime'. The sublime - usually found in the greatness of nature or in religious experience - inspired awe and reverence. The primitive, simple and haunting nature of many of the old
Scottish tunes rendered them 'sublime'; their use in the general repertory attempted to confer on it a status and individuality that it had previously lacked.

Unfortunately such high-flown ideas were mercilessly exploited and as a result the sublime was rarely to be found in music composed primarily for commercial gain. Nor did the use of such material make 'English' music any more distinctive, except in a contrived and superficial way. Publishers such as George Thomson made honest attempts to market truly national music, but had to rely on the arrangements of famous composers to make it saleable. Thomson at least tried to use authentic tunes; many composers simply invented their own.

Much of the London repertory, composed in and for the marketplace, was bound to be merely novel or 'ornamental', and usually ephemeral in character, but there was still a place for serious, well-written music. The piano music of Haydn and Mozart, and later Beethoven, was composed in different, less hectic and commercial circumstances, and set standards which the more able London composers tried to emulate. It was the London school which showed the many facets of the developing pianoforte in its ability to adapt to any sort of music, be it sublime, beautiful or simply novel. The Latour *Imitations* and the many arrangements which crammed the publishers' catalogues reveal to what extent the piano was expected to imitate everything from the orchestra and the opera down to the single flute and violin. Although keyboard pyrotechnics generally still betrayed their harpsichord origins, some composer-performers such as Clementi and Cramer pushed
virtuosity to new heights and also sought new, more pianistic directions.

The 'Gradus ad Parnassum' of the title applies both to the English pianoforte and the music written for it. Clementi's work of the same name can be seen as a model for the London school in its breadth of writing, reflecting both past and contemporary trends in piano composition. By 1817, the date of the publication of the first volume of the Gradus, the English piano industry was well developed, having thrived over a long period of continuous change. Technical improvements had made the instrument fit for both home and concert hall, and affordable by most of the middle classes. Similarly, composition for the instrument had progressed from the imitation of earlier composers, the harpsichord and the early symphony, to the more gestural and pianistic writing of the sonatas and studies. However, the repertory of the London Pianoforte School is primarily an explorative and experimental one: the piano had yet to develop its true voice. The sonatas of Clementi, Dussek, Cramer and Field often approached greatness of musical style and contained truly pianistic writing, not least because these men were pioneering pianists themselves. But like the instruments, the London piano repertory up to 1820 was a transitional one; fully idiomatic writing would come later with composers such as Chopin and Liszt. The piano was a universal instrument; it could play virtually all music and was required to do so. Paradoxically, the piano had to imitate everything else before it could discover its own voice: it was truly a jack of all trades before becoming master of one.
The huge success of the London piano industry in the late 18th and early 19th centuries should not delude us into thinking that the music it produced was purely commercial and therefore valueless; rather, the commercial climate of that time contributed to the rapid technical development of the instrument and spurred its musical development. The piano in the market-place was also the piano in transition: the summit of Parnassus had not quite been reached, but the ascent was well underway.
### Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>AcM</td>
<td>Acta Musicologica</td>
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<td>AmZ</td>
<td>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</td>
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<td>AR</td>
<td>The Analytical Review</td>
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<td>BLB</td>
<td>Broadwood Letter Book</td>
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<td>CC</td>
<td>Clementi--Collard letters</td>
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<td>EM</td>
<td>The European Magazine</td>
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<td>ENc</td>
<td>Early Music</td>
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<td>GM</td>
<td>The Gentleman's Magazine</td>
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<td>Harm</td>
<td>The Harmonicon</td>
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<td>JAMS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Musicological Society</td>
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<td>JRMA</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</td>
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<td>LPS</td>
<td>The London Pianoforte School (Temperley)</td>
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<td>MC</td>
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Notes: Introduction, pp. 11-13

1. e.g. S. Rosenblum: Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music (Bloomington, 1988)


3. e.g. Ian Hobson, who has recorded works of the London Pianoforte School on the Arabeske label.

4. The name in fact was coined by Alexander Ringer in his article 'Beethoven and the London Pianoforte School', NQ, lvi (1970), 742-58.

Notes: Ch. I, pp. 19-20

1. T. Busby: Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes 3 vols. (London, 1824), iii, 198


3. NQ, 9 March 1793. 'Mr. Dibdin, having speculated largely in Piano Fortes, made by Mr. Hancock, has opened a Warehouse at Sans Souci, where may be seen a very large collection of instruments, possessing all the various Properties which that Maker's Piano Fortes are so celebrated for. They are of all Prices...from 25G to 200G. As the Instruments Mr. Dibdin sells are made under his own Inspection, they will be warranted by him.'

4. The figures are taken from R. E. I. Harding, The Pianoforte - its History Traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851 (Old Woking, 1978), Appendix G.


6. Documents relating to Broadwood: Bodleian Library - Journal, MS Eng misc b 107; Barbara Broadwood's Book, MS Eng misc c529, Account Book, MS Eng misc e 663. These are discussed in C. Mould, 'The Broadwood Books' pts 1 and 2, The English Harpsichord Magazine, I/1 (1973), 19-23 and I/2 (1974), 47-53. Ledgers, Porters' Books and Letter Book (BLB) are held in the Surrey Record Office: these are discussed in D. Wainwright, Broadwood by Appointment (London, 1982), which also cites some of the sources I have quoted, though its broad scope did not allow a detailed examination of the earliest documents. Letters from Clementi to his partner Collard (CC) and a balance sheet dating from 1811 are held privately by Mr John Collard, who kindly made them available to me. Extracts from these letters have been published, notably
in Plantinga's monograph on Clementi, where they were used mainly for biographical information, and to a lesser extent in Richard Burnett's article on English pianos at Finchcocks (EMC, xiii (1985), 45-51). A comparison of Broadwood's and Clementi's businesses sheds more light on the nature of the industry generally, allowing an evaluation of its effect on musical life.


8. i.e. Clementi £3,000; Josiah Banger, F. W. Collard and David Davis, each £2,000; and W. F. Collard £1,000. I am grateful to Mr John Collard for allowing me to examine this document and to Ann Woodhead for interpreting the contents. Table 1 is a transcription (for the sake of clarity) of the original document, omitting some unnecessary detail. Other aspects of the balance sheet are discussed in chapter 4.

9. Wainwright, op. cit., 76


11. Wainwright, op. cit., 58; Plantinga: op. cit., 290

12. BLB: to Mr Vetter, Rotterdam, 16 Aug 1806. The previous quotation (p.22) is from the same letter.

13. BLB: to Mr Florio of Rowand & Hawes, Moscow, 13 June 1806. The miscreant firm was probably Messrs. Miller & Wood of Edinburgh. In 1802 Broadwood wrote to them: 'As we are given to understand that our instruments are not fairly dealt with at your House, we think it a Duty we owe ourselves to decline supplying you any longer with them. We therefore have not entered the order you have sent us in our Books.' Quoted in Wainwright, op. cit., 102.

14. BLB: to Mr Hammond, Kingston, Jamaica, 2 Aug 1808

15. CC: Dresden, 17 August 1803

16. ibid., [St] Petersburg, 22 June 1806 (O.S.)

17. ibid., Dresden, 17 Aug 1803

18. ibid.

19. ibid., Berlin, 11 Sept 1804

20. ibid., Berlin, 31 Aug 1805

21. ibid., Dresden, 17 Aug 1803
22. ibid., Berlin, 31 Aug 1805
23. BLB: 8 April 1802
24. ibid., Gow & Shepherd, 21 Dec 1802
25. ibid., to Mr Corri, 18 Feb 1803; cited in Wainwright, op. cit., 100.
26. ibid., to W. Fletcher, Music Master, Birmingham, 14 Jan 1802
27. Ibid., to James Eckhard, agent in Charleston, 24 Feb 1802. 'In England we give a year's credit, which we do not find ourselves inclined to do abroad.'
29. Wainwright, op. cit., 109
30. BLB: to Mr A. Corfe, Salisbury, 7 Feb 1803. In a plain case an upright grand cost 85 guineas; for a case made of 'sattinwood or black rosewood' the cost was £105. Broadwood also gives measurements: 'The height of the case will be 8 ft. 3 in., the width 3 ft. 7 in.'
31. ibid., 27 June 1803
32. J. F. von Schönfeld: Jahrbuch der Tonkunst Wien und Prag (Vienna, 1796)
33. J. C. Banks: 'An Accurate Account of the Present State of the French Republic', MNBE, xi (1801), 105
34. C. Pierre: Les facteurs d'instruments de musique (Paris, 1893), 137
35. ibid., 138
36. Cited in A. de Place, Le Piano-Forte à Paris entre 1760 et 1822 (Paris, 1986), 26f. Reichardt is mentioned as a distinguished composer and critic by A. F. C. Kollmann in 'Retrospect of the State of Music in Germany since the beginning of the last Century', QMR, ii (1812), 92.
38. AmZ, ii (1799), 5-9
39. ibid., v (1802), 197
40. O. von Hase: Breitkopf und Härtel (Leipzig, 1917)
Notes, pp. 33-38

41. V. Lütge: 'Andreas und Nanette Streicher', Der Bär: Breitkopf und Härtel Jahrbuch, iv (1927), 62

42. BLB: to Breitkopf & Härtel, 26 March 1806. Broadwood actually refers to a 'Veuve Stein' in this letter, presumably meaning Nanette Stein Streicher, who was, however, at this time neither a widow nor still a Stein.


44. Ehrlich, op. cit., 15

45. Broadwood Ledger 5 (1808), 140

46. BLB: 28 Nov 1806

47. E. N. Good: Giraffes, Black Dragons and Other Pianos (Stanford, 1982), 78


49. CC: Berlin, 16 July 1805


51. BLB: to Black, Erickson & Co., Copenhagen, 7 Jan 1807: 'Please particularly to recommend to J. Dietz that the steel wire be made particularly tough and hard -- some of the last order sent being rather too soft he would perhaps take particular care. Did he know it was for us?'

52. ibid., to Messrs. J. F. Sanders, Leipzig, 15 June 1802

53. ibid., to Vetter, 20 June 1808

54. For a discussion of the preparation of soundboards, see Harding, op. cit., 193-5.

55. G. Dodd: Days at the Factories (London, 1843), Chapter 17

56. BLB: to J. Eckhard, Charleston, 1 Feb 1809 - 'As the news by the last Mail is so hostile, as to make us believe these difficulties to Trade will not soon be removed, we have directed our Friend and Agent Mr. Dl Stewart of Petersburgh Virginia to apply to you for the Balance due to us.' A similar letter was sent
Notes, pp. 38-44

to Villers in the same town. See Wainwright, op. cit., 107. Broadwood had to call a halt on some orders when no agent was available. A letter of the same day to Messrs Paff in New York stated that 'we think it prudent to wait the arrival of the next news from America before we decide the propriety of executing the order you have given'.

57. cited in Wainwright, op. cit., 108

58. BLB: to Eckhard, Charleston, 2 Aug 1808

59. ibid., to J. C. Hammond, Philadelphia, 12 Aug 1809

60. ibid., to Mrs Allen, Jamaica, 2 April 1808


63. Broadwood ledger 10 (1813)

64. According to Sainsbury, Franz Lauska (1764-1825) was a prolific composer and one of the best German pianists. Shortly after Clementi met him in Berlin he evidently moved to Vienna to study with Albrechtsberger. See also his obituary, Harm, iii (1825), 235.

65. Letter from Dussek to Longman, Clementi & Co., BL Add MS 33965, 196ff

66. CC: Dresden, 1803. 'Field is in his [Marlofsky's] house from my recommendation.'

67. BLB: Letter to Mrs Lawrell, Hatchlands, 31 Dec 1802

68. ibid., to Misses Fletcher and Dutton, Twickenham, 25 June 1802

69. ibid. See also WP, 18 April 1801, where the piano maker George Pether, 'late assistant to Messrs. Broadwood' advertised his services as a tuner of grand and 'small' pianos, 'attendance given to any part of the country, and instruments of all makers repaired in the best manner'. Pether charged 4 shillings to tune a grand piano.

70. CC: Dresden, 17 Aug 1803 and Berlin, 16 July 1805

71. Broadwood Ledger 1796, 50

72. Broadwood Ledger 1813 (No.10: a wholesale ledger)
Notes, pp. 44-49

73. BLB: to Mr James Eckhard, Charleston, 24 Feb 1802

74. CC: Berlin, 16 July 1805

75. BLB: to Mr Wickins, Oxford, 19 Nov 1802

76. Ibid., to R. Livius, Olney, Bucks., 4 July 1806

77. Ibid., to John Harrison Esq. 25 April 1803

78. Ibid., to S. Coverly, 12 Aug 1809

79. A. F. C. Kollmann remarked in 1811 that the pedal harp had 'become much more general than it was twenty years ago', and improved through masters such as Dizi, Marin and Meyer in his 'Retrospect of the State of Music in Great Britain, since the Year 1789', QMR, i (1811), 22.

80. CC: Berlin, 16 July 1805; he also mentions a 'leaf catalogue' in this letter.

81. BLB: to Mr Thomas Chambers, Worcester College, Oxford, 12 Nov 1802

82. Ibid., to S. Coverly, 12 Aug 1809

83. Wainwright, op. cit., 109

84. reported in J. Fischhof, Versuch einer Geschichte des Clavierbaues (Vienna, 1853), 39ff

85. CC: Berlin, 16 July 1805

86. Ibid., Dresden, 17 Aug 1803


88. CC: Dresden, 17 Aug 1803

89. Wainwright, op. cit., 103
Notes: Ch. II, pp. 53-59


5. Weber, op. cit., 177

6. Porter, op. cit., 68


8. Journal (see note 6, chapter 1), fol. 197

9. ibid., f.76

10. ibid., ff. 198, 205

11. ibid., f.202

12. ibid., ff. 207, 212

13. Wainwright, op. cit., 326

14. BLB, passim.

15. London had access to sea transport, perhaps the most important aspect of her industrial growth; see Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (London, 1776), 22: 'As by means of water-carriage a more extreme market is opened to every sort of industry than what land-carriage alone can afford it, so it is upon the sea coast, and along the banks of navigable rivers that industry of every kind naturally begins to subdivide and improve itself.'

16. Wainwright, op. cit., 60

17. Journal, fol. 197

18. ibid., ff. 207, 261
Notes, pp. 60-64

19. K. Hobbs: 'Stops and Other Effects on the Early Piano', ENC, xii (1984), 476


21. An order for jacks and quills from Bremner appears on fol. 211 (1783) of the Journal; there are a few other orders for accessories such as these.

22. See Mould, op. cit., passim.

23. The transition from harpsichord to pianoforte both in England and on the Continent is discussed in H. Schott, 'From Harpsichord to Pianoforte', ENC, xiii (1985), 28-38.

24. Plantinga, op. cit., 289

25. BLB: to Mr Bluvitt, 30 Sept 1802

26. ibid., to Rev. C. Hayward of Haverhill, Suffolk, 15 Dec 1802

27. ibid., to Mr W. L. Vallich, Copenhagen, 15 Nov 1802

28. ibid., to S. Coverly, 12 Aug 1809


30. Wainwright, op. cit., 337

31. Broadwood ledger for 1794, passim.

32. Cramer's Concertos opp. 10 (1795) and 26 (c1801), written 'for the Piano Forte with or without the additional Keys' give alternatives for the 5-octave instrument, as does Dussek's Third Grand Concerto. However, later works such as Dussek's op. 49 do not give a 5-octave alternative and were clearly written with the 5½-octave instrument in mind.

33. CC: Vienna, 27 April 1807. In arranging his violin concerto for solo piano, Beethoven was following an established practice. Violin concertos by composers such as Vicotti and Giornovichi were often arranged for piano alone.

34. BLB: 17 April 1802

35. ibid., passim., and ledger for 1802

36. J. B. Cramer: Instructions for the Piano Forte (London, 1812). The same statement appears in the 4th edition (c1825), by which time the 5-octave instruments were certainly obsolete.
Notes, pp. 65-71

37. A. F. C. Kollmann: 'Retrospect of the State of Music in Great Britain, since the Year 1789', QNR, i (1811), 22. Kollmann (1756-1824) was editor of the journal as well as a composer and theorist.

38. BLB: 7 April 1802

39. ibid., to Messrs. Paff, New York, 13 Dec 1809

40. ibid., to Hammond, Philadelphia, 15 Jan 1807

41. ibid., to Mr Cipolla, 25 June 1802

42. ibid., to Mr Samuel Billings, Boston, 12 Aug 1809

43. ibid., to S. Coverly, 12 Aug 1809

44. ibid.


46. The 'open pedal' marking was used by Haydn in his C major 'English' sonata (H XVI: 50) first movement, bars 73-4 and 120-24.

47. BLB: to W. Whalley, 17 Jan 1804

48. ibid., to Villers, 2 March 1804

49. ibid., to Mr White, Bath, 19 Dec 1805

50. ibid., to F. Sharp, Grantham, 5 March 1806

51. ibid., to Breitkopf & Härtel, 26 March 1806

52. Harding, op. cit., 70f

53. BLB: to Miss Boone, Lewisham, 6 Feb 1804

54. English patent no. 1637. 'A sliding board is attached with strips of cloth, leather, or parchment, upon which are fixed small pieces of whalebone or other hard material, such that "when the strings are struck thereby the harpsichord tone is produced." By means of a slide which throws up the dampers "the tone becomes exactly similar to a dulcimer" and when this is drawn off by a stop "the instrument is then a perfect pianoforte."' Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments (London, 2/1871), 20

55. CC: Dresden, 17 Aug 1803
Notes, pp. 71-78

56. Ibid.
57. BLB: to Mrs B. Rolfe, Norfolk, 22 Feb 1805
58. Ibid., to Eckhard, 5 March 1806
59. Ibid., to Miss Boone, Lewisham, 6 Feb 1804
60. Ibid., to S. Coverly, 12 Aug 1809
62. Prices given in the ledgers for this year vary according to design and ornament. Prices given in the table are those which occur most frequently in the ledgers. The numbers of instruments sold are reasonably accurate, but some allowance must be made for occasional illegibility in the ledgers.
64. For details on and diagrams of the single and double actions see Harding, op. cit., 56-7.
65. BLB: to Vetter, 28 Aug 1806
66. Ibid., to S. Coverley, 6 Feb 1810
67. Ibid., to Villers, 5 March 1806
68. Ibid., to Eckhard, 5 March 1806
69. Kollmann, op. cit., 25
70. CC: Berlin, 16 July 1805
72. Wainwright, op. cit., 329
73. BLB: to Eckhard, 11 Sept 1809
74. Kollmann, op. cit., 25
75. CC: Berlin, 31 Aug 1805
Notes, pp. 78-81

76. Southwell's 'upright square' is described in Harding, op. cit., 63; and in K. Mobbs, op. cit., 474. There is an illustration in EMC, xii (1984), 379.


78. BLB: to J. C. Hammond, Philadelphia, 12 Aug 1809

79. ibid., to James Hague, Liverpool, 28 April 1808

80. Harding, op. cit., 278

81. Kollmann, op. cit., 26

Notes: Ch. III, pp. 83-85

1. These figures plus additional useful information on the book trade can be found in I. Maxted, The London Book Trade, 1775-1800 (Old Woking, 1977), introduction. Note that the publication date of Pendred is given erroneously here as 1735, rather than 1785.

2. The Proceedings on a Trial...June 13th, 1818, in the cause Latour versus Weller (London, 1818), passim, contains testimonies from a copper-plate engraver and two music engravers, who distinguished themselves from music printers.


4. Such copies were marked 'Printed for the Author' and were often sold from the composer's home and from selected music shops.

5. Busby, op. cit., iii, 198

6. For example, the flautist Monzani ran a publishing firm which specialized in flute music; many such firms were quite successful.

7. Humphries and Smith, op. cit., 25-6, 84

8. The spa towns were also popular: in 1789 Longman and Broderip announced that they would be selling music in Margate and Brighthelmstone [Brighton] 'during the watering season'. See Humphries & Smith: op. cit., 216. Dealerships were also not uncommon; as early as c1772 Peter Welcker advertised that all the articles in his catalogue could also be bought 'at Mr. Ross's shop in Edinburgh, Mr. Lees in Dublin and Mr. de Peters at Paris'.

9. CC: Berlin, 16 July 1805
Notes, pp. 86–89

10. Longman and Broderip catalogue, 1781. BL Hirsch iv 1110 (1)

11. *Gm*, lxxiii (ii) (1803), 1183

12. The company became Longman and Lukey from 1769–1775; Longman Lukey and Broderip from 1775–6; Longman and Broderip 1776–98. See Humphries and Smith, op. cit., passim.

13. BL S.C. 2502: Longman and Broderip's sale of Welcker's music, c1775

14. Longman and Broderip catalogue for 1786: BL Hirsch iv 1110 (3); 'Great improvements in Grand and Small Piano Fortes' and various patents are announced in a catalogue of 1792: BL Hirsch iv 1110 (4).

15. BL Hirsch iv 1112 (3) c1790

16. Ibid., (9)

17. Additional Catalogue of New Music (1808) Wilkinson and Company, late Broderip and Wilkinson. BL 7896.h.40 (20) The dimensions given were Height: 5'6"; Breadth: 3'6" and Depth: 1'8"

18. A Longman & Broderip catalogue of c1780 lists accessories such as quills, hammers and tuning forks: Hirsch iv 1113 (5), as does a Preston 'Additional Catalogue' of 1790; ibid., (8)

19. Wheatstone catalogue, c1804: BL 7896.h.40 (18); it is interesting to note that there must have been some demand for Turkish effects, though such pedal-controlled gimmicks were generally more popular on the Continent than in London.

20. Joseph Dale advertised his patent tambourines in Book 2 of his *Introduction to the Pianoforte, Harpsichord and Organ* Op. 12 c1796. The popularity of tambourines might well have stemmed from the arrival of Daniel Steibelt and his tambourine-playing wife in London in the late 1790s; they performed in several concerts together. Tambourines were becoming popular generally; there was definitely more to tambourine playing than first met the eye, as evinced in a review of six waltzes by T. Bolton (*MMBE*, ix (1800), 296), which explains tambourine particulars such as *flamps*, *semi-flamps*, single and double *travales* and the unfathomable 'gurgles'. A hint of exoticism was suggested in an advertisement in the *Morning Post*, 13 June 1798, which promised instruction in the style of 'Grecian and Circassian ladies' as well as of Provence; five lessons cost a guinea.

21. see A Catalogue of...Music...printed and sold by Joseph Dale, at his house, No. 19 Chancery Lane (1785); BL g.131 (1), cited in Humphries and Smith, op. cit., 125.
Notes, pp. 89-93

22. Humphries and Smith, op. cit., 84

23. BL Hirsch iv 1113 (8)

24. Catalogue of 1803; BL 7896.h.40 (13)

25. BL S.C. c 61 and P 13 (3)

26. BL S.C. 2502 (1775). An earlier catalogue of Peter Velcker is in BL 7896.h.40 (16) [n.d.].

27. Cited in Humphries and Smith, op. cit., 33. It is suggested by David Hunter in 'Music Copyright in Britain to 1800', ML, lxvii (1986), 209, that the author of the notice was Charles Dibdin.

28. 'Mr Edwin Ashdown', Musical Herald, (1903), 99

29. Proceedings on a trial...Latour versus Weller op. cit. 20. This case involved a transgression of the 14-year copyright rule; see p.97.

30. Ayrton papers, BL Add. MS 60360-66 and Add 52334. Ayrton kept careful records of his expenditure on music but did not record how much he charged his pupils.

31. BL Hirsch iv 1113 (1)

32. EM, iv (1784), 303


34. BL Add. MS 33965, ii, fol. 227. Kozeluch appeared to be a wily businessman; in 1797 he negotiated terms with the publisher George Thomson where he was to be paid the generous sum of 200 ducats (£100) for the composition of six sonatas. Thomson thought the price was high but nonetheless agreed. See BL Add. MS 35263, fol. 16

35. Proceedings...op. cit., 27

36. BL Add. MS 33965, op. cit.

37. Thomson's voluminous correspondence with Kozeluch and other composers can be found in BL MS Add. 35263.
Notes, pp. 94–96

38. Thomson originally engaged Pleyel to arrange the airs. However, Pleyel did not finish his work and Thomson had to engage Haydn and Kozeluch to complete it. See the introduction to Thomson’s edition of *Original Scottish Airs* etc. (1803).


40. BL Add. MS 33965, 1, fol. 200

41. CC: 10 June 1804: ‘Now to return to honest Dussek’. Clementi was arranging for three of the composer’s grand sonatas to be sent to Hägeli in Zürich, for which the publisher would send sonatas by Beethoven and Voelfl to Clementi’s firm. See R. Shedlock, ‘Clementi Correspondence’, *MNR*, xxxvi (1902), 142. A later letter, again from Clementi to Collard, from Berlin and dated 16 July 1805 asks ‘Pray how stands our account with Dussek? (sweet fellow). He is now wallowing at Prince Louis’s, near Magdebourg’. Dussek had been dealing with Clementi from the last years of the century: see letters in BL Add MS 33965, 1, 196ff.

42. CC: Berlin, 11 Sept 1804. Clementi had a number of dealings with Härtel: see N. Unger, ‘Muzio Clementi and his Relations with G. C. Härtel of Leipsic, as shown by letters of Clementi’, *MNR*, xxxviii (1908), 246, 270.

43. CC: Berlin, 16 July 1805

44. ibid., Vienna, 27 April 1807

45. ibid.

46. ibid. Vienna, September 1808. A furious letter from Clementi, berating his partner for not having paid Beethoven - ‘a most shabby figure you have made me in this affair!’ Full details are given in Plantinga, op. cit., 198–9.

47. see *Proceedings of a trial...May 18th, 1815: in the cause, Whitaker versus Hime...* (London, 1816), 17. It seems from the extract that the employee was not speaking of copyright, but of the actual sale of a composition from composer to publisher. Unfortunately there is no evidence here to give us an idea how much Clementi would have paid for a copyright.
Notes, pp. 96-101

48. W. S. Newman: The Sonata in the Classic Era (Chapel Hill, 1963), 73. Print runs were probably erratic. A printer in the Whitaker vs Hime case of 1815 stated (not necessarily truthfully) that he might have run off about 50 copies of the song; the engraver of Latour's Le Retour de Windsor (see Proceedings...Latour versus Weller op. cit., 13) was asked whether 'some thousand' copies might have been 'struck off'. It is possible of course that the questioner had no idea of the average print run, but the engraver did not say that the figure was an impossible one, merely that he was not a printer. Subscription lists support Newman's lower estimate.

49. AR, iii (1789), 361


51. See J. Small, 'J. C. Bach Goes to Law', MT, cxxvi (1985), 526

52. Publisher's introduction to Pleyel's Original Scottish Airs (London, 1793). Dale at about this time was publishing Clementi's works and, perhaps fearing piracy himself, added this note to one of his editions: 'Copies of [opp. 22, 29, 30, 31] are to be had printed by DALE, only he having purchased them of the Author Muzio Clementi with his fingering, alterations and corrections to make them complete.'

53. Original Scottish Airs, arr. Haydn, iii (1804)

54. Musical Miscellanies, vi (1784), 43-4

55. EN, v (1784), 366

56. NNBR, xii (1801), 148

57. Proceedings...Latour versus Weller, op. cit., 30

58. Proceedings...Whitaker versus Hime, op. cit., 21

59. Whitaker was in fact awarded double costs, in this case twice £50, under the terms of the statute 41 Geo. III.

60. BL MS Add. 35263, fol. 19. Kozeluch in the end refused to sign the contract.

61. ibid., fol. 54

62. Full details of this case can be found in A. Tyson, op. cit., 144. Details of copyright laws at this time in England and abroad are given in J. Sachs, Hummel in England and France - a Study in the International Music Life of the Early Nineteenth Century (diss., Columbia University, 1968), passim.
63. Reported in 2 Barnwall & Cresswells Reports, 861.

64. See A. H. King, 'Music Circulating Libraries in Britain', MT, cxix (1978), 134-8.

65. Napier's terms are set out in AE, iii (1789), 252-3. They are different from those of other libraries in that they were offered only to subscribers to his own published works.

66. Lavenu & Mitchell's and Wheatstone's terms are given in BL 7896.h.40 (6) and (18) respectively. They are reproduced in King, op. cit., 135.

67. Humphries and Smith, op. cit., 58.

68. Chappell copartnership agreement, in the possession of Chappell Music. I am grateful to the company for allowing me to examine and quote from this document.

69. CC: Vienna, 27 April 1807. Clementi mentions that Beethoven will adapt the violin concerto (for piano) himself, but Collard is to get 'Cramer or some other very clever fellow' to adapt the other works for the piano.


72. Patents taken out by William Frederick Collard included 'improvements upon an upright pianoforte', 9 Sept 1811, patent o. 3481; and 'Improvements on musical instruments called pianofortes' involving his newly invented bridge of reverberation and harmonic swell, 8 March 1821, patent no. 4542.

73. It must not be overlooked, however, that Busby's book was published by Clementi & Co.

Notes: Ch. IV, pp. 111-112

1. NMBER, ii (1796), 654

2. Reviewed in NMBER, vii (January, 1799). Only one number of the Elegant Selections was reviewed; it is possible that this was the first and last issue. To be published monthly, it included 'sonatas, overtures, capriccios, rondos and airs with variations for pianoforte or harp'.

Notes, pp. 102-109

4. AR, 1 (1788), 92

5. Reviewed in MNB, xxv (February, 1808), comprising 'new compositions, and several MSS, purchased by Mme Cianchettini during her late tour on the Continent'.

6. MNB, xi (1801), 437

7. See BL Hirsch M.1408, which also has a thematic index.

8. Longman and Broderip's collection included works dating from as early as 1780 (Clementi's sonata from oeuv. 1) to the same composer's WO6 of 1794. Hoberecht's sonata op. 6 (in no. 10) was given in a version for additional keys. The selection is fairly eclectic and in some respects of more interest than the music offered in the catalogues.

9. It was reviewed in MNB, vii (1799), 65.


12. Further details in Humphries and Smith, op. cit., passim.

13. According to RISM, Hook's Six Familiar Sonatas and Giordani's sonatas op. 10 appear not to have been published in London before Harrison included them in his series. Neither, surprisingly, were six sonatas by Clementi, which do not appear in Tyson's thematic catalogue of this composer's works. However, given the vagaries of 18th-century music publishing, it is entirely possible that these works were misattributed.

14. Randall's catalogue (1776) can be found in BL Hirsch iv 1112 (12)

15. Bremner's catalogue (c1773) is in BL 7896.h.40 (2); Welcker's of c1775 is in the same volume, no. 17.
16. Matthew Camidge (1764–1844) was the son of the organist and composer John Camidge (1734–1803) and was born in Durham. He imitated many stylistic elements of Handel and Corelli and published a number of accompanied sonatas in London in the 1790s. Busby praised his talents as a composer in a review of his op. 5 sonatas, commenting on his 'ingenuity and considerable polish of musical taste' which showed the 'correctness of a real master'. (\textit{MNB}, iv (1798), 59). Antonin Kammell (b Běleč, Bohemia, 1730; d London by 1787) was a Bohemian violinist and composer, and a pupil of Tartini. He came to London in 1764 and had ties with J. C. Bach and Abel. He first published in London 1766; additional publications appeared between 1770 and 1777. He was also published in Paris, Amsterdam, The Hague and Berlin.

17. Burney, \textit{History}, 956ff

18. For more information on this subject see R. Fiske, \textit{Scotland in Music - a European Enthusiasm} (Cambridge, 1983)

19. Bremner's early catalogue (c1770) can be found in BL Hirsch iv 1111 (6), with a separate section on 'Scots Music', possibly influenced by the publisher's Scottish origins.

20. Preston catalogue (1794): BL G.379 (4)

21. Longman and Broderip catalogue: (1786) BL Hirsch iv 1110 (3); Thompson catalogue (1786): BL 7896. h. 40 (8)

22. Scant biographical information exists on these composers: J. P. Schultesius: b nr Coburg 1748. Pupil of C. P. E. Bach; in Hamburg from 1773. Works for pianoforte published in Italy and in Germany 1780–97. B. F. Zink: Organist at Schleswig; d 1801.

23. Bland's catalogue of music, 1786: BL Hirsch iv 1113 (1)

24. The notion of editions of complete works was embryonic at this stage; an important step was taken by the Leipzig firm of Breitkopf & Härtel in 1803 when they began publishing the \textit{oeuvres complètes} (sic) of Clementi.

25. Longman and Broderip catalogue (1785): BL Hirsch iv 1112 (4)

26. Review of \textit{Musical Remains}, selected by E. Jones; \textit{MNB}, i (1796), 53.

27. See BL SC (sale catalogue) c.61.h.1 (13) for a complete list of Cramer's sale items. A. H. King, in \textit{Some British Collectors of Music} (Cambridge, 1963) 25–6, takes an uncharitable view of Cramer, stating that the catalogue 'reveals a certain catholicity of interest that might not be expected in so dull a musician'. 
Notes, pp. 127-131

28. Other collections of interest are listed in D. R. Wakeling, *English Auction Sales of Music and Literature of Music, 1691-1900* (Typescript, BL, 1945). Also see King, op. cit., passim.

29. Burney, *History*, ii, 957-8


31. J. Marsh: *Hints to Young Composers* (London, c1805)

32. The most extraordinary adulation of Handel came from William Hughes, whose *Remarks upon Church Music* (Worcester, 1763) included this unusual encomium:

> Why Man! He does bestride the Musick World
> Like a Colossus; and We poor, petty Composers,
> Walk under his huge Legs, and pick up a
> Crotchet to deck our humble thoughts.

Temperley has argued that Handel's influence on English music has been exaggerated; see 'Handel's Influence on English Music', *MMR*, xc (1960), 163-74; however, even in 1799 Busby bewailed the thraldom of modern music to Handel and others, especially where his own oratorio, *The Prophecy*, was concerned; see 'On Modern Music', *MMBR*, vii (1799), 35.

33. *MMBR*, xv (1803), 49

34. Review in *ibid.*, xx1 (1806), 348

35. Little information can be found on Coyle, described only as 'an English composer of pianoforte music' by Sainsbury, who cites Preston's catalogue of 1795 as a source for his music. N.-J. Hüllemandel (1756-1823), an Alsatian pianist and composer, came to London from Paris during the French Revolution. His entire compositional output was for the harpsichord or pianoforte, including both solo and accompanied sonatas.

36. [C. Burney]: 'Schroeter', *Cyclopaedia*, ed. A. Rees (London, 1819). The anonymous author of the satirical *A B C Dario Musico* (1780) was less complimentary, stating that 'his cadences are well imagined, and if his penchant was not rather to play rapidly than at core, he would excel on the piano-forte'.

37. Clementi & Co.: catalogue of c1801, BL g.451.a (3)

38. Birchall catalogue (1806) in BL Hirsch iv 1111(2); Lavenu catalogue (1806) in BL 7896.h.40 (6)

40. Thomas Haigh's birth and death dates are usually given as c1769 - April 1808, but Temperley (LPS, vol. 7, xvi) has noted that Haigh's works were being published and entered at Stationers Hall until 1821, which makes the early death date dubious. Haigh was an English pianist and composer who studied with Haydn in 1791-2. His first published music appeared before and in 1790. He left London for Manchester for health reasons in 1793, returning to London in 1801. His pianoforte sonatas op. 10, dedicated to his teacher Haydn, were praised by Busby in the *NNBR*, ii (1796), 655, as being 'obviously English', spoiled only by 'diversion from the constitutional course of his genius' and the temptation to imitate 'exotic beauties'.

41. Beethoven's works for example were regarded with some suspicion; the op.14 sonatas received a negative review (NNBR, xv, 1803), 439; see p.197 below) as did the Rasumovsky Quartets, which were described as 'original, but also crude, quaint and dissonant' (ibid., xxvii, 1809, 180).

42. See particularly A. Ringer, op. cit.

Notes: Ch. V, pp. 140-141


2. N. Temperley: 'Domestic Music in England, 1800-1860', *PRMA*, lxxxv (1958-9), 31-47. See also J. Berkenhout, *A Volume of Letters from Dr. Berkenhout to his Son at University* (Cambridge, 1790), in which the writer disapproves of men's taking up music, especially the harpsichord (p.189), but notes the popularity of the violin: 'from the beginning of this century...many thousands of men in this Kingdom, have been labouring incessantly to attain the art of playing on the Violin' (p.185). Reviewed *NNBR*, vii (1790), 153ff.

3. according to a newspaper advertisement for 9 February 1789; see S. McVeigh, 'The Professional Concert and Rival Subscription Series in London', *RMARC*, xxii (1989), 75.
4. W. T. Parke: *Musical Memoirs* (London, 1830), 120. Parke took particular delight in making rude remarks about Mme Gautherot. On pp.129-30 he stated that 'if she is desirous of enrapturing her audience, she should display her talent in a situation where there is only just light enough to make "darkness visible"'. However, such remarks were typical of Parke's style, which received scathing criticism in a review in the *Harmonicon*, ix (1831), 62-3, condemning the author's 'verbal inaccuracies' and 'anecdotal garbage', and warning readers off such 'trash'. While it is certainly true that Parke was often wrong, his book does provide some information about London concert life.

5. *EH*, xxx (1796), 272


11. There is conflicting information on the two Miss Parkes: see D. Hayes, 'Some Neglected Women Composers of the Eighteenth Century and their Music', *Current Musicology* no. 39 (1985), 65, note 62. M. F. Parke was probably the younger sister of Maria Hester; the two ladies performed together in a benefit concert on 11 May 1801, announced in the *Morning Post* on 9 May. See note 67 below.

12. Miss Reynolds performed in a Hanover Square Concert of 12 March 1783, playing a harpsichord concerto. See McVeigh, op. cit., 28. Miss Reynolds later married, unfortunately (for historians) taking the name Park, adding to the confusion already mentioned above. Maria Hester Parke evidently became Mrs Beardmore.

13. The concerts in Mara's series of 1788 are given in McVeigh, op. cit., 71ff

15. *NP*, 2 March 1801; announcement of Oratorio Concert on 11 March, Covent Garden, where a concerto by Dussek was to be played 'by a young lady, totally blind from her birth'. An announcement of 25 March identifies her as 'Miss Morell'.


17. E. Appleton: *Private Education; or a Practical Plan for the Studies of Young Ladies* (London, 1816), Chapter vii

18. A. Burgh: *Anecdotes of Music* (London, 1814), letter vi

19. ibid., letter vii

20. G. J. Cheese: *Practical Rules for Playing and Teaching the Pianoforte and Organ* (London, c1806), Preface

21. *GM*, lxxxvi (1816), 60

22. Parke, op. cit., 102-3


24. The list of subscribers to Cecilia Barthélemon's *Three Sonatas for the Pianoforte or Harpsichord*, op. 1, dedicated to HRH Princess Sophia Matilda, is a veritable who's who of the 18th-century arts world. Piccinni and Paisiello were included with Haydn and Mozart, and virtually every London musician of distinction was on the list. Sir Joshua Reynolds found a place alongside 'Countess Cowper, Princess of the Roman Empire', the Duke of Queensberry and the Duke of Bedford. The list of luminaries is too long to give in full here, but it is valuable evidence of the changing role of patronage in the otherwise commercial London scene. Support came not just from the aristocracy, but from musical contemporaries as well.

25. *MMBR*, xv (1803), 251

26. ibid., xxxv (1813), 253

27. ibid., xxvii (1809), 284

28. *RepArt*, ii (1809), 39ff. Another work of Mrs Miles was reviewed in *MMBR*, xxvii (1809), 180, which was thought to be not 'profoundly scientific' but which had 'taste and ingenuity'.

29. *MMBR*, xxxv (1811), 263

30. ibid., xix (1805), 165
31. C. Papendiek: *Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte*, ed. V. D. Broughton (London, 1887), 134. Schroeter might have earned less than Clementi as a teacher simply because he was not so gifted in that capacity. A 'Memoir' of John Cramer, *(Harm, 1 (1823), 179)*, said of Schroeter that 'this eminent musician, however, with all his acknowledged taste, and bewitching manner of execution, did not, unfortunately for his pupil [Cramer] possess the energetic character of a teacher'. Mrs Papendiek's observations about fees are corroborated in an article entitled 'Mr Clementi', which stated that after his return to England in 1784 the composer had 'raised his terms for teaching to one guinea per hour' and that his fame was so great that this high price 'rather increased than diminished the candidates for his instruction' *(QMME, ii (1820), 312)*.


33. *NC*, 2 Feb 1802

34. *NP*, 21 April 1801

35. *BL Add MS 27593, 133ff*

36. *ibid.*, fol. 135

37. *NP*, 7 April 1798

38. *ibid.*, 4 May 1798

39. *ibid.*, 17 April 1798

40. *NC*, 20 Jan 1802

41. *NP*, 16 April 1793: the advertisement was headed 'MUSIC ACADEMY (For Fifteen Minutes Instruction)'.

42. J. Trusler: *The London Adviser and Guide* (London, 2/1790), 210. (Possibly Mazzanti was in fact Mazzinghi and 'Prikes' was P. J. Frick.)


45. V. Pleasants, *op. cit.*, and *New Grove Bach Family*, 320
Notes, pp. 153-159

46. Papendiek, op. cit., 134ff

47. McVeigh, op. cit., 41

48. Plantinga, op. cit., 116

49. McVeigh, op. cit., 29, 41

50. Dussek's 'Military' concerto, performed at the Oratorio Concerts in 1798, received reviews in the Morning Post, 3 and 17 March. The first review praised the 'stilte of the most finished excellence', while the second complained that 'the noisy and jingling accompanyment to the Rondeau is absurd, and censures Mr. Dussek's judgment'.

51. McVeigh, op. cit., 100-02

52. McVeigh's valuable compilation has already been cited and used extensively in this survey; see also T. Milligan, The Concerto and London's Musical Culture in the Late Eighteenth Century (Ann Arbor, 1983).


54. NP, 3 Jan 1785

55. Harm, viii (1830), 45

56. For detail on London's concert venues, see R. Elkin, The Old Concert Rooms of London (London, 1955) and McVeigh, op. cit., 5-6

57. The review of this concert (NP, 3 March 1798, see note 50 above) mentions its having 'to boast of two concertos', which suggests that it might have been unusual to have more than one concerto at an Oratorio Concert. The Oratorio Concerts at Covent Garden were re-started in 1789 by Samuel Harrison and John Ashley (1734-1805), who took over their management from 1793 to 1805. His sons - the violinist General Christopher (1767-1818), the cellist Charles Jane (c1773-1843) and the organist John James (1771-1815) - all participated at various times in the concerts.


59. Wendeborn, op. cit., 239

60. NP, 1 April 1801

61. MC, 9 April 1802
Notes, pp. 160–164

62. ibid., 1 April 1802

63. Salomon's concerts for 1801 were advertised in the Morning Post, giving details of programmes and performers, who were a mixture of foreign and home talent, including the young John Field and 'Master Pinto'.

64. NP, 13 March 1801

65. NC, 11 May 1802

66. Harm, i (1823), 179

67. Miss Parke's benefit concert of 11 May, clearly an important event, was advertised in the Morning Post, 9 May 1801 (cf note 11 above). The varied programme included an overture, a glee by Stevens, a song sung by Mr Hield, a cello concerto performed by Mr Linley, a Mozart scena sung by Miss Parke, a 'New Sonata' by Miss Parke, an accompanied glee, a Pleyel Concertante, an oboe solo by Mr Parke, a duet sung by the Miss Parkes, a violin concerto played by Master Pinto, a song accompanied by Meyer on the harp, plus a Finale. The leader was Mr Salomon and the pianist Mr John Ashley.

68. NP, 15 May, 1801

69. ibid., 4 April 1805

70. ibid., 28 May (1805). Review of the 'Ladies' Concert'.

71. ibid., 20 May. Announcement of Ashe benefit, Great Room, King's Theatre, on 27 May. 'Mr Woelfl, who is just arrived in England' was to play a piano concerto.

72. NP, 9 Feb 1801. The series of nine 'Vocal Concerts' was to be given weekly, beginning on 27 February. The instrumentalists were all named.

73. Harm, iii (1825), 238

74. Parke, op. cit., 36

75. NC, 26 March 1802

76. The Picture of London (London, 1802, 1808), passim.

Notes: Ch. VI, pp. 167-182


4. According to Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera*, the first Mozart opera to be performed professionally in London was *La clemenza di Tito* in 1806. *Figaro* followed in the Haymarket theatre in 1812 and *Don Giovanni* at the same venue in 1817, although amateur performances of this work had been given earlier. *The Magic Flute* was not given in London until 1811. For more on the influence of Mozart's music see N. Temperley, 'Mozart's influence on English Music', *NL*, xlii (1961), 307-18; and A. Hyatt King, *Mozart in Retrospect* (London, 1955), passim.

5. Barthélemon's arrangements were reviewed in the *MMBR*, iii (1797), 149, where he was praised for his 'taste and science'.

6. *MMBR*, xxiii (1807), 601

7. ibid., xviii (1804), 52; usually spelt 'Meyer': spelling as in review.

8. *EM*, v (1784), 452-3

9. See the Introduction to *LPS*, xix (four-hand duets).

10. *RepArt*, i (1809), 400

11. *MMBR*, xi (1801), 332

12. ibid., iv (1797), 468

13. *AR*, i (1788), 344

14. Clementi did not often play accompanied sonatas in concert, but Plantinga (Clementi, p. 115) notes an announcement in the Morning Post, 11 June 1789, which mentions a performance of a trio for piano, violin and cello by Messrs. Clementi, Cramer and Cervetto at Nancy Storace's benefit.


17. \textit{MNER}, iv (1797), 135

18. ibid.


20. For an account of the early years of the keyboard concerto, see Z. Pixley, \textit{The Keyboard Concerto in London Society, 1760-1790} (diss., University of Michigan, 1986).

21. See below, p.186.

22. Kollmann, op. cit., 20

23. W. Jackson: \textit{Observations on the Present State of Music in London} (London, 1791), 20. Jackson, though, was an opinionated and irascible reactionary. By 1825 the encyclopedist J. P. Danneley observed that concertos by Mozart, Cramer, Dussek, Woelfl and Steibelt 'possess aesthetic beauties and are therefore calculated to keep alive those pleasurable feelings always arising from the performance of good music'. Virtuosity was controversial, not only for Jackson; a series of articles in the \textit{European Magazine} from August to December 1796 dealt with the 'pianoforte racers'. For a discussion of this see F. A. Brown, 'Celerio, le Dieu de Clavecin', \textit{NT}, cxx (1979), 645-7.

24. For more on this subject see T. Willigan, \textit{The Concerto and London's Musical Culture in the Late Eighteenth Century} (Ann Arbor, 1983).

25. See Plantinga, op. cit., 95 and McVeigh, op. cit., 32-4. Clementi played his own sonatas in February and March 1784; Plantinga assumes that they might well have been from op. 12.

26. Kollmann, op. cit., Chapter 12
Notes, pp. 190-197


29. Review of S. Webbe jr.'s duet, *RepArt*, ii (1809), 400. 'Mr. Webbe has happily blended the style of the best foreign composers in what we are proud to designate the English style of composition.'

30. *Ar*, i (1788), 104

31. Ibid., 209

32. Prague was mentioned as the archetype for battle pieces in a review of the *Battle of Copenhagen* (anon), *MmB*, xxiv (1807), 578.

33. *MmB*, iv (1797), 391

34. King's *Cape St Vincent*, a grand sonata with accompaniments for violin and cello, was reviewed in the *MmB*, iii (1797), 303, where the inclusion of Arne's 'Wooden Walls' theme was noted, as was the 'characteristic and forcible effect' of the piece as a whole. King also wrote the well-known battle piece, *The Siege of Valenciennes*.

35. Ibid., xvi (1803), 465

36. Dussek's piece was reviewed in the *MmB*, v (1798), 218. Although the reviewer expressed disapproval of battle pieces generally, he surprisingly found much to commend in Dussek's work, praising the 'masterly and learned' modulations. The crowning accolade, however, was that the piece was 'an excellent practical lesson'.

37. *MmB*, xxxii (1811), 368 [review]

38. *Ar*, ii (1788), 92

39. *MmB*, xix (1805), 267

40. Ibid., xv (1803), 439
Notes: Ch. VII, pp. 200-207


2. Sharp's tutor was reviewed in *NNBR*, iii (1797), 61, where its deficiency was pointed out.


4. C.P.E. Bach's 'Probestücke' from the *Versuch* were published as 'Six Progressive Lessons' in J. C. Bach and F. P. Ricci's *Méthode...pour le piano ou clavecin*.

5. Türk's treatise was available in London by 1790, though in German only; it was reviewed in *AR*, vii (1790), 479.

6. *NNBR*, ii (1796), 895

7. Dussek: *Instructions on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte or Harpsichord*, (London, 1796), 28

8. G. J. Cheese: *Practical Rules for Playing and Teaching the Pianoforte and Organ...op. 3* (London, c1806), 70


11. Mazzinghi's curious *Variations in the Grotesque Style on the theme, 'Nel cor piú'* was not enthusiastically received: 'We cannot entirely approve the idea of writing passages for execution by one finger only, and cannot but express our hope not to see the example followed'. (*NNBR*, xxiv (1807), 483.) An earlier review dismissed such music as 'more fanciful than judicious, less useful than novel'. (ibid., xxii (1806), 383)

12. P. A. Corri: *L'anima di musica* (London, c1810). 'Expression and Style' are dealt with in the third chapter, while the advantages of the pianoforte over the harpsichord and the organ appear on p. 22.

13. Hook's *Guida di musica* was reviewed in *NNBR*, iv (1797), 391, where its approach to fingering was praised.

15. Reviewed in *MMBT*, xxxii (1811), 467.

16. The complete title is as follows: *Méthode des méthodes de piano, ou traité de l'art de jouer de cet instrument, analysé des meilleurs ouvrages qui ont été publiés sur l'art de jouer de cet instrument* (Paris, 1837); trans. as *Complete system of instruction for the Pianoforte; being a treatise on the art of playing that instrument, based on an analysis of the best works that have been written on the subject; particularly those of Bach, Harpurg, Müller, Dussek, Clementi, Schmidt, Adam, J. B. Cramer, Hummel, Kalkbrenner, H. Herz and Czerny; as well as a comparison of the different styles of execution and systems of fingering of celebrated performers, such as Chopin, Cramer, Dohler, Henselt, Kalkbrenner, Liszt, Moscheles, Thalberg, etc. A work expressly calculated for a complete tuition of the art in all its developments*. The theoretical part by F. J. Fétis.....the practical part by I. Moscheles (London, c1845).


18. Wieck apparently made his daughter play the Cramer studies if her other work was not up to his exacting standards. See J. Chissell, *Clara Schumann: a Dedicated Spirit* (London, 1983), 9, and N. Reich, *Clara Schumann: the Artist and the Woman* (London, 1985), 55.


20. 'Memoir of J. B. Cramer', *Harm*, i (1823), 179. This is not an obituary. A copy of *WTC* I was listed in a sale catalogue of Cramer's library (1816), but there is no indication as to whether it was a printed or manuscript copy.


22. See also Kollmann, 'Of John Sebastian Bach, and his Works', *QMR*, i (January, 1812), 28-40.

23. In E. Wesley, *Letters of Samuel Wesley to Mr Jacobs* (London, 1875), 41. In an earlier letter, Wesley wrote of Bach's lack of popularity in England: 'Upon the Continent his [Bach's] fame has been so long circulated and established, that they must for many years past have sneered at our Ignorance of such an Author,
professing (as we do) to be a Nation attached to Music. Salomon has said, truly and shrewdly enough, that the English know very little of the Works of the German Masters, Handel excepted, who (as he observes) came over hither when there was a 'great dearth of good Musick, and here he remained (these are his words) establishing a Reputation wholly constituted upon the Spoils of the Continent'. Letter iii, dated c1808, p. 9

24. Cramer wrote this preface to introduce the new edition of the Studio (1835), which included 16 new studies. The remarks apply equally to this new music and the original 84 studies.

25. Experiments with temperament went on all through the period: see MMNR, xxii (1806), 61, 112 for details of a controversy between the Earl of Stanhope and J. W. Calcott; in 1808 Farey and Hawkes joined the fray: MMNR, xxviii (1808), 151ff. For details on their inventions see J. C. Kassler, The Science of Music in Britain, 1714-1830, 2 vols. (New York, 1979), passim.


29. Chopin's pupil Mikuli reported his teacher's practice of having his pupils play the scales of B and D flat (and so on, reducing the number of sharps and flats) before attempting 'the most difficult scale of all, that of C major'. See H. Neuhaus, The Art of Piano Playing (London, 1973), 86; and J. J. Eigeldinger, Chopin: Pianist and Teacher as Seen by his Pupils (Cambridge, 1906), 34.

30. Introduction to A Selection of Studies by John Baptist Cramer, with comments by Ludwig van Beethoven [and Anton Schindler] and Preface, Translation, Explanatory Notes and Fingering by J. S. Shedlock (London 1893)

32. Clementi's suspicion that Cramer had stolen his original title appears in a letter to Härte!, 1818, cited in Unger, 'Muzio Clementi and his Relations with G. Chr. Härte!', MNR, xxxviii (1908), 213-14.

33. Plantinga: Clementi, op. cit., 273

34. LPS, v, xv-xxi

35. Plantinga, op. cit., 270ff

36. The study of legato is a long and complex one. For an exhaustive treatment of the subject, see W. Glyn Jenkins, 'The Legato Touch and the Ordinary Manner of Keyboard Playing from 1750-1850' (diss., Cambridge University, 1976).


38. MNBK, xxxii (1811), 106. For a nearly contemporary report see Kollmann, 'Remarks on the Artificial Temperaments of Organs, and Piano Fortes, invented by Mr. Hawkes, Mr. Loeschman, and the Rev. Mr. Liston', QMR, i (January 1812), 74-9; ii (April 1812), 148-52. This issue is by no means clear; cf note 25.

Notes: Ch. VIII, pp. 233-241


2. For an account of early piano performances, including those of J. C. Bach, see V. Pleasants, op. cit.

3. For more on Schroeter, see K. Wolff, 'Johann Samuel Schroeter', MQ, xliv (1958), 338-59.

4. 'Mr. Clementi', QMR, 11/7 (1820), 308


Notes, pp. 242-261

8. See chapter VI, p.188, note 25
9. *NNBR*, iii (1797), 303
10. ibid., ii (1796), 654
11. ibid., iii (1797), 468

12. This also suggests that 'practising' as such was not a feature of the amateur pianist's life: s/he needed music which could be played more or less at sight and without much effort. Committed pianists could work through didactic sources and develop enough skill to play the 'grand' sonatas.

13. *NNBR*, xix (1805), 267


Notes: Ch. IX, pp. 263-264

1. This literary definition of parody is not to be confused with the musical application of the term, usually in connection with polyphonic masses of the 15th and 16th centuries. See J. Westrup, 'Parodies and Parameters', *PRIMA*, c (1973-4), pp. 26-7.

2. The British *Mercury*, v (1788), 285-6, reported on a benefit given by an actress, Mrs Wells, where she performed imitations.

3. The London edition of this sonata makes no mention of Clementi; however, the Paris edition (Naderman, c1820), describes the work as an 'hors d'oeuvre...expressément dans le style d'une Célèbre Sonate de Muzio Clementi'. See Milligan, *Thematic Catalogue*, 48.

Notes, pp. 265-278

5. See Plantinga, Clementi, op. cit., 129-33.

6. AR, i (1788), 344

7. MEBR, i (1796), 52

8. I am indebted to Dorothea Link for drawing my attention to this manuscript (A-Vn, S.m. 13016).

9. I assume that this work was not published as it is not listed in RISM. It seems unlikely that it was published after 1800.

10. see Plantinga, op. cit., 218-19

11. AR, iii (1789), 236ff and Musical Miscellanies, no. 6 (1784). His remarks also shed light on the purpose and meaning of 'imitations'; i.e. that satire could be involved. See also C. Grabo, 'The Practical Aesthetics of Thomas Busby's Music Reviews', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, xxv (1966), 37-45, and P. A. Brown, 'The Earliest English Biography of Haydn', MQ, lix (1973), 339-54.


13. Robbins Landon, op. cit., 342


15. A. F. C. Kollmann: op. cit., 102

16. Temperley, LFS, xi (introduction, p. xii)

17. by J. C. Kassler, in The Science of Music in Britain, 1714-1830 (New York, 1979) ii, 679ff. I can find no evidence to substantiate this view, though the theory is an intriguing one. Most of Latour's work was published under the name 'T. Latour'. However, a music review in the Harmonicon, iv (1826), 226, refers to a work by 'F. T. Latour, Pianiste to His Majesty', which suggests that F. T. Latour and Jean Latour were the same person. See also the Proceedings on a Trial...Latour versus Weller (1818, cited in chapter 3) where F. T. Latour was clearly a composer. An obituary listing its subject merely as 'Mr. Latour' appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, xxiv (July 1845), 103, stating that 'the once fashionable pianoforte composer and teacher' had recently died in Paris. There is no mention of his activities as a publisher, perhaps because his duties for Chappell lay principally in composition and arrangement.
18. 'O dolce concento' was in fact 'Das klinget so herrlich' from *Die Zauberflöte* (Chorus of Monostatos and Slaves, Finale, Act 1). A popular theme, it was set with variations by a number of composers, including Latour, who published it as a duet (reviewed in *NNBR*, xxvi (1808), 162). For details on Jansen see O. Strunk, 'Notes on a Haydn Autograph', *NQ*, xx (1934), 192-205.

19. *Achille et Déidamie* was a *tragédie lyrique* composed by André Campra to a libretto by Danchet, first performed in 1735 (Paris). It seems unusual for Latour to have used a theme from a French opera by a long dead composer. Steibelt used the same theme in his *Pot-pourri* no. 18 (c1800), but does not identify it, giving prominence instead to Martín's 'Guardami un po'*. It appears also in Cramer's *Instructions for the Pianoforte* as lesson no. 23, so it must have been well known. I can find no evidence of performances of either the opera or excerpts (such as dances) in London at the time, but it is possible that the theme was used in a current pasticcio opera.

20. according to R. Christiansen, *Prima Donna - a History* (London, 1984), 47, and A. Burgh, in his *Anecdotes of Music* (1814), ii, passim. See also the 'Memoir of Mrs Billington', *Harm*, viii (1830), 94, which stated that 'there is a certain traditional style of singing Handel, which a young débutante, possessed of great powers of execution, is almost sure to trespass upon, unless expressly brought up in the school to which that style has been handed down'.

21. I am grateful to Dr Alan Tyson for making Jansen's work known to me.

22. Credit for this astute observation must go to Professor Cyril Ehrlich. The quartet was known in London at this time.

23. *GM*, lxxxiii (1813), 354

Notes: Ch. X, pp. 291-293

1. 'English Manufacturing', *QNNR*, viii (1826), 297

Notes, pp. 293-294

3. See T. Busby, 'On Modern Music', *MMBR*, vii (1799), 35. 'The names of Purcell [sic], Handel, Corelli and Geminiani... are hung in terrorem over the heads of living composers.'


5. William Crotch used the terms 'sublime', 'beautiful' and 'ornamental' to describe different types of music, borrowing from Joshua Reynolds and Uvedale Price; see *The Substance of Several Courses of Lectures on Music* (London, 1831), passim.

6. This is not to suggest that Mozart and Beethoven did not work in a commercial environment, only that it was rather different; see J. Moore, *Beethoven and Musical Economics* (diss., U. of Illinois, 1987) and 'Mozart in the Market-Place', *JRMA*, cxiv (1989), 18-42.
MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Editorial Note

The musical examples on the following pages have been either photocopied from printed sources or written out by hand from both printed and manuscript sources. In the latter case I have retained all original markings, but have corrected any obvious errors without comment. I have also added bar numbers where appropriate.
Musical Examples, Ch. VI

Ex. 1 Saul, arr. Mazzinghi; 'fugato' from Overture

Ex. 2 Saul, Dead March
Ex. 3 Boyce, Solomon (overture, arr.) mm. 7-30
Ex. 4 Haydn, *The Creation*, opening, arr. Clementi, mm 1-9; 27-34.
Ex. 5 Haydn, String Quartet, op. 33/2, arranged for pianoforte by F. Barthélemon (1797)

Ex. 6 Viotti, Concerto no. 23

a) arr. Dussek for pianoforte
b) violin part (original)
Ex. 7 Viotti, Concerto no. 23, arr. Dussek (pf)

Ex. 8 a) Viotti Violin Concerto no. 23, violin part
b) arr. Dussek (pf)

Ex. 9 a) Viotti Vln Concerto no. 23: violin part
b) arr. Dussek (pf), mm. 350-3
Ex. 10 Giornovichi, Violin Concerto no. 1, arr. pf and vin

Ex. 11 Cramer, Sonata (pf, vin/f1), op. 31/2, opening

Ex. 12 Ferrari, Sonata (pf/f1), c.1800
Ex. 13 Dussek, *Variations on 'Rosline Castle', nos. 2, 3*

Ex. 14 Kotzwara, *The Battle of Prague, opening*
Ex. 15 M. P. King, *Cape St Vincent*, Allegro con moto ("The Achen"), mm 112–50
The QUEENS IMPRISONMENT

Exx. 16, 17 Dussek, The Sufferings of the Queen of France

opening, nos. 9, 10
Musical Examples, Ch. VII

Ex. 18 a) J. B. Cramer, *Studio per il pianoforte*, I/1


Ex. 19 Cramer, *Studio*, I/42

Ex. 20 ibid., mm 36-9

Ex. 21 ibid., II/17
Ex. 32 Studio, I/33

Ex. 33 Studio, IV/34

Ex. 34 Studio, II/18

Ex. 35 Studio, I/19

Ex. 36 Studio, I/35
Ex. 37 Studio, I/34

Ex. 38 Cramer, Dulce et utile, no. 3, opening

Ex. 39 ibid., no. 5, opening

Ex. 40 ibid., no. 5, mm 65-70

Ex. 41 ibid., mm 73-7
Ex. 42 a) Cramer, Dulce et utile, no. 2, opening

Ex. 42 b) Clementi, op. 14/1, Adagio, opening

Ex. 43 Clementi, Gradus, I, ex. 3

Ex. 44 Gradus, I, ex. 24

N.B. The reassurance of the following fingering is recommended as a very useful practice.

Ex. 45 Gradus, III, ex. 50
Ex. 46 Gradus, III, ex. 52

Ex. 47 ibid., ex. 56

Ex. 48 ibid., ex. 95

Ex. 49 ibid., ex. 58
Ex. 50 Steibelt, *Etudes pour le pianoforte*, 6

Ex. 51 Steibelt, *Etudes*, 24

Ex. 52 Steibelt, *Etudes*, 11
Ex. 53 Steibelt, *Etudes*, 15

Ex. 54 Steibelt, *Etudes*, 20

Ex. 55 Steibelt, *Etudes*, 22

Ex. 56 Woelfl, *Practical School for the Pianoforte*, 4
Musical Examples, Ch. VIII

Ex. 60 Paisiello, Sinfonia, arr. Boutay

Ex. 61 J. C. Bach, Sonata op. 5/5/1, opening

Ex. 62 J. C. Bach, Sonata op. 17/2/iii

Ex. 63 J. C. Bach, Sonata op. 5/6/1
Ex. 67 Kozeluch, Sonata op. 1/1/i

Ex. 68 Kozeluch, Sonata op. 1/3/i

Ex. 69 Kozeluch, Sonata op. 14/2/i

Ex. 70 Clementi, Sonata op. 7/3/i

Ex. 71 Clementi, Sonata op. 8/1/i
Ex. 76 S. Wesley, Sonata op. 3/1/1 (Allegro moderato), mm 17-24

Ex. 77 W. Crotch, Three Sonatas, no. 1/1 (1792)

Ex. 78 T. Haigh, Sonata (from Set II), 1/1, opening, and mm 16-20
Moderato con espressione

Ex. 79 Cramer, Sonata, op. 25/3/1

Ex. 80 Clementi, Sonata op. 37/2/1

Ex. 81 ibid., mm. 96-100

Ex. 82 ibid., mm. 128-32
Ex. 83 Cramer, Sonata op. 20, opening

Ex. 84 Dussek, Sonata op. 39/1/iii

Ex. 85 Clementi, Sonata op. 25/5/iii
Ex. 86 Dussek, Sonata op. 43 (1), mm 13-19

Ex. 87 Cramer, Sonata op. 6/4/1, mm 48-55

Ex. 88 Dussek, Sonata op. 35/3/1, mm 48-54

Ex. 89 Dussek, Sonata op. 31/3/iii, opening
Ex. 90 Dussek, Sonata op. 39/3/1, mm 85-94

Ex. 91 Clementi, Sonata op. 37/3/II

Ex. 92 Dussek, Sonata op. 24/1 (Allegro con spirito), mm 12-20
Ex. 93 Dussek, Sonata op. 39/3/i

Ex. 94 ibid., mm. 26-9

Ex. 95 Clementi, Sonata op. 25/4/i
Ex. 96 a) Cramer, Sonata op. 19/3/i, opening

Ex. 96 b) ibid., mm 73-80

Ex. 96 c) ibid., mm 122-9
Ex. 100 Clementi, Sonata op. 37/3/iii

Largo e Sostenuto.

SONATA

II

Allò con Fuoco.

Ex. 101 Clementi, Sonata op. 34/2/i
Ex. 06 Dussek, op. 35/2/i mm 15-23

Allegro Moderato

Sonata

J.L. Dussek.

Ex. 107 Dussek, op. 43 (1)

Allegro Moderato

Sonata II

Ex. 108 Cramer, Sonata op. 29/2/i
Ex. 109 Clementi, Sonata op. 33/1/11 mm 36-59

Ex. 110 ibid., mm 155-80

Ex. 111 ibid., mm 255-86
Ex. 112 Cramer, Sonata op. 25/2/iii

Ex. 113 Dussek, Sonata op. 35/2/1, ma 145-64
Ex. 114 Cramer, Sonata op. 34/3/iii, mm 147-155

Ex. 115 Field, Sonata op. 1/3/ii, mm 228-49
Ex. 116 Cramer, Sonata op. 29/2/iii, mm 130-40

Ex. 117 Cramer, Sonata op. 27/2/11
Ex. 118 a) Cramer, Sonata op. 20 (i)

Ex. 118 b) Sonata op. 20 (ii)
Musical Examples, Ch. IX

Ex. 119 Clementi, Musical Characteristics.

Prelude 2, 'alla Sterkel', mm 8-17.

Ex. 120 ibid., Prelude 1 'alla Vanhall'

Ex. 121 ibid., Prelude 2 'alla Vanhall', mm 10-13
Ex. 122 Clementi, Musical Characteristics, Prelude 1 'alla Vanhali', mm 7-15

Ex. 123a) ibid., Prelude 1 'alla Kozeluch'

Ex. 123b) ibid., mm 10-19
Ex. 124 Clementi, *Musical Characteristics*, Prelude 1

'alla Haydn'

Ex. 125 *ibid.*, Prelude 2 'alla Mozart', mm 9–15
Ex. 126 Freystädtler, Thema... con variazione, 'alla Bach'

Ex. 127 ibid., 'alla Clementi'

Ex. 128 ibid., 'alla Haydn'
Ex. 129 Freystaedtler, Thema...con variazioni, 'alla Mozart'

Ex. 130 a) Sonata 'La Nicolai' (anon.)

Ex. 130 b) V. Nicolai, Sonata op. 3/1/i for pf and vln
Ex. 131 a) Sonata 'La Nicolai', ii

Ex. 131 b) V. Nicolai, Sonata op. 3/1/i (Rondo)

Ex. 132 a) Sonata 'La Nicolai', Rondo, 'minore' section

Ex. 132 b) V. Nicolai, Sonata op. 3/1/ii, Rondo, 'mineur' section
Ex. 133 Sonata, 'La Schroeter' (anon.)

Ex. 134 a) Sonata, 'La Schobert', (anon.), opening

Ex. 134 b) ibid., 1, 131-4
Ex. 135 a) Clementi, *Musical Characteristics* (1787), Prelude 2 'alla Haydn', mm 25-9

Ex. 135 b) ibid., (1787), Prelude 2 'alla Clementi', mm 38-41

Ex. 136 a) ibid., (1787), Prelude 2 'alla Clementi', mm 38-41
Ex. 136 b) ibid., (1808)

Ex. 137 ibid., Prelude 'alla Haydn', 1787 and 1808 versions
Ex. 138 ibid., (1808), Prelude 'alla Vanhall', (cf ex. 122), mm.8-17; 34-6

Ex. 139 Cramer, Les quatre nations, 'à l'italienne'

Ex. 140 ibid., 'À l'allemand'
Ex. 141 ibid., 'à l'angloise'

Ex. 142: ibid., 'à la française'
Ex. 143 Latour, *Imitations, 'à la Naldi'*

Ex. 144 *Ibid., 'à la Billington', mm. 9-24*
Ex. 145 Ibid., 'A la Pleyel'

Ex. 146 Ibid., 'A la Viotti', mm 15-24
Ex. 148 ibid., 'à la Mazzinghi'

Ex. 149 a) L. Jansen, *O dolce concerto, 'à la Beethoven', mm 4/4 - 7

Ex. 149 b) Beethoven, String Quartet op. 18/1/iv, Violin I, mm 19-25
Appendix

Musical Examples: Sources

The following is a list of sources for the musical examples, for which I have given appropriate catalogue or RISM numbers where possible. Manuscript locations are indicated by RISM sigla. Examples from Temperley’s *London Pianoforte School* are given with the *LPS* volume number.

Exx. 1, 2 Handel's Overtures, Arranged for the Piano-Forte, with an Accompaniment Ad Libitum, for a Flute or Violin, by J. Mazzinghi (London, Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine), [1802]

Ex. 3 Boyce, Overture to *Solomon*, *Pianoforte Magazine*, xiii (1801)


Ex. 5 Three Grand Sonatas, from the Quartetts of Haydn, with Favorite Scotch Airs & Reels for the Adagios and last Movements, Adapted for the Piano-Forte with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello, Dedicated to Dr. Haydn, by F. H. Barthélemon. (London, Longman & Broderip), 1797 Sonata no. 3 from Haydn’s 1st Quartetto, of Opera 18 [i.e. op.33]

Ex. 6b, 8a, 9a Viotti, Violin Concerto no. 23 in G, ed. W. Davisson (Frankfurt, Peters, 1930. Originally pubd 1810 (no title page available).

Ex. 6a, 7, 8b, 9b Viotti’s Celebrated New Grand Concerto in G as Performed at his Concert Hanover Square Adapted for the Piano Forte with or without Additional Keys. By J. L. Dussek (London, Corri, Dussek & Co.) c1795

Ex. 10 Two Violin Concerts Composed and Arranged for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for the Violin and Humbly Dedicated to the Countess of Shaftsbury, [sic] By Mr. Giornovichi (London, Longman & Broderip), [1795]. Sonata I, Allegro (1) RISM G 2399 (the set)

Ex. 11 Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte, Two of which have an Accompaniment for Violin and Flute ad Libitum. op. 31 (London, Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis), [1805]. No. 2 (1) Allegro. Milligan no. 2.074

Ex. 12 Three Favorite Sonatas for the Piano Forte and Flute Obligato, or Violin. Composed and Dedicated to the Countess Ernestina of Starhemberg by G. G. Ferrari. Printed for the Author, no. 34 Gt. Malboro [sic] Street. NB. These Sonatas are so
Arranged that a third hand may Play the Flute part on the Piano Forte in Absence of a Flute or Violin Player. [c1800] RISM F 461

Ex. 13 LPS, vi

Ex. 14 Kotzwara's Battle of Prague for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, with Accompaniments for A Violin Bass &c (Edinburgh, Corri & Co.), [1795] RISM K 1095

Ex. 15 Cape Saint Vincent, A Grand Sonata for the Piano Forte, with accompaniments for a Violin & Violoncello; Expressive of the Glorious Naval Victory obtained over the Spanish Fleet, on the 14th Feb 1797. Composed...by M. P. King. Op. 8 (London, Longman & Broderip), [1797] RISM K 593

Exx. 16, 17 LPS, vi

Ex. 18 Pianoforte Studien von Friedrich Wieck herausgegeben von Marie Wieck (Frankfurt, Peters), n.d.

Exx. 19-37 LPS, ix

Exx. 38-42a LPS, xi

Ex. 42b LPS, v (Gradus, Ex. 14)

Exx. 43-49 Clementi, Gradus ad Parnassum, LPS, v

Exx. 50-55 from Etude Pour le Piano Forte, contenant 50 Exercices de différents Genres, Partage en deux Livraisons par D. Steibelt op. 78. Livr. 1. (London, Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter et Co.), [wm 1809]


Ex. 60 Pianoforte Magazine, vii

Exx. 61-2 LPS, vi

Ex. 63 Six Sonates pour le clavecin ou le piano Forte...ouevre 5, c1770 RISM B 382

Exx. 64-6 LPS, i

Exx. 67-8 Tre sonate per il clavicembalo o forte piano par Leopoldo Kozeluch Vienna, Artaria & Co., [1783] RISM K 1719

Ex. 69 Three Grand Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte, Composed by the celebrated Leopoldo Kozeluch of Vienna op. 14 London, J. Bland, 45 Holborn [1788], RISM K 1732

Exx. 70-75 LPS, i
Ex. 76  *LPS*, vii
Ex. 77 Three Sonatas for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord, Composed for and Respectfully dedicated to his Pupils by William Crotch, Organist of Christ Church Oxford (London, for the author, by J. Bland), [1793] Sonata I. [Not in RISM]

Ex. 78. Second Sett of Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, Composed, and Humbly Dedicated by Permission to Dr. Haydn, by T. Haigh, op. 10 (London, Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow), [1796] RISM H 1781

Ex. 79  *LPS*, x
Exx. 80–82 *LPS*, iii
Ex. 83  *LPS*, x
Ex. 84  *LPS*, vi
Ex. 85  *LPS*, iii
Ex. 86  *LPS*, vi
Ex. 87  *LPS*, x
Ex. 88  *LPS*, vi

Ex. 89 Three Sonatas, with Scotch & German Airs, and Three Preludes for the Piano Forte, (with or without Additional Keys.) Being the Continuation of Op. 25, with Accompaniments for a Violin or Flute & Bass. (Ad. lib.) Dedicated to Miss Wheler and Miss Penelope Wheler by I. L. Dussek. Op. 31 (London, Clementi & Co.), c1805. Sonata 3/iii; Craw no. 134

Ex. 90  *LPS*, vi
Ex. 91  *LPS*, iii
Exx. 92–4 *LPS*, vi
Ex. 95  *LPS*, iii
Exx. 96–9 *LPS*, x
Exx. 100–101 *LPS*, iii
Ex. 102  *LPS*, i
Exx. 103–107 *LPS*, vi
Ex. 108  *LPS*, x
Exx. 109–111 *LPS*, iii
Ex. 112 LPS, x
Ex. 113 LPS, vi
Ex. 114 LPS, x
Ex. 115 LPS, xii
Exx. 116-118 LPS, x
Exx. 119-125 Clementi's Musical Characteristics, or A Collection of Preludes and Cadences for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte Composed in the Style of Haydn, Kozeluch, Mozart, Sterkel, Vanhal and The Author, opera 19 (London, Longman and Broderip), 1787. Also in LPS, ii
Exx. 126-129 Freystaedtler, Thema del Sign. Salieri con Variazioni, autograph manuscript in A-Wn, S.m. 13016
Exx. 130a, 131a, 132 A Sonata for the Piano Forte with or without Additional Keys in Imitation of the best Modern Authors as they have appear'd within these last 20 years, Composed by an Eminent Master, to be continued Monthly. (London, Culliford, Rolfe, & Barrow), c1795; I - 'La Niccolai'
Ex. 130b, 131b, 132b Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin Composed and humbly dedicated to Miss Mathew by Valentino Niccolai, Opera III (London, for the author, J. Veicker), (1775); RISM N 616
Ex. 133 A Sonata for the Piano Forte...in Imitation of the best Modern Authors...by an Eminent Master... (London, Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow), c1795; III - 'La Schroeter'
Exx. 134a, b ibid., II - 'La Schobert'
Ex. 135a, 136a, 137 Clementi, Musical Characteristics (see Exx. 119-125)
Exx. 135b, 136b, 137, 138 Clementi, Musical Characteristics, 1808 autograph US-Wc Mus 1232
Exx. 139-142 Les Quatre Nations, A New Divertimento, for the Piano Forte (with Musical Sketches of Several Styles)...by J. B. Cramer (London, for the Author), c1807
Exx. 143-148 Imitations of many of the most Eminent Professors, in Twenty Six Variations on the favorite Gavot in Achille et Deidamie for the Piano Forte, with an Accompaniment for the Flute (ad libitum)...by T. Latour (London, R. Birchall), [1808]
Ex. 149a  O dolce concetto, or Away with Melancholy, a Celebrated Air, Arranged with Thirteen Variations, for the Piano Forte, as Imitations, of the most Favorite Composers...by Louis Jansen. (London, G. Walker), [1810]

Ex. 149b  Ludwig van Beethovens Werke...Serie 6. Quartette für 2 Violinen, Bratsche und Violoncell. (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel), n.d.
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